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THE CAMPAIGN TO SAVE CROXTETH COMPREHENSIVE:
An Ethnographic Study of a Protest Movement

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For the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

THE UNIVERSITY OF ASTON IN BIRMINGHAM

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The University of Aston in Birmingham

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An Ethnographic Study of a Protest Movement

SUMMARY

This thesis is based on ethnographic research carried out on a Liverpool protest movement which occurred between November, 1980 and July, 1983. The protest movement was waged by residents of the working class community of Croxteth Liverpool who wished to retain their state secondary school, Croxteth Comprehensive. The Liverpool City Council voted in favour of closing Croxteth Comprehensive in January, 1981 because of its declining roles. Residents began their campaign as soon as they became aware of intentions to close the school at the end of the previous year. The campaign itself went through a number of different phases, distinguishable according to the groups of people involved, the strategy and tactics they employed, the ways in which they justified their campaign, and the goals they pursued.

In July of 1982 the organisation which led the protest, the Croxteth Community Action Committee, took illegal possession of the school buildings and ran a pilot summer school project. In September of 1982 they opened the school doors for all secondary pupils on the council estate and began running classes, with the help of volunteer teachers. The school was run successfully in this way for the entire 1982/83 school year. By the end of this period the school was officially reinstated by a new Labour Party majority on the city council.

This thesis presents a comprehensive account of the entire campaign, from its beginning to end. The campaign is analysed in a number of ways: by situating the closure itself in the economic and political conditions of Liverpool in the 1980s, by examining the relation of Croxteth Comprehensive to its community, by describing the conditions in which different groups of people contributed to the campaign and the changes it went through in its use of tactics, and through a close examination of the activities which took place inside the school during its year of occupation.

A number of levels of analysis are used in the study. To explain the closure and the early forms of resistance which developed to oppose it, the structural location of the local government of Liverpool in the late 1970s and early 1980s is described. To explain the relationship of the school to its community, the formation of a group of activists and their leaders, and the resources available to the protestors for pursuing their aims, a single-group model of social action is used. To analyse the establishment of social routines and schooling practices within the school during its occupation, action-theoretical models are drawn upon. The chapters of literature review and concept analysis with which this thesis begins link these different levels theoretically through a model of action and its conditions. The theoretical framework employed is reviewed in the last chapter. It is one which could be used to study any social movement, and has applications to other social phenomena as well.

Lastly, various issues within the sociology of education are examined in light of the events which took place in Croxteth Comprehensive, - especially the theory of community education.

Phil F. Carspecken III
January, 1987

Key Words: SOCIAL MOVEMENTS, ACTION THEORY, ETHNOGRAPHY, COMMUNITY STUDIES, SOCIOLOGY OF EDUCATION

For my Parents:

*Margaret Carspecken
and
Phil F. Carspecken II*

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Chapter One
INTRODUCTION

The Croxteth Housing Estate is a residential community of 12,000 people lying on the very northeastern edge of Liverpool. It is a predominantly working class area, suffering conditions of poor housing, lack of facilities, widespread health problems, and high rates of unemployment, vandalism, and crime.

In January of 1981, the Liverpool City Council voted in favour of closing down Croxteth Comprehensive School, the Croxteth Estate's only non-religious secondary school. Residents in the community responded by forming a parents' action committee and conducting a protest campaign which was to last over two and a half years, changing several times in its membership, strategy and tactics.

In July of 1982 the Croxteth Community Action Committee took illegal possession of premises of Croxteth Comprehensive and ran the school with the help of volunteer teachers for an entire year. During this year Croxteth received extensive coverage on the local and national media. Volunteers came from as far as Bradford, Manchester, and Edinburgh to help to teach in the school, trade unions from all over Britain donated funds to provide free school lunches, buy educational materials and pay for electricity and fuel. Several national television programmes were produced on the school occupation and representatives of the British labour movement were calling it the vanguard of the struggle against cuts in welfare services.

In May of 1983 the Liverpool Labour Party won a ruling majority on the city council for the first time in ten years, carrying an electoral pledge to reinstate Croxteth Comprehensive. Although the volunteer teachers and local residents continued to run the school for the remainder of the 1982/83 school year, Croxteth Community Comprehensive School began receiving local authority funding in the Autumn of 1983 and continues to run as a fully funded comprehensive school to this day. The campaign for Croxteth Comprehensive resulted in victory, a rare incident of a successful working class community mobilisation.

This is a sociological study of the campaign for Croxteth Comprehensive based on a historical reconstruction of its first one and a half years and an ethnographic study of its year of occupation. The study provides both a comprehensive history of the major events leading to the closure of the school and a sociological analysis spanning several areas. The issues addressed in the analysis are divided into three categories: social theory, the theory of social movements, and community education. Relevant literature is reviewed for each of these areas in the beginning chapters.

The study is divided into three parts: part one consists of literature reviews of theories of social movements and community education, plus an extended conceptual analysis of key social-theoretical terms used throughout the thesis. Part two provides a description and analysis of the closure of Croxteth Comprehensive and the period of protest which preceded

the running of the school under occupation. Part three provides a detailed analysis of the year in which the occupied school was run. Short introductions are provided at the beginning of each of these three parts to summarise their contents and purposes. In the case of parts two and three, the introductions also explain important differences in the level of analysis and description employed. The theoretical significance of using different levels of analysis is discussed in chapter four, and reconsidered in the concluding chapter, chapter sixteen. Chapter four ends with a chart locating the chapters following it according to their objects of study and the type and level of theory used in each.

Chapter Two

ON THE AUTHOR, THE RESEARCH, AND THE PRODUCTION OF THE THESIS

This chapter is about the researcher, the research, and the process of writing. It uses the first person more than any other chapter of the thesis and employs an informal style of presentation in several of its sections to familiarise the reader with the author as much as possible. The style used is not typical for a thesis, but is used deliberately and is consistent with the theoretical position taken in this study with respect to knowledge and knowledgeability, concepts which will appear repeatedly in the chapters to follow.

Knowledge is one of the major areas of description and analysis in this study: the knowledge which people who took part in the campaign for Croxteth Comprehensive had of their situation, the forms which this knowledge took, and the cultural material from which these forms were drawn. It is argued in a section below that there is nothing fundamentally different between the production of a thesis and the articulations of 'lay' theories and views which take place continuously in social life. Both are productions of knowledge which take place under conditions which may be only partially understood by the people making the formulations. Both are unavoidably motivated activities. Both draw upon a background of cultural material which is assumed to be shared by their audiences, make implicit or explicit claims to their audiences that what is being said or written is valid, and are influenced by the personal histories of the theorists.

It would be inconsistent to produce a study which includes an analysis of the conditions in which people perceive and understand their world without some description of the conditions in which the analysis itself was made. Of course, this is the subject of methodology generally, - the specification of a formal theory of knowledge production, formal validation requirements, and the specific ways in which the research adhered, or in some cases failed to adhere, to these formal requirements. A section on methods and methodology is accordingly provided in a section below. But such formal discussions, which are usually conducted with little reference to the personality and interests of the researcher, are not deemed sufficient by this author. This chapter seeks to situate the production of this study in a way similar to the manner in which later chapters situate the views and expressions made by the people they examine. This is done partially through a personal account, as if I have been asked by my readers, as I believe I should be asked, to talk about my self, my life history, and my reasons for doing a study on the campaign for Croxteth Comprehensive.

There are four main sections in this chapter: a section describing my discovery of Croxteth, a section on the personal history which orientated my interests in the campaign and research, a section on methods and methodology which elaborate some of the statements I have made in the paragraphs above, and a section on the process by which this thesis was written. Since much of this thesis could be viewed as a work of contemporary history, this chapter is an addition to the story of the campaign for Croxteth Comprehensive. It is important for historical, as well as methodological, reasons.

I Discovering Croxteth

September 1982 was the seventh month of my residence in Liverpool. My wife and I had left London for Liverpool the previous March, in order to give birth to our first child near friends and in the hopes that an offer to teach mathematics in Liverpool's Paddington Comprehensive School would come through. But in September I was still unemployed, to the surprise of none of my Liverpool friends who seemed amazed that I'd moved to the city expecting a job. Our son was just over one month old and a friend from London had come up to get acquainted with him. She was the first person to draw our attention to a topic which, we learned, had frequently been in the local news: a local community called Croxteth had taken over its comprehensive school to protest its closure. It had just finished running a summer school programme in the school. Now it was announcing its intention to run a full educational programme for the Autumn term.

Not being especially enamoured of the local Liverpool newspapers nor in possession of a television set, my wife and I had been in total ignorance of the struggle which had been taking place in Croxteth with high media coverage for some time. The article mentioned a television programme soon to be broadcast on BBC Open Door entirely on the school, so my wife and I decided to borrow a television set from friends and to take careful notes on what was shown. The programme was entitled 'Who's Killing Croxteth?'. It gave a history of the protest movement which had developed over the closure of the school, culminating in the occupation of the school buildings. Details of the difficult living conditions on the Croxteth Housing Estate were presented. I can remember sections which showed terrible housing conditions, interviews with doctors who testified to serious health problems on the estate, and shots of a mathematics class being taught by a future friend of mine, Henry Stewart. The impression was of a school which the parents had under control, certainly with enough teachers, valiantly fighting against a great injustice which the sordid politics of the Liverpool Liberal party had perpetrated upon them. The programme ended with shots of a public meeting held at the Croxteth Labour Club. A stocky local resident named Charles Wallace stood up and posed the rhetorical question taken for the programme's title: 'Who's Killing Croxteth?' he asked in a booming voice. And then, to answer the question himself: 'The Liberal Party!'

A few days later I went to London to attend the Socialist Society's 1982 'Summer School' and I mentioned the take-over to the Society's Education Group. The group seemed interested. As they were intending to publish a newsletter, they accepted my suggestion that I visit the school and send them an article. I also met Henry Miller for the first time at this meeting, my future Ph.D. supervisor at Aston University, a future history teacher in the occupied school, and soon to become a collaborator on several articles and papers about Croxteth. I returned to Liverpool determined to visit Croxteth Comprehensive as soon as possible.

'Where's Croxteth then Albert?' I asked my friend and life-long Liverpool resident, 'I'd like to go over there and see if they need any

help'. In addition to writing the article for the Socialist Society, I had decided to offer my help as a youth worker, - someone to set up a programme for school leavers based in the occupied buildings. 'Lots of interesting things could be done', I thought. The television programme had convinced me that they didn't require any more teachers, but a youth worker might expand the scope of the occupation. 'Croxteth's just down the road, I think' said Albert. We were living on the edge of Liverpool 8, Toxteth, 'Come on', he said, 'let's look for it in the car'.

The car ride kept extending and extending itself as we discovered that Croxteth wasn't just 'down the road' nor just down the next road or the next. We stopped at a news agents and got some directions, drove for another twenty minutes and stopped for more directions. Croxteth turned out to be on the northeastern edge of Liverpool, at the very borders of the city.

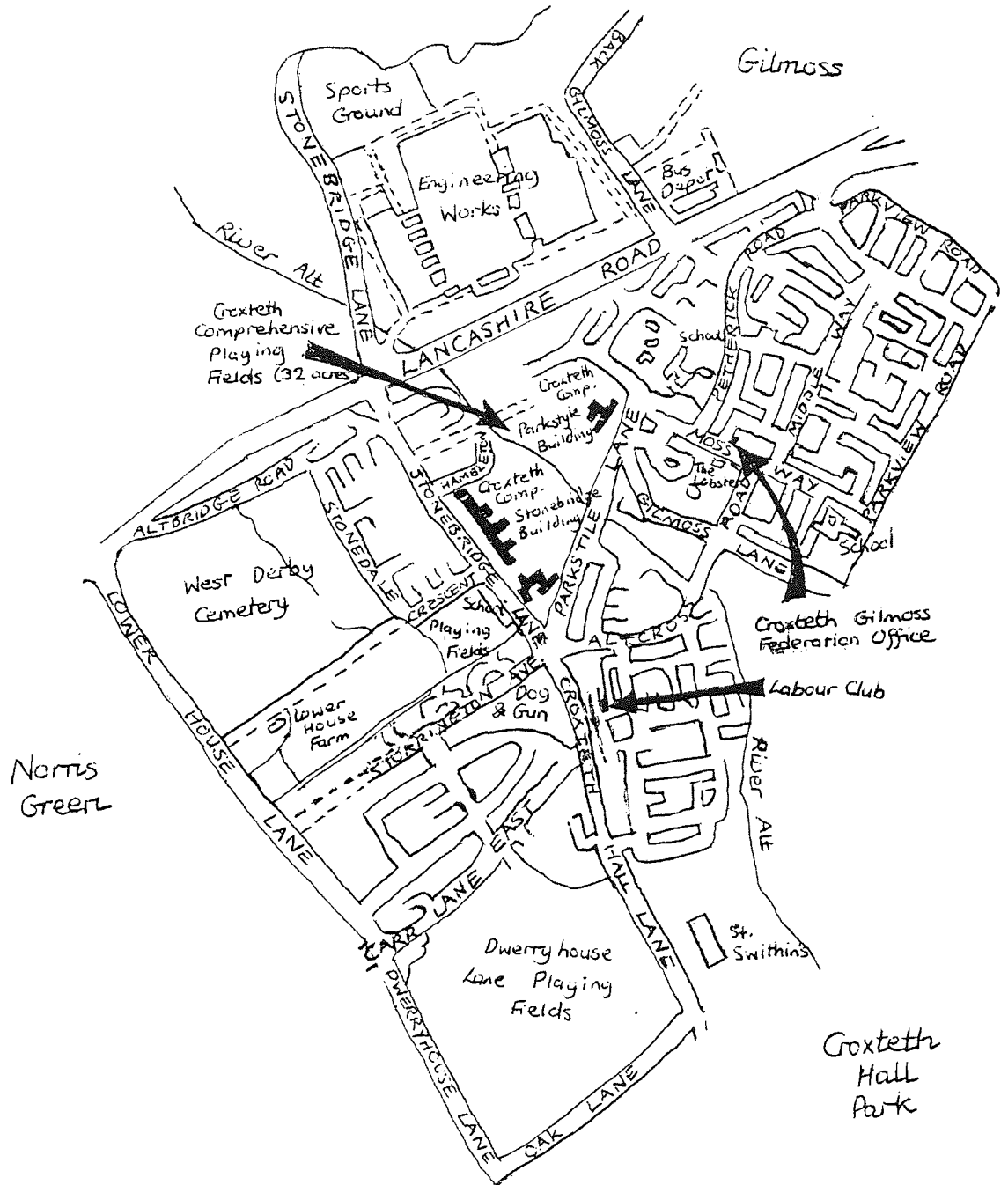
I retain many images from that first journey to Croxteth. Winding city streets full of trees ('Liverpool has more trees per block than any other European city', Albert told me), full of brick houses, little sections of shops suddenly breaking into view around a turn and then, after two or three blocks, falling out of sight again. After a long stretch of driving, several wrong turns, and the two stops for directions, the buildings ended and a huge field opened up before us on our left, trees boarding the right. A parallel road far to the left was outlined by a series of enormous white tower blocks, - what I later learned were the Storrington Hays high-rises on the inner edge of Croxteth. Immediately on our left were the long playing fields of a Catholic comprehensive school, some way still ahead of us was a T-junction with thick forest facing our direction. 'That's Croxteth Hall through there I think', said Albert, pointing straight ahead into the trees. 'This is lovely!', I said, 'So much open space and an actual woods!'

We turned left at the T-junction onto Stonebridge Lane and followed it past yet more playing fields and another Catholic comprehensive school. 'They've got a lot of schools around here!' I said, wondering why one in particular had caused so much commotion. The buildings looked good too, a modern style, clean with many windows and coloured beige with turquoise sections about the windows and doors. I noticed that it was in the same style, right down to the colour, of most schools in Liverpool, which somehow subtracted from the impression of freshness it gave me.

We drove past this school on our right, which I later learned was St. Swithin's, past a pub called the Dog and Gun on the left, then a boarded up old supermarket which had the words 'Cooperative' written on its ageing sign. At a five-way junction I again noticed the huge tower blocks, now immediately on our left alongside Storrington Road which intersected with Stonebridge Lane. This was one corner of the Croxteth Housing Estate, the bulk of it laying to our right. At this junction many houses in terrible condition could be seen, a section which I later learned is called the 'Croxteth Triangle'. Some had roofs which appeared burned and shredded. The area was full of broken glass and graffiti. A few windows in the

Figure 2-1

The Croxteth Housing Estate



devastated buildings looked outwards from obviously inhabited flats, sandwiched between the completely empty and ruined ones. Opposite the tower blocks on our left and lining the other side of Storrington Road were similarly devastated buildings, obviously uninhabited.

With the change of light we drove ahead and immediately up to another school on our left. 'That must be it'. Albert drove over and stopped so that we could read the school sign. The school had exactly the same architecture and paint as the other two schools and I could see another large playing field behind it with yet another school at the playing field's end. This playing field lay on the other side of the row of white tower blocks. To our right extended yet another large playing field just behind an infants school, this school having an older architectural style and no paint to brighten its aged brown and red bricks. Behind the long playing field on the right were rows of council houses extending as far as one could see from this point.

'Let's see', said Albert who had now stopped just before a sign in front of the school on our left. 'St Mary's Help'..., no that's not the school'. 'Another Catholic school!, keep driving then.' Going slowly past St Mary's we noticed another school building on our right just past the junior school. A row of hedges had blocked it from our view. A middle-aged man was standing 'guard' at its front door and some chairs sitting on the ground near him indicated that a number of other people must have been sitting out there at some time. We pulled up into a parking lot near the school. A huge banner hung from the roof, two stories above the ground level: 'We Won by Thirty One Votes!', it read. Windows bore various slogans painted in red and blue: 'This is YOUR school', 'OCCUPIED'. The building itself looked old, brick without paint, and an architectural style of the late thirties or early forties. Two wings extended from either side of a central area in which two main doors were located symmetrically at some distance from each other. A round quasi-tower or turret lay at the side of each door making the building look something like a crude fortification.

'Hello', I greeted the man standing guard, 'We came to see if you need any help'. The man looked very friendly and shook our hands. He had an unhealthy appearance, a bit too bulgy and pale, possibly in his 60s. He knocked on the door behind him, which was locked, and an older man stuck his head out. 'They've come to help, - teachers', he explained pointing to us. The new man let us in with a friendly greeting and asked if we'd like some tea. He introduced himself as Dennis. Inside the front door was a long corridor running horizontally. A number of women, maybe five or six, sat there with tea cups and a couple of babies, talking amongst themselves. 'Teachers', said Dennis. They smiled at us respectfully, but said nothing.

Dennis took us to an office just around the corner and introduced us to a harassed and worried looking man in his middle age. 'This is Cyril - he can tell you all about it.' It was Cyril D'Arcy, the secretary of the Croxteth Community Action Committee. Cyril smiled and asked what we wanted. I then went into a rehearsed presentation of my interests and intentions: I told him we had seen the television programme and were

sympathetic and that I thought we could run a youth programme for them if they wanted. 'What we really need is teachers!' said Cyril. 'We're supposed to be running this as a school next Monday and so far we only have a few teachers.' 'Really!, it looked on the television like you had enough'. Cyril just smiled, a bit slyly, and I got his meaning - the programme had been a PR stunt, at least in part. 'You look worried', I said, 'like it's been difficult'. Cyril nodded, 'there's a lot to do, it won't be easy running this as a school. A lot of it has been on me lately because our chair's not here, Phil Knibb. He's in Germany working a job. But he should be back soon. It'll be better when he's here'.

Albert and I had a cup of tea and talked a bit with the women sitting in the corridor. They looked relaxed compared to Cyril. I asked them a few questions, intending to quote them for the article I was going to write. 'If this school goes the whole community will go', said one. 'We don't have anything in this community - if it goes, I'll go.' I quickly scribbled it all down in a notebook. Dennis gave us a tour of the school and then asked a young person named Jimmy to show us the staffroom upstairs. Jimmy had been sitting on the stairs when Albert and I talked to the women. As we walked up I said, 'You've really got something impressive going here!' 'Oh, if it weren't for some of the left wingers here it'd be alright', he answered. 'Who?' Albert asked. 'We've had a couple from the WRP who've just about wrecked it'. 'Who's on the WRP? Albert asked, 'Two of the teachers'. We didn't see any teachers but Jimmy didn't elaborate.

After seeing the staffroom Dennis asked the guard, whose name was Joe, to take us over to the other building. Croxteth Comprehensive, we learned, had two buildings, this one called 'Stonebridge' and another across the long playing field behind it called 'Parkstile'. It was a long walk along the edge of the playing fields. Ahead was a small, very polluted-looking river which cut the playing fields in two. 'That's the River Alt', said Joe, 'This used to all be the hunting grounds for the Earl of Sefton'. Across a narrow bridge the playing fields sloped up towards the back of a much newer looking building, much in the style of the Catholic school buildings we'd noticed during the drive. We walked around to its front and Joe again had to bang on the door as it was locked. A woman looked through the window, 'teachers', explained Joe, 'give 'em a look.'

We were taken to a classroom just around the corner from the main doors which was full of blankets, mattresses and a number of placards obviously used for demonstrations. Introductions, chatting over the obligatory tea, a short tour through the much nicer, it seemed to me, rooms of the Parkstile Building, and then an invitation to see some of Croxteth. 'O.K.', I said, and Pat Irving, treasurer of the Croxteth Community Action Committee, led me through the school gates and onto one of the more central roads of the Croxteth Housing Estate. After a short block of housing we entered a single block of shops. The Croxteth-Gillmoor Federation office lay on the corner to our left. To the right was the Lobster Pub, and all ~~along the left~~ were small shops: a chippy, a news agent, butcher, fruit and vegetable shop, and at the end a very small library. Pat pointed out the last: 'They're trying to close that too'. Pat seemed sort of hard to me, as

if she had been angry for a long time and just took that state for granted. She sounded bitter as she talked now.

Back at the school Albert and I were told of a public meeting which was to be held the next Friday night, a few days away, for people wanting to know about the autumn term. We agreed to come to the meeting and drove off, this time taking Storrington Road, bordering the tall white tower blocks we'd noticed before. As we drove up the road a bus coming from the opposite direction approached and passed us. I looked at the number and name: '14 CROXTETH', the bus I'd take nearly every day for the next nine months.

II Some Personal History

My own interest in the occupation of Croxteth Comprehensive was the result of features of my past which have some bearing on the production of this study. I moved to England from California in 1981 in order to get married and to get some experience of living in a country other than the one I was born in. I'd left a teaching career, begun in the inner city of Los Angeles, and came to England without any real clear idea of what direction my life would take next. In America I'd shifted between a number of activities in a number of different cities after my graduation from university. Most of the activities I had become involved in were aspects of what were called the 'alternative' and 'human potential' movements at the time: cooperatives, community centres, left-wing study groups, and consciousness raising groups of various types. My experiences in several organisations and projects had been very positive, especially those which combined community and political action with styles of group organisation modelled partially on 'the therapy group' of the humanistic psychology movement. I spent a summer in Charleston South Carolina with a community of roughly thirty people who mixed conscious efforts to develop honest and caring personal relationships with community project work, and I found that experience especially exhilarating. In Los Angeles immediately afterwards I helped to start a community centre which ran support groups for parents, an adult education programme, a preschool, drop-in and telephone counselling service, and advocacy work which drew us into contact with the social service and legal systems of Los Angeles City and County government.

Los Angeles was the city in which I became interested in politics. The people coming to the centre often had to appear in court, had constant problems in getting the social services they needed, and lived in areas where police harassment and gang violence were constant fears. We had people from a great diversity of ethnic-cultural backgrounds: blacks, chicanos, orientals, whites. The types of therapeutic and educational work we did in the centre soon involved many political issues: therapy and political/social awareness went hand in hand. My interest in political issues thus took place through a concern with the micro-features of social life. At the centre we worked with families suffering from stress, stress which took destructive forms because of poor patterns of communication and lack of information about available resources. But it was stress which

originated outside of families and communities, in the economic and political environments they were located in.

I began teaching high school in Los Angeles mainly as a way of earning money when funding for our centre was stopped after two years. But I was also interested in teaching as I'd found myself extremely comfortable and fulfilled in educational activities which we had organised in the Los Angeles centre. Education was a way of learning together in the centre, a combination of examining ideas, books, and aspects of the Los Angeles inner-city, with the raising into awareness and sharing of feelings, the improvement of communication and self-awareness. Education was an empowering activity, a process of learning to control the formation of identities, and it was an activity which increasingly pointed towards political and economic issues effecting city life.

Two years of teaching in inner city high schools, however, quickly impressed upon me the complex nature of American public education. My experience as a teacher was simultaneously one of power and powerlessness. At first I enjoyed being a teacher. I tried out many of the group-work methods I'd used at the centre with some success, and felt I was able to give special attention to those who needed it, perhaps more so than other teachers in the school - especially the older, tired-looking ones I met in the staff lunch room. I also enjoyed, at first, the challenge of becoming a disciplinarian - a role I wasn't sure I would be able to play but found I could. I thought I could combine what soon became a basically authoritative style with some of the 'humanistic' methods I was familiar with in other contexts.

But over time I ceased enjoying being a teacher. Authority and control began to become more central to my way of handling the large classes I was given than group work and the actual activity of teaching. It was soon very clear that my position in the classroom was more one of powerlessness than of power, for I couldn't practice the things I believed in. Power worked *through* me to impose itself upon my pupils. I was as much its victim as they were. I was aware for the first time of how knowledge as taught in schools can be in complete disjunction with the cultures of those being taught. The learning activities of the centre had had the purpose of empowerment and discovery and had been conducted with other adults. The learning activities of the school, in stark contrast, served a number of functions simultaneously which I found distasteful and yet impossible, as a teacher, to alter. They were a way of containing youth. They made use of a highly quantified form of knowledge which was measured and which differentiated pupils according to how much of it could be re-objectified on tests and assignments. They kept control because they associated learning with quiet, isolated activity and labelled those willing to perform such activities good, those who weren't bad. And this knowledge I taught was clearly of little help to the pupils I taught. They came from very difficult living situations into a school which had little to say about their communities.

I came to regret the isolation I felt from the community of the pupils, - the rigid way in which a specifically *school* culture changed the rules in play as soon as they entered the school doors. My meetings with parents were rare and artificial. The idea of a 'community school' occurred to me then, - one which might have more local involvement and which could alter learning matter and activity to fit it closer to the lives of my pupils.

Thus my involvement in Croxteth Comprehensive, and the way in which I organised this study of it, was from the start oriented about a number of issues which were and still are personally important to me and directly related to experiences in my own life. A contrast is made in this thesis, for example, between what I call two 'ideological themes': the 'social wage' theme and the 'community power' theme. 'Community power' is a slogan which was bandied about in America during the years in which I became involved in the alternative movement. It was a slogan which spoke to my own experience of life in American society, uniting me with others having a similar experience and seeking to find similar escapes from it. By the time I went to Croxteth I'd developed a more refined understanding of what I had been looking for in 'community power' and, in fact, other slogans of similar meaning but without the geographical implications of that particular one, like 'grass roots'. But I was still looking for an alternative culture, a participatory environment of people controlling aspects of their lives together. I first visited Croxteth with the hope that I could become involved in an instance of genuine community power over an educational institution. I wasn't simply 'interested' in what was going on, from a detached and academic point of view, I wanted something akin to the rich experiences I'd had in Charleston and Los Angeles - a way of directly combining community power with political activity which may have broader implications. It seemed a perfect situation to me, a working class community taking over its school.

The 'social wage theme' has a meaning in this thesis which is presented through quotations and descriptions of action of people in Croxteth who interpreted the campaign with respect to it. But it is a term which reflects my own experience with the British left, especially heightened during my involvement in Croxteth, as well. American culture doesn't really have a concept like that of the social wage. Although the state in America makes similar interventions to those of the welfare state of Britain by providing what are called 'welfare services', it does so in a culture where receipt of such amenities is viewed negatively, an act of desperation and some shame. Welfare services in America are not in any way, in any subculture or class, seen as a 'wage' with the sort of reciprocal obligations and exchange which that term implies. The social wage ideology in Britain was perceived by me to represent simultaneously a great stride forward by the British labour movement and a limiting perspective which fosters a type of dependence on the state. I found it in direct opposition to the ideology of 'community power' with which I was more familiar. For me, coming from a 1960s and 1970s American experience which mixed terms like 'grass roots' with 'socialism' without any indigestion, running into the 'social wage' was like knocking my head on a

wall which I had never expected to be there. It was a lesson in British Labour history which gave me an appreciation for what had been achieved, but a realisation that achievements bring new constraints along with them.

Some of the main areas of analysis made in this thesis, especially the contribution this study can make to community education theory and the relationship between welfare-state politics and community and grass roots concerns, are firmly rooted in my own history of involvements and interests. Some of the analysis, the chapters which explore conflicts which arose between activists over the course of the campaign, is concerned with interpersonal disputes in which I was personally involved. The implications of my own interests and the role I played in the campaign for the study produced are explored in the section below.

III Methods and Methodology

A) Methods of Data Collection

The main methods of data collection used in this study were:

- 1) Daily records in field notebooks of observed behaviour, events, conversations overheard, proceedings at meetings, self-reflection and planning for future activities. A variety of sites were observed in addition to the school: meetings on the Croxteth Estate over housing and other issues, political and trade union meetings in town, and visits to the homes of a number of pupils.
- 2) Comprehensive interviews tape recorded with most participants, including pupils, in the campaign and occupation. Interviews with government, political party, and trade union officials.
- 3) The collection of a large variety of documents, including samples of pupil's work, other people's meeting notes, newspaper articles on the school, records of correspondence between the secretary of the Action Committee and politicians, unions, and other organisations, campaign leaflets, teacher's marks and comments on pupils, timetables, and various documents pertaining to the school before the occupation.
- 4) Administration of a socio-metric technique on the fourth year to supplement observations on its differentiation into several groups.
- 5) Several classroom observations made in other teacher's classes.
- 6) The administration of a questionnaire to the entire pupil population on the last day of school.

There are many books and articles on data collection techniques in qualitative sociology, a lot of which prescribe a series of 'do's' and

'don'ts' for field practice (e.g. Bogan and Taylor 1975, Schwartz and Jacobs 1979, the collection of articles in Burgess 1982 and many others). I read some of this material during the first months of my involvement but found it of little practical use, other than to show that precedents exist for the techniques I was using anyway. I found my past training in clinical counselling, in which group and interview dynamics were both taught theoretically and made the tools of the counsellor, much more useful than the recommendations I found in texts on qualitative methods. Those books and articles on qualitative methods which concern themselves with methodological issues, such as what constitutes valid data (e.g. Denzin 1970, Hammersley 1983, Hammersley and Atkinson 1983, Silverman 1985), were useful and will be drawn into the discussions of the next subsection, but none of these works actually effected the ways in which I collected data.

I had very few questions which guided my note taking at first and so I decided on a number of broad areas to take notes about and then tried to write down absolutely everything I could remember of relevance to them at the end of each day, or every thing I could see during those short but regular times each day when I was sitting and not talking. The broad areas included all politically relevant events which occurred during a day (e.g. a demonstration, a city council meeting about Croxteth), expressions made by any participants about politics, schooling, life in Croxteth, pupil activities and interactions, adult-pupil interactions observed (form, words used, etc.), and the proceedings of every meeting I attended. At meetings I noted who was present, what sort of procedure was in use, who did most of the talking to whom, and what was said. I didn't limit my note taking to these areas, I wrote down everything that seemed significant to me for whatever reason, but I consistently noted activities in those areas.

I chaired many of the staff meetings but found I could note-take as I went along, and I turned on the tape recorder whenever I could get away with it. The tape recorder couldn't be used indiscriminately because all information about what was occurring in the school was potentially dangerous to the occupation. The events which I have found most significant for analysis in this thesis included pupil disruption and intense inter-personal conflicts between actors; events which were carefully kept in the 'back regions' of the campaign during its course while a 'front region' of successful schooling and a unified community were presented to the press. In the beginning new volunteers weren't always entirely trusted and I was myself asked to leave as a suspected member of the CIA on my second visit to the school, an event described in more detail in chapter ten. Hence I relied mainly on note-taking during meetings and tape-recorded only more 'staged' events, like interviews or group discussions at which everyone consented to be recorded.

In addition to the daily records written into my field notebooks I collected as much documentary material as I could. From Cyril D'Arcy, the secretary of the Croxteth Community Action Committee, I got a large file of correspondence which had taken place between himself and many different MPs, police constables, Education Department bureaucrats and newspapers during the long phases the campaign had gone through before the occupation.

I also received a large folder of newspaper articles which Cyril had kept, so that I could put together the story of Croxteth Comprehensive from the very beginning. As the year went on I continued to collect newspaper items, samples of pupil's work, copies of the school newspaper, leaflets used on demonstrations, and so on. By the end of the year I had filled half a filing cabinet with materials, much of which couldn't be used directly in the production of this thesis though it was all read through during the writing of it.

The interview method I used merits special comments since much of the analysis of this study makes use of interview material. I used what was basically a version of the sort of therapeutic interviewing I had employed previously as a counsellor. It is a style of interview which begins with a low level of contributions from the interviewer, primarily listening to encourage the interviewee to talk freely about the subject, and then increases the amount and strength of the interviewer's contributions as the interview progresses, in order to sharpen the formulations made by the interviewee and test my own formulations of what was being said. Three rough stages in this type of interview can be indicated, an initial stage of open questioning and listening, a second stage of paraphrasing or using more 'closed' forms of questioning ('are you saying that....'), and a final stage, actually only infrequently used in this study, of suggesting certain interpretations or even expressing disagreements to force the interviewee to push formulations and their defence further ('but don't you think that...', 'well, the way I saw it ...').

This is a method which allows several types of data to be produced by the interview. The initial stages, especially, ensure the use interpretative schemes and associated terms and discourses from the interviewee's own culture to be put into articulation. An encouraging and listening attitude on the part of the interviewer helps to facilitate such expressions. The data generated is useful for uncovering norms and common sense assumptions which the interviewee draws upon from her culture. Yet the initial stage risks, precisely because of the low amounts of interviewer contributions, incomplete or distorted accounts because of unacknowledged factors in the interviewer-interviewee relationship, like possibly the interviewee's desire to please the interviewer (see Whyte 1982). The later stages of the interview help to check some of the unacknowledged assumptions existing in the earlier stages by changing the interviewer-interviewee relationship from a listener-talker one to a conversational one. In the second stage of this type of interview, instead of comments like 'ummm', 'I see' and so on, the interviewer starts to formulate what he thinks the interviewee is saying to see if s/he agrees. This allows for two things, interviewee corrections of what the interviewer thinks s/he is saying, and the further development and elaborations of the articulations made by the interviewee. This also helps to produce another type of data: it can examine the relationship the interviewee takes to the cultural schemes and norms used for interpretations - it shifts the data from interpretative schemes and other features of culture, to the relationships between interviewee experiences and these schemes. A theoretical point made over and over again in this thesis is that the knowledge people have of the conditions in

which they act varies enormously according to both the cultural schemes they use to make formulations and according to how aware they are of these schemes themselves. An interview is thus not just a way of eliciting a static 'report' from someone, it is an activity in which the interviewee often actually articulates ideas in new ways, by making tacit conditions of action discursive. This is methodologically very important and will be discussed fully in the next subsection.

Lastly, towards the end of an interview, or towards the end of the discussion of a certain topic within an interview, I sometimes 'stepped up' my own contributions by making sharp or even contradictory formulations. This would force the interviewee to further deepen or further formulate her account. Such interventions risk the danger of 'leading' the interview, 'putting words in the subject's mouth' (Bogan and Taylor 1975, p 121), but they have the advantage of rooting out unacknowledged assumptions existing between interviewer and interviewee (Whyte 1982) and are useful as data if the contexts they are elicited in are taken into account and if they are compared with material elicited during earlier portions of the interview. Moreover, challenging statements made in interview often lead to disagreements, rather than agreements, and thus in these cases certainly couldn't be said to be 'leading'.

To exemplify use of this method of interviewing, two passages analysed in chapter eleven are presented below. The first exemplifies the shift from stage one to stage two and is very common in form to most of the interviews taken. The second is a less common example which involves a shift towards the third stage.

Example One:

Keith: There are days when I just don't want to go home. But that's, I'm over the top on that, I've got to calm myself down on that.

P.C.: (Laughter)

Keith: No, I *have* to because at one point I'm going to get fed up with it.

P.C.: Oh I see.

Keith: And part of me says that I don't want the school to win for that, I want to keep going on doing it as it is. But obviously the reason we're fighting is to reopen it as a school and then we'll have to take it from there.

P.C.: So if it is reopened you will feel like you've lost something?

Keith: Yeah. I really feel bad about it. I don't know if it's possible we'll get the jobs, but even then it wouldn't be the same.

P.C.: It wouldn't have as much meaning?

Keith: Yeah. I couldn't describe the way I felt the other week when ..., everybody knew who I was and what I was here for.

P.C.: You had an identity and a purpose.

Keith: Yeah. I really feel that was important for me.

My comments in the above passage, which occurred itself in the middle of a long interview, moved from short remarks (even non-verbal contributions, like laughing) to encourage more talking and explanation, towards reformulating Keith's remarks with terms like 'purpose' and 'identity'. In the interview Keith expresses things which he probably did not express in other situations during the occupation - he expresses a difference between his experiences in the school and the ways in which he and other local activists justified it and explained its goals. The entire conversation is included in this study so that the interaction between my own formulations and Keith's can be examined together.

Example Two:

P.C.: What made you decide to come down [from Edinburgh]?

Yola: Well there are two sides of it, the side that they desperately needed help, and also I was unemployed, so (pause). And also I wanted to see how I would do in teaching.

P.C.: A trial to see if you liked teaching or not?

Yola: Yeah.

P.C.: And you wanted to help out.

Yola: Well the whole thing impressed me.

P.C.: So you were sympathetic to the situation which means politically maybe you lean towards the left?

Yola: (laughs) Maybe. Well, I don't know how to define my political point of view. I mean I do have quite a, a very definite way of looking at things, but I don't align myself with parties. But there are certain things I agree with and this is one of them.

In this case, and this sequence occurred within a long interview, I used very leading questions after a few comments which could be placed at level two, and got a disagreement which illuminated Yola's political orientations.

For this type of study, unstructured interviews (Schwartz and Jacobs 1979, p 40) were most appropriate, since the formulations and perceptions of the participants in the occupation were major features of the study. Interviews sought to elicit the ways in which those interviewed defined the situation for themselves. Interviews, therefore, were only partially

directed conversations (Burgess 1982, ch. 15). The 'direction' involved in them stemmed from my concern with covering a certain number of areas in each interview in order to get comparable data: attitudes on education, justifications for the occupation, basic life-history data and so on were covered in every interview. But the order and precise phrasing of questions was always allowed to take forms appropriate to the particular interview. When analysing the data later, coding and classifying were sometimes used to note patterns in the responses. Yola's remarks quoted above, for example, indicated that she did not explain her involvement in the occupation in terms of a well articulated political ideology and the number of responses from other interviewees falling into this same category were counted and compared with the number that did use such ideologies.

At the end of the year I organised a survey of all pupils in the school during the last week of school, with the help of Henry Miller and some of the teaching staff. A formal questionnaire was prepared after a pilot was tried out on a couple of classes, and then the entire school was given the questionnaire at the same time. I did this primarily in order to create a check on interview data taken from almost all the pupils in taped interviews, and also in order to gain experience with this type of data collection, thinking I might practice computer analysis on the results as well. A quick glance at the results and some initial counting up of types of responses showed consistency with the results of taped interviews which used similar questions. A year after this questionnaire had been administered I coded the data and entered it onto a computer sheet ready for typing into the Aston University mainframe. However, in November of 1985 my wife and I packed all of our meagre material possessions into a moving van in Liverpool as we had decided to move to Birmingham. In this van were all my books, some of the documentary material collected on Croxteth, and the computer sheet that had taken me a couple of days to prepare, as well as most other personal belongings. We decided to sleep the night and drive the van over the next morning, but the van was stolen while we slept. Fortunately for this study the transcriptions of the tapes were not on the van, nor were most of the files of Croxteth documents, nor were my field notebooks. The questionnaires themselves are still in my possession, but I haven't had the heart to go back through them a second time, nor do I believe that the data they provide would add significantly to the study.

B) Methodological Issues

My position in Croxteth Comprehensive as an active contributor to events undoubtedly effected the sort of record I've produced. It is the purpose of this section to determine to what extent and in what ways my role affected the account. This will be done through a consideration of the participant-observation method, the adaptation of a historical-chronological form to the organisation of this account, a discussion of what constitutes validity in qualitative research, and a further specification of the role I took, its advantages and disadvantages for collecting and recording information.

1) A 'Complete Participant'

Gold (1958) lists four 'master roles' which a participant observer can take: the complete participant role, the participant as observer role, the observer as participant role, and the complete observer role. None of these roles, however, really fits the position I took in Croxteth. I was certainly a 'complete participant' in an ordinary understanding of the term. But Gold defines this role as one which hides the fact that one is doing research from those one is studying. In other words, Gold assumes that a participant observer is always a researcher first and a participant second. I never hid the fact that I was doing a study of the occupation, nor would I have wanted to do so. I was a 'complete participant' in the sense that I was an activist first, and a researcher only second. My main motive for being in the school was to contribute to the campaign, not to study it, as I have pointed out above.

Most literature on participant observation, like Gold's typology of participant observer roles, assumes that the researcher's primary orientation to the events s/he studies is a marginalised one. The assumption is that only such a distanced position is capable of yielding valid accounts, accounts free of the sorts of biases which an interested involvement may entail. Hans, for example, writes (1982, p 55):

Generalising from one's own experience is dangerous, but I suspect that most participant observers are psychologically on the margins of the social situations and relationships they study. Participant observation, then, is the taking of a formal participatory role in a social situation without the emotional involvement that normally accompanies participation; it requires the surrender of any personal interest one might have in the situation in order to be free to observe it, and the people who are creating it.

Yet in my case I was certainly one of the people actively 'creating' the situation. I had hopes that the campaign for Croxteth Comprehensive would win and I actively worked to realise those hopes. Moreover, within the occupied school I took definite positions within interpersonal disputes which I simultaneously studied. I had a theoretical interest in the origins of such disputes and the conditions which would contribute to their outcomes at the same time that I had a practical interest in victory of one side. Naturally, I disagree with the implication in Hans's comments that one *must* marginalise oneself from events in order to 'be free' to observe them. I believe that a researcher will always have certain investments in his or her research, will always have certain values and views which are challenged or affirmed by the events studied, and that these do not constitute impossible barriers to producing valid accounts. Having an interest in the outcomes of the activities studied need not constitute any greater barrier to the production of a valid account of what takes place and why than having an interest in furthering a career, publishing a book or the other sorts of interests researchers commonly have in their work. To defend this view, it is necessary to clarify the ways in which I have organised the data and to make some comments on what constitutes validity in sociological research.

2) A 'Contemporary History'

The argument that intense involvement threatens valid accounting is rooted in a more general argument that selectivity and partiality are to be avoided in qualitative research. This is certainly agreed by the author but one must clarify what is meant by partiality so that it becomes clear how it can be lessened. Mehan (1979, p 15), for example, notes that case studies like this one are often 'anecdotal in character' - they provide a few examples selected by the researcher to illustrate theoretical points and leave out many other possible examples. Qualitative researchers seldom provide the grounds and criteria they used to make such selections. As a result, argues Mehan, it is difficult to determine the typicality of the instances which are recorded. A related problem, he notes, is that the studies so prepared do not preserve the raw materials upon which the selections and abstractions were made, making it impossible for the reader to make alternative interpretations of the same data. Hence Mehan suggests that the criteria by which data is selected from possible data be made explicit and that a broad context of descriptive data be provided in a qualitative study, alongside the selections and analyses made upon it.

This study goes some way to follow Mehan's suggestions by partially collecting and organising data on the campaign for Croxteth Comprehensive for the purposes of providing a contemporary *history*. It provides a full account of the major events leading to the closure of Croxteth Comprehensive in 1981, the development of the protest movement against it, and its final victory in 1983. It records a lot of details of the protest movement simply because they happened. Selections of data are certainly made for the purpose of analysis, and in one case hypothesis testing, but they are made 'on top' of the chronology. Like Evans-Pritchard (1971, 1962), I believe that social history and social anthropology (and sociology) are intersecting disciplines in many respects. The primary difference between the two, as Evans-Pritchard argues (1962, pp 62-65) is the types of social objects they *tend* to take for study. Another difference, I would add, is the way in which time usually enters into the accounts, many histories examining developments through time and many sociological studies concentrating instead on 'synchronic' presentations of social life. But there are social histories concerned with stable features of past societies and there are sociological studies concerned with diachronic analyses (ibid, p 63). No essential methodological difference need exist between historical and sociological study (ibid, p 65). The significance of partially organising this study as a history is that data was first selected and organised for the purpose of providing a comprehensive chronological account.

Because the selection of data was determined primarily by the principle of providing a chronological report, not by the requirements of illustrating certain theoretical points or testing any beginning hypotheses, there is plenty of information in this thesis which could provide the basis for theoretical interpretations at odds with the ones I supply. Thus one of the problems listed by Mehan is overcome. A second such problem is overcome at the same time. Because of the organisation of data as a

chronology and because the major events which occurred, the closure and take-over of a school, are not in themselves typical, there is no need to worry about whether or not the events selected for analysis are representative of 'typical' behaviour. This applies especially to the selections involved in the presentation of the chronological account,- the claims made are not that certain types of behaviour are typical, but rather that certain events occurred. This study does concern itself with 'typifications', primarily typifications of the ways in which people interpret events (this is 'typifications' in the phenomenological sense, see Giddens 1976, p 105, though the analysis presented in this study differs slightly and uses different terms). But because the interpretations analysed were those of a small population, most of whom were interviewed during the project, and because they were interpretations of specific, short lived, and untypical events, it is possible to say that Mehan's stricture that the data be representative does not apply to most of this study. There are sections of analysis which do infer from the accounts of participants to general and stable features of the culture of Croxteth (e.g. chapter seven) and some problems with how representative the accounts and observed instances of behaviour were does arise in these cases. These are noted as problematical at the appropriate places in the text.

3) Validation and the Objects of Study

More fundamental, however, are the problems of selectivity and partiality themselves. The organisation of this study as a history does not solve these problems though it helps to lessen them. As Hammersley and Atkinson say (1983), all data is theory impregnated, - no data is completely raw for as soon as something is noted it is subjected to an interpretive framework of some kind. Given the fact that presenting a chronological account itself involves many processes of selection and interpretation, how can we make any claims to validity in writing one? Deeper issues are involved.

Keat and Urry (1975) present and discuss three broad approaches to the problem of knowing and representing the social world: positivism, conventionalism, and realism. We can grossly simplify the differences between these three approaches by saying that positivism problematises the relationship of observer to observed by indicating obstacles to objectivity: an observer may be influenced by his or her values and interests but these influences can be overcome to produce objective accounts. Validity is ultimately grounded in empirical observation, different methods may be employed to produce objective accounts, and accounts can be tested through their correspondence with other accounts regardless of the methods used (as long as each method meets basic requirements for being objective). Conventionalism, on the other hand, states that epistemological claims to validity are meaningful only within the particular method employed. This may be argued in a number of ways. Three examples include the claim that values and other influences on observation are inescapable (Keat and Urry 1975, p 50; but then one would have to argue that values are somehow arbitrary), or according to the claim that no theoretical statement can be falsified because all tests on theory are themselves subject to theoretical

assumptions (tests are never theory-neutral, see *ibid* p 46), or because all knowledge is subject to a background paradigm and different paradigms are incommensurable (this is an argument about the nature of rationality, *ibid* p 54, but see also Wilson 1970, Bernstein 1983). Thus, within conventionalist perspectives, knowledge is fundamentally tied to human activity, different 'realities' exist in correspondence to different types of activity and ways of knowing, and different ways of knowing cannot be compared.

Realism, like positivism, differs from conventionalism by claiming that an objective reality exists which all forms of knowledge are referenced to and that different ways of knowing this reality can be compared. Realism differs from positivism in many fundamental ways, however. First of all, it claims that reality isn't known simply through observation - to understand reality, in fact, abstractions *must* be made. Appearances and reality are not the same thing (Keat and Urry 1975, p 27, ch. 5, 8, and 9, Bhaskar 1975, 1979). Realism, like conventionalism, ties knowledge to human activity. In social science the object of study, the social world, is constituted by forms of knowledgeability: actors act according to their own understandings of the social world and social theory must take account of the theories, both implicit and explicit, of the subjects under study. A relationship must be made between theory produced in the groups of people under study and the theory produced within the groups of academics who study them. This is what Giddens' refers to as the 'double hermeneutic' of social science (Giddens 1976).

These theories of social science and methodology are relevant for this study in a number of ways. We have already seen that they problematise the validity of the data collected - the grounds by which it can be claimed that an 'accurate' account is given. A positivist methodology would require a demonstration of accurate observation, perhaps by showing consistency between a number of trained observers' views. Partiality is a danger but it can be overcome. A conventionalist methodology would require a specification of method used and the explicit relativisation of all claims to it. It would also have to demonstrate that consistency requirements were adhered to *within* the particular method adapted. But partiality is impossible to overcome in the sense that no data or analysis can make epistemological claims transcending the method employed. A realist methodology would also require demonstrations of consistency and would attach significance to alternative accounts, but it would problematise the particular interpretative schemes used in the accounts, make them objects of study themselves. Here partiality becomes a more complex issue. More is said about realism below.

These different approaches also involve different understandings of the *object* of study as well the grounds by which validity can be claimed. To make this clear let us examine an issue which arises from this study by considering how different ethnographic methodologies would deal with it. This concerns the status to be given to the interview data taken during the field research in Croxteth and its relationship to other data, such as field notes and documents. Much of the interviewing in this study consisted of

getting accounts from other participants of what they perceived to be occurring in the occupied school and occurring with respect to the campaign generally. The methodological issue is this: should this interview data be considered solely as data in itself, data on norms, values, and assumptions held by the people studied, for example, and not as potentially valid accounts of the events themselves? This would be a positivist view, giving a privileged position to the observations of the social scientist whose training allows for accurate, as opposed to biased, observation. In this view, accounts given by lay members of society may be in 'irreducible conflict' (Silverman 1985, p 107) with those of the trained social scientist. Or should the accounts be taken as important contributions to the knowledge of the events they describe, as ways, themselves, of overcoming the biases of the social scientist? This would be consistent with an interactionist position, the method of 'triangulation' (see Denzin 1970). It regards lay accounting as not different in kind from professional accounting - that a smooth movement between the two types of accounting is possible. Or should the accounts be considered only as *interview behaviour*, 'doing interviewing', and knowable only if the way in which they are known by the interviewees is made explicit, only if the contexts in which they occur are understood, but not having any meaning outside of these contexts, and not a way to understand objective events which they talk *about*. This would be an ethnomethodologist view, (Garfinkle 1967, Dingwall 1981). Ethnomethodology has some features of conventionalism and interactionism, or those versions of it which emphasise the need for triangulation, ^{and} some features of positivism (which are inconsistent with their general theory, see Silverman 1985, p 106).

One could ask what a realists' position would be on this issue as well. Silverman summarises the realist view in social science by listing three essential elements of their view, taken from Bhaskar (1975): 1) Interpretive procedures are central to the reproduction of social structures. 2) Social structures are real, constraining and enabling forces, and 3) Social structures are the condition of social action and are reproduced and changed by it (Silverman 1985, pp 77-8). This means that, like the ethnomethodologists, realism takes the accounting practices of people in a sociological study as being necessary parts of the explanation for the practices they take part in. Accounting practices are also social activities, they 'do work' as ethnomethodologists say, and they must be understood in terms of the specific contexts in which they take place. But unlike ethnomethodology, realism also claims that an objective reality exists which accounting practices can and do *reference* themselves to. Thus it would be consistent in a realist approach to adopt something like 'triangulation', the study of accounts not only to explore forms of knowledgeability or discover the sorts of work which accounting practices themselves do, but also as a way to better understand what accounts are *about*. Accounts taken in interview, by this view, are *both* part of the object of study and alternative perspectives which may give a more accurate picture of an underlying social reality.

In the realist perspective, lay accounts, like all social action, take place through and reproduce objective social structures which lay actors

have some knowledge of. Social activity cannot be understood without understanding how social actors interpret it themselves. Social reality, as said above, is not graspable purely through observation, nor purely from the interpretations made by an isolated thinker about what has been observed. Social reality and knowledge of social reality both rely upon stocks of intersubjective knowledge - they are not completely separable. The social scientist gains perspective over the people s/he studies by placing two or more socially located stocks of knowledge, interpretative frameworks, in relationship with each other, as in Giddens' double hermeneutic. Thus a method which compares a number of accounts isn't 'adjudicating' between competing views of a single social reality, it is rather increasing the boundaries of dialogue about social reality - putting the social scientists' accounts in relation to those elicited in research work.

4) Realist Methodology

The methodology used for this study, as the reader has no doubt guessed, is consistent with the realist position, though it is a form of realism owing more to the social-theoretical work of Anthony Giddens and Jürgen Habermas than to Bhaskar or Keat and Urry (for some comparisons see Thrift 1983). This work is reviewed in more detail in chapter four, but with respect purely to methodology it can be said here that the *object* of much of this study, especially those chapters which deal with interactions taking place within the occupied school (chapters ten through fifteen) is the ways in which actors interpreted and understood their situation. But these ways of knowing are not analytically severed from the situations they are addressed to: they are part of the situations, part of realist social structures. These schemes are related to conditions, or 'structures', which actors reproduced and transformed, not always in a way they themselves recognised. Interpretative schemes exist in cultural contexts, with traceable origins and histories. They are 'real' and objective, and can be made the object of analysis (but only by introducing other socially-embedded schemes with which to understand and interpret them). In this study, lay accounts are continuously compared to locate consistencies in these intersubjective structures.

But the analysis does more than this, it also considers the claims to validity which the lay accounts themselves made. Realism is not only a theory of what constitutes validity for the theory of the social scientist, but a theory of what constitutes it for lay members of society as well. Both groups of people continuously make claims to validity in their daily accounting practices. In both cases various types of claims are identifiable, all of which are referenced to an assumed reality outside of the accounting practices and their rules themselves. In this I follow Jürgen Habermas's theory of rationality closely, as explained in chapter four. Accounts make empirical, normative and expressive claims which can be validated only through processes of consensus. In the case of lay members, the social groups implicitly appealed to for consensus are often other members of their culture. In the case of the social scientist, the groups are usually a number of academic communities. But in both cases the

claims implicit in accounting are that any social group would agree with the account if they possessed full access to the same cultural context of the person making the account (and if the people appealed^{to} were motivated only to reach an understanding). There is an implicit claim to universality in accounting which can be affirmed or denied only through processes of discussion. The social scientist must engage with the contexts and claims of those s/he studies, place them in dialogue with each other. Knowledge of social reality must always be, in a general sense, 'insiders knowledge' (Cottle 1982, p 21).

A few more points of relevance to this study follow. To go back to the problem posed above of the relationship of interview and observational data, when events are being considered in this study, triangulation-like methods may be and are used to establish the probability that certain things took place by presenting a number of accounts that affirm that they did. In this case validation involves reaching consensus on *empirically-referenced claims*. I argue that all such claims, claims that such and such an event took place, are always essentially 'fallible', to use a term from Charles Sanders Peirce (1931-35). Their validation depends on a consensus of observers, yet the number of observers will always be limited, - there always *could* have been an observer who would have seen things differently. Probabilities, not certainties, can be established by appealing to a consistency of accounts. In this study accounts are frequently compared to establish such probabilities. Where no agreement existed amongst participants, i.e. where descriptions of the event in question were contested, contrasting views are presented and the matter is left as being uncertain. This occurs a few times during the chapters ahead, and the analysis in these cases takes the differences in perceptions and their consequences for action as the focus of study rather than the establishment of the reality of the events.

However, where not events but their conditions are under consideration, the validity claims involved are other than empirically-referenced ones. Abstraction, rather than observation, is the fundamental process involved. Abstraction makes use of cultural material, models and metaphors, to express generalities of observation and other types of experience. Indeed, cultural material itself includes pre-given abstractions: 'typifications' as they are called in phenomenology (see Bernstein 1979, Giddens 1976 for discussions of this - it is a concept coming originally from Schutz). The object of study, when conditions of activity are the issue, must be *both* the forms of knowing (the models and abstractions in use) of the people who act, and the conditions which these 'lay' theories are about: the life experiences which people seek to represent. Both are conditions of action. The contribution of realism to this explanation of social activity is its insistence that something lies 'beyond' typifications and lay theories, an objective reality which these elements of culture address.

This means that lay theories may be judged according to their own accuracy - their degree of 'fit' to the reality they are addressed to. Validation claims, for both the social scientist and his or her subjects of

analysis, include two types of claim here: a claim that formal consistency requirements have been met, and a claim of adequacy, - the fit between model or metaphor to experience. But how can an observer determine whether or not such a fit exists? It cannot be done through observation alone, for access to the experiences of the subjects of study must be had, and this access can be attained only through their own interpretations and articulations. The key point to keep in mind is that all articulations, whether 'lay' or 'scientific', are made in social contexts which provide certain 'stocks of knowledge' from which they draw. All articulations involve validity claims which are ultimately appeals to consensus, claims that others would agree that the formulations adequately represent experience. The knowledge one has of the conditions in which s/he lives is a social knowledge - it is part of Bhaskar's 'structures' which both enable and constrain, which are both reproduced and altered in action. Accounting and theorising are forms of action. Thus for the social scientist to gain access to the conditions of the action s/he wishes to study, s/he must engage in a dialogue with the forms of knowledge produced by the subjects of study. Relationships must be established between the stocks of knowledge commonly drawn upon by both. Through such relationships the adequacy of fit of any form of accounting to experience may be made a subject of dialogue, an issue about which judgements can be made. In such a dialogue, stocks of knowledge themselves will be thematised and processes seeking consensus can take place concerning them.

To make these points clearer let us return again to the difference between interview and observational data we have been discussing. In the passage from my interview with Keith, given in the last subsection, we find Keith expressing reasons for his involvement in the occupied school which contrasted with the ways in which he was observed to explain his involvement to other activists in the school, for example at meetings. In interview, Keith emphasised the highly rewarding experiences he was having as a participant in the occupation - these were his reasons for being involved, his purposes. The interview situation generated a public realm between Keith and myself in which such formulations became possible. The interview did not simply elicit a report from Keith about his experiences, the interview was a social context in which Keith was able to generate knowledge in new ways. Similarly, in other public realms created in the school, meetings in particular, interpretations of the occupation and its purposes were also formulated, but the tacit 'rules' for articulation differed from those involved in the interview. Different intersubjective modes of expression, what I call 'ideological themes' in later chapters, were tacitly agreed to be acceptable material for the expression of ideas. This intersubjective material did not easily allow for the sorts of articulations made by Keith and others in interviews.

Hence the contrast between the interview situation and the sorts of knowledge it generated and situations outside the interview and the formulations customary to them, allows us to do two things. It allows us to describe the intersubjective interpretative structures which conditioned action in the school, and it allows us to evaluate them according to how closely they represented the experiences of the activists. The difference

between accounting taking place in the interview and accounting taking place outside of it is not well represented with a contrast between 'natural' conditions (outside the interview) and 'unnatural' ones (inside the interview) (see Johnson and Kaplan 1980). It is rather significant in showing whether or not a 'fit' existed between the ideological themes through which participants justified their involvement in the school amongst themselves and their actual experiences of involvement. When a fit did not exist, the interview situation not only revealed this fact (and thus revealed a mismatch between an objective reality, experience, and the accounting practices used to represent it), but slightly changed the context of action for the interviewee, by allowing for a clarification, a more accurate grasp, of the conditions in which he was acting.

This leads us to another point: Denzin (1970), as mentioned above, worries about the effects a participant observer may have on the situation under study and suggests multiple data collection and triangulation to help remedy the problem. In the case of this study there is evidence that interviews did alter the situation at times by allowing private and unarticulated feelings and experiences to become public and articulated in the interview situation. When this occurred, activities outside the interview situation were in some cases significantly influenced (chapter fourteen). This is not considered a 'problem' in this study. It is rather a good illustration that interviewing and other research activities are subject to the same sorts enabling and constraining features as are all social activities. Social action always involves knowledge, it can change forms of knowledge (especially in the case of a social movement, as argued in this thesis) and it can be changed by changes in knowledgeability. Interviews, by sometimes helping to penetrate the 'opacity of knowledge' (Giddens, see chapter four) can alter the behaviour under study, and in the case of the study of a social movement where alterations in routines and knowledge of them are the very object of study, no precautions need be taken for such effects.

Let us restate the above arguments in the following way. The methodology used in this thesis is consistent with realist methodology (see Silverman 1985 for an application of realism to purely methodological issues). Much of the study consists of the presentation of events in a history. In the case of the presentation of such events, claims to validity are empirically referenced but subject to the consensus of other observers of these events. Where a consensus does not exist, competing accounts are presented together. But, consistent with realist social science, much of this study takes 'structures' or 'conditions' in which action takes place to be the object of description and analysis. Structures must be inferred and cannot be directly observed. They must be inferred through both observations and lay accounts because they are constituted by activity and condition activity partially *through* knowledgeability (see chapter four for an elaboration).

Yet lay accounts are only necessary to understand structures of action, they are not sufficient. Knowledgeability is limited, it may systematically provide only incomplete fits between experience and its

representation. The intersubjective stocks of knowledge by which social scientists make sense of the world must be brought into relationship with those by which the people studied make sense of it. In this case validity is claimed in two ways: first by the use of a modified method of triangulation, whereby accounts are compared in order to infer the common stocks of knowledge which they make use of, second through the claim that all such inferences would attain the consensus of both those under study and the community of readers of this thesis, if we could all sit down together and rationally argue them through. For many of the points made in this study, such a hypothetical debate isn't necessary since the events studied themselves were processes of argumentation in which participants took part. These processes are described to show that realist conditions structuring activity became discovered by the activists themselves to various degrees. The interest in understanding real conditions of action is not limited to the social scientist alone, it is a common concern especially highlighted in the case of a social movement. Thus the methodology (this chapter), the theory (see chapters three through five but especially four) and the objects of study (chapters six through fifteen) of this thesis are tightly conjoined.

5) My Role in the Occupation of Croxteth Comprehensive, its Advantages and Constraints for Research

Lastly, it is important to give a clear picture of the strengths and weaknesses of my position in the school: the areas of information I had easy access to and the blind spots.

- A Central Position

As said above, I was a participant-observer in Croxteth in the strongest sense of 'participant'. During the first week at the school I became a core member of staff responsible for coordinating the school's mathematics programme with my friend Henry Stewart, and with him working on many of the first time-tables tried in the school (we had to try out at least six before a stable enough situation was reached for one to last). I also took my turn at chairing staff meetings and found a new opportunity to covertly introduce some of the counselling methods I'd been familiar with in the United States, allowing feelings to be expressed and combining problem solving with self-expression and the generation of group support. Immediately after the first half-term I became the teacher coordinator and gave the thrice weekly school assemblies from then until the end of the year. In this post I met all new volunteers in the first term, gave advice to volunteers who had never faced a class before, had 'problem children' taken to me for discipline, and took responsibility for filling the time-table. I also became one of three teachers co-opted onto the Croxteth Community Action Committee with voting rights. In an effort to gain a perspective on the school from the community, I began to attend tenants' meetings on the Croxteth Estate and talked with those I met about their

opinions and what it was like to live in Croxteth. When a student council was formed in the first term, I was one of three teachers who sought to nurture it through the role of 'adviser'. When letters to parents were sent out about pupil's work or their behaviour in school, I usually signed them. Late in the second term I became a member of the newly formed 'core committee' which made the work of the coordinator a group affair, but continued to be the teacher who gave assemblies.

Thus I was heavily involved in most of the activities which took place during the school occupation, especially during the first term, and was seen as a central figure by most other participants. This effected my efforts to collect data on the occupation in a number of ways. First of all my position as teacher coordinator and the speaker at assemblies made me an authoritative figure in the eyes of many pupils. Although my manner outside the classroom was rarely authoritative, my high visibility and a certain reputation for toughness inside the classroom structured my relationship with pupils. I wasn't able to place myself in a non-authoritative position with them as some participant-observers carrying out classroom studies have been able to do (Willis 1977). During the course of the year I interviewed almost all of the pupils in the school but was called 'sir' usually during such sessions, especially by younger pupils, and was aware that I was regarded as a teacher, a symbol of school authority, though less so than teachers they'd had in previous years. The responses I got were limited in consequence. I did not gain much familiarity with pupil cultures, for example. Very often when I questioned pupils about the teachers their first remarks would be, 'They're good' and it took further questioning, usually of the 'second level' type (see subsection on methods) to get more critical remarks. Implicit in each interview was the fact that I was one of 'them' and that their remarks, no matter how generally put, were comments on my own competence and person.

Hence although many pages of interviews and observations of pupils were collected during the course of the year, the bulk of this study is on what occurred between adults in the school. The material gathered from the pupils is important and discussed in several sections of the thesis but it is limited. It would have been interesting to get more material on how pupils linked the political context of the occupation to their views on schooling, for example. Or to examine some of the informal processes of socialisation which typically occur in schools to see if the conditions of occupation and the highly politicised nature of the school produced any alterations. Again, some observations did throw light on these matters, and they do come up for discussion in chapters ahead, but much was undoubtedly missed.

My position effected my relationships with the adults in the school as well. As much of this thesis explains in detail, there were significant differences between the organisation and attitudes of teachers and the organisation and attitudes of local volunteers. Conflicts arose as a result. Because I was teacher coordinator for much of the occupation, and thus in some ways considered a representative of the teachers, local activists in interview often appeared initially reluctant to express

criticisms of the staff to me. I believe that I was able to overcome this tendency by indicating in the interview that I was interested in negative comments and didn't react adversely to them.

As a trusted member of staff, it wasn't too difficult to get information on most subjects that interested me. In situations of conflict between staff and local activists I often found myself in an intermediate position through which much information came. Disputes between the Action Committee chair, Philip Knibb, and certain teachers often led to both parties speaking to me about it in private. Although I often took the side of teachers in disputes, I upheld the right of local activists to make the determining decisions on campaign strategy as a principle, and thus several times found myself acting to prevent certain actions by teachers which would have gone against the wishes of the Action Committee leadership. At times I shared the views of the Action Committee leadership and argued accordingly.

- Blind Spots and 'Informants'

A blinder spot for me were developments which occurred between the Action Committee leadership and the local Labour Party and trade unions. For most of the activists in the school, these events took place off stage. I did attend a number of meetings of the Merseyside Trade Union - Community Liaison Committee, an organisation which comes into this account several times and was very significant to the progress of the campaign, and I attended many meetings of the Liverpool City Council and some of its committees when Croxteth was being discussed. But most of the significant political events which took place outside the school were agreements made in private conversations with the Action Committee chair, its secretary, and various politicians or trade union members. Most of these events were entirely missed by me.

Other blind spots included the groups of community activists who ran the kitchen, the small group of activists who stayed in the Parkstile Building, rather than the Stonebridge Building where most classes were held, and the school during nights when pickets slept there. It was obvious to me that a number of small social groups with their own rules and domains of control existed in the occupied buildings. The kitchen crew were a tight group with a 'leader', Cyril's wife Irene D'Arcy. They clearly had developed a set of routines and a way of talking and joking which they'd generated through their work together. I interviewed most of the kitchen crew during the year of occupation but was unable to observe them or work with them at their daily routines. The Parkstile building also had its small group of regular pickets who I was able to observe only from afar. I had better access to the local volunteers involved in some of the educational work, like the ones in the office and the ones working in the corridors, for my own daily paths through the school intersected many times with theirs. They were the only local activists, moreover, who regularly attended staff meetings. I also had excellent contact with the Action Committee chairman, Philip Knibb, and its secretary, Cyril D'Arcy. But it was clear that the local volunteers were differentiated into smaller groups, each with a domain

of its own and each with a style and set of informal social 'rules' which would have made interesting material for study. I was mainly able to observe and record conflicts between these groups, without experiencing for myself their cohesive bonds and particular group perspectives on the school.

With respect to the community outside of Croxteth Comprehensive, I was very limited in what I could find out. I've mentioned my attendance at tenants' meetings which allowed me to talk to a number of people not directly involved in the school. I also discovered a number of key 'informants', to use a rather distasteful term from anthropological methodology (Tremblay 1982). Pat Rigby, the secretary of the Croxteth-Gillmoor Federation, was in a central position to gain impressions of what the community as a whole was feeling and thinking at various times during the campaign. Her office is centrally located on the estate and served as a sort of a 'drop-in' centre, with people coming in frequently to talk and complain about various things. Part of her job was also to coordinate communication between the many small community groups on the estate: tenants groups, mother and toddler groups, groups for the disabled, service groups for the elderly and so on. Moreover, Pat was an excellent social scientist as many of her remarks quoted in this thesis show. She was able to articulate very well what was going on in Croxteth and why, and discussions with Pat were an invaluable part of this study. In addition to Pat were the Harrisons, June and Ray, who had three children in the school and had been involved in several community organisations, including the Action Committee for a time. Together they run two shops on the estate, a fruit and veg van and a DIY shop and they engage frequently in conversations with many residents during their daily work. Their perceptions of events complement those of Pat to provide some indication of what people not involved in the occupation thought about it, as well as to describe various features of Croxteth life. Besides the Harrisons and Pat Rigby, interviews with two health visitors on the estate, Gene and Effie Sherlock, gave some idea of conditions and attitudes. And other interviews with local residents not involved in the occupation were taken and are used in the thesis as well.

Cyril D'Arcy was both an 'informant' or lay theorist and a major figure in the campaign. His help was invaluable for obtaining information, documents, and extremely insightful views of what was occurring.

I also conducted interviews with Eddie Roberts, a full time official with the Transport and General Worker's Union in Liverpool, who played a leading role in getting trade union support for the campaign. His comments were very helpful for understanding the union's view of the campaign. I interviewed Liverpool's Director of Education, Kenneth Antcliffe, and representatives from Liverpool's Labour, Liberal, and Conservative parties to get their views of the occupation and campaign.

- Reading, Processing Data, a Follow-Up Study

Immediately after the occupation of Croxteth Comprehensive ended I began to start on the reading I'd wanted to do when registering for the Ph.D. I agreed to teach in Croxteth Comprehensive for an additional year, actually with reluctance, because the school badly needed a mathematics teacher. But I taught only three days a week there. I spent several months using my free time to read books on a variety of subjects, most but not all of which had some relevance to the occupation. I still didn't know what questions I was really interested in - what way I could structure the thesis I was to write.

For some time I did little with the intimidating stacks of notebooks, clippings, documents and, most intimidating of all, untranscribed tapes in my office. I did transcribe some of the tapes early on with the help of Henry Miller, who co-authored several papers and articles with me and who took a number of interviews of participants himself which have been used in this thesis. But the remaining mountain of tapes made pebbles of the numbers transcribed, and they were simply left for many months as teaching activities and reading interests dominated my time.

During this same period I was able to observe developments in the Croxteth School after the occupation, with an essentially new teaching staff and far less community involvement. At the end of the school year I took a series of follow up interviews with Henry Stewart, who collaborated with me on a paper written for the Conference of Socialist Economists in the summer of 1984.

The summer of 1984 was my last term of teaching in Croxteth. After that I looked forward to a year of uninterrupted work on the thesis and study generally. Now I organised my time to alternate periods of tape transcription with periods of reading. It took me nearly five months to go through most of the tapes in this way. When I finished with transcribing I systematically went through the interviews and created an annotated index of the contents. Then I prepared a similar index on the field note books.

Writing the thesis didn't actually begin until late January of 1986, two and a half years after the end of the occupation. I think it is worth describing how the particular form of this thesis evolved, for it is a form which, like any form, excludes some information and suggests certain emphases which are not wholly my intention. Writing this thesis has really involved several sets of selective operations on the information: first the compilation of a record during the actual occupation, although not guided by any conscious set of questions but deliberately done in as comprehensive a manner as possible, certainly involved a number of selections. Some of them were determined by my position in the school, which has been described above, and some of them no doubt involved my particular investments in the school, related to my personal background and history.

Second, the indexing of both the transcripts and the field notebooks involved similar selections, and areas of interest now received names with

some indication of the amount and type of information I had on each. By the time I'd finished indexing I'd become oriented to my notes and transcripts in a certain way. There was an emphasis on attitudes: both political and educational, an emphasis on motivation - statements from participants about why they were involved, an emphasis on interpretative themes - key terms and manners of explaining certain features of the campaign, on change - contrasts between early and late explanations and attitudes, and a number of other things. Above all, the theme of conflict emerged through all these selections. Conflict was a primary experience of most activists in the school: conflicts with each other, with different social groupings in the school, with the community outside the school, with pupils.

- Writing the Thesis

When I began to write the thesis I began with what is traditional in thesis production: 'the literature review'. I returned to my notes and books on urban movements, social theory and education and started to summarise it in what is also a very traditional manner: critically and comparatively. I thought I had found a few key concepts underlying theoretical approaches to social movements and contrasted various schools according to how they handled these concepts. These were the concepts of social structure, coordinated action (action theory), interests, and power. The literature review came to fill three chapters, one on social movements, one on concepts, and one on educational theory, with discussion linked to the four organising concepts I'd chosen. These concepts seemed important because it seemed to me that the information I'd compiled on Croxteth shed some light on each of them, at the same time that they greatly helped to categorise and compare other approaches.

Next I began to write up my notes and chose to use a sort of contemporary history approach about which to lead the discussion (see above). I started at the beginning, which I took to be the economic and social situation of Liverpool in the early 1980s, when Croxteth Comprehensive was closed. I found that in writing the account this way, theory suggested itself to me as I went along. By making a record of empirical events in time the organisational principle of the writing, I found that the process of taking up and presenting the material led me to make certain points as I went along. Thus the chronological account is interspersed with sections of analysis, referring back to some of the theory presented in the literature review section, but not shaped by it, nor organised in such a way as to lead to a few fundamental theoretical statements at the end. The theory is more tied to the account, as a series of insights and analytical commentary, rather than the account tied to a number of theoretical concerns determined *before* the writing. The process of writing was definitely not that of a detailed representation of what had already been thought out, it was on the contrary a process whereby I gained many insights and included them in the text as I went along producing it.

I found that the chronology of the campaign for Croxteth Comprehensive spoke always beyond what I tended to emphasise in sections

of analysis. This is especially true of the many quotations in the work. To give just one of many possible quotations, consider the following remarks made by Croxteth resident Molly. They are presented in chapter eight in a section which discusses and compares reasons residents had for opposing the closure of Croxteth Comprehensive. But it also illustrates features of life in Croxteth at the same time - fear of the police, fear of crime, and extended family networks:

I don't want my granddaughters to go on bus [to get to a different school] no way. Because my daughter, she still goes to collect Jane, a little girl of ten [at Croxteth Junior School]. She won't let her go on her own. So she's there waiting for her. But I go now, I go up there for her waiting for two children to come out. So if they went to a different school far away, my daughter would be a bag of nerves and so would I. You know because even me own son, if he's out, say, over the time he should be in, I'm a bag of nerves because you don't know if the police have picked him up or not. You don't know whether anyone has got them or not, 'cause there has been a lot of kids who's got mugged and that. So you wouldn't know.

When I finished writing the basic account of the campaign I returned to the chapters on literature review to rework them slightly in light of what I had learned from writing the study of the Croxteth campaign. It struck me then that I had really produced *two* studies, not one, though they informed each other a good deal. The literature review is organised through its own internal logic. Although it is limited to broad issues which are directly related to the study of Croxteth Comprehensive, it doesn't hesitate to pursue certain theoretical problems beyond their specific usages in the account. This makes their use in the account of the protest movement more meaningful.

The relation of the literature review to the rest of the thesis is discussed at the beginning of chapter three.

- On the Inclusion of Myself in the Account

Early drafts of the thesis were read by two friends familiar with the occupation and provoked the comment in each case that I had underplayed my own role in what had occurred in the school. The word 'I' appears in this chapter more than it does in all the others combined. Actually I found it very difficult to mention myself in this thesis for a number of reasons. First of all, though I was a highly visible figure in the occupation, the actual nature of my own involvement and its effect on what occurred was hardest for me to see. I knew that during the first term particularly, I had an influence to some degree on the organisation of the staff. It did seem to me, and others present confirmed, that counselling methods I'd trained in and practiced in former years helped to bring about the mixture of collective problem solving and expression of feeling which characterised many staff meetings. I don't think by any means that I somehow *produced* this style of meeting but rather that previous experience I'd had helped to give shape to, and bring into practice, certain values and interpretative biases which the staff for the most part shared from the start. Indeed it is this fact of sharing a similar orientation to the campaign which is highlighted in the analysis. But since so much emphasis is given to it in

this study, my own possible role in helping to generate it ought to be mentioned. This influence on my part actually declined in the second term when my informally attained status and position of influence declined along with a number of other teachers. I actually felt my position on the staff at times challenged by what one could describe as a 'rival' during the late 2nd and early 3rd terms, and my own position as one of several crucial contacts between staff and the Action Committee leadership also declined for reasons described in the chapters ahead, though they are described without mentioning how they effected me personally.

Secondly, my position and its influence is a *contested* feature of the occupation just as are all other interpretations in this account. But in the case of other occurrences and issues I was able to collect and present alternative views. Much of this thesis presents events through the eyes of several other participants, each giving a somewhat different perspective and sometimes wholly opposed views. With respect to my own involvement such contrasting information was not collected in any detail, there are special methodological problems attached to collecting other people's opinions and views on yourself and I simply did not attempt to do it.

PART ONE
LITERATURE REVIEW AND ANALYSIS OF CONCEPTS

There are three chapters in part one, all of which are concerned solely with theoretical issues in the literature on social movements and the sociology of education. Chapter three reviews the theoretical literature on social movements. Different schools and approaches are compared according to their interpretation of four key concepts: interests, power, social structure, and action. At the end of the chapter each concept is problematised and no single theory or basic approach to social movements is found to be adequate in itself for the study of the Croxteth campaign.

Chapter four takes up each of the four concepts used to compare approaches to social movements in chapter three and analyses them in some detail. The chapter ends with a basic framework for our study of the protest movement which makes the concept of action central. Power, interests, and social structure are conceptually refined and related to each other in chapter four through the analysis of conditions effecting action. Centrally included in the analysis of action and its conditions is a theory of knowledgeability: the relationship of actors to their conditions through forms of knowing.

Chapter five provides a review of sociological theories of education, focusing especially on the theory of community schooling. The occupation of Croxteth Comprehensive School, and its subsequent provision of education to secondary pupils on the estate for an entire year, adds an extra dimension of interest to this study. Chapter five outlines various problems in the theory of community education and formulates a hypothesis to be tested in the case of Croxteth Comprehensive. The hypothesis concerns the educational effects of placing a secondary school under the formal control of a working class community and is elaborated towards the end of this chapter.

Chapter Three

SOCIAL THEORY AND SOCIAL MOVEMENTS I: *Theoretical Approaches to Social Movements*

This chapter reviews literature on social movements, looking particularly at four approaches to the subject: the collective behaviour approach, resource management theory, neo-marxist work on urban social movements and the state, and the identity-oriented approach. It begins with comments which reemphasise and extend a point made in chapter two: that the theoretical discussions in part one of this thesis are an autonomous study, related to but not identical with the main body of the thesis. The research in Croxteth specified the theoretical agenda, the concepts and the schools of theoretical work which are analysed in part one. But the conceptual analysis proceeds of necessity according to its own logic, - the principles which determine its organisation are not the same as the principles used to organise the account of the Croxteth campaign.

In the second section of this chapter the theoretical agenda itself is clarified by reference to the most obvious features of the Croxteth Campaign. Then, beginning with section III and continuing to the end of the chapter, the four theoretical orientations to social movements listed above are examined in turn.

I Two Studies: Theory and the Campaign for Croxteth Comprehensive

Formats have limitations which are best mentioned at the start. They have origins outside of the material to be described and analysed, and exercise interpretations of their own upon it. The format used for this thesis is the traditional one of placing the information generated through a research experience between a literature review and a conclusion. One problem this entails is its implicit prioritisation of theoretical matters covered in the literature review. The reader's interest is first drawn to certain theoretical debates, or absences, or problematical areas in published academic material. The actual presentation of empirical data may then appear as an 'answer' to the concerns of the academic communities discussed. The conclusion further reminds the reader of the central issues of debate identified in the literature review, and the most significant features of the study may be believed to be written there.

In this study of the campaign for Croxteth Comprehensive, however, we wish to avoid over prioritising the topics taken up in the literature review, and the conclusion of this thesis will certainly not make the most significant points of the entire study. Although this thesis has no less than three chapters devoted to literature review and conceptual analysis, and although the presentation of empirical material in the chapters following the review make continuous use of the theory reviewed and discussed, the account of the campaign for Croxteth Comprehensive which follows it is not organised with the aim of addressing theoretical questions. Its major organising principle is annotated chronology which alternates between the description of events and efforts to explain them in terms of their conditions. The description of events is intended to

be comprehensive: a full history of the closure of the school and the resistance movement which arose to challenge it. To understand conditions we must make use of theory, and the theory we use originates partially from the matters discussed in the literature review. But the account escapes the analysis we provide of it in many ways. We do not wish the specification of questions and 'frameworks' to obscure the questions and theory which our account raises itself.

When writing this thesis it became clear that two, not one, studies had been conducted. The major study is that of the protest campaign, the minor study is that presented in the literature review. Although the literature review is designed to address only those topics which are directly relevant to our major study, it has its own organising principles: the fact that theory is produced within academic communities and thus the presence of a number of 'schools' and 'paradigms' in competition which can be played off against each other. The literature review has a logic of its own, leading to an analysis which is related to, but not directly derivative from, our study of the Croxteth campaign. Concepts useful for understanding this case study have special meanings within the academic world because of their contested usage by different authors and schools - their meaning for academics thus escapes their meaning for our particular study. Their meaning for our particular study, furthermore, escapes those they take within the world of publication: they come into the account by a different route, - they are tied to an empirical report, and thus have more specific meanings. They are placed in relation to each other, not through an internal logic or through a history of academic debate as they are in the review, but through their association with observed, experienced, and interpreted events.

Hence the reader is advised to regard this thesis as *two* studies which possess some interaction with each other. There is no tight fit between the two, only a close dialogue begun by the author which could be extended by the reader.

II The Theoretical Agenda

Let us begin the dialogue between theory and account by noting four readily apparent features of the campaign for Croxteth Comprehensive which we wish to describe and analyse:

A) Croxteth Comprehensive was a secondary school which was closed down by the local government of Liverpool in the early 1980s. We are therefore interested in certain features of the British welfare state existing at a specific historical time. We are also interested, at a level of less abstraction, in the particular conditions of Liverpool during the 1980s: its various political parties, its social-geography, the specific pressures it was under, and so on.

B) A group of Croxteth residents worked together to oppose this closure, and succeeded in their aims after several years. Thus it will be important to be familiar with theories of social movements, with explanations of how action in general becomes coordinated, and with concepts of power. We should like to be able to understand why this group of residents fought the closure of the school, how they formulated their goals and their explanations of what they were doing and why, what changes took place in the style and form of their campaign over its several years of existence, and how the campaign was able to succeed.

C) As part of this campaign, the activists took illegal possession of the school buildings and ran the school themselves for an entire year, with the help of another group of activists who volunteered to teach. A familiarity with theories of education and schooling will be relevant here. Characteristic features of schooling under normal conditions can be compared with the form of schooling which arose in the occupied buildings of Croxteth to reveal what features of schooling are actually alterable by placing a school under community control, and what features are not.

D) Finally, we note that the above three areas of theoretical interest imply several levels of analysis and abstraction: there is a level of interest in the position of the local government within a national (and international) economic context; there is a less abstracted level of interest in local government processes themselves, - party-political conflicts and administrative processes; there is a level of interest in *group* behaviour, - in the tactics and strategies taken by a protest organisation in conducting a campaign; and there is a level of interest in specific interactions, - in activities which took place *within* the protest movement and with activities occurring within the occupied school. Different objects of study are involved: the economy, the state, the protest group, interacting individuals within the protest group.

We are therefore interested in a general framework within which such levels can both be differentiated and yet simultaneously related to each other. We are interested in a number of linked social-theoretical concepts which are implied in all levels of analysis but which will take different treatment according to which level of generality is made the object of study. Thus when examining the pressures upon the local government of Liverpool, we shall wish to describe and analyse them in a way which *could* be taken down to a highly particular analysis of the actions taken by individuals in key decision making positions *if* the empirical study itself had made such a close analysis. When analysing the activities of individuals within the occupied school, we shall wish to do so by specifying particular conditions which yet rest upon more general conditions illuminated through higher abstractions. We are thus concerned to develop a conceptual framework which

suggests both orientations and questions applicable to each level of abstraction involved in this study. Doing so will involve some very broad considerations of social theory.

Our theoretical agenda thus consists very broadly of three levels of conceptual analysis: an analysis of the local government and its relationships to the national government and economy, an analysis of a protest group, and an analysis of interaction. And it consists of at least three broad subject areas: social movements, social theory, and education. The remainder of this chapter will consist of a review of theoretical approaches to social movements which addresses all three levels of analysis. This review will be conducted by drawing out four key social-theoretical concepts which are used in different ways in all schools on social movements: interests, power, action and structure. The ways in which these concepts are used by different schools of thought on social movements differs a good deal and the concepts can thus be used to make comparisons between the schools at the same time that the concepts themselves become clarified for our own future use. The next chapter, chapter four, is devoted solely to the analysis of the four concepts. And the last chapter of this literature review is concerned with sociological theories of education.

III Schools of Theory on Social Movements

The campaign for Croxteth Comprehensive fits the category of 'social movement' more readily than other categories of sociological interest, although calling it simply an instance of 'struggle' or 'social conflict' would have been acceptable and would have had slightly different ramifications for the organisation of reading and reviewing literature. But social movement has been chosen as our category because the literature on this subject is most directly applicable to the campaign and adequately represents efforts to bring together the various social-theoretical concepts and issues relevant to this study. Reviewing literature on social movements is a good 'way in' to the discussion of theory most useful to understand the campaign for Croxteth Comprehensive.

Much contemporary literature on social movements recognises three distinct bodies of literature on the subject: theories of collective behaviour, the resource management school, and the identity-oriented school (e.g. see Cohen 1985). Our own review of the literature suggests the addition of a fourth body of work, neo-marxist work on urban social movements. We shall give a nutshell description of each school just below and then consider them one at a time in greater detail. References are omitted from the initial short descriptions but appropriate authors will be brought into the longer discussions following.

- a) Theories of 'collective behaviour'. This is a vast body of internally diverse theories of social movements which extends back to the 19th century. It has not on the whole made use of the concept of interests in its explanations but has tended to rely upon psychological theories and theories of normative social integration instead to explain social disruptions. Its objects of study have varied from author to author, some focusing upon the individual, some upon the 'crowd' or group, and some upon the impact of urbanisation on societal norms.
- b) The 'resource management' or 'resource mobilisation' school. This is a more recent and self-conscious community of theorists who formed partially in reaction against the collective behaviour approach. Its object of study has been the protest group and it makes central use of the concepts of interests and rational action in its explanations.
- c) Neo-Marxist theories of urban social movements and the welfare state. This is a body of work which was developed mainly during the 1970s to explain what it considered to be new forms of social struggle over welfare provisions. Its main object of study has been the structural location of the state. Urban social movements were explained as the result of secondary contradictions in the welfare state of post-war Europe. By focusing upon this single body of neo-marxist work we are consciously leaving out marxist work as a whole, which could be fairly said to address itself to forms of struggle and thus to social movements. But the broad interest of marxism in struggle will not be taken to warrant its consideration as a school of work on social movements. Marxism is so internally divided that one would have to identify many schools within it and none of them, aside from the recent work on the state and 'urban social movements' focus exclusively on social movements as a distinct object of study. This is actually a strength of much work produced within marxism, and some basic paradigms, rather than schools, which have arisen within marxism will be discussed at the beginning of our look at the neo-marxist work on urban social movements. Several broad marxist paradigms will be further discussed in the next chapter.
- d) The identity-oriented approach to social movements. This is another recent body of work which shares a concern with questions of identity, life world, roles and other similar concepts. The object of study taken by this school has been what it calls 'new' social movements or NSMs which are not the same as the urban social movements studied by the neo-marxists mentioned above. NSMs are distinguished from what this school usually terms 'traditional' movements through their goals, which are goals of altering traditionally given identities and the cultural mediums and power relationship associated with them. Some authors in this group link their analysis of NSMs to theories of social structure and culture.

A) The Collective Behaviour Approach

'Collective behaviour approach' is a term chosen to represent an enormous body of literature on social movements which stretches back to the 19th century and contains many sub-schools. These theories and works have been lumped together by many contemporary theorists who wish to dispense with them quickly at the same time that they clarify defining characteristics of their own approaches by contrast. 'Collective behaviour' is the term used by Gamson (1975) and has been adopted as our term because it seems broad enough to include all the subschools which we also want to quickly dispense with. But other terms have been used to describe it: 'breakdown theory' by Charles Tilly (1975), 'the classical approach' by Cohen (1985), and 'the old paradigm' and 'mass society theory' by other writers.

One unifying feature of this vast body of work is its common neglect of a theory of interests in explaining social disruptions to favour explanations which stress the 'sway' of 'crowds' or the 'breakdown' of normative orders, or even the psychological propensities of individuals. It seems a gross misrepresentation of intellectual history to call this body of work 'the classical approach', as Cohen does, because it was always produced in at least implicit challenge to marxist work, stretching just as far back in time, which emphasised by contrast the needs and interests of groups involved in social struggle. The failure of 'collective behaviour' work to bring interests into its theories could well be a result of theoretical struggles over the evaluation of movements: negative and threatening as opposed to positive and promising. Many of the earliest writers lumped into this group, for example, were especially concerned with the negative and frightening effects of the French Revolution:

By the mere fact that he forms part of an organised crowd, a man descends several rungs in the ladder of civilization. Isolated, he may be a cultivated individual; in a crowd, he is a barbarian - that is, a creature acting by instinct. ... Taken separately, the men of the French Revolutionary Convention were enlightened citizens of peaceful habits. United in a crowd, they did not hesitate to give their adhesion to the most savage proposals, to guillotine individuals most clearly innocent, and, contrary to their interests, to renounce their inviolability and to decimate themselves.

Gustav Lebon, *The Crowd*, (1896) pp 32 - 33

Later writers continued to make some of the basic contrasts present in this passage but in more sophisticated ways: 'instincts' vs 'enlightenment' becomes replaced by 'rational' vs 'anomic' behaviour, 'integrated' vs 'disintegrated' groups, 'adjusted' vs 'maladjusted' individuals and so on. One could categorise the approaches which don't make use of a concept of interests into several groupings. Some emphasise the effects of small group values and norms on otherwise 'rational individuals', as in Lebon's work (see also Trotter 1916). Their work rests upon a dichotomy well formulated by Touraine (1985, p 753) as 'culture vs barbarism'. Others theorise the breakdown of

traditional social norms and values through processes of modernisation, urbanisation and industrialisation, which is said to result in a collective experience of anomie for certain sections of society. Social movements are thus responses, still considered basically irrational, to a loss of identity and meaning, a breakdown in the traditional modes of social integration. Park (1952) and the Chicago school of sociology generally (e.g. Burgess and Park 1967), produced analyses of ghetto gangs and violence along these lines. Here the individual is not contrasted with the 'mob' or the 'herd' but rather the dependence of individuals on a Durkheimian normative order is made the explanatory factor. The functionalist sociology of Talcot Parsons produced theories of social movements as 'system responses' to conditions of 'system stress'. Coser's well known book, *The Functions of Social Conflict* (1956), is a good example of this sort of approach. Still others placed into this category have produced theories combining psychological and sociological analysis to explain social movements according to the 'types' of personalities attracted to them. The types who are said to be 'prone' to social movements are not unexpectedly presented as pathological or at least deficient in some way. These studies usually take more obvious than average political positions with respect to the movements they study, most often from the right (Hoffer 1951, Eysenck 1954) but sometimes from the left (Adorno 1964). Finally, there are a number of studies which make use of the theory of reference groups to give a sophisticated treatment of the relative deprivation concept. John Urry (1973), James C. Davies (1962, 1969), Caplan and Paige (1968) and others have made contributions in this way. Reference group theories actually overlap between collective behaviour and other approaches.

It has been promised that this approach as a whole will be quickly dispensed with, but it will be helpful to specify why. This can be done by making a number of generalisations on how authors placed in this category tend to make use of the four sociological concepts mentioned as central to our analysis above: interests, social structure, power and action. It should be recalled, when reading these generalised statements, that a great variety of theory is being referred to. Our claim is only that works listed under this category are subject to at least one of the limitations specified below:

a) Interests. Interests was the term chosen to initially distinguish this group through its common lack of close attention to the concept. Theoretical approaches adopted by authors within the collective behaviour group use a model of the individual taking part in social movements which places them at the mercy of emotional states, in a dependency relationship with normative orders existing over and against them, or shuffles them about as systems forces shift to maintain equilibrium. Where interests do enter some of these theories, it is usually either in a purely subjective form (interests are taken to be equivalent to wants and desires and not located within a theory of society - see Hoffer 1951), or they are subsumed under abstractions like 'system needs'

(see Parsons 1951). As was obvious in our study of Croxteth, individuals become involved in social movements at least in part because of interests they have - there was an important element of agency involved with participation, and a sense in which it is meaningful to speak of 'choice', though the term 'choice' will need careful consideration.

b) Social structure. The models of social structure used by the authors of this group are usually inadequate to explain a social movement taking place over issues which directly involve access to material resources in society, as the one in Croxteth did. Actual distributions of material resources is often missing from the analysis. Although social structure can by no means be conceived merely as a system of distribution of material resources, it must be thought of in a way which includes this aspect of society. Much of what took place in Croxteth was an effort to win back what was in part a material resource, in part a means of gaining access to other material resources, and in part a symbol to the participants of their access, and lack of access, to a wide range of material resources.

c) Power. Power is usually either assumed to be diffusely distributed throughout society or is taken to be differentially distributed but nevertheless a 'system property' which *must* operate to maintain system equilibrium. Power is usually narrowly conceived in terms of access to political decision making processes and leaves out the sorts of complexity which theories of ideology address, and which we found present in many different ways in Croxteth.

d) Action. Action is theorised primarily in terms of norms, roles, positions, and the like which lead, as we've seen, to explanations of the behaviour of activists in a movement as 'irrational', pathological, or system determined. The view of action taken by these theorists is, of course, related to their understandings of power, interests and social structure. Most obviously missing is an understanding of participation in social movements as at least as *rational* an activity as those activities which take place in other spheres of society. The term 'rational' is problematical, as is 'choice', and will be discussed more fully in the course of our account of the Croxteth campaign. But the point is that a contrast between 'rational' and 'irrational' does not correctly distinguish actions taking place in social movements from actions more common to everyday life.

B) The Resource Management School

The resource management school (often also called the resource mobilisation school) is a much smaller and self-conscious community of social theorists originating in America who explicitly oppose the work

of the collective behaviour group. Some of its key members include Anthony Oberschall (1973), William Gamson (1975), and Charles and Louise Tilly (1975, 1981, 1985). Resource management developed during the 1960s and early 1970s in America, when mass protests against the Vietnam War closely followed the civil rights movement and the rise of a 'counter culture' amongst many youth. A number of critical studies of 1960s movements, which made use of collective behaviour type explanations, directly preceded the formation of the resource management school (e.g. Feuer 1969, Zanden 1965). The crux of their work was to evaluate the new movements negatively, in terms of 'true believer' mentalities (Hoffer 1951) or psychological disturbances. Resource management theorists argued, in opposition, that social movements are rational responses to deprivation and other social conditions, and that the participants in movements are for various reasons barred from the use of institutional means of protest, or that such means simply mask real inequalities between groups in society. (For a critical and comprehensive review of the resource management school see Jenkins 1983).

Thus this school immediately differentiated itself from other approaches common in American circles through its concepts of interests, power, and action. Gamson (1975), for example, begins his introduction to resource management theory with a long critique of pluralist theories of power (see next chapter). He points out that despite the formally democratic American political system, many groups in society do not have access to actual political decision making processes, which occur within an informal 'pressure system' (Schattschneider 1963). Thus social movements are *rational* activities taking place under conditions of limited access to political processes, which use what ever resources are on hand to advance interests. The means used by movements are non-institutional, not because their members are irrational, but because institutional means are in reality ineffective; they aren't the real location of political power.

Oberschall (1973) makes use of a concept of rationality tied to one of interests to elaborate a model of action through which social movements can be studied:

The very real theoretical gain achieved is that a theory of mobilization of opposition and conflict groups, social and mass movements, of protest behaviour and collective political action, is essentially the same as the theory of mobilisation for economic interest groups, and that the single assumption of rationality in economic theory is sufficient in this theoretical effort. Thus ... a single theory spans the entire range of political and social movements, regardless of whether they are designated as extremist, leftist, rightist, centrist, or mass movements by their supporters and detractors.

Oberschall (1973), p 118

Hence the analysis of social movements will consist of looking at the conditions in which *rational choices* are made to pursue interests. It is a model of action self consciously similar to models used in

mainstream Western economic theories, which in turn have intellectual roots in the Scottish Moralists (1973, ch. 1). Choices are explicable in terms of interests which determine the goals of action and 'resources' which determine their form, the means they employ:

The basic idea is that of resource. This can be anything from material resources - jobs, income, savings and the right to material goods and services - to non-material resources - authority, moral commitment, trust, friendship, skills, habits of industry, and so on.

Oberschall (1973), p 28

By including so many varied items under the concept of 'resource', Oberschall is able to account for common types of action which otherwise might be explained in terms of 'non-rational' psychological processes. Oberschall acknowledges, for example, that people can, and often do, act under persuasion, illusion, and for the sake of intangible 'non-material' needs. Non-material needs 'include prestige, respect, leadership positions, friendships, group support, the opportunity to do the 'right thing' with respect to morals and norms, and so on. These social and moral incentives can be analysed in much the same way as individual monetary incentives are analysed' (Oberschall 1973, p 114). Oberschall thus works with a limited concept of rationality - rational action is action for 'incentives', but incentives may include 'non-material needs'. The essential paradigm is that of the individual who consciously weighs costs and benefits before pursuing clearly formulated goals. This subsumption of many complex forms of human action under a single goal-rational model of action has led commentators on the resource management school to call the theory a form of 'neo-utilitarianism' (Cohen 1985, p 687; Zald and McCarthy 1979).

A model of social structure is implicit in this view; social structure as at least involving differential access to resources with interest positions varying systematically in society. But social structure is a term rarely used by authors working within the resource management approach. The object of study in their work has been the groups which take part in social movements, not the way in which such groups come to be, come to have the characteristics and common interests they do. Groups mobilised in protest are compared with other groups in society, especially those they struggle against, only with respect to certain 'surface' characteristics, such as access to resources, their degree of integration and their 'distance' from centres of power. We call these 'surface characteristics' because they are simply described, not explained in terms of underlying structures, nor related to basic economic arrangements, nor involving the complex intersections of cultural differentiations (age, gender, race) with living conditions.

Oberschall, for example, makes much of whether protest groups are associational or communal in nature, ascribing more potential for sustained protest to the latter (1973, p 120). He specifies a number of characteristics which are necessary for a successful campaign:

- 1) There must exist a section of society sharing common interests.
- 2) A specification of targets of hostility must be made.
- 3) The capacity to sustain a movement after its mobilisation must exist. This capacity requires:
 - A means for thwarting 'the almost ubiquitous tendency for movements' to segment into factions.
 - Hence an organisational structure.
 - Continuity in leadership.
 - 'Roots' in more permanent social bases.
 - Strong horizontal bonds, either based on primary groups like kinship or dense networks of secondary groups such as religious, civic and cultural organisations.
 - Weak vertical links, to keep the target distant and hostile and to prevent the possibility of co-optation.

This list is useful and will be returned to in the discussion of the Croxteth campaign, but it tells us nothing about *why* certain groups have common interests and find themselves opposed to others, *how* targets of hostility become clearly perceived or constructed out of features of culture, *what* is involved in leadership formation and so on. For the most part, these theoretical absences are conscious ones - limitations inherent with the choice of a limited object of study. The Tillys, for example, consider the movements they study incidents of 'class struggle' but leave this term problematical, indicating that their concern is with looking closely at specific movements, not at social-theoretical issues of class and structure (Tilly and Tilly 1981, p 17).

But limiting the level of analysis in this way has certain drawbacks which seem to be unnoticed by most authors of this school. 'Common interests' is one of them. Common interests are taken in a fairly unproblematical way - as a *starting point* rather than as a field of investigation in itself. After the specification of common interests, factors relevant to the social integration and sustainability of groups are considered in a way external to the initial specification of interests. The tightly inter-woven nature of interests and culture is missed in the process. 'Common interests' become a limited range of interests, usually the formulated goals and objectives which movements will always present to the public. The perspective really becomes that of the movement organiser rather than the perspectives of group members. This makes analysis according to goal-rational behaviour, according to strategies taken to achieve formulated goals, seem self-evident. But all movements have extensive and often turbulent 'back regions' which must be studied along with the 'front regions' presented to the public.

Tilly himself formulates this deficiency in the resource management paradigm by criticising its dependence on a 'single group model' (1985 pp 736-7):

The reality of the social movement hides behind a veil of mystification, shared by both sides of the conflict, that identifies the current actors with a broad base of support at the very moment when the self-styled spokespersons of the movement rush to create coalitions, eliminate rival leaders, solidify their own bases, avoid visible breaks, and organize public displays of unitary will. That preparatory work does not belie the sincerity, seriousness, popular support, or efficacy of many social movements. It builds the structure of the social phenomenon bearing that name. Such a phenomenon requires models of interaction with multiple actors rather than a single-group model.

Hence while not 'ascending' to considerations of the social structure in which protesting groups exist, the resource management school also fails to 'descend' to considerations of how a large group of people, no doubt with a large variety of perspectives, beliefs, and investments in the movement, become involved and remain involved in collective action. The 'models of interaction' which Tilly calls for in the passage above would certainly involve discarding the goal-rational or zweckrational (to use the Weberian term) paradigm in which strategies and goals are the key terms. Critics of this school point out that goal-rational action directly encounters Mancur Olson's 'free rider problem' and cannot explain the solidarity necessary to all social movements in consequence. In *The Logic of Collective Action* (1968), Olson argues that purely goal-rational reasoning would lead individuals not to join social movements because they would realise that their personal presence in the movement would make only an insignificant contribution to its success. Given the 'costs' in time and energy that participation entails, the (goal) rational decision would be to become a 'free rider', i.e. to let the movement run its course and hopefully win in favour of the individual's interests inspite of his or her lack of participation. But since *all* individuals could be expected to reason this way, social movements would never arise.

There are various ways in which apprehension of the limitations of the goal-rational model of action could lead. One would be simply to point out, as Oberschall does, that 'interests' can be all sorts of things - including the following of groups norm (e.g. a solidarity ethic). But this leaves many questions unanswered by retaining the highly conscious and strategic aspects of the model. The 'expressivist' paradigm in philosophy and literature (Taylor 1979), for example, touches on important features of human action when it claims that human interests are *discovered* through expression - expression is in some ways an end in itself, its value is often only recognised *after* it takes place. There are many unconscious and subconscious features of activity which need to be included in an adequate understanding of action. We will explore alternative models of action in the next chapter.

Before leaving this discussion of the resource management school some particular comments on the Tillys work ought to be made, for it differs significantly from more mainstream resource management theorists and adds a few items to our growing agenda. Their work, in fact, implicitly goes beyond the basic assumptions put forth by the other theorists.

The Tillys are historians of social movements. Their method requires the interpretation of accounts, rather than the application of quasi-quantitative measures on the degree of integration, communality, group size, length of duration and so on of social movements common to others in this school (Gamson 1975). Interpretation, in turn, requires a familiarity with cultural material so that terms hovering around social movements (like 'contentious gathering') and styles of action employed (like burning in effigy) can be studied for meaning through their relationships to other cultural elements. One of the more useful results of their approach is the concept of the 'repertoire of collective action':

People learn how to strike, to invade fields, to burn in effigy, just as they fail to learn a great many other forms of action which they might, in theory, employ to advance their interests. What is more, each learned form of collective action acquires a sort of standing within some defined population as others learn to interpret it and react to it: the first strike is a mystery, the second an outrage, the thousandth a problem to be dealt with. We can thus speak reasonably of any coherent population as having a limited repertoire of collective action within which its members ordinarily make choices when they have collective claims to advance.

Tilly and Tilly (1981), p 19

Thus although the Tillys are at pains to stick to the basic position of resource management theory, i.e. that collective action is basically a rational advancement of group interests, they wish to claim as well that it always takes place within a cultural context which supplies legitimate forms of expression and their meaning. Meanings are generated and contested as part of social movements themselves. 'Contentious gatherings' are described as 'mobs' and 'crowds' by those who oppose them. Protesting groups take symbols of the dominant groups they oppose, like symbols of the crown, and deride them - fighting to change their dominant meaning in the society from positive and legitimating of the existing order to absurd or evil. Religious imagery is sometimes used to attack Royalty instead of uphold it, imagery of the throne is sometimes used to attack its current occupant, and so on. The Tillys work demonstrates how social movements include struggles over the use of accepted meanings and values, trying to turn these accepted values to work in their favour instead of the favour of those they are in conflict with (1975, 1981).

The Tillys also work with a view of culture, though an implicit one, which doesn't regard it as something wholly external to the participants in a social movement. Culture doesn't appear simply as an historically

changing but ever-present 'clothing' with which movements dress themselves in the Tilly's work - it isn't viewed as a sort of a language *through which* meanings are expressed, but as the very medium which makes some formulations of grievances possible and others not. Culture is the medium necessary to *understand* grievances as grievances. It is the medium in which the bonds of loyalty and the group values, which must be present for protests to become cohesive and lasting collective expressions, are drawn upon and given new specific forms. Culture both makes social movements possible and delineates the field of possible routes they may take. The Tillys describe this close fit between movements and culture without theorising it very far. They don't say enough about the role of culture in the *failure* of certain movements to arise, for example, - movements which one might predict through a consideration of interests alone. They consider the conflicts over meanings they describe primarily as *means* to more fundamental goals, and miss the way in which outcomes of such battles can be important ends in themselves.

In Croxteth, as succeeding chapters describe, struggles over the use of dominant meanings like 'responsibility', 'democracy', 'community' and many other terms were a major part of the campaign. The Tillys have touched upon a very important aspect of social life which enters importantly into social movements when they insist on the importance of culture and meaning. But it is difficult to see how this insight can exist side by side with their endorsement of the resource management paradigm. Their historical descriptions possess much implicit theory which the reader must draw out for her/himself.

To summarise this discussion of the resource management school, let us return to the concepts of interests, action, power and social structure and review the ways in which they are used by this school. The authors specifically discussed have been Oberschall, Gamson and the Tillys but the comments below apply to other members in the school as well (see Jenkins 1983):

a) Interests and Action. The resource management school makes interests a central part of its theoretical framework but doesn't closely examine the relationship of interests to other features of society - it doesn't explain why the groups they study have the interests they do and why these groups find themselves in conflict with other groups. Closely related to their use of the term interests is their over-dependence on a goal-rational model of action. It assumes that all individuals are conscious of their interests - individuals taking part in social movements, at least, - and that social movements can be explained as strategic efforts to realise collective interests. We have argued that although strategic action certainly does enter into social movements, other types of action enter into them at the same time. Strategic action is a good model for understanding the 'front regions' of social movements, not their back regions; a model for understanding the planning work of movements, not the many other sorts of work they perform. The relationship of interests to action is not problematised sufficiently

through the strategic model. Action has to be theorised in a way which allows us to understand unrecognised or misrecognised interests, effecting action but not in a zweckrational manner (next chapter). Generally speaking, 'interests' is an abstraction made by this school to argue that social movements are incidents of rational action - it is *not* a concept subject to empirical investigation of much depth within their framework.

b) Power. This school recognises an asymmetrical distribution of power in society but gives power a thoroughly political definition: means of access to institutional decision making. The Tillys do implicitly recognise the presence of power struggles in the struggles over meanings which accompany movements, but leave the term undertheorised. Power must help to explain inaction as well as action, must enter into explanations of how people *perceive* and *represent* their situation as well as act upon it.

d) Social structure. This school has not linked its major concepts to a theory of social structure. It recognises asymmetries in the distribution of material resources and systematically unequal access to decision making processes, but doesn't explain why such patterns exist. With the Tillys we find the importance of culture well illustrated but not theorised as part of a structure of power relations.

C) Neo-Marxist Theories of Urban Social Movements:

There are many marxisms, and all of them have dealt with questions relevant to 'social movements' through their common concern with *struggle*. For our limited agenda, it will be helpful to review some of the most obvious and most schematic features of the marxist project and some of the problems associated with it, before considering specifically one particular school of work which took the urban social movements of the 1960s and 1970s as their object of study and analysis. This will anticipate more detailed examinations of certain work within marxism made in chapter four.

One of the most general statements which can be made about marxist work as a whole is that it has been concerned from the start with explaining human activity through the development of a theory of social structure. The dividing lines between many theoretical communities within marxism are at least partially drawn through the ways in which the relationship between activity and structure has been modelled. It seems safe to say that all marxist work uses a theory of interests as one of the key features of this relationship. Part of what is meant by 'class' is the existence of objective interests which groups of people in society share by virtue of their common relationship to the particular way in which that society organises the production^{of} material means of life. In the case of capitalism, the interests of the proletariat who must sell their labour power are in opposition to those of the capitalist owners of the means of production: the activities of the members of one class to further their

interests works against the interests of the other class. Struggle, no matter how differently conceived by different authors and schools within marxism, always bears relationship to objective interests which are shaped by structured social relations in society.

We noted in the subsection above the central use made of the concept of interests by the resource management school and found faults with it. First of all, resource management theorists do not attempt to explain why certain groups in society share interests and why these interests put them into conflicting relations with other groups. Marxism offers just such an explanation by associating interest positions with common positions within the economic relationships of society. The second major fault we found in the resource management school's treatment of interests was that they conceive of it through a limited theory of action, a goal-rational model which places interests within the consciousness of those who have them and explains action as the result of deliberate efforts to realise these interests. Marxist work has from the start introduced much more subtlety into the conceptualisation of the relationship of groups of people to their interests through the concept of ideology, but this relationship has been modelled in many different ways. It is a starting point for marxists to recognise that common class interests are not immediately apparent to those who have them. In *The German Ideology* Marx and Engels took up a problem dealt with by social philosophers like Hobbes and, very differently, Hegel: the relationship between common and particular interests, '... this common interest does not exist merely in the imagination, as the "general interest", but first of all in reality, as the mutual interdependence of the individuals among whom the labour is divided' (Collected Works, vol. 6 p 46). Social relationships between human beings give a 'real', material basis for the existence of common interests, but these are not immediately apparent. There are conflicts between individual and common interests and, moreover, the ideological representation of common interests as 'general interests' in society is actually the representation of the common interests of a single class - the dominant class in society (Collected Works vol 6, pp 59 - 61).

Marxisms since Marx have provided enriched models of the relationship between interests, individuals, groups, and social structure. The representations - formally articulated ideas and theories - which originate from the dominant class have been convincingly argued to be only one type of ideology. Other models of the relationship between consciousness and structures of domination exist within *The German Ideology* itself: 'The ruling ideas are nothing more than the ideal expression of the dominant material relations' (ibid p 59), and 'This mode of production must not be considered simply as being the reproduction of the physical existence of the individuals. Rather it is a definite form of activity of these individuals, a definite form of expressing their life, a definite *mode of life* on their part.' (ibid p 31). With the Gramscian notion of 'common sense' (Gramsci 1971, p 323), Thompson's emphasis on 'social being' (Thompson 1963, p 10) and structuralist work on the relationship of subjectivities to social structure (see Johnson 1979, Hall 1977) we find these other themes within *The German Ideology* given elaboration in a number

of different directions, and a highly complex view of the relationship of interests, consciousness and social structure emerging. 'Forms of life', for example, can be described as a basis for 'culture' which can then be referred to not only class position but also to highly particular circumstances of life, varying from region to region, influenced by traditions stretching back long before the economic upheavals associated with the emergence of capitalism (see Kaye 1984 for summaries of Thompson's and other works of the 'British Marxist Historians'). Gramscian and 'culturalist' models suggest a play between common sense, or culture, and ideological formulations - theories (Johnson 1979 p 233). The apprehension of interests, of one's situation in society, becomes mediated through an ideological realm which includes both tacit and overt levels of consciousness, and this realm has many complex and contradictory *origins*: propaganda (deliberately formulated theories which support relations of domination), the productions of professional intellectuals working within interest structures of their own, traditions with long stretches in time, common sense and culture produced continuously by oppressed people themselves. Interests have also been theorised as being strongly shaped by culture - culture and common sense not only serving to 'mask', or 'colour' interests, but to shape them. Struggles occur, for example, over issues of dignity at the same time as they do over material conditions - dignity could itself be taken as a 'material' interest if one recognises that the ways in which people are able to meet it are in tight relationships to 'ways of life'; forms of dignity are shaped in highly particular ways by culture.

We've just hurriedly mentioned many issues which are discussed more fully in chapter four. The point to be made here is that within marxism many models of action which relate it in complex ways to the subjectivity of actors and to culturally penetrated interest structures are available and being worked on. Marxism is a large field of theory production in which interests, action, power, and social structure are linked in many different ways.

When it comes to the specific study of social movements, the historical work of the British Marxist historians have illustrated the complex way in which culture is important for illustrating the complexity of actual movements, the way in which they draw upon traditions and culture in their struggles. Like the work of the Tillys, the now classical works of E. P. Thompson, Eric Hobsbawn, and others (see Kaye 1984) have amply demonstrated the necessity of a close and detailed familiarity with culture to understand the rise and course of social conflict. It is work which demonstrates the many contingencies which enter into any movement and the battle over meanings and values which is always bound up with battles over conflicting interests. This work has been criticised for not having developed enough theory (Johnson 1979b) and in the case of this particular study this has been found to be a valid criticism in many respects. Other than indicating important areas of investigation - traditions, cultures, regional and local variations, in other words, as full a comprehension as possible of cultural context, this work supplies little that can be carried over to another specific study, our study of Croxteth. It warns against

any overly determinist explanations, any production of all-too- neat fits between abstractions and observations, but doesn't give many tools for looking under the surface.

The neo-marxist work on urban social movements we have referred to is wholly different from the culturalism of the British Marxist historians. The authors we shall be concerned with are Manuel Castells (1977, 1978), Cynthia Cockburn (1977), Claus Offe (1975a, 1975b, 1975c, 1984, 1985) and, as a critical commentator, Peter Saunders (1981, 1983). Other authors have written with the same orientation on urban social movements as well (see Chris Pickvance 1976 for a collection of articles). This group was interested in urban social movements which occurred with some frequency during the 1960s and 1970s. Their orientation is worth reviewing in some detail because the events in Croxteth conform roughly to the sort of phenomena which they sought to explain. The approach of this group was entirely at odds with a culturalist approach because it sought from the start to theorise urban social movements in terms of their structural location in welfare capitalism. Their studies did not include empirically rich details of actual movements but rather detailed analyses of structural pressures on the welfare state, which in turn were believed to set the conditions in which urban social movements would arise.

Conflicts between residents groups and local governments which occurred with relative frequency during the last two decades were seen as new and promising to this group of theorists. At the same time, they were seen as theoretically problematical. Urban social movements often involve groups of people who are not, strictly speaking, of the working class. Conflicts begin, not at the point of production, but rather over consumer issues associated with the welfare state. The theoretical objective of these marxist writers was thus to explain urban movements, with their differences from struggles at the work place, in terms consistent with a marxist theory of capitalist social structure.

Efforts to develop a marxist analysis of urban movements have taken at least two directions in this project: one has been to attempt to theorise consumer interests directly in terms of class interests and the other has been to provide a marxist theory of the modern welfare state. The first approach hasn't been very fruitful. A small group of marxist writers have argued that consumer interests are simply displaced class interests and thus that struggles over state administered services like health care, schools, and council housing, are class struggles transposed to a new arena (e.g. Clarke and Ginsburg 1975, p 4). But the obvious objection to this is to point out that consumer groups often involve members of different classes, where class is taken in the classical marxist sense of direct relationships to the mode of production. The decision of a local government to build a new motorway through a residential area may effect and mobilise residents of diverse (marxist) classes. Local government acts on industrial waste disposal may involve citizens of all classes, and so on. Moreover, conflicts over housing, as Peter Saunders (1983, pp 76-83) points out, often pit members of the same (marxist) class against each other, such as conflicts between tenants and owner-occupiers.

For this reason, some theorists have correspondingly suggested the Weberian concept of interests as a solution to the problem of trying to relate consumer interests to class interests. Rex and Moore (1967), for example, propose in their now classical study of Sparkbrook in Birmingham that urban conflicts over housing can be explained in terms of Weberian classes defined in terms of market capacity (see also Rex 1968). Patrick Dunleavy (1979) suggests that consumer interests define Weberian-like classes in society which co-exist with, and cross-cut (rather than being reducible to), interests derived from relations to the mode of production. The key point made by all such writers making use of some form of the Weberian theory of class is that political and economic institutions must be kept analytically separate. Different groups of people will form about interests adhering to each sphere and struggles in one of these spheres will be distinct, and show no necessary connection to struggles in the other. Within marxist circles, this has been paralleled through Althusser's concept of 'relative autonomy' (see Saunders 1981 for a review) - the political and the economic (as well as the ideological) are not in a necessary correspondence, but in a mutually influencing relationship. Conjunctions of structural conditions may occur which bring about contingent correspondences and resulting forms of action. Manuel Castells, one of the first writers giving a marxist analysis of post World War II urban conflicts, used this idea of relative autonomy in his early work (1977, 1978)

With the concept of relative autonomy, the effort to theorise direct links between consumer and class interests is dropped in favour of an analysis of the position of the state in welfare capitalism. Consumer interests form in relation to state provisions and thus movements arising over consumer issues can be given a marxist explanation by looking carefully at the state's position within capitalist economic relations. The focus of the neo-marxists concerned with urban social movements has accordingly been on the nature of the modern, post-war state; on why it has increased its interventions into economic and social life, and why movements of a new form have arisen in relationship to it.

Cynthia Cockburn, for example, in *The Local State* (1977), analyses urban government partly in terms of its *function* to reproduce labour power in both the basic sense (provision of basic necessities) and the 'extended' sense (provision of education and other cultural services). She argues that since urban and community struggles over state provision, like the one which occurred in Croxteth, are struggles over the issues which involve the reproduction of labour power in capitalist society, they are a form of class struggle. 'It is only a crude Marxist argument which would claim that these aren't class struggles' (p 163).

The early work of Manuel Castells similarly located the state within capitalist society as an agency primarily concerned with the reproduction of labour power. He argued that because it isn't profitable to invest in many of the services which reproduce labour power, state intervention is necessary for the continuation of capitalism. The 'local state', urban government, is the specific 'apparatus' which makes these interventions. In

fact, Castells argued that it is the provision of the 'means of collective consumption', i.e. welfare services, which distinguishes the 'structural location' of cities in modern capitalist society. In times of economic prosperity, like the immediate post-war period, the state is able to make provisions which serve the function of reproducing labour power without too much difficulty. This 'function' taken on by the state comes about through forms of class struggle in which concessions are granted the working class (services), but the structural location of the state makes such an outcome actually serviceable for capitalism. This is an important feature of Castells', Cockburn's and others' view of the state: that it is a site in which struggles determine its specific policies, and yet, because of its structural location, outcomes of these struggles serve in the end to maintain the capitalist system. Welfare provisions are part of a social wage because they were won through struggles, yet welfare provisions have the function of reproducing labour power in sectors of society where private capital fails to do so. Saunders criticises this theory of the state, saying that it isn't falsifiable - it can't be empirically tested. In other words, if concessions won through struggles on the site of the state can be shown to service reproductive functions for capitalism, this is *explained* as a necessary occurrence: one has to believe it for it to be true (Saunders 1981 ch. 4).

Welfare provisions are called the 'means of collective consumption' by Castells because they are consumed collectively (e.g. schools) and/or because they are provided by the state rather than the market for the populace generally (e.g. like housing, which is not actually consumed collectively). Castells argued that in periods of economic recession, like the 1970s, the state is forced to cut back on welfare services because it must make primary its interventions in direct support of capitalist accumulation, such as the provision of subsidies for industry or fiscal policies designed to reduce inflation. Recessions, being results of primary capitalist contradictions, become mediated through the state, which becomes a site of secondary contradictions. The major contradiction the welfare state finds itself in is its role to simultaneously bolster capitalist accumulation and meet the requirements of labour reproduction - in a recession it can't do both. But when making cut-backs in service provisions, the (local) state finds itself confronted with an eruption of social movements. State provisions have become politicised - expected of the state - and cut-backs are thus opposed, much as cuts in wages are opposed on the shop floor. The 'collective' nature in which these services are consumed (Castells was not consistent on this since services like housing are not collectively consumed) make opposition to their removal immediately collective. Collective consumption, like the socialised nature of production, lays a condition for revolt against capitalist relations of production.

Castells didn't simply reduce urban social movements over consumer issues to 'class struggles', however. His use of an Althusserian framework in which realms of relative autonomy and the need for *particular* conjunctures of structural relationships, leads away from too crude a reductionistic and deterministic an account. He recognised the potential of

such movements for involving diverse socio-economic classes and thought that was positive, a potential basis for widening the class struggle beyond that occurring at the point of production. But Castells believed that urban social movements could only become a true challenge to the state, and to capitalist society as a whole, if this potential was realised through links with the broader labour movement. Such links, he believed, were possible only through a revolutionary party. Castells has more recently (1983) abandoned his original theory to favour a much more eclectic and empirical approach, and presents a much less deterministic analysis.

While Castells concentrated primarily on the displacement of fundamental capitalist crises (the falling rate of accumulation) into conditions facilitative of an *economic* crisis of the state, Claus Offe (1975a, 1975b) has analysed a similar process of displacement of crises into conditions prone to a *legitimacy* crisis of the state. Offe, using an analysis which seems to draw upon the work of Jürgen Habermas a good deal (see especially Habermas 1976), is interested in the 'form' in which state decision making occurs (a representative democracy) as contrasted with the 'content' of what the states does:

The capitalist state is efficient and effective not by its own criteria, but to the extent that it succeeds in the universalization of the commodity form.

Offe (1975a), p 138

The position of the state in welfare capitalism subordinates all its services to commodity markets of capitalism. In the case of schooling, for example, knowledge doesn't have primary value as a means of personal development but rather for its exchangeability on the job market (1975a p 137). State services are commodified, and yet have the form of serving human needs for their own right. Social movements are struggles for control over service institutions which have become subordinated to the commodity logic of capital.

Like Castells, Cockburn and others writing during the 1970s, Offe placed a lot of significance on struggles over welfare provisions - they appeared to him as the *key* struggles of this decade:

Although it is still a puzzle to many Marxists who consider themselves 'orthodox', it is evident that the major social conflicts and political struggles that took place in America and Western Europe during the 1960s did *not* take place within the exchange relationships between labour and capital. Instead, they occurred as conflicts over the control of the organisations of social production that serve the commodity form without themselves being *part* of the commodity nexus. Conflicts in schools, universities, prisons, military organisations, housing authorities and hospitals are cases in point.

Offe (1975b), pp 127-8

But Offe is arguing that more than just 'material interests' are involved in such struggles. His analysis suggests that urban conflicts centred about welfare provision are to some extent struggles over the meaning and purposes to which such services are put. This idea also appears in Castells' more recent work (1983), is further clarified in Habermas' theory of legitimisation crisis (1976). These authors argue in different ways that many struggles over welfare provisions involve struggles over the purposes of provision. They are often struggles against the administrator-client relationship of the welfare state. We shall return to Offe's work during our discussion of the Croxteth School take-over.

During the course of the 1970s theorists like Castells and Cockburn had much optimism with respect to social movements. They saw them as the leading challenge to capitalism in the modern era, capable of linking traditionally separate groups such as the petty bourgeoisie and the middle classes (Castells) as well as women (Cockburn) to the general labour movement in a challenge to capitalist relations of production. But by the end of the 1970s theorists were getting sceptical; most urban movements which actually occurred during this period were either unsuccessful through their failure to make connections to the labour movement or, where they succeeded in their immediate goals, were waged by middle class, rather than working class, residents and resulted only in the redistribution of a given quantity of resources in favour of the middle class. Peter Saunders, after a long review of empirical work on British social movements (see especially 1983, pp 127-126) concludes:

In short, urban struggles are typically fragmented (for instance, different groups in different areas compete against each other for the same resources), localised (different groups with common interests find it very difficult to combine at a national level), strategically limited (the basis for mobilisation is highly specific and any attempt to extend the scope of political activity into broader political issues often results in fractional disintegration), and politically isolated (links with more enduring political movements such as the Labour Party or trade union movement are at best tenuous and more often non-existent).

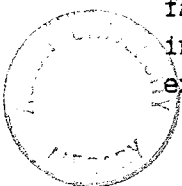
Saunders (1981), p 276

As the description of the movement in Croxteth will show, many of these typical limitations are certainly not necessary features of urban struggles. In Croxteth important linkages with the Labour Party and trade unions were in fact established and the campaign did expand somewhat to broader political issues in the course of time. But to understand both why the Croxteth campaign succeeded in the ways that it did and why the majority of similar movements reviewed by Saunders did not, theory other than the sort provided by this school of neo-marxist authors must be referred to. With their usage of a monolithic concept of social structure most authors in this school found it unnecessary to specify particular conditions in their predictions of the growth of urban social movements. From within this school, Chris Pickvance makes the point that theories of

social movements ought to pay more attention to internal characteristics of specific protesting groups, like kinship and friendship networks, values and so on (Pickvance 1977). We have seen that culturalist marxist writers like E.P. Thompson had already drawn attention to the importance of such factors through their historical studies almost a decade before Castells published his first book. And outside marxism the resource management school has also focused upon such particular conditions and has made generalisations about them. The lack of any attempt to incorporate some of this other work into their theories of urban social movements is a good illustration of the tendency for theoretical communities to arise which share a set of limited problems framed within a limited theoretical orientation, and which construct their debates primarily amongst themselves.

The neo-marxist work on the welfare state during the 1970s is primarily important for highlighting the sorts of difficulties which the welfare state is placed in, although it does so usually in ways which spell out all too neatly and precisely the 'functions' of the state, and it presents urban social movements as too inevitable an occurrence. There definitely is a tension between the post-war state's role as a support for capitalist accumulation and its provision of welfare services, which is difficult to negotiate in times of economic crisis. Certainly this was an important condition in which the decision to close Croxteth Comprehensive was taken. We should take this observation, however, for what it is: a very *general* condition which local governments have to come to terms with. As a general condition it specifies a range of possibilities for *the people taking decisions in local government*. It is a condition of some predictive value from the perspective of government decision makers. But it cannot lead us very far in making predictions about the larger groups of people who are effected by cuts - we can only say that protest movements in such conditions are possible, and that where they occur their immediate target will be the local government. For such movements to seriously challenge capitalist social relations generally, they will have to either manage to contribute to a local government's stance against the national government (which occurred to a certain extent in the case of Croxteth) or (and) combine with a national party of some sort. In either case issues other than the ones which originally sparked the movements will have to become campaign goals. The work of this school does little to help us predict the course taken by social movements, the amount of time over which they can sustain a struggle, the formulations they make when explaining and justifying their struggle, the linkages they either make or fail to make with other organisations. The conditions within which the welfare state is located tell us little about such things, to understand them we have to bring the investigation 'down' to considerations of many very particular conditions which are not immediately entailed in an examination of the state.

We can end this discussion of neo-marxist work on urban social movements by noting that this body of work was part of a theoretical fashion characterising the 1970s when debates between structuralists, instrumentalists, and culturalists within marxism were prominent (see for example Poulantzas 1973, Miliband 1973, 1977, Johnson 1979b). Limitations



and strengths of this school can be noted through our four selected concepts: action, structure, power and interests. It emphasised structure largely to the exclusion of a detailed consideration of action. The theory of action implicit in its approaches varies between versions which come close to presenting it as structurally-determined (Castells) to versions which approximate a taken for granted goal-rational and interests model similar to that of the resource management school (eg some of Cockburn's and Offe's arguments). In both cases we find an analysis of new interest positions, which have been created within welfare capitalism, and which orientate people over consumer issues in relation to the state. Movements break out against the state when these interests are threatened. With respect to Claus Offe we noted that issues of meaning and purpose can also be included in ^{an} analysis of the state - the presence of Habermas with his 'colonisation of the life world' (1976, 1981) sensed in the background. Here other models of action are involved, and with Habermas this is explicitly so (see next chapter). Power is primarily conceptualised as political power in its structural contexts: structurally determined power over political decision making, again with extra dimensions in the work of Offe and Habermas. We find this work useful through the attention it draws to general conditions of welfare capitalism in which our particular protest movement arose, but our interpretation of the 'structures' discussed in this work will remain that ^{of} general conditions in which other conditions take on special meanings and effects.

D) The Identity-Oriented School

Alberto Melucci, one of the members of what Cohen (1985) calls the identity-oriented approach to social movements, criticises both the resource management school and studies of social movements which emphasise structural-institutional factors (such as some of the neo-Marxist work reviewed in the previous section) in the following way:

Structural theories, based on system analysis, explain *why* but not *how* a movement is set up and maintains its structure, that is, they only hypothesise about potential conflict without accounting for concrete collective action and actors. On the other hand, the resource mobilisation approach regards such action as mere data and fails to examine its meaning and orientation. In this case, *how* but not *why*.

Melucci (1985), p 790

Melucci goes on to say that these two approaches don't complement each other either: you can't add the 'why' explanations provided by structural theories to the 'how' explanations of the resource management school to get a complete theory of social movements. This is largely because the 'why' of social movements isn't fully explained by structural theories. 'Structural theories', as Melucci uses the term, only explain certain aspects of why movements occur - very general conditions in which the participants' position is conceived of primarily in terms of their

economic interests. While resource management theory makes instrumental action an explicit feature of their work, structural theories make it an implicit one (note our own discussion of this above). Melucci challenges the instrumental model of action altogether, arguing that the culture which is generated in social movements is an end in itself for participants. Thus Melucci states: 'The meaning of the action has to be found in the action itself more than in the pursued goals: movements are not qualified by what they do but by what they are.' (p 809). And movements 'don't ask, they offer' (p 812). Although all movements have objective goals which they strive for, they provide at the same time a new cultural milieu for their participants which is an end itself:

The new organisational form of contemporary movements is not just 'instrumental' for their goals. It is a goal in itself. Since the action is focused on cultural codes, the form of the movement is a message, a symbolic challenge to the dominant patterns... People are offered the possibility of another experience of time, space, interpersonal relations, which opposes the operational rationality of apparatuses. A different way of naming the world suddenly reverses the dominant codes.

Melucci (1985), p 801

Note the use of the word 'new' in the above passage. Melucci's interest is not with social movements in general but with what he believes is a new type of social movement, common only in the last few decades: his theories about social movements are meant to apply mainly to them.

Melucci is just one of a number of recent theorists who fall into the 'identity-oriented' school of work on social movements. 'Identity-oriented' is not a term, like resource management is, which the members of this group apply to themselves. There is more difference between the works of the authors in this group than the works of authors in the resource management school. But Cohen is right in her claim that they share a general orientation, a common concern with linkages between personal identity and power relationships in society. Other members of this school include Alessandro Pizzorno (1978a, 1978b) and Alain Touraine (1977, 1981, 1985). Jürgen Habermas shares some of the interests of this school but is not included within it by Cohen for his concern with social institutions and his use of a broader theory of action (see chapter four). Together they have made much of what they call 'New Social Movements' or NSMs which, in the words of Touraine, are 'radically discontinuous' with other types of social movement. 'New' for them doesn't mean struggles over welfare provisions as contrasted with struggles over the wage relation. The 'new' movements which interest these authors include feminist, ecological, peace, and local autonomy movements which have gained especially high visibility since the 1960s. The identity-oriented school emerged at about the same time as the resource management school, but it is geographically located in Europe while the latter, as we've seen, is located primarily in the United States.

NSMs are considered 'new' for several reasons. They tend to be based in the grass roots, rather than in traditional trade unions and political parties. They tend to be reformist rather than revolutionary, their focus is on the institutions of civil society rather than on the state, the market or the dominant relations of production. The social backgrounds of their members is usually middle class, rather than working class, and 'class background does not determine the collective identities of the actors or the stakes of their action' (Cohen 1985, p 667). They usually push for the democratisation of 'the structures of everyday life', the introduction of norms and values into realms which have become controlled by administrative rationality and processes of commodification.

We should note that many of these same issues have been noticed and studied by marxists concerned with questions of subjectivity, consciousness and ideology such as the culturalist paradigm we have mentioned (Thompson 1963) and other paradigms developed within 'Western marxism' (see Anderson 19). Our brief review of Offe's work on the state, for example, illustrates parallel concerns theorised within a neo-marxist framework. But Melucci, Touraine, Pizzorno and others in this group do not place their analysis within the Marxist framework - they do not see movements as directly related to political or economic institutions. Touraine, whose work is the most developed of this school, attempts to avoid what he considers to be fundamental reifications involved in the concept of social structure or social-cultural order. Instead he stresses the continuous *production* of society by its members and conceives of social movements as battles to control 'the cultural field'. Hence this work differs from marxist work in important ways.

The identity-oriented paradigm makes use of models of action which emphasise self-presentation and interpersonal communication, rather than the pursuit of goals. Pizzorno (1978a) sees social movements as the effort of groups of people to 'create a group identity within a general social identity whose interpretation they contest' (Cohen 1985, p 694). His answer to the 'free rider problem', then, is to suggest that group solidarity is based on the identity it provides its members rather than on a collective apprehension of interests. The identities offered by new social movements are liberating where previous identities were constraining. The feminist movement could be examined in this way, for example. New roles and identities are generated by the women taking part in it which free them from the constraining female roles of patriarchal society. Pizzorno's model of social movements, which Cohen calls a 'pure identity model', depends entirely on an expressive, rather than a goal-rational, model of action.

Touraine and Melucci, however, make use of a broader theory of action than does Pizzorno. Melucci (1980), for example, points out that these movements are not so much distinguished through their efforts to create new identities as through the fact that the participants have become aware of their ability to do so collectively and of the power relations involved in identity formation. It isn't so much the content of new identities but the *control* over identity formation generally which he believes to be the

distinguishing feature of these movements. The theory of action thus isn't simply an 'expressive' one, but one which recognises processes of negotiation between actors over normative contexts, and the possibility of mastering these processes. For his part, Touraine stresses again and again that social movements must be understood in terms of the actors' social relationships to other actors, not in terms of their relationships to the 'environment' under which he includes the state and the market (Touraine 1985). Relationships between actors are mediated by a shared cultural field and new social movements are struggles to control this field.

Thus the authors of the identity oriented school reintroduce the concern of the collective behaviour or breakdown school with features of social integration: norms, values and roles. But unlike them it doesn't regard norms and values as properties of a social system which determine action - it sees them instead as implicated in power relations and contestable. Individuals *act upon* the societal bases of social integration, they are not its dupes, and they are capable of altering the relations of domination present in cultural media for identity construction.

The principle usefulness of this approach to our study is the attention it draws to features of identity in social movements. Values, roles and identities are part of the stakes of social movements and thus solidarity is partly an end in itself for participants in them. In our study of Croxteth we shall examine carefully how values and identities were important to the activists in an effort to both understand why they became involved and what some of the relations of domination other than those of direct material interests were.

But the campaign for Croxteth Comprehensive was itself not what this group of theorists would call a 'new social movement', for reasons which become clear from our description of it, and there would be little point in elaborating any more on the work of this school. Moreover, despite the enormous value of this school in drawing attention to identity and values, the works of this school suffer from several weaknesses listed below:

- 1) Their persistent stress that a new type of social movement now exists which is radically different from all previous types. Theoretically this amounts to the claim that the forms of communicative action they note in these new movements did not exist in any way in previous movements. It also results in a hierarchy of movement types - especially in the work of Touraine (eg. 1985). We would argue, on the contrary, that the insights they have made with respect to communicative action would necessarily apply to all forms of social action and thus to all types of social movements. The struggles over cultural meanings and issues of dignity which is evident in the historical work of the Tillys and E. P. Thompson are just two examples of communicative and normative/expressive features of much older social movements:

... some of the most bitter conflicts of these years turned on issues which are not encompassed

by cost-of-living series. The issues which provoked the most intensity of feeling were very often ones in which such values as traditional customs, 'justice', 'independence', security, or family-economy were at stake, rather than straight-forward 'bread-and-butter' issues. The early years of the 1830s are aflame with agitations which turned on issues in which wages were of secondary importance.

Thompson (1963), p 203

'New' social movements may differ in the *degree* to which participants are aware of the social origins of norms and identities, and the degree to which issues of identity have been made *explicit* goals, but these same processes occurred in earlier social movements and occur in contemporary movements which authors like Touraine tend to pass off as 'traditional'. There is no 'radical discontinuity' involved in contrasts between the old and the new movements, as historical studies providing rich descriptive material testify to.

- 2) The limited use of goal-rational and strategic action in their analysis. Examples of NSMs which often appear in these authors works such as the feminist, peace and ecological movements, certainly have been aimed at changes in state policy even if aspects of identity have been importantly involved in them as well. Issues of identity and values go hand in hand with those of interests and strategy - they must be theorised and described together.
- 3) Their underplay of institutional analysis. If previous notions of 'the state', 'social structure' and 'contradiction' have been reifications, as Touraine points out, this is partly because they have been used within analyses at an institutional level of social phenomena, i.e., they have been carried out at a high level of *abstraction*. There is nothing wrong about high levels of abstraction as long as what is being abstracted from isn't forgotten and as long as the constructs resulting are conceived of as highly general *conditions* in which action occurs. Reification is often a process of forgetting; we can make use of theories of the state, for example, as long as we maintain conceptual linkages from the general terms such analyses employ to the many particular terms which must also be taken into account if specific activities are to be understood.

5) Synthetic Work of Claus Offe

A recent article by Claus Offe on social movements attempts to integrate some of the insights of the identity-oriented paradigm with a neo-Marxist framework. It is worth reviewing here both because of its

relevance to the above discussions and because it poses questions which the campaign for Croxteth Comprehensive can shed some light on.

In an article called 'New Social Movements: Challenging the Boundaries of Institutional Politics' (1985), Offe extends his previous work on the welfare state to analyse contemporary movements. We have seen that his earlier work already listed struggles over the meaning and purposes of state services as being entailed in the nature of welfare provision, which expresses tensions in the appearance and actual content of its activities. He continues this analysis in this more recent article:

the politics of new social movements ... seeks to politicise the institutions of civil society in ways that are not constrained by the channels of representative-bureaucratic political institutions, and thereby to *reconstitute* a civil society that is no longer dependent upon ever more regulation, control, and intervention.

Offe (1985), p 820

Thus he locates movements with respect to the state. Next he analyses the social base of new social movements, arguing that class positions enter importantly into understanding them. He argues that these movements draw participants from three main groups: elements of the new middle class, especially people in human service professions and the public sector; elements of the old middle class such as shop keepers and artisans; and 'decommodified groups', that is, people not occupying a labour market defined position, such as students and unemployed people. In new social movements the new middle class and student groups play a key role. They tend to be highly educated, to either enjoy economic security or to have grown up in a household which did, and to respond to specific issues rather than to adopt an overall ideology. They are 'class aware' but not 'class conscious' (p 833). That is, people from middle class decommodified groups predictably come to join certain types of movements but they don't act *on behalf* of their class. The types of issues they are drawn to involve grass roots democracy, the introduction of meaning into 'colonised' areas of the life-world, ecological, peace and feminist issues.

Although Offe calls these movements 'new', like the theorists of the identity-oriented paradigm, he puts this into a historical perspective. He argues that there is a 'forgotten agenda' of issues once associated prominently with the labour movement but which had to be abandoned in a series of compromises in order to win concessions in areas of more pressing importance: wages, conditions of work and state provisions (p 836). 'New' social movements thus have to a certain extent picked up the 'forgotten agenda', according to Offe.

Finally, Offe suggests that new social movements could become strong challenges to 'institutional politics' only if the new social groups involved are able to make an alliance with either the labour movement or the 'right' (p 868). He also points out the possibility of a third alliance, that between the traditional labour movement and the right *over the specific*

issues taken up by NSMs, but argues that the only alliance which could succeed would be one between the social groups supporting new social movements and the labour movement. This is because of his marxist framework, which places the issues raised by NSMs (peace, ecology, feminism, etc) in relation to conflicts in class interests conceived of more traditionally.

Offe's emphasis on the welfare state and its interventions in contemporary economic and social life is not an adequate explanation of many social movements. The feminist and gay movements for example, certainly examples of NSMs, did not arise in any direct relationship to administrative rationality. In the next chapter an explanation of this limitation in Offe's work will be suggested. His theory is related to a view of social structure which, subtle as it is, ultimately emphasises class as an organising structure to the exclusion of possible other key organising principles - gender in particular. Offe's work implicitly expands what is meant by the concept of 'interests', from a primarily economic sense to what could be called 'cultural interests' - interests involving the control of identity and value formation. This is implied in the stress Offe puts on the reintegration of values and norms into decision making rationality. An expanded concept of interests, however, also suggests other ways of conceiving of social structure. Power relations based on gender and ethnic relations have a certain autonomy from those based on economic relations.

But nevertheless, Offe's work goes some way towards overcoming the weaknesses of both the neo-marxist writers reviewed in the previous subsection and the identity-oriented work reviewed just above. It rejects the discontinuity between 'new' and 'traditional' movements which Melucci, Touraine and others insist upon and brings in what amounts to an historical and cultural explanation of differences between these two types of movement instead. The 'newness' of NSMs in his work consists in two things: the current form in which the state makes interventions in economic and social life (the encroachment of administrative rationality and commodification) and the tendency at the present historical moment of only certain social classes outside the labour movement to oppose this type of control. To locate the discussion in Britain, it is clear that welfare provisions could be expected to mean something different to the labour movement here than they do to middle class decommmodified groups. The welfare state was won through political struggles, it is a victory which came after long years of organising. In conditions which threaten the welfare state, it cannot be expected that many of the issues taken up by NSMs will be high on the agenda of the organisations which helped to build the welfare state. In addition to priorities, culture and tradition must enter into the explanation of why NSMs have not drawn upon the working class. The values and views which were generated in previous conditions and struggles exercise a continuing influence on contemporary struggles of the labour movement. For working class people, meanwhile, organised struggle is not likely to escape the institutions of the labour movement and the culture corresponding to it. There is certainly a number of interpenetrations between working class cultures and the organisational

cultures of the labour movement anyway. Middle class decommodified groups, on the other hand, do not depend as much materially on the welfare state and come from different cultural backgrounds which confront bureaucratic rationality all the more antagonistically. Those who do depend on state benefits during periods of unemployment may expect this situation to be temporary, and the fact that many of them grew up in economically secure conditions also effects the way in which they will regard the state and the way in which administers services.

Offe's work is especially interesting for our particular study because there were actually two groups, from two different social bases, involved in the occupation of Croxteth Comprehensive: the volunteers from the Croxteth community itself who were all strongly rooted in Liverpool working class families and local culture; and the volunteer teachers who were nearly all highly educated members of Offe's 'decommodified group'. The activists from Croxteth, moreover, were also largely 'decommodified', - unemployed. Most were women, and most had no formal connections with the labour movement at the beginning of the campaign. These two groups differed significantly in the ways in which they tended to interpret the struggle for Croxteth Comprehensive, its goals and its justification, in much the way Offe's analysis would suggest, culture being the main reason why. Thus part of our study of the campaign will be to consider the extent to which an 'alliance' was made in this case, between goals associated with the occupation which were derived in part from working class traditions (to retain a state provision) and goals which approximated those of new social movements (community power and local democracy).

IV Chapter Summary

Our review of four categories of theoretical work on social movements was conducted with reference to four inter-linked concepts: interests, power, action, and social structure. Interests, we found, is made an important concept in two of these approaches: the resource management school and the neo-marxist work which was reviewed. The resource management school limits the concept of interests by tying it to a goal-rational model of action, the neo-marxist work on urban social movements takes interests for granted by focusing on social structure and making interests an assumed link between structure and action. A theory of power was found to be operative in all these approaches but in very different ways. In resource management power is considered primarily in terms of access to political decision making processes, in the work of the Tillys, marxist culturalism, and the identity-oriented paradigm, power is shown to be involved in struggles over values and meanings, which we found to be insightful and useful. Action is given a degree of explicit theorisation only in the resource management and identity-oriented schools, and both theorise it in one-sided ways: a goal-rational model informing the resource management school and an expressive and/or partially theorised 'communicative' model (see chapter four) informing the identity-oriented work. Social structure is modelled in different ways within these different groups: it often takes a system-theoretical, functionalist form in the

collective behaviour work, a form emphasising interests positions in the neo-marxist and (but implicitly) the resource management work.

Much has been left unsaid about the theoretical issues which have been identified in this chapter. The major conclusion which can be drawn from the discussions of this chapter is that none of the major approaches to social movements we have discussed is adequate in itself for our study of the campaign for Croxteth Comprehensive. Aspects of most of these approaches will be useful, but the precise nature of these aspects and their relationships with each other await clarification and development. That clarification is the subject of the next chapter. The next chapter focuses exclusively on the main concepts which were used to contrast theoretical approaches here.

Chapter Four
SOCIAL THEORY AND SOCIAL MOVEMENTS II:
Concepts and Paradigms

The last chapter carried out its review of theory on social movements with respect to four social-theoretical concepts: power, interests, action and social structure. These concepts were chosen because different schools of work on social movements are easily distinguished from each other according to the interpretations they give to one or more of the concepts. Moreover they are tightly interlinked and are fundamental enough to serve as organising concepts for a framework of our own in which to study the campaign for Croxteth Comprehensive. The last chapter ended on a negative note, failing to find any particular school of work on social movements fully adequate on its own. This chapter will seek to provide a more detailed conceptual analysis of these four concepts, ending with a basic orientation which will be used to examine the campaign in Croxteth.

This chapter is divided into sections which have one or two of the four major concepts we placed on our agenda of investigation in the last chapter as their titles: 1) power and interests, 2) action, and 3) social structure. The purpose of the chapter is to clarify conceptual issues hovering around each concept and to explore ways in which they are linked together. Each section is really a particular 'way in' to the same set of problems and issues, and each section thus includes the consideration of all the relevant concepts to some degree. The discussion in this chapter is by no means meant to be exhaustive or conclusive. A few paradigms and debates have been selected for comparison from the enormous body of literature on social theory to help to clarify and problematise the concepts which will be used to analyse the campaign for Croxteth Comprehensive. The chapter ends with a useful framework and a number of questions, not with a set of definitions.

I Interests and Power

The discussion in this section begins with a brief look at the concepts of power and interests as they appeared in debates between American sociologists in the 1950s and 1960s. These debates were part of the intellectual climate in which resource management theory was developed and are a good way to enter the subject. A primary issue of the debates was the nature of interests, - whether or not interests are an objective phenomena and what the conceptual links between interests and power are.

As this section proceeds more complicated models of power and interests will become introduced. These models have been formulated in debates within marxism over various issues, including the concept of social structure. This will in turn lead to questions which the study of 'new' social movements and feminist theory pose; for example the question of whether or not it makes sense to speak of different types of interests, interests concerning issues of dignity, identity and self expression, as well as interests concerning issues of economic need and work fulfilment.

A) The Objective Theory of Interests - Dimensions of Power:

In the late 1950s and through the 1960s, American sociologists working on community studies involved themselves in arguments over pluralist theories of power. These debates directly involved attempts to specify the nature of interests - especially the question of whether or not an objective theory of interests is defensible. An objective theory of interests supports non-pluralist models of power while versions of pluralism usually make use of a subjective theory of interests.

Dahl (1956, 1961, 1963) is one of the best known advocates of pluralism (see also Polsby 1963). Dahl maintains that any use of the term 'interests' must have empirical referents to the expressed wishes of individuals under study. People's interests are simply what they say they are and no more. To understand what people's interests are one needs only to discover what they want. The pluralist view of interests is related to its theory of power. Power is conceived of as the capacity of individuals to achieve conscious goals. On the political level, the level which pluralists have been most concerned with, people have the power to pursue their interests if they have institutional channels through which to express grievances and elect representatives, which pluralists believe is the case in modern democratic societies like the United States. Where structures of domination exist, these consist of legally sanctioned blockages to political institutions as in the case of non-democratic nations. Thus power is conceived of in terms of formal access to political decision making. Although the existence of elites is recognised by pluralists, they are believed to hold their privileged positions only through the consensus of the majority of citizens, who are assumed not to wish to take part in political activities. Elites are constrained by their need to maintain the consensus of the general populace, and thus must act in a way which represents the interests of the majority of citizens even if they serve their own interests in the process.

The pluralist concept of power is what Lukes (1974) calls 'one dimensional'. It is related to a subjective theory of interests because power and domination operate only on the level of conscious, goal-oriented action: i.e., all interests can be generally assumed to fall within the consciousness of those who have them, and thus no forms of domination could exist which would be based on an obscuration of people's 'real' interests from their awareness. Hence, although an objective theory of interests could in principle coincide with a pluralist theory of power (interests determinable without reference to the expressed desires of those under study at the same time that those interests are consciously available to these individuals), purely subjective theories of interest *must* be tied to some form of pluralism. That is to say, if interests are believed to always be within the consciousness of people who have them, then the major blockage to meeting interests would lie in the formal system of access to power.

Some of the work within the collective behaviour approach to social movements makes use of a one-dimensional theory of power and a subjective theory of interests. We saw how many theories within this approach explain participation in social movements as irrational activity (e.g. LeBon 1896, Tarde 1969, Hoffer 1951 - see also Oberschall pp 12 - 14 for a discussion). It is described as irrational because these individuals were believed to have institutional channels open to them through which their interests could have been pursued. The assumption is that institutional access is available to all and that equal institutional access ensures equal means for realising interests.

What Lukes' calls 'two dimensional' theories of power, could coincide with either a subjective or an objective theory of interests. The second dimension of power involves 'non-decision making' (Bachrach and Baratz 1970). Non-decision making theory was formulated in opposition to pluralist theories of power in order to show that, even where formally equal access to institutional channels exist, some groups in society hold greater amounts of power than others. Non-decision making refers to two things: to the ability of people in powerful positions to deliberately determine what is and what is not on the political agenda (see Saunders 1983 ch. 1 for a detailed discussion of this aspect of non-decision making) and to a 'bias' built into the system which keeps many areas of potential contestation implicit and uncontested. The first sense of non-decision making has to do with purposive, goal-pursuing action which obstructs the formal channels available between citizens and the political process. The second sense of non-decision making is based on the analysis of largely tacit features in the background of political institutions which some people are better able to manipulate than others. This second sense of non-decision making moves away from the analysis of strategic actions alone to examine the informal contexts in which political actions take place. It seeks to explain, in other words, the ways in which certain groups are able to determine what is on the political agenda, and draws attention to more tacit features of decision making. Clegg (1975, 1979), for example, argues convincingly that informal 'rules of access' to the political system exist which exclude large groups of people unfamiliar with the means of playing by them. Those who are familiar with them need not be overly conscious of their advantage. Middle class residents, for example, will often have greater access to the political agenda of their local government than working class residents, partly because middle class culture makes the rules of access intelligible to them. It is a concept similar in some ways to Bourdieu's (1977b, 1981, - with Passeron 1977) concept of 'cultural capital'. Schattschneider (1963) argued similarly that groups of people are systematically barred from 'the pressure system', the informal realm of political life existing outside the electoral system in which key decisions are made. The second dimension of power, then, still focuses on decision making processes and access to them, though this time what access actually entails is analysed in detail. It is a concept of power pertaining to political process, like the first dimension, but it recognises informal

and often tacit rules which prevent certain groups of people from getting their grievances and desires onto a political agenda.

The principle school of social movement theory making use of something akin to the second dimension of power is the resource management school. Because it is focused on unequal access to (political) decision making power, it stands in explicit opposition to pluralism. And through its adaptation of Schattschneider's term 'pressure system' (e.g. Gamson 1975, ch. 1) - the unofficial realm of political life in which the major decisions are made - it is cognisant of many of the operations of non-decision making in government.

With Lukes' third dimension of power we shift the location of debates on interests and power from those American academic circles concerned primarily with the sociology of local politics to a more European concern with the concept of ideology. The third dimension of power differs from the other two in that it is *logically* tied to an objective theory of interests. There is a logical separation between interests and wants in this view. Power, correspondingly, may be expressed through a bias in culture which obscures interests from people's awareness; dissociates wants from interests in various ways. This is the idea of 'false consciousness' (Abercrombie 1980, Hall 1977) or 'false needs' (Marcuse 1964), and other variants of ideology (see also Larrain, 1979). It is a theory of power which goes beyond political process, formal, informal, or non-institutional mobilisations, to explain the absence of political activity where it could be expected (e.g. residents in deprived areas who do not attempt to get changes) and even the absence of *expressions* of grievances where they might be expected (e.g. subordinate populations who do not formulate a critique of the forces underlying their situation).

B) Multidimensional Theories of Power: Interests and Social Structure

With Lukes' three dimensional theory of power interests become related broadly to social structure and patterns of domination within it, rather than narrowly to political institutions. There are various ways of modelling the relationship of interests, action, and social structure through a three dimensional theory of power, and all such models directly involve epistemological issues. To help problematise the concepts of interests and power we shall briefly describe two competing models which have been formulated within marxism. These are by no means the only two models which have emerged within marxism (e.g. CCCS 1977), and Weber's theories of class, status groups, domination and legitimacy are relevant to the discussion but left for the next section on social structure (Weber 1968). The intention here is not to review all such models comparatively, it is to use a few existing models in order to clarify the issues we are dealing with. Marxist models are most useful for this purpose because the concept of ideology and its relationship to interests has been most discussed within marxism.

Let us begin by considering a passage from Eric Olin Wright on the concept of class interests:

Class interests in capitalist society are those potential objectives which become actual objectives of struggle in the absence of the mystification and distortions of capitalist relations. Class interests ... are hypotheses about the objectives of struggles which would occur if the actors in the struggle had a scientifically correct understanding of their situation.

Wright (1978), p 89

Wright is using a model of interests, structure, power and knowledgeability which develops one of the paradigms present in some of Marx's work. We reviewed some of the models present in Marx and Engels' *German Ideology* in the last chapter, and Wright is specifying one interpretation which can be made of them. Wright is talking about class interests which are determined objectively by the relationship of groups of people to the mode of production. Class interests are related to individuals first of all through common human economic needs and secondly through the socially given way in which these needs can be met. Workers are dependent on wages to meet their economic needs, their interests place them immediately into a relationship of dependency on capital. Since the position of the working class in society is one of subordination, it is ultimately the common interest of this class to engage in struggle with the classes which exploit them. But this common interest is not immediately apparent to those who share it. Knowledgeability is obscured through mystifications and distortions corresponding to the class relations themselves: the way in which these relations influence types of knowledge, ideology. Wright says the solution to this situation is for the working class to attain a 'scientifically correct' understanding of their position and thus of their interests. The model of social structure suggests the imagery of a physical structure: social relations are the girders and panels within which people must move. Knowledge is like correct seeing. Power relations operate partially through the obstruction of clear vision.

Wright's model is not an uncommon one by any means. It is one form of what Johnson (1979b, pp 203-207) calls 'Manifesto Marxism'. Its theory of knowledge is one in which the base-superstructure metaphor is present. Ideas, values, subjectivities (the 'superstructure') are produced and distributed in society in ways which mystify and thereby justify the social relations of production (the 'base'). It is the 'interests' of the subordinate classes which are the main objects of mystification. Interests are conceived of primarily as economic interests which underlie political interests: if class interests are scientifically understood by those who share them, a series of goal-rational collective actions would take place (the class struggle) to alter the social relations of production. The base can determine or influence the superstructure, within this model, in different ways which produce different types of ideology: the degrees of intentionality and non-intentionally involved will vary, for example, and the many

different forms (as well as contents) through which superstructural/cultural material can produce ideological effects can be analysed.

As a way to both summarise the perspective taken by Wright and other marxists sharing his view, and to lead into a description of a competing model at the same time, we will quote Perry Anderson. The following passage is directly critically at E. P. Thompson. Like Wright's passage above, it suggests a set structure of relations, of competing interest positions, within which people find themselves:

It is, and must be, the dominant mode of production that confers fundamental unity on a social formation, allocating their objective positions to the classes within it, and distributing the agents within each class. The result is, typically, an objective process of class struggle.

Anderson (1980), p 55

Anderson's comments are directed against Thompson's version of what is frequently called 'culturalism' or 'cultural marxism' (Johnson 1979b, pp 212-224; Kaye 1984). Culturalism is an orientation which has been present in various ways in the works of a number of marxist historians working in Britain such as Maurice Dobb, Christopher Hill, Eric Hobsbawm and others. Although there is some unity in the concerns of these historians, especially the concern with culture (see Kaye 1984 for an argument that a similar paradigm is involved in all these authors' work), there is much diversity as well (Johnson 1979). For this discussion, formulations made by E.P. Thompson concerning the relationship of culture to the concepts of interests and social structure will be made to provide a contrast to the models of Wright and Anderson.

E. P. Thompson (1963, 1978) has openly criticised the base-superstructure metaphor by arguing that values, morals, and other aspects of culture are not in a simple causal relationship with economic interests. Culturalist perspectives are partially attributable to the perspective of those historians who, like Thompson, view the development of capitalism itself historically - as a series of changes which acted upon already existing traditions and cultures, a series of changes which were struggled against as they occurred for cultural and political, as well as for economic reasons:

the making of the working class is a fact of political and cultural, as much as of economic, history. ... The changing productive relations and working conditions of the Industrial Revolution were imposed, not upon raw material, but upon the free-born Englishman - and the free-born Englishman as Paine had left him or as the Methodists had moulded him.

Thompson (1963), p 194

Thus the concept of interests takes a more flexible form in this work, or, depending on how interests are defined, occupies a less central position within it. Interests are embedded in traditions. As

capitalism developed, it impinged upon existing systems of morality, cultural concepts of freedom, and so on. Part of the opposition to capitalism was an opposition to the way in which capitalism itself tends to reduce everything to economic relations (Thompson 1978, p 294), which was an opposition based on morals and values as well as on economic concerns. The separability of these terms is put into question. Thompson argues that the relations of production are not simply economic relations, not economic relations first and cultural relations second, but simultaneously relations involving many dimensions of human existence which must be theorised together: 'Social relations of production are simultaneously economic, political, cultural and moral' (Thompson, quoted in Kaye 1984, p 236). And, we can add, so are interests in this view. Thus Thompson describes the relationship of individuals to their social position frequently with terms like 'experience' and 'social being' (e.g. 1963, p 10), rather than with 'interests'. Culture, in a culturalist perspective, isn't only a representation of economic interests - it is a field of interests in its own right.

Thompson's rough model contrasts with the models of Anderson and Wright in several additional ways. First of all, it suggests that since interests themselves are more complex than simply economic interests, their apprehension/misapprehension by individuals cannot be limited to a cognitive one. Struggles are not simply the result of correct 'seeing' with a correspondingly clear formulation of goals and their rational pursuit. Struggles are always complex and always involve murky simultaneities of economic, political and cultural issues - dignity, as well as wages; morality, as well as working conditions. The scientific epistemology of Wright and Anderson is put into question. Second, social structure is conceived of more complexly: it is a continuous historical product, not a static array of interest positions directly given by a mode of production. The image of human beings acting *inside* 'material' structures is replaced by an image of continuous activity, continuous conflict between groups on unequal terms. It is an image which suggests more interpenetrations between actors and their conditions of action. Third, domination and exploitation are not reduced to economic forms alone. There are moral dimensions to power which cannot be subsumed to economics (see especially 1978, p 363).

However, Thompson has been fairly criticised (Johnson 1979b) for his emphasis upon culture to the exclusion of features of social structure which cannot be called cultural. He raises questions which are not answered in his work. Granted that economic, moral, cultural, and political issues intermesh, what does this mean in terms of human interests? Does it still make sense to ask whether or not some primacy can be ascribed to the economic? If so, how much primacy? What are the relationships between these terms if it isn't one of determination? These questions are not clearly dealt with by culturalism. Thompson's work doesn't really develop explicitly the paradigm(s) which it implies and works from. We wish to preserve an understanding of power which involves misrecognitions or non-recognitions of structures of domination

in society, and hence which make the relationship of interests to consciousness, or interests to culture, problematical.

Let us clarify this problem more. We began by briefly describing debates over whether or not interests are objective phenomena, noted how closely tied these debates were to debates over theories of *political* power, and ended up discussing two different models of a theory of objective interests through a multi-dimensional theory of power which are concerned with capturing more than its purely political forms. With marxist models like those of Wright and Anderson, a theory of power as ideology is possible which is capable of explaining *inaction* and *limited action* as well as action. This is an important feature of the concept of power, and it rests on an objective theory of interests - a theory of interests which allows for their systematic obscuration. But we posed the culturalist perspective against their models in order to suggest that interests, among other things, are more complicated than simply economic interests. There is a sense in which we may wish to speak of 'cultural interests' (e.g. morality and dignity) as having some autonomy or at least as having a high degree of enmeshment with economic interests. In posing culturalism against versions of 'Manifesto Marxism', however, we found another problem emerging: epistemology. Wright and Anderson theorise social structure as an array of interest positions given by a mode of production and thus as an essentially objective phenomena. But this is an interpretation of objectivity as paradigmatised by the relationship of *physical* objects to the subjective observer. Interests are objective in this sense - they are given by a mode of production which can be 'observed' and studied 'scientifically' and are thus themselves revealable through science. In this model human beings are linked to social structure through the image of observable 'positions' in a 'structure' and thus the possibility of attaining cognitive distance from social structure is given in the model. Social structure, interest positions, can be 'seen' with the help of science. Social structure is like an object, as are interests.

In culturalist models, however, the possibility of cognitive distance is put into question. If social relations directly involve cultural and moral features, i.e. features of what could be called consciousness, then the separability of social relations from human subjectivity is not so easily achieved. This doesn't mean that interests are no longer objective, however. Thompson, for example, continuously stresses the relationship of social being to consciousness. Social being is objective, it pertains to conditions of life in which people involuntarily find themselves, conditions of life which shape their experiences. Interests would be intimately connected to social being - arising out of living situations. And, further, this is not to say that a scientific epistemology is precluded by a culturalist perspective either - a distinction between 'culture' and cognition *could* be made within such a perspective as the basis to argue for an objectivist epistemology. But it is to say that posing culturalism to marxisms like those of Wright and Anderson has helped us to problematise the scientism they make use of. To what extent are subjective processes

enmeshed in social relations? Culturalism doesn't appear to have answers of its own to epistemological issues. In fact, through blurring distinctions between culture and features of society which are not cultural (Johnson 1979b, p 222), it has difficulty in clearly posing the problem which Wright answers with the term 'science' in the quotation above, namely: if power operates partially by masking interests from those who have them, how can one discover what those interests actually are? Wright says one can do so through science. Without going into a protracted discussion of this issue (see Hall 1977, Larrain 1979,), we shall simply state our belief that culturalism is right in suggesting that subjectivity, and thus implicitly, cognitive process, is not easily separable from social relations. In addition, we believe that science becomes an inappropriate method for acquiring knowledge of interests and other aspects of society accordingly. But at the same time we don't wish to blur distinctions between consciousness, culture, and non-cultural aspects of society, - we wish to hold to an objective theory of interests and thus wish to have a theory of power which can explain the misrecognition of interests. So the epistemological question of how non-cultural conditions of life can be known remains. The answer, we think, can be approached through a discussion of action and knowledgeability - the subject of sections ahead.

Table 4-1 summarises the discussion so far by presenting a chart which contrasts the schools of work on social movements reviewed in the last chapter according to whether they make use of a subjective or an objective theory of interests, and according to their theory of power:

 Table 4-1: *Interests and Power*

INTERESTS:	SUBJECTIVE	OBJECTIVE
POWER: One Dimensional	Pluralism. Collective Behaviour	
Two Dimensional		Non-decision making. Resource Management.
Multi Dimensional		False or distorted consciousness. Marxism (large variety of views). (Feminism - see below). Identity-oriented paradigm.

There are two main areas of needed clarification which have been introduced through the discussion above: one concerns the question of what interests are, if they are not solely economic, and the other concerns the question of how people can know what their interests are (or have a correct

understanding of their social position) if science can't be proposed as a universal method for doing so. The second area was discussed in chapter two when realist methodology was described, but will be involved in sections ahead on action, knowledgeability and social structure, and will be considered in the two sections ahead accordingly. The first area, the question of what we can take to be interests, will be discussed just below.

C) 'Cultural Interests' and Self-Making:

a) Interests and Knowledgeability:

The identity-oriented school of theory on social movements, through its emphasis on meaning/identity creation and contestation, has taken up issues which are well illustrated, if poorly theorised, in the culturalist perspective. Aspects of culture, identities, roles, values and meanings, can and do become objects of social movements both in contemporary times and historically. However, unlike Thompson, theorists like Pizzorno and Melucci avoid framing their work through the concept of class. The implicit question their work poses to the concepts of interests and power is whether or not it makes sense to speak of interests in relation to identity and expressivity - culture generally - which do not get their ultimate meaning, their ultimate role in representing power relations, from economic relations.

Marx himself recognised in his early writings that social relations developed in political activities become an end in themselves (Marx 1975, p 365). But he emphasised that this was a *secondary* end, discovered after coming together for the immediate ends of political organisation. This is the exact reverse of Pizzorno's contention, Pizzorno the 'pure' identity theorist (Cohen 1985), that the instrumental purposes of a social movement are secondary to social and cultural ones (Pizzorno 1978a, 1985; and see Cohen 1985, p 691). But Pizzorno's order of priority is difficult to support. As argued in the last chapter, all social movements probably involve issues of identity and the contestation of meaning, and many social movements, like the one in Croxteth, do so after arising over directly material issues (the retention of a school). On the other hand, any insistence on the *necessary* secondary importance of new associations, as ends in themselves, would be reductionist. Some 'new' social movements like the feminist movement, do arise initially with roles, identities, and new social relationships as their immediate goals. It is clearly much closer to the mark to point out the interconnections between issues of identity, expressivity, and economic interests. Both types of interests are 'material' in the sense that both are directly related to conditions of life which specify certain allowed realms of movement and deny others.

One aspect of this interconnection is illustrated by Richard Johnson who writes of the barriers which people in oppressed conditions are faced with for *expressing*, and thus understanding and gaining some control over, their situations:

It is not merely that they [oppressive conditions] are private, but that they are actively privatised, *held* at the level of the private. Here, so far as formal politics and state actions are concerned, they are invisible, without public remedy. This means not only that they have to be borne, but that a consciousness of them, as evils, is held at a level of implicit or communal meanings. Within the group a knowledge of such sufferings may be profound, but not of such a kind that expects relief, or finds the sufferings strange.

Johnson (1983), p 23

Knowledgeability and conditions of deprivation and oppression are tightly linked, and most social movements will involve altering implicit or communal meanings, making some of them explicit and public. But the above passage suggests more as well. The theory of knowledge involved shifts from a scientific one, paradigmised on the distanced observer, to a more complex one involving group generations of ideas and meanings. Experience, rooted in 'social being', must be expressed in forms which make the *correct evaluations* as well as the correct observations. Suffering has to be evaluated as *wrong*. Social structure is something which includes the systematic containment of implicit or highly localised understandings in unchallenging forms.

Hence social movements, by articulating living conditions in new ways, ways which, in particular, label the conditions to be normatively wrong instead of natural, and ways which promise some hope of changing them, even if only in *principle*, challenge relations of domination while they open up small social spaces which supply certain amounts of liberation, *cultural liberation*, in themselves. This is another suggested alteration in the concept of knowing - knowing itself can be in some ways an end as well as a means, a way of experiencing personal validation, hope, and connection to other human beings in a similar situation. 'Challenging in principle' gives people hope at the same time that it draws forth and validates suppressed identities. Those who habitually bear suffering habitually bear impoverished identities: they may feel themselves to be inadequate rather than their situation to be wrong, they often feel isolated, and definitely are without control and power over their situations. Oppressive ways of life include the customarily limited cultural roles available to women, gays, and ethnic minorities which have both materially oppressive features (e.g., housework for women, poorly paid and uninteresting jobs for cultural minorities) and culturally oppressive ones which limit the amounts of dignity and status available for such groups. In the case of Croxteth we shall find that the generation of new possibilities for expression and identity, as well as the creation of a new set of group norms which articulated living conditions in Croxteth as being unacceptable, had much to do with the appeal of the movement for those who became and remained active in it. They were simultaneously means and ends of the movement.

b) Identity and Interests:

But, to focus on a deeper aspect of the issue, the intermeshing, intersecting and mutual materiality of what we are calling 'cultural interests' with economic interests doesn't make them identical nor necessarily place one always in a secondary relationship to the other. This fact is presented clearly in feminist theory, and it is worth taking some time to contrast feminist and marxist theories in order to throw light on the relationships between issues of identity and interests. In what follows absolutely no attempt is made to thoroughly review the feminist literature nor even to summarise the major areas of conflict between marxism and feminism. Instead, this discussion uses feminist concerns as an example to problematise issues which are more general than either economic or gender oppression.

Gender relations involve power over women, over their sexuality as much as over their labour. There are feminist theories which interpret control over women primarily as control over their labour (Beechey 1977, Bland et al 1978): women's role is to service men for example, which is a labour-like behaviour. Even sexual activity could be, and sometimes is, viewed as a form of 'labour': sexual servicing. But other feminists argue that this is simply reductionist. Even if one was to interpret control over women as 'labour', as labour 'at the point of reproduction' for example (Cockburn 1977), capitalist relations of production do not *determine* this control - they only give it a capitalist form (MacKinnon 1982). Control over women has existed in non-capitalist as well as capitalist societies. The example of domination expressed through gender relations raises questions concerning interests and power generally, over the extent to which some of the interests involved in the domination of women bear some autonomy from interests involved in economic exploitation.

Above we argued that interests are socially structured ways of meeting basic needs. Thus with a marxist analysis, for example, we see that interests differ from class to class because the common needs of individuals in all classes (to maintain their physical existence) are met in ways which class position determines. The proletariat *must* work for wages, because that is the only available way for them to maintain themselves and their families. Capitalists *must* seek to increase profits, because first of all their means of subsistence comes from profits and because secondly profits within a capitalist economy have to be continuously increased - business has to be continuously expanded for the capitalist, as a capitalist, to survive. Labour, human productive activity which sustains existence as well as allows for self expression (and below we will add, self-production), can take place only within social relationships outside the control of the labourer. Productive activity under capitalism becomes disassociated from the purposes of those in the working class, its products become the property of another class (Marx 1975, p 325). Thus the interests of the proletariat are constructed about the wage form - to have a job first, to get as high a wage under as congenial conditions as possible second, and to alter the social relations generating this condition of dependency. But dependency includes the separation of purposive

activity from product - it is an economic dependency which also exercises constraints on human expression.

Hence, in this type of analysis, given basic human needs, and given a fundamental human process, productive activity or labour, by which these are satisfied, interests are the socially structured ways in which this process must take place. There are two important sets of terms here: fundamental needs, such as the maintenance of the physical body, and a basic process of meeting them: activity. In what follows both of these terms will be more fully considered.

Radical feminists point out the inadequacy of these basic concepts in marxism to explain the domination of women by men. Katherin MacKinnon (1982), for example, argues that in feminist theory, desire, desire for sex, for control of women's sexuality, takes the place of work in marxism as a fundamental concept. Desire becomes socially structured into interest positions which differ for males and females in patriarchy. Sexual desire *must* be expressed through gender relations which favour males over females, which channel desire into relations of domination and subordination. MacKinnon, finding the central position given to productive activity or labour in marxism inadequate to explain gender relations, attempts an analogous analysis in which desire takes the place of work. Her ideas put into question the primacy usually given by marxists to productive activity in their theory of interests.

However, the real problem seems to be the reduction of productive activity to a narrow conception of *economic* activity in much marxist work, rather than the absence of an equivalent concept like 'desire'. Desire isn't really an analogous concept to that of work: work itself presupposes desires, as well as needs. The question of why marxism has seemed inadequate to explain gender exploitation hovers more around the ideas of 'basic needs', human purposes, which become socially constructed. Productive activity, for example, if taken as a fundamental human process (which seems to be legitimate if understood broadly enough, as expressive activity: self-making - see Marx 1975, p 327, and see below), presupposes human purposes. Surely it is difficult to speak of human purposes without immediately encountering their social character - but all marxists would agree that *some* human purposes are inescapably fundamental: to maintain the physical body, for example. The question for the concept of interests is whether or not non-economic purposes exist which are as fundamental as those of eating and attaining shelter. To flush the question out more let us consider gender more carefully, since it is an area which marxism has had difficulty addressing, and since it is an area in which theories challenging marxism, such as MacKinnon's, are being produced.

Studies of male socialisation (e.g. Bradley 1971) show how identity and status enter into the differentiation of sex roles. Boys, in different ways according to which subcultures are being examined, learn sexist language and behaviour as part of their self-construction. Boys are first of all under pressure to take negating and objectifying attitudes towards girls, *in order to be boys*, and secondly must satisfy their sexual desires

within the forms provided. The interests involved are interests of identity - the stake of the boy learning sexist behaviour is first of all to be an acceptable human being, which requires social validation and recognition from peers. The stake for a girl learning subordinated feminine roles and identities is first of all to be a girl, to have an approved identity. Having an identity is a necessary part of human life, just as maintaining the physical body is. Certain interests are *primarily* concerned with identity, socially constructed ways of self-making. And like interests of a more economic nature, interests hovering over identity issues involve power relations.

We haven't solved any problems yet but are just beginning to clarify some issues. Let's consider more what the stakes are in the power relations through which interests are constructed. In the case of economic exploitation this doesn't seem to need much explanation. The capitalist has a privileged position with respect to the worker which involves freed time, greater access to material wealth, and a closer connection of personal purpose, activity and its products. In the case of gender exploitation a number of stakes appear to be involved for the male. To focus on the home, these stakes certainly include that of having to do less menial work, having freed time to pursue activities of ones' wish, and being serviced through the nurturing behaviour of ones' wife. These stakes make it meaningful to speak of the exploitation of women's labour. MacKinnon argues that sexual domination is at the heart of gender relations: the control of feminine sexuality to gratify male sexual desire, women as objects of male desire. Yet this suggests a pure and essential form of sexual desire - in fact the act of sex itself is rent through with identity issues - men, to be 'men', have to simultaneously subordinate girls sexuality and yet 'perform well'. The sexual act is rarely purely an act of gratifying sexual desire - it nearly always involves crucial issues of identity for both sexes, in different ways and certainly within unequal terms. Control of sexuality seems to be part of the picture, but only a part of it - probably not the heart of it. Control of sexuality, the construction of sexuality as a dominant-subordinate power relation, involves issues of identity as crucially as it does issues of desire. Control of sexuality is above all *control*, a way of personal validation through power.

Identity is a goal of human motivation, it is not simply something *through which* motivation becomes expressed. Gender relations in patriarchal societies slant women's subjectivity, women's identity, towards being objects of the male. Women are subjects only in terms which favour males. While it is true to say that all people need and seek recognition, in a patriarchal society this ultimately means male recognition. The cultural terms through which men maintain their identities as men and women maintain their identities as women slant the situation in the males' favour because males become recognised and prove themselves through being what the culture labels more subject-like: for being leaders, having prowess, and so on, while females prove themselves by being more object-like, i.e. sexually appealing, or being subjects which service other subjects, e.g. nurturant. This isn't to say that nurturant activity *per se* is less 'subject-like', less capable of self expression and self-development, than

leadership or materially transformative activities associated with male identities. On the contrary, men miss much from being denied nurturative roles. It is rather to say that these terms, 'nurturance', 'leadership', and so on, are culturally evaluated in this way. Nurturant activity takes a restricted and subordinated form. Men have more opportunities for a variety of self-expressive behaviours than women, and the activities they can take part in yield more social recognition and respect.

Thus the concept of identity, so crucial to explaining gender inequality, is linked to that of interests. Human beings have an interest in *being*, in having an identity. Yet this can only be achieved through culture. Culture provides 'grammars of selfhood' (Shotter 1984). And, moreover, the types of identities available differ for different groups of people in society and are directly related to social relations of power. This is particularly clear in the case of gender relations where identities directly specify activities which give men greater opportunities for control over women's labour and sexuality (and make such control part of the male identity interest) than vice versa.

But we are arguing that identity construction through unequal cultural terms is not simply an *instrumental* process whereby other forms of oppression are facilitated. Identities are dependent on social processes involving recognition. Recognition is the basic purpose presupposed by identity, but self-making isn't simply oriented to having an identity. An identity of any sort is a basic requirement, but human activity seeks to go beyond limited identities. Self-making is a process of bringing forth new, previously latent, human potentials and capacities. Recognition is acquired through social relations which make it possible for some groups to achieve it primarily through their self development, which allow them to push and extend their identities, and other groups primarily through the stifling of their productivity and self development. Recognition is a human need which works through social relations, and these relations often take a dominant-subordinate form. This will be explored further just below.

c) Recognition, Self-Making, and Ontological Needs:

We said above that economic interests are socially constructed ways of meeting basic (economic) needs through a basic human process: productive activity. Then we suggested that identity is always linked to human activity, even as part of what motivates it:

In fact what people are doing is rarely properly described as *just* eating, or *just* working, but has stylistic features which have certain conventional meanings associated with recognized types of personae.

Harre and Secord, quoted in Habermas 1981, p 90

Marx used a concept of 'work' in a way which involves a notion of selfhood. It is related to Hegel's description of the dialects of self-consciousness in his *Phenomenology of Geist* (see Hegel 1967, pp 217-267), where 'work' involved not only activity transformative of the physical

world, but activity involved with self creation as well. That is the basis of the marxist theory of alienation - work is self-objectification through material transformation; alienation occurs when the products of such activity become separated from the worker, and turned to confront the worker as a power over and above him/her (Marx 1975). Relations of production set the conditions for alienation: the products of work, products of the workers themselves, embody the social relations in which the worker finds him or her self. But Marx implies that work under non-alienating conditions is satisfying, - it makes sense to ask why this is so. We suggest it is because work, productivity, is a process of self-making, the Hegelian theme of a teleology in consciousness but now located in individual consciousnesses rather than in Geist. The activity of work *includes* self-making, not as an epiphenomenon, but as part of the motivational complex involved in work. Self-making is part of what should be meant by interests.

With respect to gender, we have already argued that because issues of identity are so strongly rooted in the development of power relations between men and women, self-making is again at least one of the key features operating in domination through gender roles. Here other portions of Hegel's dialectic of self-consciousness seem insightful. The necessity of seeking recognition from an other and the power struggles which this entails - recognition often coming as a *form* of domination where one is forced to recognise and the other not; one becomes a subject to the other, the other a (mere) object (Hegel 1967, pp 229-240).

Marxist work which takes over the concept of self-making from Hegel (e.g., the concepts of alienation and praxis - see section on praxis ahead) shouldn't do so uncritically: self-making as a taken-for-granted feature of human life. One needs to ask why human beings are so concerned about their identities, why they must put work and effort into creating and maintaining them. In asking what is involved in self-making, issues of gender and other forms of domination are also illuminated. For Hegel, self-making was explained ontologically: self consciousness emerges as a necessary uncertainty in social relations - one has a concept of ones' self only 'through the eyes of another', one seeks certainty of one's worth, one's validity, through the recognition of another. This is what self-consciousness *is*: a continuous process. Self-consciousness is thus a relationship between human beings, it is always a *process*, a movement, because the need for recognition is its precondition. It forms immediately into relations of power, in Hegel's theory, because it takes place immediately as struggle for recognition. Mutual recognition is difficult to come by, recognition is more often won asymmetrically as a relation of dominance and submission.

Work is but another moment in this dialectic in *The Phenomenology of Spirit*. If one objectifies one's self in work it isn't because this activity is intrinsically objectifying, it is because the products of work are involved in social relations. The objectification which takes place, takes place through cultural and social and economic meanings which simultaneously become expressed in the results of work. Other moments of

Hegel's dialectic include religion: recognition through a religious other, which is a theme turned away from Geist and back into individual consciousnesses in existentialism (e.g. Sartre's definition of 'being-for-itself' and its ultimate and unattainable project: to become 'God'; Sartre 1974, pp 69-73) in much the way that work is brought out of Geist and back into *specific workers* in marxism (see Bernstein 1971 for an excellent discussion of this - in sociology and social psychology these ideas have been developed by George Herbert Mead, 1967, John Shotter 1984, and Ivona Markova 1982, amongst others).

Feminism is a social movement which attacks the issue of identity squarely. Consciousness raising is a method which not only puts the experience of economic and sexual exploitation into articulations which condemn it and remove it from seeming to be a private and isolated experience, but also create limited social sites in which women can take on expanded identities, develop their human need for dignity. These are also interests - they are ends in themselves at the same time that they challenge material relationships. Identities are features of material relationships, in so far as they are formed within specific cultural contexts and within social relations involving power.

This expanded concept of interests, which is clearly implied in the work on 'new' social movements adumbrated in the last chapter, is related to what Anthony Giddens, John Shotter and others mean by 'ontological needs' (Giddens 1984, Shotter 1984). The self is not something which is simply given. Selves are socially constructed. People have a repertoire of possible selves available to them in social interactions which would have to be included in a concept of cultural conditions of action. 'Ontological needs' are defined by Giddens primarily as needs for 'security' (1984, 64), for the maintenance of an identity. As such they feature immediately into what is meant by 'accountability' (see next section). But ontological needs also could be argued to include less static needs, such as needs for dignity, achievement, expression: *continuous self-making*, the self making implied in the expanded marxist concept of productivity. The self is always in movement - it is never made once and for all. But self-making has to make use of cultural material. It isn't a production out of nothing. And the material available differs according to gender, race, class, and social locales like the home, school, university, work place and so on. Thus opportunities for self-making are differentially distributed in society and need to somehow be included in a theory of power, domination and social structure. They are socially formed into interests, just as economic needs are socially constructed into interests.

These few paragraphs are intended primarily to further problematise the concept of interests and its relevance to social movements by alerting our attention to processes of 'self-making' which may be found within them. We hold to a position which makes some concept of 'cultural interests' a meaningful one. Cultural interests are often tightly bound with economic forms of domination but we are suggesting that they have some autonomy as well. Domination over people includes conditions in which negotiations over recognition slant the results in one group's favour. For a woman to be

recognised and respected as a woman, she must construct her identity through cultural media which constrain her capacities for being a subject, which define subjective behaviours worthy of recognition in terms which reference it subordinately towards male subjectivity. For a worker to both meet subsistence needs and maintain an acceptable identity with some dignity in the process, s/he must make use of cultural terms constrained by the separation of the purposes and products of the working activity from workers themselves (see Willis 1977, p 151 for an interesting analysis complimentary to this one). As argued above, economic interests and self-making are often closely inter-linked, but we wish to argue that they possess some autonomy from each other. This view of interests illuminates such social processes as those of social differentiation within schools (Willis 1977 and chapter fourteen in this thesis), and features of domination which work through gender, racial, and status positions in ways which intersect with, but are separable from, economic forms of domination. It is a view of interests which makes the explicit pursuit of new roles and identities in 'new' social movements understandable. And it will help us to understand some of the features of the campaign for Croxteth Comprehensive described in chapters ahead.

II) Action

We have several times indicated the importance of the concept of action to understanding social movements in the last chapter and in the section above. Different schools of theory on social movements have made use of different concepts of action: normative models featuring into much of the collective behaviour approach, goal-rational models in resource management, and expressive models in the identity-oriented school (see chapter three). In the section above we ended our discussion of interests and power by suggesting tight connections between interests, identity, and human activity. We also indicated there that social structure is a concept which involves particular ways of viewing action and knowledgeability. If social structure is seen primarily as an array of interest positions, for example, action will be seen primarily as goal-rational action and knowledgeability can be modelled on science, the clear identification of interests. If social structure is seen as on-going historical activity in which goals, values, beliefs, and identities intermesh, action will have to be understood in a more complicated manner, as something which simultaneously involves all these elements. Finally, in the last chapter we criticised the goal-rational model of action used by the resource management school and others for failing to explain social mobilisations through falling victim to 'the free rider problem'. Although the identity-oriented paradigm presents an alternative model of action which seeks to overcome the free rider problem we criticised the model for failing to take into account the presence of much strategic activity in social movements. Yet so far we have not actually given the concept of action a detailed and positive discussion. That is the purpose of this section.

In what follows we will make a few introductory remarks about action and the conditions it is often paired with in the literature. Then we will examine Jürgen Habermas's theory of action and rationality. This helps to specify the simultaneous reference made by most actions to goals in the objective world, norms and values in the inter-subjective, cultural world, and subjective identities. This is a useful model for it helps to explain the simultaneous presence of several types of action in social movements. When connected to Habermas's theory of rationality and the social coordination of action it will be very useful to our study of various interpersonal conflicts which took place between participants in the Croxteth campaign. Next we examine Anthony Giddens theory of structuration, which provides a useful way of conceiving of the relationship of action to social structure. This discussion will also draw upon some of the work done within the cultural studies perspective, as a way of emphasising certain aspects of action and knowledgeability encompassed by Giddens' model but perhaps not emphasised enough. We will find that Giddens' work is most useful to this study of the campaign for Croxteth Comprehensive but that aspects of Habermas's work complete that of Giddens' in important ways. Lastly, we shall consider some of these same issues, the relationship of action to knowledgeability and to social structure, through the concept of praxis.

A) Action and its conditions

Models of action usually involve a duality of some sort: there is action and there is something which we refer to to explain it. Action takes place in conditions and conditions have been thought about in a number of ways. Let's look at some of the common terms which have occupied the category of conditions of action: 1) Action is often paired with goals and interests: action can be seen as the product of an agent seeking a goal. This is a model of action which proposes the subjective states of intentionality and rationality as key conditions. 2) Action is also frequently paired with norms and values: action can be seen as the result of an agent giving expression to cultural norms. Here subjectivity is involved but a social context is immediately implied as well. Whereas the concept of a 'goal' consciously sought after need only bring an isolated actor and an opposed world to mind, the notion of norms places the activity directly into a social context. The concept of norm also shifts the emphasis from the result of action to the form of the action. Actions may be performed because they are 'right', expected. Closely associated with the normative model is the model of 'roles' - actions may take place to fit culturally given roles. 3) Action is also frequently paired with culture. Although many definitions and uses of the term 'culture' abound, it will be used here in the sense of conditions of action which are within the awareness of the actors and which action itself modifies and contributes to. That is not to say that everything *involved* in a culture is within the awareness of an actor, cultures can be interpreted in order to reveal meanings and purposes which are outside the awareness of everyday living. But such interpretations push back towards what shall mean by 'structure'.

Culture is taken here to refer to that vast realm of behaviour styles, forms of humour, linguistic structures, aesthetic forms, roles, identities, 'discourses', and so on which are what they are only because they are 'known' and 'understood' by the people who share them in their interactions with one another. It includes norms and values but gives them an added dimension by suggesting a location within traditions, and it warns against over-emphasising a simple concept like 'norm' by stressing the embedded and interconnected nature of all cultural elements. 4) Action has also been paired with the 'self'. A single actor can take on several selves - not simply take them on but construct and maintain these selves, with constant adjustments, through continuous social action. 5) Lastly, another pairing which has been frequently made is that between action and social structure. Many ways of conceptualising structure and its relationship have come up in the sociological literature and we will be looking at some of these ways in the next section. Here let us distinguish structure from culture, by making it a more general concept which includes conditions both within and without the awareness of the actor. Structures are what pattern outcomes of action (both recognised and unrecognised) in systematic ways. Structure is a concept which also poses the question of primacy with respect to conditions of action, relationships between conditions themselves which may place certain conditions in more fundamental locations than others. This will also be explored in the next section.

Thus the term action is always present against a background of some sort, and action is modelled in different ways according to which background is stressed, how that background is conceived, and what relationship between the two exists. We can also distinguish between 'action' and routine action, or on-going actions. It is in fact rare, especially in a sociological study, to examine single actions - actions always occur with reference to previous and forthcoming actions, always a flow and flux of action is involved. Background concepts like 'goal', 'norm', and 'value' all suggest the single action as the paradigm for understanding actions. A single norm or goal (if the term 'single' could ever directly apply to normative and purposive clusters) can give rise to a large number of diverse actions, but the model is that of consecutive single actions just the same, all originating from the same principle. By contrast, background concepts like 'culture', 'structure', and, on less grandiose scales, 'role' and 'self', suggest patterned actions and action clusters rather than single actions. They also suggest more interplay between background and foreground, the 'self in construction', the culture constantly shifting and being 'reproduced'.

ⓑ) 'Action': the compositional approach of Jürgen Habermas

Habermas' work has had an orientation towards action since some of its earlier appearances in the 1960s (e.g. 1971) but has changed and developed a great deal since. His most recent major work, *The Theory of Communicative Action* (1981) presents his current model, which he calls a 'communicative' theory of action. Habermas's analysis of action has been

called 'compositional' (Thrift 1983, p 24, drawing on Hagerstränd, 1973) because it builds a model of action through making a number of analytical distinctions regarding the concept of action and then integrating them again. The integration of the analytically distinguished aspects of action, the 'components' of action, also serve Habermas' theory of society - his use of the idea of 'system steering mechanisms', for example, refer directly back to his theory of communicative action (e.g., see 1976 and 1981). This approach is distinguished by Thrift and Hagerstränd from 'contextual' approaches to action which make the contexts in which actions take place the principle object of their analysis. We will be looking at Anthony Giddens' theory of action in the next subsection which comes close to fitting the 'contextual approach' category. Certain features of Habermas' over-all model of action are useful for this study: specifically his actual analysis of action into formal components.

Habermas is interested in how action is coordinated and he argues that the best way to model coordinated action is communicatively, the meaning of which is explained below. He reviews three models of action he has found to come up recurrently in sociological literature: goal-rational action, normative action, and dramaturgical action. Goal-rational action is a model in which actors act for ego-centric gain, clearly defined goals in an objective world existing apart from themselves. Normative action is action in which actors act in accordance with cultural norms and values. Their orientation is towards an intersubjective world and their actions are oriented towards cultural consensus. Dramaturgical action is action in which actors seek to present a 'self' to an audience. It is directed towards a social world but is referenced back to a private subjective world which is invisible to the audience. Each of these three models, Habermas argues, correctly represents an aspect of action, but all aspects are usually involved simultaneously in any action. All action involves all three types of reference: to an objective world, to cultural norms and values and to a subjective self. These models are thus 'limit cases' of communicative action:

the communicative model of action presupposes language as a medium of uncurtailed communication whereby speakers and hearers, out of the context of their preinterpreted life world, refer simultaneously to things in the objective, social, and subjective worlds in order to negotiate common definitions of the situation. ... The one-sidedness of the first three concepts of language can be seen in the fact that the corresponding types of communication singled out by them prove to be limit cases of communicative action: *first*, the indirect communication of those who have only the realisations of their own ends in view; *second*, the consensual action of those who simply actualise an already existing normative agreement; and *third*, the presentation of self in relation to an audience.

Habermas (1981), p 95

Note the emphasis on *language* in the passage above. Habermas does not wish to say that communicative action is equivalent to language or to speech acts, but rather that communicative action is a way in which

action is coordinated between diverse individuals and which, further, presupposes a linguistic medium. That is to say, action, even when it is not aimed at communication, is nevertheless 'communicative' in the sense that it carries meanings for other actors which is the basis of its coordination with their activities. These meanings are referenced to a 'preinterpreted lifeworld' shared with other actors. And if necessary, actors can justify or explain their actions by reference to this lifeworld, through a linguistic medium - through language. Habermas believes the three 'limit case' models of action he incorporates into his theory also presuppose a linguistic medium by which reasons for action can be explained to other actors, but each model involves a one-sided concept of language. Each model of action involves a certain form of 'validity claim', an empirically referenced claim in the case of goal-rational action (that the purpose of the action will be empirically realised by the action), a normative reference in the case of normative action (that the action is 'right'), and a sincerity claim in the case of dramaturgical action (that the self presented is meant as it is expressed). Habermas's theory of action is directly tied to a philosophical position with respect to what has been called 'the problem of rationality' (see Wilson 1970, Bernstein 1976, 1983). It is essentially a consensus theory of truth, similar to that developed by Charles Sanders Peirce (1931-35). Validity claims require different forms of argumentation - different types of 'support' - according to whether or not an empirical, normative or sincerity claim is being made, but the validity of each type of claim can only be ascertained through argumentation itself, through formal processes which seek to reach consensus (Habermas 1981, ch. I, see also McCarthy 1982, ch.2). Hence Habermas notes that his theory of action is also a theory of argumentation which he calls a 'universal pragmatics'. It is a pragmatics because it is a theory of truth which makes validity dependent on consensus. It is universal because it specifies formal requirements which must accompany all argumentation.

A few things follow from this basic view of Habermas's. First, action is coordinated through sets of shared knowledge, cultural views, which are constantly negotiated between actors in ways which could lead to linguistic and rational discourse. Habermas is not saying that such discourse is particularly common. His model distinguishes between *assumed* and *rational* consensus and the former is more often the case than the latter. In situations where interpretations of the lifeworld are at odds, moreover, communication may breakdown, or physical force may be used to resolve the disagreement (see McCarthy 1982, p 306), but if neither of these two possible routes of resolution are taken then communication ~~must move towards~~ what Habermas calls 'discourse' - the take-up of assumed cultural backgrounds to interaction (e.g. norms and values) and their rational discussion with the goal of reaching a consensus. Second, action must always be capable of rational justification, although the basis for such justification need not be a conscious pre-condition of the action itself: ie, need not be an *intention* of the action itself. In fact this is decidedly not the case according to Habermas. The rationality of action accompanies it in a

presupposed and formal way. It is not a psychological theory of motivation which Habermas is presenting - it would still make sense to talk about irrational actions in his framework. But Habermas claims that all action, even what would be called irrational action, assumes certain shared views which are ultimately reducible to validity claims of the three sorts adumbrated above. Irrational action can be shown to be such through showing that it fails to meet these formal requirements. Third, there is always a *reflexive* aspect to all action related to its presupposition of consensus. Reflexivity, again, presupposes language, the ability to make linguistic formulations *about* the action in order to defend it against criticism. Interpretations of the life world often do not coincide and actors 'feel their way from one occasional commonality to the next', often through linguistic action, and often through combinations of discourse (in Habermas' sense of the term) and assumed consensus. Reflexivity is crucial to the model. Actors:

no longer (in this model) relate *straightaway* to something in the objective, social, or subjective worlds; instead they relativize their utterances against the possibility that their validity will be contested by other actors. Reaching an understanding functions as a mechanism for coordinating actions only through the participants in interaction coming to an agreement concerning the claimed *validity* of their utterances, that is, through intersubjectively recognizing the *validity claims* they reciprocally raise.

(1981), page 99

Finally, to make the model very clear and to defend it against certain criticisms which have been made against it (e.g. see Giddens 1977 ch. 3, 1982 chs. 7 and 8 - but certainly not all of what Giddens has to say in these critiques is a misunderstanding), let us say once again that Habermas is not claiming action itself is equivalent to communicative action - there is purely 'strategic' action, for example, where communication is not intended at all. But he does claim that all action takes place in contexts of coordination between actors, it all has reference to the intersubjective, even strategic action. The *model* of strategic action is not a proper paradigm for all action, just as the three models of action taken as limit cases by Habermas for communicative action aren't adequate as paradigms for all action. The model of communicative action is intended to be a paradigm, on the other hand, which does encompass these other models of action. It is worth quoting another passage to make these distinctions clear. This passage refers us back to the concept of 'interests' as it is usually conceived, and sets forth the models of action which explain coordination through norms and negotiations/constructions of self, while explaining their inadequacies, - their only partial explanatory power. At the same time it distinguishes communicative from strategic action, but maintains that the two often coincide:

Concepts of *social action* are distinguished according to how they specify the *coordination* among the goal-directed actions of different participants: as the interlacing of egocentric calculations of utility (whereby the degree of conflict and cooperation varies with the given interest positions); as a socially integrating agreement about values and norms instilled through cultural traditions and socialization; as consensual relations between players and

their publics; or as reaching understanding in the sense of a cooperative process of interpretation. In all cases the teleological structure of action is presupposed, inasmuch as the capacity for goal-setting and goal-directed action is ascribed to actors, as well as an interest in carrying out their plans of action. But only the strategic model of action rests content with an explication of the features of action oriented directly to success; whereas the other models of action specify conditions under which the actor pursues his goals - conditions of legitimacy, of self-presentation, or of agreement arrived at in communication, under which alter can "link up" his actions with those of ego. In the case of communicative action the interpretive accomplishments on which cooperative processes of interpretation are based represent the mechanism for *coordinating* action; communicative action is *not exhausted* by the act of reaching understanding in an interpretive manner. ... communicative action designates a type of interaction that is *coordinated through* speech acts and does *not coincide* with them.

(1981), page 101

Note the models of social structure which Habermas refers to as being inadequate. He takes the coordination of action to be the key concept involved in social structure and discards those models which theorise it in terms of goal-rational pursuits of interests or normative consensus alone as being too limited. Habermas wishes to propose a model of social structure or social system in which action is coordinated in a way which presupposes its rational defence according to formal requirements and thus in which negotiations take place continuously.

Thus Habermas's model allows for different relations between actors and their lifeworld according to how discursively available portions of the lifeworld are at the onset of interactions and how available they become at its end. Degrees of reflexivity are implied. Reaching an agreement, we've seen, implies a rational process. But this theory of rationality is based on a consensus theory of truth, not an absolute one. Hence, to bring back the problem mentioned in the section on interests and power, of standards by which ideology may be determined to be ideology rather than truth, or, as we also phrased it above, how objective interests can be ascertained, Habermas explicitly states that individuals will determine their own interests, will discover them if you like, if a situation which allows for full communicative interactions without distortions is present. Habermas' answer to the epistemological problems facing an objective theory of truth is that an isolated thinker or a detached observer cannot ascertain interests with certainty. There is no absolute method or standard by which interests can be ascertained. But there are absolute, that is to say 'universal', *formal* requirements which discourses seeking an understanding must follow. It makes sense, he argues, to speak of a universal pragmatics. Thus with respect to the question of interests and their relationship to ideology, Habermas claims that *social conditions* can be specified in which participants could discover their interests together. Habermas theorised an 'ideal speech situation' in his earlier writings, which remains implicitly in his latest work as well, in which bars to communicative interactions motivated solely to reach an understanding are absent (see McCarthy

1982, pp 307-310). Such 'distortions' to uncurtailed speech include relations of power and domination. These distorting forces blocking the ideal speech situation are exactly what Habermas means by 'ideology' (McCarthy 1982, 182-183).

Jean Cohen uses Habermas's theory of action to distinguish between several schools of social movement theory. Note the way in which Habermas brings the concept of interests into his comments quoted just above. The goal-rational model of action explains coordinated action through conflicts and/or coincidents of interests positions in society. This model is exactly that used by resource management and many marxist theories of social movements and class struggle. Thus if Habermas' theory of communicative action has some validity we could expect to find problems with these explanations of social movements. Cohen classifies these approaches together according to their adherence to this model of action. Next she places the 'classical approach' under the category of orientations which emphasise the normative model of action. We briefly described this approach as explaining movements in terms of an anomic condition produced in certain groups of people when normative structures in society 'break down'. Again, we would expect any approach which has an over-dependence on a single model of action, like the normative one, to have shortcomings. Finally, Cohen classifies the identity-oriented school of theory on social movements with theories which make use of the dramaturgical model of action, noting that some authors in this group also use a communicative model similar to that of Habermas, though not explicitly so. Her discussion can be summarised in a chart (table 4-2).

However, useful as this typology is, our own discussion of these schools of theory on social movements has indicated the importance of specifying other differences between these approaches than simply their theory of action, such as power and social structure.

Table 4-2: Cohen's Typology of Social Movement Theories

<u>Paradigmatic Model of Action</u>	<u>Theoretical School</u>
Zweckrational	Resource management: Oberschall, Gamson Many marxist approaches (but complicated by ideology theory): Wright, Anderson
Normative	The 'classical approach' (ie collective behaviour approach): Park Cosser
Dramaturgical	The 'pure' identity model: Pizzorno
Communicative	Partial identity models: Melucci, Touraine

Habermas's model of action certainly draws attention to dimensions of action which are necessary to understand if the 'free rider problem' is to be overcome: if solidarity within social movements is to be understood. But communicative action doesn't seem an adequate model itself for explaining solidarity. Habermas's theory self-consciously is centred about what is *potential* in human interactions. Habermas recognises that the 'ideal speech situation' is not something which one is likely to find empirically, but he claims that it is presupposed in all acts of communication and, more generally, in all communicative action. Most coordinated action, he argues, doesn't result in rational argumentation alone because of distortion effects related to asymmetries of power. Thus most (communicative) action takes place with an assumed consensus rather than a rational one. But several problems are immediately suggested with respect to this view:

a) If most action involves asymmetries of power shouldn't such asymmetries themselves feature more centrally in the analysis? Habermas works from an ideal situation which he believes is presupposed by communicative action to model usual situations of interaction by reference to what they are not. This means that the reasons *why* asymmetries of power exist in the first place take only a secondary, and, it seems to us, an undertheorised, position in his scheme.

b) Habermas argues that most action thus proceeds via an assumed consensus rather than a rational one. But is this true? This model doesn't adequately treat the constant forms of *resistance* to asymmetries of power which subordinate people take part in, where neither physical force nor a full consensus, assumed or otherwise, exists between participants (Willis 1977, Giddens 1979). It is highly questionable whether or not *any* situation of social interaction could ever completely remove 'distortion effects', asymmetries of power (see for example Giddens 1982, Ch. 7) and acts of resistance.

c) Where action is coordinated and asymmetries of power are relatively slight it often appears that coordination is achieved neither through an assumed nor a rational consensus but through the existence of attitudes of compromise and toleration. It seems fair to say that very often people know they see things differently and yet tolerate the other position and go on communicating and coordinating their action together just the same. It is questionable whether or not any sort of consensus could be reached between people without some amount of toleration. And if this is true, one must then centrally ask what conditions lead to toleration rather than what conditions lead to consensus. Toleration would seem to involve *similar* and/or *homologous* interpretations of the world rather than rationally identical ones and therefore questions about what specific *contents* of world orientations, rather than what *formal* processes are involved in communication, are exceedingly important for understanding

solidarity. Habermas's work, by focusing upon formal features of action alone, misses crucial questions concerning the relationship of orientations and ideas to ways of life. In other words, an approach stressing the contexts of action rather than their formal features, would seem to be more fruitful as a *starting place* for understanding social action and its coordination. Formal analysis could then make important contributions to the general scheme.

d) A limitation associated with Habermas's compositional approach is that it builds an analysis of all action upon a careful consideration of small group and face-to-face interactions. It gives a very formal treatment of interactions which occur between individuals in the same location at the same time which is then extended to describe social systems of action. This provides a useful model for understanding *certain features of interaction*, especially conflictual actions, but leaves many other features unexplained. It's formal treatment of action tells us much about the differences between the way in which norms and values become drawn into action and the ways in which goals and identities are, but leaves us at a loss to explain why *particular* values, goals, norms and identities, are present in particular situations of interaction. Habermas thus doesn't explain very well how patterns of activity in some locales of society are related to patterns in other locales in reproductive ways. His theory seems of limited use, in other words, for relating the sorts of specific actions one encounters during social research, with a concept of social structure, at the same time that it does give a very useful structure for understanding the forms which those actions take.

e) Lastly, a philosophical objection to Habermas's model can be made. This again centres around the 'ideal speech situation'. Although Habermas tends to suggest that such a pure form of communicative interaction can only be approached as an ideal, and perhaps never fully reached, by emphasising this ideal situation of speech he presents a model of human subjectivity as existing *aside and apart from* the things it frames into speech. In the realm of action, the model suggests that human beings can transcend the conditions of their actions (by objectifying them and putting them into linguistic formulation) finally and totally. Of course some such duality does seem implicit in speech and action: as one becomes aware of the conditions in which one thinks and acts - of the validity claims implicit in ones' actions, for example, - one does in a sense separate ones' self from these conditions and has more control over them as a result. But where does this process end? Is a situation in which *all* conditions of speech and action are made objects of discourse conceivable, or would it be more true to say that the process of objectifying conditions of action simultaneously develop new (nonobjective and implicit) conditions? Metaphysically Habermas's ideal speech situation suggests a 'pure subject' which can be totally separated from all objective conditions, rather than a subject which is necessarily in a

mutually dependent relationship with its conditions. Although we do not at all wish to rule out the former model altogether (for reasons which are much too involved for a presentation here), we do wish to argue that in any instance of *action*, speech, thought, or otherwise, certain conditions will exist which continuously escape discursive formulation.

These criticisms are not meant to say that Habermas's model of action is 'wrong' but rather that it has taken certain possibilities existing with respect to human interaction and given them too central a place in his analysis. It is a model useful for understanding heightened interpersonal conflicts in which compromises and tolerations are more difficult - some of the conflicts which took place in Croxteth approximated this situation and we shall use Habermas's theory in our analysis of them. Habermas, we argue, is right in arguing that communicative rationality is a necessary possibility for human interaction which in some situations is forced towards actuality. Implicit validity claims are presupposed in accounting practices. But the distinction Habermas makes between assumed and rational consensus is too stark to allow for the large middle ground which may actually contain the most usual ways in which action becomes coordinated. If routine and coordinated action in many respects precedes rational thought about action, a point which Habermas obviously recognises, then the coordination of action has reasons which precede its communicatively coordinated features. Habermas has made important insights with respect to the implicit rationality of action, with respect to some of the relationships between thought and action, but a theory of social structure which tells us why coordination takes place *initially* is necessary to place these insights into perspective.

In Croxteth, for example, when volunteer teachers joined the campaign help run the occupied school, they brought interpretations of the movement with them which were in implicit rational conflict with the interpretations held by the local activists from Croxteth. This meant that certain activities undertaken by the two groups generated conflicts and put extra requirements on accounting practice. Part of the way in which these conflicts were resolved involved rational discourse which did have to meet the formal requirements specified by Habermas. But rational discourse never fully resolved any of the interpersonal conflicts in Croxteth, toleration and the unintended development of compromise routines resolved one set of them, exclusion of one group from decision making processes resolved the other. Habermas's theory holds completely when analysing the situation, but it does so in a way to highlight what *did not happen* rather than to fully explain what did. To understand *why* interpretations differed between these two groups and to understand why rational discourse was not the principle way in which the two groups coordinated their activities between each other we will need to pay more attention to the actual *contexts* of the action, the interpretative schemes used by the participants and their origins. Giddens' theory of structuration will be found the most useful in doing so, with Habermas's work serving a complementary role.

C) Routine action: The contextual approach of Anthony Giddens

Anthony Giddens has developed his theory of structuration through three books devoted entirely to the theory (1976, 1979, 1984) and a number of papers which take up some of its specific features, compare the theory with the work of other authors or address problems in historical studies (1978, 1982, 1981). Giddens' approach has been called 'contextual' as opposed to compositional theories like Habermas's (Thrift 1983), because it works with a theory of the contexts within which action takes place rather than with a purely formal treatment of the concept of action itself. Thus when Giddens' does present analytical distinctions which apply to the concept of action, he does so in a way which immediately locates action in its conditions, and consciously problematises the nature and origin of any specific set of conditions. Social action is usually *routine* action, and one must examine the distribution of conditions of action throughout society in order to understand why certain routines exist in certain locations and how they are related to other routines at other locations.

Giddens' theory of structuration insists on the interpenetration of action and conditions of action by conceiving of structure as 'both the media and outcome of the practices that constitute [it]' (1979, p 69). Social structure has a 'dual' aspect: 'By the *duality of structure* I mean that social structures are both constituted by human agency, and yet at the same time are the very *medium* of this constitution.' (1976, p 121). Giddens' is concerned to model action and its conditions in a way which makes structuration 'an active historical process' (1979 p 28) at the same time that it distinguishes between structure and action. Thus some of the issues brought up in the debates between culturalism and what Johnson (1979b) calls 'Manifesto Marxism' (as well as marxist structuralism) are indirectly addressed in Giddens' work - he seeks both a historical/cultural perspective which acknowledges the importance of struggle, change, and human agency generally and an understanding of 'structure' which cannot be reduced to agency. Three terms become important in this project: structure, system and structuration. In this section we shall be focusing upon the last of these, structuration, by looking at the play between action and its conditions. The other two will be considered in a section ahead.

Structuration is a concept similar in many ways to the concepts of social and cultural reproduction in cultural studies (e.g. Willis 1977, 1983). Conditions of action become drawn upon by actors and then either reproduced, or transformed or slightly altered by the action itself. Conditions of action are structured in various ways (see ahead) and these structures exist in relation to action through structuration. To understand structuration, Giddens analyses action in two ways: he makes a number of analytical distinctions and insists on its reflexivity in a way highly similar to Habermas. This we will call his 'horizontal axis' of distinctions. Then he makes a number of distinctions regarding the relationship between the reflexivity of actors and the conditions of action they draw upon. This is called his 'vertical axis' of distinctions in our discussion.

Along the horizontal axis, Giddens argues that it is meaningful to regard all action as a combination of three elements: it will have meaning, will have a normative reference, and it will involve relations of power in some way (Giddens 1976, p 53). The only term we find here that is absent in Habermas is that of power. Habermas tends to theorise power as something external to action. Power is what is involved in the distortions of the ideal speech situation, for example. Giddens on the contrary insists that power is a logical accompaniment of action. Power must be distinguished from 'domination', which applies to asymmetries in the distribution of resources through which action is expressed. More will be said about Giddens' concept of power in the section on praxis below. Meaning and normative reference are terms which apply to Habermas' analysis as well as Giddens. And although Giddens doesn't explicitly discuss what Habermas refers to as dramaturgical action, he does make extensive use of Goffman in his theory (1984, p 72) and it is easy to see that normative action, or the necessary presence of normative reference in all action, is tightly connected to identity management anyway. When people act according to norms, they do so with respect to a projected image of self which they will usually wish to be acceptable. Being 'accountable' has everything to do with being an acceptable self, and being an acceptable self has everything to do with acting in normatively sanctioned ways (see Habermas 1981, p 90).

Giddens also brings reflexivity into his theory in a way similar to Habermas. Reflexivity comes through the concept of accountability which Giddens takes from Garfinkle (1967): actors always act in such a way as to be able to give explanations of their actions to others if required to do so:

To be 'accountable' for one's activities is both to explicate the reasons for them and to supply the normative grounds whereby they may be 'justified'.

Giddens (1984), p 30

It is thus arguable that Habermas's work complements that of Giddens in these areas. Habermas specifies the *formal* features of accountability through his theory of communicative action with its various types of implicit validity claims. Giddens locates accountability in a theory of the contexts of action, or 'conditions of action'. Rather than concerning himself with the formal requirements of accounting, he focuses upon the existing *means* with which actors must make themselves accountable.

What we are calling Giddens' vertical axis of distinctions has to do with the degree of awareness actors have of the conditions in which they act. Values, norms and meanings are drawn from mutually shared 'stocks of knowledge' which may or may not be discursively available to actors. Much of the 'mutual knowledge' (Giddens 1979, pp 251-3) drawn upon by actors are tacit features of the life world, - that is, they are within the consciousness of the actors but not at a discursive level. Furthermore, there are conditions of action which are outside of the awareness of the actors altogether. Thus on this vertical dimension three distinctions are made by Giddens: conditions of action which are discursively available to the actors, conditions which are only tacitly known to them, and conditions

which are outside of their awareness altogether. This vertical dimension is what Giddens calls the 'stratification model of action' (1979, p 56).

To illustrate the two axes of distinctions applying simultaneously let us consider the example of a 'discourse'. Discourses could definitely be included in the category of 'conditions of action'. They certainly contain features which enter immediately into the consciousness of actors - supply them with identities, roles, complex ways of combining body movements/ words/tones of voice and so on. They embody a large number of norms and meanings which actors can bring into negotiation with other actors. They have their discursive realms and yet get communicated, as *discourses*, as the unity of action they involve, very much tacitly. Actors just 'know' what other actors 'are about' when a discourse is in play. They usually don't have any motivation to formulate the fact that a set of rules and values have been put into play - in fact, doing so would often alter the terms. But the tacit understanding is there just the same. Finally, discourses are connected to relations of domination in society. They have origins and are used to maintain (or resist) deeper conditions of action present in the situation - gender relations or race relations or teacher-pupil relations and so on. These conditions are directly involved in the use of a discourse, but they are usually not within the awareness of the actors to any high degree. They slip downwards from the lower realms of tacit understanding towards the realms of the (social) unconscious.

Note that Giddens alternates between calling the downwards end of this axis 'unacknowledged' and 'unconscious' (1979, p 56, 1984, p 49). There is actually an important difference between the two. In a situation in which actors are communicating and negotiating through a discourse, there is a realm of tacit mutual knowledge which is shared. It is often communicated, as said above, that the discourse is in play and this is understood in very practical ways without being on a discursive level, either socially or subjectively. In such an interaction the actors may also be tacitly aware of power relationships being negotiated between themselves which they do not wish to acknowledge in the interaction. A man and woman talking together may be concerned with the sexual possibilities of their interaction and discourses come into play which are used in efforts of both to *control* the situation. Both parties are talking through a discourse which was tacitly understood by both to set the rules and boundaries in play, and both have tacit understandings of the situation which they do not wish to acknowledge socially - and even sometimes subjectively as well (see Sartre, *Being and Nothingness*, pp 55-56, for an example of something similar to this). Finally, there are connections between this particular interaction, the rules, resources, discourses it makes use of, to societal-wide gender relations, which the actors are not necessarily conscious of. The ways open for the woman to try to control the situation differ from those of the man, and the general terms are not equal, though there is much variation from specific setting to setting.

To summarise and reformulate slightly, we have schematised Giddens' theory of action through the specification of a horizontal and a vertical axis, the former referring to the meaning, normative, and identity

references involved in the action and the latter referring to the degree of awareness an actor possess of the conditions upon which s/he acts. The horizontal axis includes what would be offered as *reasons* for the the action by the actor herself. Being accountable means being able to supply reasons for an action - the reasons held by an individual for her or his action is part of what must be understood in order to understand that action. Reasons exist in cultural contexts, and reasons could be argued for, if necessary, according to formal requirements best elaborated by Habermas. But reasons lie towards the top of a deep set of conditions underlying action. They are conditions of action within the awareness of the actor which are related to other conditions of action beyond the actor's grasp. It is by recognising linkages between reasons for action and aspects of action which are not apparent to the actor that Giddens is able to formulate a theory of social structure and social system, further discussed in a section below. Actions have social consequences, patterned by their relationships to unacknowledged conditions, which actors themselves do not intend and which they are often unaware of. Yet these consequences work in systematic ways - they are the stuff of coordinated action (and here we recognise a major difference in the approaches of Giddens and Habermas), the reality of systems of interaction which work to reinforce each other in consistent ways, most often reproducing relations of domination in society. Thus Giddens' analysis of action insists on aspects of choice and agency, - the interaction between the actor and cultural conditions within her or his awareness which s/he draw upon, resist and alter, - at the same time that it insists on structures which condition action 'from the back', - what we've called 'structure' earlier on. But now we are anticipating the next few sections.

D) Action as Praxis; Power and Knowledgeability

Another way to understand the relationships of knowledge, action and social structure is with the concept of praxis. The concept of praxis has a long history, going back to original distinctions made by Aristotle (Bernstein 1971), but its influence as a key idea in modern sociological thought can be traced quite clearly to Marx's use of it in his early writings. We have seen (chapter three) that in the *German Ideology*, Marx emphasises the tight connection between ideas and activities common to a 'way of life' which similarly frames the concept of action as a term mediating between two opposed concepts: self/actor on the one hand, and world/situation/way of life on the other: each conditioning each other through praxis. In our discussion of interests above we also mentioned Marx's concept of work and labour - work as self-making, self-objectification. This notion of work is related to the concept of praxis.

Here we shall focus on how the concept of praxis model's the relationship of action to knowledge and to power. With Gramsci praxis is related to a set of distinctions pertaining to the knowledgeability of actors. In a well known passage from the *Prison Notebooks* Gramsci writes:

A philosophy of praxis cannot but present itself at the outset in a polemical and critical guise, as superseding the existing mode of thinking and existing concrete thought (the existing cultural world). First of all, therefore, it must be a criticism of "common sense", basing itself initially, however, on common sense in order to demonstrate that "everyone" is a philosopher and that it is not a question of introducing from scratch a scientific form of thought into everyone's individual life, but of renovating and making "critical" an already existing activity.

Gramsci (1971), pp 330-1

We find a number of things in this passage. First of all a relationship between common modes and views of the world with the common sorts of activity which accompanies them, - with *routines* in Giddens' terminology. It is the relationship of common sense to common activity. Common sense would include, but not be confined to, what Giddens means by tacit knowledge. Some common sense is very much on a discursive level. Secondly, Gramsci says that a *philosophy* or theory of praxis is critical of common sense - for such a theory is one which seeks to change the common routines and activities which people find themselves involved in, in a way which leads to liberations from their situations. Yet, thirdly, such theories must be based on common sense itself - they are not to be formulated from outside of the conditions of life which they address. Common sense both reproduces activities which are unchallenging activities of a subordinate population and yet very often involves resistances to these conditions of subordination which could become the basis for a liberating theory; a theory guiding challenging activity.

Gramsci is also suggesting in this passage a point which he makes clear elsewhere (1971 p 333), that ~~theoretical~~ discursive knowledge - that is, clearly formulated, discursive knowledge, - can and often does exist in disjunction with common sense knowledge. This is because the former is often produced by professional intellectuals who don't have an organic relationship with especially subordinated classes and their common sense. In terms of social movements, our attention is directed to the ways in which they define themselves from existing stocks of common sense and yet do so in a critical manner, to produce new and challenging activity. Our attention is directed to the question of how such self-definitions come about, the extent to which they are themselves taken from outside and perhaps hold down other forms of critical common sense (*potentially* or *partially* critical). It draws our attention to another aspect of social movements as well. If social movements create new routines and activities (as they certainly do), do new forms of common sense form with them which exceed their articulated self-definitions? Is there a developmental process involved in social movements in which common sense both develops and forms the basis for a growth in new articulated theory? If not we can ask why - we can examine the internal power structures of movements themselves, their own theory-makers as contrasted with their rank and file membership, and the sources upon which the theory-makers draw, along with the interests those sources serve.

These distinctions are similar to the distinctions made by Giddens in his stratified model of action, who himself also uses the term 'praxis' (e.g. 1979, p 150, 1976, p 32). Common sense overlaps with what Giddens means by tacit knowledge of conditions of action, though common sense can also refer to discursive formulations. But Giddens' model doesn't draw our attention so directly to the forms and origins of theory - a point we shall develop in the next section when comparing Giddens' work with the cultural studies perspective. As argued fully ahead, simply making tacit conditions discursive isn't necessarily liberating: it depends upon *which discourses* are used to make tacit understandings discursive. Giddens' work recognises this but doesn't make it a crucial focus of interest, as cultural studies does.

With Giddens the theory of praxis is one which ascribes power *logically* to all activity:

For the notion of human action logically implies that of power, understood as transformative capacity: 'action' only exists when an agent has the capability of intervening, or refraining from intervening, in a series of events so as to be able to influence their course. The introduction of a theory of action into sociology thus entails regarding power as just as essential and integral to social interaction as conventions are.

(1979), p 256

Power thus differs from domination, the latter term referring in Giddens' usage to 'asymmetries of resources employed in the sustaining of power relations in and between systems of interaction' (1979, p 93). Domination works partially through obstructions to knowledgeability, through what Giddens calls the 'opacity of action'. Subordinate social groups in society are maintained in their position of subordination partially through 'hegemony', i.e. through their 'lack of detailed knowledge of their position where "knowledge" equals accurate or valid awareness' (1984, p 90) [Note that Giddens doesn't specify what is meant by his use of 'valid' in the sentence just quoted. Here Habermas's work can again be turned to as complementary]. Factors which influence the level and degree of awareness of the conditions of action and their systematic linkage to structures of domination include:

- Means of access actors have to knowledge in virtue of their social location (Giddens 1985, p 90).
- The extent to which tacit knowledge can be articulated (Giddens 1976, p 75).
- The modes of articulation of knowledge (for example, beliefs can be wrong or inconsistent as both Giddens and Gramsci point out; - this is a recognition on Giddens' part of the importance of studying the origins of articulated theory) (Giddens 1985, p 90).
- Circumstances relating to the validity of the belief claims taken as 'knowledge' (Giddens 1985, p 90).

- The existence of unconscious sources of motivation (Giddens 1984, p 49).

The transformative capacity of all action is limited by the degree of opacity entering into the knowledgeability of the actors or their conditions of action. This is related to the work of Gramsci in obvious ways. Opacity, in Gramsci's work, is a feature of hegemony: the unrecognised relationship of common sense to relations of power. Social movements partially work through 'penetrating' this opacity. And as we stated already, one might expect penetrations to occur in unexpected ways *within* social movements in ways which go beyond their self-definitions. This would certainly be one thing a researcher would look for in the take-over and running of a school, where the self-definition of the campaign was to restore a state-service, run by the state, and the activity involved the close observation of, and participation in, the processes of this service, which in our case is schooling.

To summarise, this section began with a review of Habermas's theory of action and rationality and argued that this theory is most useful when placed into a perspective which emphasises the contexts of action and their origins. Next Giddens' contextual theory of action was outlined, specifying the conceptual linkages between routine action and its contexts. Finally we examined the concept of praxis to further illustrate the relationship of action to knowledgeability. All action is an expression of power but the extent of that power is limited by conditions of knowledgeability. Social movements can be studied for the forms of knowledge they generate, to see to what extent their formal self-definitions are embedded in cultural forms of 'common sense', and to see whether or not new forms of common sense and/or tacit knowledge develop within them which possibly do not correspond to the formal articulations. The campaign for Croxteth comprehensive will be examined carefully in terms of its own theories, their origins, and their relationship to the experiences of those who participated in it.

The next section will be more concerned with structures and systematic features of knowledge in society - its systematic production, distribution and appropriation by groups of people. Our model of action and its relationship to contexts will be incomplete until we consider societal-wide distributions of contexts and the relationships which exist between contexts of action on certain social sites and those on others. This will involve a clarification of the concept of social structure.

III) Social Structure

The discussion in this subsection completes those begun in the last two. 'Power' and 'action', are concepts which initially bring easily identifiable empirical processes to mind. But we found that under analysis each concept recedes towards what is less visible and more general: three dimensions of power as well as one, conditions of action as well as activity. The appearance of power and action in particular situations need

to be understood in relation to other situations and to aspects of society which exceed the temporal and physical boundaries of any situation. Power and action, as we have discussed them, point back to highly general relationships in society. The concept of social structure, on the other hand, is a way of seeing the general within the particulars under study.

Thus social structure is an abstraction useful for understanding general conditions of action which is implied in more particular abstractions made on social life. In our discussion of neo-marxist work on the state, the only one of our four theoretical approaches to social movements which has made social structure its major object of study, we argued that a danger in reifying social structure must be avoided. Social structure should be understood in a way which doesn't forget the particular conditions which it generalises about. Theory which takes social structure as its principle object often forgot this in the past, making action a wholly determined phenomenon (e.g. Castells 1976). On the other hand, a case study such as this one, which examines very carefully a specific incidence of social activity, is prone to go in the opposite direction of describing observed events without much reference to social structure or structures.

The elements of our theoretical model already partially presented include a theory of action in which knowledgeability mediates between 'conditions' and the actor, and a model of power which is 'multi-dimensional', i.e. which locates power relations partially through conditions of knowledgeability, - culture and ideology. But with 'structure' or 'structures' we shall wish to include an understanding of conditions of action which work aside from knowledgeability, both to help us understand how knowledgeability itself takes the forms and limitations we find in society, and to understand those conditions which structure action in spite of knowledgeability (e.g. material constraints, political coercion). We shall want a theory of structure, then, which refines our understanding of 'conditions of action', and which contributes to our understanding of knowledgeability.

A) Culture and Non-Culture

Richard Johnson, in a paper addressing three broad perspectives within marxism (1979b), develops a number of distinctions pertaining to the problems of relating knowledgeability to conditions of action which helps to clarify some of the issues involved with a concept of social structure. The view he presents is actually similar to Giddens' theories in many ways although the terms used by the two authors come out of different traditions, refer to different authors and debates, and can't be said to have identical meanings. Moreover, there are aspects of the cultural studies perspective within which Johnson works which single out issues latent or missed in Giddens' work.

Johnson first distinguishes his own position from that of both marxist culturalism and structuralism, both of which, in turn, are described

as being developed against the same marxist theoretical tendencies of the 1950s and early 1960s, economism and voluntarism. Structuralism, it should be recalled, was one of the intellectual influences on the marxist theories of urban social movements reviewed in the last chapter. With respect to it Johnson writes:

We have already noted the dangers of a theoretical humanism that ignores the conditions under which choices are made, moral preferences formed. But to neglect the *moment* of self-creation, of the *affirmation* of belief, or of the *giving* of consent would, once more, return us to 'pure mechanistic' (Gramsci's term). It is clear that one specific feature of processes within consciousness is exactly this cultural moment. *It is what distinguishes the force of ideological social relations from relations of political coercion or economic necessity.*

Johnson (1979b), p 234-5

Social structure is a concept which suggests generalities about economic constraints, political uses of force (or its threat) and ideology. But with respect specifically to the last feature of structure, ideology, a theory of action and agency is important. Thus an important feature of culturalist approaches within the marxist tradition have been the attention they draw to features of human agency. The view of culture and ideology as massive and uniform impositions upon passive masses (as in versions of Manifesto Marxism and structuralism) is not an accurate one because it misses the active side of cultural life in which values and meanings are produced and challenged. Hence the terms stressed above which suggest a theory of action and its conditions: actors 'affirm' beliefs and 'give' their consent. Actors are aware of some of the conditions in which they act through their culture, and through this culture actors participate in relations of struggle with political and economic features of society: they help to shape them, though through asymmetrical terms. Johnson's views, which have been major contributions to the perspective of 'cultural studies', treats all social practices as culture (1983, p 14).

One of the key concerns of cultural studies is to explore the relationship between culture and objective social relations which must be considered outside of culture. Thus Johnson also warns against the way in which action and agency is often conceptualised within marxist-culturalist perspectives. Although all social practices are aspects of culture, they are also always performed in relation to aspects of society which are not cultural. Economic constraints and political apparatuses are not in themselves culture - they are conditions in which culture is produced:

Against the humanist view of 'self-making', it is important to stress that what is affirmed or assented to, or rejected or transformed, has its own particular origin and history. The model of culture as a working up on 'experience' lacks one vital element - the instruments of labour themselves, in this case the conceptions, categories and preferences already present. As we have seen 'experience' as a term conflates the raw materials (the way, especially, in which capitalist economic relations impinge on human beings) with the mental means of their representation (the existing cultural repertoire). It is by supplying conceptions where none exist (or merely aiding in the reproduction of old) that ideology operates on culture to hold it below the level of 'critical', 'historical', or 'hegemonic' understanding.

(1979b), p 236

In other words human agency, and in particular human knowledgeability, can't be understood as a process of pure creativity, in which 'experience' is given direct expression. Experience is represented creatively, but only with cultural material already at hand. E. P. Thompson's histories in fact stress this point themselves, by showing that culture has traditions, has a history, and thus that the complex changes in economic relations accompanying a period like the industrial revolution and the development of capitalism, acts upon and interacts with already existing cultures. But the passage above says more than that. Closely following distinctions made by Gramsci (see last section), it draws our attention to several different terms. There is 1) a 'cultural repertoire' with which people produce representations of 2) their conditions of living. But distinctions need to be made within this cultural repertoire as well. Part of it comes close to being the a) 'raw materials' of culture: the primarily tacit realm of common sense. But part of it will include b) ideas and discourses produced in other social locales and distributed under certain conditions, - adapted and modified through the structures of common sense, but importantly influencing common sense as well. So we have two distinctions made within culture: between largely tacit common sense and discursively formulated and systematised ideas - the two influencing each other, both having historical roots and momentums, and both effecting knowledgeability. And then we have the distinction between *conditions themselves*, what is not culture, and their representations in culture. Experience links non-cultural conditions, conditions of life, directly to actors. Cultures both derive from and constitute the mediums through which experiences become understood and expressed. Culture is a social product, and thus operates to relate meanings to power relations: often ideologically and critically at the same time. Culture is both a representation of conditions and a condition itself.

These distinctions are clearly similar to some of those made by Giddens, but as mentioned in the discussion of praxis, Giddens' doesn't make as much of a point about the fact that discursivity always involves the application of *limited* frameworks to experience - in other words that discursivity is often ideological. The distinction between tacit and discursive knowledge is important but it misses the fact, often made the very focus of analysis in cultural studies, that one is never simply and directly in discursive possession of the conditions in which one acts. By simply relating conditions of action to knowledgeability through the distinctions between discursive, tacit, and unacknowledged or unconscious awareness, Giddens does not draw attention to the fact that knowledgeability is a *representation* of these conditions. He doesn't preclude attention to this, and in fact he lists 'modes of articulation of knowledge' as one feature of opacity (last section). But it is easy to forget, when reading Giddens, that discursive awareness is itself a conditioned phenomena. The 'interpretative schemes' in Giddens' model (1979, 82-3) come from somewhere, and they are involved in discursive as well as tacit understandings. In cultural studies they are shown to exist through interactions between common sense (where common sense is both tacit and discursive) and theory produced in other social locales, by Gramsci's intellectuals and cultural studies' intellectual strata: including

the media and advertisers as well as book writers and policy makers (Johnson 1983). Representation must be distinguished from experience.

The last line of Johnson's passage quoted above is especially important for understanding both social structure and social movements. Common sense gets 'held down' from its potential for critical apprehension and transformative action where it comes into competition with more articulated ideological material: theories, and discourses. Here the difference between tacit and discursive is important ('ideology supplies conceptions [names and terms] where none exist'), but so is the amount and forms of publicity which discursive common sense can achieve. Cultural studies looks at ideological production, the *publication* of ideas and views, in society in terms of a number of interconnected moments: its production by specific individuals under certain conditions, its objectification into identifiable material appearing separate from those who produce it, its distribution, its active and altering appropriation by specific groups, and its reproduction which is influenced in various ways by the appropriation processes (Johnson 1983, p 16). Ideological material holds down tacit understandings and orientations, partially because it supplies articulations for experiences which a tacit understanding does not do. But ideology also successfully competes with those articulations which are made by subordinate groups of people for public legitimacy and view. By doing so it can create *mistrust* of formulations made in close association with common sense - it can exercise hegemony over common sense both by directly entering into it, to produce systematic misrecognitions of experience, and (which is another way of doing the same thing) by evaluating articulated common sense negatively through the presentation of competing articulations (see discussion on interests).

Part of what ought to be included in social structure, then, is the recognition of systems of cultural production. When looking at action and knowledgeability on one social site or locale it is important to look for the origins of interpretative schemes, ideologies, values and other cultural elements. One must seek to discover interactions between locally-produced action and knowledge and the media it makes use of which often originates elsewhere. With respect to social movements, the cultural studies perspective alerts us to look for the *origins* of the new formulations they develop. The key to its model of ideology and culture is that meanings never arise out of nowhere, never correspond exactly to experience but always represent an interplay of experience, existing discourses and thus power relations in society. It is how a social movement alters existing discourses which is of interest from a cultural studies perspective; to what *degree* these alterations 'fit' experience (see chapter two), and *which* of the many discourses, interpretative schemes and theories drawn upon by actors become altered (and thus which do not).

Thus cultural studies helps to clarify the fact that knowledgeability is strongly structured: it is a feature of social structure. And cultural studies suggests examining processes of systematised production, distribution, and consumption of cultural material.

If culture, as a produced phenomena mediating social relations of power, is part of social structure it is important to ask what constitutes 'not culture' from a cultural studies perspective. We wish to have a model of social structure which embraces both cultural and non-cultural aspects of social life. In Johnson's article this question is referenced to the three 'problematics' orientating the marxist work which he discusses. In 'Manifesto Marxism', the marxism which has elaborated key formulations found within the *Communist Manifesto*, *The Poverty of Philosophy* and other early works of Marx and Engles (Johnson 1979b, 203) the problematic of 'class and class consciousness' corresponds to that of the culture and not-culture problematic considered here. Johnson himself holds to the distinction between a class moment in social life and a conscious/subjective moment which has been described above as culture. But he distances himself from the way this is formulated in many works which have taken the class/class consciousness problematic as central. Many of these works emphasise interests in ways which we critiqued in a previous section: class interests are seen as uniform, primarily economic, cognitively ascertainable, and ultimately unifying of the groups who share them. Johnson stresses instead the complex way in which the working class becomes differentiated around different social locations and the conditions characterising those locations (p 210). While economic relations represent fundamental social differentiations (i.e., it is important to speak of classes), they do not lead in any automatic way to class unity. 'Interests' are thus not so central a concept in his conceptualisation of the relation of individuals to non-cultural conditions precisely because so many cultural elements are involved in forming relationships between workers and capital, which vary from site to site. 'Interests' can suggest too straightforward a relationship: one which translates automatically into unity and goal-rational action as soon as a sufficient level of class awareness is reached. Instead of interests, *economic dependency* is made the key term. The working class is in a common situation of dependency on capital, but this dependency takes specific forms, highly complex forms, through culture and politics. Dependency itself is not something within culture, it is something which culture must come to terms with.

The model appears, then, roughly as that of a general condition of dependency between classes, structured and modified through political and cultural activity, but existing as the main 'agenda' around which such activity takes place. Culture and structure: practices and objective, non-cultural conditions, are inter-related and exercise influences upon each other. Paul Willis, also working with a cultural studies perspective, writes of the relationship of culture to structure: 'A culture is thoroughly enmeshed in, though far from directly determined by, its structural location'. Culture is the result of collective efforts to 'make sense of and explore received structural and received conditions of existence' (1983, p 124).

8) Structure, System, and Setting:

So far we've problematised the concept of social structure by distinguishing between culture and non-cultural conditions. Culture is a

way of representing conditions of life which is produced under complex relations of power. Structure is related to actors both through its reference to conditions in which people live and thus to experiences that characterise their lives, and through the available forms of knowledgeable ability through which actors represent their experiences and act in accordance with them. Structure is thus a concept directly concerned with power relations.

With Giddens' work we find some additional useful distinctions. Giddens formulates his ideas about social structure in terms of his theory of action through a number of concepts concerning the relationships between routine action, its conditions, and its consequences. The important sets of concepts hover around three general terms: 'structure', 'system' and 'setting'. The distinction between 'structure' and 'system' will be especially useful for our purposes, but let us begin with the concept of 'setting'.

Settings are specific temporal and physical locations in which action takes place. They have conditions of action associated with them which are drawn upon by actors in processes of negotiation. An example of a setting which repeatedly comes up in this study is the staffroom of Croxteth Comprehensive during the period of occupation. The staffroom carried a number of traditional meanings with it which were difficult to change by the occupiers. The staffroom became a combination of a meeting room and a room for relaxation and conversation for teachers. Many local activists from Croxteth would not enter the staffroom without knocking, feeling that it wasn't a room for them. This remained the situation for many of the local volunteers for the entire year, even though teachers repeatedly invited local activists in. In other settings, like the school dinner hall at lunch time, informal talk between teachers and these same local volunteers took place without the same expressions of deference. The dinner hall was a setting in which traditional teacher-parent roles were more flexibly negotiated than the staffroom. Teachers also used the setting of the staffroom to exclude pupils from their presence when pupils initially attempted to invite themselves into it. Thus the staffroom simultaneously represented a set of resources and rules which *had* to be negotiated, sometimes producing intended outcomes and sometimes not.

From settings we can specify a nested set of social-geographical contexts, 'locales' and 'regions', which also locate rules and resources. These are not precise terms - they serve only to specify more generality, to suggest a type of concentric ring model of social-geographical conditions of action. If the staffroom is taken as a setting, then the school could be taken as a locale, or the community of Croxteth could be. Conditions of action, rules, resources, meanings, discourses, all have social-geographical references: temporal and spatial locations give cues as to which sets of rules and resources are to come into play. It is important to recognise the temporal as well as the spatial boundaries on settings: the classroom after school hours is a different setting from that of the classroom during them. And the cues, the ways in which settings introduce specific conditions, are always negotiable, always alterable by

the people inter-acting with respect to them; the point remaining, however, that these cues *have* to be brought into the negotiations and can't be ignored. They are part of a medium through which action takes place. As Thrift says, people don't act 'within' locales, they act *through* them (Thrift 1979, p 34).

Social geography is thus the way in which Giddens locates action empirically. Sites have codes which bring rules and resources into play, - they are part of the broadest definitions shared and negotiated by actors. With the concepts of structure and system, patterns of activity within and between sites become more understandable. System refers to the *contingent* relationships of reinforcement between the routine actions taking place at one site of society with those taking place at another (again, the temporal boundaries of sites are important to keep in mind: systems of action work through the life cycles of groups of people, for example).

Perhaps the easiest way to clarify this is to give a well known example. In Willis's study of non-conforming working class pupils (*Learning to Labour*, 1977), we can see how, in creating a resistance school subculture, these pupils drew upon norms and interpretative schemes, largely only tacitly available to them, which exist in reinforcing ways in the cultures of the working class home and the shop floor. They are reinforcing because they are ways of coping with and resisting conditions of subordination and difficulty in both settings. Within the school the lads drew upon cultural forms from their home and community environments to adjust to and resist the conditions of the school. But these very cultural forms have been developed on the shop floor by older workers. Thus 'the lads' unwittingly produced identities and norms which reproduced class relationships: by resisting the authority relationships and working conditions of the school, they solidified their identification with cultural forms which later made their lives more bearable and interesting on the shopfloor. But in doing so they 'delivered themselves through the factory gates', by rejecting any chance of mobility through acquiring qualifications in the school. They actively contributed to the reproduction of class relationships without a full understanding of what they were doing, because of the limitations present in the interpretative schemes and norms available to them.

For Giddens this represents an example of an unmonitored system relationship. One which becomes sedimented as a pattern over time but which is neither structurally necessary nor intended on anyone's part. System can also refer to consciously monitored norms and interpretative schemes which are manipulated through the media and the generation of theoretical knowledge in society. The production of ideologies of education according to their anticipated effects, for example, is an example of a more monitored system relationship (see Whitty 1985 for some excellent examples).

Willis has actually developed a theory of cultural production/reproduction which is extremely similar to Giddens' concept of system. Willis' concept of 'locking' matches that of Giddens' 'homeostatic

loop' (Willis 1983 p 131; Giddens' 1979, p 78). That is, wholly unintended and yet sedimented relations between the production of culture on one site and that on another (the school and shopfloor in the 'lads' study). His concept of 'isomorphism' (Willis *ibid*) refers to similar system relationships, and he adds the concepts of 'distressing' and 'transformations' to distinguish forms of resistance present in cultural production.

The concept of 'structure' differs, in Giddens' analysis, from that of system. While system refers to 'syntagmatic' features of society, i.e. the patterning of action in time and space where social geography, among other things, becomes important conceptually, structure is used by Giddens to refer to 'paradigmatic' aspects of the conditions of action (- Giddens has adapted these terms from Saussure; see 1984, p 17 and 377) . Systems of action can be observed and monitored. Structure is not located in time and space but is implicated in each act. Unlike system, structure has only a virtual existence. And unlike system, the components of structure are connected through their locations within (tacit and implicit) paradigms or paradigm-like structures (e.g., interpretative schemes, discourses). Structures accompany systematic relationships of routine activity but need to be distinguishable from them. Structures are the sorts of relationships and implicit paradigms which can be found in the analysis of cultural 'texts': they influence systems of action but they are not equivalent to them. By making this distinction between system and structure, Giddens is insisting on distinctions present in Johnson's 'circle of cultural production' where one distinguishes between the conditions in which culture (with its accompanying paradigmatic features) is produced, the actual structures of cultural products, the distribution of cultural products, and their actual 'consumption' - their active appropriation in systems of action. The paradigmatic features of the cultural product, separated from its actual production, circulation and consumption, is its 'virtual structure'. One must simply bear in mind the fact that a 'cultural product' can be any thing from a can of cola, an advertisement, a book, to a discourse, trend, or theory to see the convergence of these models.

What virtual structure really refers to is the fact that actions don't only reproduce or alter existing norms and interpretative frameworks, they also reproduce an order or 'structure' of norms and interpretative schemes. Norms and schemes don't exist as discrete entities, they are embedded in structures much as words are embedded in a grammar tying them to other words. To use a term which doesn't occur often in Giddens' work, they are tied together in discourses (e.g see Silverman 1985, ch. 7). Just as every linguistic act reproduces an implicit grammar underlying it, every action generally reproduces an implicit structure of meaning and normative relations. Structure in this sense also serves as a constraint on action, it imposes a logic of its own which, as said repeatedly above, may be changed or 'transformed' much as language continuously undergoes change. In our study of Croxteth we will carefully examine patterns of conflictual action which took place between participants and which involved structural linkages between norms and ideologies which had an ultimate bearing on its form and the outcomes it produced. The chapters providing this description

should clarify the meaning of Giddens' theory of structure and the theory of culture used in cultural studies: the uses to which they can be put.

In the chapters of this thesis focusing on interpersonal conflicts (especially chapters eleven through thirteen) Habermas' theory of rationality is brought in as a supplement to Giddens' theory of structure by looking at what happens when virtual structures in tension manifest in disagreements. Because such situations increase the demands on those involved to account for their actions, certain unacknowledged features of the virtual structures involved become drawn up into discursive articulation. When this occurs, Habermas's theory becomes useful for examining the implicit rationality or irrationality of certain interpretative schemes. All schemes exist in structural linkages to other schemes in ways which support systems of action. As the linkages between such schemes are drawn into discourse, mismatches between certain common sense views and actual living conditions may be revealed as *irrational* 'assumptions' ('faulty imagery' might be a better term for it) previously held at tacit levels. Thus a theory of rationality has much to contribute to the concept of virtual structure.

So we have the key notions of culture, system, settings or sites and now 'structure'. But so far the concept of structure has been held very close to actually observed action. The concept of system and site together help to generalise the picture by giving us a model of how systems of action located in particular sites become inter-related, reinforcing each other in ways that supports the sedimentation of action into routines lasting over time. But this still tells us little about conditions of action which are not directly cultural and little about the significance of activities characterising particular sites to relations of power through-out society. Giddens' solution is to make a methodological distinction between institutional and action-theoretical levels of analysis; institutional analysis examines the relationship between institutions ('practices which are deeply sedimented in time-space', 1979 p 80) and puts methodological brackets around actually observed action. The study of institutions looks for highly generalised conditions which, through the addition of more particular conditions, actually effect action. But when looking for relationships between institutions - for example between local and national governments, local governments and schools, schools and the economy, and so on, one must do so on levels of generality which consciously overlook specific actions in specific settings.

Thrift (1983, p 37) writes similarly that the concept of structure must be considered on three analytical levels: there is 'formal structure' which are structural principles existing at a high level of abstraction which influence action in a diffuse way. Class relations in their broadest sense, the ownership and non-ownership of the means of production in capitalist society, are examples of what Thrift means by formal structure. We could add gender relations because generalisations are possible on a societal-wide scale. Next comes what he calls 'substantive structure' which involve relationships specific to certain sites, the school and the family are examples. And last are what he calls 'interaction structures', much

more particular structures which must be discovered through empirical studies of on-going action. Although the last type of 'structure' is highly particular, it is so through negotiations and complex intersections of more general structures. It is the realm of local cultures.

In looking at structure from this more abstracted and distancing perspective a number of useful points can be made. One has to do with power and domination. Giddens distinguishes between domination based on control of allocative material resources and domination based on control of 'authoritative resources' (control over the actions of people through authority) and he then looks at the ways in which these types of domination intersect. Control over allocative resources can translate into control over people: the influence of capitalists on governmental decision making is an example (Milliband 1976). Conversely, control over authoritative resources (government positions, for example) can command control over allocative resources (the control of a local education committee over school resources, for example). There are also forms of domination in which symbolic orders and/or ideological production control authoritative and allocative resources.

Lastly, Giddens discusses what he calls the 'convertibility of rule-resource sets' which can characterise an entire society. These are highly generalised structural features of a society which allow for certain action possibilities. In capitalism, for example, private property is convertible to the wage contract which is convertible to profits. This is a virtual structure which is often brought into play in systems of action (Giddens 1979, p 104).

Note that this view of structure, as a continuum of conditions moving from the very general (e.g. the dependency of the working class on capital) to the highly particular (e.g. the intermeshing of many conditions in the Croxteth Comprehensive staffroom at a particular moment during the occupation) retains the distinction between culture and structure we have been suggesting as important. In the case of this study, the participants in the campaign for Croxteth Comprehensive shared economic problems and conditions of life which are related to their membership in the British working class. This common experience of life was conditioned by both their common membership in a class and their common residence in a specific council estate which had been created through certain political decisions made in Liverpool's recent history. They had to conduct their campaign against a local government possessing both authoritative and allocative control over the school they wished retained. None of these conditions were in themselves cultural, yet all of them are necessary for understanding the events the activists took part in. So were conditions of culture - the local culture of Croxteth and the cultural traditions of the Liverpool working class. It was through culture that these participants interpreted the closure of their school and formed the associations with each other upon which a campaign could be conducted. It was through culture that certain interests each participant held with respect to the campaign took the forms they did.

This model doesn't give us a reified concept of structure either because it doesn't reduce social activity to structural determinants - it insists that structure consists of conditions in which action takes place and makes awareness and knowledgeability of conditions themselves conditions. Moreover it specifies levels of structure, stretching from the general to the particular. General conditions which entered into the campaign for Croxteth Comprehensive, for example, included the recession of the 1970s and early 1980s explicable in terms of Britain's location in the international economy. Less general conditions included the specific effects of this recession on the local government of Liverpool, with its particular location in the national economy and its traditions and specific political parties. None of these conditions are sufficient in themselves for explaining the events which took place in Croxteth, yet all of them are necessary for explaining them. Highly particular conditions, on the other hand, included the social geography of the Croxteth Housing Estate and certain personalities which resided there. Yet these conditions effected events as they did only because of their relations to the more general conditions. And all of these conditions, in their intersections with each other, were drawn upon by the actors of our study - they didn't determine their activities, they simply established a field of possibilities in which these activities took place.

IV Chapter Summary

The discussions in this chapter centred on the social-theoretical concepts of interests, power, action and social structure. It was stated at the outset and will be repeated here that the discussions were not meant to be definitive nor to review all relevant sociological work in these areas. We selected a number of paradigms from a large body of work in order to problematise these concepts as much as possible and suggest an orientation with respect to each which is useful to our study of Croxteth Comprehensive. The results of these discussions included the following points:

A) Interests

1) Interests are objective in so far as they are separable from wants and from knowledgeability. We affirmed the insistence in certain marxist models of interests, such as those of Anderson and Wright, that they are frequently obscured from the awareness of those who possess them. But we rejected the economic conception of interests used by these authors and their scientific epistemology. This was done through the introduction of a competing paradigm, that of marxist culturalism - or at least E. P. Thompson's version of it. Interests involve more than economic concerns. There are tight linkages between economic interests and issues of identity and morality - issues of culture.

2) There are types of interests, or dimensions to interests, which are autonomous from economic interests, despite their frequently tight interconnections. Human needs and purposes become socially constructed into interests - i.e., into specific economic and cultural ways in which needs are shaped. The need for an identity is 'material' in this sense: it is a need which has to be met under conditions which individuals often have little control over, conditions which are involved in relations of domination in society.

3) With respect to interests and the study of the campaign for Croxteth Comprehensive, we shall wish to explain why residents became mobilised against the closure of the school and why the activists gave a year of their time to the full time running of it. In doing so it will become clear that interests in the material use of the school were only part of the explanation. The closure of Croxteth Comprehensive effected residents materially by removing a provision they depended on in many ways, but it also *symbolised* conditions of material deprivation in many other aspects of life on the estate. It became a focal point for expressions of anger rooted in poor housing, health and employment conditions. Moreover, those residents who became full time volunteers in the school did so because they found opportunities for developing new identities, friendships, and means for self-expression within the occupied buildings.

B) Power

A multi-dimensional theory of power is necessary to explain social relations in society. These dimensions of power are useful distinctions which will be used in the study of Croxteth:

- a) A dimension concerned with formal access to political decision making power.
- b) A dimension concerned with informal access to political decision making power in which tacit 'rules of access' come into play in the 'off stage' regions of political life.
- c) A dimension concerned with the obfuscation of interests from those who have them where the concepts of ideology, culture and hegemony become important.

C) Action

1) Theories of social movements which emphasise goal-rational action, - the pursuit of conscious goals related to interests, - are limited. They miss normative, expressive, and identity-related features of activity. Our model of action draws primarily upon the theories of Habermas and Giddens. From Habermas we take the distinctions between zweckrational, normative and dramaturgical components of all action. Self-making and 'cultural interests' take on more clarity through this view of action, for most action involves issues of identity at the

same time that it is concerned with the pursuit of goals and/or the enactment of normatively sanctioned behaviour. This model of action, moreover, is consistent with the concept of self-making discussed in the section on interests. Identities are not only aspects of the *form* taken by action, they are part of its *reasons*, and part of the motivational structures underlying action.

Habermas's theory of rationality, which he uses to explain the coordination of action, is also useful for this study. In situations of interpersonal conflicts, actors can only seek to reach a rational consensus between themselves by satisfying formal requirements of argumentation - a universal pragmatics. Thus, to seek rational consensus in a situation of disagreement, actors will have to thematise the background conditions of their action, the goals, norms and identities to which their action is referenced, and justify it discursively. This argument is used extensively in certain chapters analysing interpersonal conflicts which occurred between participants in the Croxteth campaign. Its meaning and significance become much more clear in those chapters, when empirically observed events and accounts of them are analysed.

2) Giddens' theory of structuration is useful for expanding the concept of 'conditions of action'. Action always has reasons which can be supplied by the actor. These reasons are taken from the cultural context of the action. Yet actors are unaware of many of the conditions in which they act. The reasons an actor can supply are related to conditions which escape his/her awareness, and these relationships between conditions of action structure outcomes of action in systematic ways, often outside the intentions of actors. and/or awareness.

3) To emphasise certain features of Giddens' work we turn to cultural studies and the concept of praxis. Discursive awareness is never a pure apprehension of conditions of action, - discursive awareness must make use of interpretative schemes and discourses which originate from outside of experience itself. Discursive awareness is the application of a framework to experience, it may or may not represent that experience adequately. From the concept of praxis we have levels of awareness and formulation, similar but not identical to the levels of Giddens' stratified model of action, and the relationship of idea production to social structure. The common sense of subordinate peoples exists in complex relationships with ideas produced in society. Some ideas are produced 'close' to life experiences, by those living the experiences and by intellectuals in an organic relationship to them. Other ideas are produced elsewhere in society, by intellectuals, advertisers, the media, and these ideas, very often misrepresenting the life experiences of subordinate populations, enter into common sense. Here the idea of a 'circle of cultural production', or 'cultural circuit' is useful (Johnson 1983, p 16).

4) With respect to action and the study of the Croxteth campaign, we shall find that struggles over meanings were in many ways important features of the movement. This occurred publicly, in battles which took place in the media coverage of the occupation, and it occurred within the campaign itself. Meanings altered within the campaign included the generation of interpretations of life in Croxteth as normatively wrong. Actors found that they were better able to articulate their difficult conditions of life by becoming associated with the protest movement. There were also struggles between participants over the self-definition and purposes of the campaign which drew upon ideologies originating outside of Croxteth itself. And lastly there were interesting differences between the self-definition of the campaign which emerged and new tacit knowledge which the running of the school generated.

D) Social Structure:

1) Social structure includes conditions of action which are not themselves cultural, though they may be represented within culture. It thus includes economic circumstances and political relationships. But structure also refers to patterns present within culture: cultural conditions of action which exist in relationships, paradigms and homologies.

2) Structure is a concept in our model which applies to different levels of analysis - there are certain general conditions which effect action throughout society, such as the relations of production. But to understand particular instances of action one must specify many more contingent conditions which become involved.

3) Giddens' distinction between 'system' and 'structure' will be used in this study. Structure in this sense has a 'virtual' existence: it refers to paradigmatic relationships which are implicated in specific actions. These relationships may be studied in their own right to illuminate actually existing patterns of action, but they do not determine these patterns and action itself can alter virtual structures. 'System', on the other hand refers to the patterns of action themselves which can be empirically identified and studied. Systems of action carry virtual structures as one of their properties - the two are closely knit. But systems of action always have contingent connections with each other, and changes in the awareness of actors can alter them.

4) With respect to social structure and the campaign for Croxteth Comprehensive we shall actually be using the different levels involved in this concept as one of the organising principles of this account. The first few chapters of the account work on fairly general levels of analysis, examining the economic and political contexts in which the school was closed. This is followed by two chapters which examine more particular conditions of action in which the strategy of the campaign was formulated and the possible courses of action which the

protest group, as a group, could take carefully considered. When the actual occupation of Croxteth Comprehensive is described the analysis shifts downwards towards even more particular conditions of action and intersections of conditions of action. Here we shall be concerned with interpersonal conflicts originating in and drawing upon a great variety of conditions.

5) The entire account of the campaign for Croxteth Comprehensive, however, insists on the simultaneous presence of all levels of conditions of action studied. The closure of the school is understandable only because of the general economic and political features of Britain and Liverpool presented in the early chapters and the analysis of conflict and knowledgeability of the final chapters are also only understandable with reference to these more general conditions. Particular conditions and particular conjunctures of general conditions have the meaning they do only because they are nested within the more general features of society. This is a point made again and again in this thesis.

Table 4-3: Objects and Levels of Analysis

Level/object of analysis	Relevant thesis chapters	Some schools/authors drawn upon or otherwise relevant
Economy, national/local government	Six, Eight	Urban social movement theory Offe, Castells, Cockburn
Community	Seven	
The protest group	Eight, Nine	Resource management, Oberschall, Tilly, Gamson
Interpersonal action, schooling Schooling process	Ten through Fifteen	Action theory, the sociology of education: Giddens, Habermas, and educational theorists reviewed in next chapter.

As a way of tying the analysis presented in this chapter to the review of social movements carried out in the last chapter we note that different schools of theory on social movements tend to focus on only one of the levels of analysis mentioned above. Neo-marxist theories of urban social movements have focused on a formal and general features of social structure. Their work is useful if it is considered to be the analysis of the most general conditions in which our social movement arose. It puts into brackets any analysis of particular actions or even considerations of the movements of our protest group. The resource management school has focused upon more particular conditions of action which are explanatory for the protest group. It is useful if we accept that we are bracketing off the more general conditions which neo-marxist theories of the state can explain and bracketing off interactions taking place within the protest group

itself. The identity-oriented paradigm is useful for actually looking at the personal stakes individuals had in the movement and at the movement's self-definition. The theories of action developed by Habermas and Giddens' and the theory of cultural production developed by cultural studies are also useful for examining the movement on its most particular levels.

Table 4-3 summarises the discussions of the last two chapters at the same time that it anticipates chapters to come by specifying which level of analysis will be used in which chapters and what theoretical work will be most useful for the discussions in those chapters.

SCHOOLING, INEQUALITY, AND THE COMMUNITY

If the campaign for Croxteth Comprehensive had ended without the occupation of the school buildings and the subsequent running of the school for an entire year by parents and volunteer teachers, sociological interest in it would probably be limited to its qualities as an urban protest movement, a political battle over the provision of a welfare service. But the take-over of the school buildings by the Croxteth Community Action Committee and its decision to run the school adds another dimension of interest. Working class parents, rather than educational professionals and bureaucrats, were in formal control of the school. Pupils became involved in two types of authority relationships in the school, teacher-pupil and adult-youth, in a context in which there is usually only one. The teachers in the school, moreover, were for the most part politically motivated individuals committed to some type of social change. The occupation resulted in a unique alteration of formal school authority relationships and consequently illuminates certain questions raised in the sociological literature on schooling. This chapter reviews relevant issues in that body of literature, focusing particularly upon the theory of community education.

This chapter is divided into two main sections: a fairly schematic review of literature on the sociology of education followed by a longer section on the theory of community education.

I Schools and Inequality

The sociology of education expanded rapidly as an academic field in Britain just after World War Two at the same time that educational provision itself was rapidly extended. The introductory sections of a number of articles and books on educational sociology present the development of the discipline through the description of a number of theoretical orientations which have risen sequentially to prominence (eg. Karabel and Halsey 1977, Whitty 1985). Usually included are:

- 1) The political arithmetic approach of the 1950s and early 1960s (e.g. D.V. Glass, 1954; Floud, Halsey and Martin 1957, see also Halsey, Heath and Ridge 1980).
- 2) Theories of cultural deprivation produced during the latter 1960s (see Boyd 1977 and Keddie 1971b for reviews).
- 3) The 'new' sociology of education of the very late 1960s and early 1970s (e.g. Brown, 1973, M.F.D. Young 1971a).
- 4) Theories of social and economic reproduction (e.g. Bowles and Gintis 1976, Dale 1977).
- 5) Cultural reproduction and education (e.g. Willis 1975, 1977, 1983, McRobbie 1978, Everhart 1983).

6) And what could be called 'post reproduction' theories (e.g. Wexler 1982, Apple 1979, 1982 introduction, 1983; Giroux 1981, 1983; Connell, Ashenden, Kesslerl, and Dowsett 1982).

The main concern of each approach is with the relationship of schooling to social inequality. Most of these theoretical orientations suggest, explicitly or implicitly, a way of changing education towards a situation of greater equality. Comprehensive schools, for example, were adopted as educational policy in the 1960s with theoretical support from the early political arithmetic school, compensatory education programmes corresponded to the cultural deprivation thesis, community education schemes were concerned with problems identified in works of the 'new' sociology of education, and some form of 'socialism' is implicitly advocated in the work of the social and cultural reproduction theorists (Whitty 1985).

These theoretical approaches may be distinguished from each other in a number of ways. Below, brief descriptions of each approach are provided. The different schools are contrasted with each other by examining their assumptions about power and knowledge and the different objects of study they each take. In some of the short summaries below references are omitted. The reader may refer to the list of approaches just above to find relevant works cited.

A) Political Arithmetic

Political arithmetic was (and where still practised, is) concerned with questions of access and types of schools. It viewed the school as a site where all children can gain knowledge an equal standard. Developing in the 1950s when secondary schooling was tripartite, it was interested in relating class backgrounds to types of schools attended and final occupational outcomes. Educational inequality was above all inequality of access to equal schools. Different schools teach different types of knowledge providing different occupational opportunities. Knowledge itself is viewed as something essentially neutral, not entering as such into social relationships of inequality. The problem of inequality was a problem of fair access to knowledge, not a problem concerning forms of knowledge and teaching practices. The major questions to be answered by sociological analysis were therefore questions over which pupils entered which schools to learn what sorts of knowledge. The effects of political arithmetic on educational policy were its contribution towards the expansion of education and the movement towards the comprehensivisation of 11+ provision. Educational power was seen to be located ultimately in political and bureaucratic institutions determining educational provision. The focus of analysis was on mobility routes - what occurred inside schools was not taken as the main object of study.

B) Cultural Deprivation

Theories of cultural deprivation were early attempts to explain the failure of the comprehensive programme to alter the mobility routes of pupils. Working class pupils were still getting working class jobs in the

mid-1960s and cultural deprivation theories located the explanatory variable as the culture of the home. School knowledge was still seen as a neutral possession which was transmitted to pupils, but now through a cultural medium. Culture was seen to include a set of *values* which either facilitated or obstructed constructive work habits, as a set of *linguistic practices* which either aided or hindered knowledge acquisition, and as a set of *self images* which influenced aspirations. Power was still located in the bureaucracies of the state but the focus of analysis had shifted from access to schools to the effects of culture on educability. In terms of policy, cultural deprivation theories led to various forms of compensatory education.

C) Community Education

Advocates of community education such as Midwinter (1972, 1973, 1975), Halsey (1972) and Hargreaves (1982), make use of a somewhat different view of *school knowledge* than that implicit in cultural deprivation theory (as well as political arithmetic). Knowledge, from the community education perspective, is seen as information and skills which has its value in terms of its relevance to the lives of those acquiring it. As different social groups have different needs, the type of knowledge taught in schools ought to be different as well. Where the type of knowledge is identical (e.g. numerical skills), the *form* in which these skills are taught ought to differ, *ought* to make full use of the culture and concerns of the communities which particular schools serve. Knowledge is thus not seen as a neutral acquisition, valuable in itself, but as something which *ought* to be useful, where relevant use is determined by local conditions and needs.

Like cultural deprivation theories, community education programmes view the disparity between the middle class culture present in most schools and the cultures in which working class and ethnically diverse pupils live as the major explanatory variable for the perpetuation of inequality through schooling. But instead of recommending a course of compensatory training to bring middle class culture to the pupils of the working class, it recommends conducting education itself in the cultures of the communities surrounding the school. Doing so entails another difference from the perspectives considered so far: advocates of community education have often called for the devolution of educational decision making power to parents and residents served by schools. The argument is that for community education to work communities must somehow gain more power over the curriculum and pedagogic practices of their schools. Community education schemes have also generally attempted to alter the traditional power relationship between teachers and pupils, to allow local cultures to be expressed through the increased participation of pupils in the planning and organising of their educational activities. All aspects of community education theory, and the results of a number of attempts to implement it, are discussed in more detail in the next section.

D) The 'New' Sociology of Education

The 'new' sociology of education was concerned primarily with what is called 'the hidden curriculum': "...those unstated norms, values, and beliefs embedded in and transmitted to students through the underlying rules that structure the routines and social relationships in school and classroom life" (Giroux, 1983 p 47). This has also been a key concern of community education (Hargreaves 1982), and in fact there are many overlaps in these two perspectives. One could argue that community education has been a practical attempt to solve the problems theorised by the 'new' sociology of education, although the prominent authors and practitioners of both groups are distinct. One of the better known advocates of the new sociology of education specified three areas of study for sociologists of education:

- the mental categories of educators
- classroom interaction
- educational knowledge

Gorbutt, cited in Whitty, (1977)

Community education has recognised problems in each of these areas and has suggested alterations in teacher-pupil and school-community power relationships as the solution. But the concepts of power and domination receive greater theoretical elaboration in the 'new' sociology of education. Theorists in this school see power exercised through the imposition of norms, values, and general orientations to reality (e.g. passive and accepting as opposed to active and transforming) upon pupils. These norms and values exist implicitly in the selection and organisation of knowledge, the patterns of interaction within the classroom, and the form and content of curricular texts. The 'new' sociology of education thus conceived of power relations mediated through schooling practice in terms of the pupil subjectivities which it shapes. Knowledge is therefore not just regarded with respect to its usefulness or its cultural form (which influences educability). Knowledge is ideological and schooling acts to maintain power relations in society not only through the consistent failure of subordinate groups to compete well on its terms but through its transference of ideological orientations to those pupils who do succeed on its terms.

The 'new' sociology of education produced a variety of studies which claimed to have found ideological effects accompanying the organisation of knowledge and schoolroom practice in a number of ways (see Whitty 1977; Whitty and Young 1976). Two very basic themes which have been consistently present in these studies can be noted which will feature importantly in our analysis of the Croxteth occupation. One is the reification and commodification of knowledge (see Whitty 1977). School knowledge is reified because it disguises its social origins. As Young points out (1971b), school knowledge is always the result of certain selections from a large number of possible knowledges. It is organised in specific ways and arranged in a status hierarchy which has social origins rather than any intrinsic origins in knowledge itself. Knowledge is a social product which can and does alter over time. But knowledge isn't presented in this way in the classroom. Instead it's usual mode of presentation is

that of something fixed and neutral which can be unproblematically transmitted by teachers and possessed by pupils. Its appearance in this form produces a passive and unquestioning attitude on the part of pupils and gives them an orientation towards knowledge which precludes their own possible contribution to its production. Moreover, the division and organisation of knowledge into a status hierarchy helps to select pupils for the occupational hierarchy. Academic knowledge is first made separable from the sorts of knowledges involved in manual skills and then given a higher status than the latter. The 'new' sociology of education points out that this corresponds to the separation of mental and manual labour in society - it is an organisation of knowledge with social, not intrinsic origins (Young 1971b). School knowledge is a form of ideology.

For changing society, the 'new' sociology of education advocated altering the consciousness of educators, making the hidden curriculum explicit and therefore alterable (see Whitty 1985 for excellent summary). This belief could actually be argued to represent an inconsistency in the theoretical assumptions most commonly accompanying work in the 'new' sociology of education tradition, because it tends to ascribe a great deal of autonomy to the consciousness of teachers, and their realms of possible activity, while viewing pupils as passive recipients of the hidden messages of schooling. Teachers, in other words, are seen as agents capable of dramatically changing their practice with a change in consciousness while pupils are seen as doomed to play out the roles, values and identities imbibed through processes of socialisation. Even if the 'new' sociology of education were to defend itself by arguing that in the case of both teachers and pupils, *awareness* is the key variable in whether or not one is subject to ideology, the approach ignores the question of the *origins* of ideology. While schools were viewed as sites in which the consciousness of pupils was strongly shaped, there was little or no connection theorised between the forms of this consciousness and the economic and political structures of society. Correspondences between the two were noted, but the way in which these correspondences form wasn't explained. Both of these shortcomings in the 'new' sociology of education, its failure to examine the active appropriation, alteration, and rejection of the hidden curriculum by pupils and its lack of a theory which connects ideological effects associated with the organisation of knowledge to broader societal structures, were addressed within subsequent theoretical trends.

E) Social Reproduction

Social reproduction theories of education were attempts to link social structure to education through a marxist framework. *Schooling in Capitalist America* by Bowles and Gintis (1976) is amongst the best known works of this type. It argues that the inequalities of class relations in capitalist society are reproduced in schools through a direct correspondence between teacher-pupil authority relations and employer-worker relations. The correspondences described in the book are argued to be determined by the economic structure of capitalist society. Bowles and Gintis were important in the recent history of the sociology of education for drawing attention to the relation between social structure and

schoolroom practice. Their argument was that direct relationships between the formation of pupil subjectivities in schools and economic relations in society exist.

Correspondence theory gives power a functionalist location in social structure. School practices have the correspondences they do, and produce the results they do, because capitalist society 'needs' them to. The organisation of knowledge is given second place to assessment and forms of authority relationships as the principle features of schooling which influence pupil subjectivity. The focus of analysis is upon similarities between school social relationships and workplace social relationships.

The shortcomings of *Schooling in Capitalist America* are widely recognised, and are acknowledged by Bowles and Gintis themselves (Gintis and Bowles 1981, see also Karabel and Halsey 1977, introduction). In particular, correspondence has been shown to be a much too simplistic model of the relationship between the school and the economy. Where direct correspondences do exist, explanations must be provided of them without recourse to functionalism, and there are many instances where such correspondences do not exist. The mediating role of policy in the relationship between school practice and economic relationships is ignored in *Schooling in Capitalist America*, as is the extent to which autonomous action on the part of both pupils and teachers can alter, resist, or contribute to such correspondences. Pupils in particular are once again seen as much more passive and receptive of the messages of the hidden curriculum than is actually the case.

F) Cultural Reproduction

Cultural reproduction theories continued the interest in relations between capitalist social structure and processes of schooling but introduced cultural production as the mediating link between the two. Willis's book *Learning to Labour* (1977), produced from a cultural studies perspective, is probably the most well known of a number of studies which examine the production of resistance cultures in schools for the role they play in reproducing social relations (McRobbie 1978, Everhart 1983). During the 1960s, Lacey (1970) and Hargreaves (1967) both studied the formation of resistance cultures in schools from a symbolic interactionist framework, but the cultural studies perspective pointed out relationships between the formation of such subcultures to cultures in other locations of society, much in line with the concept of 'system' which we discussed and compared to Willis' work in the last chapter.

Cultural reproduction has been criticised as a paradigm for its implicit use of a reified view of social structure (Wexler 1982). Although the approach explicitly concerns itself with the agency of pupils and their rejection and transformation of the ideologies associated with classroom practice and school knowledge, it pits agency against a pre-given social order which makes the latter appear ultimately unchangeable in the end. Its critics have pointed out that like correspondence theory, reproduction locates power ultimately in a reification of what is actually on-going

human activity (Apple 1982, introduction). Willis himself (1981) has argued that these criticisms apply more to *interpretations* of his work rather than what his study actually illustrated and claimed. His point is that systems of action on different social sites which reinforce each other operate *through* agency, through cultural forms of knowledge, and thus offers a way of not reifying the concept of social structure.

G) Post Reproduction Theories

During the 1980s sociological work on education has continued to be published from a number of different perspectives but the concerns of this thesis draw us particularly to a community of sociologists who share a broad view termed 'post-reproduction' here. Many in this group have themselves journeyed through the 'new' sociology of education and then versions of marxist analysis (primarily versions of reproduction theory) to come to either focus on highly specific empirical studies of one or two aspects of education (e.g. Anyon 1979, 1981), or on clarifying a number of theoretical concepts which had been previously employed in too monolithic or vague a manner. These concepts include 'culture', 'ideology', 'power', 'resistance', and 'structure' (e.g. Apple, 1983; Giroux 1983).

Hence post-reproduction work has been more concerned with complexity than with over-all paradigms. There has been an effort to combine insights gained by the 'new' sociology of education with those produced in work on reproduction. Some of the theoretical work of cultural studies has influenced the work of many authors in this group, problematising the concepts of agency, culture, and structure and their inter-relations. Michael Apple, for example, writes of the need to develop:

a particularly sensitive perspective; a combination of what might be called a socio-economic approach to catch the structural phenomena and what might be called a cultural program of analysis to catch the level of everydayness.

Apple (1982), p 94

Apple explicitly recognises the importance of the debates between structural and cultural marxism discussed in the last chapter, and applies some of the distinctions made in Richard Johnson's paper to education (Johnson 1979b, see chapter four of this thesis). Thus, for example, Apple distinguishes between aspects of culture in a way similar to Johnson: culture as lived experience in and through which pupils accept, resist, an/or transform the ideologies of school practice and culture as a commodity for the labour market in Bourdieu's sense of 'cultural capital' (Bourdieu and Passeron 1977), and culture as articulated theory or ideology (Apple 1982, p 18).

Giroux (1983) similarly, (though his analysis differs significantly from that of Apple and other authors we've included in this group) concerns himself with the complexity of situating schools in society: one must look at the many ways in which power and domination become expressed and maintained in the school: from processes of transmission in which 'the official language [of the school], school rules, classroom social relations,

the selection and presentation of school knowledge, [and] the exclusion of specific cultural capital' serve to construct pupil subjectivities in ways reflecting dominant patterns of social inequality, to the use of blatant coercion in order to maintain control (see also Sharpe and Green 1975; Anyon 1981). Ideology, Giroux argues, must be analysed in its practical and theoretical forms, and in the complex ways it becomes articulated in specific locations through the media of historical traditions and cultural norms (Giroux 1983, p 372).

The drift of this work seems to be towards something akin to the action-theoretical and cultural studies approaches discussed in chapter four. It has already been noted, for example, that convergences are evident with Willis's use of a cultural studies perspective to analyse systems of action between the school and other social sites that are mediated by cultural production and Giddens' concept of social system. We pointed out that in *Learning to Labour* the type of system relationship described is a barely monitored one, in which the knowledgeable of the 'lads' works in only partial ways which are not cognisant of the reproductive loop between school, shopfloor and home/community culture which the resistance culture they produce contributes to. Apple's study of the production of school textbooks according to the logic of commodity production (1984), on the other hand, is an example of a more monitored system relationship - monitored through a structural set (to use Giddens' term) which allows for the convertibility of certain types of knowledge production into marketable goods. Studies of educational policy formation (Salter and Tapper 1981) involve a more highly monitored system relationship. Other studies, like those of Buswell (1980), Brown (1981) and Anyon (1978, 1979) on structures of meaning in school texts are essentially examinations of what could be called 'congealed' cultural products in a cultural studies perspective (Johnson 1983), and relatable to the 'paradigmatic dimension' of social structure distinguished by Anthony Giddens (1979). Hence it would be possible to incorporate much of the work of post-reproduction sociology of education into the action-theoretical and cultural studies perspectives outlined in chapter four.

To summarise this section, the review of approaches provided above is useful to this study of Croxteth for the attention it draws to possible roles which schools play in mediating and reproducing relations of domination in society. Much work in the sociology of education has been specifically concerned with inequality, and as social movements also address themselves to inequalities in society we shall be interested in how the participants in the campaign for Croxteth Comprehensive came to regard schooling through their own experiences with running a school. The activists in the Croxteth campaign had their own theories of education, some which fit into several of the broad paradigms briefly described above. In the public debates which took place regarding the closure of the school a good of the arguments corresponded to the mobility and cultural deprivation approaches we've reviewed. Some of the teachers who volunteered their time in the occupied school interpreted events through personal theories of cultural deprivation. Operating on unacknowledged levels in Croxteth were reified views of knowledge, manifesting in attitudes

towards examinations and the hierarchical arrangement of subjects. Finally, the occupation itself was a sort of spontaneous 'action experiment' in community education - an empirical test, if you like, of some of the claims made by community education theory. For this reason the next section will be exclusively concerned with the theory of community education.

The above review has drawn our attention to a number of different ways in which inequality and schooling have been viewed and theoretically related. Some approaches have considered inequality primarily in terms of mobility chances, others have viewed it in terms of class relations and their partial legitimation through the subjectivities which schooling shapes, still others have viewed the school as a site of cultural production which exists in systematic relationships with other social sites such as the workplace. Table 5-1 summarises the discussion, listing different understandings of inequality taken by the different approaches, noting which outcomes of schooling they take as their objects of interest and which aspects of schooling they have presented as necessary to alter in order to change these outcomes. Because of the diversity and complexity of the work we've grouped together as the 'post-reproduction' approach, this body of work cannot be included in the chart.

 Table 5-1: *Inequality and Schooling, Different Theoretical Perspectives*

INEQUALITY AS:	VARIABLES TO CHANGE	OUTCOMES
biased access (political arithmetic)	type of school, number of schools	career, knowledge
cultural form in which knowledge is taught (cultural deprivation)	amount and type of schooling given to different pupils	career, knowledge acquired
hidden curriculum i.e.: selection of knowledge, organisation of knowledge and pedagogic practice (<i>'new sociology'</i> & community education)	the mental categories of teachers and their professional milieu	pupil subjectivity and pupil assessment
hidden curriculum (correspondence)	social structure	pupil subjectivities
hidden curriculum and systematic linkages between forms of cultural production and social relations on various social sites (cultural reproduction)	to a certain extent the awareness of pupils, the resources they have with which to construct culture	pupil culture → jobs and job culture.

II Community Education

In the brief description of community education given above, we emphasised that this approach locates domination and power in the decision making processes which effect curriculum and pedagogy. Curriculum and pedagogy, in turn, effect subjective dispositions developed in pupils during their years of schooling, producing in the majority of working class pupils a sense of 'failure, incompetence, and impotence' (Halsey 1972, p 11). Advocates of community education thus view the school in ways highly similar to many theorists of the 'new' sociology of education because both are concerned with the experience of schooling as effected by curricular content and classroom relations. But the hopes of community education theorists have not rested so much with a change of consciousness in teachers which sociological publications may bring about but rather on the devolution of decision making power towards the school and community levels. The predicted results have been a change of pedagogic and curricular practice in the direction of socially relevant activity, combining learning with social action (Halsey 1972).

The situation in the occupied Croxteth school was in many ways similar to the ideal of community education theorists: a school controlled at least formally by parents themselves, with a sympathetic and flexible teaching staff and a general awareness of deprivation in the surrounding community coexisting with a desire on the part of all involved to change it. Critics of community education, in fact, have usually pointed out the difficulties of implementing its policies precisely because a motivated and involved adult community is a prerequisite for community education and is yet extremely hard to find, especially in the sorts of deprived areas which are deemed most in need of them (Boyd 1977). The occupation of Croxteth Comprehensive was thus an ideal situation in which to test some of the hypotheses of community education theory, but before this can be done we will have to become clearer about what these hypotheses are.

The idea of community education goes back at least as far as Henry Morris (see Fletcher 1980). Henry Morris, director of education in Cambridgeshire in the post First World War period, was faced with problems of rural school depopulations. His solution was formulated along three basic principles: bring village residents of all ages into the school buildings, make aspects of the community itself educational, and share facilities with other community organisations. The results were largely successful and the idea soon spread to Leicestershire and Cumberland.

Community education first began to be thought of as a possible solution to urban problems during the 1960s when it began to be clear that comprehensive schools alone failed to eliminate class based differences in achievement. After the Newsom Report on non-grammar school pupils entitled *Half Our Future* (1963), attempts were made in many schools to develop 'community curricula' for pupils in the slower, non-examination streams of comprehensive schools. But these programmes were latter dropped as being inadequate. They carried a stigma within schools which still operated under an examination ethos, and 'Newsom pupils' failed to show the

anticipated motivation, partially in consequence (Boyd 1977). This period of the 1960s was also the time when compensatory education, based on the cultural deprivation thesis, was tried out in policy.

Between 1968 and 1971 the Educational Priority Area (EPA) projects, run under the direction of A.H. Halsey, were carried out as efforts at finding ways of raising the educational performance of children in inner city districts of four British cities through increasing parental involvement, community awareness and responsibility, and improving teacher morale (Halsey 1972). They were consciously planned as alternatives to the compensatory approach, rejecting the goal of bringing middle class culture to the working class in favour of altering middle class curriculum and school authority relationships to meet working class needs. The Liverpool project, directed by Eric Midwinter, went the furthest in designing an alternative curriculum to achieve these ends. Midwinter saw the object of his innovations to lie in aiding those living in disadvantaged areas to learn traditional skills more readily, gain a sense of dignity through the emphasis put on the immediate environment, and greatly increase parental involvement (Midwinter 1972). He envisioned community education as a way of aiding those confined to deprived urban areas to *change* their environment, thus linking the idea of community education with community action.

During the 1970s a number of secondary schools attempted to extend the ideals of comprehensive education to include forms of community schooling. In their survey of a variety of such schools, Hatch and Moyland (1972) found the attempt to blur community-school distinctions to be the essence of the community schooling principle, and they specified two approaches to it: a 'moderate' approach and a 'radical' one. In the moderate approach, comprehensive schools simply make their facilities available to the community and offer adult education courses. They may offer classes which adults and pupils attend together. The radical approach aims at introducing a 'community curriculum' for all pupils. Learning activities which entail the sorts of suggestions made by Midwinter (and Hargreaves in recent times, Hargreaves 1982), and which aim at maximising the presence of the community in the school are key aspects of the radical version. At the same time, the radical version advocates putting schools under community control. Williams and Robins (1980) make a similar distinction to that made by Hatch and Moyland in their study of California community schools by aligning the schools they studied along a 'community education continuum' having 'programme-oriented' activities on one end and 'process-oriented' activities at the other. The process-oriented end of the pole includes aims of community action, grass roots democracy and self-actualisation, implying a combination of progressive pedagogy with local power similar to Hatch and Moyland's radical approach. The radical approach thus shares some of the aims ascribed to 'new' social movements described in the last two chapters. Frequently throughout this thesis the distinction between the radical and the moderate versions of community education will be recalled.

It is clear through the examination of Halsey's and Midwinter's writings that the concept of community education developed through the EPA 'action experiments' was of the radical, not the moderate, variety. Curricular innovations and the devolution of power were both key features in their recommendations. So were the combination of learning with grass roots democracy and social change. It is this sense of community education, the 'radical' or 'process' sense, that will be considered in the rest of this discussion.

The generally shared goals of many (radical) community education projects can be summarised in the following points:

- 1) To change the educational experience of lower class pupils in a way which will prepare them for life in deprived conditions:

what we intend is the opposite of a soporific: it is not to fit children for their station in life in an ascriptive sense. It is to accept that many children must live out their lives in deprived areas and to inspire them to think boldly about it rather than lapse into resigned apathy. (Halsey 1972, quoted in Hargreaves, D. 1982, p 120)

- 2) To change the curriculum of inner-city schools with the above goal in mind:

the primary duty of the school would be so to familiarise its pupils with their type of community and its likely future that, as citizens, they would be better equipped to cope with the social issues presented to them. In brief, the community school must have a community curriculum. (Midwinter 1973, p 67).

Thus the curriculum would incorporate aspects of local community life, including projects aimed at changing the environment. Midwinter's recommendations suggest a curriculum that stress skills rather information, social rather than academic content, and make wide use of art, craft and drama (ibid). As Poster (1982, p 3) emphasises, the curriculum must put process over product, stressing pupil participation and interpersonal relations.

- 3) To devolve educational decision making power away from both state administrative bodies and educational professionals to adults in the community. As Poster writes:

The prime distinction has to be made from the outset: are community education programmes devised *for* people or *with* people. (Poster 1982, p 122)

As the 1970s proceeded, results of long-term efforts to apply community education ideals in various comprehensives became available for study and for the re-evaluation of the policy. Bob Moon (1983), in a summary of six accounts of such efforts, concludes that a problem common to nearly all such attempts lay between the 'progressive ideas' of the educationalists and the 'conservative' attitudes of parents (p 133):

This discrepancy between the ambitions of those in the schools and the unfamiliarity of the community, represents a central dilemma in the efforts to reform comprehensive

education. How is it possible to reconcile a commitment to changing what, for many young people, is clearly an unsatisfying experience with an equal commitment to acknowledging the significance and importance of community opinion on the directions the school should take?

Other writers have agreed that the objectives of community education for changing the content and style of teaching ironically runs into serious obstacles from adults in the community. Bernstein, in 'Pedagogies: Visible and Invisible' (1977) argues that the progression of roles based on age and gender in working class communities are in opposition to age and gender roles accompanying progressive education, and thus predicts that parental understanding of the pedagogical objectives of progressive schools is nearly impossible in the case of the working class. David Hargreaves (1982) believes for similar reasons that one of the key components of the radical version of community education, the devolution of power to parents, may have to be dropped:

at the present time it is very unlikely that parents would be strongly in favour of a community centred curriculum in a comprehensive school; it is much more likely that they would show a strong preference for the traditional curriculum... A community centred curriculum is much more likely to be developed in a school where the head teacher and staff are committed to the notion but are highly insulated from relatively powerless and non-participating parents. (1982, p 124)

Yet insulation can lead to disastrous consequences as the case of William Tyndale Primary School (where enraged parents helped to close down a school which employed 'progressive' methods without any prior communication or consultation with them - see Dale 1979) and Rising Hill Comprehensive (see Berg 1968) show. More importantly, removing the components of participation and grass roots power from the notion of community education greatly weakens it. Many would argue that genuine community education is not possible without such participation - it is the only way that curriculum and teacher-pupil relationships can meaningfully correspond to, rather than conflict with, the culture of the locality. Without such a correspondence, 'progressive' teaching methods remain alien importations which continue to provide an unequal educational experience through the hidden curriculum (Bernstein, 1977).

Thus it is not surprising that actual efforts at creating community schools have tended to involve changes in curriculum and school social relationships with only slight involvement of adults from the neighbourhood (Moon 1983). And this means that projects calling themselves 'community education' have actually been versions of progressivism, conceived and implemented solely by educationalists. Power, in other words, has not devolved. Recalling our discussion of power in the previous chapter, we can see that community education is concerned with the level of decision making and doesn't really come to grips with the 'third dimension' of power in which cultural attitudes contribute to patterns of domination. In our study of the occupation of Croxteth Comprehensive, it will be clear that local attitudes to schooling in Croxteth were tightly bound to authority relations in the local community based on gender and age and using authoritative/coercive styles of expression. It is impossible to advocate

the devolution of educational power to parents without taking into account cultural factors which will influence their perceptions and choices. If these cultural factors are hegemonic, i.e., if they exist at tacit levels of awareness and are in reinforcing relationships with broad patterns of social inequality, simply devolving educational decision making power may not have desirable effects on curriculum and pedagogy. But on the other hand, devolving power may alter, over time, the attitudes of parents by enabling them to alter their common sense assumptions about schooling through their actual participation in it. This hypothesis will be considered in our analysis of the Croxteth occupation.

Boyd (1977) criticises community education through an analysis of power, though not by reference to cultural attitudes but rather by questioning the very possibility of devolving decision making power itself. He points out that the goal of community education is to unify actual 'community action' with learning. Power thus isn't simply a question of decisions over the form and content of schooling but also over the ability to mobilise resources to change conditions in the locality:

Involvement of those living in the neighbourhood so that they cease to perceive themselves as recipients, and see themselves as agents bringing about change would seem to be a necessary condition...Yet, paradoxically, it would seem that people in the inner city are powerless to bring about change of and by themselves. Much therefore seems to depend on the growth of neighbourhood and community awareness as a facilitator of change. (1977, pp 16-17)

Boyd cites Halsey and Midwinter themselves (1972, 1972) for evidence of the powerlessness typifying inner city areas. But he draws a different conclusion from it than they do. The radical version of community education implies the devolution of more than just educational power - it must involve the devolution of the command of a score of resources which are in the hands of the local government. He puts his finger on the point made repeatedly by Habermas (1976) and Offe (1975a, 1975b) that welfare capitalism has put citizens in the client role rather than in the participant role. Community education could challenge the citizen-state relationship of welfare capitalism generally, not just in the particular case of schooling. Thus:

it seems to us that educational provision alone cannot solve even the problems of educational poverty, if only because in this sphere there are *no* purely educational problems. (Coates and Silburn 1970, p 73; cited in Boyd 1977, p 10).

In fact, Midwinter and Halsey both formulated their theories of community education within a basically pluralist framework. Their assumption was that *institutional channels* must be created for working class adults to gain access to decision making power. Their suggestions place little emphasis on linkages between educational decision making and other forms of decision making, i.e., structural or systematic relations between domination existing on a number of separate sites in society. Midwinter's comments on the state reveal his pluralist assumptions: he seems to attribute conflict between citizens and the state solely to *attitudes*:

There should not be this feeling that school is a part of the establishment, a sector of the 'them' ranged over against 'us'. There should not be this depressing gap between what is the state's and what is the individual's. The state versus the individual is a sad phrase. The state is a conglomeration of individuals and an association of communities. (1973, p 79)

But, 'sad' though the phrase may be, the work on urban conflict and the role of the modern state reviewed in chapter three make a convincing argument that the state versus the individual is a fact of modern capitalism. Merson and Campbell (1974) argue that the asymmetrical distribution of power in modern urban complexes is a fact which virtually makes the goals of community education an impossibility:

Crucially, in the context of the present discussion, decisions about the provision of housing, education and employment reside in an economic elite who exist physically outside the area, and access to this elite, and therefore to the decision-making processes, is not in the gift of the inhabitants of the oppressed area. (p 44)

Their conclusion is that community education is not possible aside from a general programme of altering power relationships.

Another objection to community education has been the argument that it seeks to create a different type of education for working class children which would undoubtedly be regarded as 'second class' in society as a whole and which would thus simply exacerbate the disadvantages facing the working class on the job market. Halsey (1972) himself was not unaware of the problem, but argued that traditional curricula in comprehensive schools would enable only a small minority of the working class to move upwards in society. Since the bulk of working class children have to face futures within deprived communities, a different type of education, geared to making empowered adults capable of changing their environment, seem justified to Midwinter. He emphasises that the goals of a community curriculum include the *improvement* of the transmission of traditional skills and thus the possibility of actually increasing mobility at the same time that it empowers groups for making changes in their social environment (1972, p 29). In other words, mobility need not be ruled out in a community school for those few pupils who would be mobile through more traditional schools.

But a more realistic recognition of this problem by an advocate of community education can be found in the work of David Hargreaves (1982), who argues that until the standard CSE and O level examinations are eliminated, there is little chance of developing genuine community curricula which is not regarded as inferior in comparison to the traditional curriculum. Examinations, he argues, are the strongest tie between education and the job market, and as long as this tie exists examination results will continue to be the highest priority in teachers' and parents' minds. His recommended solution is to abolish the examination system, make community studies and expressive arts compulsory in all secondary schools, and thereby free educators to introduce forms of curriculum and pedagogy

which correspond to the real experiences of pupils in their local communities (1982, p 128).

In fact it would seem that any interpretation of the radical version of community education would lead logically to the decision to abolish or greatly modify the examination system, and not just for the reasons put forth by Hargreaves. On the level of the relationship between education and the state, examinations further tie all provided education to the logic of the job market. The usefulness of knowledge under an examination system becomes above all its translation into a certificate which can be used to get jobs. Any other attempt to introduce usefulness into knowledge becomes only secondary. In fact, examinations contribute to a general ideology of the purpose of education as solely being employability (CCCS 1981). This was a view strongly held, as we shall see, by the participants in the Croxteth campaign. Of course, standard examinations were initially viewed as a great opportunity for subordinate classes because they have opened up avenues of mobility. But the work of the political arithmetic school has shown beyond a doubt that even after 35 years of standard examinations, lower class children on the whole can still expect a future of only lower class jobs or unemployment (Halsey et al 1980) while examinations make this situation appear legitimate (Broadfoot 1979, p 40, Bourdieu and Passeron 1977). The privilege brought by the standard examination system to people of all classes to compete nationwide is a modern form of the paradoxical winning of state provided education by the working class during the 19th century:

Far indeed from promising liberation, provided education threatened subjection. It seemed at best a laughable and irrelevant divergence (useless knowledge in fact); or at worst a species of tyranny. (Johnson, 1979a p 78).

And examinations appear tyrannical in other ways as well. If the goal of community education is to teach participation and to empower pupils with respect to their environments, then the whole presentation of knowledge ought to be one in which knowledge is seen by the pupils to be a social product to which they can contribute and about which they can raise criticisms. Examinations contribute enormously to what Whitty and Young (1976) call 'commodity knowledge', i.e., objective knowledge possessed by one (the teacher) and not by another (the pupil or parent) and which can be neutrally transmitted from the former to the latter. Commodity knowledge is a reification of an essentially fallible social product with necessary ideological effects (Whitty 1977, Young and Whitty 1977, Wexler 1982, Giroux 1983). Examinations play a large role in this process of reification by making knowledge measurable and 'thing-like', which one either has or doesn't have. As one of the early representatives of the 'new' sociology of education writes:

[teachers] remain imprisoned in the service of a reality from which creation and transformation have been removed. ... The pupil's relations to knowledge becomes that of reproducing the known, the teacher's that of evaluating the quality of that reproduction according to certain standards.

Examinations are thus another aspect of the 'third dimension of power'. They serve both to impose a passive attitude on the part of pupils and parents towards the knowledge produced by members of a specific stratum of society (Apple 1984), to lead members of subordinate groups to doubt their own production of knowledge in day to day life, and to form the basis of teacher authority over pupils and parents. Examinations played a key role in the Croxteth occupation in all these ways: stifling the creativity of parents and teachers in curricular planning, constraining the organisation of the school into classes, and bolstering traditional authority relationships between teachers, parents and pupils, all largely in highly tacit ways.

Pupil resistance has been yet another problem with experiments in community education. Reports from Neil Thompson on the Abraham Moss Centre, from Bob Evans on Countesthorpe College, Mervyn Flecknoe on the Sutton Centre, and Bob Moon on Stantonbury Campus (all in Moon 1983) all refer to initial periods of pupil disruption in their experimental schools. As Moon explains in the representative case of his own school, pupils came to the new institution with already deeply ingrained attitudes: 'Ideas about school and what school stood for had been established both by personal experience elsewhere as well as by the expectations of family, friends and the world at large' (1983, p 68). And these 'ideas' included patterns of resisting school authority which were capable of even greater expression in the 'pupil-centred' atmospheres of these schools. Yet all the contributors to Moon's book argued that pupil disruption decreased over time (two to three years) and that they expected the problem to continue to decrease as yet more time goes by (see Moon's summary, p 148). It will be seen that pupil resistance was a major feature of the Croxteth occupation which had an effect on the development of school organisation and authority relationships.

Lastly, another problem which has faced practitioners of community education has been the lack of practical ideas and appropriate materials available. Neil Thompson (1983, p 38), for example, reports that at the Abraham Moss Centre in Manchester, an alternative curriculum was first attempted but later dropped because no materials and already thought-out programmes existed which teachers could draw upon. Teachers tried to make their own materials at first and to plan projects, but found that the time demands on teaching alone left them little surplus for additional activities:

If the ground had been better understood; if the ideas had been previously rehearsed, there would have been fewer difficulties. (p 39)

And this problem proved insurmountable even though the staff at the Abraham Moss Centre had been carefully selected for their enthusiasm. This problem of a lack of formulated alternatives is, of course, lessened by the pioneering efforts of schools like Countesthorpe, the Sutton Centre, and the Abraham Moss Centre themselves. But it is rooted in a more general problem: the lack of what can be called a 'counter-hegemony' in educational ideology and practice. As Broadfoot (1979) points out, traditional

educational practice and ideology is so deeply embedded within a narrow framework of assumptions held by policy makers, teachers and parents alike, that even when clear alternatives are formulated in theory they aren't taken very seriously.

To summarise, theoretical objections and practical problems found with community education fall into five areas:

- 1) Parental attitudes which originate in local cultures and which, we've argued, may exist in reinforcing relationships to society-wide patterns of domination.
- 2) Power which cannot be reduced to one of simply creating more institutional avenues for parental access to decision making processes concerning education alone.
- 3) Examinations which reinforce a reified view of knowledge, back up traditional forms of teacher authority, reinforce the 'common sensical' view that the main purpose of education is employability, and tightly tie the logic of schooling to, in Offe's terms, the commodification process (see chapters four and six).
- 4) Pupil resistance which has deep cultural roots and a relationship to the structural location of schools (Willis 1977, McRobbie 1978, Everhart 1983, Apple 1983, Giroux 1983).
- 5) Lack of available alternatives to traditional educational practice upon which teachers (and parents) can draw. In Gramsci's terms, this could be phrased as the lack of a counter-hegemony with respect to educational purposes and practices.

We suggested above that many of these problems stem from limitations in the implicit theory of power used by advocates of community education. The key hypothesis of community education theory, as we've seen from table 5-1, is that educational decision making power is an independent variable. The devolution of power to community adults is then proposed as a solution to the undesirable dependent variables focused upon in this approach: the imposition of a sense of failure, incompetence and impotence in pupils of the lower classes. But this is only a one-, or at best a two-, dimensional theory of power. Power relations, as argued in the last chapter, are instantiated in ways other than access to decision making, through ideology and hegemony. In education, ideology and hegemony take forms within the attitudes held by people towards the purposes and 'proper' forms of schooling, through the reification of knowledge, and the examination system. For the features of schooling singled out by advocates of community education for change (figure 5-1) to be altered, complex patterns of domination existing on many dimensions and sites would have to be challenged. In terms of action theory, the participants in community education would have to gain an increased awareness of the conditions in which they act within the school. Moreover, in addition to gaining an awareness of hegemonic and ideological elements forming the conditions in

which they think and act, they would have to have two other things: the means to construct alternative actions in theory and the power to implement these alternatives in practice. The five problems listed above suggest that a combination of all three of these needs; awareness, alternative perspectives and power, is unlikely to occur, especially if community education remains a state policy, that is, yet another service offered by the welfare state. Since the radical version of community education challenges the client-administrator relationship of the welfare state, it is certainly problematical to make community education an official policy. This doesn't mean that a state policy of community schooling is totally self-contradictory, but simply that such policies are difficult to achieve, there is a tension built into the situation between the form (a state policy) and the ideal content (an alteration of the client-administrator relationship). As Boyd many times stresses in his critique:

the idea of the community school did not come from the grass roots but has been developed by researchers concerned with the regeneration of inner-city neighbourhoods. (Boyd 1977, p 12)

And thus what usually results is a moderate rather than a radical version of the ideal.

But the case of Croxteth Comprehensive is different from the experiments made so far with community education. Unlike them, it never consciously sought to be a 'community school' with an alternative curriculum and pedagogy. And yet, of crucial importance, it actually succeeded in placing a secondary school under formal community control for an entire year with up to thirty local parents participating in its daily running. Above all, the occupation of Croxteth Comprehensive was a social movement which disrupted the routines of many working class parents and put them in the unusual situation of having formal control of a normally state-funded institution. Given the fact that the parents had one of our three necessary conditions for making community education work: formal power over all aspects of the school, we must ask to what extent the other two were achieved. Our discussion of action theory and social movements in the previous chapter led us to predict that a social movement could be expected to increase the awareness of participants of their conditions of action. In the Croxteth case, many of these conditions had to do with education. Our analysis thus will explore the nature of the conditions of action themselves as they became apparent during the occupation and the degree to which they were 'penetrated' by the Croxteth activists. It will try to understand why penetrations did not occur in some cases and why they did in others. Lastly, if awareness of relations of domination increased during the campaign it remains an important question whether or not participants were able to act on this new awareness; i.e., whether or not means existed with which to conceive of alternatives, and whether or not formal power over a single school was sufficient to put alternatives into practice.

PART TWO
THE COMMON CAUSE

You could never get more than fifty people to a meeting about housing. But when the issue came up over the school there was over 600 people turned up at a public meeting. In housing it was like an individual problem. The school seemed to be the common cause that united the people.

Effie Sherlock,
Croxteth Health Visitor

Part two begins the account of the campaign for Croxteth Comprehensive. It has two main objects of study, the local government of Liverpool and the protest group in Croxteth. The local government of Liverpool is analysed historically and 'structurally', to provide an understanding of the pressures and constraints which operated on government decision makers at the time the decision to close Croxteth Comprehensive was made. The protest group in Croxteth is described through the first two of what has been identified as three phases of its development. Its relationships to the Croxteth community and to the local government of Liverpool are both examined.

Chapter six analyses the development of a crisis in educational provision in Liverpool in the mid 1970s. The chapter begins with a brief social, economic and political history of the city to specify the particular conditions in which this crisis developed. It next examines the economic and political pressures the city came under in the 1970s, leading to political efforts to reorganise educational provision. The party political battles which erupted over the question of how reorganisation was to be carried out are discussed in some detail, with special attention to the relationship between the ideologies used by each party to the structural conditions which made reorganisation a priority. The theory drawn upon is principally work on the local national state, Claus Offe and Peter Saunders' work especially.

Chapter seven is devoted to a description of the Croxteth Housing Estate. It is broken into three general sections: one on material conditions which gives a statistical profile of housing conditions, unemployment, health problems, and other features of Croxteth at the time Croxteth Comprehensive was closed. The next section provides a description of certain cultural features of Croxteth, such as adult-youth relations and territorial divisions which became important conditions for the formation of social relations in the occupied school, analysed in later chapters. Chapter seven ends with a brief description of Croxteth Comprehensive School before its closure and occupation.

Chapter eight is concerned solely with the first phase of the protest against school closure, from November 1980 to November 1981. It lists all relevant events and then analyses them carefully. The decision to close the school is analysed according to the nest of conditions within which government decision makers in Liverpool worked. These conditions are nested from highly general features of the structural location of the local government, described in chapter six, through highly particular conditions which singled out Croxteth Comprehensive, as opposed to other schools in the city, for closure. The formation of resistance is analysed according to interests residents in Croxteth had in retaining the school, cultural and material conditions which unified sentiment against the closure, conditions affecting the choice of tactics and strategy of the protest organisation, and so on. The theory drawn upon includes theories of the local state, especially the work of Claus Offe, and the resource management theory of social movements.

Chapter nine describes and analyses the second phase of protest, from November 1981 to September 1982. It begins by describing changes in the leadership and membership of the protest group and its adaptation of new tactics. It covers the period in which the buildings were occupied and a pilot summer school programme run. The theory used comes from both the resource management school and, to a lesser extent, from the identity-oriented approach to social movements. Problems in the relationship between the protest group and the Croxteth community are discussed, as are battles in the media to legitimate the campaign in the public's eye, the significance of leadership, reasons participants had for involvement (as opposed to reasons residents had for opposing the closure), and many other aspects of the campaign.

Chapter Six

'BETWEEN THE JAWS OF THE NUTCRACKER'

1 Overview

The most general conditions relating to the closure of Croxteth Comprehensive were economic, political and demographic: the international recession of the 1970s and 1980s, Margaret Thatcher's programme of cuts in social services, and the national decline of pupil rolls which had begun during the early 1970s. These conditions, each greatly exacerbated in Liverpool due to particular circumstances of the city, converged to single out educational provision as the prime target for local rationalisation in the mid 1970s. With over 60% of the Liverpool budget spent on education, with growing inefficiency of building usage as rolls declined, and direct pressures from the DES to reduce surplus places, Liverpool local councillors and officials had little choice but to consider a programme of city-wide school closures and amalgamations. But specific Liverpool policies were developed only through years of vigorous party-political conflict and the lobbying activities of a large number of parent's groups and teacher's organisations. The economic, political and demographic pressures on the provision of education in the city set an arena for local political conflict in which enormous pressures were exerted and bargains negotiated behind the scenes. The participants in these battles, politicians, teachers and parents, mustered available ideologies of education to their sides. Widely publicised debates took place over the proper criteria by which to allocate educational resources and over the rights of various groups to determine these criteria.

In this chapter we shall begin at a very general level of analysis by looking at the impact of economic, political and demographic pressures upon the special conditions of Liverpool. This will be done through an historical account, a brief economic and political history of Liverpool, to give some flesh to the context in which Croxteth Comprehensive was closed. The historical section is important for understanding the severe economic problems facing Liverpool in the 1970s and 1980s, and their effect on social conditions in the city. We shall review some of the political decisions taken by Liverpool governments during the 1930s, 40s and 50s which have shaped the social geography of the city, examine the religious divisions between Protestants and Catholics featuring into Liverpool politics, and look at the effects of over a century of casual labour on the organisation and militant traditions of the Liverpool Labour Movement. All of these features of Liverpool history will contribute to our understanding of the closure of Croxteth Comprehensive and the way in which this closure was resisted, analysed in future chapters.

After the clarification of general conditions this chapter next describes the crisis facing educational provision in Liverpool from the mid 1970s until 1984, when a Labour government reorganised secondary provision throughout the city. This brings the level of analysis down from our historical presentation of structural pressures to the political battles which took place in response to them. This analysis

is not complete. It rather focuses upon ideological conflicts which took place between Liverpool's three prominent political parties, looking for relationships between these conflicts and the structural pressures on the local government. These same ideologies entered significantly into the struggles over the closure of Croxteth Comprehensive and reappear in chapter eight. Some of the theoretical work of Claus Offe on the welfare state is made use of in the analysis. The role played by parents and teachers, as opposed to political parties, is noted in this discussion but is not thoroughly analysed (see Miller 1985 for an analysis of these same struggles from the perspective of Liverpool teachers).

II A Brief Economic, Social and Political History of Liverpool

A) A City of Commerce and Casual Labour

Liverpool began its rapid growth as a commercial port during the 18th century period of mercantilism. Trade in salt, coal, iron, sugar and slaves expanded the city from a population of 5,000 in 1700 to 65,000 by 1790 (Vigier 1970 p 37, Hyde 1971 p 4, Marriner 1982 p 14). The infamous 'triangular trade', in which manufactured products from England were exchanged for slaves in Africa who were then traded for raw materials in the Americas, was based to a large extent in Liverpool. The slave trade served indirectly to open up other markets for the merchants of the city and to stimulate banking (Hyde 1971, p 26). By 1795 Liverpool was responsible for 5/8s of the British slave trade and 3/7 of the European trade (Friend 1981, p 11).

Liverpool continued to grow during the 19th century, its population increasing tenfold between 1773 and 1851 (Friend 1981, p 11). By 1857, Liverpool carried 45% of Britain's export trade and 33% of her imports (Marriner 1982, p 30). But Liverpool remained a commercial city rather than becoming one of the industrial centres which made 19th century Britain 'the workshop of the world'. Although industries did develop in Liverpool during the 18th century, the growth of the city outstripped the growth of local production, making it dependent on its trade and, therefore, on external market fluctuations to a great extent (Hyde 1971, p 23). As the 19th century began, Manchester and the Midlands out-paced Liverpool's industrial capacity and local industry became confined to ship building, the maintenance and servicing of ships, and the construction of port infrastructure.

Alongside the rise of a local Liverpool merchant and banking class grew a local working class dependent on the casual labour of the Mersey docks. Labourers worked either by the day (dockworkers, heavers and carters), the season (e.g. the construction industry that built the port infrastructure), or intermittently (e.g. as sailors). A casual labour force is particularly easy to exploit:

To maintain a competitive position and/or maximise profits, employers in both industry and the port services exploited them with a cheap, flexible labour force easily laid off during slack periods; but one which meant long hours, a grinding routine, overall poverty and periodic misery for those so employed.

Friend 1981, p 11

As early as 1795, 21% of the population (at a conservative estimate) were on relief. In 1800 the figure was 34% (Vigier 1970, p 69). By the 1830s, 40% of the inhabitants of Liverpool were reported to be living in appalling slums, dependent on casual labour which paid only 1s per day (Vigier 1970, p 174).

The system of casual labour was easily maintained in part because of the enormous numbers of immigrants that settled in Liverpool from the second quarter of the 1800s on. Between 1851 and 1881 Liverpool's population grew by approximately 60,000 a decade (Friend 1981, p 11). Workers were very often paid by the day, hired and fired according to the need of the employer. Casual labour traditions had an effect on the development of manufacturing industry in Liverpool for it produced a largely unskilled workforce which discouraged many firms from locating there. The hard conditions of life associated with casual labour also led to much bitterness in the workforce with consequently high frequencies of absenteeism, low productivity, lack of incentive and readiness to strike and lock-out. These tendencies associated with the experience of casual labour became greatly exaggerated in reports across Britain as a whole, creating an image of Liverpool labourers as early as the 1890s which discouraged manufacturing firms from locating there (Marriner 1982, p 153).

The conditions of casual labour made union organising difficult, the habits of the casual worker not lending themselves to the discipline required by organised strike action, due paying and other responsibilities associated with membership. Moreover, there were sectarian disputes between dockers working the southern and northern docks, between dockers and seamen, and especially between Catholics and Protestants (Hyde 1971, pp 128 - 132). However, despite the difficulties, unions began having significant success in organising during the 1890s, when the National Union of Dock Labourers began recruiting. Other unions became established in Liverpool during this same period, and Liverpool had a trades council by the early 1890s with 47 affiliated trades. Discipline problems with the casual labour force resulted in a heavily top-down, undemocratic style of organisation (Merseyside Socialist Research Group 1980, p 102, Miller 1985). This style of organisation persisted until the 1960s (Beynon 1973).

B) Militancy and Party Politics

A number of major strikes drawing national attention in the early 20th century helped to unify Liverpool workers and set precedents for militant action lasting to this day. Unity amongst Liverpool workers

took a large step forward in 1911, when a national seamen's strike for union recognition won the support of dockers in Liverpool. The resulting battle was prolonged with no conclusive result except that the dockworker's union was slowly recognised by shipping companies in 1912 and 1913. The 1911 strike, though by no means the first strike in Liverpool, was significant in the unity it gave to traditionally divided groups of workers and in major contribution it made to a growing tradition of militant worker action in Liverpool (Hyde 1971, p 131).

Labour militancy broke out again in Liverpool in 1919 when policemen went on strike. This strike occurred after several demonstrations of support for the Bolshevik revolution and protests against government intervention in the USSR held in Liverpool (Marriner 1982, p 156). In September 1921 massive demonstrations against unemployment broke out on Liverpool's streets. In 1924 and 1925 another dock strike followed by an unofficial seamen's strike took place. Dockers, transport workers, printers and seamen all stopped work in greater proportion than in most of Britain for the 1926 General Strike. After this strike employers weeded out activists from their work force, deepening the bitterness felt by many Liverpool workers against employers and the government. Thus traditions of militant action and a strong, militant, working-class culture, had become well developed in Liverpool by the 1930s.

The tradition of casual labour in Liverpool also affected the development of local politics. The early British Labour Party and Independent Labour Party depended primarily on skilled workers for their membership. In Liverpool this meant that the local Labour Party was initially very small, the majority of unskilled workers becoming affiliated to political parties more on religious than class lines. The two major parties in Liverpool until the 1920s were the Protestant-based Conservative Party and the Catholic-based Irish Nationalist Party.

Many of the immigrants who settled in Liverpool during the 19th century were Northern Irish Protestants and, in slightly greater numbers, Southern Irish Catholics. As many as 300,000 came to Liverpool during the potato famine in 1846-47 and, though large numbers of these sailed to America and other parts of Britain, many couldn't afford the fare and remained in Liverpool (Friend 1981, p 11). Just after the First World War over 1/4 of the population of Liverpool were Irish (Merseyside Socialist Research Group, p 83). The Irish Catholics and Protestants who immigrated to Liverpool segregated into distinct areas of the city characterised by religious affiliation. Beginning as early as 1819 and continuing into the early 20th century, mass sectarian disturbances were frequent (Friend 1981, p 12). During the early 20th century Archibald Salvidge united protestants of both the merchant and working classes in support of the Conservative Party, making use of Orange Lodge loyalties and the religious identities of segregated communities. His slogan was 'Protestantism before Party', (i.e., religious interests before class interests) and his party formed the majority on the city council until 1955.

The second largest political party in Liverpool up to 1920, the Catholic Irish Nationalist Party, dissolved when the Irish Republic was formed in 1921. The Irish Nationalists renamed their party the Catholic Party which remained the second largest party until 1929 when most of its members joined the Labour Party (Merseyside Socialist Research Group 1980, p 76).

The local Labour Party was greatly strengthened in 1929 with the addition of former Catholic Party members, but the religious struggle continued within the newly enlarged Party for decades afterwards. A series of conflicts between the Labour Party's Catholic Caucus and protestant Labour supporters during the 1930s resulted in the domination of Catholic interests within the Labour Party leading to several policy decisions against National Labour Party principles. For example, in the mid 1930s, municipal land was sold to private interests to build the Liverpool Catholic Cathedral and, more significant for the topic of this thesis, large grants of educational monies were allocated for Catholic Voluntary schools in 1939.

C) Economic Decline

Economically, Liverpool began a rapid decline just after World War One. Just before the war, Liverpool had the largest passenger traffic in Great Britain and one fourth of all its trade (Jones et al, p 6). But the war had an adverse effect on the economy of Liverpool in several ways. Shipping companies took heavy losses during the war, 1.5 million tons of shipping gone by 1918 (Hyde 1971, p 145). At the same time, the stresses put on the use of the port by the military during the war stifled normal trade and allowed the United States and Japan to take up traditional Liverpool markets in the Pacific, Central and South America, and South Africa. Furthermore, trade through the Mersey Port decreased when international trade patterns shifted after the war to make Western portlands less important in Britain (Marriner 1982, p 90).

During the 1920s and 1930s, moreover, large changes took place in British manufacturing industry which kept new firms away from Merseyside. Many industries centralised their operations and shifted production away from exports towards the domestic market. This meant that locations in the wealthy and densely populated south were favoured. New firms also avoided Liverpool because of the lack of skilled labour in the city and the continuing reputation of worker militancy there (Merseyside Socialist Research Group 1980, p 37). This corresponded to a shift by many midlands' manufacturing industries to the London Port for their imports.

These events, along with the decline of the ship building industry which had employed one fifth of the Liverpool workforce in the early twenties, meant that Liverpool had to depend to a great extent on its service industries. Between 1924 and 1939, employment in Merseyside manufacturing industries fell from 40.2% to 39.7% of total employment while employment in service trades rose from 59.8% to 60.3% (Hyde 1971,

p 172). Dependence on service industries made Liverpool especially vulnerable to the depression of the 1930s. Registered unemployment in Liverpool during the Great Depression was at times as high as 80% in certain sections of the city (Merseyside Socialist Research Group 1980, p 32) and the city as a whole was never below 18% unemployment of the insured population (Hyde 1971, p 170). Unemployment in Liverpool from the immediate post World War I period to the present has consistently been at least double that of the national average.

The consequent growth of the number of social problems related to unemployment and poor housing in Liverpool led the Conservative local government of the 1930s to adopt a housing and industrial policy which developed areas on the periphery of the city to draw people out of the overcrowded slums of the inner city. Norris Green was built during the mid-1930s and was soon followed by the Speke Housing and Industrial Estate. Immediately after the Second World War the conservative Liverpool government began developments in Kirkby and Croxteth. In 1952, as peripheral housing and industrial developments continued, the government first proposed a policy of high-rise housing modelled on New York (Merseyside Socialist Research Group, p 84). The policy was rejected for a shortage of steel, but the idea remained, to be implemented by the Labour Party upon its electoral victory in 1955.

D) Post War Liverpool

The post-Second World War period with its economic boom and enthusiasm for the socialist ideals of the Labour Party had effects in Liverpool similar to the rest of the nation. The local Labour Party's leadership under the Catholic Luke Hogan became replaced by Jack and Bessie Braddock, who had been outspoken left-wing critics of the conservative Catholic Caucus during the 1930s, and the party itself came to power in 1955. Manufacturing industry, largely in the form of multinational subsidiaries and branches, were attracted to the city's periphery through incentives established by a national regional policy and the desire to employ a work force largely unorganised with respect to factory work (Merseyside Socialist Research Group, p 38). During the later post-war period, when union organising in the south and midlands had achieved a degree of higher wages and better conditions, unskilled and unorganised labour became an attraction to manufacturing industry rather than a discouragement (Beynon 1973). In the early 1960s 30,000 new jobs were created with the opening of Ford's in Halewood, Standard Triumph in Speke and Vauxhall in Ellesmere Port. This was the beginning of the location of a number of multinational branch plants in the Merseyside area at the beginning of the 1960s, a trend consistent with the penetration of largely US based multinationals in Britain during this time. By the end of the 1960s, 40% of all direct investment in Britain was owned by three US corporations: Standard Oil, General Motors and Ford (Merseyside Socialist Research Group p 38). The forces of the international capitalist market thus had geographical and social effects in the region of Merseyside, bringing jobs and housing development to the peripheries of Liverpool.

But the general trend of decline was only dampened, not reversed, by these developments. Despite the creation of new jobs in manufacturing industry, unemployment in Liverpool continued to be higher than in other parts of Britain. The Second World War had caused similar adverse effects on the life of the Liverpool Port as had the First. Shipping companies had to sustain large losses and the port itself had suffered damage from bombs. Recovery was slow, though by 1954 trade was increasing. In 1955, however, another large fall in port trade occurred which set a trend of very slow growth until 1966, which brought in yet another large slump. Hyde (1971, p 204) blames 'excessive problems caused by labour unrest, managerial upheavals and growing competition from foreign ports and foreign shipping companies' for the decline which has continued to the present time. To a certain extent, technological changes in shipping, with the use of large container ships unsuited for the Liverpool Port, have contributed to the problems.

Moreover, manufacturing during the post-war period never replaced the dominant service sector of the local economy which had supplanted the docks after the port's decline (in the 1950s manufacturing still accounted for about 39.1% of Liverpool employment and the service sector about 60.9: Hyde 1971, p 185). And the service sector during the 50s and 60s was hardly thriving, with 76,000 jobs or 19% lost between 1961 and 1971 (Merseyside Socialist Research Group, 1980, p 10). During the 1960s, Liverpool lost 80,000 jobs in manufacturing, distribution, transport and construction industries (Marriner 1982, p 139), belying the hopes for economic growth of the 1950s and early 1960s. And this decline occurred despite the new multinational branches. The reason for the failure of the new manufacturing plants to increase overall employment in Liverpool is that the new factories forced the closure of smaller operations in Liverpool and failed to stimulate the expected development of ancillary industry because the large firms were able to supply their own needs for parts and materials (Merseyside Socialist Research Group, p 39).

Politically, the Labour Party in the 1950s and 1960s under the Braddocks was soon seen to be little improvement over the former period of Catholic Caucus domination by supporters of socialism. Once in power the Braddocks created a strong political machine which stifled democratic process within the local party and totally dominated city government. Part of the power of the Braddocks lay with their willingness to grant concessions to the right wing Catholic sections of the party, and part lay in their total domination of the Liverpool Joint Trades Council and Labour Party (TC&LP) (Merseyside Socialist Research Group).

The Braddocks continued many of the policies of the Conservatives as well. Among these, as mentioned briefly above, was the policy of building up the periphery to draw people out of the inner city. The creation of high-rise accommodation on the periphery of the city (Cormack 1980) took place simultaneously with slum clearance programmes moving large numbers of people from the inner city areas (often living

in pre-1919 housing; see Cormack 1980, p 9) to the new estates. High-rise housing and slum clearance disrupted old communities and placed people in conditions where the formation of new social networks was difficult: the role of the street and the local pub in creating neighbourhood solidarity weren't replaced by any feature of the high-rise. Slum clearance, as we shall see in the next section, also greatly contributed to the educational crisis of the mid 1970s.

The Labour Party slowly lost support during the late 1960s as a result of the policies of the Braddocks. Its claim to be a mass party was seen increasingly to be flimsy. Moreover its building and development projects were disasters which produced a lot of resentment in the city. When Jack Braddock died in the 1960s he was replaced by Bill Sefton as leader. Bill Sefton was unable to control the TC&LP as well as the Braddocks had done and the organisation soon became a thorn in his side. This led to the separation of the Labour Party from the Trades Council in the early 70s (Merseyside Socialist Research Group, 1980, p 91). The Trades Council played a leading role in organising national mass demonstrations and stoppages which defeated the Industrial Relations Act of 1972, showing marked militancy and organisation in Merseyside Labour. During this same period, Liverpool activists worked hard against the 1972 Housing Finance Act which aimed to raise rents in the city by 25%. However, by October 1972, Bill Sefton and other leaders of the Labour Party voted together with Liberals and Conservatives to implement the Act (Friend 1981, p 25). This greatly divided the Party and led to the rise of a number of tenants and community groups in opposition to the Labour Party.

E) Liverpool in the 1970s and 1980s

The late 1960s and early 1970s, then, were years in which grass roots mobilisations over housing and other issues took place in Liverpool. Tenants groups in Vauxhall, Kirkby, Oak and Eldon Gardens, and other parts of Merseyside held rent strikes and highly visible demonstrations (Merseyside Socialist Research Group 1980, p 23). In Vauxhall, community action against the rent act followed several years of organising over local issues, such as the construction of a pedestrian tunnel and the creation of a second tunnel under the Mersey. Residents published a newspaper and grass roots community solidarity was created in high degree (Topping and Smith 1977, p 99). Thus, in the early 1970s, Liverpool was creating precedents for non-aligned grass roots organisation. This tendency was weakened, however, when the Liverpool Corporation formed official liaisons with community organisations by creating committees such as the Tenants' Federation for the purpose. This had the effect of defusing discontent into bureaucratic procedure and reducing actual grass roots initiatives (Friend 1981, p 26 & 49). The effect was, in fact, very much like the implementation of community liaison programmes in Lambeth analysed in *The Local State* by Cynthia Cockburn (1977).

Disillusionment with the Labour Party provided fertile grounds for the growth of the Liverpool Liberal Party on a platform of community politics. In 1973 the Liberals won a majority, though not an overall majority, on the city council, rising spectacularly from seven seats in 1971 to 48 in 1973. From that year until 1983 the city leadership vacillated between Labour and Liberal administrations, neither one achieving an overall, ruling, majority. The Liberals maintained a simple, as opposed to an over-all, majority on the council from 1973 to 1975. In 1976 Labour regained a simple majority which it has held ever since, but until 1983 it had no over-all, ruling majority. Liberal-Conservative alliances blocked the passage of any major Labour proposals in council and in 1979 the Labour Party refused to chair the council committees rather than be in nominal control without any real power. As a result the Liberal Party took nominal control of the city from 1979 until 1983. The Labour Party itself lacked a clear direction and strategy after the demise of Bill Sefton until the growing power of the Militant Tendency put it in a highly influential position by 1983 (Crick, 1984). During this period proposals on most crucial issues made by any of the three parties, like educational reorganisation, were consistently blocked in council.

The recession of the 70s had marked effects in Liverpool. Multinationals responded to the economic slump by centralising and closing down plants in unprofitable areas (Marriner 1982, p 139). Liverpool was particularly unfavourable after the successful Parity Movement of the late 60s which organised Liverpool's new factory workers and drove up wages (Beynon, 1973). As a result, manufacturing industries in Liverpool rationalised their operations with large numbers of redundancies. In many cases entire plants were closed down (eg. Standard Triumph in Speke). Between 1966 and 1975 19,000 jobs were lost in Liverpool, one third of them due to company mergers. Three fourths of these job losses occurred in twelve of Liverpool's largest firms, clearly illustrating the effects of international capitalist rationalisation and centralisation on Liverpool. In 1976 another 10,750 jobs went, in 1977 12,600 jobs were lost, and in 1978, 14,328 (Merseyside Socialist Research Group 1980, p 10 & 19).

The 1970s saw not only the decline of manufacturing jobs in Liverpool but service and port-related jobs as well. Between 1971 and 1981 Liverpool lost 1/4 of all its jobs, 90,000 in all, with the manufacturing and blue collar service sectors equally sharing the greatest proportion of these (Liverpool City Council: Campaign Bulletin, Issue 1, January 1984, Liverpool Planning Information Digest, Economy 1982).

In consequence, unemployment in Liverpool was the highest in Britain, 11.7%, by 1978. Between 1971 and 1981 it increased 200%. Over 41% of the registered unemployed in Liverpool were out of work for over a year in 1982, compared with 25.8% nationally (Liverpool Planning Information Digest, Economy 1982). And the City's Planning Department

estimated that official figures represented only a third of the actual numbers.

In addition to the effects of recession and the rationalisation and centralisation of capital during the 1970s, conditions in Liverpool were exacerbated by national government economic policy. The national government cut expenditure in a large variety of services at the onset of the recession. State expenditure on housing in 1980/81, for example, was only two-thirds of the 1974/5 level. Local authority spending on housing was cut by three-fifths between 1975 and 1981 (Friend 1981, p 51). The national Conservative government elected in 1979 accelerated cuts. Between 1979 and 1982 Liverpool lost £120 million in Government grants. Between 1975 and 1982 the contribution of the rate support grant to city finances dropped from 40% to 29% of the total income. In 1983/84 debt charges cost the council £95 million - 22% of its total expenditure. In consequence the local domestic and non-domestic rate increased from 19% of total expenditure in 1979 to 25% in 1982 - 70% of the increase being attributable to the loss of national grants. House rents went up between 1979 and 1983 by 120% (Liverpool City Local Government Campaign Bulletin Issue 1, January 1984).

The situation was made more desperate by the enormous number of social problems in Liverpool demanding government attention. Crime cost the city £24 million in 1977. Crime was not only an inner-city problem, but an outer-city problem as well. Figures for the peripheral estates during the 50s and 60s were sometimes twice as high as those for the inner city (Merseyside Socialist Research Group, p 60). People living in the peripheral estates were plagued by housing problems as well as crime and vandalism. In 1977 24,000 households lacked basic amenities, in 1979 3,357 council dwellings were vacant, one quarter of which were scheduled for demolition (Cormack 1980, p 7 and 20). In 1983 the local government estimated that over 15,000 homes were seriously decayed (Liverpool City Council Joint Steward's Committee, 1983). Thus government expenditure was under demand from a large number of social problems which the welfare state had taken responsibility for in the post war period, but financial pressures were demanding the opposite: cuts in services.

The local Labour Party in Liverpool took on a new face in 1983 when, after winning an over-all majority on the city council for the first time in over ten years, it made it clear that policies generated by the Militant Tendency now had much influence. Militant slowly grew in strength on Merseyside during the 1970s until by the early 1980s it was able use the Labour Party committee system to exert a great deal of influence (Crick 1984). Militant is known both for its uncompromising left wing stands and its highly hierarchical, authoritative internal organisation (Crick 1984), perhaps coinciding significantly with the traditions of boss politics and undemocratic trade unionism in Liverpool. Once in power, the Labour Party under the influence of Militant did its best to defy restrictions on its spending imposed by

the national government, by refusing for two consecutive years to set a legal budget.

F) Summary

Below are listed the key points to be noted from this brief social, political, and economic history of Liverpool for their significance to the analyses and discussions of future sections and chapters. These points reflect the play of long established traditions associated with the dependency of Liverpool on its port with political efforts to come to terms with the consequences of such dependency. The international centralisation of capital during the twentieth century acted upon an already existing local economy and effected already existing labour traditions and organisations.

- 1) Economic, political and social conditions stretching far back into Liverpool history:
 - a) Economic dependency on port.
 - b) Consequent rise of casual labour force.
 - c) Related traditions of authoritative labour organisation.
 - d) Catholic - Protestant divisions.
- 2) Twentieth century developments:
 - a) Manufacturing industry initially continues to avoid Liverpool, partly because of the unskilled labour force with its growing traditions of militancy.
 - b) Decline of the port.
 - c) Dependence on service industries.
 - d) Chronic vulnerability to market fluctuations.
 - e) Development of housing estates on Liverpool's periphery.
 - f) Post-war location of branch plants on Liverpool's periphery.
 - g) Boss politics of the Labour Party.
 - h) Removal of branch plants during 1960s and especially 1970s with the international recession.
 - i) Steep rise in crime, deterioration of housing and other social problems in the inner city and periphery.
 - j) Rise of the Liberal Party on community issues.

The next section looks particularly at the impact of the above developing conditions upon the education service of Liverpool during the mid 1970s.

III Crisis in Educational Provision: 1975 - 1983

A) Secondary School Provision in Liverpool

The Catholic Caucus during the 1930s and 40s was able to secure large grant monies to develop catholic voluntary schools throughout the city. As we have seen, when the Braddocks came to power in the the mid-1950s they were able to maintain their leadership only by continuing to make concessions to Catholic interests in education and housing. As a result, Liverpool has had a system of two types of state schools: Catholic voluntary schools and what the LEA calls 'county secondary' schools (i.e., non-religious state funded secondaries). Over a third of all secondary schools in Liverpool in the 1970s and 1980s have been Catholic voluntary schools, 60% of the secondary schools have been county secondary, and remaining secondary provision has been divided between Church of England and voluntary schools.

Liverpool adopted the tripartite system of secondary provision for its county secondary schools after the 1944 Education Act under the leadership of the Conservative Party. The council voted in favour of comprehensive schools after the local victory of the Labour Party in 1955 but had only one comprehensive by the early 1960s. In July 1963 the council again resolved to change over to comprehensive schools in the county school sector and three schools were designated as comprehensives the next year with plans to gradually create many more. By 1970 Liverpool had 15 comprehensives taking 59% of its county secondary rolls and by 1975 it had 26 comprehensives taking over 90%. Most of the new comprehensives had been created by rationalising secondary modern and grammar schools. Buildings were up-dated and sites which had been separated for girls and boys were often amalgamated. Two selective schools, the Liverpool Institute Boys and the Liverpool Institute Girls, and a few secondary modern schools remained. (Liverpool Education Committee, *Statistics of Education: 1965 - 77*). Catholic Voluntary secondary provision remained bipartite throughout this period, not adopting a comprehensive school policy until the early 1980s when it under-went a drastic re-organisation of its own.

B) Demographic Pressures and their Effect on Secondary Provision

The birth rate in Liverpool was fairly constant from the 1950's to 1962, despite a steady fall in the population of the city since the 1930s due to migration of residents out of the city (Brown and Ferguson, 1982). Steady outward migration from Liverpool since the Great Depression can be attributed to the decline in Liverpool's economy. In 1962, the national birth rate began to steadily fall, Liverpool's falling with it (Liverpool Policy and Finance Report A14 - Appendix I). In the later 1960s a slum clearance programme decanted large numbers of young couples and new families, producing a particularly steep decline in city live births. Live births in Liverpool dropped accordingly from 16,479 in 1962 to 6,166 in 1977. This represented a drop in the birth rate from roughly 22 births per 1000 residents per year in 1962 to 12 per 1000 residents per year in 1977.

During the 1960s when slum clearance was reducing Liverpool's inner-city populations by large percentages, areas like Vauxhall falling by 36.6% of their 1961 figures by 1971 (Jones et al 1975, p 7), Liverpool was simultaneously creating new educational buildings with increased capacity. There was very poor coordination between departments of housing and education. The situation was discussed with Liverpool Director of Education Kenneth Antcliffe, who first took his post in 1975, during a December 1983 interview:

Antcliffe: That [the slum clearance programme] drastically reduced the city's population and consequently equally massively reduced the size of the school population. So that in the 60's we built school provision for what was then an annual live birth rate of about 16 thousand or 16½ thousand. By 1976, within ten years, it had dropped to just over 6 thousand.

P.C.: So in addition to the general national decline in births, there has been a special problem in Liverpool.

Antcliffe: Oh indeed! There is no question about it. ... They gave priority to the young people with families. So there was a double dimension in the drop in school population.

By 1969 the fall in birth rate began to effect primary school rolls, secondary rolls beginning to drop in 1973. Figure 6-1 illustrates the roll decline in both the primary and secondary sectors. In the primary sector, over-all rolls dropped from 76,000 in Jan. 1969 to 39,800 in Jan. 1984: a drop of 48%. In the secondary sector, rolls dropped 23% from their peak in January 1974 to 40,200 in January 1984. Secondary rolls will continue their decline into the latter 1980s (Liverpool Education Committee, 1965-1977, 1978-1984).

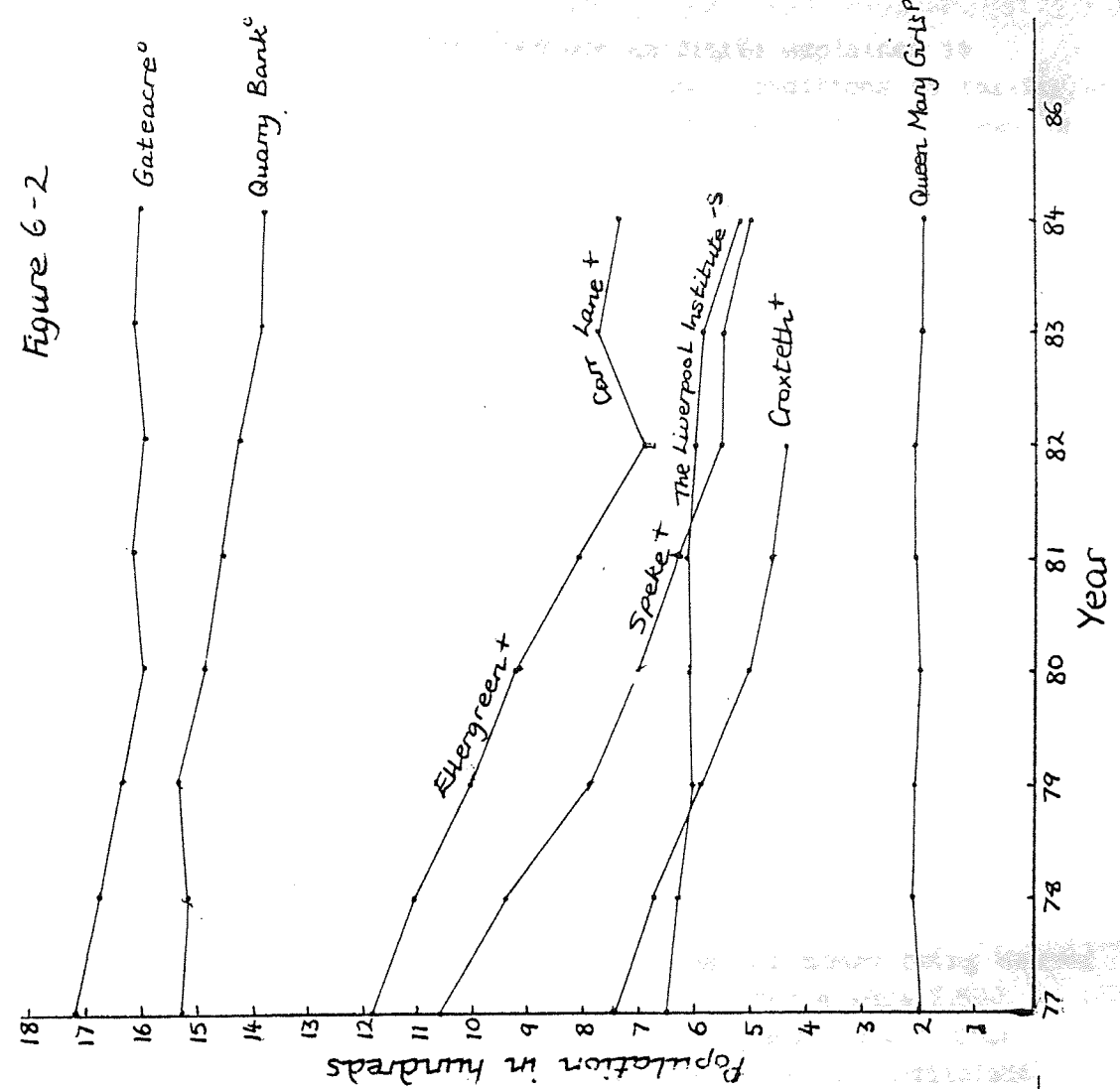
When the rapid fall in birth rates first began to effect school rolls in the early 1970s it was welcomed generally as a beneficial trend. The comprehensivisation programme had rationalised many older buildings and built several new ones but all to minimum standards. Many Liverpool schools were thus very full during the late 1960s and declining rolls meant more space and lower pupil-teacher ratios.

A more significant effect, however, was the increase in 'parental choice' which the lower numbers allowed. In the 1970s, all Liverpool schools were surrounded by admission areas which guaranteed places for pupils living within them, but parents were allowed to apply for places in other schools. As rolls dropped, parents were increasingly able to successfully pick schools for their children outside their immediate area. This resulted in a pattern of school attendance favouring comprehensives based in high status old grammar schools which lay primarily in middle class suburban neighbourhoods.

This pattern of choice meant that schools lacking the prestige accorded former grammar schools were left to bear the brunt of roll decline. Several of these schools were in the inner city, Paddington Comprehensive showing the most extreme effects of depopulation, though for a variety of reasons (Paddington was one of the new schools built in the inner city at the same time that the slum clearance programme was going on). Others lay at the outer edge of Liverpool in the working class estates built during the 1940s and 1950s. Croxteth, Speke, and Yew Tree Comprehensives all fell into this category. Ellergreen Comprehensive, a school laying two miles from Croxteth which was to be amalgamated with the latter in 1982, suffered similar problems.

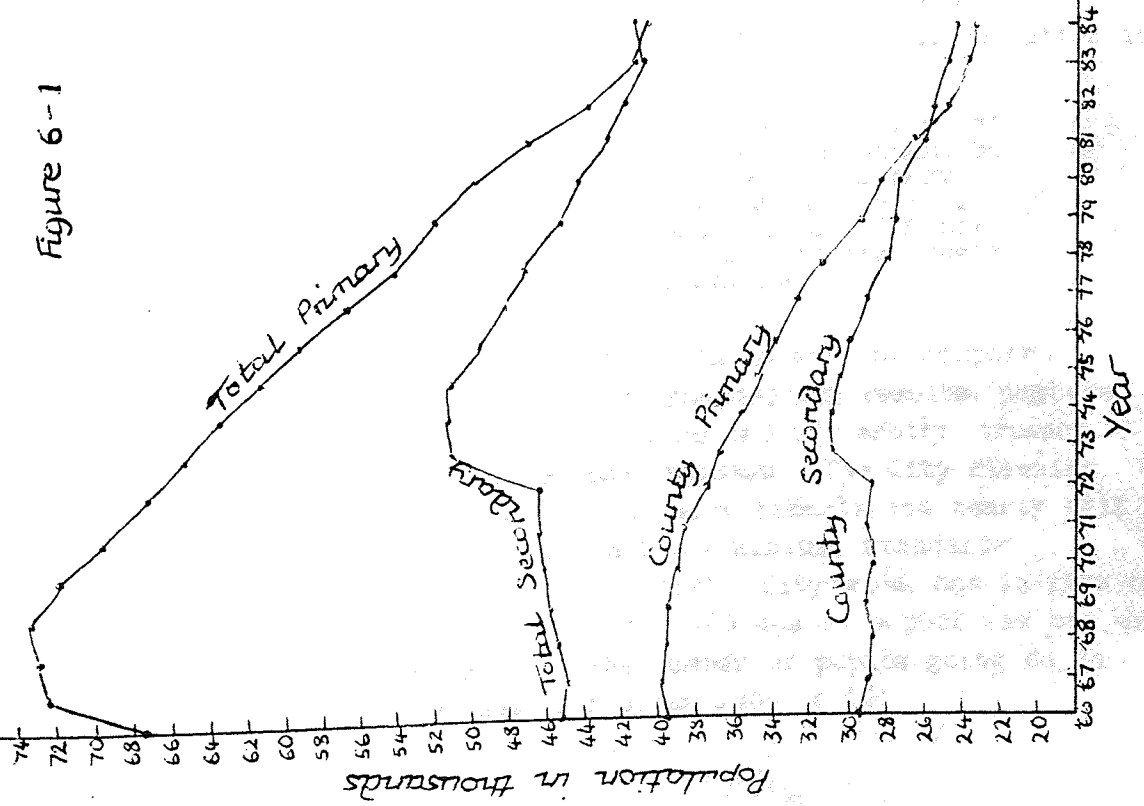
By 1975 Liverpool had a suburban belt, the 'Queen's Drive District', of well-attended, high status comprehensives sandwiched between seriously depopulated-schools in the inner and outer city. Figure 6-2 compares roll declines in schools representing each area. Between 1975 and 1982, city-wide secondary rolls dropped by 18%. Suburban Quarry Bank Comprehensive lost only 7% of its numbers during this period, Childwall Valley, similarly located, lost 8%, and Queen Mary (a voluntary school) actually gained 1%. By contrast, in the outer-city. Croxteth and Ellergreen Comprehensives both lost 41% of their rolls, and Speke Comprehensive lost 48%. In the inner-city, Paddington Comprehensive lost 36% of its numbers.

Rolls in Six Liverpool Secondary Schools
 + = outer city - = inner city o = suburban s = selective p = private



Liverpool School Rolls

Figure 6-1



Liverpool Director of Education Kenneth Antcliffe explained in interview that the pattern of parental choice under conditions of falling rolls in the 1970s made it impossible for comprehensive schools based in former secondary modern schools to attract sufficient numbers of pupils. He discussed the effects of parental choice on Croxteth Comprehensive in particular:

Croxteth was formed out of two secondary modern schools. The comprehensive schools which were founded on secondary modern schools never really took off. Those founded on a grammar school base did. ... So it has been those comprehensive schools founded on secondary modern schools which, during a period of falling rolls have found it very difficult to survive. Because if there was room, in the 'preferred schools', in inverted commas, then the parents would opt to send their kids there. And in a system which allowed as free a choice as possible, this meant a constant diminishing for the form entry of schools like Croxteth.

C) Struggles Over Reorganisation; 1976 - 1980

It was clear by 1975 that reorganisation was necessary for financial and educational reasons. In Kenneth Antcliffe's words: 'By about 1975 it began to be recognised by members of the education committee that we were no longer in a benefit situation but in a situation where unless some decisions could be made there would be a very serious loss of efficiency: and I mean efficiency both in the educational sense and in the cost-effective sense.' There was concern over the amount of money being wasted by the inefficient use of school buildings. By 1978 there were 7,500 surplus places in Liverpool schools and the local papers claimed that between £1 and £1½ million was being lost each year due to inefficient building use (Liverpool Daily Echo, 21/7/78). The pressure to rationalise building use accelerated from 1975 on into the eighties, corresponding to equally accelerating cuts in national rate support grants. Kenneth Antcliffe commented that since he took the post of Director of Education in 1975 there has been:

A gradually accelerating reduction (in rate support grants) which is why most local authorities, not only Liverpool, but local authorities generally, have found it more and more difficult. On the one hand the government says, 'we will reduce your rate grant', on the other hand it says 'if you levy too high a rate we shall penalise you'. We are caught between the jaws of the nut cracker if you like.

Educationally, Liverpool did not (and continues not to) compare favourably with other cities with respect to examination results, numbers of secondary pupils staying on for the 6th form and university, truancy, and other accepted indicators of educational success. The City Planning Department reported that 3/4 of Liverpool primary schools and nearly half of its secondary schools fell short of the DES's minimal standards (Merseyside Socialist Research Group 1980, p 59). City-wide, one in five of Liverpool pupils were staying on after 16 in 1979 and Liverpool was one of the lowest ranked cities in Britain for the number of pupils going on to university (Merseyside Socialist Research Group 1980, p 60).

Educational results were distributed unevenly throughout the city, the same schools suffering most from roll decline having the poorest results. In places like Bootle on the periphery of Liverpool, for example, only one in ten pupils stayed on for higher education and only 3 in 100 who left entered any further education courses during the late 1970s. In inner-city Vauxhall throughout the 1970s less than one pupil in three got a single O level, while 1 in 2 pupils throughout the North West region as a whole did. Truancy rates in the inner and outer city were very high, as were the number of ESN's (Educationally Subnormals), (Merseyside Socialist Research Group 1980, p 60). Moreover, a system of staffing by pupil number meant that a contraction in subject options followed the rapid pupil depopulations in the inner and outer city schools.

In 1976 the LEA formed a subcommittee to make proposals on reorganisation. This committee was called 'The Reorganisation and Development Subcommittee' and consisted of 16 councillors, representing each of Liverpool's three major political parties, and 19 teachers. The first proposal offered for the committee's consideration was formulated by Director of Education Kenneth Antcliffe. It suggested that limits be set on parental choice in order to halt the excessively rapid depopulation of the inner and outer city schools. The proposal was leaked to the press before the subcommittee even met to discuss it, causing immediate controversy. Parents organised to resist anticipated threats to their right to choose schools for their children. Many parents were also worried that certain schools of their liking would be closed down. A city-wide organisation of Catholic parents made moves to unite parents of all sectors in demands for public access to the subcommittee meetings, and another city-wide parent's group called the Liverpool Association of Parents (LASPA) formed as a result. As subcommittee discussions proceeded during the following months, at least seven parent's action groups formed around schools whose names came up as possible closures (discussion with Kenneth Antcliffe).

It thus became obvious that a reorganisation plan of any sort would be met by much resistance and public outcry. Director of Education Kenneth Antcliffe remarked about this period:

Every time there is a proposal to close a school you have a controversy, there is no question about that...It is entirely predictable that where ever you put up any proposal for reorganisation of secondary or primary schools ... you will meet great hostility, whether they be Liberal proposals, Conservative proposals or Socialist proposals.

Reorganisation would thus have required strong political will, but as we have seen, Liverpool City Council was hung between its three main parties, no party having the over-all majority necessary to pass controversial proposals through.

The demographic trend and the pattern of parental choice, then, presented two major problems: much money was being spent which could be saved by rationalising building space, and educational standards were falling in outer and inner city schools which already had poor achievement rates. The situation also suggested two basic approaches to city-wide

reorganisation. One was the basis for the plan first suggested by Director of Education Kenneth Antcliffe: restrict parental choice to protect schools in the deprived inner and outer city areas. This would result in a number of rationalisations, amalgamations and closures designed to retain a roughly equal geographical distribution of schools throughout the city. This approach, with a number of elaborations not necessarily consistent with Director Antcliffe's personal views, was also to become the basis of Labour Party proposals for 'district comprehensives' (1978) and later for 'community comprehensives' (1983). The Labour Party was aware that this policy meant a restriction of parental choice, but argued that this would be offset by making 'education more closely linked to the local community' (Daily Echo 1/7/78).

The second approach sought to use parental preferences to guide reorganisation. Under the slogan of 'parental choice' it became the policy of the Liberal Party. Its basic argument was well expressed in a November 1983 interview with David Alton, Liberal MP for Liverpool who had been a Liberal councillor on the education committee during the 1970s:

The key to our proposals was that parents should vote with their feet. That reorganisation should actually be carried out by the parents themselves. That we should look to see which schools they've sent their children to and that on the basis of popular appeal those are the schools that should be built upon. And that if the school is really unsuccessful with the parents, then those are the schools which we should reorganise, amalgamate, close, rationalise.

In practical terms, this approach suggested that the logic of the depopulation trends given in figure 6-2 should guide reorganisation. Undersubscribed schools like Paddington and Croxteth Comprehensive ought to be closed and the popular schools of the Queen's Drive Belt enlarged, if necessary, to take extra numbers.

The Conservatives carried the parental choice argument further than the Liberals by arguing that selective schools ought to be retained for those parents who wanted them. Liberals opposed selective education, though some were willing to make it negotiable - a possible compromise to win Conservative support for Liberal positions on other issues. Thus Conservatives and Liberals disagreed on specific proposals but their general agreement on the principle of parental choice enabled them to eventually reach some compromises. As an overall philosophy for reorganisation, moreover, parental choice made it possible to single out specific schools for closure without setting forth an entire city-wide plan; another reason why Conservatives and Liberals could make alliances on specific proposals in council.

Of course, other options for the city of Liverpool can be conceived of in addition to these two competing plans. A proposal for middle schools, for example, could have been introduced, but no party used this option. The Liberals' added a policy of creating 6th form colleges to their principle of parental choice. This was always opposed by the Labour Party which wanted to keep 11 to 18 comprehensives as an incentive for working class pupils to go into higher education. But the 'district comprehensive' and 'parental

choice' positions were the ones which served to focus ideological struggle. Six form college proposals were always made with respect to school closures (to open up buildings for a city-wide college), and the closures were justified in terms of parental choice.

It took two years of subcommittee meetings, from 1976 to 1978, for a plan to become agreed upon which could pass the city council. During this period parents kept up a highly visible campaign of protest over specific proposals, getting much publicity in the local press. Parental delegations even travelled to London to lobby the minister of education before any plan received a council vote. Teachers threatened several times to take strike action against various proposals under discussion and disrupted a couple of subcommittee meetings by walking out.

The plan which was finally adopted was based on the closure of Paddington Comprehensive in the inner-city and the creation of a 6th form college with city-wide intake in its buildings. Several other inner-city schools were to be closed as well. It was not a city-wide plan; if it had been implemented it would have only gone some of the way towards solving the problem of falling rolls. But it was regarded as a beginning step by the Liberals and Conservatives who voted for it. Croxteth Comprehensive and the other depopulated outer-city schools were not threatened by this plan, although former members of the subcommittee have said in interview that these schools had frequently been discussed for closure during the two years of meetings.

In March 1979 Secretary of State for Education Shirley Williams rejected most of the plan, approving only the closure of two inner-city schools: Arundel and Sefton Park. Part of her reasons had to do with controversy over the closure of Paddington, which was strongly opposed by the Labour Party because of services provided by the school to the inner city Toxteth area of Liverpool. Hence by 1979 little had been done to solve the problem of falling rolls and the city was in as much of an educational crisis as ever.

IV) Analysis

This section discusses the structural location of the city government of Liverpool. The city of Liverpool is a specific site in British society in which decisions must be made under conditions given by the relation of this site to the national government and to the British economy (which, as we have seen, is in turn in complex relations to international economic and political forces - section II above).

Let us recall and slightly expand Claus Offe's analyses of the state first reviewed in chapter three. Offe examines tensions or 'contradictions' in the state given by its role in providing welfare services, on the one hand, and its ultimate dependency on the accumulation of capital, on the other (see also Castells 1977, 1978 and Cockburn 1977). The state often makes interventions which are designed to counter purely market forces: it

provides schooling, housing, transport and health care for those who wouldn't be able to obtain them on the market, for example. Thus it has its own political criteria for allocating resources. Yet at the same time state power depends on taxation and the capitalist market for its sources of revenue. It is thus dependent on economic production laying outside its spheres of control. Hence:

Since the state depends on a process of accumulation which is beyond its power to organise, every occupant of state power is basically interested in promoting those conditions most conducive to accumulation.

Offe, quoted in Giddens 1984, p 315

Note that Offe brings his analysis down to that of conditions of action which effect people working within the state and avoids a functionalist account as a result.

This is one source of tension within the welfare state. The state must both allocate resources for welfare services and ultimately support capitalist accumulation. In times of recession these two demands upon the state are in conflict, and the demand which takes priority must be that of supporting capital, since the very existence of the state depends upon this. This tension manifests, however, in different ways. It manifests first of all through the division of responsibilities between the local and national governments: the former concerned primarily with allocation and thus leaving the latter with the fullest expression of the tension (Saunders 1981, ch. 8). When the national government institutes cuts in services the tension may manifest in conflicts between local and national governments; thus Kenneth Antcliffe's comment, quoted in the last section, that he felt 'caught between the jaws of the nutcracker'. There was definitely a tension between local and national government in the case of Liverpool, the local government seeking to meet local social needs and the national government expressing the ultimate dependency of the state on capital accumulation through restricting local government expenditure.

But this tension between welfare spending and the support of capital accumulation takes specific forms *within* local government as well. Ultimately, the relationship of the local to the national government sets the priorities by which local government officials must make their allocative decisions. The position of the full-time bureaucrat, such as Director of Education Kenneth Antcliffe, illustrates this well. Efficiency and cost-effectiveness were his major concerns. In the 1970s and early 1980s, financial pressure and, with explicit threats made by the DES to intervene and reorganise Liverpool education itself if the local government failed to do so, coercive pressures as well, made school closures and amalgamations the top items of the political agenda. This is what Offe means by the 'content' of state power (Offe 1975a): it refers to a specific agenda by which (goal-rational) decisions must be made, ultimately set by economic requirements located outside of the state. Yet this 'content' of state power exists in tension with the 'form' of government decision making: representative democracy:

In other words, there is a dual determination of the political power of the capitalist state: the institutional *form* of this state is determined through the rules of democratic and representative government, while the material *content* of state power is conditioned by the continuous requirements of the accumulation process.

Offe 1975a, p 121

Both terms in this conflict exercise influence on the formation of state activity, but the possibility exists of situations arising where the content and form of state power come into conflict, with the possibility of a crisis.

In Habermas's analysis (1976), the state is in danger of either a 'rationality crisis', where it simply cannot meet the priorities of its agenda, or of a 'legitimation crisis', where it does meet these requirements but only in a way which appears undemocratic and thus illegitimate. In Liverpool a form of rationality crisis could have occurred if the hung council had failed to resolve the city crisis in educational provision. In the end the electoral victory of the Labour Party in 1983 ensured that this did not happen - it was able to reorganise secondary education throughout the city. If this electoral victory had never taken place a rationality crisis may have resulted with the consequent intervention of the national government. A legitimation crisis, on the other hand, occurs when the form of state power (to continue with Offe's terminology) loses out to the content: when the economic and rationality crises are resolved, but only at the expense of legitimate appearance.

The way in which form and content played against each other in the case of Liverpool was through the party-political struggles described in the last section, developing competing ideological positions. The ideologies of educational provision in conflict, parental choice and community schooling, placed additional items on the political agenda: who should have the rights to decide about closures and amalgamations, what criteria should be employed to make these decisions, and so on. Implicit to these ideologies of educational *provision* are positions with respect to the *purposes* of education. We will now consider each ideological position in turn, first as they presented themselves - as logical arguments concerned with citizen rights, - and then in terms of their usefulness to the political parties which put them forward, - in terms of the necessity of matching political form with political content to avoid a legitimation crisis. We shall also be concerned to identify the usually implicit positions taken by each ideology on questions of educational *purpose*, as opposed to the allocation of educational resources, but this will be fully developed only in the final subsection.

A) 'Parental Choice':

The argument for parental choice appeals to the civil rights of the individual. Thus the whole tradition of civil liberties and their protection, rather than curtailment, by the government is implicated in the very slogan of 'parental choice'. It is an argument that states on the

surface that the primary issue involved in reorganisation is that of decision making process, and that curtailment of parental choice means the violation of a basic liberty: 'Choice is really at the heart of all this, the right of a parent to send their child to the school of their choice' (David Alton in interview).

This argument translates into the policy position that popular schools in the city, judged to be popular by the demands of parents to place their children in them, should be left open, and 'unpopular schools' should be closed down. Secondary schools were judged to be unpopular by the Liberals and Conservatives if there were a large percentage of parents who sent their children to a primary school near to the secondary school (i.e., to one of its feeder-primaries) but who *didn't* then send their children to that secondary school but rather chose another. In the case of Croxteth Comprehensive, for example, this figure was one third of all parents sending children to Croxteth's feeder-primaries.

It should be noted that the argument poses a city-wide pattern of choice against a community-wide pattern of choice. 'Popular' schools draw demand for places from all over the city while unpopular schools lose a large minority of the pupils who would be expected to attend them based on home-school proximity. Thus it could be argued that on a community-wide basis, rather than a city-wide one, 'unpopular' schools are actually popular in the sense that a majority of parents are still sending their children there. But the usual argument against such reasoning is that parents who send their children to an unpopular school are usually apathetic - it is the parents who are motivated enough and informed enough who realise that it would be in their children's interest to attend a better, more popular school. In fact, those in Liverpool who defended the community school position did so partly through exactly this argument. Interviews with the Director of Education and a number of teachers working in Ellergreen, Yew Tree and Speke Comprehensives revealed a large degree of support for catchment areas because of the 'creaming' effect which occurs when parental choice is allowed. The creaming process occurs when pupils with the greatest amount of cultural capital leave inner and outer city schools for more prestigious ones. The argument is that only parents who are motivated and aware will bother to send their children to other schools and it is these same parents who create home environments providing a good deal of cultural capital to their children. It is a variation of the cultural deprivation argument summarised in chapter five. Creaming was argued to leave pupils within less prestigious schools with poor role models of achievement and thus limited their educational effectiveness.

This was discussed with David Alton during a November 1983 interview. He was asked whether or not he thought it true that parental choice deprives the less prestigious schools of pupils most capable of achievement, and thus contributes to the decline of these schools educationally:

Well it is true, and I'd close those schools and give those kids [the ones attending schools in deprived areas] the opportunity of going to other schools which are good bets, which are more successful.

Two assumptions about schooling are indicated in this argument: that some schools are better than others at getting results and therefore that parents tend to base their choices of schools on sound educational criteria, and that very often schools in deprived areas draw pupils from only one social class or ethnic grouping and thus that catchment areas defeat the goal of comprehensive education to get a wide social mix in the schools.

The first of these assumptions can be supported by examining the differences between Liverpool schools in examination results, numbers of pupils staying on for the sixth form, and other indicators of school quality. As described above, the differences were significant. This was the basis for the Liberal Party's claim that some schools are better than others, in educational terms. The Liverpool leader of the Liberal Party, Trevor Jones, thus explained how his party's general approach to educational reorganisation became applied to Croxteth Comprehensive in the following way:

I think there has always been a very powerful case for reorganising schools throughout the city, because of the falling rolls, and the rolls are falling equally throughout the city. Now against that background there are some highly successful schools which parents have tended to gravitate towards, but most of the others have been working at about something like fifty per cent. ... Well, the Chairman of the Education Committee has always been looking at the numbers and the standards of education, and that's the main, the main aim of reorganisation is to get an improved standard of education. ... The suggestion was made that that [Croxteth Comprehensive] was one where rolls were falling dramatically and the standards of education were falling likewise.

Trevor Jones, 2nd December 1982 interview with
20/20 vision.

Some schools are better at maintaining standards than others, parents choose such schools, and those schools left suffer a further decline in the educational standards they can maintain. These latter schools ought to be closed.

By emphasising standards of education in their arguments the Liberals were able to leave the economic pressures for reorganisation in the background. And this is not surprising, any proposal to close down a number of schools would be expected to legitimate itself in educational terms because financial reasons alone would not be so acceptable to clients of the welfare state. In the same interview Trevor Jones explained that economic pressures to reorganise are 'immense' due to the

under-occupancy of buildings. And I want that educational money, but I want that used to improve the standards of education, not just to maintain buildings. So there isn't an economic motive. The overriding aim of reorganisation must always be to finish with an improved standard of education and that's always been our aim.

The main argument put forward during the debates in Liverpool against the view that different schools maintain different 'standards' of education, and thus the view that some schools are more successful than others, has to do with the creaming process mentioned above. Former teachers from

Croxteth Comprehensive and teachers from Ellergreen Comprehensive insisted in interview their belief that it is impossible to make a comprehensive school in a deprived area work if nothing prevented the creaming process. If catchment areas stopped parents with children who have large amounts of cultural capital from sending their children to other schools, then examination results would go up in the school, more 'model pupils' would exist to influence the rest, and the school generally could compare better with other schools in the city. The Director of Education in Liverpool held to this view, saying:

And that is why it gets up my nose when certain politicians, who I won't define either by party or as individuals, talk about 'good' schools and 'bad' schools. Absolute poppycock.

But the 'creaming' argument tends to keep the issue tied to the same definitions of what 'good' and 'bad' schools are. Both the parental choice and the creaming arguments refer to 'standards' of schooling, and any reference to standards tends to conceive the major purpose of education in terms of measurable results on examinations and other procedures which quantify the transmission of knowledge. It easily translates into the argument that the main purpose of education is to help young people get jobs. Used by itself, it ignores other possible purposes of education, such as those put forward by the radical proponents of community education, discussed in chapter five.

By ignoring arguments of other possible purposes of education, the anti-creaming argument remains vulnerable to the second assumption present in the Liberal Party's approach, that catchment areas work against the aim of comprehensive schools to get a socially mixed population of pupils. As an assumption this point needs little defending. David Alton continued his arguments in interview:

I want proper social mixture, I don't want ghetto schools and I think that is what you create if you insist that all children from a given area go to there. For instance, if you draw a rigid catchment area around Paddington, what's the catchment area going to be? It'll be parts of Liverpool 7, parts of Liverpool 8 and parts of Liverpool 6 and you are going to be taking areas with massive unemployment, you are going to be taking areas where there's massive adult illiteracy, where there is massive social deprivation, massive numbers of single mothers who have got enough trouble just making their ends meet, let alone worrying about their children's education. And what will happen is that those which have any ability to be self-starters will move out of the district ... and all that leads to is the further decline of the neighbourhood. And so it goes a lot deeper than the teacher who sees it purely through their (sic) eyes, in terms of the school in which they are teaching in.

The parental choice argument was politically useful to the Liberals for several reasons. It made piece-meal proposals possible and consequently enabled alliances with the Conservative Party on a number of proposals. It made it easy to argue to retain schools in Liberal constituencies, since many of these were middle class areas with popular schools, and to argue for the closure of schools in Labour constituencies since many of these were deprived areas with 'unpopular' schools. It made it possible to align policy with the most vocal and organised parent groups

and thus was a potential means of expanding support for the Liberal Party. As a slogan, 'parental choice' drew upon the powerful imagery and associated values of the 'citizen' and her rights.

B) Community Education

The discussion of parental choice above may have brought to the reader's mind some of the arguments summarised in chapter five about community education, in which a contrast was made between policy designed to promote the maximum opportunities for individuals to rise socially via the education system (like Mr Alton's pupils 'with any ability to be self-starters') and policy which focuses on social groupings, rather than individuals, by trying to take into account the complex effects of disjunctions between class and school culture, the hidden curriculum, and the traditional separation of school knowledge and community activity. Community education in the 'radical' sense, as we have seen, would justify the use of catchment areas and the insistence of locating a school in each community through a more structural perspective on society, implying an adjustment of curricular and pedagogic policy according to the location of a school within a community culture or group of cultures. What would happen, for example, to the majority of children with low cultural capital who would be forced to attend more 'popular' schools if their own schools were shut down through arguments like those used by David Alton? It is very possible (and research could investigate this) that most of them would do even more poorly in school, experience an even greater gap between the culture of their primary socialisation and that of the 'popular' school, and consequently have their chances for mobility even more greatly curtailed. Community education in the radical sense, lastly, has as its ultimate goal, not the mobility of individuals with 'ability' but the enablement of groups of people to change social conditions. This argument, however, was not used by the Labour Party in Liverpool during the struggles over reorganisation. Instead, a much weaker version of 'community education' was.

In an interview taken during February 1984, the Labour Party's chairman of the education committee in Liverpool Dominic Brady explained the basic position of his party's community education policy. He stated first of all that it was a policy designed to promote educational continuity between primary and secondary school and a way of promoting equal opportunity for all children in the city:

It's designed to ensure that there are links between the primary schools and the secondary schools, that continuity takes place. ... In simple terms this is a plan designed to ensure that you have five or six schools in a particular area, you know as near to a local secondary school as possible which can provide the continuity. At the same time people don't have to travel long distances and it also means that there will be a fair and equal opportunity for all children where ever they live in the city.

The argument for equal opportunity would need some elaboration - why should attendance of all Liverpool pupils at local schools make for equal opportunities? Are not David Alton's arguments valid on this point - that

catchment areas and local schools would just create some schools of primarily middle class pupils who have better home support and greater cultural capital than other pupils attending primarily working class schools? The argument for a community school policy across a city would make sense in terms of equality of opportunity only if some attention to pedagogy and curriculum were made.

Dominic Brady also pointed out another important aspect of the community education policy: the fact that schools do more than just educate children, that deprived areas of the city would become even more deprived without a school:

People accuse us of creating ghetto schools with this plan but it's designed to stop there being ghetto schools you know. But at the same time we recognise that by simply keeping a school in Speke or Croxteth, and providing facilities for those people, that you can't solve all the problems. You know you can't solve all the social, housing and economic problems of a particular area by simply insuring that there is a school there and that there is continuity from the primary schools. But I think that you would find the problem is far worse if you had no school there. ... The overall council strategy is to ensure the priority goes to the most depressed areas. So the fact that you're keeping a school there together with the overall council strategy of giving assistance to the more deprived areas, you know will hopefully mean that the ghettos will eventually disappear.

This passage really expresses the essential feature of the Labour Party's policy: it was a policy of state directed resource distribution across the city designed to benefit the more deprived areas. A school in each community was an essential part of the plan, for the lack of a local school doesn't offer much hope of improving an area. A policy document written during 1983 by the Labour Party explaining its educational reorganisation plan stated other goals as well (Liverpool Education Committee 1983). Schools were to encourage the involvement of local residents, both as governors of the school and as students in adult education programmes. Schools were to make their resources open to the community, as meeting places for groups in the evenings, as sports centres after school hours, as sites for post 16 youth activities. The document gives the picture of the school fully in what we identified as the 'moderate' interpretation of community schooling in chapter five. As a challenge to the parental choice argument of the Liberal Party, it did offer a different set of purposes for schools without offering a different set of purposes of schooling. Schools were regarded as community resources which can be used in many different ways to better living conditions in its area. But the process of schooling remained one tied to traditional conceptions of curriculum and pedagogy.

The community education argument used by the Labour Party in Liverpool states that parental choice, as a right, must be exercised through the ballot box for a political party presenting a particular education policy, rather than through the free choice of where to send children. It assumes that 'equal' schools can be created by distributing resources with this end in mind, without fully explaining what is meant by 'equal'. It views the school as one of a number of state services which the government should provide each community or area. It has little to say about

educational inequality which occurs *within* schools through disjunctions between class or ethnic culture and the middle class culture of the school. This omission leaves the position vulnerable to some of the counter arguments of the Liberals. In terms purely of 'standards', defined in the narrow way adhered to by both parties in Liverpool (and the Conservative Party as well), David Alton's arguments about the undesirability of catchment areas are not effectively countered by the Labour Party. To really justify the retention of small schools in deprived urban areas, purposes of education other than 'standards' need to be brought into the argument, and the notion of standards itself must be questioned.

Electoral, the Labour Party's plan for community schools enabled them to guarantee a school in nearly all of their constituencies, which obviously would be a desirable Labour policy goal. It was also a plan consistent with Labour's over-all policies on resource allocation which gave the more deprived areas central attention. Because their plan was city-wide and directly threatened many parent's desire to send their children to schools outside their immediate locality, it was never implemented in piecemeal fashion through bargains with one of Liverpool's other political parties. When a version of this plan was finally implemented after the electoral victory of 1983 it provoked a lot of loud criticism and hostility.

C) What Sort of Crisis?

The above discussion indicates that, on the institutional level of party politics (to which most of the parental mobilisations were oriented), the educational crisis in Liverpool produced no legitimacy crisis. The structural conditions forcing the LEA to become more cost effective and thus to remove educational provision from some areas of the city through closures were taken to be legitimate by the political parties battling for their particular versions of educational reorganisation. The ideological battles were conducted in ways which emphasised both allocative arguments and arguments over rights of decision making: there was no challenge to the legitimacy of the state (in the 1970s and early 1980s at least), to the logic of efficiency behind the reorganisation. The principle agenda had been set by the location of the state and the pressures it had come under. The ideologies adopted by each party were primarily over the way in which that agenda could be implemented. The form and content of state power worked together.

It is useful to consider what would have constituted a legitimisation crisis in this situation. It seems that two ideological challenges may have constituted this. Firstly, the state's role in running education was never really questioned in the debates. It is true that the Labour Party advocated getting parents more involved in their community schools and getting more of them on the board of governors, but schools would still be seen as primarily a welfare provision. One type of a legitimisation crisis would be the questioning of the role of the state in controlling service institutions: questioning the administrator-client relationship this produces and calling for a devolution of power to those served.

Secondly, the purposes of education were never seriously questioned during these debates. By and large, both the parental choice and the community education camps constructed their arguments about two unquestioned educational goals which can be argued to be largely reproductive rather than challenging to social inequality: the goal of 'equal opportunity', where this is looked at primarily in individual terms, and the related goal of employability, where the *primary* purpose of education is to give pupils qualifications to be cashed in at the job market. These two goals are oriented towards the individual, conceiving of equality in terms of providing chances to those with 'ability'. They ignore the background structure upon which 'opportunity' takes its meaning: the structure of inequality in society, in relation to which qualifications sort pupils.

True, the Labour Party, especially in Liverpool when the policies of Militant have been influential, has policies aimed at changing the structure of inequality. But the Labour Party focused upon the form of provision without examining the content (to use the formula slightly differently from Offe's usage). We can see that a contradiction or a tension existed in the Liverpool Labour Party's education policy between the form in which it approached education (a welfare service which must be distributed equally) and the actual content of education itself. The Labour Party differed with the Liberals when it came to questions of the form of provision: the Liberals fell back upon what was a modified market model of resource provision, - the state providing but the consumers selecting, - while the Labour Party advocated state provision to counter-act the inequalities of market mechanisms. In this way, the Labour Party had its eye to certain structural inequalities and the role the state could take to shift distribution to favour the less well-off. But its model dealt with schooling in a highly quantified way, in terms of money spent, staffing numbers, equipment and so on. It didn't question the content of education, and in fact agreed with the Liberals when it came to questions of the basic purposes education ought to serve. In other words, in the ideologies of both Liberals and the Labour Party, the content of education was subsumed under the logic of the commodity form - a means of supplying cultural capital to be used on the job market. Returning again to Claus Offe:

Schooling and training do not have the purpose of providing knowledge and abilities to young people; they do have the purpose of putting individuals in the position to use their labour power as commodities on the labour market, and for this purpose knowledge and abilities are thought to be instrumental variables. How efficiently and effectively educational policies do operate can only be determined by looking at the increases in efficiency and effectiveness that appear in the private sector, that is, in the market interaction of the owners of labour power and the owners of money capital who are willing to pay wages for the use of this labour power.

Offe 1975a, p 137

There was no legitimation crisis on the party-political level around the crisis in education in Liverpool because the subsumption of the activities

of the state to the logic of the commodity form was not challenged, nor were the restrictions attached to the relationship between the local and national governments (as occurred later in Liverpool with the militant-influenced Labour majority, who refused to set legal budgets). It could have been challenged in three related ways: by questioning the logic of economic pressure itself (e.g. an argument to keep all schools in Liverpool, staff by curriculum not by pupil number, and take national monies from defence and other areas to do so); by questioning the control the state exercised over educational provision (e.g., in the debates about the purposes of education, call for the devolution of educational decision making to the consumer); or by questioning the purposes to which education is directed (e.g., use some of the community education arguments discussed in the chapter five). None of these happened.

In future chapters we shall explore, among many other things, whether or not the grass roots protest in Croxteth did manage to present new purposes of education, critical of the logic of commodity markets.

Chapter Seven
THE CROXTETH HOUSING ESTATE

This chapter consists of three descriptive sections: one on the material conditions of the Croxteth Housing Estate which makes use of statistical data on unemployment, housing, health, and other social indicators; one on the culture of the estate; and one on the school, Croxteth Comprehensive, before it was closed down. The chapter is important in setting the context for the closure of the school and the community response to it. Much of the analysis in future chapters will refer back to material in this one.

I Material Conditions

As mentioned in the last chapter, the Croxteth Housing Estate was first developed during the late 1940s in accordance with city policy to develop the periphery. It was planned to be a dormitory suburb with a large percentage of the population travelling to work outside the estate each day. Much initial employment was provided by an industrial estate along the East Lancashire Road containing Napiers, English Electric (subsequently G.E.C), and Plesseys, along with other firms.

The Croxteth Estate is located five miles outside city centre at the very north eastern edge of Liverpool. Its geographical boundaries are very clearly marked, making it readily identifiable as a distinct residential area. Two sides are bounded by wide roadways: the East Lancashire Road and House Lane. The other sides of the estate are bounded by woodland areas lying just past the Liverpool City boarder and within Croxteth Country Park (see map in appendix).

The Croxteth Housing Estate lies within the much larger Gillmoss electoral ward but coincides exactly with three Standard Data Zones (S.D.Z.s 104, 106 and 107) and with twenty five Enumeration Districts (E.D.s AS01-21, 23, and 26-28) which makes it possible to establish accurate census data for the Estate.

In 1981, Croxteth had 12,652 residents, 99% of whom had been born in the United Kingdom (see table 7-3). Residents lived in 4,449 households, 86% of which were council owned (1981 Census). Seventy eight percent of those employed worked in the manual unskilled, partly skilled, and armed forces occupational categories. Another 14% worked in non-manual skilled occupations (see table 7-4). Racially it is a predominately white area. Thus Croxteth could be described as fairly homogeneous with respect to its social composition along the criteria of employment, housing and geographical origins.

The only social category which appears to be the basis of some division in the community is religion. The estate is divided about equally between Catholic and Protestant families, some of the Protestant families with Orange Lodge affiliation. In 1981 Croxteth had four Catholic voluntary secondary schools and only one county secondary school: Croxteth Comprehensive. Croxteth has two Roman Catholic churches (St Swithins and

Queen of Martyrs), two Churches of England (Good Shepherd and St Paul's) and one Baptist church.

Unemployment in Croxteth is high. The 1981 census indicates an overall rate of 29% in the community with much higher rates for the 16-29 age group (see tables 7-1 and 7-2). A report prepared by the Croxteth Working Party in 1983 estimates that real unemployment figures approximate a rate of 40% for the adult population generally and 95% for school leavers (Croxteth Area Working Party 1983, p 49 and 25). Decline in Liverpool's industries during the 1970s effected the plants along the East Lancashire Road, many of them merging into national and international conglomerates. In 1961, 22,000 worked on the industrial estate along the Road, in 1971 14,000 did and by 1981 the figure was 2,000 (Croxteth Area Working Party 1983, p 13). The Gillmoss electoral ward experienced a 153% increase in unemployment from 1971 to 1981. The corresponding figure for Liverpool is 104% (Liverpool Planning Department, 1982).

Housing was particularly bad during the period of the campaign. In 1983, requests for housing repairs averaged 274 a week for 7,108 houses, 30% of which were vacant (Liverpool Planning Department figure). Houses designed for coal fire heating have suffered high levels of damp since the introduction of gas fires in the 1960s. Poorly designed rubbish chutes made them easily blocked so that they were eventually bricked off and tenants began putting rubbish out in bags. This practice, combined with delays in refuse collections of up to three weeks (Croxteth Area Working Party 1983, p 60) attracts rats and other vermin. Drains were also badly designed, causing the back-up of waste water to increase the damp and create areas ripe for the growth of diseases and infection. Black and green mould abound, as do high populations of rats and other vermin related to damp. High incidents of damp-related health problems have been reported (Croxteth Area Working Party 1983, p 12).

In 1973 a Liverpool Policy and Finance Committee report stated:

For various reasons, when the Croxteth Estate was constructed emphasis was given to the provision of housing accommodation and the provision of many of the associated environmental and social facilities necessary to provide the basis for a balanced and integrated community had lagged behind.

To this day Croxteth has no swimming baths, no cinema, job centre, bank, restaurant, police station, or adequate shopping centre. Several supermarkets and large shops moved out of the area, leaving small stores with a narrow range of items priced relatively high. Many residents do their shopping by catching the number 14 bus to the Broadway; a shopping area over two miles away.

No doubt due to the combination of high unemployment, poor housing, and few facilities, various social indicators place Croxteth amongst the most deprived areas in Liverpool. In 1981 44.2% of its school children were receiving free school meals, compared with 27.7% city-wide. The infant mortality rate for the period 1979-1982 was 111.9% of that of Liverpool as

a whole, and low birth weights were 116.0% of the Liverpool rate during the same period (table 7-5). Eighty six percent of the residents of Croxteth were receiving state benefit in 1983 (Croxteth Area Working Party 1983, p 25). Local pharmacists report that the highest drug group dispensed between January and October of 1982 was that acting on the cardio-vascular and respiratory system, because of widespread health problems caused by damp. The second highest was the hypnotic/central nervous system drug group, indicating high rates of stress and depression (Croxteth Area Working Party 1983, p 65).

The Croxteth Area Working Party Report of 1983 notes the effects of these conditions on interpersonal relationships and mental health:

Neighbour disputes and hostility often occurred through frustration with deteriorating conditions, tenants refused to take turns in cleaning stairs and halls thereby increasing the hostility (p 12). ...

The stress which results in families from such constraints can be linked with an increasing rate of mental and family breakdown and anxiety and depression in both men and women. An indication of the trend already, in the breakdown of family life, is given by the increasing numbers of single homeless young people requesting housing (p 49). ...

These problems are not mutually exclusive, and the combination of bad housing, unemployment and money problems often linked with difficulties in domestic situations and to nervous ill-health. This syndrome is by no means unique to this area, but there is a particular concentration of such difficulties, which generalises into a particularly helpless feeling about the whole area, and the situation of all those living within it (p 51).

 Figure 7-1: Employed and Unemployed in Croxteth (E/A=Economically Active)

Age Gr.	Total	Total E/A	% E/A	Employed	% Empl.	Unempl.	%Unempl.
Total	12,665	5,821	46%	3,350	58%	1,696	29%
16-19	1,126	808	72%	440	54%	353	44%
20-24	1,329	1,023	77%	598	58%	406	40%
25-29	877	648	74%	373	58%	236	36%
30-34	663	496	75%	279	56%	137	28%
35-39	448	320	71%	185	58%	79	25%
40-44	506	383	76%	219	57%	96	25%
45-49	603	470	78%	295	63%	83	18%
50-54	792	606	76%	381	63%	114	19%
55-59	954	660	69%	415	63%	113	17%
60-64	793	343	43%	208	61%	77	22%

 Figure 7-2: Female Employment in Croxteth

Total number of women over 16	5260	53% of total population 16+
Total women 16+ and E/A	2245	38.5% of all E/A (incl. male)
Total women 16+ econ. inactive	3015	75% of all econ. inact.
Total women employed	1113	21% of all women 49.5% of all E/A women

Note: Most of the women classified as not E/A were so classified because they were housewives.

 Figure 7-3: Residents in Croxteth

Numbers of Residents:			12,652
15-19 year olds	11% of total		1,392
16-19 year olds	9% of total		1,139
20-24 year olds	10% of total		1,265
16-24 year olds	19% of total		2,404

Country of Birth:

England	97% of total	12,266
Scotland, Wales, Ireland	2% of total	252
Outside U.K. (incl. Europe)	.6% of total	79

There were 973 people living in households with a migrant head (from 1979). Hence 8% of the population were newly arrived in Croxteth. Most of these were between 16 and 34 years old (53%).

 Figure 7-4: Occupations in Croxteth (1961 Census)
 10% Sample: E/A Residents, 16+

Occupational Group	Males	Females	Total	% of Sample
I Professional	6	0	6	1%
II Intermediate	24	16	40	7%
III Non-Manual Skilled Occupations	28	54	82	14%
IV Manual Skilled Occupations	135	30	165	28%
V Partly Skilled Occupations	82	75	157	26%
VI Unskilled Occupations	51	25	76	13%
VII Armed Forces	46	22	68	11%

II) Living in Croxteth: selected features of local culture

This section presents a series of very brief descriptions of certain aspects of Croxteth culture which are important for understanding some of the events described in later chapters. It is important to keep in mind, when reading it, that only a very schematic presentation has been attempted. The data from which the following interpretations and generalisations were made was collected primarily in the context of the Croxteth school occupation. This section seeks to generalise backwards towards routine features of Croxteth life, but is limited by the fact that no systematic attempt to do an ethnographic study of the Croxteth Estate was ever made during the field work of this study. Much of the complexity and diversity of Croxteth culture is consciously missing from what follows.

A) Reactions to Poor Housing and Lack of Facilities:

Many residents in Croxteth have their roots in Liverpool's Scotland Road area. Scotland Road is a long street running near the Mersey River which has housed dockworkers and their families for over a century. Conditions along Scotland Road were never terribly good and they were especially bad after the bombing of the docks during World War II. Families during the late 1940s, the 1950s and the 1960s were sometimes invited, sometimes compelled, to choose a new home in a council housing area like Kirkby, Cantril Farm or Croxteth. Most residents talked to during this study had left for Croxteth with hopes of excellent conditions:

We lived in, down Scotland Road, which is one of the areas which had been sort of bombed out quite a bit. So we were in sort of one of the big slum clearance things. Now the sort of choice really was you sort of stayed in or you moved out. Well we were only too pleased to take the opportunity to move out. It was great. This looked good, oh not half! Compared to Scotland Road it was so good, no doubt about it. You just couldn't believe how good it looked. And everyone was made up about it, you know.

Pat Rigby, Croxteth resident, secretary of the
Croxteth-Gillmoss Federation

Residents who moved in during the early 1950s report that at first conditions on the estate did look very promising, but as more and more people arrived, conditions on the estate got worse and worse. Promised facilities were never put in, housing conditions deteriorated. The deterioration in the housing occurred in specific areas of the estate which had the effect of producing conflicts between those in nice areas and those in the areas of deterioration. At the time of the field work, the appearance of the estate struck the outsider with its great contrasts: there were small sections of the estate having a large number of semi-vacant and decaying buildings peppered amongst many very well kept homes. The empty buildings and boarded windows were generally splashed with graffiti - evidence of the restless youth population who are said to produce the highest rate of juvenile delinquency in Western Europe (New Statesman, Nov. 1982). The graffiti often referred to drugs, "Legalise Heroin Now", "Crocky Drugs - Speed", "LSD", being typical examples. But a large number of slogans also expressed political discontent, stemming from conditions on the estate. On one of the many council housing buildings which sandwiched occupied flats between unused, boarded-up ones, was written: "Run by Auschwitz Concentration Camp". Examples of similar graffiti on the estate include:

"Croxteth the Forgotten Area"

"We supported Labour. They don't support the people, just rats."

"The council left 62 year old women without water for 6 months. Labour Club never went without beer."

(Pictures of Croxteth housing and graffiti can be found in "Schooling and Culture", Issue 14, 1984 and "Socialism and Education", Vol. 11, No 1 1983. See also appendix).

June and Ray Harrison, a couple owning a shop and a fruit and vegetable van on the estate who have lived there since the early 1950s, reside in the Croxteth Triangle, a section of the estate which has a triangular shape determined by the road patterns and the River Alt. The Triangle became one of the worse areas of housing on the estate and a real eyesore to the observer with blackened, boarded up flats and entirely abandoned buildings, alternating with lived-in accommodation. The Harrisons helped to create the most successful tenant's group on the estate during the early 1980s, the 'Triangle Group', which pressured the city

housing department for changes. They blamed both the three Labour councillors representing Croxteth in City Council, and the 'type' of resident housed in the Triangle for its deterioration. They described their impressions in a March 1983 interview:

June: When the estate was first built it was great. There was everybody looked after them. You needed a reference to live round this part of the estate at one time. It was beautiful. Even the flats - they used to have hanging baskets, all the gardens were done. You could eat off the stairs! It was lovely. Whether it was a flat or a house, it was all looked after, it was lovely. People appreciated it, you see.

But then gradually like, they had big families and they were moved out and others were moved in and it just went down hill. I think a lot's got to do with the one-parent families. Because they don't care. They're just a place to live and they didn't care.

Ray: You probably know a few people in that situation.

June: See now a lot of people that we know, their places are okay, they look after them. They do appreciate. It's just one of those things like. There was a lot that moved into the area that we didn't know, did we? God, it was a disgrace. Red lights, you need red lights around here! It was a disgrace.

They've closed it all down now. It's also going now, when we started fighting for the area. We fought to get people out of the flats and everything. And we got those out of the flats to be rehoused. Because I don't think they should ever have been put in flats with families anyway.

A few of us got together, you know, we decided to form a committee.

Ray: We decided that enough was enough. The area was just going right down, you know.

The successful struggles of the Triangle Group to get housing conditions in their area changed was exceptional in Croxteth. During the late 1970s and early 1980s only two effective tenant's groups formed to lobby for change in their small areas of the estate: the Triangle Group was one and the other was the Gems Group. The Gems is an area near the Triangle which had at least equally bad housing conditions, possibly worse. Struggles by the Gems Group may have been responsible for the establishment of a Gems Community Centre at the beginning of the 1980s, but housing conditions remained bad in the Gems.

On April 21st, 1983, a public housing meeting was called at the Labour Club in Croxteth. It was very well attended by Croxteth standards, about 200 people being present. The meeting made two things extremely clear, much housing in Croxteth, even in 1983 when some improvement programmes such as the one in the Triangle Area had been implemented, was in completely unacceptable condition, and there were very strong feelings of anger about it. Much of the anger, moreover, was directed at the Labour Party. Croxteth has voted solidly Labour for as long as it has existed, but residents are continuously frustrated with the inefficiency of the housing department, and often blame the Labour Party which they vote for to have representation in the council. Some of the proceedings of the meeting are

presented below to illustrate the feelings of residents about bad housing conditions. Much of the meeting consisted of exchanges between Ken Stewart, Labour spokesperson on housing in Liverpool at the time, and angry residents:

Gene (health visitor in Croxteth): Last week I classified an 80 year old SP ['special priority' - a classification recommending urgent moving into better accommodation for health reasons] and I was told that the 5% [allowed percentage of special priority moving per month] has been used up. It would take two months minimum!

Ken Stewart: SP is the one category where people can't jump the queue.

Old Woman: That's boloney! (Cries of agreement followed by much grumbling in room).

Another Old Woman: I've had an SP for seven months!

Young Woman: (to Stewart) What have *you* done!

Gene: There are 157 people urgently needing consideration.

Stewart: (gives a long explanation of why SPs have to follow a percentage system) We need a decent *building* programme, that is the *only* way SPs and other housing problems will be taken care of.

Middle Aged Man: Yeah, but why should anyone suffer?

Young Man: That could take years!

Another Middle Aged Man: Where is Eric Heffer? [Liverpool Labour MP] If he doesn't want to know you, who does?

Woman: What about Storrington Haze [area of high rises]? There's harassment and vandalism everyday in our area. We asked for security and to cut down on squatting, we've seen nothing.

Stewart: The blocks are gradually being changed over to sheltered accommodation.

Elderly Woman: (loud outburst) Not all of them! We live there!

Young Man: These buildings have been rotting for the last fifteen years and Labour has had control nationally two times and nothing was done!

(much clapping, loud expressions of agreement)

Stewart: We haven't had *local* control since 1974.

Woman: (shouting) I've got no front door! There's rats, dogs, ferrets! (garbled)

Although this meeting had speakers other than Ken Stewart, one representing the SDP, it was the Labour Party which got most of the abuse. In its course people complained of the damp, of babies chewing on electrical wires because they weren't located behind walls, people finding rats (one finding 27 dead rats during a month), people getting diarrhoea, having mould and damp rot inside rooms, homes usually having heat in only one room. Someone said he found a note a resident had put out for the bin man which read 'I caught seven rats today'. One of the most frequent complaints was that requests to the housing department were often not answered.

Towards the end of this meeting someone from the back shouted out:

Ten years I've been here and ten years it's been filthy. I blame the residents as well, they throw their filth around.

This comment brought much clapping and cries of agreement.

The housing problems in Croxteth are not uniformly distributed on the estate. For this reason, and for the reason that many residents like the Harrisons blame other residents for the poor conditions, housing in Croxteth caused much internal conflict on the estate. Pat Rigby, secretary of the Croxteth-Gillmoor Federation and herself a resident of Croxteth, was very perceptive about the problems caused by housing conditions. Pat works daily in the centrally-located office of the Federation. She was very useful to this study because of her intimate familiarity with most things occurring on the estate. The Federation coordinates and serves as a resource centre for all community organisations, like the Triangle Group, in Croxteth. It plans community carnivals, puts out a local newsletter and keeps its office doors open for anyone to drop in. In the passage below, Pat describes housing conditions in Croxteth and the conflicts generated by them:

What usually happens is small pockets of the estate have particularly bad housing and that small pockets of the estate will get themselves together and do something about it. But could be, people get publicity, they will be severely condemned for it by people living in the better parts who want it, like to be seen to be living in a reasonable area. So it's that sort of conflict. For a long time Croxteth just didn't get any publicity whatsoever. It was neglected, definitely neglected. Housing officers, councillors and all have been saying it was a fact it was neglected. Then it started getting the publicity, you see what I mean? And people saying if you're living in a decent house in a decent street, you don't like hearing and reading that you've got the highest unemployment, the highest youth crime rate, the worst housing. Some would say you know, you're living in, you're living in a ghetto.

But if you're living sort of in a flat, well there was one particular flat which we took Heseltine into where there was no electricity, no gas, no running water. If you're in that you want that highlighted because you are living in what's been described, and you want someone to come in urgently and sort that out.

It's a conflict ... the community dividing against itself. And then the community in the better parts blaming the people living in the worst part, saying it's their own fault, see what I mean. Because they're living in those houses they're getting the rest of us a bad name. They're forgetting the causes of all that sort of deprivation. Which has been constant neglect and the unpopularity of those low-rise flats and they're unpopular for very good reasons.

Despite the bad conditions in much of Croxteth, most residents interviewed did not want to leave. A common interview was one in which the interviewee first noted deficiencies on the estate and then said that they have no desire to leave it:

Jackie: The place was supposed to be dead nice...but when we moved up, like, we had to park down at the bottom and all the shops were closed down and boarded up. They still are. At the bottom we've three shops and a chippy - there's supposed to be six shops, one of them was a supermarket.

The library used to have books in it (laughs) - its always been dead grotty, that library.

P.C: Would you like to leave Croxteth, if you could?

Jackie: No. Its a dump, but i like it. I know everybody here, my mates are all here.

Jackie has lived on the estate for over ten years and her remarks are very typical. A few interviewed were entirely positive about the estate:

Its a lot better than people make out. I like it, I wouldn't live anywhere else meself. One place is as bad as another.

I listen to my sister. She lives in, supposed to be a posh area: all the snobs. To live on the lane she lives on you've got to have money. And the gangs are worse up there than they are here. They can't believe it when it's quiet over a holiday like at Christmas and New Year because they have the drunks and the gangs and everything.

At least the people are straight, you know what I mean. In these posh areas like, they tend to think they're above everybody and half the time they're worse. Some good people in Croxteth. They're straight. That's it.

...

Delinquency? Its the same all over. Its just that certain areas get publicised more. So you can't really judge it by that.

Well, I have been robbed meself once. But now I always make sure that somebody's in.

Mrs Johnstone, Croxteth resident

Figure 7-5: Selected Social Indicators for Croxteth

1) Fourteen residents aged 18 or over with a degree, professional and/or vocational qualification. (10% sample) (Liverpool Planning Department, "Social Indicators", 1982)

2) Percentage of Households lacking a car: 75%.
In Liverpool as a whole, this figure was 61% in 1983
(Liverpool City Council Joint Stewards Committee; 1983 Leaflet)

3) Students 16+ in Croxteth: 23% of the 15-19 age group.

4) Comparisons with Liverpool as a whole on three indicators:

	Croxteth	Liverpool
- Rate Free School Meals (1981 figures: Liv. Planning Department)	44.2	27.7
- Rate Infant Mortality (figures for 79-82: Croxteth Area Working Party)	13.2	11.8
- Rate Low Birth Weight (ibid)	84.8	73.1

5) Last two rates as percentages of Liverpool Rates (ibid)

Rate	1976-76	1979-82
Infant mortality	82.0%	111.9%
Low birth weight	N/A	116.0

Mrs Johnstone's remarks are unique only in that she didn't say anything negative, as well as positive, about Croxteth. All the positive things she said came up frequently in interviews. 'People are straight': there was a feeling of solidarity frequently expressed about the other residents on the estate. 'Certain areas get publicised more': a very common complaint, that Croxteth has a negative image it doesn't deserve. All residents talked to seemed very conscious of how other people in Liverpool viewed their estate:

It's the way people see Croxteth, people on the outside. When my daughter was at Central College in town people used to say, "What did you do to get put out there? We thought only people who'd been evicted or, you know, come out of gaol or something lived out there".

Pat Brennen, local resident.

To summarise, housing conditions are very bad in certain areas of Croxteth, causing a good deal of anger and frustration. Bad housing has led to conflicts between residents. However, people in Croxteth talked to during this study expressed on the whole a desire to remain on the estate and were resentful for what they believed to be exaggerated images of their problems held by people living outside.

B) Unemployment:

It was frequently mentioned by those interviewed that the many people on the estate who are long term unemployed have high rates of depression, sleep long into the mornings, and very often experience stress in their families. This was discussed with Pat Rigby:

P.C.: What would you say are the key problems in Croxteth?

Pat: If you had full employment here and decent homes, you wouldn't have a lot of the other problems. No doubt about it. There's all the spin-offs in health, depression, physical and mental health both. Unemployment I think definitely, and then really bad housing. It does, no doubt about it.

...

I think especially sort of where the man has used to be working and he's suddenly out of work, and he's at home, know what I mean, with nothing to do. I think that sort of has a worse effect than a family starting off where neither are working and never have worked. ... it's a completely different life-style that the whole family has got to be adjusted to.

In a group conversation with three women residents the issue of unemployment came up:

Jean: My lads are out of work, they'd love a job. They haven't had a job for that long, I can't remember. They get fed up, bored to tears but that's as far as it goes.

...

Sandra: They've got no hope for a job at all. It doesn't worry our Sharon. Our child just thinks she'll get a

scheme when she leaves. It's the lads are the worst. I don't think girls worry as much.

Freda: I think they just give up, most people.

P.C.: Is it especially hard with the lack of facilities around here?

Sandra: There's nothing here for them, just nothing at all. ...

P.C.: A lot of people point out that there's no bank, no sports facilities, no cinema and so on here.

Jean: God, you couldn't afford to go to the pictures! Even if there was a cinema here! The price of it! A couple of pounds to get in isn't it?

Sandra: The main thing we'd want here is a baths. It's the one thing the kids would love, isn't it?

For the majority of the people interviewed, the concern with unemployment had to do with worries about the future of the young people, especially their own children. Resident Mary Kane talked about her fears in an interview taken in July 1983:

The only drawback now is Jimmy [her youngest son, 15 years old]. I can't see much future really for him, but then again he's not the only one, but it's something I never had to cope with. I haven't had any other children out of work you see, so I don't know how I'm going to cope with Jimmy. ... He's been to the job centre once and he didn't like what this man said to him, this Mr Brown. He said he was doing his exams, his O levels and all that, and he [Mr Brown] said, 'you don't want to be doing that. Go on the YOP scheme', you know, so I didn't think that was a good attitude for him. That is his job really, to push them into these things isn't it?

Well, the kids have got the same attitude, haven't they? 'Well, what's the use when you can't get a job?' It is, I'll say, you might as well be in school as just knocking around, them not being occupied with anything. He [Jimmy] roams around the estate with his mates. I know where he is, the bottom part, sitting on a fence, another place where there are a lot of [garbled] where they just sit around. It's not much of a life is it? Terrible.

Jimmy had been a very hard working pupil during the occupation, taking several O levels in June. His mother tried very hard to get him an apprenticeship but all efforts failed for a long while. After examinations Jimmy himself felt there was little hope of getting a job or an apprenticeship and he wasn't attracted to the MSC youth schemes so he joined one of many groups of young people on the estate who spend their time simply roaming about. (Jimmy eventually did get a job, as follow-up interviews a year later revealed).

Many other residents expressed concern for their children's future similarly to Mary. It was often pointed out as well that the young people on the estate generally had nothing to do and there was a great deal of worry over the growth of drug usage in this age group. Young people interviewed usually answered the question 'What do you think you will be doing in 5 years time?' with 'Signing on', 'Drawing dole'.

C) Youth Cultures:

On warm evenings in Croxteth, one will walk past groups of teenagers, usually composed of the same sex, numbering from three to twelve if male and three to five if female, wandering about or sitting on steps and railings to smoke and chat. If you engage some of them in conversation, they'll tell you there's no where else to go:

There's nothin else to do but sit on the walls on the corners. The police will come and tell us to move on, so we just go on to another corner.

Allen Rooney, 14 year old.

Certainly there is diversity in youth cultures on the Croxteth Estate (see chapter fourteen), but the most visible culture shared by a great many youth is one which includes petty vandalism, roaming, drug taking and just killing time. A standard question I asked fourth year pupils at Croxteth Comprehensive during the year of occupation was what they had done the day before (a school day). Several answered similarly to Eddie, quoted below, who had not come into school the day before:

I had me breakfast, went to school, got registered (pause). No, I didn't go to school yesterday. I got up late, fed the dog, then I woke up the rest of the house. Me mum first, I made her tea. Then I went out, rode on a motorbike with me brother. Then I went to me mate's house, gave 'em a knock. We went on the roof and had some herb. I came back home, had tea, watched the telly and went to bed.

Some time after this interview Eddie was nearly expelled from the school for hitting a teacher. The staff thought he should have another chance (which led to the resignation of the teacher hit) but a month later Eddie was caught stealing materials from the art room and was promptly asked to leave the school. The account he gave of his day is typical of a number of pupils interviewed who used drugs regularly, were frequently truant, and spent much time wandering, sitting or watching the television with their mates. Eddie's theft of items from the art room was also certainly not uncommon behaviour for many youth on the estate, and his physical attack on a teacher, though unusual, won him respect and admiration from his peers.

A conversation with two third year pupils at Croxteth Comprehensive during the year of the occupation gives a bit more of the picture of vandalism and drug usage on the estate. But it also introduces another interesting feature of youth perceptions of problems on the estate: very often young people interviewed claimed that vandalism, crime and drug use occur regularly on the estate but *not* on that part where they themselves live:

P.C.: Is Croxteth a rough place to live in?

Lee: Yeah.

David: That new YMCA won't last long, I bet!

Lee: It'll be painted!

P.C.: Lots of kids into vandalism?

David: All most of them do is smoke dope.

P.C.: Are there a lot of drugs on the place?

David: There's a lot of smoking dope and acid.

P.C.: Does that make it a hard place to live in?

Lee: We live over there (points).

David: Where we live it's O.K.. It's mostly by Alt Cross
(drug use).

Again and again in interviews with young people the statement was made that vandalism, drug taking and crime took place frequently in Croxteth, but not in the neighbourhood of the interviewee. Following are four examples, chosen for their geographical spread. Virtually all the major geographical areas of Croxteth are represented by the residences of the four pupils below plus the two quoted just above:

One:

P.C.: Do you like living in Croxteth?

David: It's good. It's only bad by [garbled], it's all smashed up and everything.

P.C.: If you could, would you move out of Croxteth?

David: I don't know, I'm starting to like it here now.

David Maher, 13 year old.

Two:

P.C.: Do you like living here in Croxteth?

Alan: It's alright.

P.C.: Some people say it's rough here, lots of vandalism and every thing.

Alan: There's too much vandalism but not by ours so we don't care about that.

Alan Walsh, 13 year old.

Three:

P.C.: How do you like living in Croxteth?

Angela: I don't like it very much. It's alright where we live, but not this area (the area just around the school).

P.C.: Why?

Angela: The vandalism and that.

P.C.: Would you move out if you could?

Angela: I don't know really.

Angela Symth, 15 year old.

Four:

P.C.: Do you like living here?

Liz: I like it where we live, down at the bottom by the Oyster.

Liz, 15 year old.

The only area unrepresented by one or more of the above interviewees is the Gems area. The Gems was indicated as an especially rough area by a number of pupils and adults interviewed. Molly, for example, an elderly woman who spent much time in Croxteth Comprehensive when it was occupied, said 'kids from around here [near the school] don't go over to the Gems because there's a friction'. The Gems is also near the St Swithins Catholic secondary modern school and many pupils said that pupils from St Swithins and pupils from Croxteth Comprehensive frequently have physical confrontations. As 15 year old Steven Hilton put it: 'If you're out late, the St Swithin's kids and them will attack you.' But several pupils living in the Gems area said in informal conversations that they were happy in their area and wouldn't move out of it.

The evidence, then, is that youth in Croxteth will describe undesirable features of their housing estate: high incidents of vandalism, housing decay, and the not infrequent possibility of encountering physical attack, but these conditions are ascribed to areas other than their own neighbourhood. Territory is thus important to the youth of Croxteth. It is tied in with group and personal identity and pride and is also one source of division and hostility between young residents.

D) The Loyalty Ethic; Kinship and Friendship:

We've seen that territory is important to many adult residents too in the discussion on housing. Several groups like the Triangle Group and the Gems Group formed to better housing conditions during the late 1970s and early 1980s and, as we have seen, some of them got good results. But an effort begun in 1982 to form a tenants' association representing all of Croxteth got disappointing initial results, far fewer residents coming to the early meetings than the total of residents who had attended sub-area associations (the Croxteth Tenants' Association has grown during 1984 and 1985, however, partially due to the unity generated by the occupation of the school). Thus even groups of tenants living in the same sort of areas on the estate have had trouble uniting over their common problems. But in general, evidence indicates that most adults tended to think of where they lived as 'Crocky', and far fewer references to particular areas of Croxteth come up in adult interviews than pupil interviews.

More important than territory, as sources of division and solidarity amongst the adults studied, were kinship and friendship networks. The scope of the field work done in Croxteth for this study was necessarily limited primarily to the actual occupation of the school and thus is not sufficient to map out kinship and friendship networks on the entire estate. The data obtained from the study does indicate that relations of kin and networks of loyalty sometimes based on kin (e.g., when two extended families establish a close relationship) were very important to the Croxteth campaign, forming the basis for both solidarity and

conflict. Loyalties of kin and friendship were established according to an ethic of solidarity which seemed to be present in the local culture.

In later descriptions of the actual campaign the role played by family networks will become clearer, but here a brief indication of their importance to the campaign will be provided in order to illustrate this feature of local culture. As we shall see, one of the key activists in the campaign was Phil Knibb, a resident with children at the Croxteth county primary school during the occupation who became the chairman of the Croxteth Community Action Committee which ran the campaign. After becoming involved along with Carol, his wife, Phil was able to call upon the help of no less than six brothers, most of them married with families of their own, for a large variety of services and contacts. One of these brothers was able to help to provide links to many trade union activists in the city, another offered his skills as an electrician for maintenance of the school buildings, another played a key role in day to day school affairs, and so on. All of the brothers got involved in the school initially out of loyalty to their brother Phil. In addition, another key family, the D'Arcys, came to play a major role in the school, although this time the network remained confined to three members of the nuclear family. The D'Arcys and the Knibbs became close friends and, as described in detail in chapters ahead, much of the informal status system of the activists in the occupied school was based on the social proximity of the volunteers with the Knibbs and/or D'Arcys.

Another large family network that became apparent during the campaign was the McArdles. For reasons not entirely clear to the researcher, this family got into a very antagonistic relationship to the Knibbs for a time, and open physical fights nearly broke out on several occasions. Initially, one of the young male McArdles, Marty, volunteered in the school kitchen and became respected for his consistent hard work. At one point during the occupation two of his brothers and a female friend were accepted as teachers in the school, teaching car maintenance, woodwork and cookery. These three, however, were not very dependable. After the brother responsible for car maintenance smashed his vehicle into the chemistry teacher's parked car, they were asked to leave. For this and a few other reasons, male members of the McArdles tried to 'call out' one of the Knibbs one night at a pub in order to physically assault him. The attempt failed when enough of the Knibbs turned up to seriously lessen the chance of an easy victory for the McArdles. On another occasion the McArdle in the kitchen felt himself threatened by members of the Knibb family for some reason and rang up some of his family and friends in Kirkby. A large number soon arrived in cars (one later told me that some of the cars had guns in them), obviously ready for battle, but verbal negotiations initiated by one of the Knibbs managed to dampen feelings enough to prevent a physical fight.

Other events indicate that kinship and friendship networks are important for the informal system of law and order on the estate.

During the occupation the school was broken into and some expensive equipment was stolen. Some of the parents occupying the school, with several of the Knibb's playing a key role, thought they had located the thieves and planned to handle the situation themselves rather than bring in the police. The impression made on the researcher was that those responsible for the theft were a group known to partake in such activities and that the Knibbs felt themselves capable of getting the items back. A combination of threats and negotiations managed to get some of the items returned without involving the police.

Cyril D'Arcy, the secretary of the Croxteth Community Action Committee, explained how problems with unwanted participants in the school occupation were dealt with just after the take-over of the buildings. Problems encountered included:

Theft, sexual promiscuity on a large scale by one female picket. Until someone had been found to have done wrong, it was difficult to decide who was undesirable. We were swift to expel or bar wrong doers. If the verbal approach was ignored, the community's Law of the Jungle was used. Time for niceties was a lunacy we didn't have.

These examples illustrate the occasional use of physical confrontation as a way of problem solving on the estate, sides often forming according to either family ties or friendship ties or both. Actual physical fights do occur in Croxteth but violence is much more commonly present as a *threatened possibility* in verbal disputes. References to possible violence occur often in verbal discourse and in very confrontative situations like the dispute between the Knibbs and the McArdles physical posturing will take place more as a ritual than as an actually intended act. The *meaning* of the reference and the rituals, of course, depends on the real possibility of physical violence, a *willingness* to see the threats through if necessary. Related to this confrontative style of interaction is a strong ethic of solidarity, of loyalty to your mates and your kin.

E) Adult-Youth Relationships:

Physical confrontation is also very much a theme in adult-youth relationships. Once again it is present as a *style* of interaction in which physical posturing and verbal threats serve mostly ritual purposes. The style is used to communicate affection as well as disapproval: 'I'll box your ears' can mean either a genuine threat, definitely to be carried out unless a certain behaviour ends or begins, or be an act of transmitting warmth, aimed at getting a smile. Often such references to violence have a meaning between these two extremes, an expression of disapproval with no actual intention of physical punishment. But the point is that violence is part of the style. Even where not intended it's present as a reference only because acts of physical violence do take place on the estate and those living there have from an early age experienced them.

This style of interaction corresponds to actual discipline techniques used on the estate by parents. A few examples taken from the context of the school but clearly indicating some parental practices common to the entire estate illustrate this. A volunteer teacher originating from outside Croxteth described an incident to me which typifies the more extreme end of the scale on parental attitudes to discipline on the estate. The teacher, Yola Jacobson, had been having consistent trouble with a particular pupil in her class. The father of this pupil was named Tommy, and he worked in the school as a volunteer every day:

She [the pupil] was just giving me hell in a class, just not doing any work, so I asked her to leave the room. Later I said to Tommy, 'Look I'm worried about Annette, she's not doing any work, she's being a nuisance'. He said, 'Well, you've got two hands, clip her'. I said, 'No, I don't hit kids'. He said 'I give you permission, you keep control! If you you've got two hands why can't you just whack them?! You call yourself a teacher?!'

Some time before this interview I myself had complained to Tommy about his son David, who was also very difficult in class, and I was told by Tommy that he'd 'have a word with him'. Later Tommy approached me in the school and said, 'O.K. I just hit David in the face about as hard as I could, next time you do it, you're the teacher'. I never complained to Tommy again.

There were other parents who expressed opinions similar to Tommy's:

I mean, if they were at home [her children], they were carrying on doing things that they shouldn't be doing, you'd whelp them yourself. ...I've told them [teachers] you know, if my son's giving cheek, or if he's carrying on, they can give 'em a belt, they can keep him behind, I don't mind. And when I find out myself, I find out what he's been doing, I whop him myself. And I think all parents should be the same.

Molly, Croxteth resident

But on the other end of the scale were parents who threatened to take their children out of Croxteth Comprehensive if any teacher used any form of physical punishment. Most adults observed ranged somewhere in between on physical punishment, often referring to it verbally when disciplining a child (or playing with one) but rarely using it.

Whether or not a particular adult uses physical punishment on children, however, the predominant style of interaction still frequently contains references to possible physical violence. It is a cultural feature of Croxteth which must not be confused with actual acts of physical coercion. Above all it serves as a ritual through which humour, disapproval, affection, and claims to authority are communicated. With respect to the last, claims to authority, the degree of skill an adult has with the style of interaction often determines how much authority s/he will have with a child. This is particularly true when the status of the adult is not clear. As we shall see (chapters ten, eleven and twelve), the volunteer teachers who came from outside of Croxteth to support the occupation by teaching were not perceived as parents, or an aunts, uncles, elderly people, or other status positions recognised in the culture, and as they were only just barely perceived as teachers, a good deal of negotiation

had to take place to determine how much authority they were granted by pupils.

To illustrate the ritual role played by verbal and physical references to possible violence in adult-youth interaction, the experience of Keith Leatherbarrow is revealing. Keith was an experienced youth worker who had grown up in Croxteth but who had later moved out to another area in town. He hadn't actually worked with Croxteth youth before when he offered to volunteer in the school. Keith was very large, strong, and not at all loath to use physical coercion on kids. But he was ineffective as a disciplinarian:

Keith: I still maintain that kids from around here are a different case [from the youth he normally works with] because most of them are 15 before they're 11. In a lot of ways they've very old heads on them.

P.C.: Street wise?

Keith: Oh yeah! It's really hard because they're up to everything. ... There's a lot of times when I've physically got to stop myself from getting a hold of a kid and smacking him around the back of the head, although, to be honest with you, sometimes I've just done it - there seems to be no other answer. ... I had a short spell [in the school's discipline class] and I really clobbered the kids. I was doing things with them I really shouldn't have done: stretching them up against the wall, on tip toe, hands behind their back, touch the wall only with your nose. ... But then I always got the impression they were asking me, 'O.K., what are you going to do about it?' And in the end I suppose it's knocking meself to say that I walked away from it, I couldn't come up with a solution, I didn't have an answer, so I left.

Keith wasn't skillful at the style of interaction which would win the consensus of the youth. He actually generated much resentment and consequently resistance by using physical sanctions to the extent that he did. It is the *symbolic* use of rough behaviour and language which establishes adult authority with children in Croxteth. The symbols work because violence is a real part of everyday life and is indeed at times used. But for the most part the symbols serve to establish and maintain an adult identity with the youth and hence, when successfully employed, establish an authority based on consent, not on coercion.

In the school, local volunteers proved themselves effective in establishing authority with youth by skilfully using this style. One was Joey Jacobs, volunteer P.E. teacher:

If you gain the respect of the kids there is no reason why you should have to punish them for anything anyway. You know I've never expressed it really, cause I just give em a little clout around the ear. Because it's a physical sport anyway we're teaching them, kids playing football, they'll kick me or they'll jump on me back and punch me but I'll accept that as part of the activities we're doing. And if he comes up to me I'll just give em a little nudge and he falls, he won't get up crying because that's the spirit of the kids.

Joey was very successful with the pupils in the school, and unlike Keith he seldom used real physical coercion though he often used it symbolically. Once, however, when a pupil called him a 'prick' behind his back, 'I just turned around and punched him in the face. I never had any more trouble

from him'. But such occasions were rare, and when they occurred they were apparently seen as appropriate by the pupils.

On the estate itself, Molly illustrates the same style when she speaks of her good rapport with neighbourhood children. Her comments are included to represent adult-youth styles of interaction when the adult is a female rather than a male. The styles are highly similar:

I've got no trouble, you know, where I live. If the children are carrying on you just go out and you chase them. Well, I used to go out with me slipper, when the lads would shout at me I'd run after them with the newspaper or the brush. So I've always been real involved with the kids.

...

I mean I don't have to shout, I just touch me foot like I'm going to take me slipper off and they say 'All right, all right'. You get the respect of them I think if you treat children with respect you get more respect off them.

Molly felt she got the respect from the children because of her manner with them which involved symbolic threats with a slipper or other object.

F) Gender Relations

Croxteth culture has its own forms of Western patriarchy. Women in Croxteth usually take the role of housewife and, when large numbers of women make up community organisations, as is the case with the tenants' associations and the committee which led the occupation, men usually occupy the higher status positions and control decision making.

There are a large number of quotations and observed incidents taken during the field work which illustrate the subordinate position of women in Croxteth culture. A few will be presented below to try to give some of the flavour of the forms in which patriarchal relationships exist on the estate.

A good way to establish a perspective on gender relations in Croxteth is to consider the experience of women coming from outside the estate to volunteer in the school. One such woman has been quoted in a different context already, Yola Jacobson. Yola had just graduated from the University of Edinburgh in history and had travelled all the way down to volunteer in the school. Her family was a professional-middle class one, both father and mother also active in left wing politics. After working in the school over seven months Yola got fed up and left the occupation. One of her reasons for doing so was the sexist attitudes she found on both the staff and the Croxteth estate. One complaint was that she had long asked to have a single classroom in which she could teach her history classes but, like all teachers except the science and art teachers, she had to move from classroom to classroom to teach (a policy adopted to prevent what was feared to be chaotic classroom changes every period by the pupils). She felt that sexist attitudes made it harder for her to get a room than some of the male teachers, a couple of whom had managed to break the general rule and have their own rooms. She also felt that her requests for items like books and other materials were not responded to (it was the action

committee's responsibility to supply teachers with materials) and again felt that male teachers got responses. She discussed the situation in an interview:

Yola: I've said it before, but I think it [the school] is rampant with sexism.

P.C.: The staff?

Yola: Yeah, staff and committee. You can't separate the two really. I've really felt that. I've really felt that when I make a noise and when I make a persistent nuisance of myself for something like a room. You see I haven't got a loud voice, I can't sort of lose my temper and make people physically afraid of me which in some ways is the only way things get done around here. And that's frustrating.

Yola felt constrained by men on both the staff and the Action Committee. The latter, she believed, felt conflict over her status as a woman and her status as a teacher. 'First of all there's a certain amount of awe for that [for the fact that she has a university education and is a teacher], but then I think there's a lot of, uh, "oh, they're just the same really, they're not really teachers anyway, they're women."' She also felt slightly oppressed by sexist attitudes held by the Croxteth women:

I remember one incident. I think it was Rose's baby. I was looking after Rose's baby while she took some music lessons and there was some kind of 'Oh, wait until you have one of your own' from Action Committee women. And my reaction was, 'I don't want one of my own thank you very much'. You know they are obviously sort of interested in that sort of thing.

P.C.: What did they do when you said that?

Oh they sort of said, 'Why not?', and I said 'I don't want to get married, because I'm young'. And there have also been sort of constant snide remarks like, 'Do you have a boy friend at home?' 'Why did you leave him to come here?' 'If not, why not, is she queer?' You know this sort of thing. They have to get you sussed out on that level first before they feel at ease with you and if your position is, 'Well actually that's none of your business', they feel very uneasy about that.

Yola's experiences were similar to those of several other women who came from outside of Croxteth and from a middle class socio-economic background. Several of these, like Yola, left the school after some time with sexism given as one of the primary reasons.

Yola's experiences indicate that Croxteth patriarchal relationships differ from the middle class patriarchal relationships she was used to. She felt the social environment to be more sexist. Her account points back toward the culture. Some incident's and comments from residents of Croxteth are given below to make the picture clearer:

One: Pat Brennen, a female resident of Croxteth volunteering in the school every day, gave some indication of her own attitude towards women:

Pat: See, one thing I've found, you know the fellows that have come here to picket, they start (pause), they sit with women all the time and they start jangling like women.

P.C.: So?

Pat: So, (pause), I don't know. It must do something to you to be with women all the time. ... You need the men, not just the women pulling each other to pieces all the time, [but] it just makes men into wallys.

Two: I was told by the male chairman of the Croxteth Community Action Committee about a committee which had formed on the estate a few years before. A certain individual was elected the chair of this committee, 'largely because he was the only male on it at the time'.

Three: Another male active in the school explains his admiration for the women working on the campaign because they not only work in the school all day but do all the mundane work of the home as well:

When I go home my wife's there with my tea, and it's all ready and everything like that for me you know what I mean? And I sit down and I start eating it. And then she does the dishes after I get home, she does the washing up after I get home, she does the washing up for the kids, for the next day or whatever. And I think it's these people who make people want to fight.

This man admired the women for the extra work they did but didn't question the family division of labour which the extra activities of his wife may have led him to do. It was just taken for granted that she would continue to do all the domestic work herself.

Four: A woman working everyday in the school as a cleaner was questioned in interview:

P.C.: What does your family think of all your work for the school?

Mrs. Johnstone: They're glad to see the backside of me. It doesn't bother them. As long as I get their teas it's okay.

Most of the women working in the school did have to run between school and home to make sure the house was kept clean and the family had its meals.

Five: In some cases, however, initially reluctant husbands began helping with the work at home.

It got to the point where he [her husband] said to me, 'It's got to be me or that school'. So I said, 'O.K., it'll have to be the school then'. Now he does a lot more of the work at home.

G) Life in Croxteth: a summary

The features of Croxteth culture described above all were drawn upon by participants in the campaign for Croxteth Comprehensive in ways which shaped many features of the campaign. We began by noting both divisions and sentiments of solidarity amongst residents in Croxteth. In another chapter we shall describe the role played by Croxteth Comprehensive in symbolising solidarity on the estate and overcoming divisions based on housing areas. The sentiment of solidarity was an enormous resource upon which the campaign was to form, as were pre-existing kinship and friendship networks. We also described the discontent felt on the estate, a

discontent which the closure of the school was to focus and unite people around. Adult-youth authority relations on the estate are essential to understand in order to explain some of the complex social relationships which were formed within the occupied school. They were one of the conditions drawn upon in the institutionalisation of the school. Youth culture, similarly, was brought into the school in specific ways as Croxteth pupils formed routine relationships with teachers and other adults. Gender relations partly underlay the informal authority structure of the Croxteth Community Action Committee and were tacitly draw upon during interpersonal conflicts which occurred between teachers and parents.

Finally, the interpretive descriptions in the above section are related to the more quantitative ones of the first section. The youth culture, the sentiments of solidarity and anger, the frequent reference to violence in local discourse, all existed in relationship to material conditions on the estate. Youth culture is at least partially an adaptation to conditions of unemployment, lack of facilities, and a fairly stark physical environment. Both the identity and corresponding solidarity shared by residents on the estate, and the bitterness and conflicts existing between residents over housing conditions are clearly in relation to the harsh living conditions endured by many, but importantly not by all, on the estate. In other words there is clearly a close relationship between the lived culture of Croxteth and the material conditions in which that culture is produced and reproduced.

The material conditions in Croxteth, moreover, are related to the history of Liverpool given in the last chapter. Croxteth is a social and physical environment created by the political decision taken first in the 1930s and implemented through the 1960s to develop the periphery of Liverpool. And this decision was taken, in turn, as an attempt to cope with the social and economic problems we've reviewed. The concentration of unemployment, poor facilities and bad housing in the peripheral council estate of Croxteth is partially a consequence of the class structure of capitalism mediated through urban planning decisions made by the government of Liverpool.

III) Croxteth Comprehensive:

Croxteth Comprehensive was formed in 1966 by amalgamating two secondary modern schools: Croxteth Secondary Girls and Croxteth Secondary Boys. The two buildings are separated by a 22 acre playing field. It was the only county secondary school on the estate although until 1983 there were four Catholic secondary schools and two of these have remained after the 1983 Catholic reorganisation.

As we have seen, Croxteth was one of Liverpool's unfortunate comprehensives, suffering a combination of city-wide drops in rolls and a city-wide pattern of parental choice which favoured schools in the wealthier suburban areas. Croxteth Comprehensive was suffering one of the steepest declines in rolls of all schools in the city by the late 1970's.

Designed for 750 pupils, it had only 513 or 68% of its places filled in 1982. The numbers of pupils entering the school each year had fallen from approximately 120 at the beginning of the decade to under 90 by 1977. Entry numbers roughly stabilised after 1977, an average of 83 coming each year after to the time of its closure in 1982.

In 1980, one third of all Croxteth parents with children attending the comprehensive's main feeder-primaries were choosing to send their children outside of the estate. The three main schools they were sending them to were Alsop Boys, Queen Mary Girls, both voluntary schools, and Ellergreen Comprehensive (Interview with Kenneth Antcliffe, Dec. 1983). In interviews with people sympathetic to Croxteth Comprehensive and opposed to its closure, two main reasons for this large percentage of parents choosing other schools were usually given: one was the stigma of the Croxteth Estate and the other was the attitude of the head teacher of Croxteth Primary School, Mr Evans. Mr Evans was consistently reported to encourage parents of his pupils to send children out of Croxteth to give them a better opportunity. The stigma argument was summed up well in an interview with the former head teacher of Croxteth Comprehensive, George Smith, who described a meeting he had had with the Liberal leader of Liverpool city council in 1980:

I met with Trevor Jones around the time of the education meeting [in December 1980] and he made the comment that if he were hiring and two applicants came to him with equal O levels and A levels, and one of these came from Croxteth and the other came from some other school, he wouldn't hire the one from Croxteth. I think this is the name Croxteth has had you know, the area is dark in the eyes of most people in Liverpool.

George Smith, former headteacher of Croxteth
Comprehensive

Those interviewed who did not favour the school tended to emphasise that Croxteth did not have as good examination results as other schools in Liverpool. In 1981, for example, only 22% of all CSE entries were passed, 29% of all O level entries were passed. Only nine pupils made an entry for O level mathematics and only one of these passed with mark C. Ex-teachers from Croxteth, teachers from Yew Tree Comprehensive (a school located in an outer city area with similar problems), and teachers from Ellergreen Comprehensive when interviewed explained the poor performance of Croxteth Comprehensive on examinations in terms of the creaming effect discussed in the last chapter. They pointed to the downward spiral created when motivated parents send their children to more prestigious schools: examination results drop because very often these are the same parents who provide conducive learning environments in their home, more parents send their children elsewhere as a result, examination results again fall, and so on.

Most people interviewed on the Croxteth Community Action Committee, of the old teaching staff, and the Liverpool Director of Education, however, expressed high regard for Croxteth Comprehensive. Of course one would expect positive descriptions from members of the Action Committee. But the

accounts keep coming back to the same basic points and they are corroborated by the accounts given by former teaching staff and the Director of Education, who called Croxteth Comprehensive: 'Excellent, given its area and circumstances'. It seems fair to conclude that Croxteth Comprehensive was highly regarded by the parents who sent their children to it. Kathy Donovan, full time volunteer in the school during the occupation and a former pupil of the school herself gave a typical description of what it was like:

It was very good. There was no bullies or anything like that. I mean I'm not just saying that, there really wasn't If there was they would be stamped on immediately and they would make sure that it never happened again with that person. Also, each teacher, headmaster and headmistress knew every single pupil, personality wise and all that. They did. The teaching staff in the school were here for 14, 15 years. They weren't just coming in and going, so right through school you knew them - you knew them as a friend.

Two aspects of this description recurred in most of the accounts taken in interview: the school was highly disciplined and its staff provided a lot of personal attention to pupils. Nearly all of the residents interviewed described the school as disciplined and considered this very positive. 'Discipline was drummed into us' said resident and former pupil Ned Kelly, 'They'd look after you. They'd give you a lot of opportunity there - it was great.'

Sharon, a pupil in the 4th year at the time of the closure of Croxteth Comprehensive, had begun her first year at Ellergreen. She describes below what happened:

I hated Ellergreen, it's a horrible school, it's just not nice. The buildings are not as nice as these. The upper building, that's not bad but the lower building's got bars on the windows like a prison. ... And when I came here with me Mom, Mr Bernicoff (former deputy-head of Croxteth Comprehensive) give me a cup of tea, give me Mom a cup of tea, biscuits and everything. It was dead friendly and warm. That was what the school was like you know coming into it. It was great coming here.

Molly, quoted in the section preceding this one, said that 'Before the school closed the discipline was alright. It was marvellous.'

These accounts not only indicate the positive evaluation of the school by those acquainted with it but also the standards by which they judged good schooling generally. Discipline, school uniforms, proper regard for school authority all ranked high. Children were caned 'when necessary'. At the same time, close attention was given to pupils and parents were welcomed into the school for visits. In short, it was very much a school run on traditional lines, maintaining discipline in a tough area, and noted for its caring attitude for individual pupils:

It was a marvellous school. There were no, (pause), it wasn't progressive in any way. We did once have many years ago one of those progressive teachers: 'just call me Joe', something like this. We got rid of him, because the staff was beautifully dressed and the children were beautifully

dressed. ... The local cowboys may break every window in the district , but not at the school.

George Smith

In addition, Croxteth Comprehensive served many community functions. The school was used as a youth club and operated services for the elderly at times during the year. Its large playing fields were used for sports activities by all ages and for community fairs and other events. Interviewee after interviewee claimed that Croxteth Comprehensive was the only real facility on the estate. George Smith again provided a description:

Well you see, this area has been described as a desert. It's a desert in many ways: it's a cultural desert, it's an entertainment desert, it's one of those estates which has been built in the last 25 years where they put up the houses and nothing else. And this school became, (pause), parents were coming to me with their problems - nothing to do with the school - , for filling in forms for the DHSS or family allowances and so on. It was the only place they could come to and it was one hell of a good school. ...

George Smith was highly regarded as headteacher of the school by parents and by his staff alike. His ability to keep discipline and his stern but caring relationship to pupils was valued. When Croxteth Comprehensive closed and the former teaching staff had to take jobs in other comprehensive schools, many were dissatisfied. Of the six former teachers interviewed during the research, only one didn't express regrets at having to leave the school.

To summarise, the words of George Smith once more:

My best teachers took the slowest learners. On rainy days we'd arrange to pick up the children in cars. ... I worked my fingers to the bone for this school, weekends, all night. I never had any social life, my life was the school. Kids loved it. Oh they knew if they misbehaved they'd get it, there were no bones about it. But they accepted it. If you're capable of getting six O levels and three A levels you're going to get them. If you want help in basic subjects then you'll get help. But you've got to work. ... The youngest child in this school is as important as the headmaster, and we've got to treat one another like that, and if anybody steps out of line and doesn't, then heaven help them.

Chapter Eight
THE BATTLE BEGINS

This chapter is concerned with the first phase of the campaign for Croxteth Comprehensive, covering the events which took place between November 1980 and November 1981. The specific events leading to the closure of the school are described, as are the early activities of parents and staff trying to prevent it. The description is followed by two sections of analysis: a careful consideration of the closure of the school which is theoretically oriented around the concepts of power and structure, and an analysis of the early development of the protest movement which makes use of a number of concepts developed by the resource management school (chapter three).

In both analytical sections much is said about *logic* and *strategy*, and the conditions which laid out specific fields in which goal-rational decisions had to be taken. This is appropriate for the level of analysis intended in this chapter. The perspectives of the politician and the movement organiser are taken as our viewpoint. Moreover, certain structural priorities are implied as well. What we have called the 'structural location' of the local government of Liverpool (chapter six) established a specific agenda within which participants in the battle had to make their decisions. The institution of local government, including its formal channels for registering grievances, operates through conscious decision making processes. The agenda towards which decision making must address itself can be analysed in terms of all three dimensions of power: formal and informal access to political decision making, and the origins of the agenda itself in the structural position of local government. The closure of Croxteth Comprehensive took place with respect to a field of *possible* rational decisions which had origins outside the immediate spheres of influence enjoyed by all participants in the struggle. This field, this structurally produced agenda, could itself be challenged only if it was explicitly politicised, and then only if an adequate power base existed. The agenda was itself an expression of power over the activities of the politicians and Croxteth residents which are the subject of this study. During phase one the agenda itself presented conditions which made its politicization an improbable *strategy*, for reasons thoroughly explored below.

1 The Closure of Croxteth Comprehensive

We left our history of the educational crisis which first confronted Liverpool during the mid 1970s with the rejection by Shirley Williams of a plan put forward by the Reorganisation and Development Subcommittee of the Liverpool Education Committee in 1979. In June 1980 the Reorganisation and Development Subcommittee was reformed as a working party and began to discuss new proposals for county secondary organisation. The working party was chaired by the Liberal Chairman of the Education Committee, Michael Storey. Mr Storey was also the counsellor for the ward in which Ellergreen Comprehensive lies, Morris Green. Morris Green lies adjacent to Gillmoss, the electoral ward in which the Croxteth Housing Estate lies.

On Monday, 10 November 1982, the early afternoon edition of the Liverpool Daily Echo announced a plan, said to have been agreed upon by the Reorganisation Working Party, to close Croxteth Comprehensive and merge it with Ellergreen Comprehensive two miles away. This was the first indication of any such plan that the staff and parents of Croxteth Comprehensive had had. This was also the very day of the Working Party meeting where the plan was put forth as a proposal. The afternoon edition of the paper must have gone to press sometime that morning but the Working Party's meeting was scheduled for 2:00 P.M.. Who leaked the plan to the papers remains unknown, and the reason why the source of the leak was so certain the proposal would be approved before it was actually discussed by the committee made the matter seem suspicious to the parents and staff of Croxteth Comprehensive: 'There must have been something fishy about it because it appeared in a paper which a teacher had read at four o'clock!', said ex-headmaster George Smith.

Thanks to carefully kept records of meetings, copies of letters, proposals, and other documents kept by Cyril D'Arcy, the secretary of the parent's action committee, it is possible to trace in detail the events which followed. Two days after the article in the Daily Echo, the staff of Croxteth Comprehensive sent a request to the Liverpool Education Committee for more information on the proposed closure. The staff claimed in interviews that this request was never honoured. On the 13th, the Education Committee sent a letter to the education officer in Norris Green, which neighbours Croxteth, for a nominal roll of all pupils attending Croxteth Comprehensive: no such request was ever sent to George Smith or any one else on the school staff.

George Smith called a meeting for parents concerned about the closure plan on Friday, the 14th of November. Despite bad weather, 650 parents turned up. A parent's committee of roughly twelve members was established to organise resistance to the closure. Its name was the Croxteth Parent's Action Group. Its first secretary was Charles Wallace, a local resident working as a security officer for Dunlop's who was also chairman of the school's board of governors. The first chair of the committee was Vic Rhodes, a local resident and shift worker, who was later replaced during the first phase of the campaign by Tony Blair, a menswear shop manager. Thus opposition to the plan was to be conducted by two separate groups, parents and staff members. These groups remained autonomous, though communication between them was good.

On Thursday, the 20th of November, Head Teacher George Smith received a letter from the Liverpool Education Committee which mentioned the amalgamation plan without giving much explanation. On the same day several parents came to see Mr Smith at the school with letters they had received from the Education Committee explaining the amalgamation proposal and requesting comments. The letters all had return envelopes and requested the parent's opinion. George Smith reacted by sending a circular out to parents urging them to send in their comments. George Smith said that the letters had gone out to parents of 480 or 490 pupils, 'and I got 390 back through me. Every one said that they wanted their children to remain here.'

Yet no further consultation with parents was ever arranged, and no attempt to visit the estate to hold a meeting with parents so that the closure could be explained was made.

Parents and staff were very bitter about what they saw as a circumvention of the consultation process. Absolutely no consultation was made with either parents or staff in formulating the closure plan. Consultation was not part of the plans' rationale, nor part of the research which presumably was carried out before formulating the proposal. The letters came out after the proposal was first voted on, and the use of letters, rather than a meeting where the proponents of closure could have met face to face with the parents effected, was seen as extremely cowardly. These points were put to Director of Education Kenneth Antcliffe:

What had happened, and what had happened during the difficult consultative processes undertaken during the previous instances [previous proposals to close down schools] was that the Liberal Party had come to the conclusion that holding consultative meetings, although it sounded fine, was really not very constructive. Because if you then consult somebody about a proposal to close their particular school, you could be guaranteed fierce opposition. And that again has been shown on consultation on the recent package of socialist party proposals. Every consultative meeting is a battle. In the case of Croxteth they decided that rather than hold a consultative meeting, (pause), other than with the governors and staff, - teaching and non-teaching, they would not go through that process with the parents, but instead would write to each and every parent and seek on an individual basis, a response.

The consultative meeting with governors and staff, however, was not initiated by the Education Committee but was rather forced upon them through pressure of the NUT, which registered a formal complaint that proper consultation had not been adhered to. When this meeting did occur in January (see description below), it was not attended by Michael Storey.

The activities of Education Committee Chairman Michael Storey were very much a sore point to staff and parents in Croxteth. Time after time he displayed what appeared to be a very cavalier and arrogant attitude towards the community. His use of letters instead of calling a meeting, his absence from the only meeting which was held (and held only because of NUT pressure), his refusal to reply to several letters sent by the teaching staff after the announcement of the closure plan, and various statements he made to the press were found to be infuriating. With respect to the last point, statements made to the press, as late as September 1983 Michael Storey was quoted in the Liverpool Echo as saying that the decision to close Croxteth Comprehensive had been 'preceded by massive consultation'. David Alton, when asked about this, said 'That was a lie!'. George Smith recalled an earlier incident with Michael Storey:

One of my staff talked to the then secretary of the Education Committee [Michael Storey] and came back with the story that he had visited the school several times and that the closure had been 'well thought-out and planned'. Well, I wrote him and pointed out that I wasn't aware of any visits and the letter I got back from him said something like this: it is not for me to question his visits to the school and he doesn't have to let anyone know when he comes.

The school staff drafted a six page document arguing against the closure of the school and sent it to the Education Committee on the 22nd of November. Among other things, this letter argued that recent investments in the school buildings at Croxteth would be wasted if the buildings were simply closed down. It compared the buildings in Croxteth with those of Ellergreen Comprehensive and suggested that, aside from new sixth form facilities and a new sport's hall at Ellergreen, Croxteth's facilities were on the whole superior. The letter pointed out that the distance to Ellergreen from Croxteth is far (two miles) and would make transportation to the new site a difficult burden for local residents. It noted that Croxteth residents already have to leave their estate to sign on the dole, do their shopping, and attend recreational centres. Finally, the letter ended with several warnings: it claimed that parents might condone the truancy of their children from school if the amalgamation went through, and it predicted that acts of civil disobedience could take place.

The Education Committee's response was to invite George Smith and several teachers to a meeting with Trevor Jones, Liberal Leader of the City. This meeting took place on the 25th. Those present from Croxteth felt dissatisfied with the attitude of the city leader, who made his comment about not wishing to hire a pupil from Croxteth (chapter seven). The meeting ended with Trevor Jones inviting the staff to submit alternative plans to the merger within four days.

A committee of the Croxteth Comprehensive teaching staff wrote a long document in the next few days which elaborated on the arguments already presented in their earlier letter. The arguments in this document fall into a few main categories:

- 1) The Croxteth Site and Facilities are Superior to Ellergreen. This argument includes the fact that Croxteth has a 32 acre playing field while Ellergreen has none, that Croxteth has better laboratories and eating areas which were recently modernised at some expense, and the fact that Ellergreen's two buildings are separated by a dual carriage way which makes travel between them dangerous for pupils.
- 2) The Croxteth Area is unusually deprived and requires the school for reasons of social need. Here the staff pointed out the high unemployment rate in Croxteth, the general lack of facilities on the estate other than the school and the extra difficulties which transporting children to a school two miles away would entail for parents already suffering from general conditions of deprivation.
- 3) Within 4 to 8 years many new pupils could be expected. The staff pointed out that the Croxteth Housing Estate is growing with the refurbishment of a number of flats and the building of an adjacent new housing estate, Croxteth Park, which was expected to add over 4,000 new homes to the area by 1996.

- 4) Though not exactly an argument against closure in itself, the document makes much of the lack of consultation given to the community before this proposal was formulated.

The long letter also suggests three alternative plans to the closure, each one aimed to make building space more cost-effective:

- 1) Croxteth Comprehensive could be amalgamated with a local primary school.
- 2) The YOP scheme and the Return and Learn scheme already existing in the school buildings could be expanded.
- 3) One of the two buildings could be closed to locate the Comprehensive entirely in the other until the expected rise in pupil numbers from the new housing estate would make it necessary to use both buildings once again.

The staff letter pointed out that the school could be redesigned to meet wider social needs than education alone and it suggested renaming the school 'Croxteth Hall Community School' accordingly. The presence of the name 'Hall' in the proposed new name was no doubt a tactic to reduce the stigma adhering to Croxteth Comprehensive. Croxteth Hall is an old manor house located adjacent to the housing estate which was formerly owned by the Earl of Sefton and is now a museum. The tactic of changing the names of schools carrying a stigma was proposed in Liverpool for a number of schools during the debates over reorganisation during the late 1970s (interview with David Alton, November 1983).

On 1 December the Education Committee voted on the proposals drafted by their working party. The proposal to amalgamate Croxteth and Ellergreen Comprehensives on the latter's site was passed. So was a proposal to close Paddington Comprehensive and to amalgamate other schools, the Liverpool Boys and Liverpool Girls Institutes, in its buildings; plus a proposal to increase the annual intake of the Edge Hill County Secondary School from three forms of entry to four from September 1981. It is easy to recognise the logic of the parental choice argument working behind these proposals: close the undersubscribed schools in the inner and outer city and expand the capacity of the more popular secondary schools. These proposals were to be presented to the City Council on the 28th of December but the letter from the NUT registering a dispute against the Education Committee blocked their presentation. The letter based the dispute on the failure of the Education Committee to consult with the teaching and ancillary staff of Croxteth Comprehensive.

The Education Committee next took steps to fully meet the consultation requirement by calling a meeting between representatives of the LEA and itself with school staff for the 7th of January, 1981. The minutes of the 7 January consultation meeting present a cynical picture of the consultation procedure. Director of Education Kenneth Antcliffe reviewed the reasons for the closure proposal: they fell into three categories already summarised

above - demographic, educational and financial. He assured the staff present that no redundancies were to be made. George Smith gave a review of the lack of courtesy displayed by the LEA and maintained that this meeting was not his idea of a consultation procedure. He explained that he had written five letters but had received only one reply. This single reply had given little explanation of the proposal except to say that Ellergreen was believed superior because it contained a newer 6th form facility and a sports hall. He further complained that the chairman of the Working Party, Michael Storey, wasn't present. Edward Roderick, one of three labour councillors for the area, said that Croxteth had many social needs which were being met by the school - Croxteth has a community identity which the school was helping to maintain. Other people present joined George Smith in complaining about the lack of genuine consultation and the absence of Michael Storey from this meeting. A couple of staff members present said that the sale of the playing fields would cause much resentment in the community, although no one from the working party mentioned any plans to sell the land. Finally, a representative of LASPA (Liverpool Association of Parents) present declared that the meeting was a farce and the proceedings ended shortly afterwards. The meeting thus served the purpose of verbally airing the arguments on both sides and allowing some of the resentment felt by staff members to be expressed, but little more. It did nothing to contribute to or alter in any way the plan formulated by the Liberal Party. No proposals, resolutions, future meetings or anything concrete emerged from the meeting.

These minutes are the earliest documentary evidence of the belief on the part of staff members and Croxteth residents that the local government intended to sell off the school land to private developers and that this was part of the reason for the closure proposals. In interviews many people expressed this belief that the land would be developed by real estate agents to create a new housing area. Cyril D'Arcy explained:

We had reliable but unsubstantiated information that part of the Liberal's re-organisation plans were to sell off the Croxteth playing fields for development.

On the 28th of January the City Council met and voted in favour of closing the school by a majority of four. The proposal was brought up at 11:30 P.M., officially as 'post-business', and, ostensibly to prevent the council meeting from going on too late into the night, no discussion was allowed on the proposal. Most Liberal and Conservative councillors voted in favour, Labour councillors against. The fact that the proposal was brought up so late, and that conditions of no discussion were imposed, once again gave the strong impression of railroading tactics being used by the Liberals.

Cyril D'Arcy explained the alliance of the Conservative and Liberal parties over the issue of Croxteth Comprehensive in response to a list of questions sent him years later by post. One of the questions in the letter asked what the basis of the Conservative Party's support for the Liberal plan was:

Deal to be done: The Liverpool Girls' and Boys' Institute were in need of new premises. Both were selective schools,

supported by the Conservatives. Close Paddington as a comprehensive because it was undersubscribed - hand the buildings over to the Institute to relocate.

Although Cyril D'Arcy's theories on both the intentions of the Liberal Party to sell the Croxteth playing fields and the basis of the Conservative-Liberal alliance over the closure of Croxteth Comprehensive couldn't be verified during the research, both were widely believed. It seems especially likely that the Conservatives were particularly interested in saving the Liverpool Boy's and Girl's Institutes and that this portion of the reorganisation package was the one they were most anxious to see through.

While the staff and the LEA thus parried over the closure, parents took steps of their own to try to stop the amalgamation. After the first meeting on the 14th of November when the Croxteth Parent's Action Group was formed, parents began writing letters to local councillors and attending city council and education committee meetings. Close contact was kept with the teaching staff and their documents were carefully studied by members of the parent's committee like Cyril D'Arcy, but the two groups worked separately. The committee circulated a petition against the closure which got 6,000 signatures from the Croxteth Estate. It was submitted to city council on the 17th of December.

To a large extent the parents depended on the staff to be their ideological vanguard in the fight. The staff drew up the alternative proposals and formulated the major criticisms of the Liberal plan. The parents made use of these formulations in their lobbying activities.

After the 28th January council vote, however, the parents' committee began to take more action on its own. A meeting was called for 2 February to discuss strategy. It was decided to lobby the Secretary of State for Education, Mark Carlisle, who had final say on the council decision. Cyril D'Arcy wrote to Carlisle on the 5th of February to explain the case for keeping the school open. He ended his arguments with a warning that the parents of Croxteth were militant and had 'no intention of relinquishing what is rightly theirs, even if it means having to take extreme measures'. His letter also invited Mr Carlisle to visit the school. At the same time, Mr D'Arcy requested the MP for the Croxteth area, SDP member Eric Ogden, to arrange a meeting between a parents' delegation and the Secretary of State for Education.

Eric Ogden responded to Cyril D'Arcy with a letter dated the 9th of February. In it he agreed to talk to both Rhodes Boyson, the Parliamentary Under Secretary of State for Education, and Mark Carlisle, and to arrange a meeting with a deputation of parents. But he insisted that the deputation represent parents from all schools in Liverpool effected by the Liberal's proposals and not just from Croxteth.

The teaching staff remained active in the campaign after the 28th January vote as well. The Liverpool City Solicitor signed the council decision to close Croxteth on the 10th of February. A section twelve

notice with the legally required invitation for objections (to be submitted within two months), was posted as required by law. The teaching staff sent a list of objections to the Director of Education in March. Their objections elaborated on the points previously made in writing before the council vote:

- Lack of proper consultation with parents (no attempt to meet with them personally), with staff (short notice for the 7 January meeting and total lack of response to objections sent by staff representatives on several occasions), and absolutely no consultation with non-teaching staff. Moreover, there was no consultation with the parents and staff at Ellergreen.
- Inadequate distribution of the section twelve notices announcing the intention to close the school and invite consultation.
- Poor choice of the site of amalgamation. On this point the staff pointed out physical deficiencies of the Ellergreen buildings and demanded an expert to make an analysis.
- Environmental needs in Croxteth for a school go beyond considerations of pupil numbers.

On the 2nd of April the school governors of Croxteth Comprehensive registered their objections to the section twelve notice. Their objections mirror almost exactly those of the staff: there was a lack of proper consultation preceding the passing of the proposal and the social conditions in Croxteth necessitated a school there:

...in terms of the social and cultural life and needs of Croxteth this proposal is tantamount to executive vandalism of the most cynical kind.

The parents sent a delegation to London to meet with Mark Carlisle later in April. This meeting had been arranged with the aid of Eric Ogden but took place only with delegates from Croxteth, rather than with city-wide representatives as originally planned, because other delegates had visited London ahead of schedule. At the end of this meeting delegates reported indications of sympathy from Mark Carlisle and were hopeful that he'd decide in their favour.

However, the situation in Liverpool changed during the summer. Riots broke out in Toxteth, the inner city community from which many pupils attending Paddington Comprehensive come. After the riots Michael Heseltine, Secretary of State for the Environment at the time, visited Liverpool and was told by the Liverpool Eight Defence Committee (representing Toxteth) that removal of Paddington Comprehensive would fuel conditions for future riots. Heseltine reportedly passed this information over to the Department of Education. The Secretary of State for Education changed, moreover, during this period from Mark Carlisle to Sir Keith Joseph. Keith Joseph decided to keep Paddington open but to approve the proposal to close Croxteth Comprehensive. Many people in Croxteth believed that because of

the Toxteth riots, Croxteth was sacrificed for the sake of Paddington. David Alton agreed with this:

P.C.: Now this is a historical point. Some people have told me that after Croxteth Comprehensive had been voted for closure Mark Carlisle, the Secretary of State for Education at the time, had indicated that he probably wouldn't shut it down, that Paddington was going to be shut but not Croxteth. But then the riots in Toxteth resulted in Paddington staying open and this caused Croxteth to be closed instead.

Alton: I believe that is absolutely true. I think also the replacement of Mark Carlisle by Keith Joseph had a major impact on this. It was Rhodes Boyson who was actually dealing with these proposals. I went and made representations to him at the time, and I'll never forget, after the riots, being taken to one side in the lobby, during a vote, and he said to me, 'would you have a drink with me in my office after the vote?' And I did, the only time a minister has asked me to have a drink with him, and he told me he'd lost the battle with Sir Keith Joseph, that he'd battled to close Paddington and to save other schools. ... I don't know what he thought about Croxteth, it wasn't necessarily Croxteth he meant when he said other schools, but I think that when people say it was a toss up between Paddington and Croxteth they actually are right. I'm sure, I think that is the case, but I can't prove that.

On the 30th of November, 1981, a letter was sent from the office of Keith Joseph to the Liverpool LEA stating the secretary's decision to keep Paddington Comprehensive open and to close Croxteth Comprehensive. During this same period the Croxteth teaching staff began to apply for jobs at other school sites for the next Autumn, most of them accepting defeat in their efforts to keep Croxteth Comprehensive open. Charles Wallace resigned from the parents' committee and the board of governors of the school do to ill health. He was replaced in his secretarial post by Cyril D'Arcy. Croxteth Comprehensive was due to close at the end of the 1981/82 school year. Phase I of the campaign for Croxteth Comprehensive had ended.

Summary of Events, November 1980 - November 1981:

- 10 November, 1980
- 10:00 A.M.: the afternoon edition of the Liverpool Daily Echo goes to press with an article announcing the plan to close Croxteth Comprehensive.
- 2:00 P.M.: The Secondary Reorganisation Working Party meets, chaired by Liberal Michael Storey. The committee agrees, among other things, to present a proposal to close Croxteth Comprehensive at the next full Education Committee meeting.
- 11 November, 1980
- The staff of Croxteth Comprehensive agree to the nominations of six members to a committee in opposition to closure.
- 14 November, 1980
- A public meeting is held in the school buildings attended by approximately 650 parents. A committee of roughly twelve members is elected to represent the parents and work against the closure.
- 1 December, 1980
- The Education Committee votes in favour of closure by one vote. Michael Storey uses his casting vote to break a draw.

- 8 December, 1980
The local NUT (the 'Liverpool Teacher's Association') registers a dispute against the Liverpool Education Committee for making proposals without proper consultation procedures being followed.
- 17 December, 1980
A petition circulated by the Parents' Action Group and bearing 6,000 signatures is submitted to the City Council to oppose the closure plans.
- 7 January, 1981
A consultation meeting is held in the buildings of Croxteth Comprehensive. Michael Storey doesn't attend. No resolutions or proposals are generated.
- 28 January, 1981
The City Council votes for the closure of Croxteth Comprehensive at 11:20 P.M. The proposal passes by a majority of 4 votes under conditions of no discussion.
- 9 February, 1981
Cyril D'Arcy writes to Secretary of State for Education Mark Carlisle asking him to visit the school and/or receive a delegation. Warns that parents are 'militant'.
- 10 February, 1981
The Liverpool Deputy City Solicitor, W.I. Murray, signs the official document closing Croxteth Comprehensive. A two month period is established in which objections can be submitted.
- 23 March, 1981
SDP MP for Gillmoss area Eric Ogden requests Mark Carlisle to meet a joint delegation of parents from Liverpool.
- 26 March, 1981
Cyril D'Arcy's request for a visit from the Secretary of State for Education is refused in a letter from Mrs Rudd of the DES. Lack of time is the reason given.
- April 1981
M.P. Eric Ogden's efforts to arrange a meeting between Mark Carlisle and a parent's delegation is successful. Cyril D'Arcy, present at the meeting, felt the Secretary was sympathetic. An expectation that the closure will be rejected results in the Parents' Action Group.
- Summer 1981
Riots break out in Toxteth.
- November 1981
Dr Rhodes Boyson, Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for Education, visits Liverpool to observe the schools effected by the reorganisation plan. He doesn't visit Croxteth Comprehensive, causing resentment amongst the parents.
- 25 November, 1981
Secretary of the Parents Action Committee Charles Wallace resigns due to ill health. Cyril D'Arcy replaces him.
- 30 November, 1981
The Parents' Action Group receives a letter from the DES stating that the department had considered all information and objections relevant to the closure of Croxteth Comprehensive School and had approved the plan. Teachers drop out of campaign.

II The Closure Analysed

A) Why was Croxteth Comprehensive in particular closed?

Given the Liberal Party's ideology of educational provision (parental choice), and the fact that Liberals were nominally in control of Liverpool during 1980, the condition of falling rolls and parental choices to send their children to schools other than Croxteth Comprehensive made the school a logical target for closure. In addition, George Smith, the head teacher, was due for retirement within a year or two and research into primary school closures in Liverpool by Fergusson and Brown (1982) shows that most of the primary schools chosen to close had heads near retirement. A head at the end of her or his career will be less likely to resist a closure than a head in the middle of it, and retirement solves the problem of having to demote someone. The Croxteth Comprehensive teaching staff, moreover, were by and large not members of the NUT but rather of the less militant NASUV. This was suggested as another reason for choosing Croxteth by an ex-teacher at the school. Ellergreen's staff, by contrast, was well organised by the NUT and it may have been feared that it would have put up a stronger fight.

Ellergreen's fall in school rolls was at exactly the same rate as Croxteth's (see figure 7-2), so one might wonder why, once the idea of an amalgamation of these two schools came up, Ellergreen, rather than Croxteth was the chosen site. One reason given by the Liberals was that Ellergreen's over-all numbers were higher than Croxteth's (figure 7-2). This meant that the identical rates of depopulation had worse educational effects, by Liberal and Conservative arguments, in Croxteth than in Ellergreen, and that the closure of Croxteth Comprehensive would require the displacement of fewer pupils than the closure of Ellergreen would. Another reason could have been the difference in the dominant unions in each school as we've mentioned already.

Undoubtedly the position of Michael Storey as chairman of the Education Committee at the time, and as councillor for the Ellergreen constituency, gave him the combination of an interest in choosing Croxteth over Ellergreen Comprehensive for closure, and the power of pursuing it. Both schools had declining rolls and both could have been singled out for closure on Liberal Party arguments. But it would have been politically dangerous for Michael Storey to argue for the closure of a school in his own constituency, and such political pressure couldn't help but influence his decision. And a merger between the two schools in Ellergreen's buildings would boost Ellergreen's numbers and thus ensure its own future. Moreover, Michael Storey was just one of three Liberal councillors who represented the Clubmore ward in which Ellergreen lies at the time, and one of the other two was the ex-chairman of the board of governors of Ellergreen (see Private Eye, 30/7/82 for a cynical commentary on these facts).

In a letter to the Reverend Ian Brooks, vicar of St. Paul's Croxteth, Michael Storey claimed he felt almost indifferent to the question of which school ought to close:

I am not terribly bothered as to where the [new] school should be sited, but on balance I feel that Ellergreen is the better proposition.

Ian Brooks commented in interview that 'Ellergreen is the better proposition because Michael Storey is councillor for Ellergreen.'

David Alton, who as member of the Liberal Party and former member of the Liverpool Education Committee could be expected to have had close acquaintance with the manner in which his party reached the decision to close Croxteth Comprehensive, was openly cynical about the motives of his colleagues. He was critical of the Labour Party's stance with respect to the school as well, explaining in interview that Labour had been the first to propose the closure of Croxteth during committee meetings held in the 1970s:

Yes it was the Labour Party who first proposed to close Croxteth for all the reasons I've just enunciated. And the whole story's a shabby one, it's one which, for those who care about education, for about the way you arrive at these decisions, [that they should be] on the basis of the arguments about the issues, not about purely political arguments, would go away after having looked at the evidence with a bad taste in their mouths. And I think it had a lot more to do with what I'd describe as porkbarrel politics than it did with educational factors. Ellergreen School was situated in a Liberal ward, Croxteth school was situated in a Labour ward. The Labour councillors who'd originally advocated closure suddenly got scared because they realised parental support was running the other way. And it was suddenly discovered that the entire estate could be left without a school if Croxteth closed. ... I had a stormy argument with Mike Storey at the time about the lack of consultation, the way the decision was announced, the way it was rushed through, ... So I personally believe it was a wrong decision. And even if there was justice in some of their arguments about depopulation of the school, which is true, it should have been arrived at in consultation with all the parents involved. And where you have an isolated community, which doesn't have much going for it anyway, you may have to take a decision to keep a very small school open, and maybe that should be part of our reasoning of the future.

David Alton, in other words, believed the primary motivation behind the closure of Croxteth Comprehensive was political, was critical of what he considered an inadequate consultation procedure used by his party, and believed that the school should have been kept open for reasons of social need. He expressed the main arguments put forward by the school staff and parents during the first phase of resistance to closure. Croxteth should have been regarded as an *exception* because as a community it 'didn't have much going for it'.

Thus the choice of Croxteth Comprehensive in particular for closure can be seen as the combination of a number of factors. Some of them were due to general conditions in Liverpool and directly traceable to structural and environmental pressures on the city: to financial pressures, to its social geography and to its particularly steep decline in live births during

 Figure 8-1: Conditions Underlying the Closure of Croxteth Comprehensive

General	Preconditions	Conditions
↑ ↓	1) Historical over-dependence on Mersey Port for local economy, shifting international trade patterns	Long term conditions of unemployment, and extreme social problems in Liverpool.
	2) Political decisions to develop council housing and develop manufacturing industry on the periphery of Liverpool	Liverpool social geography: inner and outer city concentrations of social problems and unemployment
	3) International recession, drop in national live births	Pressure to close some Liverpool schools.
	4) Social geography of Liverpool	Differential status of secondary schools.
	5) Political decision to allow parents freedom of choice	Disproportionate decline in inner/outer city school rolls.
	6) Pattern of school depopulations favouring suburban schools	Competing ideologies of educational provision: parental choice/ community schools.
	7) Hung council in Liverpool	Delay in educational reorganisation, increasing political pressure, educational costs.
	8) Nominal administration of city by Liberals, ideologies of education held by Liberals and Conservatives	Agreement of Liberals and Conservatives on piecemeal closures in inner and outer city.
	9) Proximity of Croxteth to Ellergreen, which lay in the electoral ward of Liberal chairman of the Education Committee	Choice of Croxteth Comprehensive for closure
	10) (probably) Age of the head of Croxteth Comprehensive	Choice of Croxteth Comprehensive for closure
	11) (perhaps) Absence of NUT at Croxteth Comprehensive	Choice of Croxteth Comprehensive for closure
↓		
Particular		

the 1960s. But others lay in highly particular conditions which couldn't be predicted from the structural and demographic pressures alone. A list of the factors leading to the closure of Croxteth Comprehensive roughly indicate a continuum from the general to the particular, each being a condition on which decisions and actions were made. Some of these conditions are listed in figure 8-1. Conditions are listed along with some of the conditions prior to them, called 'preconditions' in the figure. It should be born in mind, when looking at figure 8-1 that a tight and exhaustive array of conditions is not intended. The discussion of the previous sections and chapters has given a more complete account of the

complexities and inter-relations of these conditions than this chart can convey, and certainly that discussion itself is necessarily incomplete. A further point to bear in mind when looking at the figure is that conditions, not causes, of action are presented. The closure of Croxteth Comprehensive was by no means inevitable given this list.

B) Ideologies of Educational Provision, a summary of the arguments:

The Liberals justified their decision to close Croxteth Comprehensive with two main arguments: 1) the school was under-populated, and 2) parents in Croxteth were choosing to send their children to schools outside the community.

The low numbers were argued to have a number of deleterious consequences:

1) *The inefficient use of buildings with consequent wastage of money.* In an interview with 20/20 Vision television in December, 1982, Liberal leader Trevor Jones explained:

Well there are economic grounds. Of course the pressures are immense. For every pound that Liverpool over spends we're penalised an extra fifty pence from our rate support grant. And I think we owe something like 10 million pounds a year, in education, because of under-occupancy of buildings.

It was estimated that closure of Croxteth Comprehensive would save £300,000 per year (Trevor Jones in 11/5/82 Echo, 26/7/82 Observer).

2) *A contraction of staff which would either reduce the curriculum or put extra strains on the smaller staff with educationally deleterious effects.* George Smith claimed in interview that despite the decline in pupil numbers, no subject options had been lost. But the argument of declining standards was one which the Liberals stressed. Trevor Jones reviewed the case for closing Croxteth Comprehensive:

There is no educational case for retaining that school, I've examined it very carefully. The numbers were falling so dramatically, the range of courses, and the range of the curriculum, wasn't such that you need to operate to enable to (pause), particularly in Liverpool where it is harder than anywhere else for school leavers to get jobs. We needed to give them the best possible education, and keeping Croxteth open wasn't going to do that.

Croxteth for years has not been meeting the criteria, they were not getting a proper education.

Thus as we saw to be the case in chapter six, the Liberal argument (as well as much of the opposing argument) tied the purpose of education to 'standards' which translate into examination results needed for the job market.

3) *Cause disadvantages to the less-able according to the HM Inspectorate of Schools, which insists on a minimum of four forms of entry to maintain standards.* About this argument George Smith said 'Well that is absolute nonsense', claiming that slower children had

enjoyed as much attention to their needs at Croxteth Comprehensive after the roll decline as before.

The second major argument, the argument in terms of parental choice, was later taken up by Keith Joseph in his decision to support the closure. He summarised the argument in a letter to councillor Bob Wareing in May 1982:

In 1979 and 1980 the parents of no less than a third of the 11+ children in the area stated and took up a preference for schools other than Croxteth.

This was interpreted to mean, in the terms used so frequently by David Alton, Trevor Jones and the Liberal Party generally, that parents in Croxteth were 'voting with their feet' against their school.

Against these arguments for closure the teaching staff, actively supported by the parent's committee, argued:

1) *That Croxteth Comprehensive could be made more cost-effective.*

The teaching staff accepted the Liberal argument that there was a need to save educational monies throughout the city and that Croxteth Comprehensive was under-utilised and hence in need of some form of rationalisation. But they pointed out, as we've seen, that alternative solutions to the depopulation problem existed (e.g., the school could move entirely into one its buildings).

2) *That the detrimental educational effects predicted for schools with small rolls were not taking place in Croxteth Comprehensive.* This argument sometimes included the more radical demand that staffing ought to be by curriculum rather than number, making smaller numbers educationally advantageous rather than deleterious. The more radical version was put forth by some parents. Cyril D'Arcy commented:

Look at the pupil-teacher ratio at Eton! I believe that staffing should be by curriculum, not by the number of pupils.

3) *That consultation procedures had not been followed properly.*

Parents and staff alike were very angry about the cavalier attitude of Michael Storey, the gross lack of consideration displayed by the Education Committee to the staff and parents of Croxteth generally, and the appearance of rushing and railroading which proponents of the plan gave. The anger was very deep in many of those interviewed, not least in George Smith who felt that a lifetime of work was being simply discarded by politicians who wouldn't trouble themselves to even visit his school or talk things over with him: 'Well you know I taught in Liverpool since before the war, I've given all my life to Liverpool, ... I hadn't been told [of the closure plans], and I've worked my fingers to the bone for this school.'

4) *That if an amalgamation of Croxteth and Ellergreen Comprehensives was seen as unavoidable, then the best site for the amalgamation was Croxteth, not Ellergreen.*

5) That there was a special need for a school in Croxteth because of the deprivation of the area. This 'special need' meant that even if all the arguments put by the Liberals were sound and applicable generally as reorganisation policy, they did not apply to Croxteth because of its exceptional circumstances. George Smith made the argument in the following way:

See, economically it [the closure plan] may have been sound, politically it may have been a good idea, but socially it was a tragedy. And educationally I think it was wrong too.

A member of the parents' committee remarked about this period:

We believed that the special needs of Croxteth made our school an *exception to general reorganisation policy*. (My emphasis)

When asked to clarify his view, George Smith mentioned the extra-educational services of the school. Educationally he simply rejected the theory that small numbers necessarily always have a bad effect on the quality of education - at Croxteth he believed this was definitely not the case.

The last two arguments were the ones which were put forth most vigorously: the *competitive* argument that Croxteth was a better site for the amalgamation than Ellergreen, and even more the argument of *exception* - that Croxteth had *special* social needs which made the criteria for closures which could be validly applied elsewhere in the city inapplicable to Croxteth Comprehensive. This is significant, for both of these arguments accepted the general terms of the arguments for school closures put forth by the Liberal Party. They simply tried to rescue Croxteth in particular by claiming that, on the one hand, by the Liberal's own criteria Ellergreen, rather than Croxteth, ought to close down and, on the other hand, that Croxteth must be considered according to exceptional criteria. Hence during this phase of resistance, *no arguments which challenged either the logic of closures generally or the particular approach to closures taken by the Liberal Party (parental choice) were put forth*. In consequence the aim of the resistance was only to prevent the closure of one school, very possibly at the expense of another school (Ellergreen) which was in a similar, though less deprived, community, and which had suffered the same rate of roll decline as Croxteth Comprehensive. There are reasons why this approach was taken during the first phase of the protest which are the subject of the next subsection.

C) The Arguments: Power and Structure

The Liberal Party's arguments were primarily formulated as: 1) educational arguments (declining standards, employability) and, 2) citizen rights arguments (parental choice), with financial pressure an admitted factor but usually left in the background. These arguments obscured some of the important political motives which undoubtedly underlay the choice of Croxteth Comprehensive for closure as we have seen. The Liberals, in nominal control of the city of Liverpool, were under enormous financial and

political pressures to close schools, and they had to do so in a way which didn't threaten their positions electorally. But Liberals framed their arguments in purely educational terms, or in terms which stressed the rights of free choice: what would best increase standards, what would best help Croxteth pupils get qualifications and jobs, what did parents in Croxteth really want, and so on. The play of 'form and content' applicable to the structural analysis of the state translates into a play between legitimacy and expediency applicable to the analysis of politicians. The specific choice of Croxteth seems to have been the result of a coincidence of enough factors of 'form' with concerns of political expediency.

The opponents of closure focused their objections also on the form of the decision without pushing beyond towards the economic agenda which lay behind it. They did not question the financial pressures on Liverpool, - these were taken as givens in the situation. Nor did they question the general philosophy of reorganisation (parental choice) applied to their school. Instead, we've seen how the early protest group cast its arguments in horizontally competitive forms. The argument of superiority of site was directly competitive with the Ellergreen community, and the argument of exception was indirectly competitive with all other communities in which a school closure was possible. There are clear reasons why the campaign in this first phase limited itself primarily to arguments of exception and competition. Any argument going beyond this would have required sources of power which went beyond the institutional channels available, and thus would have required a larger base of support than that of school staff and parents.

To make this point clearer, logical alternatives can be imagined to the arguments put forth by the opposition during phase one. An argument for keeping *all* schools in Liverpool and staffing them by curriculum instead of pupil numbers could theoretically have been put forward. We have seen that an argument approaching this was sometimes given by parents like Cyril D'Arcy. Clearly such an argument has enormous implications. It would require a simultaneous argument that the national government should take the extra money required out of another budgetary category such as defence or through increased taxation of the wealthy in Britain. This would have required a broadening of the issues into a general confrontation between the local government of Liverpool with the national government over rate support grants (which did occur in Liverpool after the election victory of the Labour Party in 1983), or a confrontation between the Labour Party with the national government over financial policy. Hence the protest against the school closure would have had to have combined with a very large movement on either the city or national level for a change in national-local government financial relations. Obviously, building such a movement would probably not at first occur to people who are interested primarily in keeping their school, nor would it be expedient.

A second alternative would have been to argue against the particular policy of the Liberals in Liverpool for closing schools. The argument of the Labour Party that schools should be distributed evenly across the city could have been used, for example. This argument, once again, would have

required the mobilisation of a larger group of people than just those directly interested in keeping Croxteth Comprehensive. It would have amounted to campaigning for the Labour Party across the city to ensure its over-all majority in the council. And again, this would not have been an expedient strategy at the beginning of this protest movement. The Labour Party had been failing for nearly ten years to win an over-all majority in Liverpool, why would the addition of parents from Croxteth to its campaign force (who for the most part voted Labour anyway) change the situation? The much more viable strategy was to take advantage of the hung council to try to sway enough Conservative votes to tip the balance in the campaign's favour. And doing so meant stressing the exceptional conditions in Croxteth rather than arguing general policy.

Thus it is not surprising that the arguments used during the beginnings of protest were primarily ones which made Croxteth Comprehensive appear to be an exception to general closure policy or an actual mistake given the criteria of this policy. The justification of the goals of a protest campaign clearly must correspond to the power base it is capable of mobilising if it is to be effective. For the teaching staff and the Croxteth Parents Action Group there was little power to bear other than the power of rational appeals presented through the given institutional channels. These arguments had to be put into a form which drew upon prevailing views of social justice and educational purposes while trying, at the same time, not to reject the economic and political priorities which constrained the choices available to the politicians they were trying to influence. The only break which was attempted with the framework in which the closure decision was formed was to stress exceptional 'social needs'. Arguments of social need introduced new terms into the debate which could have been used to challenge at least the parental choice ideology used by the Liberals and Conservatives in their city-wide policies. But they weren't used in this way because the protest groups didn't have the means to do so. Power as a distribution of rules and resources tightly constrained the field of struggle for the protesters. The 'rules', rules of access in this case, made it impossible to explicitly challenge either entire party ideologies or the economic pressures upon the city government. Resources for the protesters included their rights to lobby and lodge objections, but these resources did not allow for the protesters to break out of the terms within which arguments could be placed for and against the closure. These terms were imposed from outside. The economic pressures on the local government of Liverpool, the content of the situation as opposed to the form, was unlikely to be touched by rational arguments, there was too much pressure to get schools closed and the decision to close Croxteth Comprehensive had involved too many factors of political expediency for the institutional channels to make much difference.

In terms of social structure, from the protesters' position we can see how a single issue, the closure or retention of Croxteth Comprehensive, was embedded in a nest of particular conditions which receded backwards towards more and more general ones. Non-decision making was operating through institutional relationships which worked downwards from the relationship of societal-wide economic relations to the national government,

through the relationship of the national to the local government, through the relationship of the local government to local political parties, and finally through the relationship of a single interest group to the local political party system. The arguments of Offe, Castells, and Cockburn reviewed in chapter three which link consumer welfare interests to general economic relations through the mediation of the state thus appear correct, especially if urban social geography is also taken into account. The closure of a single school implicated many general conditions which couldn't be challenged without large power bases. As long as these more general conditions remained unchallenged they worked behind the scenes to limit the range of possible protest actions. They were kept off the agenda because of the power they mediated - the more general they were, the more power was involved in their constitution. We haven't yet examined how 'interests' come analytically into the picture, exactly what interests the protesters had in Croxteth Comprehensive. This will be discussed in section IV below, and it will again involve considerations of the coincidence of general economic relations in a specific geographical area.

Peter Saunders' pessimistic arguments about urban social movements thus apply directly to the Croxteth protest movement during its first year (chapter three): the resistance in Croxteth was a fragmented response to a city-wide policy, competitive with other urban areas, and isolated from any general citizen or Labour movement. To be more than this a movement would have to find sources of power laying outside institutional channels and would have to broaden its base beyond those people directly effected by the immediate issue. And many obstacles would have to be overcome, many highly particular conditions have to coexist, for this to happen. The first phase of protest in Croxteth confirmed Bell and Newby's (1976) comment that:

Only a nationwide or locality wide programme can be genuinely redistributive, otherwise we will witness a succession of briefly spluttering popular local action groups that if successful will direct resources to themselves but away from others who either have not or cannot mobilise.

Bell and Newby 1976
quoted in Saunders 1983

D) Consultation

It is noteworthy that so much resentment was generated over the lack of any convincing consultative processes used by those who pursued the closure of Croxteth Comprehensive. Parents and staff greatly resented not having any say in the decision. The situation was enormously exacerbated by the actions and statements of Michael Storey, who was regarded as arrogantly indifferent to the parents and staff of the school.

Had the spirit, rather than simply the letter, of the consultation requirements *appeared* to have been followed, resistance in Croxteth may well have been much less. If talks with parents and teaching staff had been sensitively conducted many months before the closure plan was presented for vote on committee, the significance of the Comprehensive

Comprehensive school to the residents of Croxteth may have been better understood by members of the Liverpool Education Committee. And certainly, the staff and parents wouldn't have felt so ignored, discounted, and snubbed by what appeared to be uncaring politicians.

But it seems very unlikely that such use of consultation procedures would have done anything more than make the closure seem more legitimate to both those effected and outside observers, if it would have done even that. There are enormous constraints on the formal consultation procedures serving any other purpose than this. One such constraint is the political pressure on councillors to act in ways which keep them in office. As we've seen, such pressures greatly reduce the real role which purely educational arguments and parental opinions can play. Another such constraint is the conflict in interests between politicians and city administrators on the one hand, and consumers of welfare services on the other. The former have city-wide considerations to make and are subject to the pressures of a fluctuating economy as well as the political pressures already mentioned. The latter may appreciate city-wide considerations but ultimately have locally based interests; in this case to keep their school. Power over welfare services does not lie with those who consume them, nor is the logic of welfare provision the logic of consumer needs, as we've argued repeatedly. Hence consultation procedures can be little more than devices of legitimation, perhaps sometimes effecting a decision through a comparison of the arguments of one group of residents over those of another, but always ultimately subject to the logic under which local government is run.

Thus what is surprising about the blatant lack of consultation in the closure of Croxteth Comprehensive is only the political ineptitude which it demonstrates. It is not surprising that Michael Storey had no real interest in consultation; even if he genuinely wished to involve community groups in decisions about their services he would have had to ignore their opinions and desires in the end, if not in Croxteth, then in some other community. When asked by 20/20 Vision why Michael Storey had not attended the 7th January consultation meeting with staff and governors, Liberal leader Trevor Jones said:

Well he is tremendously busy, and anyway, the figures speak for themselves.

The figures spoke for themselves because the Liberal Party, like the other two parties in Liverpool, had their general policy for closures set, and the oppositional arguments put forth by those most directly effected, always inevitable, are not likely to change actual policy. But by not using convincing consultation procedures, not meeting with the parents and staff of Croxteth Comprehensive, Michael Storey certainly fuelled discontent in the area. Consultation necessarily plays a small role in decision making processes but it can play an important role in defusing discontent.

The same situation faced the Labour Party when, four years later, it implemented a city-wide reorganisation of education in Liverpool. Dominic Brady, Labour Party chairman of the Education Committee, decided to satisfy

the requirements of consultation by holding a meeting in every school in the city. But his remarks about the process show once again that it served only legitimization and defusing functions, it did not alter any decisions:

P.C.: Any comments about whether or not you think the consultation procedures are a viable process?

Brady: No matter how you try to convince people that the plan is justified, if you seem to be threatening them with the closure of their own school, you know they are going to be antagonistic towards you from the start. I think we've done a reasonable job of winning people over. I think we did get the message across. And it was also a good opportunity for people to lambast us or ask questions which has to be good.

As regards the process, you are in the position where regardless of what everyone says, you've got your policy laid down anyway. So in some ways it wasn't as meaningful as it could have been. But on the other hand you know it gave us an opportunity to weigh up what the feeling in the city actually was.

III) The Protest Analysed

A) The Social Base: the target, horizontal and vertical linkages

We have seen that after the announcement of the plan to close Croxteth in November 1980 over 650 parents turned up in bad weather at a meeting called to plan resistance. But parents with children attending Croxteth Comprehensive were not the only residents who reacted strongly to the news. Pat Rigby, the secretary of the Croxteth-Gillmoor Federation, describes events in her office on the day of the announcement:

When we first read it in the Echo, the first time I heard about it, an old age pensioner came in; never been to the school, never had any children or grandchildren go to the school. He came in with the Echo [from] the night before, absolutely shocked, and he sat down there and then and wrote out a letter, strongly condemning it, see what I mean. And he brought it to his committee meeting that night and it was unanimous. That was the old age pensioners in one high-rise block. That was the first reaction I got from it. That same day there was a steady stream of people coming in, asking what we knew about the closure of the school - they were all condemning it.

Pat Rigby, June 1983 interview

Pat's observations correspond with those of Effie Sherlock, a Croxteth health visitor, who noted many expressions of anger and resentment from residents during the period just after the announcement in the Echo. Residents interviewed during the period of field work of this study gave the same impression: resentment to the closure was deep and widespread. John Dunne is a local parent who had had two children in the school at the time of the closure. He was a shop steward active in the trade union movement generally and didn't have time to become involved in the protests, though his wife was involved for a time before the occupation. He recalled in 1984:

It was just sheer indignation that they could close your neighbourhood school down like that overnight. To say that school just doesn't exist any more and you've got to send your kids two or three miles away. It was just amazement, indignation and anger on everybody's part.

John Dunne, June 1984 interview

At an April 1983 Croxteth housing meeting (21/4/83, see chapter seven) a middle aged couple with no children in the school said that some people in Croxteth were glad the school was going to be closed because there were so many tough children attending the school, so many vandals. But they thought that the majority of people in Croxteth, roughly three fourths in their opinion, were opposed to the closure. The husband said he would have joined the protests himself but his job made that impossible.

June and Ray Harrison described the reaction of the Triangle tenants' organisation to the closure plans:

P.C.: How did you first hear of the closure plans then?

Ray: What we read in the paper. The headmaster just picked up the Echo one night. Didn't his wife read it (turning to June)? He went home from work one night from the school and there's his wife: 'Have you seen this?'. And he wasn't even informed, the headmaster, was he?

June: (bitter tone) There was no consultation, no nothing, all we knew was it was in the Echo that lunchtime.

...

P.C. How did the Triangle Group respond to the news?

Ray: It was one of the top items on the agenda, every meeting, from when we first got told the school was going - that was one of the top items on the agenda. It was discussed at every meeting about the school, and the progress of the fight that then took place, you know, at every meeting we was saying bring us up to date on what was happening.

...

P.C. How many people in Croxteth really cared about the closure?

June: Oh, everybody.

Ray: It was really smashing. Loads of people went down (to the school to help in the protest!).

June: Even to old age pensioners who no longer had any children or any (pause), even they were coming up.

There are strong indications, then, that resentment was widespread in Croxteth to the closure of the school. In the terminology of the resource management school, the closure of the school served as a 'trigger' (Gamson 1975) to mobilise an active community group representing a social base. In the last chapter we saw that Croxteth has many conditions which residents may reasonably have mobilised around: housing, health care, protection from crime and vandalism, all would have been reasonable issues for united action. But we have seen that in the case of housing the discontent divided as much as it unified residents, and the other possible issues were

perhaps too abstract, having no visible representation on the estate (such as a building). Pat Rigby noted that:

I think the first time I thought of it the whole community had really reacted to something and they all reacted in exactly the same way - with total disbelief and shock. With the housing things, you see, there are some sort of very decent housing and some very bad. So although we get sort of constant demands to try and do something about housing it's not unanimous. But the school, sort of from my point of view of being here (in her official) was, it was a community reaction against it. It included people who'd sent their kids to other schools. Because as well as that with the Parkstile (the newer school building) way a whole lot of people actually seen it being built and here's something they reckoned to be proud of, it looked good anyway. And it's just going to be closed. Ten, twenty years for it to be, and you've seen it going up, it's no time at all. It's a new building to all intents and purposes. It's like it's going to be sort of empty and just left.

...

Where the bad housing is you've got the worst environment. That's depressing I mean, when you've got no job, you're living in a really sort of foully damp house and around sort of it's littered, strewn, and just generally horrible to look at. That's why I say with the school. Well the school really sort of, because I think sort of it's an attractive building. It's nice and bright and sometimes I think it's the nicest looking place they have to go to.

The fact that the school was a 'collectively consumed' service (Castells 1977, 1978) and the fact that it had symbolic value were significant for its role as a trigger. As Pat Rigby notes above, housing, as an individually consumed item, is more difficult to unite people about. By contrast the school, used simultaneously by many people and having a symbolic value to residents not using it because of its modern and bright appearance, made the experience of its removal immediately collective. Health visitor Effie Sherlock expressed the point more directly:

You could never get more than fifty people to a meeting about housing but when the issue came up over the school there was over 600 people turned up at a public meeting. In housing it was like an individual problem. The school seemed to be the common cause that united people.

Effie Sherlock, Croxteth Health Visitor

It is important to emphasise that it wasn't the literal use of the buildings alone which united people in their reaction to the closure plan. Its symbolic value in part depended upon the fact that it was a state service: because it was a state-provided service which must be collectively consumed, it was seen as a service *for Croxteth*, it was there for the whole community. Its removal was a blow to the entire community of Croxteth. Thus the emphasis put on collectively consumed services by Castells, and other neo-Marxists writing on social movements in the 1970s definitely applies to the situation in Croxteth, but one must include symbolic features of such services as part of the collective interests they serve, and in doing so the social geography immediately about the particular service in question must be taken into account. The campaign to save the school became identified as a community issue by people both within and without Croxteth. Without the symbolic significance of the school it is hard to

imagine the campaign going beyond the relatively small group of parents who actually used the school by sending their children there (see next chapter).

Croxteth Comprehensive had symbolic value only because there was a social group to which it had common meaning. In other words, there were conditions of 'horizontal linkage' (Oberschall 1973) which united a social group around the school. The removal of the school brought these conditions to the surface and further united the group about a common identity. This group in Croxteth was broadly the residential community. The most basic horizontal linkage in Croxteth is territorial identity. Although, as we discussed in chapter seven, there were a number of divisions in Croxteth based on sub-territories, social networks and to a certain extent religion, adult residents still readily identify themselves as residents in 'Crocky'. There is a shared awareness of living in a distinct community, which the clear geographical boundaries, the shared conditions of deprivation, the social homogeneity, and the identification, by *outsiders*, of Croxteth as a distinct community with certain qualities all contribute to. It is now common sociological knowledge that what observers often take to be 'communities' are often not perceived as such by the people who supposedly live in them (Bell and Newby 1971). But in Croxteth the coincidence of a number of conditions has generated a sense of community. Territory symbolically embraces a number of conditions of life which residents share. And Croxteth Comprehensive came to represent this community identity when it was closed down.

In considering the symbolic value of Croxteth Comprehensive it is important to remember that there were four Catholic secondary schools on the Croxteth estate at the time of the closure of the comprehensive. Each of these schools looked modern, as did the Parkstile building, and each was, of course, funded by the LEA, like Croxteth Comprehensive. The majority of Croxteth secondary pupils attended one of these four schools. Yet in the vast majority of statements made in support of retaining Croxteth Comprehensive, as the next chapter shows, it was referred to as symbolically the main state provision left on the estate, the 'corner stone of the community', and so on. During the period of the occupation of Croxteth Comprehensive, two of these four schools were amalgamated without the outcry which the closure of Croxteth Comprehensive produced. It is an important question, then, why Croxteth Comprehensive served as the trigger for a social movement on the estate. A number of points help to understand this:

- 1) Croxteth Comprehensive was the only *county* secondary school on the estate. Thus the closures of the two Catholic secondary schools didn't represent a removal of facilities from the estate as such, two such schools still remained.
- 2) The Catholic schools, although funded by the LEA, wouldn't by definition be seen as facilities for the *whole* estate. Even though most Croxteth pupils went to the Catholic schools, these schools were for the Catholic community on the estate only. If only one Catholic school had

been on the estate and was closed, the closure would not have been symbolically significant to the entire community. Resistance would probably have been by Catholic residents only, and religious differences on the estate would thus have served to divide the community. The removal wouldn't have been perceived as an act against Croxteth but as an act against the Catholics living in Croxteth. Horizontal bonds would have perhaps been stronger, but they would have lacked the breadth of the territorial bonds between all residents which acted to unite feeling around the closure of the comprehensive school.

3) The fact that Croxteth Comprehensive was in principle open to all residents and not just those of a single religious affiliation (and in fact many pupils at the school were Catholic, many of the parents active in protest were also Catholic) made it possible for the school to represent general deprivation on the estate. Removal of a Catholic school would probably not represent the feeling of neglect shared by many residents.

4) Lastly, the closure of the Catholic schools necessarily involved the consent of the Catholic Church which was consulted in all reorganisation proposals involving the Catholic sector. Thus the authority of the Church, rather than the secular state, would be involved in any question of the legitimacy of a closure decision. This would mean that its legitimacy would be less likely to be questioned and, if questioned, the Church rather than the state would be the target of the challenge, which again would draw upon only the Catholic community in forming resistance.

Once again we note the importance of Croxteth Comprehensive being a state provision for collective consumption. Its symbolic significance included the relationship of residents to the state, and the moral obligations they expected the state to fulfil, not just in education but in many conditions of life.

Obserschall also points out that weak 'vertical links' are facilitative of social movements. In Croxteth links between residents and the politicians of Liverpool were initially very weak. Residents had contact with local government only through their three Labour councillors, who as we have seen did not maintain good communication with residents. Some of the tenants' groups had established some contact with councillors through their lobbying, but they were in a minority on the estate, and within each of them only a few individuals did the actual lobbying. Vertical links were definitely very weak at the time of the announcement of the closure plan. Geographically too, the community is far from the city-centre. Hence when the school was closed it was easy for the residents to see it as a 'them' and 'us' situation. It was easy to form a 'target', another term used by resource management theorists (Gamson 1975). If strong vertical linkages had existed the 'target' wouldn't have been so distinct. When asked 'who closed the school down', residents almost always gave a list of organisations and people: Michael Storey, Trevor Jones, and the Liberals were nearly always mentioned, generally as personal but unknown and unfriendly opponents, i.e. as enemies. Later, as the campaign developed,

Sir Keith Joseph, Margaret Thatcher and the Conservatives were added to the list. These all became targets of the protest movement. The existence of weak vertical links with the power of city and national government enabled such targets to become clear objects of hostility and simultaneously facilitated the role of the school as a trigger, for it was a provision which 'they' had taken away.

B) Interests

Resource management theory bases itself strongly on the notion of interests, as we have seen (chapter three). The reason why individuals become involved in social movements is explained in terms of the interest they have in the realisation of the goals of the movement. In our discussion of various theoretical approaches to social movements in chapters three and four we provided a theoretical critique of this view of social movements as depending too much upon a goal-rational model of human action. The model was seen to break down logically with Olson's free rider problem. The solution to this deficiency, it was suggested, lies in other models of action which make goal-rationality just one of several aspects of action. In this subsection the question of interests and action will be considered in light of the Croxteth case.

Oberschall states that 'a section of society sharing common interests' must exist for a social movement to develop. So far we have provided much evidence for common objective interests in Croxteth. Residents share problems turning on issues of housing, unemployment, lack of local facilities, poor conditions of health, growing crime and drug usage. Anyone of these issues would have been an understandable basis for community mobilisation. Rationally, that is to say, any one of these issues could have generated goals to be pursued in collective action. But none of these issues united the sentiments of the community about a single campaign. Campaigns for better housing did form but were based on sub-territories in Croxteth and were resented by residents in other areas. These divisions are explicable in terms of interests, for the immediate interests of residents in particularly bad housing areas do conflict with those of residents in better off areas. But less immediately the interests of these groups were shared, and united action would have bettered all in common, by improving unsightly sections of the estate and improving general health conditions.

However, for these other issues, a united campaign could have been generated only through hard organising efforts seeking to raise resident's awareness of their common interests. Issues like housing, therefore, do seem to embody a component of 'false consciousness' in that they hide collective interests in the individualism of market consumption - the individual privately consuming commodities and services. This is a 'consciousness' which tends to be generated by the system of the market, becomes extended to the process of consumption generally, and doesn't always attain articulation into a discursive theory. It is 'false' to the extent that it masks a commonly shared condition (dependence on state

housing) through what are actually minor individual differences (quality of housing) and thus obscures awareness of collective interests.

The event which sparked off the greatest amount of feeling in Croxteth was the closure of the Comprehensive School, an institution which directly served less than one thousand parents on the 12,000 person estate. We have argued that the symbolic value of the school was one reason why it produced the amount of feeling it did. Can this reaction be understood in terms of commonly shared interests?

Here we will consider the reasons which residents themselves gave for their opposition to the closure. *Note that this is very different* than a consideration of the reasons they gave for either getting involved in protest or not. Separating the two is obviously important; the argument which follows is that shared interests was a necessary and probably also a sufficient condition for the symbolic value of the school to the Croxteth community, and thus to the widespread feeling of anger over its closure. Shared interests were *not* a sufficient condition for the involvement of certain individuals in the long and difficult work of conducting a campaign for the school: models of action which draw upon factors other than interests will be necessary for explaining the motivation of those who became actively involved. But that is the topic of later chapters, what follows here is a consideration of what residents took to be their interests in the school.

The interests which residents felt they had in the school can be revealed by listing the most frequently given *reasons* residents gave for opposing the school closure. These most common reasons are listed below. Again, it should be pointed out that a representative sample of the Croxteth estate was not questioned because of lack of time. The reasons listed below come from interviews taken with campaign activists, non-active parents with children in the school, and residents not directly connected to the school in anyway who were met in the local pub or at community meetings. Some of the reasons below have already been mentioned as the counter arguments put forward by staff and the parent's committee, others have not yet been mentioned.

- Many times parents would point out that all their children had gone to Croxteth Comprehensive, it'd always been their school, and thus they didn't want to lose it. Often, when this argument was provided little else accompanied it. The fact that it had always been the family school was sufficient reason to want it to remain, even to fight for it. Freda Bray gave a representative explanation for her active support of the protest.

P.C.: Why do you care so much about this school?

Freda: I've lived in Croxteth for 19 years and all my children have gone to this school.

- Many expressed displeasure with the new site's school buildings: they didn't seem as nice as Croxteth's and they were separated by a dual carriage way which made crossing dangerous for children.

Well, this was the best school in every way, regarding education wasn't it, as well as facilities. We went up to Ellergreen didn't we? In a coach, so's we'd know what we were talking about.

Mrs Johnstone, one child in school

The kids deserve an education. Like, this is two good buildings, it's a good school. I reckon Ellergreen's too old-fashioned. The only thing they got new there is the new gym, while the playing fields they've got, they've got to go half a mile or maybe a mile to the nearest field. When they're changing buildings over they've got to cut like the main road to the shops and that [the dual carriage way].

Marty McArdle, no children

- Some parents were worried about the disruption that moving their children to another school would cause, or other educational disadvantages that moving to Ellergreen would cause:

I keep hoping, praying, that we'll still be here [that the school will continue] till my son leaves. He's 13, got another couple of years.

Jane, local resident

- A very common argument, already noted, was that Croxteth had had enough taken from it already. People were bitter about the general lack of provisions in the community, contrary to what they had been led to believe would be developed in Croxteth when they had decided to move there. They noted threats that had been made with respect to other provisions in the area, such as the possible removal of their clinic. This was an argument strongly based on the symbolic value of the school. A resident with no children at Croxteth Comprehensive expresses a very common argument below:

Joey: Schools closing, I've heard of schools closing and it just passes on deaf ears, schools closing that's it. But I've realised while I've been here what it means to a community to close, you know, because in Croxteth we have no community anything, this is the centre of everything we've got.

P.C.: Is that really true?

Joey: Yeah! Well if you look around we've got nothing!

- There was some fear that removal of the school would make new businesses and new 'respectable' families less likely to move into Croxteth.

Even parts of Crocky which have good homes aren't attractive because Crocky doesn't have a school [now] or other facilities. Many people want to move out for that reason.

Joe Kenny, no children in the school

- For some, the distance of the new school would mean that older children would no longer be able to take younger children to and from the infant's school, adding an extra burden to the parents' daily work.

- Many didn't want their children to have to take a bus two miles to the new school, two times each day. They were afraid they couldn't afford the fare, for one thing, and they were afraid for the safety of their children, for another.

I don't want my granddaughters to go on bus, no way. Because my daughter, she still goes to collect Jane, a little girl of ten [at Croxteth Junior School]. She won't let her go on her own. So she's there waiting for her. But I go now, I go up there for her waiting for two children to come out. So if they went to a different school far away, my daughter would be a bag of nerves and so would I. You know because even me own son, if he's out, say, over the time he should be in, I'm a bag of nerves because you don't know if the police have picked him up or not. You don't know whether anyone has got them or not, 'cause there has been a lot of kids whose got mugged and that. So you wouldn't know.

Molly

- Some expressed their fear that their children would be less likely to stay on into the sixth form without a local school to go to. Others were afraid their children wouldn't even complete their secondary education, but rather become truant.

You see, working class kids are always anxious to leave school and get a job. They think having a job is what they want at 15. That's why we want a sixth form in our area, because it tends to encourage them to stay on for more education.

Cyril D'Arcy

In interpreting these accounts one might keep in mind the official arguments against closure which the protest group formulated in phase one. It is important to ask whether or not the two lists of reasons coincided and, if they do, whether or not the official formulations became drawn upon by the participants to articulate their personal interests in the school to themselves and to outsiders asking them questions. The above list fits reasonably well with many of the arguments formulated officially by the teachers and parents conducting the protest campaign in the first phase. The distance of Ellergreen from Croxteth, the lack of general facilities on the Estate, worry about the quality of Ellergreen's buildings and so on are present in both cases. The interviews did indicate that the official views, formulated initially by the teaching staff and not the parents, served to a certain extent as an interpretative framework through which protesters and other parents formulated their personal reasons for opposing closure. This was evidenced in the use of identical phrases by different interviewees: 'we've got nothing in Croxteth' was often said, word for word, identically by many different residents and activists; 'they want the land', was often used by many participants to explain the reason why the Liberals shut the school down, and so on. But the interviews from which the above selections were taken developed all these points and common phrases in highly personalised ways, and the accounts match observable conditions in Croxteth so closely that there is little evidence of the official explanations and arguments generated by campaign activists in phase one suppressing or silencing any felt interests held by residents with respect to the school. The situation was different during the third phase of the campaign, as we shall see, when more *theoretical* explanations of the movement became

formulated by the campaign leadership at the same time that the experience of working within the school under occupation introduced new experiences associated with the school.

What is most interesting about the comparison of the above list with the official formulations of phase one is the absence, in personal accounts, of arguments which referred to the economic pressures on the Liverpool city government. The official objections to school closure had to take rolls and finances into account in order to be effective in the local political process - unofficial, personal accounts obviously did not. Once again we see how power is expressed through conditions of access, and access involves on the most official level, presentation of rational arguments according to a set agenda. Power thus includes an asymmetry of resources for determining what criteria ought to be employed to make decisions on such matters as school closures. It limits what is considered 'rational' in the situation. What is rational was defined ultimately not as the many reasons we listed for why residents wanted to keep their school, but rather the structural constraints imposed by the location of the government. The other reasons could and were used only in arguments of making Croxteth the exception to the rule. To break out of this agenda, we argued above, a large power base - a greater amount of resources than the official ones available - is required.

On the whole, the reasons given by residents and activists, officially and unofficially, for opposing the closure of Croxteth Comprehensive had everything to do with material interests which the school held for those interviewed. The one reason which didn't, and it was one which came up all the time in many forms, was the one based on pure anger and resentment over the closure. This reason for supporting opposition to the closure actually seems to have been the reason held by most opponents to the closure who did not have children in the school. There isn't data from this study to back up this impression because no survey was done on the entire estate, but those residents who were interviewed and didn't have children in the school gave this reason and the observations of Pat Rigby and Effie Sherlock, both of whom had contact with residents throughout the estate, support it. But the symbolic value of the school and the anger which its removal incited for what it symbolised, clearly rests upon other material interests shared by residents throughout Croxteth. If the school was not directly materially important to a resident, it could become a symbol for all those areas of life which were.

Thus the symbolic value of the school may have emerged to a certain extent because of the very closure itself. The closure was symbolic of the neglect residents of Croxteth felt generally, and the school became an object onto which many resentments and frustrations could be transferred. Thus more than just an interest was involved, the need to get angry about something concrete and obviously unjust and to express the anger together with others in the same situation could in itself be a factor to motivate involvement in protest, or to motivate passive support for others actively protesting. But the existence of this anger and frustration was precisely rooted in other material interests: housing, facilities and so on. This is

what is implied in the notion of 'trigger': a single event comes to symbolise and focus a large number of frustrations and problems, rooted in material conditions.

C) The formation of an active group

Charles Tilly (1985) points out the tendency to use concentric ring models when describing social movements: the social base (in our case the Croxteth Community) is the largest of the rings - most of the members of this group are passive supporters; a much smaller group of activists make up the next largest ring, and a small group of leaders make up the smallest of the rings. Tilly points out that the relationships between these groups are often problematical: the activists may or may not really represent the social base, the leaders may or may not represent the rest of the activists, and thus he points out that the model itself may be misleading. But this model does usefully apply to the situation in Croxteth. Discontent amongst a large group sharing a number of interests did exist, i.e. there was a social base. And a much smaller group of activists did emerge to conduct the protest, which formed an organisation and had leaders. The relationship between these three groups was indeed problematical, which will be the subject of future discussions, but the model itself is nevertheless useful for our purposes.

The bulk of the data taken for this study is on the active resident's group which took over the school buildings in July 1982. But we have seen that a group of activists did form immediately after the closure announcement. We've seen that the Croxteth Parents' Group acted pretty much initially as a lobbying organisation. Membership seems to have been consistently around twelve during the first phase. The group organised letter writing campaigns, visited councillors and sent a delegation to see the Secretary of State for Education.

The most significant points about the original group of protesters which formed are the following:

- 1) The members were for the most part actual parents with children in the school.
- 2) The arguments against closure which the group used were, we've shown already, modelled on those formulated by the teaching staff. They did not challenge the overall principle of closing schools nor the particular philosophy with which the Liberal Party justified their proposals.
- 3) As we have seen, the staff and original parents' committee were willing to have Ellergreen Comprehensive closed instead of Croxteth Comprehensive and provided detailed arguments to this end.
- 4) The strategy of the staff was to act 'vertically'; that is, it was to lobby councillors and other politicians in conventional ways and *not* to further mobilise the Croxteth Community. Their goal was to

first have the proposal to close Croxteth Comprehensive defeated in council and then, when this failed, to have the Secretary of State for Education block the decision. Always their goals and strategies were purely institutional.

5) The campaign against closure during this phase of struggle sought and received little public visibility. Aside from a long article in the 2nd February 1981 Liverpool Daily Post, which covered the closure of the school and quoted several opponents of the plan, the closure and campaign were hardly ever in the local papers of Liverpool for this entire year.

Each of these five distinguishing features of the group of residents actively protesting the closure of Croxteth Comprehensive between November 1980 and November 1981 changed as the campaign preceded. Phases two and three are the subject of the following chapters.

Chapter Nine
"LET'S OCCUPY!"

It really was, you know what I mean; people wanted their school and everybody had to commit themselves to convince the council that the school had to stay. For all different reasons. But the reasons were coming from the people at the meeting. It was definitely a thing that nobody had organised. The people had demanded that it should happen, see what I mean.

Because of all this and everybody saying that the school should remain open because it was clear from the probation, social workers, doctors, health visitors, the police that it [the closure] was a nonsense. And because everybody thought it was a nonsense, it wouldn't happen, the school would remain open.

Until the defeat at the council. And then there was sort of like an angry reaction, and also there was some feeling that there wasn't much Croxteth could do about it. Angry and discouraged.

I thought it was an awful slap-down. People had really thought, because they'd got themselves together, and everybody was supporting them, because of that it seemed obviously sensible to keep it open.

A smaller group it became then, campaigning.

Pat Rigby

I The Second Phase of Protest: November 1981 to July 1982

Phase two of the campaign for Croxteth Comprehensive began with the departure of the teaching staff from the protest in November 1981. Sir Keith Joseph's letter, explaining that the closure was to go ahead, had just been received and the parents active in protest during the first phase were at a loss as to how to continue. Croxteth Comprehensive was to remain officially open only until the end of the 1981-82 school year.

This chapter is divided into two broad sections, as was the last chapter: a historical account followed by analysis. Our object of study is now the protesting group, its new leaders and tactics, its relationship to the Croxteth Community, its official arguments against the closure, and the interests which these involved had in the campaign and school. The resource management school is our principle theoretical source in this chapter.

A) The Transformation of the Parent's Action Committee

After the defeat on the 28th of January, 1981, when the Liverpool City Council voted in favour of the closure of Croxteth Comprehensive, hopes in Croxteth to save the school dimmed. The Parents' Action Group still had a course of action to pursue, lobbying Secretary of State for Education Mark Carlisle who had the final decision on the Council proposal, but once that was done there was little to do but wait for the decision. When Mark Carlisle's replacement, Sir Keith Joseph, made his decision to uphold the proposal for closure in November of 1981, the campaign was put into crisis. Teachers accepted defeat and turned their attention to finishing the year,

preparing the children for the coming shift in sites, and securing a job for themselves:

I supported the fight, I thought the decision was wrong, but once the decision came I accepted that the fight was over and I thought that now we have to think about the kids. I worked very hard to make their transition to Ellergreen as smooth as possible, and it was very smooth; it went very well indeed. (Leo Bernicoff, former Deputy Head of Croxteth Comprehensive, Subsequently Deputy Head of Ellergreen).

Parents and residents lost morale. The Parents' Action Group continued to meet, but it wasn't clear what course of action could be taken. The campaign was in a crisis because the tactics which had been adopted to fight the closure between November 1980 and November 1981 had failed, there were no routes left to pursue or any promise within the basic strategy the campaigners had been using. It was also in a crisis because the teachers were no longer active in the struggle, now it was all left to the parents.

The key event which brought the campaign out of crisis was the rise of new leaders and a new group of activists in Croxteth which transformed the parents' committee and introduced a new strategy. The events leading to this are worth recording in detail.

The major new figure who arose was Philip Knibb, a local parent and resident of Croxteth since his youth. Phil was a skilled pipe fitter who had had over ten years active union experience. His employment history was one of many shifting jobs interspersed with periods of unemployment. He worked in some of the manufacturing firms around Liverpool like Hords and on the oil rigs in the North Sea. When employed, he very often was elected shop steward, and was well experienced in registering disputes and taking strike action. Phil was experienced with confrontations between workers and management and to leading organised action for better wages and conditions. Phil once commented during an informal conversation that he used to take a copy of *The Ragged Trousered Philanthropist* with him to new work sites to loan out to other workers. He was several times sacked from jobs for his union activities.

In the Autumn of 1981, after a time of living away from the Housing Estate for reasons of employment, Phil moved back to Croxteth and heard about the plans to close Croxteth Comprehensive:

At that time I was involved deeply in the unions, in the way they were working, or *not* working in most cases. I'd read about what was going on in Croxteth, the fact that they wanted to close it, I'd read it in the paper. And I thought there's no chance that they'd ever close that school down, 'cause it really looked nice, what I'd seen of it.

Phil hadn't attended Croxteth Comprehensive himself as a youth, he'd gone to a Catholic secondary school off the Croxteth estate. But his wife Carol had attended Croxteth Comprehensive and the couple had several children in Croxteth Junior School who would attend the comprehensive in the future if it remained open. He thought the closure was unjust and attended some of the parents' committee meetings:

To me it seemed wrong. I was coming home from a union meeting (one) night and there was a meeting called at the school. I thought I'd call in. He and one of my mates called in and we weren't too happy at the, (pause), although it was a full meeting, it seemed to be one of those meetings where you get all kinds of people together and there's no results. There's no solutions or decisions that's made at the end. Mainly because they'd done everything that they were supposed to do, that they knew about, and yet it was still being closed, and they couldn't see any way forward. And (yet) still had great backing behind them. And I stood up and said, you know why don't you expand your committee and start taking some other action. You know it seemed critical, you see, and it wasn't right to be critical, so I tried to like keep it down as best I could although I wasn't too happy with it. I was approached afterwards by Cyril D'Arcy who was the secretary, I think he was the acting secretary then, I don't know really, and he said, 'You know we're open to do that but just wait and we'll do something about it'.

Phil perceived that the parents had exhausted all the tactics, all the forms of struggle that they knew about, and hence that they didn't know how to move ahead. Phil's greater experience in unions and industrial action caused him to see the situation differently and to see possible courses of action: instead of acting upwards alone, through institutional channels, most of which had been exhausted to no effect, expand the base of support into the Croxteth community and 'step up' the action.

This meeting was also the occasion of the first meeting between Phil Knibb and Cyril D'Arcy. Cyril's name has already come up several times in our account. About himself Cyril writes:

I left school at fifteen years of age. Twelve months hotel work. Went away to sea - I was in the Merchant Navy five years booking. Strike. Went into local mining, 'Bold Colliery', for three years. Joe Gormley was a pit deputy when I was there. Left mines for a job in Bird's Eye Foods. Got caught for two years National Service (Army Artillery Driver), then twentyfive years of age, married, two children. Returned to Bird's Eye, went into dispute later, sacked. Then into selling, demolition, taxi work. Driving heavy goods - mostly large tapper waggon on civil engineering sites. Motorways, hospital buildings, etc. Housing repairs etc. ... Unions: Seaman's, NUM, T&G.

Cyril D'Arcy's personal history is similar to Phil Knibb's in many ways and the two men developed a working relationship which was to greatly change the form and style of the residents' committee. Like Phil, Cyril had attended a Catholic secondary school but his wife Irene had attended Croxteth Comprehensive. The family (seven children) had moved off the estate to nearby Dovecot a number of years before Croxteth Comprehensive was proposed for closure, but they thought highly enough of the school to have two of their children continue to attend it. Cyril was active in the protest from the start, taking on much of the correspondence work and addressing meetings of the Education Committee on the parents' behalf. He only officially became secretary of the parents' committee with the resignation of Charles Wallace. Phil and Cyril differed from Vic Rhodes, Tony Blair, and Charles Wallace through their previous histories of trade union organising.

For many months leading up to the closure a third person, Tommy Gannon, worked alongside Phil and Cyril to alter the course of the campaign. Tom Gannon was no longer involved during the period of field research and was never interviewed, but his name came up repeatedly in interviews on the history of the campaign before the actual school occupation. About Tom Gannon Cyril D'Arcy writes:

Local resident, Catholic, docker, trade unionist, Labour Party member. Ran local amateur soccer team. Strong active character, well respected in the community. He injected new blood and life into the campaign, responsible for organisation of fund raising events. His role in campaign: responsible through his Labour Party and Trade Union experience for getting more trade unionists involved. A very good fund raiser.

In November 1981 a new parents' committee was formed at Croxteth Junior School for parents who wanted their primary aged children to attend the local comprehensive in the future. Most of this group had not been involved in the previous campaign, though they'd followed it closely, and they had much more militant intentions than the old committee. Phil Knibb heard about their first meeting and attended it.

Cyril and Blair (the chairman of the old parents' committee) came down to the meeting. But the meeting was in total disarray. Everyone wanted to take action there and then, you know, no letter writing - civil disruption. They'd never met as a committee before and they wanted to take action.

I was still sitting quietly because I could see what they were doing wrong. You know, two committees sort of fighting for the same ideal and people wanted to take action. Cyril would come up to me and say 'hang on you know, don't get involved in this because we're going to try to do something different, form a different committee'. So I sat on me hands actually because I found it very hard. Anyhow I was standing up and I, (pause) they wanted to take action the next day, and to me, being involved in the union that long or whatever, there's no way, although it's good, you know the spontaneous reaction, that you can organise something in an hour. It was totally wrong you know, people who had never met before more or less. So I asked them to delay it for the day after. Eventually they agreed and it was a protest against the Echo.

Phil used the extra day to 'call a sort of a caucus meeting of people I *did* know, and that was friends and people active in one way or another in the union and family.' Together they made some banners and saw to other organisational details to ensure the success of the demonstration.

It is significant that this action appealed to a new group of residents on the estate, first brought together at the meeting at the Junior School, who wanted some form of direct action. At the actual demonstration, which involved about fifty people, very few members of the old Parent's Action Committee were present, Cyril D'Arcy being an important exception. Thus a new leadership as well as a new group of activists were emerging together.

The purpose of this first demonstration was to get better media coverage for Croxteth. A survey of the issues of the Liverpool Daily Echo between 10 November 1980, when it announced the closure plan for several

Liverpool schools (Croxteth Comprehensive amongst them) and November 1980 when it mentioned the Secretary of State's decision in favour of the closure of Croxteth Comprehensive under a headline announcing the retention of Paddington, shows virtually no significant coverage of Croxteth, either with respect to the closure of its comprehensive school or to conditions on the estate generally. Paddington Comprehensive, by contrast, appears in the paper repeatedly. Paddington Comprehensive was a focal point of controversy, Croxteth Comprehensive was not. It was this indifference to Croxteth which the new committee wanted to change.

The Echo's offices were occupied by approximately fifty demonstrators while a small delegation discussed the grievance with the newspaper staff. The occupation was successful, a promise being made to give more coverage to the plight of residents in Croxteth who were losing their school. The demonstration promptly moved on from the offices of the Echo to Radio City and then Radio Merseyside getting spectacular results when Cyril D'Arcy was allowed to talk live, on the spot, over Radio City.

The first demonstration was a success and it won the backing and increased the morale of many residents in Croxteth. Croxteth resident Mary Kane describes her feelings at the time:

I wasn't on [a formal member of] the Action Committee in the early days but I used to go to all the meetings. Every time they called a meeting, I was always there. Then again it used to be more talk than action. A lot of talk going on.

Well it picked up when Phil Knibb joined it, and Tommy Gannon. Then it seemed to get more active. You thought, well we're going to get somewhere now, whereas before you used to think they're just going round in circles these people. They're saying we'll do this and we'll do that but they're not taking positive action. And then when the action started it was better anyway. It was being heard anyway, which was one thing about it.

Whereas before it was in the papers that Croxteth was getting closed and there was an action committee, but it wasn't an action committee that was doing anything really. It was only an action committee that was talking, platform talking like.

It's changed drastic.

Activist Margaret Gaskell made similar comments:

After Phil Knibb joined I think we got more, not aggressive, but the demonstrations we had seemed to get more powerful whereas before it was very (pause), we were still placid. But we knew what we wanted after Phil Knibb took it over. We seemed to be moving more ahead to achieve what we wanted to, and we were more decisive on what we wanted to do. ... [Before] nothing seemed to be happening, but when Phil took over, that's when we started getting somewhere, gradually.

The first feature of the new strategy was to become publicly visible. The first demonstration held in December of 1981 succeeded in starting the process of making Croxteth a household word in Liverpool. The parents, under Phil Knibb's leadership, decided to carry out continuous acts of civil disobedience to remain in the public eye. The second feature was to expand the parents' committee, drawing in more members and sympathisers from the

community. The first demonstration was a great success for it proved very stimulating to those who took part in it and left them with a feeling of hope that something could be done. But now two groups existed on the estate, the old committee and the new group of residents ready to take direct action. Phil Knibb and Cyril D'Arcy saw the need to form a single new committee.

Phil attended the next meeting of the Parents' Action Group and stressed the need to reform the committee as a community group, not just a parents' group. The suggestion was rejected at first 'But in the meantime we had a series of meetings with Cyril, Blair, and Tommy Gannon at my house'. This small group saw the need for the change in tactics and strategy and met to plan ways of bringing it about. Phil brought up the idea several times at various joint meetings of the two committees. Members of the old committee resisted him:

I was seen as someone bad because I was sort of taking the fight from them. I had a voice that was listened to, if not agreed with by members of the older committee especially. But what they did agree with was that they had nowhere to go.

On the 10th of February, 1982, a public meeting was held at the Labour Club in Croxteth about the school. This was the first time a protest meeting was held outside the school. The location was meant to emphasise the intentions of the activists to make the struggle a community, rather than a parent's, struggle. The choice of the Labour Club also reflected the intentions of Phil Knibb and Tommy Gannon to draw the campaign closer to the labour movement. At this meeting a new committee was formed, called the Croxteth Community Action Committee (CCAC). Tony Blair remained chairman and Cyril D'Arcy was its secretary.

The new committee was lead by Phil Knibb and Cyril D'Arcy, Phil working more from the background.

Tony never had a clue 'cause he worked in a shop, a retailer's shop, and more or less whatever we (Cyril and Phill) said went forward. We had to prompt Tony and, between Cyril and I, fix his agenda up. He was a good front: acceptable to the old committee.

In time, however, conflicts between Tony and Phil developed which weren't easily reconcilable. Ev Loftus, a member of the committee at the time, commented:

Phil used to challenge him when he (Tony) was sitting up and chairing the meeting and Tony would say 'You want to be sitting up here, this is what you want!'

The final rift occurred during a meeting in the summer, over a disagreement about whether or not to accept the closure of one of the two school buildings. Tony Blair resigned as Chairman. Phil Knibb replaced him. Phil explains:

As we became more and more illegal Tony grew more arraid of various things. I challenged him one time. He wanted to agree to hand over one of the buildings, and he went down, sat down in the audience, resigned and left the committee completely.

The newly formed CCAC's strategy was to use the public sympathy, which they expected to win through civil disobedience and sympathetic press coverage, to exploit the situation of a hung council in Liverpool. The hope was that the Liberal-Conservative alliance in support of the closure plan could be broken so that enough votes would be shifted over to the side taken by Labour in support of the school.

B) 'We Won by 31 Votes!'

On the 11th, 12th and 13th of February, 1982, the new committee led demonstrations to block traffic on the East Lancashire Rd boardering one side of Croxteth. Media coverage was extensive, as hoped. The local papers printed pictures and large headlines accompanied by articles giving the parents' arguments against the closure of their school. The 12th February Liverpool Post announced that a 'petticoat blockade', consisting of 'mums and school girls' had stopped traffic on the busy highway for twenty minutes during rush hour. The article actually draws attention to a consistent feature of the campaign for Croxteth Comprehensive: the majority of participants were at all times women, although the leadership was definitely always male.

These activities helped to further boost the morale of residents on the committee as well and it gave many of them their first experience of civil disobedience:

I think people were frightened to sort of cause too much (pause), think they were frightened of the police or something if you're on a demonstration. But then we found out we could still be a bit more powerful without actually breaking the law and causing too much (pause), I mean we caused disturbance obviously by the noise we made and that. But there was a lot of people; when we said that we would stop the traffic at certain roads, a lot of people were frightened of that. A few dropped out because of that.

I was determined to do it but it didn't stop me being frightened of what I was doing. When you stand in the middle of a road and there's a big container lorry in front, I was a bit frightened in case it sort of run me over you know. But we got some good publicity from doing that you know.

... It wouldn't frighten me at all now.

Margaret Gaskell, Action Committee member,
two sons in school

There were lots of women involved. We used to bring the babies along in the prams and the buggies, it was the only way they could come you know. There were men as well, but mostly women. The police were reasonable like. And we stopped the traffic.

Carol Dunne, Croxteth resident
two children in school

The local police mainly stood by during the demonstration, making sure that no one was hurt and that the disruption didn't cause any violence, but allowing the act of civil disobedience to take place. Cyril D'Arcy wrote the Chief Constable on the 18th of January to give his appreciation of the police's behaviour. The Chief Constable wrote back, thanking Cyril for the letter. Relations between the police and the CCAC were very good during all of the campaign, police reportedly even warning pickets, when the school was occupied, that workmen were approaching to shut off the electrical supply to the school and supplying occupiers of the school with candles after the electricity had been switched off.

In accordance with their strategy of getting maximum community involvement, the Action Committee publicised its meetings and demonstrations widely throughout Croxteth. Leaflets were distributed and put up in shop windows and a car with a loud hailer drove around the estate. All residents were aware of the demonstrations and many participated, several demonstrations drawing over 200. Demonstrating was a way of fighting back, of expressing discontent in a way that seemed to have an effect:

Really in Crocky we'd never rebelled against nothing, we'd just let people, (pause), councillor comes here and says 'Do this' and 'Do that' and just walked all over us. And then, we've never really done anything, stood up for ourselves. So when we were sort of fighting it was a big thing. We thought, 'Well we've never stood up for ourselves, we're standing up for ourselves and we're going to win!'

Jackie Madden, Croxteth resident

The Harrisons recalled the first demonstrations and confirm the picture of enthusiasm for them on the part of many. They noted that the demonstrations were an educative experience for participants and observers alike - a lesson that militant action was perhaps worthwhile:

Ray Harrison: You know when the order went out that they wanted to hold the traffic up on the East Lancs, everybody went. It was like a grand final, wasn't it, you know. *Everyone* went, and the traffic was stopped and then it was the order to take all the people to town, to the Town Hall, wasn't it. And they were all going down to the Town Hall, they blocked the road in town, Dale St.

And it worked, didn't it, June, because it made people sit up, I'm talking about people in power, sit up and say 'Well these people, they're not doing it for nothing!'

As I say, to do it legally, if you just wrote letters off to the people complaining, it doesn't get you anywhere today. You must get up and say, 'well we'll take action', and they'll take more notice now. You've got to be militant today to get anywhere. This business of writing letters to Lord this and Lord that doesn't get you anywhere.

June Harrison: Yes, and it was a new experience for everybody. When we went down to the Town Hall, God! there was hundreds of us in the Town Hall. And we held up Dale St. and all the traffic and all.

On the 16th of February between 150 and 200 demonstrators from Croxteth gathered outside the Liverpool City Hall on Dale Street while a meeting of the Education Committee was being held inside. As many of the

demonstrators as possible filled the visitor's gallery to watch the proceedings. Michael Storey, chairing the meeting, several times asked the police to clear the gallery because of the noise (17/2/82 Echo). The Education Committee on this occasion voted to give Croxteth a reprieve by 18 to 12, many Conservatives voting along with Labour. But the reprieve was found to be meaningless later because the council decision of the year before had been ratified by a Secretary of State and was therefore unalterable by the local government.

The turn-around of the Education Committee probably had to do with the publicity generated by the demonstrations. The actions continued to bring much press attention and the plight of Croxteth began to be regularly mentioned in the local daily papers. Very often Cyril D'Arcy, who is a very skillful speaker, was asked to make comments and his statements can be found in many issues of the Liverpool Daily Echo and Post during 1982. On the occasion of the 16th February demonstration he made a typical statement to the Post:

If you close the school, a sleeping monster will awake. The people of Croxteth have had enough of the political pillage and rape of their community. (17/2/82 Post)

Cyril's statements to the media, and others speaking publicly for the school, consistently played upon four themes:

1) The image of the unified community. Phrases like 'the people of Croxteth feel', 'Croxteth has had enough', 'the residents of Croxteth are ready' and so on were constantly used. The image created by such phrases is that of 'a community', analogous to a person or another single entity, which has suffered certain wrongs. As analysed in the last chapter, there is in fact evidence of a shared identity in Croxteth, though with important qualifications and a number of internal conflicts, but the use of phrases in the press to exaggerate the amount of unity in Croxteth was clearly effective in winning general sympathy. It is, as Charles Tilly has noted (chapter three), a common tactic used in social movements and one which, we might add, isn't necessarily pursued deliberately. Many of the participants themselves tended to explain their actions as actions of 'the community' even though they were aware of internal conflicts between participants and of the problematical relationship between the minority of activists and the social base they sought to represent.

2) The theme of a community suffering moral wrong at the hands of government. The lack of facilities, the removal and reduction of those facilities that did exist, the poor housing, and so on were constantly used in press statements in morally condemning terms. The situation in Croxteth was described as 'shameful', 'a disgrace', and so on. And on top of the neglect, another facility, the school, was about to be removed as well. Again, although most participants held to this image of themselves and their community once they joined the campaign, many in interviews indicated that they'd come to regard conditions in Croxteth in such harsh terms only as a *result* of their participation

in the campaign. Grievances which had previously only been endured and previously existed at a tacit level of awareness to participants now became articulated; partly for them by the committee leadership, and partly by themselves through the normative space which the campaign opened up. It became acceptable to give voice to personal hardships. This was one of the appeals of the campaign for the new members: it articulated problems which they'd previously experienced, but at an unarticulated level. Articulation gave them a sense of unity and a sense of hope.

3) The image of the school as playing a central role in the community. Statements usually stressed that in such a barren and deprived area, the school was the only central facility. As Molly said in a September 1982 television programme, 'the school is the heart of this community' (BBC Open Door, 2nd September, 1982). Metaphors like 'cornerstone of all struggles in Croxteth', 'thread holding the community together', and so on constantly came up.

4) The threat of violence breaking out if the school is closed down. Cyril D'Arcy, in particular, made much of this. In such morally condemnable conditions of neglect and abuse, the people of Croxteth may justifiably (or 'understandably') become disruptive, it was stated or implied. Riots like those which took place in Toxteth were indicated as a possibility in Croxteth.

Thus after the 16th February Education Committee vote in favour of annulling the closure, a demonstrator was quoted as saying 'You've probably saved the city from another Toxteth' (17/2/82 Post). Toxteth, it will be recalled, is the Liverpool inner city community which erupted in riots during 1981.

On the 23rd, when it was announced that the decision had no political meaning, Cyril D'Arcy was quoted as saying:

I am shocked! It will be an unmitigated social disaster if this school leaves the Croxteth Area. (24/2/82 Echo)

On the second of March 1982 an important feature article appeared in the Liverpool Echo on the Croxteth Estate. A brief history of Croxteth was given followed by detailed descriptions of the deprivation and social problems facing residents. The article was accompanied by pictures of some of the worst housing and residents were quoted. The feature was important in bringing yet more public attention to Croxteth and generating sympathy for the school. About the school it stated:

The school, on a split site joined by a foot path, is seen by the people as one of the threads holding the community together.

Thus by early March, the demonstrations and public statements made by the Croxteth Community Action Committee had succeeded in getting frequent media coverage culminating in a sympathetic feature article which used the same sorts of themes employed by Cyril D'Arcy and others. The feature

article presented the school as crucial to local identity and meeting social needs and constantly used phrases like 'the people', 'the residents', and 'the community'.

After the vote of the Education Committee to annul the closure of the school was shown to be fruitless, the CCAC began to work towards getting a proposal through the council which would create a 'new' school in Croxteth in the buildings of the 'former' comprehensive. This proposal became scheduled for vote by the full council on 3 March.

The CCAC invited representatives from all three political parties to a tour of the Croxteth estate a few days before the council vote to provide concrete evidence for the Action Committee's claims that Croxteth had special social conditions which over-rode considerations of pupil rolls. The Labour Party didn't send a delegation but sent a letter explaining that it already supported re-establishing the school and didn't need any convincing. The Liberal Party didn't respond to the invitation at all (the Liberal Party consistently ignored invitations to visit Croxteth on various occasions, from Michael Storey's refusal to attend the 7th January 1981 consultative meeting through this occasion to the 21st March 1983 meeting on housing when representatives from all three parties had again been invited to give a talk), but the Conservative Party sent a small delegation on the 1st of March. Philip Knibb showed them about the estate, pointing out the dilapidated housing and supplying them with statistics on problems of health and crime. That evening the Liverpool Conservative Party met and decided to change their official party policy to favour the school. Although she had differed from her colleagues by always supporting the school in Croxteth, Myra Fitzsimmons, the Conservative Party's spokesperson on education, expressed the view which the party as a whole came to adopt:

I was convinced that it was more than just a school; it was serving vital social needs for that area.

This statement is significant because it illustrates the successful way in which the CCAC presented their arguments during this phase of the campaign: they did not present a challenge to the general philosophy by which Liberals and Conservatives proposed to close specific schools in Liverpool, the philosophy based on parental choice and educational standards, but rather emphasised that Croxteth Comprehensive was *an exception* to closure policy. The argument was not that schools in general ought to have social functions going beyond the provision of a traditional education, nor that choices of parents for schools outside their areas is not a valid criterion for whether or not an area of the city ought to have a school, but rather that Croxteth Comprehensive was *more than just a school*, that it was unique and needed to be preserved for reasons that applied to it only, not to schools generally.

On the 3rd of March, the day of the council meeting, between 40 and 50 residents of Croxteth again travelled to the city centre and blocked traffic outside the council chambers. Large numbers of the residents made their way into the visitor's chamber as the council considered various proposals on its agenda. When the proposal to reopen a school in Croxteth came up it

was passed with a majority of 31 votes: Conservatives and Labour voting solidly together against the Liberals. It can't be said, moreover, that all Liberals strongly supported the closure at this point either. Of those Liberals present at the 3rd March meeting, six abstained from voting on the Croxteth proposal and fifteen hadn't bothered to be there. (4/3/82 Echo).

With respect to the Conservative Party's change of mind it is important to recall their wish to have the selective Liverpool Boy's and Girl's Institute relocated in the buildings of Paddington and how this was agreed to by the Liberals and included in their original package of closures - the package which closed Croxteth Comprehensive down (chapter eight). Cyril D'Arcy writes:

After the Toxteth riots, the Education Minister intervened to keep Liverpool 8's school open: thwarted deal. Tory councillors accepted the invitation to visit the Croxteth area and school and agreed to support us. There was no need for coalition with the Liberals now that Paddington was lost to them. There was no whip on the vote. They voted with Labour and reversed the original decision.

The reaction in Croxteth was euphoric. Pat Rigby described it from her perspective in the Croxteth-Gillmoor Federation office (Pat did not participate in any of the demonstrations and meetings held to oppose the closure because doing so would have put her job in jeopardy - her observations were almost entirely of other residents who were not directly involved):

Pat: That was great, you know when the council changed its mind. Alright it [the CCAC] had one smack-down but it actually made the council change its mind.

P.C.: Did you notice any reaction from residents generally to the news?

Pat: Oh yeah! Being stopped by people in the street, by youngsters even, actually kids in the street, saying it's actually great. We more or less made them change their minds. And the housing thing was going on. And that was getting momentum up. Well, they've actually done it in the school; sort of people were saying they've done that against all odds. We can really go on and we can achieve almost anything now, we've gone that far.

Pat noted a response which was, in her view, comparable in intensity to the reaction of resentment which had taken place 1½ years before at the announcement of closure. She also had hopes that the victory at the school would produce spin-offs into other areas of the community which needed action by residents. Residents had identified to a certain extent with the actions of the CCAC in getting the council to change its vote, and Pat noted expressions of greater confidence at the housing meetings. A month earlier she had predicted:

People feel neglected by the city and badly done to. They have become apathetic. But if they win the fight to save the school it will make them determined to campaign for better facilities. (2/3/82 Echo)

And the success of 3 March seemed to have precisely that effect: an increase in the morale of many residents and increased determination on the part of those in tenants' associations on the estate.

All that was left was for Keith Joseph to agree to the council's new proposal. Cyril D'Arcy wrote to Keith Joseph the day after the council vote in March urging him to uphold the decision. He pointed out in his letter that the people of Croxteth conducted themselves 'with dignity and responsibility' throughout the 15 months of campaigning. On the 8th of March, the CCAC sent a circular to residents of Croxteth asking them to write to Rhodes Boyson to urge him to uphold the new proposal. Rhodes Boyson later said that in all he had received 73 objections with 6,481 signatures on them to the closure of Croxteth Comprehensive (21/5/82 Post). Bob Wareing, County Councillor on the Merseyside County Council at the time, wrote to Keith Joseph on the 16th of April, again urging him not to reject the council decision. He noted in the letter that he was deputy chairman of the governors of Ellergreen Comprehensive and considered it an inferior school. Like Cyril, he mentioned the good conduct of the Croxteth Community under difficult circumstances, and he more than hinted that a decision without a visit to the estate would be ill advised:

It seems to me that the Croxteth Estate possesses all the ingredients for future discontent and it says much for the tolerance and forbearance of the inhabitants that they have until now contained their protests within the bounds of legality. I cannot believe that a decision to close the Croxteth Comprehensive School could have been reached by anyone who had visited the area.

Cyril also wrote to Neil Kinnock, at that time the spokesperson for education of the national Labour Party, seeking his support in the lobby of Sir Keith Joseph.

C) Expanding the Campaign to other issues in Croxteth

The Croxteth Community Action Committee had little to do during this period than send their letters to Rhodes Boyson, Undersecretary of State for Education, and wait for the decision. Many members believed that the struggle was over, the last battle won, and the committee decided to branch out into other areas of activity. The strategy throughout this second phase of the campaign had been to broaden the struggle to the entire Croxteth community and to tie the function of the school to social needs on the estate. This resulted in a growth in awareness of problems on the estate.

At first this was purely a fight for the school, but as we began the struggle we became aware of the appalling social deprivation here. ... As these facts (unemployment and housing statistics) were emerging we became more aware of the community's needs.

Cyril D'Arcy

Of course the desire on the part of members of the CCAC to expand their concerns was directly a result of participation in the struggle, which had both given the activists the means of articulating grievances they had actually long been aware of and given them the experience of success and thus confidence and a sense of empowerment. As mentioned above, the articulation of grievances meant not only an increase in the level of awareness of problems on their estate, it provided, automatically, a normative justification for feeling and expressing discontent long felt.

This is an early indication of an aspect of the campaign, undoubtedly common to all campaigns, which will be discussed in more detail in chapters ahead: the campaign changed conditions of action for its members by placing into discursive awareness conditions which had previously been on a more tacit level. Doing so generated a new normative context for members which made discursive discussion about problems in Croxteth not only possible but acceptable. Already we see the importance of a theory of action going beyond the simple goal-rational model (chapter four).

The Action Committee formed several subcommittees to deal with other social problems in Croxteth. There was a committee for housing, one for youth and recreation, one called the 'organisation committee' which was to tend to general needs in the community like fund raising, arranging dances and other activities. The housing committee soon experienced some success when it managed to get a single parent living in a dilapidated flat overrun by mice rehoused. The committee collected lists of complaints from residents and handed them in to the housing department. It also held meetings on housing which Cyril described as 'effective', i.e. as having reasonable turn-outs.

Thus the struggle for the school had expanded the social awareness of residents active in it and had left them with a determination to improve their area generally, using militant means if necessary. The Croxteth Community Action Committee, with an official membership of about 30, was capable of leading 200 or more residents on demonstrations and was anxious to expand its concerns. At this point it had no interest to align itself too closely with other organisations on the estate. It saw itself as new and radical and didn't want to get enmeshed with more traditional organisations in Croxteth. Instead it was expanding its concerns into the same areas that many of these other organisations were involved with, like housing. When Pat Rigby invited the CCAC to formally affiliate with the Croxteth-Gillmoss Federation:

We told them no, we are an *action* committee and we will do things that'll shock the likes of you. After a time you'll dissociate yourselves from us publicly and cause more harm than good.

Cyril D'Arcy

D) Taking Over the School

Liverpool Director of Education Kenneth Antcliffe received a letter from the DES dated the 6th of April, 1982, which said that Keith Joseph had noted the severe problems in Liverpool caused by the existence of surplus places in the primary and secondary schools. The letter pointed out that Croxteth Comprehensive had many surplus places, that it had only just over three forms of entry on roll and was attracting only 2% forms of entry. Ellergreen Comprehensive, on the other hand, had 5% forms of entry and was attracting an intake of 3%. The letter states that reasons for the change in the authority's view had not been made clear and asks the Director to write back specifying:

- 1) 'What new evidence is now available to show that a school in Croxteth would be able to attract an intake of sufficient size to ensure curriculum opportunities of appropriate range both for the 11-16 and 16+ age groups,
- and
- 2) What are the consequences for the long-term future of the new 7 form entry 11-18 school to be established in Ellergreen?'

The letter, in other words, ignored the arguments which had featured most prominently into the March council vote, arguments of social need. The city government's agenda of priorities had been altered for the case of Croxteth Comprehensive. But the national Secretary of State for Education simply ignored the addition of new criteria for closing or retaining schools, and stuck to the figures of forms of entry and surplus places.

Kenneth Antcliffe denied Cyril D'Arcy's request for a copy of the LEA's reply to the Department of Education. He informed Cyril, however, that the letter had stressed social need and had included updated statistics.

The news that the DES refused to uphold the council decision came out on the 10th of May when Kenneth Antcliffe sent a letter to councillor Bill Snell, one of Croxteth's three Labour councillors at the time. Mr Antcliffe wrote to Cyril D'Arcy the next day. Cyril's response was swift; he immediately wrote to the Chief Constable of Liverpool saying:

All previous unwritten guarantees are withdrawn. Croxteth as one of the most disadvantaged areas of Liverpool has all the ingredients for social unrest. The Minister for Education seems intent on fanning the flames by his decision. The Action Committee realise regretfully that they no longer can be responsible for the future actions of the community.

Many residents were shocked at the news:

June Harrison: And the next thing, bump like, you haven't got the school again.

Ray Harrison: It's like a see-saw. It's been won, it's lost, it's won, it's lost. I call it bureaucracy like. People in another area like London can say 'close that school'. And they don't know the background or the problems. They don't understand the problems of the area. ...

June Harrison: Starting from the bottom of your government, right up to the top, it all wants changing.

This aspect of Keith Joseph's decision was found to be particularly rankling: that he had never seen Croxteth and yet he had the power to remove its school. Many residents believed that if he would simply have taken the time to visit the estate he would have changed his mind, like the local Conservatives had done. On the 18th of May Labour Councillor Bob Wareing wrote Keith Joseph a formal request to visit the estate.

The Croxteth Community Action Committee ended their new activities over other issues in Croxteth, regrouped, and started another militant campaign. On the 22nd of May they brought between 70 and 100 residents to block traffic on Liverpool's Pier Head, a major bus terminal in the city (23/5/82 Post). On the 27th of May two bus loads of Croxteth residents

drove to London to demonstrate outside the Department of Education and Science:

In mid May, 1982, the leaders and education representatives from the three Liverpool political parties were called to meet Keith Joseph at the DES to try to formulate a plan for the reorganisation of Liverpool education. In Keith Joseph's opinion there were too many empty school places. To coincide with this meeting we organised a demo at the DES for the same time as the meeting was taking place. We went in two buses and travelled over night.

After the meeting was over we spoke with Keith Joseph and extracted a promise from him to visit Croxteth, a promise he never kept and later denied. Also, before the meeting I spoke at some length with Michael Heseltine on the problems of Croxteth. He asked me to give some written details to his chauffeur, which I did. He later visited Croxteth on a couple of occasions, stating that he was unable to intervene upon the matter of Crocky Comp but could possibly do something about environmental matters. Hence the egg throwing incident (see ahead).

Cyril D'Arcy

Committee

The Croxteth Community Action₁ managed to schedule an interview with Rhodes Boyson for the 9th of June. A delegation, with Cyril D'Arcy on it, was told by Boyson, 'You have thirty minutes to change my mind'. The delegation didn't manage to change his mind, as they learned from a letter received two weeks later.

The Liberal Party in Liverpool, meanwhile, had begun to offer use of the Croxteth school buildings to various service organisations, announcing that they intended to address some of the community's social needs in this way. Efforts of Phil Knibb and Cyril D'Arcy to thwart this had some success. Another account from Cyril is worth quoting for it shows how important it is for movements to keep informed of all political events and how tactics employed can swing things either way:

The Liberals tried the 'divide and conquer' tactic. They were aware that there were, in Croxteth and surrounding areas, many small groups who had a vested interest in acquiring new accommodation and Croxteth school seemed the ready-made answer. We appealed to everyone not to attend a meeting at Education offices to discuss proposals (probably May or June) for the future use of Croxteth Comp, now that it had closed as a comprehensive. We pointed out that it was only a ploy to undermine the fight to save Crocky.

Phil (Knibb) and I went to the Education offices early, along time before the meeting was due to start, in order to seek to persuade people not to attend. We never saw a soul. Just before the meeting was due to start we were standing in the foyer of the Education offices wondering how to gain entry into the meeting on one of the higher floors. We had a stroke of luck. The Director Ken Antcliffe and the Deputy Chair of Education Geoffrey Smith appeared. Mr Antcliffe said, "Hello, going to the meeting? Come up in the lift with us."

There were some disappointed faces in that meeting when Phil and I walked in. A lot of people who had proffered support (for the campaign) must have anticipated our tactics and gotten there before us, or gained entry another way. Our luck continued when to my surprise Geoff Smith invited me to address the meeting. After the onslaught I made, the Judas's weren't prepared to put forward their proposals in the presence of Phil and I, although I am sure that they would have done so in our absence. The meeting was a political

failure [for the Liberals]. There are still some of those people about who claim credit for their part in the fight.

By May, however, the Liberals had started an MSC scheme in the Parkstile building. On the 2nd of June, the CCAC protested against this 'poaching' by the Liberals of the idea of expanding the role of Croxteth Comprehensive as a community centre. The CCAC greatly resented this move by the Liberals for it seemed like a theft of their own original ideas now being used to make the closure of the school seem less insensitive to community needs (see Tony Blair's letter to the Post, 24/5/82). The 2 June protest consisted of a lock-out of the teenagers attending the MSC scheme in the Parkstile building. Another reason for the protest was a general scepticism on the part of the Committee as to the value of MSC youth schemes. Cyril D'Arcy referred to them as 'just another way to massage the unemployment figures.' They wanted a youth programme more tightly integrated with the the school (letter in 24/5/82 Post).

The CCAC led an occupation of the Education Office buildings in central Liverpool on the sixth of July. A banner carried read: 'Toxteth gets the Loot, Croxteth gets the Boot', referring to the formation of an inner city partnership arranged by the Secretary of the Environment Michael Heseltine for Toxteth and other Liverpool areas, but excluding Croxteth. Also implicit in the banner's message was the felt injustice of rewarding a community which had erupted in great violence while ignoring a community which had so far conducted an orderly campaign. Yet another implication of this banner was the sectionalism still present, though not to as great a degree as it had been during the first phase as we shall see, in the ideology of the Croxteth campaign: it was still willing to compete on some levels with other areas of Liverpool suffering similar problems to its own.

Over 200 people participated in this action. Amongst their numbers were many pupils of Croxteth Comprehensive who vandalised offices by destroying materials such as notice boards and windows, and tossing eggs inside the building. These activities greatly embarrassed the Action Committee. Cyril D'Arcy, however, turned the embarrassment into a warning:

This action was not organised, but it came from frustration because these people's voices are not being heard. Feelings are very high in Croxteth. This is only the start of things. Everything in the area is rife for civil unrest. (7/7/82 Post)

In the same article Cyril is quoted as saying that the Action Committee was planning a daily picket of the school buildings.

Nevertheless, this event was a turning point in the sympathetic press coverage of the campaign. Rege Flude, prominent member of the Conservative Party in Liverpool, was quoted in the same newspaper:

The difference between demonstrations and unruly behaviour indicative of the action today can only disfavour their cause.

The picket was begun soon afterwards. Its main object was to prevent the removal of any equipment from the buildings with the last day of school

coming up in just over a week's time. On the 12th of July, before school hours, a number of private cars arrived in front of the Parkstile building and the drivers loaded them with sewing machines from the domestic science rooms. The activity was observed and when teachers arrived at opening time they received such strong protests from community pickets that the machines were returned later in the day (13/7/82 Post).

The 13th of July 1982 was an eventful day in Croxteth. The Guardian printed an 'Open Letter to Mrs Thatcher' on that day which was written by Collette D'Arcy, Cyril's daughter and 6th former at Croxteth Comprehensive. The letter included this passage:

The outright dismissal of the case for the retention of our school by Sir Keith Joseph on June 22, 1982, together with his broken promise to visit Croxteth have made us bitter, feeling that numerous reasoned arguments, letters, deputations, and peaceful demonstrations have come to nothing. What is there left? Knowing the area, the people involved, and the feeling of helplessness, it would seem the only answer would be civil disobedience. After all it paid off last year in Toxteth.

Residents in Croxteth had already made use of civil disobedience, as we have seen, but on this same day residents were to take much more militant steps.

The 13th of July was a day in which Sir Keith Joseph was scheduled to visit Liverpool for talks about needed educational reorganisation and for a visit to several of the schools affected. Despite the invitations to visit Croxteth Comprehensive and his earlier promise to do so, Keith Joseph's tour schedule for the day did not include Croxteth.

The CCAC organised a demonstration to take place outside the Liverpool Polytechnic in the afternoon when Joseph was giving a talk there. A bus load of parents went down. Keith Joseph agreed to talk to a delegation of parents, including Phil Knibb and Cyril D'Arcy, for five minutes. 'It was obvious', said Phil Knibb, 'that he wouldn't change his mind.' The delegation returned and told the waiting demonstrators that Joseph wasn't going to visit the Estate nor change his mind about the school. Feelings of anger were expressed as the demonstrators got back into the bus. During the drive back to Croxteth, several activists began to urge the immediate occupation of the school buildings. This possibility had been considered in committee meetings and the time seemed to be right as large numbers of the residents were together and the recent appeal to Sir Keith Joseph had failed. A decision was made on the bus and the residents split into two groups, one to enter the Parkstile Building and one the Stonebridge:

When we came back from town, when Keith Joseph refused to fund our school, we sent someone in to tell the teachers what we were planning to do, that they could take whatever they wanted and then we would be occupying the school from then.

So we waited. I think it was about a quarter-to-four and then when the children moved out and the teachers, we just moved in. We were in the foyer. I don't know about this building (Stonebridge) because I wasn't on this side. We had half in Parkstile and half over here. And we were in the foyer. We stayed in the foyer, we didn't actually move into

the building until we started the school, when we started doing things. We just occupied the foyer, used the toilets. ... I think it was to keep the school sort of sealed off, so that not everybody would wander around the building.

Margaret Gaskell

Remaining in the foyer also suggested an initial sense of being on foreign territory, an uncertainty with respect to the rights of the Action Committee in the school buildings. The school, like all physical sites, had particular meanings attached to it. It served as a symbol of social relationships, imparting conditions of action, 'rules and resources', of its own to those who entered it. Some time had to pass before the social relationships symbolised by the school changed and new rules generated by the activists came into play. But even these new rules, we shall see, retained much of the old meaning of the school, now only modified. And in certain areas of the school at certain times, such as the classrooms during the running of the school under occupation, the old authority relationships never changed very dramatically.

On the 14th of July, teachers returning to teach met pickets who turned them back. The vast majority of the teachers were sympathetic to the occupation, including head teacher George Smith and Deputy Head Leo Bernicoff. The school was in the parent's control with nearly all of its equipment in place.

E) 'Chock-a-block with People'

The occupation of the buildings caused great excitement in Croxteth. Many people who hadn't been involved in the campaign before suddenly came over to the school to see what was going on and to see how they could help out. A number of these became full time volunteers in the school. Twenty six year old Kathy Donovan was one of these:

Me Mother said, 'Do me a favour girl, will you go up to the school and see about Frank's [Kathy's younger brother] work?' I said 'Oh you're joking aren't you, I just want to press me stuff and go to bed'. So she said 'I don't feel up to it and you know it's parent's night and that, go on up.' So I said okay, after a moan and a groan.

And I came up and met the teachers, who I knew, and Mr Bannerham came over to me. I said 'What's going on Sir?' He said, 'You can't go in', I said 'What do you mean?' He said 'parents have occupied the building'. I said 'Oh go on, you're joking', 'cause I'd never heard anything about it. He said, 'No, honest to God, we can't even go in ourselves'.

So then I seen Sandra [a friend]. She said 'Are you coming over?' You know the gates and everything were locked, but there was a hole by the wall. She said 'Are you coming over?' I said, 'Oh I don't know'. So she said, 'Oh come on, so then some other woman said, 'Is she coming on to the picket line?' So Sandra said 'Are you coming on the picket line?' And I said 'How long for?' She said 'Only a few hours', (laughing) you know I'm still here, 12 months later.

We used to sit up all night long, you know telling stories or playing cards, just getting to know each other. And I got to like them, or most of them, you know, naturally you made friends you made enemies, but everything and everyone was just great.

... It was really great, you know really electric, so I thought, right, that's it, that's for me (laughing). And I went in there, stayed, and I've been here ever since.

Kathy actually quit her job to become involved in the school full time.

The people interviewed all remember the first weeks of the occupation as one of the bright points, both of the campaign and of their lives. There were always lots of people in the buildings, many new friendships were made, and something exciting always seemed to be going on, like the expectation of bailiffs, or plans for a new demonstration. The occupation broke for a time the isolation felt by many on the estate and established new bonds between neighbours. It also introduced strains into family relationships.

We brought our kids to the school so it wasn't so difficult. There were loads of kids here. It was more like a social club, we had bingo, we'd take turns nipping to the shop, put our dinner on, get the tea and that, and then come back. ...

People are isolated in this community. I live near Pat and Sharon but I didn't ever meet them before the occupation.

You try to fit in what you miss during the day when you get home. It's a strain on the family life. But in the summer the whole community got to know each other.

Margaret Gaskell

Margaret's comments cast some light on the concepts of interests and social relations and will be recalled for discussion in the analysis ahead.

The vast numbers of new people taking an interest in the school caused a problem for the CCAC, for it became difficult to control their activities.

I stayed in Parkstile, easier for me to get home from there. First of all there's too many people there at the beginning. I know the first night we took over the school was just chock-a-block with people all over the place. And then Phil had to say like we didn't need that many, and the day time was still the same, plenty of people there.

We really had enough people to (pause), say like I'll come for two hours in the morning and go home and come back then, go home and then come back in the evening until about 12:00. There was plenty of people then, all very strong.

Mary Kane

Phil Knibb reportedly tried to discourage so many from coming. A rota was established for picket duty which helped to control the numbers somewhat, and some of the new arrivals who showed disorderly or untrustworthy behaviour were asked to leave (Cyril's description of 'the community's law of the jungle' in chapter seven).

Despite the many new friendships and the feeling of unity in a common purpose, the occupation was not without interpersonal conflict. Conflicts formed over two divisions: between young and old and between the pickets

in the Stonebridge Building and those in the Parkstile Building. Young pickets who liked to stay up all night talking and listening to music were resented by the older pickets who liked to get their sleep. The conflicts between the two buildings probably arose due to lack of communication between the two groups occupying them. The new friendships made were made within the two groups associated with the buildings; there weren't many occasions for the two groups to mix. Stonebridge became the headquarters of the campaign as well, which meant that those in Stonebridge usually knew more about what was occurring than those in Parkstile, causing some resentment. Conflicts between activists in the two buildings actually lasted for the entire year of the occupation. Jackie Madden gave a typical account of their early formation:

P.C.: What was it like in those early days?

Jackie: Oh it was great. You could come up at 3 o'clock in the afternoon or 3 o'clock in the morning and there was always loads of people around and things going on. But because there were so many people you couldn't know everything going on. And we got pulled to pieces like, they said all things about us, but, er,

P.C.: The Newspapers?

Jackie: No, it was mainly, when there was loads of people staying there was a conflict between the two buildings, the people who were staying in one and the people who were staying in the other, they sort of argued a lot.

P.C.: Which building was yours?

Jackie: The Parkstile. The thing is, the people over here had cause, and they didn't like it so they left. Parkstile mostly that stayed were young, and over here [Stonebridge] were mostly old. They went to sleep over here. And we stayed up like messing about. There wasn't any [real] messing about like, we done some good work, like we made posters for advertising demonstrations and banners for demonstrations. We also played cards, you know things like that. And we used to have a laugh and that, and there was a bit of a conflict between the two sides.

Well I came over here [Stonebridge]. Well a couple of people used to come over here and say, 'well I'm not coming over here again, they don't even offer you a cup of tea over here, they do on our side, I hate that side', and that. But I came over here ... and the people were friendly, so I wasn't bothered like.

By most accounts, the younger pickets were in their twenties, with a few in their late teens, and numbered between 30 and 40. They weren't the only pickets at Parkstile by any means, a number of older residents with families also picketed there. Several young pickets worked with the older pickets in the Stonebridge building as well, but numbers dropped off very quickly so that by the time the field work began in September, a core of only 30, mostly older, pickets were left.

P.C.: I never see many young people around here, like on the committee or anything.

Jackie: Like I say, the fantasy wore off. ... We thought, 'we can stay here for ever, we can have a laugh and that'. But

then, 'well it's getting a bit boring now' and then, 'I'm not botherin' coming no more' ... it just slacked off. Mainly the people here now are the ones who were here from the beginning. There's an odd few we picked up on the way.

Jackie Madden

As the well known American community organiser Saul Alinsky notes in his *Rules for Radicals*, 'Any tactic that drags on becomes a drag'. A great success of the CCAC during the second phase was to begin to employ tactics which provided excitement to the participants - both excitement and hope. The occupation of the school buildings was so novel and exciting that it brought many previously inactive supporters from the community into the school to support the campaign for the first time. Estimates of the numbers involved varies a good deal, but obviously it was a three figure number, possibly larger than the numbers which had turned out during some of the more successful demonstrations which drew over 200. But with increased numbers come increased problems. It is harder to control a movement as its numbers build, and it is difficult to sustain interest unless continuously new activities are found to provide everyone with a sense that their involvement was accomplishing something and to keep their awakened interest up. The occupation of the buildings became dull to many of the new participants over time and the numbers dropped off accordingly. As the passage from Mary Kane above indicates, this was actually to the relief of some of the older members of the CCAC, like Phil Knibb.

F) Skirmishes

After the occupation the Action Committee came under attack on many fronts all at once. Several battles immediately took place over the supply of utilities to the school. Manwebb Electricity made an effort to get into the school to shut off the supply soon after the occupation, but pickets blocked the workers and the attempt was unsuccessful. On the 19th of July Manwebb did succeed in shutting off the electricity by sending in one workman dressed in ordinary clothing so as not to be conspicuous. The occupiers used candles at night until the 4th of August when the power was illegally restored. The telephones and gas supply were cut off soon after the occupation without difficulty as the school didn't have to be entered in order to do so.

Other attempts to cut off all (allocative) resources to the school continued throughout the first term, when the Liberals prevented free meals to be served in the school, made parents sending their children to Croxteth Comprehensive ineligible for uniform grants and P.E. kits, and made sure that the LEA wouldn't pay for the examinations eventually held in the school. Supporters of the school fought back by making every possible effort to have these decisions reversed and by getting as much publicity for their activities as possible. Statements to the media played upon public sentiments by making these restrictions of the council seem like attacks on the children when they later enrolled. But the opponents of the occupation had every advantage when it came to resources in the school. The occupation was illegal, and those inside were not legally entitled to

get the financial support which normal schools receive. It was primarily in the media that the CCAC won some of these skirmishes, doing all it could to draw public sympathy to the occupation.

On the 15th of July, the media battle began with a letter from one of the parents occupying, published in the Post, which stated that parents would run classes in September, and indicated the determination felt by the activists:

And if we get dragged off we will keep coming back. When one gets put in gaol another will take her place. We don't care, they can put us all in gaol. (15/7/82 Post)

Michael Storey was replaced by Richard Kemp as Liberal chairman of the Education Committee by this time and Richard Kemp was occasionally quoted in the papers to give the Liberal's position on Croxteth. The Liberals initial tactic was to take a soft approach: to state that the feelings of the parents were 'understandable', but that there was no real grounds for retaining the school and that the occupation was ultimately a futile gesture which would have to end eventually of its own accord. Also, they pointed out that the occupation was blocking their own efforts to establish community schemes in the school buildings. This fact was usually mentioned as 'a pity', 'unfortunate', and so on. As time went on and the occupation showed no signs of ending, the Liberals made more serious threats. An early statement of Richard Kemp's was:

Stay there as long as you like. I'm in no hurry. We have no immediate plans for the empty buildings, so we can wait. As long as they don't damage the place they can do what they want. (22/7/82 Echo)

Then:

There are at least seven things we want to do with the buildings including using it for a Manpower Services Training scheme for 16 to 19 year olds, bearing in mind that the most serious problem in the area is youth unemployment.

(but he won't have the parents evicted because) They are only there for a punch-up and to win their spurs as militants. (Guardian 11/8/82)

And:

If this occupation continues for some months I will have to take action against them. (10/8/82 Echo)

The Action Committee worked to get public and community support for the school. On the 20th of July a public meeting was held in Croxteth and between 450 and 500 residents attending pledged support for the occupation. On the 27th the Merseyside County Council, long a Labour dominated council, voted a resolution to support the school after a talk given to full meeting by Cyril D'Arcy. The council resolved to send a letter to Sir Keith Joseph condemning the closure. On the 29th, the Croxteth Tenants' Association voted support for the occupation. The newspaper article reporting on this again quoted Cyril:

If we lose the battle for the school we will lose every battle we fight in the community. The school is the cornerstone of the community and we must save it. (30/7/82 Echo)

On the 2nd of August Michael Heseltine, then Secretary of State for the Environment, visited Liverpool. He included Croxteth in his tour of the city, as he had promised the Action Committee in May, and was shown some of the terrible housing by Pat Rigby and other community leaders. At the end of his tour of Croxteth, however, Heseltine met a large number of protesters shouting angrily. A number of young people climbed on his car and pounded dents into it, causing an estimated £80 damage according to the Daily Echo (3/8/82). As he approached his car he was pelted with eggs and tomatoes by children and residents alike. Clear photographs were taken of the event and it received nationwide television, radio, and newspaper coverage.

The event was exploited by the local opponents to the occupation. The Daily Echo ran a huge feature of the event on the the third of August. Much was made of the claim that adults encouraged the children who had damaged Michael Heseltine's car and thrown eggs at him. The front page had an 'opinion' article entitled "SHAME ON US" which stated, among other things, that

The case for keeping Croxteth Comprehensive School open has been wrecked totally by the idiotic and irresponsible adults who got children to hurl eggs, tomatoes and abuse at Environmental Minister Michael Heseltine.

And Trevor Jones, leader of the local Liberal Party, was quoted in the same issue:

The case for keeping this school open has been ruined by the irresponsible adults who encouraged the children.

On the 4th of August the local Conservative Party showed its withdrawal of support for the Action Committee by voting against a proposal to restore electricity to the school. Cyril D'Arcy believed they were looking for an excuse to drop their support because of the illegality of the occupation and the Heseltine incident provided such an excuse.

On the 6th of August, public attention was drawn to the fact that Vanessa Redgrave was going to perform at the Docker's Club in Liverpool in support of Croxteth Comprehensive, when Eddie Roderick, Labour councillor for Croxteth, publicly asked her not to come. Roderick was worried that receiving help from Vanessa Redgrave would start rumours that the CCAC was being influenced by political extremists because of her well known membership in the Worker's Revolutionary Party. When asked by the Liverpool Echo to comment, Cyril D'Arcy replied:

We are non-political, non-denominational. We are just a group of parents who have been fighting for more than two years to try and save the school. Miss Redgrave was invited to help us raise money. To be perfectly honest, I don't think any of us are aware of her political affiliations. This is a social evening and I can't see what the controversy is about. (6/8/82 Echo)

Actually, the WRP had been supporting the campaign since the occupation of the school and, as time was to show, did indeed wish to influence the course of the struggle and to recruit members in the process.

John Bennett, Merseyside WRP activist, was the main organiser for the Party who was involved in the school. At first his help was greatly valued. Practically all of the CCAC with the exception of Phil Knibb and Cyril D'Arcy knew nothing at all about the WRP before the appearance of John. Even Phil and Cyril had only heard about it, neither had much specific information about their particular views or their methods. Once John arrived, many highly supportive articles appeared in 'Newslines', the colour daily paper of the WRP. Croxteth was featured again and again with large colour photographs of the school and community. Local residents appreciated the support very much, and John made some initial progress in recruiting members, though, as we shall see, some members of the Action Committee eventually came to greatly resent the presence of the WRP and it was eventually forced to leave.

Compared to the WRP, the Labour Party was doing very little to support the occupation on the *grass roots level*, though politically their support was unwavering. No councillors or party officials appeared at the school to meet with the local activists and show moral support. The three local councillors, Eddie Roderick, Bill Snell and Peter Murphy stayed completely away from the school, though they raised various proposals in favour of the school on the City Council. Residents frequently complained about these three councillors and their absence from the school site. The Labour Party kept in communication with the school primarily through the leaders of the campaign, Phil and Cyril. The ordinary parent coming daily to help picket had no contact with them. This no doubt unconscious policy of the Labour Party, to establish personal relationships and maintain communication with the campaign only through its leaders, and not its 'rank and file', was to have important consequences as we shall see.

John Bennett, it was said by several members of the Action Committee in interviews, was the first to suggest running the school once it had been taken over. He was a lecturer himself, with nine years experience at a technical college in Birkenhead, and suggested that a pilot summer school scheme be run so that the parents would have some experience before the start of the Autumn term. The summer school began on the 9th of August with about fifty residents of all ages taking classes in mathematics, video, poetry, social and economic history and other subjects. The number of volunteer teachers on the first day were reported to be 11 (10/8/82 Telegraph). Residents who attended classes reported satisfaction with them. The classes were made up of mixed ages and several parents became inspired to begin work on O levels as a result. The poetry class was especially popular.

During this same period, BBC Open Door television arrived at the school and allowed the Action Committee to plan and film their own 30 minute television programme. The programme included interviews with Vincent Donnelly and Lelia Jennings, both medical doctors on the Estate, who described common health problems in the area and their origins in poor housing conditions. There were shots of the poor housing, of CCAC members describing the history of the struggle to stop the closure, shots of a public meeting held about the school and scenes of the pilot summer school.

The home of the Seniors was visited and filmed, a home which had had no electricity or water for seven months, was extremely damp and had holes in its windows. Ann McComb, resident of Scone Close in Croxteth, was interviewed: she had had to wait three years for a new door, was flooded out five times, and her son was on 'nerve medicine'. The programme was called "Who's Killing Croxteth" and was shown nationally on the 2nd of September.

G) Developing New Tactics

During this final period of phase II the Action Committee had a number of objectives to pursue:

1) To continue the struggle on the legal and political fields in all possible ways. This included getting Croxteth into the council agenda on any possible issue to make sure that Croxteth was not forgotten but was a constant topic in the local government. Thus a proposal was brought to the council on the 10th of August to restore electricity and other utilities to the school. The proposal was voted down, 38 to 33. On the 20th of August Peter Kerrigan, a member of the Action Committee and local resident who is a well known actor for his role of 'George' in Bleasdale's 'Boys From the Blackstuff', began legal efforts to get a High Court injunction blocking Keith Joseph's decision because of violations of consultation requirements. This also eventually failed. In September and especially October, November and December, proposals to give free meals to pupils attending the occupied school, to give them uniform grants, to wave rate requirements on the buildings, to make the school an examination centre and so on were brought up again and again, often with accompanying newspaper articles so that city councillors and the city of Liverpool could never forget Croxteth Comprehensive.

2) To pressure Keith Joseph to change his mind. The Merseyside County Council sent Sir Keith Joseph a request to rescind his decision after their meeting 27th July meeting. Joseph replied:

I can assure you that, not having been moved by rational arguments, I will not be swayed by the unlawful occupation of the school. (28/8/82 Echo)

On the 17th of September Labour councillors called a special session of the full City Council to consider the case of Croxteth once again, and it was decided to send a new delegation from the council to visit Keith Joseph. Again, the DES indicated that it would not change its position. Cyril D'Arcy was quoted in the Telegraph the next day:

We wonder where democracy starts and finishes: It looks as though it's with one man, Sir Keith Joseph.

On the 2nd of October Joseph officially refused to see the delegation.

Labour MP from Merseyside Eric Heffer made an attempt to speak to Sir Keith Joseph on the 10th of October but was told that this would be absolutely futile.

3) To maintain legitimate public visibility as much as possible. Demonstrations were mounted in town during some of the council and committee votes on proposals mentioned above. But public visibility was assured by the constant media coverage of virtually every event relevant to the school: the battles with the utility companies, the Heseltine incident, the pilot summer school, the Vanessa Redgrave controversy, the resolutions to send more delegations to see Keith Joseph, everything got coverage and provided an opportunity for Action Committee representatives to make general statements to the press. There was no need to carry out any more demonstrations for the sake of publicity alone, Croxteth was definitely in the public eye by this time. The BBC Open Door programme shown 2 September was a great media boost to the occupation, covering the history of the campaign, conditions on the estate and the case for keeping the school open.

We've seen the nature of some of the battles fought in the media. Cyril D'Arcy continued to make statements about the need for the school and the 'obstruction of democracy' through the decision of a single man. The Liberals gave statements which belittled the occupation as a desperate last attempt which would end in time as soon as the parents finally 'see sense'. As Autumn approached the Liberals began to describe the occupation as highly irresponsible, blocking their efforts to establish genuine community projects for Croxteth. Richard Kemp gave the parents 'six more weeks' in the 20th of September Post, emphasised that the occupation was *illegal* and pointed out that rates would have to be paid for the use of the buildings by someone, rates which totalled to £45,000 annually. In the 21st September Echo he stated that he had offered the playing fields and gymnasiums to a community group in Croxteth and that this group would already have begun its activities but for 'all the trouble at the school'. Cyril D'Arcy countered with 'This is an attempt to force a wedge between the community groups and the Croxteth Community Action Committee.' On the 29th the Liberals publicised the fact that the MSC scheme they had intended to establish in the Parkstile building for 180 Croxteth youth was now dropped because of the 'irresponsible' activities of the parents. Cyril D'Arcy countered this by announcing on the 30th that the scheme could co-exist with the occupation, and the Liberals came back with the statement that they would never open a project in illegally occupied buildings. Cyril said in interview that he knew the Liberals would never have accepted his offer to use the buildings for the scheme, and in fact, as we've seen, he and the Action Committee were critical of MSC schemes anyway, but he felt he had to come back to each attack made in the press. This was a tactic used throughout the occupation, when press attacks were frequent and at times vicious.

The media battles went on in this manner, opponents to the closure continuously stressing the illegality of the occupation and the blockage to bonafide community programmes it was causing and the Action Committee countering each statement with statements which stressed the injustice done to the Croxteth community and to its children.

The battle was one for winning public consent - getting the occupation to appear either legitimate or illegitimate according to which side was presenting its views. It was really a battle over the interpretation of only a few key words which represented values which the activists and their opponents believed to be widely held in society. Cyril's statements called attention to what the CCAC considered to be gross infringements on *democracy*, one of the key terms. 'It seems that democracy comes down to the opinions of a single man' and so on. The statements of Liberals and their supporters in the press called attention to the fact that the occupation was *illegal*, another key term, used again to claim that democracy was being infringed upon by a group not willing to follow its rules. The CCAC claimed that *injustice* was being perpetrated against a *community* and its *children*. Richard Kemp claimed that the Action Committee was acting *irresponsibly* and jeopardising the *community* by blocking planned services and endangering the *education of children*. The same values were often appealed to by both sides, the interpretation of the situation as it related to these values was what was contested.

We see here an example of power struggles over cultural meanings which make use of already existing terms but seek to represent them differently, turn an already existing consensus on norms and values in the favour of the protesting group. It is the same process described in the historical work of the Tillys and others (chapter three), and it is a phenomena under explicit examination in cultural studies (chapter four). What we've noted in the paragraphs above, however, is confined to struggles *in the front regions* of the movement, conducted through the media. There were also struggles, though of a different nature, over meanings which occurred in the back regions as well - in fact we have already noted that the campaign created normative space for articulating harsh life experiences and thus altered some of the common sense meanings held by the participants. This will be discussed more below and in future chapters.

4) To establish alternative sources of finance and materials in order to run the school. With the decision to run the school came the need to get supplies and finances. The Action Committee wasn't sure how long it would have to run the school itself, there were some hopes that the objectives of the campaign might be reached during the Autumn, but it had to be prepared for a long period extending into the winter when fuel costs would be very high. There was also the need for paper, wood and other supplies for the craft courses, and, a major expense, food for daily lunches. Efforts to establish such alternative

sources were made in August with Philip Knibb doing much of the work. Phil talked with Eddie Roberts, full time official of the local Transport and General Worker's Union, and a personality described in some detail by Huw Beynon in *Working for Ford* (Beynon, 1984). Eddie and other members of the T&G had plans to establish union-community linkages anyway, and the needs of Croxteth were an excellent reason to bring these plans to fruition. A committee called the 'Merseyside Trade Union-Community Liaison Committee' (MTUCLC) was established in August, drawing representatives from a number of unions around Merseyside. In addition, Phil Knibb's brother, Ron Knibb, was contacted and asked to start drumming up support from different unions, not only on Merseyside but nationally as well. The MTUCLC was an important committee throughout the occupation, managing through the hard work of Eddie Roberts and others on it to collect regular sums of money to donate to the school.

The Croxteth Community Action Committee started full classes for secondary pupils from the Croxteth Housing Estate on the 21st of September, 1982. With the beginning of the school year a new phase of the campaign for Croxteth Comprehensive began which will be the subject of the next six chapters.

II) Phase Two of the Campaign for Croxteth Comprehensive, an Analysis

A) Distinctive Features of Phase Two

The period of time discussed in this chapter, November 1981 to September 21 1982, represents a distinct phase in the campaign for Croxteth Comprehensive. It differs from the period discussed in the previous chapter in the following ways:

1) *The people conducting the campaign were all Croxteth residents.* During this period there was little help from the old teaching staff of Croxteth. Linkages to organisations outside of Croxteth were weak and, other than the consistent support of the local Labour Party in all council proposals, insignificant in the internal organisation of the residents' group. The support of the local Labour Party did little to directly influence the internal organisation of the campaign and the particular ways in which activists themselves explained and justified their activities. The Croxteth Community Action Committee was conducting the campaign on its own, with extensive though passive backing from the social base it sought to represent: the residents of the Croxteth Housing Estate.

2) Part of the strategy of the campaign during this period was to *expand support for the campaign to the Croxteth Community* by holding frequent public meetings on the Estate, often in buildings outside of the school, organising demonstrations and appealing to all residents to participate in them through general leafletting and announcements through megaphones. Thus, unlike the first phase and, as we shall see in the following chapters, unlike the last phase as well, the campaign

sought to further involve the local community and to keep communication between itself and the residents of Croxteth open.

- 3) Another part of the strategy was to *gain maximum public visibility through acts of civil disobedience*, i.e., illegal actions designed to draw the attention of the media. Thus for the first time, non-institutional, illegal, means were being used, and public sympathy was stimulated and added to the instruments of the campaign.
- 4) In expanding itself horizontally, the campaign *altered the meaning of Croxteth Comprehensive: its symbolic value to the residents of the housing estate was now made part of its explicit, public, meaning*. The activists sought to present the school as a symbol for the deprivation of Croxteth to the citizens of Liverpool. This involved the skillful handling of the media in which key terms, representing a number of widely recognised values, were used to interpret the closure of the school.
- 5) *The relationship between the Croxteth Community Action Committee and its social base during this period was the closest it ever was for the entire campaign*. Here we can only compare this relationship with the one which existed during the first phase of the campaign. Then, we argued, there existed widespread sympathy in Croxteth for the fight against the school closure, but there was little scope for general community participation in the campaign. The parents' committee was limited to parents who actually had children in the school and the teaching staff took a leading role in the struggle. In the second phase, the new Action Committee was capable of drawing over 200 people to demonstrations, 500 people to general meetings and, when the school was actually occupied, uncounted numbers of people to the school itself.
- 6) *The Action Committee no longer stressed the superiority of the Croxteth site over the Ellergreen site to such an extent as before*. The campaign strategy was still to present the case for Croxteth Comprehensive in terms of exceptional conditions on the Croxteth Estate, but the comparison with Ellergreen used frequently during phase one was dropped. Moreover, the Action Committee was coming closer to an official position of opposition to all closures. Cyril D'Arcy gave the view prevalent during the later portion of the second phase in interview:

Everybody with an ounce of common sense realizes the wrong decision was being made, that they'd established the school on the wrong site. But we have never said this because we consider that Morris Green, where Ellergreen is, and Croxteth or Gillmoss, where Croxteth Comprehensive is, are two separate communities. And they are both entitled to have their own local comprehensive school. We see the closure of this school as just the forefront of the large battle that is to come in the fights against cuts in education.

Of course it is not true that the campaign never used the argument that Ellergreen ought to close instead of Croxteth Comprehensive, it

was a very prominent argument during the first phase of the protest movement. Nor is it true that this argument was only put forth by the teaching staff, a leaflet dated 10 February 1982 (the date on which the Croxteth Community Action Committee was formed) and signed the 'Croxteth Parents Action Committee' stated: 'We do not oppose the merger, only the choice of site'. However, this leaflet was prepared by the original parents' committee and thus the change in the arguments used by the campaign during the second phase may have been caused by both a change of opinion on the part of some individuals plus the emergence of new, more radical, activists. At any rate, by the time of the occupation of the school buildings, Ellergreen was no longer commonly referred to in leaflets, speeches or statements to the media.

Another significant feature of Cyril's statement is that it relates the struggle for Croxteth Comprehensive to the national political climate and views it as one of what may become many struggles against cuts. This self-definition of the movement was to become fully articulated, however, only during the third and final phase of the campaign.

B) The Significance of Leadership

Phase two illustrates the importance of leadership in a social or protest movement. The principle reason for the changes between phase one and phase two of the campaign was the emergence of a new group of radical activists led by the combined efforts of Phil Knibb and Cyril D'Arcy. Phil Knibb's presence in this chapter is obscured by the fact that he worked principally from the background. Tony Blair was the official chairman of the committee during most of the period covered in this chapter and Cyril D'Arcy was the most publicly visible figure on the committee during this period, but Phil Knibb was the person largely responsible for channelling the enthusiasm of the new group into carefully planned and highly successful action. His leadership qualities rested in part on his past experience as a very active unionist and in part in personality characteristics which enabled him to convince and lead others. Phil's important role as leader in the campaign becomes more clear in future chapters dealing with periods when he was actually observed during the field work.

Phil and Cyril both were able to articulate feelings held by participants in the campaign which had previously been on an unarticulated level. Their past experiences with trade union struggles gave them a greater range of conditions on which to act than the membership. These conditions didn't consist of practical knowledge of which tactics to use, for Phil and Cyril, having no previous experience in consumer movements, had to think and try these out anew. The blockage of traffic and occupation of government buildings were as new to them as they were to all the activists. These conditions rather consisted of a familiarity with the values and norms generated by workers in shopfloor confrontations, an ability to formulate issues in terms of confrontation which justified and

gave confidence to those doing the confronting. Their formulations of the issues weren't totally alien to the members of the Action Committee for they drew upon cultural traditions of militancy in Liverpool working class culture, with which all Croxteth residents are familiar. But they were able to shrewdly plan confrontative actions and present them to other members of the committee in ways which were certainly new. It was the combination of a practical sense of which tactics would probably work, a familiarity with values shared by workers engaged in confrontations, and a skill and familiarity with the culture of the estate which accounted for their abilities as leaders.

C) The Repertoire of Collective Action: Rules of Access to the Labour Movement

Although the specific forms of collective action used by the activists during this phase of the campaign were new to all of those involved, they didn't diverge in any radical way from methods used by the Labour Party and trade unions. The blockage of traffic and the take-over^{of} buildings may have been unusual for a working class protest movement over welfare services, but public demonstrations are often used by the Labour Party and occupations of factories have taken place in Britain. Hence the actions planned and taken by the Action Committee did draw upon a repertoire of collective action associated with the British Labour Movement and this made it all the more possible to get union and Labour Party support.

To fully illustrate this point it is important to note that much of the literature on urban social movements in Britain points out the usual absence of the Labour Party and trade unions from them. Cynthia Cockburn, in her book *The Local State* (1977) bemoans the fact that trade unions rarely support community struggles (Cockburn 1977, p 168; - also see Saunders 1981 p 27). She also gives an example of squatters in Lambeth who were frowned upon by the local Labour Party because of their use of a style of protest drawn from the youth counter cultures of the 1960s, which seemed alien to members of the Labour Movement. In contrast, by making use of a repertoire of collective action shared with the Labour Movement, the trade unions of Liverpool found no difficulty in coming to the Action Committee's aid.

An interview with Eddie Roberts of the Merseyside Transport and General Workers' Union confirmed the importance of style in the campaign for Croxteth Comprehensive. Eddie Roberts was asked why trade unions had come to support the struggle for Croxteth Comprehensive when linkages between the trade union movement and community struggles have been so rare. Eddie denied that such support has been rare, pointing out that the Transport and General Workers' Union runs a forum for community activists, often donates money to community projects and supported the Tower Hill rent strikes of the late 1960s in Merseyside. When it was pointed out to him that much of the sociological literature on this subject has argued the converse, that trade unions rarely support community struggles, Eddie replied:

It depends on the style of the campaign that you've chosen to run. Trade union activists, people like Phil Knibb, they're working class lads, trade union members. It's natural to them to say who could be counted on as their natural allies - our unions.

Thus style is very important in urban struggles, not just with respect to meeting the informal 'rules of access' to local government power which middle class urban protests seem so capable of doing (Saunders 1983: 62-65), but with respect to gaining access to alternative institutions of power: those of the Labour Movement. The case of the Croxteth campaign suggests that informal rules of access exist with respect to the unions as well as to government, a fact which is not at all surprising.

D) Liverpool's Hung Council

For most of this phase, the strategy of the Action Committee was to produce a shift in alliances on Liverpool's hung council. A hung council produces an unstable situation politically which can be exploited by a protest campaign or a lobbying group. We have described in detail the crucial change of mind taken by the Conservatives and noted that behind the scenes negotiations were constantly going on. A hung council is a situation in which deals are often made and broken and is thus a situation in which grass roots movements have more opportunity to succeed in their goals.

By the time of Keith Joseph's decision not to recognise the new council vote against closure, a qualitatively new campaign had been forged. The Action Committee could keep up its campaign after Joseph's decision because a committed group had formed by this time which had experienced several spectacular successes and which was confident and militant in consequence. If the Liberals had had an overall council majority when they decided to close Croxteth Comprehensive, the campaign may never have developed into as radical a form as it did.

E) Action and Interests

In our historical account of the last section it was noted that many new friendships were formed after the occupation of the school. As Margaret Gaskell said in interview, 'in the summer the whole community got to know each other'. The common orientations shared implicitly by Croxteth residents became symbolised by the school closure, and the resulting action drew these implicit similarities into new social relationships. With respect to interests this seems to be an example of the existence of common objective interests, common because of a shared condition of life, which nevertheless did not constitute the basis of broad social relationships until the closure of the school stimulated collective action. Social relations, the relations involved in the very creation of the Croxteth Housing Estate through the political actions of the government, are the basis for common interests such as those shared by people in Croxteth. But they are not the same thing as social relationships - the development of friendships and discourses based upon a common social relation. The

Closure of the school led to the development of a common consciousness which had been lacking before. Yet one can see that there is no simple relationship between structure and consciousness here. The shared life experiences of the residents of Croxteth are attributable not *only* to relations of production in society, but to a long historical and political process which exacerbated conditions in Liverpool and developed housing and industrial estates on its periphery. The social geography of Croxteth was an essential condition for the form of common consciousness which the closure of the school produced. And this consciousness, in turn, was one of environmental and local conditions above all else, and the responsibilities of the government for them.

It is clear that in this phase many participants *enjoyed* the campaign. They enjoyed the excitement of the demonstrations, the feeling that they were fighting back against something and winning, and the sense of power which the take-over of the school gave them. They also enjoyed the new friendships which were formed and the social activities, like dances, card playing and bingo, which the activists took part in. Although Oberschall would call all of these things 'interests' (see chapter three), and it is logically permissible to use this term in a broad sense such as this, it seems clear that the theory of action which Oberschall and the resource management school as a whole tie this term to is not adequate to account for the motivations drawing people to the campaign. Expressive action definitely played a large part for many of the members, a chance to express anger, to experience excitement, to meet new people and break out of isolation, were all no doubt strong reasons behind involvement.

The campaign had altered conditions of action for its participants and generated a transformed normative order in which new opportunities to talk about shared conditions of life, form friendships, take part in meaningful activity and have fun were created. Many of these reasons probably became important only after initially joining into an activity, as Kathy Donovan's account suggests. She joined a picket line at the request of a friend (perhaps for normative reasons - to show loyalty to a friend) and found she enjoyed being involved so much she was later actually to quit her job with English Electric to work full time in the school. With the increased militancy of the campaign and the increased appeal to the community at large, the need to look at components of action other than rationally pursued goals becomes more apparent, more easy for the observer to detect and hypothesise about. It was only during the next phase, however, the phase in which the school was run, that field work allowed for a more detailed assessment of the motivations and interests of the participants in the campaign.

Thus the evidence indicates so far that goal rational action is only a necessary part of the explanation of why people became involved in the campaign, why the campaign took place. It is not a sufficient explanation. The school came to represent a cluster of conditions upon which participants acted. It took a normative form, asking people to either support or neglect their friends and neighbours in the school. It took a cultural form as well - a site on which new opportunities for socialising

and self-expression suddenly appeared. New participants joined the campaign during phase two both because they wanted Croxteth Comprehensive reinstated and because they wished to display loyalty to friends and family, share in the excitement, and become involved in activities which were meaningful to them for a variety of reasons and which they couldn't get involved in at other sites in their social lives. When the school no longer provided this meaning and opportunity to many of the new members, they ceased to be involved. The desire to have Croxteth Comprehensive reinstated was not a sufficient explanation of the involvement of most activists. The reasons why a core of activists stayed involved in the occupied school are discussed in detail in the chapters following.

F) Power and the Occupation

Many aspects of the six distinctive features of phase two changed again during the year of running the school. The beginnings of such changes were evident in the end of this phase when the Action Committee began to establish linkages with the trade union movement in order to establish an alternative means of getting the resources necessary for running a school. The very take-over of the school represented a massive change in the nature of the campaign and could have been taken as the ending date of this phase since any designation of cut-off dates for phases is only heuristic and somewhat arbitrary. With the school take-over the terms of the struggle shifted. The Action Committee severed the routine *authoritative* power (Giddens 1979, 1984) of the LEA and the Education Committee over the school, by taking it over. It didn't remove the ultimate authoritative control of the school by the local authority, of course, because the option remained for the City of Liverpool to order bailiffs into the buildings. But it severed the normal authoritative relationships which exist between a school and the local authority whereby day to day activities in the school are regulated through a professional teaching staff and a head teacher ultimately responsible to a local authority. The day to day activities in the school were suddenly under the control of the activists. The option of sending in bailiffs, furthermore, had obvious risks: it was certain that such an action would be the use of power based purely on coercion and might not appear legitimate to unknown numbers of people in Liverpool. Thus it might have provoked further actions in Croxteth which would be hard to control and/or lose votes for the Liberal Party in the city.

Hence, once the buildings were occupied, the Liberals sought to discredit the occupation ideologically by making frequent statements to the press. The Action Committee made sure, as we have seen, that it countered each statement with a statement of its own. The Liberals played on the theme of 'responsibility', equating this term with 'legality' and pointing out the blockage the occupation was causing to planned services in Croxteth. The Action Committee made the most of the March council vote, arguing that democracy was being overridden and continued to argue in terms of social need although the Liberals had countered this argument with some success by proposing projects for the buildings (see also the 21/9/82 Echo). The basis of routine authoritative power was severed by the

campaign, establishing an alternative authoritative structure in official control of internal routines in the school. The skirmishes in the press described above were battles over the consent of the Liverpool public to the claims of authoritative power over Croxteth Comprehensive made by each of these groups.

Underneath these skirmishes over the legitimacy/illegitimacy of the occupation/closure, however, was the control of *allocative* resources held by the local government. The Liberals clearly had the huge expenses in mind, which occupying and running a school entail, when they predicted over and over again that the occupation would 'fizzle out' eventually. They knew that legally they could impose the large rate bills on the Action Committee and they cut the school off from finances for electricity, gas and oil. To counter this the Action Committee began establishing links with the trade union movement, the only likely alternative source of financing available to them. Doing so was significant to the campaign for many reasons: the unions, solicited largely through the activities of the Merseyside Trade Union-Community Liaison Committee which the T&G helped to establish, gave support to Croxteth because they saw the struggle in that community as part of a larger struggle against government cuts. And this affected the view taken by the Action Committee, helping to broaden it in the same direction, from looking at the situation as a single isolated struggle to a struggle representative of a broad national movement. As we argued in the last chapter, the justification and self understanding of a protest movement must exist in relation to its power base. The Campaign for Croxteth Comprehensive had by the end of phase two begun to expand its power base towards the organisations of the British Labour Movement and was moving towards a position in which it could easily adopt the ideologies of these organisations as its own.

Thus by the end of the second phase of the struggle for Croxteth Comprehensive, the campaign appears to be turning into an exception to Peter Saunder's general comments on urban social and protest movements (1981, see chapter three). The campaign was no longer competitive with other areas of the city over limited resources, at least in its official ideology, and it was no longer completely isolated, as it was forming linkages with the trade union movement.

PART THREE

'AN INSTITUTION OUT OF CHAOS'

I mean, one of the things I've been interested in is seeing an institution rise out of chaos. It necessarily happens in a way, but I've been a bit disappointed because it's mirrored so exactly, you know, an ordinary school. I would have thought there would have been more room for slightly more libertarian things to be going on. I don't mean just in the classroom, I mean in all sorts of ways.

Angela Cunningham,
history teacher

Part three is concerned solely with the third phase of the campaign for Croxteth Comprehensive: from the beginning of the Autumn 1982 school term to the end of the occupation in July 1983. Unlike phases one and two which are each described and analysed in single chapters, phase three occupies six chapters and is described in great detail. The defining features of phases one and two were listed towards the ends of the chapters concerned with them: chapters eight and nine respectively. But since the defining features of phase three set the outlines for the analysis carried out in all six chapters ahead, it will be best to list them at the outset, in this introduction to part three of the thesis. Phase three of the campaign differs from the first two phases described in book two in three crucial ways;

- During this phase a large group of volunteer teachers joined the CCAC in the campaign. Coming for the most part from very different socio-economic backgrounds, this group of volunteers differed from the Croxteth activists in important ways. Their motivations for becoming involved were different, their ideas of schooling were different and their political orientations too, often differed from those of the local activists. Thus a complex interaction between teacher volunteers and Croxteth activists began which did much to shape the course of the campaign.

- During this phase the school was actually run through the combined efforts of teacher volunteers and local residents. A new institution was created which had an authority structure, a curricular and pedagogic practice, and a set of unifying rituals. Parents were daily involved in the school, witnessing and taking part in its activities at close hand for the first time since they themselves had left school. Thus the goal of the campaign, which during phases one and two had simply been to keep the school open, now became more complex. Many local activists found that they enjoyed their involvement in the school and didn't wish to leave it at the end of the occupation, although their formulation of the goal of the campaign had remained that of having the state run the school again for pupils in the community. At the same time, nine months intimate involvement in the daily running of the school was generating a critical awareness amongst many of the local volunteers of schooling activity. The school could no longer be regarded simply as a social 'good', its nature as an institution of the welfare state came into question.

- Phase three also was a time in which crucial linkages were made between campaign activists and both the Liverpool trade union movement and the Liverpool Labour Party. Once again, the purpose of the campaign changed for many local activists: the battle to save the school became seen as one of many important political and economic battles taking place in Britain for some of them.

There are important methodological differences between the description and analysis of this phase from the other two as well. Phases one and two took place before the period of field research. They are historically reconstructed and analysed through the use of accounts and documents. Phase three, however, was actually observed first hand, many of its events recorded in field note books as they occurred. This allowed for a much greater depth of analysis than was possible for phases one and two. The year in which the school was run was a period of enormous change and complex interactions which is presented and analysed here with action-theoretical concepts reviewed in chapters three and four. Conditions of action are inferred from the record of on-going action and analysed according to how different individuals and distinct groups made use of them. Inter-personal conflict is focused upon and described according to structures underlying the field of action, where conditions existed in relationships of reinforcement and tension with other conditions. The level of discursive articulation which conditions reached over time by those drawing upon them is a central concern of these chapters.

Because part three contains six long chapters, and is almost a thesis in itself, it will be helpful to the reader if its structure is outlined here. Chapters differ from each other according to the period of time they describe, the central problem upon which they focus, and the depth of analysis they attempt. The reader might find her or himself anticipating information in one chapter which has been reserved for a later one and the following outline will serve as an aid in ascertaining where what information and analysis can be found.

Chapter Ten is concerned with the most fluid and changing period of the entire campaign for Croxteth Comprehensive: the first half term. Because the composition of the teaching staff and even the local volunteers and pupils changed rapidly and continuously during this period, no effort to describe these groups of people in terms of numbers, attitudes and social origins is made. The chapter provides snap shots of this highly fluid and rapidly changing period from a number of perspectives: the atmosphere of excitement and stress, the nature of staff meetings and Action Committee meetings, the many spontaneous developments within the classrooms, discipline problems and pupil perceptions, new efforts by the utility companies to cut the supply of electricity, and so on. The chapter serves three purposes: it continues the chronology of the campaign through this five week period, it imparts a sense of what it was like in the school - the climate and atmosphere which is important to understand and keep in perspective some of the more detailed analyses contained in later chapters, and it also reveals some of the most fundamental constraints which

structured the activities of participants from the outset of the running of the school.

Chapter Eleven freezes the chronology at the beginning of the second half term to give a synchronic account of the composition, organisational structures and attitudes to politics and education of the teaching staff and the community activists. It begins with a small discussion of the difference between synchronic and diachronic accounts, emphasising the partial nature of both but the advantages in this study of providing some chapters written with a 'synchronic bias' and others with a 'diachronic bias'. The analytical distinction between these two perspectives is present in *all* description and analysis, but it was felt that a presentation of conditions of action and an analysis of the complex relationships in which they lay with each other, was important for understanding the more diachronic accounts which follow. Chapter eleven ends with a presentation of conditions of action which structured the formal and informal organisation of the activists and influenced their orientations towards educational and political problems which had to be faced during the occupation. The metaphor implicit in the analysis is that of a 'grid', a 'matrix', 'agenda' or 'field' upon which actions formed. This analysis of structure suggests areas of *potential* conflict and even the routes through which processes of conflict resolution might travel.

There are two reasons for making chapter eleven the second chapter of part three rather than the first. By the beginning of the second half term the numbers of teachers and local activists, though still fairly fluid in the case of the teachers, had reached a certain degree of stability. The principle core of teachers and local volunteers which were to remain throughout the rest of the campaign had become established by this time and an examination of their numbers and origins seems most appropriately introduced here. The second reason for making this the second chapter is that its presentation of abstractions from the data will be less likely apprehended in a reified way by the reader. The numbers of participants and their attitudes were changing to a certain extent at all times during the year, the conditions of action described in this chapter were inferred only through observation of and participation in movement and change. It is thus hoped that impressions imparted by chapter ten, of a continuous flux of action, will have been retained by the reader during the reading of chapter eleven as a background reminding her or him of where the generalisations were taken from.

Chapter twelve describes the formation of authority relations between pupils and adults in the school through the analysis of conflicts taking place between teachers and community residents over the form of schooling. It is a chapter with a diachronic bias in that *change* is described: how routines formed in the school through participants drawing upon different and conflicting conditions of action. However, it does not continue the chronology as the development of routines it describes took place over a period of time extending from the first day of term to sometime during the early second term. It is a description of how conditions structuring action became drawn up to produce new social relationships in the situation

Chapter Ten

'A TRAIN GOING EIGHTY MILES AN HOUR'

We were on an express train which was careering along at 80 miles an hour. One thing you didn't have was time for a cool appraisal of what you were doing. You didn't have time to get off and look and think. Weekends you were knackered and fell into bed and slept.

Chris Hawes, first teacher coordinator

I Introduction

While the Action Committee fought its skirmishes in the local council and with the media in July and August, it also began to put out a call for volunteer teachers to come to help run the school in the Autumn term. Cyril D'Arcy and Phil Knibb travelled about Liverpool and even visited other cities to give talks about the campaign and to make it known that graduates were needed to teach in the school. At the same time, word was spread about the Croxteth Housing Estate that the occupied school would hold classes for secondary pupils beginning in September, parents were invited to send their children.

On 23 September the first day of classes began. Just enough teachers (five) and more than enough pupils (280) turned up on that day for the school to run. Suddenly the Action Committee was joined in its occupied school buildings by two new groups of people: volunteer teachers coming from outside the estate, most from very different socio-economic backgrounds and with different motivations than those of the local volunteers, and nearly 300 secondary pupils from the Croxteth Estate. A school had to be organised and no one was very clear about how to do it. Between the first day of classes on 23 September and the beginning of the half-term break five weeks later the situation in the school was very confusing. New teachers arrived to offer their help continuously during this period, while others, after a few frustrating days in the classroom, left. The numbers of community volunteers and pupils also changed during these five weeks, many from both groups leaving the school after finding its problems too much to bear.

This chapter provides a description of what was undoubtedly the most rapidly changing and confusing period in the entire campaign for Croxteth Comprehensive. Many participants called it 'chaotic' and yet, although an air of chaos certainly did prevail as teachers and community volunteers struggled to establish organisation in the school, the most basic features upon which a functioning school was to emerge were established during this time. The participants drew upon what resources were available to them in order to cope with the many problems and unanswered questions facing them daily, and these resources made the confusion a patterned one. During the first half-term break, when the number of teachers and local volunteers had stabilised and when a period of time existed in which to regroup and formulate policy, the confusion was greatly lessened and the outlines of an institution began to show their shape.

11 'So where were the Intellectual Left?'

Although calls for teachers had been put out by the Action Committee many times during August and the first weeks of September, the response was small, only a few volunteers showing up by 16 September, the day the secondary schools of Liverpool opened for the new term. The Action Committee informed the community just before the 15th that it would be starting classes one week later, on the 23rd, in the hopes that more teachers would arrive. On 20 September, 1982, a public meeting was held at the Labour Club in Croxteth to give the Action Committee a chance to discuss the running of the school with local residents and invite them to send their children. Between 150 and 200 people attended this meeting, a number of children amongst them. It was carefully explained that parents had a right to send their children to an unofficial school, a copy of the relevant section of the 1944 Education Act was passed out which states that parents must ensure an adequate education for their children but may choose the means for doing so themselves. The small new teaching staff was also present, including the researcher, and representatives gave a short talk followed by a question answering session. Former headteacher George Smith was also present, lending his moral support to the effort. He was warmly applauded when he stood up to talk.

The researcher missed the first day of school due to an interesting event which casts light on other events described in chapter thirteen. A meeting of the teaching staff was called for the 22nd of September, a Sunday, in the Stonebridge Building. When I arrived at the upstairs staffroom I was asked by WRP organiser John Bennett to 'have a private chat about something important' in the office downstairs. John and I were joined by 'Joe', a friend of John and fellow WRP member, as soon as we arrived in the office. After taking a seat, John and Joe told me that the Action Committee did not wish me to volunteer in the school because my American accent could be latched upon by the media, 'You know, they could make a big thing about outside agitators coming in'. Back up stairs this decision was discussed by the small number of volunteers present and the general feeling was that the decision was not logical - 'why should an American accent make any difference?'. An argument ensued. John continued to try to insist on the logic of the decision and pointed out that anyway the Action Committee had made the decision and they ought to be followed in this matter. When others present continued to insist that it was not a rational decision Joe suddenly said, 'Shall we be brutally honest?' and it became clear that the real reason for the ban didn't rest with my accent. John agreed to be 'brutally honest' and said he had sound suspicions that I was from the CIA. This allegation produced some guffaws from others present, particularly from a teacher who had been involved in the pilot summer school teaching science who claimed that if I was to be banished from the school for such a ridiculous suspicion he'd leave it too. John again stressed the point that no matter how rational we thought the views of the Action Committee we had no right to go against their wishes as they were the real power behind this occupation, we were there only to serve it. 'If you're on a ride', he said looking at me, 'you'll leave out or respect for

their wishes - that is the best way you can show your support for this campaign'.

A friend of mine and the teacher from the pilot summer school continued to argue for a short time but the other teachers had become quiet and I decided to leave, feeling rather angry and disgusted with the situation. My friend and the science teacher left with me and I thought that was to be the end of my involvement with the occupation of Croxteth Comprehensive. When I reached home and could think more clearly, however, I realised that it was extremely unlikely that the Action Committee had met to discuss me or anything else between the time of the public meeting held two days before and the staff meeting. It then occurred to me for the first time that John Bennett had lied to us, for some reason taking the decision to ban me from the school on his own and inventing the story about the Action Committee meeting. I decided to write Cyril D'Arcy a letter about the affair, which I did, and asked him in the letter rather rhetorically who was controlling the situation in the school, the Action Committee or the WRP? I was not to get a message from Cyril D'Arcy until the next evening, after the first day of school, when one of the teacher volunteers came to my home to say that Cyril was very upset at the news (which he received from other teachers), that the Action Committee had not met or discussed me at all and that my services would be very welcome to the school. I came to the school on the second day of term and stayed for the rest of the occupation. On the occasion of my first staff meeting I had received an immediate introduction to some of the conditions of conflict and paranoia caused by the presence of the WRP in the school, and the sorts of tactics which some individuals in this group were capable of. The role of the WRP in the occupation were to contribute to a serious crisis in the school several months later, quite possibly because of the use of similar tactics against the Action Committee chair, Philip Knibb.

The 23rd of September, the first day of school, is thus described here through the eyes of others who were present. Henry Stewart, a Cambridge graduate in economics and computing who had volunteered in the school after hearing Cyril D'Arcy give a talk at a meeting of the TGWU's Liverpool unemployed branch, was one of the few teachers present on that day. He provided a written account of his experiences at the request of the researcher:

I went along to the big meeting of local parents [the 20 September meeting], which made me realise the extent of community support, and we assured them of all the teachers we had and all the options we were going to teach (guip, was that a little dishonest?). And then the big opening day came.

We had all of five teachers, and these hordes of kids, 280 of them! (We claimed 350 of course, but I counted up the registers; and then there were the ten teachers we told the media about!). And we turned up to find three TV crews, a couple of radio people and probably a dozen other reporters. That always did impress me about the Action Committee: they were very good at involving the media ... a campaign like

Croxteth needed publicity, to show an example to others of what can be done. I think it was Cyril who arranged most of it.

And I was the teacher who had volunteered to talk to the press on that first day, partially because I wasn't expecting to want a teaching job with the local authority. ... So this mass of press people packed into my classroom, which already had 48 kids in it (I was lucky, one class had 58 that day) and filmed me and the kids and the other pressmen. The Times had a good picture caption: 'Croxteth children get a lesson in media studies' underneath a photo of the assembled ranks of photographers. ...

Apart from the media, the most that could be said about that day was that we survived. I doubt anybody learnt anything. Three of my kids left at lunchtime to go to Ellergreen, and then came back - Ellergreen was even worse apparently! We didn't have the resources, particularly the teachers, to cope with the mass of students the community had entrusted the school with. Total exhaustion is the main thing I remember feeling after that day.

Henry's account is typical of others taken. The first day was a great surprise to all concerned with over 62% of the previous year's number of pupils arriving. It was a triumph for the Action Committee, indicating significant parental support and trust. And media coverage was very good with all the major national newspapers, television stations and radio 4 giving sympathetic reports. The media, despite the set backs of the Heseltine and Redgrave incidents, was still charmed by the novelty of the event and the images of the common person, or 'the community', fighting back against governmental neglect. As Henry Stewart expressed it:

A local community occupying its school because they actually want an education, and providing it, who can disagree with that?

But the large numbers caused problems for the small teaching staff of five. The staff were totally unprepared and coped by dividing the day into three very long periods, teaching mainly maths, English and games. Pupils were taught in their year groups, all first years together, all second years together and so on. The Action Committee helped by staffing the office where the roll registers were kept, getting books from locked rooms for the teachers, teaching games and P.E., and cooking a free lunch in the kitchen. Some of the food for the lunch was donated from local shops: chips, beans and sausage being the basic meal from this day until late May, when the new Labour administration in Liverpool began providing the school through their city-wide lunch programme. The atmosphere was exciting but very confusing, and the pupils, who behaved very well in the presence of TV cameras, were often boisterous and disruptive at other times.

Chris Hawes, an author of children's plays and books and a former teacher with 15 years experience, was the first teacher coordinator. He and his fellow author friend Graz Monvid had heard a talk by Cyril during

August at a meeting of the national children's theatre group S.K.Y.P.T.S. in London, and they eventually decided to lend their support to the campaign by teaching in the school, even though they both lived in Lancaster. Their hope was that enough teachers would eventually volunteer from Liverpool to relieve them of their commitment.

Chris came down from his home in Lancaster and resided with the D'Arcy's for the duration of his involvement. His recollections of the first days correspond to Henry's: too few teachers, poor discipline, and poor preparation were the main problems.

I received a phone call from Colette D'Arcy saying a teacher's meeting had been set up at the school the following Sunday. So we went over to that and to our alarm there was Henry (Stewart), and me, Graz and John Bennett and that was about it. A bit alarming to say the least! A first indication of how difficult the situation was, of how few teacher's there actually were. We thought we could drum up support from Lancaster for the school. ...

When the kids turned up on the Monday, when the school opened, there were a hell of a lot of media people, cameras and etcetera. I think there were four teachers. That was the moment of sudden realisation of what it all involved. I had done enough teaching, 14 or 15 years teaching, to know that even when you've got all your lessons prepared, all your shit together, it's fucking hard enough even then. But without any of those preparations and back-ups you are really in difficulties.

Graz Monvid, who decided to commute from Lancaster daily, provided another account:

After the first assembly I think we had about 60 pupils each in a classroom. We didn't know their names, they didn't know us, so they had absolutely no security, no security at all. We had absolutely no security either. There was no structure, there was no equipment, doors were locked and books were we didn't know where. There was no information from past teachers as to what they'd been teaching.

I arrived to teach on the second day, finding the atmosphere very heightened and exciting. The day began for the teachers in the staffroom where a group of us sat in a semi-circle about Chris who pointed to a crude daily schedule on a black board: 'Who can teach English to the 3rd year first period? Henry?. Okay', chalking Henry's name into a vacant slot, 'now we've got a problem with the second years - Ernie (a local resident), could you take them onto the field for P.E. and games? Great!'. Teachers sat together with local activists as Chris coordinated the problem solving, plenty of suggestions coming from the rest of us. Teaching was difficult because virtually all of us had to invent our lessons as we walked through the corridors towards the rooms of waiting pupils. I remember a long period with the fifth years that day in which I alternated lessons in mathematics with interaction games I'd learned as a counsellor. Discipline

problems were obviously threatening the order in many rooms, parents and teachers sometimes coming into noisy classrooms together to shout for quiet. At a staff meeting called for lunch I heard one very depressed looking teacher say: 'I feel I failed', she returned for the next two days but wasn't seen again after that.

Every few days one or two new teachers arrived, some of them coming from Lancaster through the efforts of Chris Hawes and Graz Monvid. Some came in response to ads placed in the alternative press, publications like 'Peace News', 'The Morning Star', and 'Labour Briefing' taking ads willingly. One volunteer, Yola Jacobson, came all the way from Edinburgh to teach history, finding a place to stay in Liverpool and remaining for over seven months after reading such an ad. More and more came from Liverpool itself as ads in restaurants, shops, the Polytechnic and the University of Liverpool began attracting them. Many members of the teaching staff had to split their time between teaching and making trips into town to try to get more volunteers:

We were going out during the lunch hours, going literally from table to table at the Everyman Restaurant, the Poly, the University, asking for help, asking for teachers, anyone to come and help. But Liverpoolian militancy was certainly slow in showing itself.

Graz Monvid

The trickle of new teachers arriving every few days was never enough to adequately staff the school. As new volunteers arrived, others left, finding after only a few days that the situation was too trying for them. Too few teachers was the greatest problem which faced the staff, resulting in many secondary problems.

The first of these secondary problems was the time-table. A basic time-table had to be constructed immediately on the very first day. A staff of five teachers means that only five classes can be taught at any one time, and if all five of these classes engages all five volunteers, no teacher is left over to handle the large number of administration duties required by all schools. The solution adopted on the first day, sketching out a three-period day and dividing the pupils into their year groups, was the only viable one available for the first week. Subjects like games, needlework and typing were supervised by local volunteers from Croxteth to free Chris for portions of each day to do coordinating and administration work. He had to answer the many questions put by the other teachers, help them locate books and materials, meet newly arriving volunteers, and coordinate efforts to recruit new teachers and to handle discipline problems.

The shortage of teachers also meant that staff had almost no time to recruit other teachers or sit down and plan out a better time-table based on the slowly rising number of volunteers. It meant that there was little administrative back-up for discipline problems which were growing everyday partially because of the inappropriate class sizes and long and sometimes boring lessons. It meant that what spare time teachers did have after

school had to be spent marking pupils' work and digging through stacks of text books to plan out new lessons. Lessons had to be very rudimentary to allow for the lack of knowledge teachers had of what pupils had studied the year before and to cope with the vast range of ability in each class. For these reasons the teaching staff constantly bemoaned the shortage of teacher volunteers, realising that many possibilities presented by the situation for constructing not only a functioning school but perhaps a very interesting and relevant one as well, were being missed. Teachers were having to simply cope and were finding that very difficult:

So where were the intellectual left? Croxteth got tremendous support from sections of the trade union movement, but not from the people with the teaching skills that were really needed. It kept going, and enough teachers came - just. But that is a question that the intellectual left has to answer: Are you prepared to use what useful skills you do have? Are you prepared to put in a hell of a lot of effort to back up the principles you espouse, when there is no glory, no people waiting to be led and told what to do?

Henry Stewart

In addition to the problem of staff shortage were problems of inexperience and irregular hours of availability. Most of the newly arriving volunteers were recent university graduates with no experience or training in teaching. Those that did have past experience had never administered a school before. Many teacher volunteers came with expectations of teaching a grateful body of pupils and of finding a supportive staff which would tell them what to do. Somehow, the image of a school taken over by a community suggested an eager student body and a supportive organisational structure to most of those who came to help. But the pupils were not especially grateful, not grateful enough, at least, to curb their disruptions and constant challenges of adult authority. They were hard to teach, and were themselves frustrated with the long hours and general disorganisation. And volunteers found that, with the exception of helpful parents in the school who could come into a classroom and quiet it when things got far out of control, they were very much left on their own. Other staff members were unable to give them the support they really needed. In consequence, the majority of the new volunteers left after a few days or a few weeks.

III The Time-table:

By the beginning of the second week enough new staff were on hand to split each form into two classes, usually an 'A' class and a 'B' class (with the exception of the first year, which was split into '1A' and '1B' later). The subgroupings were determined by simply requesting year groups of pupils to divide themselves into two groups, asking them to do it according to the classes they'd been in the previous year. The year before forms had been divided into three or four classes each but the pupils managed to divide into two groupings that approximated the classes of the previous

year, two of the former classes becoming one of the new ones. Croxteth Comprehensive had divided its form years into classes based on ability in previous years and so the new classes were roughly ability-based as well. Thus streaming was introduced into the school through no actual policy of ability grouping. Some pupils, however, chose to be in a class they had not been in the year before in order to be with friends. As the year went on, pupils were shuffled from one group to the other by teachers, usually by ability, but sometimes on the basis of gender or friendship in order to have socially cohesive classes. The first year were kept as a single group for several weeks but were split into two eventually with the aid of a reading ability test, the first deliberate step taken by staff to introduce streaming.

The creation of two classes for each year group made time-tabling more complex but class sizes manageable and the new number of volunteers was enough to just cover the extra classes generated. The new time-table required at least ten teachers to be teaching during any one period (often more because classes themselves were at times divided into subgroupings based on options or on gender for P.E. and games).

The irregular hours of availability of many teachers made time tabling especially difficult. Many volunteers could come only on certain days of the week and sometimes only for certain hours on those days. Thus the time table often had to slot several periods of a single subject on a particular day, in order to get enough periods of that subject per week and make use of the hours in which teachers could come. Often times it was not possible to make use of the skills of many of the volunteers simply because the time-table was filled for their subjects. Moreover, as soon as a time-table was constructed, the high turn-over rate for volunteers and the habit of many volunteers of arriving late at the school still left many slots unfilled every day. Replacements could rarely make themselves available for the same periods and days as the teachers they replaced, the teachers whose personal schedules had been accounted for in the time table.

It was thus impossible to create a permanent schedule. The teachers that were reliable did take permanent personal weekly schedules and taught classes in the traditional subjects of English, Maths, History and Geography. There weren't enough of these teachers, however, to cover the basic subjects of all ten groups of pupils and so only certain classes could be given continuity of instruction in the basic subjects. These classes were mainly the 'A' groupings which were generally motivated groups of pupils who, especially in the 4th and 5th year, were given priority because they were going to take examinations. The result was that 5B, 4B and 3B lacked consistent teaching in the basic subjects for much of the first half term. These classes, which pupils overwhelmingly reported in interviews to have been 'difficult' in previous years as well, soon became very disruptive and extremely hard to teach. Basic subjects for the four classes of the first and second year were taught mainly by Pat Kellet, a retired deputy head with years of experience in teaching the first two years of secondary school.

Several time tables were constructed during the first month but each failed to work because of the inadequate staff size and the habit of the majority of volunteers to leave after a short period. A time table constructed with the assumption that certain teachers would be present at certain times on certain days acquired permanent blank slots as soon as these teachers left which had to be filled on a day to day basis. Once set a time table determined the possible deployment of newly arriving volunteers and often limited the ability of the staff to utilize these new volunteers fully. Creating a new time table not only consumed much valuable time but completely disrupted the personal schedules of every pupil and teacher in the school. Thus early time tables always had permanent holes which were filled with ad hoc lessons, usually taught by a new volunteer (thus increasing the tendency of new volunteers to leave).

 Figure 10-1: An Early Time Table Sketched out for a Single Day

Period:	First	Second	Third	Fourth	Fifth
FORM:					
First	General Sci Yola, Liila	-----Games-----		English Pat/Chris	Maths Phil, Barry
Second	Art Ev + ?	Maths B-Phil A-Pat	English Pat/ Liila	Geography Barb/Yola	Gen Sci A-Pat/ B-Yola
Third	Maths Phil/Barry	Hist Yola/Liila	Typing/PE ?	English Barry/Chris	Typing/ Art ?
Fourth		-----German----- -----Typing----- -----General Subjects----- Kate, Chris, Pat	Maths Phil/Barry	-----Games----- -----NeedleWork----- Ernie Rose	
Fifth	English Chris, Pat	-----Games----- Ernie		-----German----- -----Art----- -----Typing----- Kate Norman	

On 18 October a five period day was introduced and a copy of it as used in for the 20th of October is provided in figure 10-1. This time-table can be compared with the more elaborate one in the appendices which was constructed during the second term and based on a seven period day. The question marks on this table were on the original as well, indicating that no teacher was available to fill these lessons when the table was sketched in.

IV Arriving at Crocky

Newly arriving volunteers were often surprised, when they offered to teach drama or English or some other subject they were acquainted with, to discover that these subjects were already covered or couldn't be scheduled without a revision of the entire time-table. In consequence, many were very often asked to take classes on the basis of vacancies, frequently in subjects other than their own areas of expertise, and very often for 'B' classes. This often happened within minutes of their arrival.

Peter Clarke, a volunteer with a Master's Degree in English, gave a very typical account of his first day during the second week of the term in an April 1983 interview. Peter had seen a notice in a WRP-run bookshop in Liverpool that volunteers were needed and had gone to visit the school shortly afterwards:

P.C.: Can you, you know that very first day you came in, can you describe your impressions?

Peter: Well I was taken to Chris Hawes, the coordinator at the time, and he shook my hand and took me into a classroom (laughs). Instantly! The 5B girls as well, as it so happened. The 5B girls at that time were quite a large class. And I was very easy going about it, which I think helped. If I had had the sort of Christian attitude; 'I must do my best', you know expecting a 100% response, (pause) I think you'd be very quickly discouraged. You couldn't plan ahead back then like you can at this time, you had to remember what you were doing at a comparable age at school and hope they would like it, which wasn't very satisfactory.

Peter's remark that he had to rely on his own memories of what school had been like for him, as a pupil, represents the strategy adopted by most volunteers. As we mentioned above, shortage of time was the main reason for this but it also fitted very well with the teaching materials which were to be found in the school and, of course, would be the expected strategy of a teacher who had not trained in education. Expediency was the rule by which curricular practice developed in the school. Set lessons in traditional text books were relied heavily upon as was written work generally. Written work served both as a sign that 'something was being done', that the teaching was having some results, and as a way to keep control.

P.C.: How do you judge whether or not you've had a successful class?

Yola: On how they treat me ..., if they treat you with (pause), if there's contact with you they're bound to learn something. ... I always like a lot of verbal contact with them which is very difficult.

P.C.: So you stress a lot of verbal contact?

Yola: Yeah and I stress getting an awful lot written down as well. So that at least you've got something to show for it.

The experience of being put immediately into a classroom with one of the 'B' groups always presented the new volunteer with problems of establishing authority. Croxteth youth, as we discussed in chapter seven, frequently challenge adult authority in ritual ways which an adult is

expected to respond to with a specific cultural style. Croxteth youth undoubtedly entered into different cultural styles of adult-youth relationships when the adult was a teacher, possibly both more challenging and more submissive depending on the pupil and the occasion. But many of the pupils didn't think the volunteers were teachers, not 'proper' teachers at least. They knew that many of the volunteers hadn't been trained as teachers and, as one pupil explained in an interview, 'if they were proper teachers they would have jobs wouldn't they'. Moreover, the volunteers looked young and didn't use traditional insignia of teachers like formal dress and like the insistence on being called 'Sir' or 'Miss'. Pupils' past experience of teachers, too, was one in which teachers were very stern and one in which the cane was used as a final sanction (see chapter seven). But the new staff had firmly decided, against the wishes of many members of the Action Committee, not to use the cane or any form of corporal punishment. And the volunteers tended to wish to establish warm and understanding relationships with pupils, not stern and coercive ones.

Barry Kushner, a recent sociology graduate at the time, describes his arrival at the school with his friend Paul:

At that time there was a real sense of security. They were really careful about people coming to the school, people were very unsure.

I went to see Chris Hawes and was sent back to Paul's car to get my qualifications. We showed our qualifications and were found to be O.K. Then Chris asked me if I wanted to take this 5th year class. Straight off.

I remember Mick and Joe (two community volunteers) were there. I felt it was very difficult. I'd been there a quarter of an hour only and found it hard to impose any organisation (on the pupils). ...

Hour and a half lessons and I'd never taught before properly in a school. It was terrible. And I was given 3B (later in the day), and they were absolutely abysmal, a really mean class, about 20 to 24 boys.

I think I tried to work through some English books. Paul, my friend, really had the micky taken out of him. I think we more or less coped really.

Sometimes we managed and sometimes we didn't. Because I was young I used to wear jeans then. I think I was pretty idealistic in those days.

I was really pleasant. There's a period when they sus you out. I think they could sus you out. I wasn't obviously very autocratic and they were calling me Barry. We just managed to get them working.

The practice of calling teachers by their first names began during the first day of school and continued throughout the year. Like informal dress, it was a sign to pupils that these teachers were different, weren't 'proper', and like the abolition of the cane it was a point of contention between staff and community activists. Some teachers with previous experience in schools objected to first name usage as well, but once it had been established as the norm it was unchangeable.

Thus the volunteer, juggling the resources to establish authority either as an adult in Croxteth or as a teacher, was left to negotiate an authority position with the pupils on an ad hoc basis. Some were successful but many were not. And always the negotiated position was one of compromise, a certain amount of noise and disruption accepted for a certain amount of 'work'. Learning activities were almost always termed 'work' by pupils and teachers alike, and a sort of exchange relationship developed in which amounts of work were traded for amounts of 'a laugh and a joke' (but see chapter fourteen for some exceptions to this). Pupils asked to discuss their favourite teachers in the school would usually mention ones that allowed them to have a laugh and a joke while still keeping order. It was necessary to keep order to be respected.

V Innovations and Peculiarities:

While the educational content of most classes was very traditional, some classes, particularly drama, taught a few periods for most forms per week, 'life skills', which was occasionally taught, and certain periods of English and History, were innovative. Many teachers made efforts to discuss the significance of the occupation with pupils, or have them talk about, or even act out, their views on life in Croxteth. Early English classes invariably assigned essays on the occupation of Croxteth Comprehensive. Such discussions and activities were at first very popular with the pupils, many of whom were particularly keen to talk or write about drugs and the police. Henry Stewart recalls an English class he had with the 4Bs early in the term. His account reflects some of his own political and educational orientations as well:

The 4Bs, I certainly remember them. A great bunch of kids but no interest in school. And we spent those first few weeks stuffing them full of maths and English. I remember one good English lesson where got talking about the police, and also about their attitudes to blacks, but I'd rather forget about that. Although there was a grudging respect for the way they'd hammered the police in Liverpool 8 (Croxteth), they came out with all the standard phrases about flooding our country and so on. And they seemed to think that Liverpool 8 was paved with 5-a-side football pitches and every resource young people could want. I asked them to do an essay on the police and every one of them did it. You have to know 4B to understand what a rare event that was. I remember the impeccable logic of Gerard Irving: 'If the police can kill people on the street, like Jimmy Kelly, then the people on the street should be able to kill the police.' There was a deep sense of injustice about the way they were treated, and the times they'd been picked up for doing nothing, although most of them readily admitted, boasted of, the things they'd got away with, like setting fire to local unoccupied flats, which a parent helping out confirmed.

Henry, and some other teachers, also found they didn't have to depend entirely upon what they remembered from their own schooling to develop their pedagogic practice.

And there was the 3C, before they became the 3B. They were very lively, and intelligent, although they directed most of their intelligence at outwitting the teacher. There was the time I was trying to teach some basic algebra; I don't remember it exactly but things like $7x = 42$, what is x ? And they were getting them all correct. I soon noticed the

smirks around the classroom and discovered that they had those times-table books under their desks. However, what they didn't realise was that it wasn't the calculation I was trying to teach them, it was understanding how x represented a number. Inspired by the thought that they were cheating they had quite happily coped with that. Could I lead them unwittingly into other concepts by somehow allowing them to 'cheat' in other ways, I wondered.

And there was the time I promised 3C they could sing songs at the end of the lesson if they did the maths I set them. They did all their maths and so I told them, yes now they could sing. Without hesitation they broke into:

We don't need no education
We don't need no thought control ...

by Pink Floyd, 'The Wall'. A parent came running up the stairs, preparing to tell off a class she thought had gone wild.

By mid-October I had come to occupy a fairly central position on the staff by putting in long hours on the time table and using my own past experiences as a teacher in making contributions to staff discussions. I had become one of the stable core of teachers and had managed to establish control and consistency in my own mathematics classes. I shared time table work with Henry Stewart, who had quickly become a good friend, and we worked in liaison with Chris Hawes who specialised in other aspects of coordination, like giving the assemblies and serving as the communication link between staff and Action Committee. The confusion and poor organisation in the school during these days sometimes resulted in help from the pupils as well as disruption. An account of one of my own days, recorded in the field note books, gives a not untypical picture of the first half-term. On this day fifth years acted very supportively. Following are selected portions of the notes for 18 October 1982, the first day in which the the 5-period-day time table was introduced:

Henry (Stewart) and I arrived early to plan the day's schedule which we did. The entire Lancaster contingent didn't arrive, however, which completely ruined the schedule. Only Chris (Hawes) arrived by train to say the others couldn't make it, the car had broken down. So we made last minute changes as best we could. Eight teachers showed up during the course of the day, two of them very late.

I had to take 5A and 5B simultaneously, a task made easier by the fact that they were in adjacent rooms. I had a double period of maths with both. I first set a lesson with the 5B class, left them with their text books, and started giving a lecture to 5A. Paula (a pupil from 5B) watched over her class, a role she has taken for some time. Paula had originally been a member of 5A but had been very disruptive and uncomfortable in the class because of difficulties she was having with the work. Since her change to 5B she's become a strong leader, negotiating between them and teachers frequently, much as Gerard Irving does for the 4Bs. She regularly came into the 5A room today to ask me how to work certain problems in the assignment and then went back to explain it to the others and help them with their work. Once she came in to ask me where she could get materials.

I had to stay with 5A longer than I felt comfortable with because the lesson was rather difficult in trigonometry and I had to go from desk to desk showing individuals how to work the problems. At one point Paula came and warned me that I'd been with 5A too long: 'They're getting restless Phil!', so I left 5A a few minutes later to see about the situation with 5B. When I came in the room, Paula was going

over answers at the board with a relatively quiet and attentive class.

I had to readjust my expectations for quiet class behaviour with 5A today. The class was fairly attentive when I lectured and everyone worked but the boys often made an unacceptable level of noise during problem solving time. I had to explain several times that the noise was too loud: 'I'm having trouble coaching the girls!' Each time I said this the boys became quiet but the noise gradually rose until I had to say it again.

The bell rang at the wrong time. I was with the 5Bs when it rang 30 minutes too early for the new schedule. 5B continued their lesson with me until it finished (5 more minutes). Then we sent a volunteer down to find out what was going on. When the volunteer returned and said 'It's break time' I dismissed the class and went to 5A expecting the students there to have jumped at the opportunity to leave early. I was surprised to find them still there, noisy, but not leaving. I dismissed them.

Upstairs in the staffroom: 'The bell shouldn't have rung!' 'I know' said Chris, and Phil Knibb explained that the office hadn't realised we were beginning a new schedule.

...

Next I had to take 3C in English to substitute for a missing teacher...

Although some classes were conducted well in the difficult conditions which existed during this period, with teachers and pupils taking innovative and effective action, discipline problems eventually curbed many of the innovations, forcing teachers to fall back on more traditional approaches. The first years and the 4B and 3C classes were especially difficult, and it was not uncommon to hear teachers shouting loudly for order when walking past these classes along the school's corridors. As the novelty of the occupation wore off, the use of discussions about day to day life and unconventional rewards for good work lost appeal to the pupils. Pupils were regularly sent out of classrooms to report to the office for offences in the classroom, but parents in the corridors frequently resented this practice, not really knowing what to do with pupils sent out in this way and often expressing their belief that teachers were showing incompetence in having to put pupils out. Those pupils sent out would also sometimes find an empty room in the building in which to hide from adults, waiting for the bell to ring to go to their next class. Detention classes were set up after school to keep disruptive pupils in as a punishment.

While classroom practice moved progressively in the direction of traditional coercive sanctions (minus the cane), teachers attempted to extend freedom to pupils outside the classroom. A student council was established early in the term with two representatives elected from each class. They were asked to decide on suggestions regarding any aspect of the school and to submit these to the staff. The first group of suggestions were submitted in late October and included items involving over-all school organisation such as the number of assemblies given per week, the number of field trips for pupils, and subject options. In an effort to get pupils more involved in the political aspects of the occupation, one fifth year pupil was also co-opted onto the Action

Committee with voting rights. He only attended one meeting, however, and had enrolled in Ellergreen by the half term break.

Teachers also wished to set aside two 30 minute periods in the morning of each week for classes to discuss problems they were having with teachers or other pupils or with the time table. These were called 'form periods'. Each class was given a 'form teacher' who was to facilitate these sessions and to act in a pastoral role generally with the form group. The teachers once even held a special meeting with the 5th years to ask that they help keep discipline in the corridors by taking on 'gentle' policing roles.

None of these programmes worked in the end, however. The student council eventually collapsed when some of its key members left Croxteth Comprehensive for Ellergreen during the second half-term. No new pupils volunteered to replace them. The fifth year proved themselves incapable or unwilling to adequately police the corridors, most not rising to the request at all and some becoming much too bossy and told to desist by staff. The class discussion periods had mixed results. My own form, the 4A, set up a 'discipline committee' of elected pupils to handle disputes within the class but pupils reprimanded by the committee after its first meeting refused to take the suggested discipline and the class immediately lost interest in the idea. Other form teachers experienced similar failures and the attempt to give pupils more opportunity to participate in decisions effecting the school failed.

VI Atmosphere and the Battle for Pupil's Consent

Most teachers who stayed found the teaching stressful but also found involvement in the occupied school very rewarding. A detailed presentation of the class backgrounds, occupational status, position in the life cycle and so on of the most consistent teachers is presented in the next chapter, but something of the variety of less easily classified characteristics of these people can be given here. During the first half term, most volunteers fell into one of two categories: very recent graduates with no previous teaching experience or training coming for experience in teaching or out of sympathy for the community or both; or older individuals in their 30s or 40s with previous teaching experience and, usually, membership in political or 'NSM' organisations like the peace movement.

An important exception to these two categories was Pat Kellet, the retired deputy head who volunteered in the school full time during the first and second terms and then for three days a week in the third. Pat was important to the occupation because he was an excellent teacher and highly respected by the local activists. His classes were popular with the pupils and soon showed results with well executed essays and mathematics exercises displayed on his classroom walls. He was very often pointed to with pride by local volunteers describing the occupation to outsiders and definitely served a legitimating role, giving confidence to parents sending their children to the school.

Other teachers included an Iranian immigrant who had been involved in a Marxist organisation during the turmoils of his home country and couldn't possibly move back there, ex-members of the CP and WRP, a current member of the WRP with a masters degree in English, a member of Big Flame who had recently graduated from Cambridge with an economics degree, two Jesuit Fathers who advocated liberation theology and had been involved with the radical Catholic publication *Slant* (actually becoming involved during the second term), a radical Catholic feminist from Lancaster, also closely associated with *Slant*, who taught history for the Open University, a religious studies major from Lancaster who belonged to the SWP, members of the Merseyside Arts Association who used art in politically relevant ways and worked with unemployed youth, several members of PROUT which is an organisation attempting to combine spiritual concepts and practice taken from the East with a socialist political ideology, a former member of an animal rights movement and 'Troops Out' and so on.

Most teachers asked about their reasons for staying in the school used the term 'atmosphere', 'climate' or some similar term to describe subtle aspects of the occupation they found to their liking. The fact that the school was illegally occupied had a sort of romantic appeal which was constantly refreshed by many peculiarities in the teaching environment. The doors of the school were tightly guarded in the early days and, as Barry's account illustrates, new arrivals were asked to give some evidence of their identity and good intentions. Angela Cunningham, another teacher from Lancaster who came down two days a week to teach history, recalls an interesting anecdote:

When I was getting ready to go to bed one evening my husband noticed a number of scratches on my back. He asked what had happened and I had to think over the events of the day to remember that'd crawled under some barbed wire to get into the school that morning. I must have been scratched in the process!

One of the classrooms during the first half term was used for sleeping by the night pickets as was an upstairs staffroom which wasn't used by the new teachers. When teachers arrived early in the morning to prepare lessons, they often had to waken the pickets to let them in by banging on the windows. Slogans were written on many of the school windows like 'This School is Occupied', 'This is Your School', 'We won by 31 Votes' and the like. In the assembly hall, an embroidered white cloth hung bearing words stitched in blue: 'Education is Our Greatest Social Need'. In the corridors during the day, adults from the community could often be found holding babies or minding infants while they directed the traffic of pupils during period changes. Evidence of the unusual nature of the school was everywhere and was appealing to many teachers.

As the weeks went by, the political campaign continued, now often involving members of staff and pupils. On October 20th, Manwebb managed to shut off the electricity once again, but it was immediately turned back on. Manwebb responded on the 26th by attempting to dig up the road outside the Stonebridge building in order to shut off the illegally switched on supply without trying to cross the picket line. The electrical union had

refused to carry out the order in support of the occupation so members of Mannwebb management, dressed in worker's clothing, drove up to the school to carry out the operation. Pickets, who quickly assembled outside the building after local police reportedly warned them of the approach of Mannwebb, repelled the effort to the delight of pupils and staff. A union representative later came to the school to explain that no electrical worker would respond to orders to cut off the buildings of Croxteth Comprehensive and that the union was appalled by the action of Mannwebb management.

Rumours of approaching bailiffs, infiltrators, and tapped phones abounded. All of this contributed to an atmosphere which was very exciting. The activists, teachers and parents alike, felt themselves together in opposition to powerful enemies, and they were winning. Yola Jacobson gave an account of her perceptions of the atmosphere:

Yola: The spirit was amazing. At first you were very over-awed by it because you were aware of what was happening, this was an occupied school. There was a lot of antagonism to the outside world because the school was in danger and everyone was together in order to defend it.

P.C. How did you sense it, this feeling of antagonism?

Yola: Oh, just you know when Mannwebb came down and tried to turn the electricity off but couldn't. And the telephones being tapped, and the press coverage in the Liverpool Echo. And this incredible spirit because it was new then.

The sense of unity this antagonism and newness and general excitement created was one of the reasons many of the staff found their involvement rewarding. It supplied a sense of meaning and a depth of human relationships which contrasted favourably with the more ordinary activities of their lives.

Many on the staff believed that if the sense of common purpose and excitement they felt and the solidarity it helped to produce between themselves and with parents could be extended to the pupils, disruptions and discipline problems would diminish. It was decided accordingly to start holding daily assemblies, another movement towards the traditional practices of the school. The idea was first suggested in the second week. The argument was that assemblies would break the fragmented nature of the pupil's experience in the school by bringing everyone together and reminding them of the common purpose everyone supposedly shared. Reports of the campaign's recent successes could be given to the pupils. Chris Hawes began giving the assemblies every morning. On Fridays he was joined by Paul Shackley, another volunteer commuting from Lancaster who had majored in philosophy and religious studies in university, to give a religious reading. The practice of giving religious readings at assemblies was another move in the direction of very traditional schooling practice, though Paul read not only from the Bible but from the Bhagavad Gita and the Koran as well.

Chris gave reports on political developments at assembly and frequently strove to produce a feeling of unity in the hall by calling for group cheers and clapping for the successes of the campaign. He also

repeatedly stressed the difficulties of the situation and complemented the pupils on how well they were doing. But invariably assemblies also contained strong condemnations of disruptive pupils, the 'minority who are trying to ruin it for all of us' and called on the well behaved to help control the trouble-makers. Chris's hope, and the staff's generally, was that pupils would come to share the adults' feeling of commitment to an important cause:

I'm convinced that a lot of the kids did understand what was going on and kept a rein on themselves because they thought it was important. It was *their* school and they wanted to save it. At assemblies in the morning I was constantly hammering on that theme to the point of boredom. I used to give pep talks every morning about the occupation, how much we depended on everyone pulling together against attacks from outside. 'There are people out there who want to see us fail, they want to see this school close because we can't keep it together. Are we going to give them that satisfaction? NO!' I'd try to play on that emotional level because I was feeling it wasn't a put-on thing. It was something we all felt.

But discipline continued to be the major problem in the school just the same. Class disruptions were one problem, but outside the classroom there were incidents of vandalism, petty theft, and fighting that caused great concern. When the first years were taken to a public baths on October 20th, they were kicked out for unruly behaviour and told not to come back. A major theft brought a police officer to visit the school in mid-October. Chris often expressed anger and outrage on the mornings after such incidents. Passages of one such assembly, recorded in the field notebooks and dated October 19th, included:

Some of the behaviour of the students has caused some of us to want to give up. I've felt like giving up. I've felt like walking out of here. But we aren't giving up. And we need your cooperation.

Unfortunately we have some idiots in this school. Some pupils in this school were caught doing, you know what? Throwing sand in people's eyes! (voice becoming very loud) *They must have cement between their ears!! ...*

The efforts of Chris and other teachers to get pupils to share in the sense of commitment to the occupation was really an effort to get pupils to obey teachers and do school work. Although many adult volunteers in the school interpreted pupil disruptions in terms of their age, as 'immature behaviour' which indicated their 'lack of understanding' of the situation, what was really involved was the discrepancy experienced by pupils between the authority relations and school work of the classroom and the occupation of the buildings and the confrontation with the local government. Pupils *did* support the latter aspects of the occupation. They expressed in exhaustive interviews taken during the course of the year with nearly all of them a great deal of loyalty and enthusiasm for the campaign to keep Croxteth Comprehensive. Many of the older ones helped in demonstrations by making banners and actually coming along. They certainly shared in the atmosphere of the *school*, the point was that this atmosphere didn't extend very far into the *classroom*. In the classroom pupils faced a single teacher asking them to do work many of them didn't particularly want to do.

In addition to the ambiguities of teacher authority, which was taken as an opportunity by some pupils but found to be worrying and stressful to others, pupils naturally disliked the uncertainty of who would be teaching them what, when, and frequently complained. Once the time table was set, pupils resented the constant ad hoc changes that were necessary: 'this is supposed to be a French class Peter, we had English already'. Rates of disruption from the minority of pupils who were determined to make the most of the situation were high in consequence. Disruption was stressful for both teachers and pupils. Pupils interviewed during the first few weeks very often argued that the cane should be used:

They [other pupils] just mess Sir, there should be the cane.
(A first year pupil, 15 October - younger years usually didn't call teachers by their first names).

The teachers should be stricter, we need severer punishments.
The cane should be used if pupils are bad. (Paul, fifth year, 15 October)

Bring back the cane. We need stricter teachers and more regular teachers. (Ian, fifth year, 1 November)

It would be better to have the cane, then the kids wouldn't be bad again. (Karen, 2nd year, 2 November).

Joanne, a second year pupil, talked about discipline on 15 November:

P.C.: How is school different this year than last year?

Joanne: Teachers aren't strict enough, they should have the cane. Kids think it's not a proper school, they just can do what they want.

P.C.: Are you learning as much as last year?

Joanne: Yes, I'm learning just as much.

P.C.: If you are learning just as much, why should it be stricter?

Joanne: Kids only work with the stricter teachers. Half of the kids don't work, they do what they like. I work the same as before.

An essay assigned by a teacher to her 1B English class during the second half of the first term was to be entitled 'Why is 1B the best class in the school?'. Some of the resulting work exhibits the dislike many pupils had for the disorderly nature of their class. Short sections of two essays follow:

1B is the worst class in the school. The kids are noisy, mess, talk and shout. Sometimes the teachers don't take any notice. Sometimes the kids don't take any notice of the teacher.

Jason

I think that 1B is the worst class in the school because of the people that are in it. If this was a proper school, none of this would happen. If this was a real school.

Terry

The school was often not seen as 'proper' or 'real' because of the lack of authority of the teachers more than anything else. The dislike many pupils felt for the situation was for the most part confined to pupils who

The loyalty most pupils felt for the school, didn't transfer to the classroom because the activities initiated there didn't have any obvious relevance or connection to the occupation itself.

It is worth noting here that during a latter phase of the occupation many teachers also felt themselves in a situation similar to that of the pupils, although the similarity was not noted by anyone during the research. During the second term teachers were asked to recognise the immense importance of the take-over for the British labour movement but were simultaneously asked to support it only by teaching, not by participating in decision making concerning the broad features of the campaign. Like the pupils, they came to no longer see direct links between their roles (teachers) and the campaign itself - they no longer *experienced* the connections. The way in which educational activity was severed from political activity resulted in a sense of isolation and demoralisation for these teachers. This experience is discussed at length in chapter fourteen.

Thus the appeals by teachers during the first weeks of the occupation for commitment and responsible behaviour on the part of pupils most often took the form of a stern demand for pupils to realise that they had a *duty* to behave in the school. The pedagogy and curriculum in the school did not draw upon the political context of the occupation, in many ways it contradicted it.

Over time, appeals to pupils to take schooling seriously began to more frequently take the form of trying to convince pupils that school work was for their benefit, rather than the futile attempt to get them to link school work with support for the campaign. The explanation usually given to them from teachers and parents alike was 'it will help you get a job'. Reza, a graduate in chemistry from Liverpool Polytechnic was heard telling pupils they had to buckle down and work, because:

If you're going to survive in that jungle out there, you're going to have to have those examination results.

Efforts to control pupils thus shifted not only in their method (sanctions), but in their *rationale*, towards traditional forms. There was a tension built into the situation, which manifested primarily in the classroom. The occupation had transformed the meaning of the school, especially for the

adults. The school had taken on new meanings, it became a symbolic context on which relations of solidarity could form. It was captured territory. The classroom was not transformed by the occupation, at least not to this extent. School authority had been transformed for the school as a whole but retained its power within portions of its inner geography. The use of a traditional curriculum and of what increasingly became a traditional pedagogy was the bedrock upon which classrooms continued to stand for authority over pupils.

VII Discipline and Pupils' Perspectives

In addition to the ambiguities of teacher authority, which was taken as an opportunity by some pupils but found to be worrying and stressful to others, pupils naturally disliked the uncertainty of who would be teaching them what, when, and frequently complained. Once the time table was set, pupils resented the constant ad hoc changes that were necessary: 'this is supposed to be a French class Peter, we had English already'. Rates of disruption from the minority of pupils who were determined to make the most of the situation were high in consequence. Disruption was stressful for both teachers and pupils. Pupils interviewed during the first few weeks very often argued that the cane should be used:

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Joanne: Yes, I'm learning just as much.

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Jason

I think that 1B is the worst class in the school because of the people that are in it. If this was a proper school, none of this would happen. If this was a real school.

Terry

The school was often not seen as 'proper' or 'real' because of the lack of authority of the teachers more than anything else. The dislike many pupils felt for the situation was for the most part confined to pupils who were not active in disruption themselves. Jason was an example of one of these. For such pupils the lack of structure was threatening, they felt they couldn't rely on many of the teachers to basically protect them from disruptions they wished no part of. But some of the most disruptive pupils also expressed this opinion. Terry was regarded by most teachers of the first year as one of the most difficult in the school. He was expelled for a time after Christmas and his mother was repeatedly called into the school for conferences about her son's behaviour.

Other disruptive pupils, however, usually said in interview that they liked the school as it was and if pressed said they could get away with more which was why they liked it.

At the same time, most pupils expressed an appreciation for the informality of the teachers and pupils *during the first few weeks* displayed more than usual enthusiasm for learning and for the school at least in principle. It is interesting that expressions of this enthusiasm often occurred *outside* classrooms. When it was announced that Henry Stewart and myself were going to run a mathematics club after school and all interested should meet after school, thirty pupils of all ages showed up. And pupils could be seen clustered about Reza after school hours listening to his recollections of life in Iran under the Shah, female pupils clustered about Yola for informal talk and so on. The occupation definitely produced much more intimate and familiar relationships between some pupils and some teachers and this did generate more interest in learning activities for a significant number of pupils.

The following five excerpts from a special journal kept during the first term for comments of pupils illustrate representative opinions on pupil-teacher relationships and other aspects of the occupied school during the first term. The first three are from 4A pupils, the last two were taken from a 2B and a 4B pupil during the second half of the first term:

1) Mandy of 4A - recorded 15 October:

P.C.: What do you think of the teachers?

Mandy: The teachers are alright. They seem like teachers, but you can talk more, so it's better.

P.C.: Do you think there is enough discipline?

Mandy: I'd like more discipline

P.C.: How would you improve the school if you could?

Mandy: More discipline, and stick to the time-table, not so much mixing.

2) Frank of 4A - recorded 15 October:

P.C. How would you improve this school if you could do it?

Frank: I'd like more lessons.

P.C. Has the school changed much from last year?

Frank: Not much, except the behaviour of the pupils is worse.

P.C.: Learning as much?

Frank: Maths and English are at least as good as before. I couldn't do algebra before, now it's easier. It's better than before.

3) Steve of 4A - recorded 15 October:

P.C.: What do you think of the teachers this year?

Steve: Some are far better, you can talk to them. Some are quick tempered but some understand what you feel - a lot do.

P.C.: Learning as much this year?

Steve: We are learning a lot now but we haven't enough options.

4) Nicky of 2B - recorded 11 November:

P.C.: Would you call this a proper school?

Nicky: It's not a proper school, not run by the education authority.

P.C.: If it was a proper school, how would it be different?

Nicky: It'd be more strict. The teacher wouldn't be coming around to you to help you with your work. It's better to have parents in with you, because if they start kicking up on the teacher, messing around and that, you can call a parent.

5) Gerard of 4B - recorded 1 December:

P.C.: What would you say are the main differences between school this year and school last year?

Gerard: There are parents in the school, and the teachers are different. There's no cane, no headmaster.

P.C.: What do you think of the teachers?

Gerard: You can talk to them, it's better.

The situation was contradictory, pupils liking the informality and approachability of the new teachers but simultaneously demanding more coercive sanctions.

In the demand for more coercive sanctions, the cane was most often referred to. Yet a majority of a sample of the most disruptive pupils questioned about the cane said that it was 'nothing', and didn't think it curbed disruption. A not untypical quotation will illustrate this:

P.C.: Do you think the school should have the cane?

Allen: Yeah, it'd be better, the teacher's aren't strict enough.

P.C.: The cane would stop a lot of the messing?

Allen: The cane (pause), I mean I've been caned loads of times and it's nothing. Just a couple of slaps on the hands and it's over like.

P.C.: But you think the school should have the cane?

Allen: It's better than detention. In detention you have to sit there for an hour or whatever. The cane's over quick like.

Again, this view was common amongst the pupils who caused the most problems for teachers - calling for the cane and then, when pressed about it, saying that the cane wasn't really effective and was better than getting detention. The cane was thus more a symbol of school authority which pupils and parents found to be slack in the school. It featured in much of the early discourse of all participants on discipline, but its absence from the occupied school was more symbolic of the lack of stern relationships between pupils and teachers on many levels than a missing but desired sanction. The cane is concrete and easily brought into discourse, the many subtleties of negotiated authority relationships are not.

VIII Incessant Meetings, Examinations and Early Signs of the WRP

Teachers held meetings nearly every day, in the morning just before assembly, at lunch time and very often after school. Meetings were very often long, practically every question and frustration felt by teachers coming up for discussion. Every point was debated as well: should pupils be asked to bring their own pencils? Should teachers have their own rooms to which pupils move at period changes, or should teachers continue to travel from room to room? What are appropriate strategies for keeping discipline? What is our policy on lateness, on absences? Should John X be expelled? What about homework? Are teachers marking books consistently? And on and on. The most taken-for-granted practices in other schools were questions which took up half hours or even hours of debate over each one.

Always coming up at staff meetings as well were questions of the campaign strategy. The latest rumours and facts were shared and teachers enthusiastically gave their own opinions of what ought to be done. Most teachers at this time urgently expressed their wish that more adults from the community be involved in the school. Many of the organisational and discipline problems, it was felt, could be solved if more adults were present. More community volunteers could be used to visit the homes of the parents of misbehaving children and used to seek more volunteer teachers by placing ads and visiting various organisations. The number of community volunteers was actually declining and this was cause of much worry on the part of teaching staff.

Meetings were loosely organised, a teacher usually volunteering to act as facilitator and discussions allowed to go on for teachers to get things off their chests or to express various political ideas. Decisions were made through voting, but efforts to arrive at full consensus generally preceded voting and a proposal once voted in could be challenged again a week or even a day later on. These meetings were found to be tedious and very tiresome for some teachers but others liked them, finding them 'truly democratic'. They were attended by the local volunteers most involved in the educational aspects of the campaign as well: those who worked in the corridors and the office and who frequently found themselves asked to supervise a class for a missing teacher.

Within the first month many teacher volunteers made contact with previous teachers of Croxteth Comprehensive, now teaching at Ellergreen for the most part, to discover what previous syllabuses had been and to get information about specific pupils. Also, partly through the insistence of John Bennett, O level and CSE syllabuses quickly began to be followed for the 4th and 5th year classes. This created additional problems, however, as only some pupils in these classes seemed promising with respect to examinations. Insistence on the syllabuses meant that many pupils further lost interest in the classes. Because ability varied so greatly from pupil to pupil, having just two classes per form year was inadequate for the 4th and 5th year. Not enough teachers were available to break the forms into more classes.

John Bennett continued to be involved in the occupation but was limited in what he could do because of his full time teaching job. He often came over during evenings and was usually present during the weekends when the school was full of community activists cleaning and repairing portions of the buildings, of office staff and of teachers preparing lessons, organising classrooms and examining stock piles of books. Weekends were also the occasion of football games played by Croxteth pupils, sometimes with teams from other schools. John Bennett was clearly trying to exert an influence on the campaign along the lines of his WRP ideology. He actively sought to recruit Action Committee members to the WRP and was initially successful in a number of cases, an event which was to provoke serious conflicts later in the term. He also brought copies of the WRP daily paper *Newsline* for sale amongst participants. The paper continued to run features on the school with colour pictures of classes being taught and parents repelling ~~Mann~~ ^{webb} employees. It was clear that other members of the WRP, reporters and photographers for the paper and newspaper sellers, visited the school regularly. One of the regular teachers on staff was also a member of the WRP.

IX The Local Activists

During this period the local activists were also very busy under conditions of stress. They were divided into a number of groups based on where they worked and what they did. A number remained at the Parkstile building where few classes were actually held. They kept a picket up in that building, kept the premises clean, and were present and helpful when a few specialist classes like domestic science and for a time typing were held there to take advantage of the extra facilities of that building. The rest worked in Stonebridge. A kitchen crew was established which cooked lunch for all pupils, staff and local volunteers every day. Several activists worked in the office, keeping the registers and handling the large amount of correspondence necessary for the campaign. A large part of the correspondence consisted of requests for funds from trade union branches and thank you letters when such funds came in. The Action Committee also sent speakers to various meetings around the country, usually describing the struggle and requesting help but sometimes actually advising others in similar situations on possible strategy. Still other volunteers from Croxteth worked in the corridors to keep order during class changes and at the day's beginning, break time, lunch time and after school. These volunteers not infrequently were called upon by teachers for help during class hours, to either quiet down a noisy class, remove a troublesome pupil or get needed materials. Sometimes they sat in difficult classes, like the 4Bs or 3Cs, for an entire period to aid the teacher in keeping order and many times they actually took classes for exercises set by a teacher who was occupied elsewhere.

The first conflict which occurred between teachers and local activists, already mentioned, was over the use of the cane. Chris said he was approached several times by parents who argued that certain trouble makers ought to be caned but Chris always refused and the teaching staff backed

him up unanimously on that. The Action Committee agreed without pushing their view very hard, but the issue continued to be a sore point between teachers and local activists for most of the first term.

The office became a room not only of business but of leisure and conversation during the day. When not required for any job or duty, volunteers often sat together in the office to drink tea and chat. The room always had people in it, staff and community volunteers, and one could hear the latest facts and rumours there or express one's frustrations to sympathetic ears. Pupils also continuously showed up at the office during the day, explaining that their teacher needed this or that material or that they'd been kicked out of a room for causing trouble. Some pupils became regular visitors to the office, exchanging gossip and jokes with adults in the room. While the conversations went on, with people coming and going out, local residents Ann Abercromby or Ev Loftus or both would be sitting at a typewriter, joining in the conversations while typing away and answering the telephone. Ann and Ev were good friends, both with children in the school, and together they ran the office in the early months of the occupation.

There were a small number of local volunteers who actually took classes as well. Mick Checkland and Joey Jacobs took games and P.E. from the start of the year to the very end. Ernie Jones, in addition to collecting food each morning from local shops to bring to the kitchen, frequently took P.E. and lessons in maths, English, and history set by teachers. Kathy Donovan took sewing with girls, Rose took needle work. Some of the locals took classes for short periods of time, Tommy Maher taking woodwork for a period, even Phil Knibb, who was always busy both inside and outside the school with campaign work, took a few classes of welding.

Phil Knibb's role during this part of the occupation was to do what was needed in the school and to spend much time going to meetings in town of various types. He maintained contacts with the Merseyside Trade Union - Community Liaison Committee and kept in communication with the local Labour Party, getting to know key members. In the school you could see him on a typical day discussing strategy with the office workers, handing out registers to arriving teachers, leaving and returning in his car to attend some meeting in town, and helping with the washing up in the kitchen after lunch. He also spent a couple of nights a week sleeping at the school for picket duty and more than once had to get up in the middle of the night to visit the school after receiving a phone call from a picket that vandals or thieves had been around. His wife Carol worked in the kitchen everyday as did Cyril's wife Irene. Cyril himself was seldom in the school during the day. He continued in his role of correspondent for the committee and travelled alone or with Phil to give talks about the occupation. Cyril also took several over-night picket duties a week, along with Irene D'Arcy.

Action Committee meetings were frequent during the first term, often held weekly and always in the staff room of the school during the evening.

Notes in the field journals on a 22 October meeting give their typical flavour:

- I came in late. Chris was talking emotively about defending the teachers, that the school is not out of control.
- There are 14 women and 7 men present.
- Several parents are excitedly stressing the need for more rules in the school.
- Irene: 'We're finding out what really happens in a school. Before we never saw it, now we know what teachers have to put up with'.
- The parents are sitting nearly in a circle with Phil Knibb chairing from a desk and Cyril D'Arcy seated next to him. Most talk is going between Chris and parents.
- Chris has to leave early. He gets a clap of confidence as he gets up to go.
- A picket rota for the week is constructed, parents volunteering to fill in night slots. There is concern about the holiday. Agreed to send out a leaflet to the community asking for more pickets.
- Cyril reports the 5:00 news today which said approx: 'Manwebb warns Croxteth that they're playing with danger' (about the illegal use of electricity). Cyril says the police can't come into the building without the request of the Education Committee, the school is still the committee's property. If the police do come, the pickets inside should call out for help.
- Mood of the meeting: warm. Lot of familiarity and support amongst people.
- Phil's suggestions are seldom questioned. Irene once raised a contradictory point which was accepted but that's the only time. Talk now is mostly between Phil and parents, not parents between each other. Most common form: Phil makes statement/suggestion, parent asks question, Phil answers.

Almost all Action Committee meetings were similar to this one. The seating arrangement usually had Phil and Cyril at the desk with a semi-circle of parents and other adults around them. Cyril would begin meetings by reading letters he'd received during the time since the last meeting and explaining his replies. The format was very formal: post business, treasurer's report, new business; all proposals formally voted on. Discussion on campaign matters was usually limited with Phil generally suggesting the bulk of the proposals. Conversation, as in the example above, was for the most part between Phil and individual AC members, one at a time. Cyril's role was usually that of providing knowledge about certain political points: what the council could or couldn't do, what rights the parents did and didn't have, what had happened in which committee, what the position of a particular union was and so on. He generally agreed with Phil on the proposals. When agenda items involved social events, like Action Committee parties or bingo games, however, much more general discussion took place with many jokes and laughing. These aspects of the meeting were very important. They maintained a feeling of togetherness, communicated new information, and allowed people to joke and talk. The

feeling was almost always warm, a feeling of togetherness amongst those present.

X Towards Another Crisis

As the weeks continued during the first half term, discipline problems became a matter of increasingly great concern to the Action Committee. There is no record of how many local activists volunteered in the school during the first weeks though we've already pointed out that the number had fallen greatly from the large numbers who had come just after the occupation in July. Whatever the number was at the beginning of term, it steadily fell as the half term approached. Like many of the volunteer teachers, local activists got tired of the constant problems with pupils and with the disorganisation caused by poor teacher discipline (late arrivals) and the impossibility of establishing a working time-table. As the numbers decreased, the situation got more difficult. Those who remained had extra burdens, and everyone was worried about the quality of education which was being provided. By the first half term the campaign was acknowledged to be in another crisis. Chris Hawes was in a key position to perceive the development of this crisis as he was the chief liaison between the staff and the parents during this period. His account of its development is worth quoting in full. In it he gives his perceptions of the roots of the discipline problems in the type of education which was being provided. He also mentions problems the Action Committee was having with 'the far left', which was primarily a problem with the WRP:

I was lodging with Cyril D'Arcy and going back to Lancaster at weekends which was a good idea, it gave me a lot more to go on because in the evenings I was drinking with Cyril mostly in the Lobster (local pub near the school). Those amazing sing songs, mixing with the people socially, that was a great pleasure because you know what those people are like, they can show you a good time. ...

I was there, I was living in Crocky. That became the line of communication between the Action Committee and the teachers. We were trying to hammer out those questions of discipline and how to control the situation. We, the teachers, needed more help. The number of parents began to dwindle away. We actually needed that presence in the school and it wasn't there and people were drifting away. It was quite understandable, people were picketing the school 24 hours a day. The same small few people were holding the line, living in the building, staying over night. They were absolutely knackered.

Tempers were getting frayed and ragged. Discipline was a problem and got people onto the edge. People were shouting when they felt very threatened within and without. And that was why discipline problems became worse. A lot of things that happened in the school in those early days was entirely a result of that. It was actually about a bunch of people feeling extremely threatened. Things were happening within the school that were causing people to worry. Vandalism from the kids, items being stolen, a feeling of suspicion that things being stolen from the school with the connivance of certain parents.

There was also a certain amount of political paranoia - people looking with suspicion in the direction of the far left. I always felt the involvement of the far left in the occupation had been positive, but at times they were

unhelpful, insensitive and clumsy. It was pointed out to them and they ceased to be so.

I strongly felt that there were contradictions set up in the situation which were causing problems within ourselves. For me personally there was a major contradiction in terms of the actual quality of the teaching we were able to provide. I felt that an academic teaching style was what was being attempted because of the wishes of the parents and because we were on an express train which was careering along at 80 miles an hour. One thing you didn't have was time for a cool appraisal of what you were doing. You didn't have time to get off and look and think. Weekends you were knackered and fell into bed and slept.

With hindsight one of the problems was that the teaching style we adopted was not appropriate to the situation. Not a less disciplined but a more informal approach should have been used. We should have used the situation, we should have done more work centred around the occupation, than what we were doing.

In general there was a sense in which the parents - this came up at Action Committee meetings - parents expecting too much of the teaching staff. Expecting the staff to re-establish the kind of regime which had existed in the school, and this was a very cruel expectation to have of these teachers who were struggling away. I was very used to have to constantly defend the teachers, actually to make appeals to parents to come in and help, and to not have those parents come forward, that was very demoralising at times. ...

The pressure was unbelievable and there were times when you thought you were just over the hump: times when you'd congratulate yourself, you'd get through the day, you'd achieved a school day without a riot breaking out and you'd go down to the pub to celebrate. ... Two or three days of that in the school and you'd think we've achieved it, it's actually working as a school now, it's operating as a school. And then some disaster would happen. Things like (pause), some kids broke into the science labs and stole chemicals, the implications of that, all the time too you were conscious of what the press could make out of that. They could cut the teaching off any time, anyone could be arrested for trespass.

Chris attended an Action Committee meeting on the evening of Monday, 18 October, and reported to the staff the next day that quite a few of the AC members had expressed concern about the quality of education in the school. He himself had told the committee that the teaching was going very poorly and the education of the pupils was in danger. Action Committee members later called this Chris's 'message of doom' and their concern sharpened greatly. The suggestion had even come up to close the school down at the half term break, one week away. Chris reported that the consensus by the end of the meeting had been to keep the educational provision in the school going *if at all possible* but Chris had been asked to tell the teachers that the Action Committee had to depend on them to make this possible, to get control of the situation. Chris's suggestion was that both the Action Committee and the teaching staff hold long post-mortem meetings during the holiday break, to use the week off as a time to regroup and 'start a new phase, a completely different phase in this occupation'.

The week before the holiday break was one of the most difficult. Wednesday was the day the first year got thrown out of the public baths,

making it impossible for any Croxteth Comprehensive classes to use the swimming facility for the remainder of the year. Hastily written notes in my field journals for that day include:

Assembly was harsh again today. Examples made of some of the students and etc.

Saw Pat yelling extremely loudly at his first formers.

Much chaos and confusion in corridors between classes. Students not sure where they should be - students complaining about the lack of certain options they want.

First years acted horribly at the baths I hear, and destroyed our chances for return trips there.

On Thursday, at a general lunch-time staff meeting, disputes between Croxteth volunteers and teaching staff over discipline broke out. The two P.E. teachers, Mick and Joey who both came from Croxteth, were being criticised for slapping children and making entire classes take detention when only some of the pupils had misbehaved.

Mick: I believe in the cane myself.

Teacher: The cane is NOT an effective way to get discipline! And we can't be hitting kids.

Ernie: The committee wants more discipline, it's a major priority!.

Both teachers and community volunteers at this meeting expressed feeling totally fed up with the erratic time table which they believed was one of the main causes of the poor discipline. Volunteer teacher Liila said she wouldn't teach another class until she was given a personal schedule; she had been used as a substitute teacher for several weeks. Ernie said the local volunteers were tired of having classes suddenly shoved on them for games and complained that some classes were getting many more games than others. Henry Stewart reported that his 4B maths class 'went on strike' in the morning because they believed they weren't getting their fair share of games per week.

On Friday the 4A's threatened me with going to Ellergreen unless they could be given something other than art with the 4Bs, and the 4B girls refused to go to needlework and demanded a games lesson instead. While I was teaching a class in the physics lab local volunteer Margaret Gaskell twice interrupted my class to tell me she'd discovered small pockets of pupils hiding in the library, the hall, and other areas and what should she do with them? She later told me she found out what subjects they were supposed to be in and shoved them into the appropriate classrooms, probably to the dismay of the respective teachers who no doubt had been glad to be rid of 'trouble makers'.

On Thursday of this week I ate lunch with Henry Stewart and Chris Hawes. Chris told us he was getting very worn and wished to leave the occupation or at least cut down his days of involvement. A replacement for coordinator would be needed. Henry and I said we'd like to share the job

between us and Chris said he thought we'd make good replacements. He said he'd probably leave soon after the first half term break.

The last paragraph in my field notebook for Friday, 22 October 1982, reads:

In general today there was a breakdown in class attendance and everything else. Attempts by staff to get a sense of emergency across to the pupils, and thus appeal for their cooperation, failed. Control over pupils is breaking down, they often simply don't obey a teacher or a helper (community volunteer), no matter how nicely or menacingly it's put.

But Friday had been the last day before a week long half-term break. Teachers and community activists were hopeful that the chaotic situation could be changed through more planning and preparation during the week. The teachers heard, again, that the Action Committee was prepared to shut down the school if the staff couldn't convince them that they could keep control and run the school properly. As Cyril D'Arcy stated at a staff meeting during the week before the break:

I'm concerned about using kids as pawns in a political game. We told the parents that if we couldn't provide a standard education we would close. I don't want to close but I don't want to see the situation crumble about our feet.

X| Chapter Summary

This chapter began with a description of confusion and stress existing in the occupied Croxteth Comprehensive at the beginning of its first term and ended with the campaign entering a full blown crisis, the Action Committee actually considering closing it down. The period covered was the first five weeks of the school year, ending at the first half-term break.

As written in the introduction to this chapter, although the word 'chaos' was frequently used by participants during the time and in later recollections of it, there was actually a good deal of structure underlying the activities of the participants. The conditions structuring the situation included a number of constraints which limited the resources available to the activists in forming their daily routines. The chief constraint which existed all along was the lack of enough teachers. This constraint resulted in a serious time shortage, for those teachers who were available didn't have enough time for proper planning or for recruiting other teachers. It also meant that newly arriving volunteers with little experience of teaching were not given much support nor a secure time table into which they could be slotted. Many volunteers soon left in consequence. The small number of teachers also meant that the time table was for a long time very inadequate, producing long periods and dull classes. Pupils, in turn, left the school or participated in escalating incidents of disruption.

Lack of previous teaching experience on the part of most of the volunteer teachers was another constraint. Most attempted to establish very informal and warm relationships with pupils but were met with such frequent challenges to their authority that they quickly fell back on more traditional, coercive, attempts to keep control. These weren't terribly effective because there was no organisational backup, no consistent system of discipline for the entire school, upon which volunteers could rely. They also lacked much effectiveness because pupils for the most part didn't recognise efforts of teachers to be stern, the cultural style adopted by the teachers didn't correspond to either the cultural style in which Croxteth adults establish authority over youth or in which Croxteth youth were accustomed to relate to teachers. Many teachers failed to win the consent of pupils to their role as teachers.

Given these constraints, teachers fell back on their own memories of what school had been like for them to devise their curricular practice. There was absolutely no time to do otherwise. In addition, materials in the building were all very traditional and were easily put to use in harmony with the memories of teachers of what schools had been like. This is why a traditional curriculum developed in the school. The actual attitudes of teachers on curricular practice was not a significant factor in the curricular practice which came to be used. These attitudes will be considered systematically in the next two chapters, but we note here that *in practice* they were not determinant for the curriculum used during the occupation.

It is interesting to note that attitudes of teachers to education with respect to teacher-pupil relations, unlike curriculum, were determinant for the initial posture they took towards pupils (informal) but that pupils forced these attitudes to change.

The atmosphere of the school was for the adults involved very exciting and socially unifying. It satisfied a need or at least a want for many of the volunteers and was one of the reasons for their involvement. But efforts to extend the feeling of solidarity to the pupils failed, largely because a traditional curriculum with increasingly traditional methods of discipline were being used. Thus the classroom and the school had different meanings: the school was occupied territory, the classroom still an arena of struggle. And it was probably the curriculum more than anything else which maintained the classroom as hostile ground for many pupils (chapter twelve).

Thus, in the confusion of the first five weeks of the school year, a steady slide towards a traditional form of schooling took place. Many teachers, in conversations about the occupation later on, mentioned the attitudes of the local activists as being one of the major reasons why Croxteth Comprehensive took on many traditional features of schooling, unlike a large number of teachers, local activists were not interested in alternative pedagogies and curriculum. But the attitudes of the local activists were *not* the major conditions upon which traditional practice became established. Routines formed in the school despite discussions

about what forms they *ought* to take, not as a result of such discussions. The formation of routines in the school will be given detailed analysis in chapter twelve but we have shown in this chapter that the slide towards traditional forms of education during the first weeks of the occupation was primarily due to constraints of time, numbers of teachers and existing materials. These constraints structured the initial formation of routines in the school. Attitudes possessed by teachers and Croxteth residents were secondary conditions, acting upon routines which had already formed. They are the subject of future chapters.

Some of the constraints shaping the development of routines in the school and the effects they were related to are presented schematically below:

- Small teacher numbers → time constraints and time table constraints
- Time constraints → traditional curriculum, perpetration of staff shortage
- Table constraints → subadequate provision, no consistent provision for some classes
- Lack of consistent provision → high disruption levels
- Traditional curriculum → high disruption levels, failure to win pupil's consent to teacher authority or identify pupil roles with campaign objectives
- High disruption levels → increasingly traditional methods for controlling pupils
- Lack of experienced staff → traditional curriculum, disorganisation.

Chapter Eleven
THE FIELD OF INTERACTION

I Introduction

Although one of the theoretical threads of this thesis has been the description of events with respect to their conditions, conditions which *ultimately* come down to conditions of action upon which individual actors draw, the description of the campaign so far has been conducted primarily with something akin to Tilly's 'single group model' in the background (chapter three). For the most part, the conditions of action upon which the Action Committee was socially integrated have been discussed only in general ways, the processes of negotiation and the resolutions of interpersonal conflicts which often accompany and maintain social integration were bracketed from our discussion.

In the last chapter we departed somewhat from the single group model by referring to conflicts which occurred in the newly occupied school between pupils, teachers and the local Croxteth activists. In this and the following two chapters these conflicts will be looked at in much greater detail, and the level of analysis shifts downwards to look at processes of integration and interpersonal conflict.

One problem with analysing action in terms of its conditions is that the distinction between these two terms can easily be made in a way identical to the distinction between diachronic and synchronic analysis common, in different ways, to both structuralist and functionalist theories of society (see Giddens 1979, ch.1). Action is certainly a diachronic concept: it is particular, and takes place in time. Conditions of action, on the other hand, can easily be conceived of as wholly synchronic phenomena - as a static background upon which actions take their shape, even as a causal matrix which determines activity. But we argued in chapter four that conditions of action need to be conceived of in ways which make them subject to alteration by action itself. This is the perspective of structuration, where conditions of action are viewed as both the media and outcome of action. It is also the perspective of cultural production, where culture is generated in ways which reproduce, resist, and/or transform social relations to various degrees. Conditions of action are not wholly synchronic phenomena, they are media always undergoing a certain amount of alteration.

Yet it is difficult to avoid some variety of the distinction between diachronic and synchronic analysis simply because conditions of action exist in relationships to each other which are implicated *simultaneously* in any instance of action. Any analysis of action with respect to its conditions will involve shifts between diachronic-like analyses and synchronic-like analyses for this reason, but it must be born in mind that the two perspectives are dependent upon each other and are nothing more than analytic, rather than substantive, distinctions. Conditions of action, described outside of space and time, must be inferred from incidents of action within space and time. Action, taking place as an observable flux of change, must be explained in terms ^{of} more stable conditions underlying it. Just as many features of the grammar of a language are implicated in a

single speech act, so the virtual structures in which conditions of action exist are implicated in any particular instances of activity. A detailed description of conditions of action therefore requires something akin to a synchronic account. To describe features of the social field upon which interactions took place in the occupied buildings of Croxteth Comprehensive it will be necessary to temporarily 'freeze' our diachronic account, halt the chronological description of events and take some time to describe conditions alone.

Thus this chapter is written with a 'synchronic bias'. It makes use of research data taken at various times during the entire year of field work in order to distil and illustrate a number of conditions of action which were drawn upon by activists during the first few months of the occupation. It seeks to describe the field of interaction as it existed at the beginning of the occupation and note, among other things, the conflicts implicit in it. In chapters twelve and thirteen, conflicts arising from tensions within this field are described diachronically, and both of these later chapters re-examine the conditions to^{be} described here to see whether they were altered in the processes of conflict and action themselves.

Since this is a long chapter it will be helpful to outline the topics it takes in this introduction. This chapter begins by describing the social composition, the formal organisation and the informal organisation of both the teachers and community activists. In doing so it looks at conditions of action associated with the social composition of the two groups and specific conditions of action featuring into their formal and informal organisations. Then it looks at the attitudes to politics and education held by members of both groups which were themselves conditions of action. Lastly, it analyses all these conditions of action for relationships between them. The topics are thus:

- 1) The social composition of the Croxteth activists and teachers.
- 2) The formal organisation of both groups.
- 3) The informal organisation of both groups.
- 4) Conditions underlying these formal and informal organisations.
- 5) Attitudes to politics held by members of both groups.
- 6) Attitudes to education held by members of both groups.
- 7) Relationships existing between these various conditions, their 'virtual structures'.

It will also be helpful to clarify some of the theoretical terms used in the analysis. First of all, the object of study in each section of the chapter is always that of conditions of action. When looking at the organisational structures of both the teachers and Croxteth activists, for example, we shall explain each in terms of conditions like gender relations, organisational precedents in the labour movement drawn upon by the Action Committee and precedents in 'new' social movements drawn upon by the teaching staff, various cultural norms in Croxteth, and so on. When looking at attitudes to politics and education we shall examine ideologies which participants drew upon and some of the complicated relationships which existed between the school and community in Croxteth. All of these are

conditions of action, but they are different *types* of conditions which existed at different *levels* of awareness to those drawing upon them.

With respect to types of conditions, a distinction between contested and uncontested conditions is important. Some conditions operated primarily as common sense. Their roles in structuring action crucially involved their unquestioned and taken-for-granted nature. Age relations in Croxteth is an example of one such condition. The accounting requirements on such conditions were low because they were uncontested. They often guided discourse but rarely became objects of discourse themselves. Other conditions operated as ideologies which were known to be contested by those who drew upon them. The accounting requirements on these conditions were high, and they were consequently often objects of discourse.

With respect to levels of awareness three main distinctions are made:

- 1) Deeply embedded conditions which existed at unacknowledged or unconscious levels. Two examples: gender relations in Croxteth, and a reified view of school knowledge held by both teachers and local activists.
- 2) Under-articulated conditions. These are conditions of action which did enter discourse but which were not formulated in clear and systematic ways. When they became important features of interpersonal conflict they were never formulated clearly enough to represent *positions* with respect to which participants could take unambiguous stances. They entered discourse as diffusely connected values rather than as theories. Two examples: attitudes to school authority relationships, beliefs that the primary purpose of education is the employability it confers on pupils.
- 3) Articulated conditions. These are conditions which were formulated into consistent theories which formed the basis for competing positions taken by activists. Two examples: an interpretation of the protest campaign in terms of what will be called the 'social wage' ideology and an interpretation of the campaign in terms of what will be called the 'community power' ideology.

Lastly, two terms are frequently used in this chapter which bear some clarification here: 'interpretative schemes' and 'ideological themes'. 'Interpretative scheme' will refer to clusters of assumptions, values and identities which influenced the interpretations made by participants. These clusters existed at tacit levels of awareness but sometimes formed the basis for conditions of action drawn into discourse. They were often closely tied to common sense but not always so.

'Ideological theme' is used to refer to specific and identifiable modes of interpreting events and justifying practice. Whereas we avoid attempting to delineate any entire interpretative scheme in this chapter, we do identify and label a number of ideological themes. A single interpretative scheme could consist of several ideological themes. Examples of ideological

themes which come up in the discussion are termed the 'social wage' theme, the 'community power theme', the 'schooling for discipline and control' theme, the 'reified knowledge' theme, and several others. These are called 'themes', rather than 'ideologies' because they were theorised differently by different participants. The 'community power' theme, for example, was understood by some teachers through personal theories of class struggle, by others through populist and libertarian sentiments. But the fact that both of these groups held to the same *theme* meant that in practice both agreed on what course the campaign strategy of the school ought to take, despite differences in actual *theory*, and they found themselves on the same side in disputes with local activists drawing upon the 'social wage' theme.

The theoretical framework which is used for this chapter, and for those following it, draws heavily from the work of Anthony Giddens and Jürgen Habermas. From the former is taken several major concepts of structuration theory, from the latter the concept of rationality. The core ideas to be used were presented in chapter four. They will be briefly reviewed and illustrated at the appropriate places in the text following.

II) Composition and Internal Organisation of the Community Volunteers

A) Gender and Social Geography

The field notebooks list 42 volunteers from the Croxteth Community who worked in some capacity for extended periods during the year. Of these, 31 were women and 11 were men. They were formally divided into two groups: those who belonged to the Action Committee and those who were not on the committee but who worked regularly in the school just the same. The latter were called 'helpers'.

When the school buildings were first occupied, some activists established themselves in the Parkstile Building and some in the Stonebridge Building. The first days and weeks immediately following the building take-over were a period in which domains of control could be established in the buildings. Certain small groups took possession of the kitchen, picket rooms, offices and other areas inside and a division of activities was informally worked out. With the beginning of the first term, responsibilities became further differentiated in the Stonebridge Building where classes were run. A small group came to run the kitchen and became a cohesive social group with their own informal rules and status arrangements. Another became established in the school office, yet another in the corridors of the building, taking on the job of directing the traffic of pupils and making interventions into classrooms. A couple of volunteers became regarded as the caretakers of the school, roaming all its rooms and corridors to make repairs, adjust the radiators and carry out other small jobs that continuously came up. Once these groups formed and became established in their particular areas of the school buildings, these small areas became their domains. Their closest friends and associates were generally other volunteers working in the same area of the building. Informal rules regulated activities in each subarea which were under the

control of these groups - new volunteers wishing to help out in the kitchen, for example, had to consult with those already there. Volunteers wishing for a role in the office had to consult with the office staff that was already established, and so on.

- *Parkstile:*

By the first half-term, 13 volunteers spent most of their time in the Parkstile Building. All of these were women and only three of them belonged to the Action Committee. Few classes or meetings were held in the Parkstile Building and these volunteers spent most of their time securing the building as pickets and cleaning it regularly. They enjoyed the social contact they got by being together in the building, drinking tea, chatting and playing cards. During the second term four of these 13 came over to the Stonebridge Building to help in the kitchen and take on other duties.

- *Stonebridge:*

The remaining 26 volunteers were differentiated into those who worked full time in the Stonebridge Building and those whose involvement consisted mainly in attending Action Committee meetings and, for some, in working outside the school to build support for the campaign from trade unions and other organisations. Four men rarely participated in the daily activities of the school but attended Action Committee meetings and social functions. Two of these four played very significant roles in creating and maintaining links between the campaign and the local labour movement. Some volunteers both worked in the Stonebridge Building and worked externally to build support. These included Philip Knibb and two women: Ann Abercromby and Ev Loftus, the principal office workers during most of the first term.

Twenty five volunteers worked daily in the Stonebridge building. Four of these, two males and two females, primarily helped by taking over-night picket duty and were not involved in the school during the day. Three volunteers, all female, cleaned the school every evening and were rarely in the buildings during school hours. The remaining 18 volunteers worked daily in the school during school hours. Five were men and 13 were women.

Although most of the community volunteers by far were women, men occupied most of the key positions of power initially. The two most significant figures in the campaign in terms of decision making were Philip Knibb and Cyril D'Arcy, both men. Both were often in the newspapers or on the radio representing the Action Committee and both had by far the greatest influence in determining the course of the campaign, though Phil's influence was significantly greater than Cyril's. Two other men, George and Ron Knibb (brothers of Phil) played key roles in creating linkages between the Action Committee and local union branches and became well known by members of the local Labour Party as well.

For a time during the first term, Ann Abercromby and Ev Loftus also had influential positions, their work in the office putting them in touch with important organisations contacted for support. They represented

Table 11-1: Composition by Gender and Location of Activity of the Community Volunteers

Total Volunteers:	31 female, 14 male
Working in Parkstile:	13 female
Working in Stonebridge:	18 female, 7 male
Working night duty primarily:	2 female, 2 male
Cleaning during the evening:	3 female
Working in school during day:	13 female, 5 male
Working externally to the school:	4 male

Croxteth at some meetings outside the school and once managed to get a £500 donation from the workers who occupied Lawrence Scott Ltd. These two women also had close relations with the teaching staff, being well liked by them and frequently socialising with them. Both had close contacts with John Bennett as well and may have joined the WRP as a result of his recruiting efforts.

Hence, with the partial exception of Ann and Ev, male participants held the most prestigious and powerful positions amongst the community volunteers. They were the main figures in the media coverage of the campaign, in liaisons between the occupation and the labour movement, and they occupied the top committee positions of chair and secretary. Women ran the kitchen, cleaned the school buildings regularly, saw to the mundane aspects of running the office and, in the case of a few, became increasingly involved in educational activities. For a time two women had positions of some influence in the office but, as we shall see, lost these positions by the end of the first term.

B) Age, Education, and Employment Status

All of the community activists except for three young students who were working on A level examinations had taken no examinations in secondary school. Six had gone to Croxteth Comprehensive themselves. One had gone to a grammar school and the rest to secondary modern schools or comprehensives. The three students were very young compared with the other volunteers (two of them had parents on the Action Committee) and all three played relatively minor roles in the daily running of the school and the decision making processes of the campaign.

In terms of age, five volunteers by the time of the first half term were under twenty years of age and most of the rest were in their 30s and

40s, a smaller number being in their twenties. Ten had children in the school.

The vast majority of the community volunteers not only lived in Croxteth but had resided there for many years. Out of a sample of 21 of the volunteers, 9 had resided in Croxteth between 11 and 15 years, 5 had resided there between 16 and 25 years and three had been there for more than 25 years. The remaining five did not live in Croxteth at the time of the occupation but four of these had previously lived in Croxteth for periods of time over 15 years.

Of a sample of 24 of the Croxteth activists, two held jobs during the occupation, both part-time, and three were A level students. All the rest were unemployed. Two of these had been unemployed for less than six months, three had been unemployed for between one half and two years, two had been unemployed for between two and five years and seven had been unemployed for over five years. Of those in the last category who had been primarily occupied as housewives during the period of unemployment, two were single parents and the husbands of the remaining three had been unemployed for over 5 years.

These same volunteers were questioned about the type of work they had done in the past, and the type of work done by their parents. In every case occupations were in the unskilled, semi-skilled or skilled manual labour categories. Previous employment included jobs like plastering, pipe fitting, mining, bin-men, cashiers, smelters and machine operators. Many had frequently changed jobs.

C) The Internal Organisation of the Community Volunteers

The formal organisation of the Action Committee was strictly modelled on trade union committee lines. Meetings followed a rigorous formal procedure and the committee was formally democratic. There was a chairman (Philip Knibb), a secretary (Cyril D'Arcy) and a treasurer (Pat Irving, female). Nearly all people interviewed, however, whether on the committee, of the helpers or of the teaching staff, expressed their view that the Action Committee was not 'really' democratic because of the over-powering influence of Phil Knibb. Observations taken at meetings confirm these opinions. Committee members other than Phil and Cyril usually declined to use the formal organisation to express their own views or to generate genuine debate. Phil's influence at meetings was usually supported by Cyril D'Arcy who often played the role of providing information at meetings, and discussion at meetings was usually between Phil and members rather than between members themselves (see last chapter for a description of a single meeting).

The community volunteers were primarily organised through something akin to 'charismatic authority'. 'Charisma' is taken as an appropriate term here because of the significance of a single personality in the informal authority structure of the community volunteers. Phil Knibb was able to act with some autonomy in all matters regarding the campaign and was

'It's mostly women on the committee, they want to be led, they don't understand anything'.

Other aspects of culture which featured importantly into Phil Knibb's authority included the norm of solidarity in Croxteth culture mentioned in chapter seven. Phil was himself intensely loyal to those who offered him their consent and even those whom he knew disagreed with him on certain issues. He perceived most of the volunteers as his comrades and took seriously the values associated with that term. Several times during the campaign personal attacks were made in the media on various volunteers in the school - their membership in controversial organisations being the basis for attack. In these situations Phil stood solidly by those attacked, without himself knowing much about the organisations to which they belonged, and gave press statements of support, calling the allegations 'lies', 'a load of rubbish, we don't believe a word of it' and so on. As long as anyone volunteering showed themselves sincere in their support for the campaign, whether or not they agreed with Phil's decisions on various issues (and many teacher volunteers did not) they were backed fully by Phil in any dispute with external agencies. Phil expected, and was granted for the most part, reciprocation in such displays of loyalty and solidarity. Thus the existence of the loyalty ethic in the local culture, strong in parts of the British Labour Movement as a whole, was a resource and a rule which Phil adhered strictly to and through which his authority was partially maintained. The ethic was one of the conditions on which relations of reciprocity were negotiated and acted out between Philip Knibb and the other activists in the campaign.

There are two other aspects of the organisation of the community volunteers which were related to the charismatic authority of Philip Knibb and the nature of gender relations in the community: the existence of a status hierarchy amongst the volunteers and the distribution of knowledge amongst them. An informal status hierarchy was evident amongst the volunteers which was partially related to the social proximity of the activists to the Knibb and D'Arcy families. As mentioned in chapter seven, Phil Knibb asked several of his brothers to help him in the campaign and his wife Carol worked daily in the kitchen of the school. Two brothers, George and Ron, played very important roles in the campaign and of these two George became a highly visible figure in the daily running of the school. Cyril D'Arcy's role has been amply illustrated already, he was for most of the campaign the most publicly visible activist through his statements to the media and his correspondence with politicians and organisations. He was highly respected by helpers and Action Committee members and enjoyed influence on the committee. Cyril's wife Irene was said to 'run the kitchen', working there every day and playing a leading role in organising its activities. Their daughter Collette was also a highly visible figure, though mostly through activities taken outside of the school. She gave many speeches to various organisations to get support for the occupation and was several times featured in newspaper articles. The D'Arcys and the Knibbs became, moreover, good friends during the course of the campaign. A status hierarchy formed with these two families at the centre and status distributed roughly according to how well others knew

them and associated with them. Hence ties of family and friendship were highly significant in the formation of an informal status hierarchy. There was an 'in-group' and several 'out-groups':

It's been like that since the beginning. Like I say to George (Knibb), 'Why don't you sit with us in the pub?' Like we're sitting in the pub and anyone else comes in you'd think they'd automatically come and sit with us. But in comes Colletta (D'Arcy), or Irene (D'Arcy) and they don't. They go and sit over there.

Pat Brennan

I'm getting the feeling meself, I've been here 11 months now, and I still get the feeling that it's a bit one-sided. Like you go into the pub and you see all the ones that are well-known. Most of the committee like: Phil, Cyril, Irene, Carol (Knibb), George, all like in one corner. And you'll see the ones like Betty Parkin over there, Rita, there's Rose, Molly and that, all on their own, all pushed out like. And they've done as much as the people have in that corner.

Marty McArdle

Many volunteers other than the two quoted above reported this same perception. The Knibbs and the D'Arcys occupied the highest positions of status and prestige and a number of other volunteers, like Margaret Gaskell who was later officially designated 'headmistress' of the school (chapter fourteen), were able to associate with them. But others were definitely left out.

The people in the 'out-groups' were further divided amongst themselves. Those on the Action Committee were considered to have more status than those who were not, and those working the Stonebridge building were of higher status than those in the Parkstile building. With respect to the difference between Action Committee members and 'helpers', the former got a free meal every lunch time (as did the volunteer teachers), but the latter had to pay a small fee. Later, as funds got smaller, Action Committee members had to pay 10 pence while the helpers had to pay 30 pence. People asked how this system came about claimed they didn't know, another indication of the obstructions to full democracy amongst the community volunteers. Those who didn't like the system (and there were many) didn't feel they could do anything but complain about it.

In some things we're not appreciated. ... Like paying the dinners. We have to pay 30 pence for our dinners. It's not fair like. ... I thought we'd all pay the same, then we're equal. But I found it was just us (the helpers) paying 30 pence, those in the kitchen and the teachers pay 10 pence.

Pat Brennan

Not only Action Committee members and teachers, but kitchen staff as well got the free meals (not all kitchen staff were on the committee), indicating some social differentiation based on which area of the school in which one worked as well.

Corresponding directly to this informal status hierarchy was an asymmetrical distribution of information amongst the community volunteers. Those closest to Phil Knibb and Cyril D'Arcy had greatest access to current information on what was occurring with the campaign, those lowest on the

rarely questioned at meetings. The other Croxteth activists consented to Phil's authority for a number of reasons which the term 'charisma' partially entails. There was a great deal of loyalty felt amongst the volunteers, whether Action Committee members or 'helpers', to Phil Knibb's leadership deriving from his skill at drawing upon the local norm of solidarity (see chapter seven) to both win and reciprocate loyalty. There was also some fear of disagreeing with Phil, due to a certain forcefulness in his manner. And there was certainly a great deal of respect and trust in Phil's judgement, his knowledge of political process and his ability to think strategically. Thus Phil's charisma partially lay in his knowledge and experience, his ability to command confidence in inter-personal relations, and his capability, probably an unconscious one, to make others afraid to disagree with him. His personality produced a number of contradictory responses in participants, from resentment and back-biting to extreme loyalty and willingness to follow - often in the same people at different times.

Representative quotations on Phil Knibb's leadership are given below:

On his experience and knowledge and the sense of loyalty to it:

They [the Action Committee and helpers] are like me. We don't know what is going on and need a leader. We just say 'yes' to what is being said, never 'no'. ... We're all ordinary people, but we wouldn't have got this far without Phil and Cyril. Up to now they haven't put us wrong, like.
Pat Brennen, helper

On his rather forceful personality:

I know for a fact that most people on the Action Committee are afraid to disagree with Phil.

Joey Jacobs, helper

On resentment to his leadership:

'If Phil Knibb told the Action Committee to walk into the Mersey river, they'd do it!'

Ann Pines, Action Committee member

'We've got one leader and a lot of sheep.'

Mick Checkland, Action Committee member

'That isn't a community school, it's a Knibb school.'

Mrs Harrison, parent not volunteering in the school

'On the political side, Phil and Cyril run the show completely.'

Tony Gannon, geography teacher

Pat Brennen further discussed Phil's influence in interview:

P.C.: Would you say the Action Committee is democratic?

Pat: I don't know how it should run normally, all seem to just go along with what's being said.

P.C.: What would determine whether or not a new idea is accepted on the committee? If you brought up a new idea, say, what would be important for it to be accepted?

Pat: It would probably be necessary to convince Phil. No matter what's said like, if Phil said: 'Right, now we've got this school, we'll go and sit', now they'd all just go, they would!

Pat's comments refer to her previous lack of experience with meetings and thus her inability to compare Action Committee proceedings with other examples. This was the case with almost all Action Committee members and helpers: the occupation was their very first experience with membership in an organisation. Undoubtedly this was a very significant factor in their reluctance to participate and their willingness to trust Phil's judgements.

Phil's knowledge of the formal procedures of committee meetings also contributed to his position of power. He was observed to use terms like 'co-opt', 'rider', 'amendment' and so on which were at least initially unfamiliar to the general membership. At one meeting, for example, Phil explained that a certain suggestion could be attached as a 'rider' to a proposal going before council. His statement was followed by a few moments of silence after which an activist present mumbled 'What's a rider?'. This question, which wasn't put formally at the meeting but simply spoken as if the activist was wondering aloud, was greeted with soft laughter from others present and then someone else said 'I'm glad you asked that for me!', producing more laughter and indications of shared feelings in others present. Phil then explained what a rider is but the incident made it clear that many of the terms used by Phil were not understood or only partially understood by Action Committee members who may have been normally reluctant to ask.

The charismatic authority of Philip Knibb seemed to generate a set of unwritten and unspoken rules amongst the community volunteers in which too much questioning of his authority was not acceptable. Phil sometimes responded angrily if his decisions were questioned, as if such questioning was a personal affront to him. On another occasion Pat Brennen expressed one side of this:

Like at meetings, Mary is the only one that speaks out. Like she wants to know things, like where the money's been going. You're not supposed to ask questions like that, and she isn't liked for it.

It was common to hear negative comments, both inside the school and outside in the pubs and at tenants meetings, on Phil Knibb's authority and on the fact that many of his brothers were also involved. Comments like the 'Knibb kingdom' and 'King Knibb' were often heard. This was partially due to the amount of influence Phil held over the Action Committee but also to the fact that Phil sometimes took decisions and acted on them before they were brought up at committee meetings.

One of the bases for Phil's informal authority no doubt lay in the gender relations common to Croxteth culture. As we illustrated in chapter seven, women traditionally take a subordinate role in Croxteth culture and the majority of community volunteers in the school and on the committee were women. This was one more reason why Phil's statements in committee meetings were only infrequently questioned. Helper Pat Brennen once said:

status scale had least access. Information is associated with power. Without information one can obviously have little input in key decisions, the sorts of decisions which have to be made on a daily basis and which cannot be presented to committee meetings. Without information one's sense of power is lessened as well. Having information means, in a system of asymmetrical distribution of information, being a figure to which others may go with questions, a figure enjoying a certain amount of status. Information was apparently never deliberately withheld from any one of the activists except in a few instances when something had to be kept secret (e.g. in the case of anonymous donors to the campaign), but the way in which daily routines formed in the school put some people in regular proximity with those like Phil Knibb who knew most of the important developments as they occurred and others constantly out of touch. The latter knew very little of what was going on and rarely asked, though they clearly resented not being told:

On this side they all know what's happening. Them over there (in the Parkstile building) don't even get to know about it. They don't know nothing. Like they're just left out in the cold. They should be told more. Like even some like *pupils* in this school know more of what's going on than them on that side.

Marty McArdle

Much bickering resulted from these divisions amongst those in the 'out-groups' and most community volunteers explained the bickering by the fact that it was generally women who participated in it. Women like Pat Brennen attributed the divisions and bickering to the nature of the female generally (... 'jangling like women', see chapter seven). Thus we can see that gender divisions in Croxteth simultaneously contributed to an informal status hierarchy in the school and offered the rational explanation for some of its consequences.

The status hierarchy formed through the establishment of routines in the school which drew upon tacit features of shared culture. The personality characteristics of Phil Knibb and Cyril D'Arcy acted upon certain features of the local culture in a way which placed them into leadership and status positions. Cultural norms pertaining to family loyalty and unity then transferred some of this status to others within the Knibb and D'Arcy families. Once the positions were obtained they became resources which the Knibbs and D'Arcys could use for both personal ambitions and campaign objectives. As an example, during the second term the journal 'Schooling and Culture' visited Croxteth to feature the occupation in one of their issues (see *Schooling and Culture*, Issue 13, Summer 1983). They took many pictures and one of the pictures was of Collette D'Arcy peeling potatoes in the kitchen as if she performed that activity regularly for the occupation. In fact Collette was busy as an A level student and a highly involved member of the Young Socialists during the year of the occupation. She wasn't able to spend much time in the kitchen or even in the school; the picture was a posed one. One of the regular kitchen staff said to me:

They're in it for the glory. That picture of Collette in the kitchen should never have been allowed, they should have taken it of us who work there everyday.

Similarly, when press interviews had to be given or meetings outside the school addressed, Phil, Cyril and Collette were consistently the ones to do it, usually not after Action Committee discussions, but through decisions taken by these people autonomously. This wasn't done for reasons of pure personal ambition, however. Phil Knibb, for example, was content to direct the campaign in a fairly low profile manner and the reason he, Cyril and Collette were the ones who usually gave interviews was their wish to have control over what was said, for the sake of the campaign. The right of these individuals to make such decisions was not challenged by other local activists, but, as some of the quotations above illustrate, was not given full consensus either.

There is some danger of the above description of charismatic authority appearing to carry a wholly negative evaluation. Phil's position of authority actually worked to the advantage of the campaign in many ways. Phil was able to use his position to the benefit of the campaign several times by taking quick actions on his own which he was sure the community volunteers would not seriously challenge, even if some didn't like it. Associated with the consent given to Phil in matters of decision making was a *trust* that he would decide competently, and thus a confidence that the campaign would be seen through at moments of crisis when Phil took very positive and unyielding positions. Also associated with the *form* in which Phil won consent to his authority was a certain toughness which was often brought to bear on sites outside the school to increase financial support, handle attacks in the media, threats from police constables, and on one occasion publicly challenge the Liberal leader of the city, Trevor Jones (chapter thirteen). Although later chapters will describe problems caused by the organisation of the community volunteers about a charismatic leader, it remains the case that the rise of Phil Knibb as a leader of the campaign was crucial to its eventual success. The positions of Cyril D'Arcy and Phil Knibb leaders must be understood culturally rather than personally. Both men were dedicated to the campaign itself and were not what self-seeking individuals. Their style of leadership was a cultural style which they played skilfully to win the consensus of those they led.

III Composition and Organisation of the Teaching Staff

A) The Social Composition of the Teachers

It was difficult to keep track of the many volunteers who taught for brief times in Croxteth Comprehensive during its year of occupation. Eightyfive names were recorded in the field notebooks and it is probable that over 100 people tried teaching at the school at various times during the year. Twenty seven teachers were chosen for intensive interviewing during the field work, all of whom worked in the school for significant periods. Of these twenty seven, twenty one were male and six were female. The ratio of male to female teachers was smallest during the first term but had grown much larger by the end of the school year with a number of female volunteers leaving and being replaced by new male volunteers. Many of the females left because of negative experiences which they attributed to

sexist attitudes on the part of the male activists, both within the teaching staff and the community (chapters seven and fourteen). Their replacement by males was not the result of any selection process, as nearly all volunteers offering their services to the school were accepted. It was rather due to the fact that more males than females came forward to offer help and proportionately more females than males left.

Gender divisions within the teaching staff reflected gender divisions within schools generally: males tending to take subjects in the sciences and mathematics, females taking English, history, and languages. Subject allocation was determined during the first weeks by the subjects volunteers were familiar with and later by fitting the capabilities of new teachers with gaps in the time-table. Although females on the teaching staff found male staff members to have sexist attitudes, the sexism on the staff differed from that of Croxteth culture in important ways. Women staff members participated in staff discussions to a much greater extent than women volunteers from the community did on the Action Committee. Graz Monvid, Yola Jacobson and other female teachers were influential figures on the staff while they were involved, and in general women took part in most of the same activities as men. Modes of domination favouring males operated on the staff, but in ways which were more discursively available and contested than the ways they operated amongst the community volunteers.

Four of the teacher volunteers interviewed had grown up in Croxteth, though only one of these still lived there. Six of the volunteers had grown up in Merseyside and 17 had grown up outside of it. At the time of the occupation, 18 volunteers were living in Liverpool, having moved there previously to attend the University or Polytechnic or to look for work. Eight volunteers had not been living in Liverpool immediately before the occupation and had moved there for the purpose of teaching in the school, or commuted regularly from cities such as Lancaster and Manchester.

For the most part, the socio-economic backgrounds of the volunteer teachers were middle class. Nineteen of the teachers were asked about the occupations of their parents and 15 indicated that their parents were either professionals or semi-professionals. The other four came from working class families.

In terms of education, as would be expected, the teaching staff differed markedly from the community volunteers. Of the 27 interviewed, 22 had completed a BA degree or equivalent. Seven either had, or were working on, post-graduate degrees, and seven had taken teacher training courses. Of eighteen asked about their experience of secondary education, twelve had attended grammar or public school.

Nineteen of the volunteers interviewed were unemployed at the time of their involvement. Three were full time employed, helping in the school during free days and holidays, two were retired and two were students. Of the three who were working full time, two were authors of plays and

children's books and one was a university lecturer, so all three had fairly flexible schedules giving them time to teach in the school.

The teachers tended to be younger on the whole than the community volunteers. Out of the 27 teachers interviewed, 12 were between 20 and 25 years of age, 2 were between 26 and 30, 4 were between 30 and 35, 1 was between 36 and 40, and 7 were between 40 and 50. Pat Kellet, a retired deputy head, was in his 60s.

It is interesting to examine the stage of the life cycle which the teacher volunteers were in at the time of their involvement. Nine were recent university or polytechnic graduates, uncertain about their futures, single, and anxious to try teaching to see if it was a suitable career for them. Ten were a decade older, had already held professional or semi-professional jobs, and, in the case of most of these, were helping out in the school primarily out of political convictions. Many in this latter group had started families of their own and many had quit their most recent job out of a sense of dissatisfaction and a desire to find something else. Six of the teachers interviewed had held a manual semi-skilled job as their last occupation and were unemployed and looking for work. Several of these had families and their reasons for involvement ranged from an interest in teaching to political sympathies with the objectives of the campaign. Finally, two were retired teachers, Pat Kellet, retired deputy head, and Ian Tulip, retired head of a secondary English department.

B) The Formal and Informal Organisation of the Teaching Staff

Decision making on the teaching staff took place very differently from that of the Action Committee. Throughout the year little formal organisation existed on the staff. For the first term, and most of the second term, a teacher coordinator existed, Chris Hawes for the first six weeks and myself for the remainder of the time. Towards the end of the second term a committee replaced the coordinator and Margaret Gaskell, a local volunteer, took on the role of 'headmistress' to serve as a figurehead for the pupils and to represent parent interests on the committee. The committee was called the 'core committee' and most of its decisions had to do with discipline problems in the school. During the final part of the first term several volunteers specialised in school administration, taking charge of filling the time-table on a daily basis, arranging the CSE and O level examinations and other activities which left the staff as a whole to concentrate on teaching.

The bulk of the decisions made throughout the year, however, were discussed at staff meetings which were run on an informal basis with the chair changing frequently. This was especially true during the first term when almost all decisions were made collectively during the long and almost daily meetings. A staff member would simply volunteer to chair a meeting and the meeting would proceed without any formal rules on process. A consensus was attempted on all issues through discussion, and voting was the most common way of reaching a final decision with most members contributing something to the discussion. Meetings, as mentioned in

chapter ten, were also occasions in which staff members expressed frustrations, feelings, and debated political questions relevant to the campaign. Again, this was especially true during the first term, with a lull during the second term and a revival of general debate occurring in April and lasting into the third term. The lull during the second term corresponded to a felt loss of influence of the teachers on campaign strategy and a change in the staff membership - a point which is discussed more in chapter fourteen.

Part of the field research was aimed to discover how teachers and local activists perceived the decision making processes of the staff and Action Committee. The results show that the staff was regarded as a democratic organisation whereas the Action Committee was not. Ten teacher volunteers were asked what procedure they would use to introduce a new idea to the teaching staff and what criteria would decide its acceptance or rejection. All ten said that they would bring the new idea up at a staff meeting, perhaps after prior discussion with a friend, and all said that the principle criterion determining the idea's acceptance or rejection would be its reasonableness as a suggestion; i.e., on how sound an idea it was.

This same group of teachers and ten community volunteers were asked what procedure they would use to introduce an new idea to the Action Committee. In this case most asked said they might take the idea to Phil Knibb or Cyril D'Arcy rather than to a meeting. All asked this question said that the principle criterion determining acceptance or rejection of the idea would be whether or not Phil or Cyril liked it. All but one of the community volunteers asked said that they had never tried bringing a new idea to the Action Committee while all teachers interviewed had suggested ideas during staff meetings, some at nearly all meetings and others on at least many occasions.

The responses to this question on decision making clearly display the major difference between the staff and community volunteer organisations: the former was much more participatory than the latter, and more closely approximated the 'ideal speech situation' of Jürgen Habermas, i.e. a situation in which ideas were openly debated with the aim of reaching a consensus based on purely rational considerations. 'Charismatic authority' (inverted commas are consistently placed over this term because of its potentially misleading connotations - see the previous section) was only a minor feature of the organisation of the teaching staff. It mainly applied to *groups* of volunteers, rather than to individuals, and these groups changed during the occupation at least three times. These groups were distinguishable by the slightly greater amount of status and influence enjoyed by their members, but membership in these groups was very fluid and boundaries about the groups very diffuse. The first group consisted of Chris Hawes and Graz Monvid and, to a lesser extent, to several other early volunteers in the school such as Henry Stewart and myself who had a slightly higher amount of status due either to their previous experience in teaching or to their early arrival at the school and their greater grasp of what was going on as a consequence. This group was present in the school largely out of political sympathies and several of its members wished to

leave the occupation as soon as they could be replaced. Chris, Graz and Henry eventually did leave, Chris and Henry after five or six weeks and Graz by the end of the first term. A second group emerged during the second half of the first term to replace them. They were accorded status possibly as a result of the long hours they put in, which again gave them a greater grasp of what was occurring in the school. Members of this group had had close association with the first group and similar political outlooks. It was thus also a highly politically motivated group but, unlike the first group, most of its members wished to continue involvement in the school for various reasons, and not to be replaced. Status at this point also seemed to be partially a result of speaking ability at meetings and the quality of ideas put forth.

During the second term a new group emerged which were motivated primarily by other than political reasons and owed at least part of their status to the close social ties they had developed with the Action Committee leadership. Their status, in other words, was partially based on their integration into the informal status hierarchy of the community participants. This integration corresponded to a loss of influence enjoyed by members of the former two status groups as staff representatives on the Action Committee. Conflicts between the third status group and the second group sometimes emerged in the second and third terms, the third group often supporting positions of the Action Committee leadership which the second group disagreed with.

However, the role played by status amongst the teachers was much less than it played amongst the community volunteers. It never obstructed the formally democratic structure of the staff, and membership in the 'in-groups' was always open to change. Communication amongst the teaching staff was more open as well, knowledge about the campaign being more evenly distributed through the very frequent staff meetings. With the rise of the third group of teachers in a position of status, communication did become slightly more blocked for a time. The teachers having close social relations with Phil and George Knibb were perceived by others as knowing more about the campaign (see chapter fourteen).

When discussing the composition and organisation of the community volunteers it was pointed out that aspects of local culture featured into the way in which the volunteers became organised and reached decisions. In the case of the teacher volunteers the primary principle which appeared to be the basis of their organisation was the ideal of informal, participatory democracy. There was never any actual debate and discussion over whether or not a head teacher should be elected or whether or not an administrative committee ought to take most decisions without consultation with the staff. Rather, the informal participatory arrangement with its diffuse authority was immediately established and had the consent of the vast majority of staff. This could be explained as the result of the relatively young age and middle class backgrounds of the teacher volunteers. Most subscribed to elements of progressivism and libertarianism, both in education and political organisation. Most came to the school expecting a libertarian

atmosphere of sorts, as we saw in the last chapter, and thus quickly gave consent to the informal structure of the staff.

 Table 11-2: Ages of the Community and Teacher Volunteers:
 (Based on a sample of 27 teachers and 19 community volunteers)

Age:	< 20	21-25	26-30	31-35	36-40	40+
Community	10%	1%	11%	10%	16%	42%
Teachers	0%	44%	7%	15%	11%	19%

 Table 11-3: Socio-economic backgrounds of the parents of the community and teacher volunteers (Based on samples of 19 teachers and 19 community volunteers).

	Manual (Non-, semi-, or skilled)	Professional/ Semi-professional
Community	100%	0%
Teachers	21%	79%

 Table 11-4: The Formal and Informal Organisation of the Teacher and Community Volunteers:

	COMMUNITY VOLUNTEERS	TEACHERS
Formal Organisation	Action Committee / helpers Committee formally democratic with rules of procedure	All Staff; Later teachers/administrators Rotating chair, attempts at consensus decision making
Informal Organisation	Charismatic authority Strong Status hierarchy Communication barriers	Charismatic authority weak Shifting status groups, weakly defined Open communication

IV Justification of the Occupation and Attitudes to Schooling

With justifications used and attitudes held by the participants we move from conditions of action existing on fairly tacit levels of awareness to conditions which were put into frequent discursive formulation. The conditions described in this section are thus different in kind from those of the last sections. To make this point clear from the start, a brief summary of the above discussion is in order.

The organisation of the community and teacher volunteers described above were based on a number of conditions which were for the most part tacitly, not discursively, available to the participants. The gender relations in Croxteth culture, the ethic of solidarity, attitudes to family networks and other cultural features upon which the charismatic authority of Phil Knibb became constructed by participants in the campaign, were rarely if ever discussed during the occupation, nor, of course, were they *constituted* as conditions of action *through* discursive interaction. Similarly, the values underlaying the use of participatory democracy by the teaching staff were not much discussed amongst the staff itself *with respect to their own internal organisation*. These values did become articulated in discussions held by the staff, but over conflicts with local activists on campaign strategy and the position of pupils in the school, rather than over the organisation of the teachers themselves. Thus the role played by these themes in staff organisation was also a tacit one. One could point to differences in the level of embeddedness, or taken-for-grantedness, between some of these conditions. For example, both groups tacitly drew upon certain *precedents* in creating their formal structures, the trade union movement in the case of the Action Committee and some of the informal decision making formats developed as part of libertarian movements of the 1960s, in the case of the teaching staff. But the formal organisations of both groups were accompanied by informal systems of status which rested upon deeper seated features of culture, such as gender relations and group norms within which certain personalities came to have more influence than others.

By contrast, most of the conditions of action that will be identified in this present section existed at a higher level of discursive articulation than the ones identified in the two sections above. Some are termed 'ideological themes' because they pertained to clusters of values and assumptions on political and educational issues which are discursively contested in society (see introduction). Their level of embeddedness or taken-for-grantedness was much less deep than those of the conditions discussed above. They existed at different levels of discursive availability to the participants, but aspects of them were continuously put into verbal articulation during disputes between activists. The themes were identified from the research data principally through the ways in which participants accounted for their involvement in the occupation and accounted for their positions with respect to the type of schooling which they thought ought to be offered by the staff. The first type of accounting, which provided the rationale for involvement, involved political or at least politically-related themes, the second type involved themes concerning educational form and goals. As the analysis will show, connections between politically-oriented and educationally oriented themes existed in important ways, as did connections between both these sets of conditions and the conditions underlying the organisation of the staff and local activists.

A) The Justification of the Occupation:

In chapter eight we reviewed the reasons given by participants and supporters for opposing the closure of Croxteth Comprehensive. We argued there that opposition was related to interests which these people had in retaining the school, interests concerning the material use of the school as well as the symbolic value which the school took on once it became threatened.

Here our considerations differ from those of that chapter. We are specifically interested in two things: 1) how those who were active in the school justified their involvement and, 2) why they were involved. These two things differ, obviously, from each other and from the reasons explored in chapter eight given by residents for opposing the closure. One may oppose the closure of a school but not support the illegal occupation of its buildings. In addition, one who supports the illegal occupation of school buildings may not be motivated to take part in the occupation his or her self. As consistently argued in this thesis, interests are a necessary but not a sufficient explanation for the involvement of individuals in social movements.

Justifications for involvement were discovered during the research through interview questions which began by simply asking why the interviewee felt the campaign was a worthy one worth supporting. At some point in the interview the fact that the occupation was illegal was usually pointed out to see how the interviewee would respond. Justifications included political theories, moral condemnations of the deprivation in Croxteth, and a value placed on community control over institutions.

Reasons why participants became involved and remained involved were discovered during the research by asking interviewees why they were involved and probing their answers to get explanations referenced back to themselves, rather than to generalised political theories or statements of moral principles. When interviewees gave descriptions of what participation meant to them personally these were counted as reasons, as opposed to justifications. As we shall see below, reasons often included things like the friendships and sense of community which the occupation provided, or an obligation which some felt to support a movement like the campaign for the Croxteth school, or the opportunity to practice teaching.

Justifications and reasons sometimes overlapped and were sometimes very clearly separated. As described below, in the case of the teachers the two corresponded closely but in the case of many of the local activists the two were in actual tension.

1) Reasons for involvement and justifications of the occupation given by teachers:

In the case of the teachers reasons and justifications closely overlapped. The 27 teachers who were interviewed gave justifications for

their involvement which fell into three categories: 1) broadly political explanations, 2) explanations given in terms of sympathy for the community (whether or not the struggle was seen in a political context), and, 3) the desire to gain teaching experience. Table 11-5 summarises the results. Many teachers gave more than one reason so the number of appropriate responses, rather than the number of individuals, are listed under each category. There were 18 responses which fell under the political category, 4 which fell under the 'sympathy' category, and 9 which fell under the category of desiring teaching experience.

Table 11-5: Justifications for Involvement given by Teacher Volunteers

(Number of responses given by twenty seven teachers)

Political reasons:	18	58%
Sympathy for community:	4	13%
Desire for teaching experience:	9	29%

The vast majority of those giving political justifications were in their 30s, many with young families, whereas most of those giving a desire for teaching experience as their reasons were recent graduates in their early 20s.

It may seem surprising that 18 responses were of a political nature while only 4 were expressions of sympathy for the struggle of the community since one may think that a political orientation of support for the community struggle would automatically entail sympathy. This is actually probably true. It is possible that those who gave political reasons for their involvement would have also expressed sympathy for the struggle, upon further questioning. Most teachers by the time they were interviewed had long been working in the school and had made friends or at least established warm relations with the community volunteers.

However, what is taken as significant in evaluating the responses is the *first* response given by these teachers to the question of why they were involved. Those listed under the political category were responses which made use of a formulated *political position or ideology* rather than a sentiment of sympathy for the people of Croxteth. Those listed under the category of sympathy for the community did not give political justifications for their support of the campaign, even after continued questioning. What is being distinguished is the *primary* way in which these activists accounted for and interpreted their involvement.

Common responses numbered under the political category include the following:

The immediate goal for me is supporting a local community in its stand against the centre, which is something I'd always want to support.

Angela Cunningham, history teacher

This is why this struggle is so *important*, a community taking over a school is very important. It'll happen to more communities, Croxteth is just the first to fight back. ... This is very much a school that belongs to the parents rather than a school where they are tolerated. The most important thing about this school is not the details but that a community has defended its rights.

Hugh Sanderson, science and substitute teacher

Both of these responses are classified as political because they place the significance of the occupation within a broadly conceived political context. The campaign is described as important and justifiable because it is a fight against a common enemy, 'the centre' as Angela put it, the cuts of the Thatcher government as Hugh did. Nearly all of the political responses were of this type. Some called the campaign an instance of 'class struggle'. All eighteen teachers who gave political justifications for the occupation had had previous involvement in political movements and organisations of various types. Most were critical of the Labour Party and had personal politics which either involved organisations on the far Left, such as the SWP, the WRP and Big Flame, or organisations which address themselves more to what Touraine, Melucci and others call 'new social movements' (see chapter four), such as animal rights campaigns, the peace movement, CND and so on.

Both of the above quotations also indicate something else typically found in the accounts given by the majority of staff: the emphasis on the term *community*. Not only did they frame their justifications for involvement in broadly political terms, they did so in a way which stressed grass roots community politics over party politics. This was true not only of those who gave political justifications but of those who simply sympathised with the local volunteers and wanted to help them out. Those in the much smaller group who gave sympathy for the community alone as their primary reason for supporting the campaign didn't see the occupation as part of a larger struggle or as a single instance of a general principle, but by orientating their interpretation of the protest movement through the concept of 'community' they took a similar position to the more politically oriented staff members in stressing grass roots power over party politics. Both groups saw the occupation as an example of a community defending its rights against politicians and big government. As an illustration, by the end of the first term, when it became clear that the Action Committee was aligning itself with the electoral efforts of the local Labour Party, many teachers felt that community rights, the reason they were involved in the occupation themselves, were being lost to party politics, and they were resentful as a result. English and music teacher Rose Goodwin made a typical comment at the time:

P.C.: So you think that the campaign has been taken away from the community for the sake of Labour Party politics?

Rose: I think the evidence is things like that demo which we all thought was to be about Croxteth but turned out to be about the Labour Party. ... You know there's that phrase in the Internationale about, unh, 'We want no condescending saviours to rule us from the judgement hall', I mean, 'condescending saviours' is to me the manner in which the Labour Party acts when it does get involved in such things.

The principle justification given by most of the teachers for being involved in the campaign was thus framed in terms of an ideological theme which is here called 'community power'. It fits our definition of ideological theme because it was frequently used in discourse and stood for a set of values to which most teachers gave their consent; and yet it was involved in different *theoretical* positions taken by teachers, - it supported different articulated variations. It is a theme because it was used in different ways by those who held to it. For some 'community' meant 'the working class', for others it meant a group of 'common people' which they understood without regard to classes in society. But for all it had the same implications for campaign strategy: the community should be involved in the school as much as possible. And as a term used in discourse, the same implications were meant whether the speaker rationally placed 'community' within a personal theory of classes and class struggle or not.

Nine responses, we've seen, emphasised getting teaching experience as their justification for involvement. This was a justification which directly coincided with their personal reasons for volunteering, a sort of utilitarian ethic being implicitly referred to. Only two of those who gave this as their explanation also gave a political explanation. Most of these nine were young and had not been previously involved in a political organisation of any sort. They were at a stage in their life where they were working out their political views and their futures generally. A typical account was given by Yola Jacobson who also expresses sympathy for the community. Yola was 22 years old and had recently graduated in history from the University of Edinburgh. Her comments were counted for both the 'wanting experience' and the 'sympathy with the community' categories:

P.C.: What made you decide to come down [from Edinburgh]?

Yola: Well there are two sides of it, the side that they desperately needed help, and also I was unemployed, so (pause). And also I wanted to see how I would do in teaching.

P.C.: A trial to see if you liked teaching or not?

Yola: Yeah.

P.C.: And you wanted to help out.

Yola: Well the whole thing impressed me.

P.C.: So you were sympathetic to the situation which means politically maybe you lean towards the left?

Yola: (Laughs) Maybe. Well, I don't don't know how to define my political point of view. I mean I do have quite a, a very definite way of looking at things, but I don't align myself with parties. But there are certain things I agree with and this is one of them.

Justifications given by the teachers for their involvement in the occupation overlapped with their reasons for participating in three major ways. First, as we have seen, those who claimed they simply wanted teaching experience justified their involvement *with* their reasons for being involved. Second, a small group gave their reasons for involvement solely in terms of their political justification for it. This group was involved for normative reasons, - reasons of moral obligation. Most in this group actually would have preferred not to be involved for personal reasons but felt they ought to support the campaign out of a sense of duty. Most hoped for replacement and some left when it seemed that enough teachers had arrived to run the school adequately.

Third, the largest number of teachers expressed a coincidence of justification with reasons through the concept of 'community'. They supported and justified the campaign by interpreting it as a struggle of a community against the government (i.e. through the ideological theme of community power), and they expressed personally rewarding features of their involvement as their discovering of a community which they had come to belong to: the community of fellow activists. Neil Murtough, a biology teacher who had taught for five years in Mozambique and who was active in both political and 'new' social movements, illustrates this well in the passage below. Neil had first read about the occupation of Croxteth Comprehensive in a *New Statesman* article written by Henry Stewart. He joined the staff in late October, and began driving over from Manchester every Wednesday to teach the afternoon of that day and the following Thursday and Friday. He slept in the school with the pickets:

P.C.: Can you describe your first impressions?

Neil: (laughing) I had absolutely no idea what to expect in spite of reading the article (in the *New Statesman*), because, you know the printed word and the actual are always so different. And not only that, I had no expectations of what Liverpool would be like. ... The first day I felt rather at home because curiously it was rather like Mozambique because you had a dramatically different situation, a situation where people, ordinary people, had seized the initiative and then had to deal with the consequences of their action (laughter). And not let things slip and probably, more importantly, to continue believing in themselves against all the odds.

So it was like that air of chaos mixed with excitement and enthusiasm which really attracted me, which I felt really at home with. I like situations which force people to respond. And nevertheless I was still, I remember going home that evening and telling my friends of my first impressions. Oh I don't know, what was one of the anecdotes (pause); one of the local lads, who was on the Action Committee, showed me up to the biology lab and explained how most of the locks had to be broken open in the school when it was being occupied and that he could actually handle any of the locks in Croxteth School and anywhere in Croxteth for that matter (Laughing). ...

I think the strongest source of inspiration that I had all along, and I got on the first day, and it's always been there, is the, how do you say?, the *ordinary* people here, the parents and other adults who help out. The sort of, the atmos (pause), the feeling that well we're all in this shit together we might as well make the best of it. The feeling of being together which I really miss; I miss on the street, I miss in public places. It's something which used to be prevalent in British society. It's something that we're losing as people become more and more alienated from each other or insecure.

P.C. In general in British society?

Neil: Well yeah, I mean the Coronation Street syndrome you know. The leaning over the garden wall and having a little chat, the cheery hello and the comment about the weather. That's not terribly significant, not terribly deep, but it's that, it's the social lubrication that is really important for me and I think for a lot of other people. And to come inside the school doors is to re-enter a world which it was very difficult to find in public. And it's been, it's cheered me so often. People accept, (pause), people accept you. I mean not blindly, once they realise that your intentions are sincere I find people here very accepting, and that means the world to me.

Neil's comments reveal important dimensions to the 'community power' theme. The occupation had altered a traditional social site, a school, to allow for the creation of qualitatively new social relationships - it became an island in which new cultural experiences were taking place. The term 'community' has been long recognised in sociological literature as serving widely to symbolise a common experience of absence or lack in modern society (Bell and Newby 1971, Williams 1961). This sense of lack is frequently interpreted as a nostalgia for the past, exactly as Neil expressed it. Those who adhered to the community power theme in explaining their involvement were actually giving expression to a very common theme in our culture and, as Neil's remarks clearly show, they were experiencing something which they interpreted with this same term: they were experiencing integration, solidarity, mutual acceptance and membership in a 'community'.

Neil's remarks recall the work of the 'identity-oriented' school of theorists on social movements (see chapter four) - involvement in the school was to many teachers involvement within, and contribution to, a social site in which new media for action and self-expression were being generated. The sense of solidarity and the sense of personal empowerment which the occupation provided for many of the teachers was very much like the reintegration of life world values and norms with purposive action (Habermas 1967, Offe 1984 - see chapter two). Their activities in the school were under their own control, or so it seemed at first, not dictated by purposes determined from outside. They took place within a set of group norms and shared understandings which the teachers found enriching and non-alienating. And their interpretation of the campaign politically corresponded to their interpretation of it personally. Reasons and justifications were harmoniously understood through the same interpretative framework.

To conclude this section, we have seen that teachers were involved in the occupation for normative and expressive reasons, and that the vast majority of teachers justified/explained their involvement by use of an ideological theme we have called 'community power'. Now we will turn to the reasons and justifications given by the community volunteers for their involvement.

2) Justifications and reasons supplied by the community volunteers for their involvement in the campaign.

The explanations for involvement given by the community volunteers were more uniform than those given by the teachers. Very few gave justifications for the occupation which drew upon political ideologies. This is understandable by the fact that out of 23 community volunteers asked, 19 said that they had had no previous political involvements at all. Three of these had been somewhat involved in community organisations which were mainly apolitical. The remaining four volunteers had had previous experience with trade union strikes and organising but no specifically political involvements.

The justifications given by the Croxteth volunteers were very much the same as the reasons listed in chapter eight for their opposition to the closure of the school. They said the school was a good school and thus shouldn't have been closed, or that it was superior to Ellergreen, or that the Liberals wanted to sell off the land and should be stopped. What these arguments amount to is the belief that the state *ought* to provide a school in Croxteth: in removing the school the state had violated its obligation. Phil Knibb and Cyril D'Arcy did place this view within a more political, Labour Party, interpretation than the rest, but their interpretations were an elaboration of the same basic view, drawing more upon Labour Party slogans and ideology, a view which emphasised the obligations of the state.

No community activist felt that the illegal action they had taken required much defence. Occupying buildings has at times been a tactic used by the trade union movement to oppose factory closures and thus there was a precedent within the Labour movement to occupy buildings. Of course the occupation of the buildings reportedly frightened off a number of former activists before the school was run for pupils, but for those who remained the occupation seemed in line with legitimate trade union practice.

The ideological theme which community volunteer justifications drew upon will be called 'the social wage' here. It is a justification which could be described with one of Castells' categories of urban social movements, social movements based on the consciousness of 'trade union consumerism' (Castells 1977, 1978). The state was seen to have certain obligations it was not living up to and the community was using an occupation and picket to protest it. The view is one which places the emphasis on the obligations of the state rather than on grass roots participation and control. Implicit to it is the client-administrator relationship inherent in most welfare services, which parallels in many respects the employee-employer relationship on the shopfloor. The purposes

for which the activities of the shopfloor are organised are primarily the purposes of the employers, not the employees. The latter organise in unions in order to struggle over the conditions in which they work and the amount of pay they receive - they do not control the basic logic by which production quotas, type of product produced and etc are determined. With respect to social movements over welfare services, those movements which fall into the category of trade union consumerism similarly don't challenge the administrative rationality which controls the form of services, but rather the amounts and quality of services being supplied. The key relationships involved are not challenged by these movements.

Transport and General Worker's Union official Eddie Roberts, in discussing the reasons why the TGWU supported Croxteth, further elucidates the parallels between the ideology of the social wage and the industrial wage:

We say that where it's the closing of a school and the denial therefore of facilities and resources to a community, that is tantamount to denying working people decent working conditions, wages and so forth. So we don't see any departure from the principles by which we live, and although those people are not all paying members of the union, we have to ^{be} mindful of that.

Another way to contrast the theme of the social wage with the ideology of community power is to refer again to the work of Habermas and Offe discussed in chapter three. The social wage ideology does not view welfare services in a way which challenges the logic and purposes by which their form of organisation is shaped, the community power ideology does. The latter seeks to place decision making processes taking place with respect to welfare services into the control of the people who receive them as a way to recapture territory which has been 'colonised' by administrative logic. It takes the placement of decision making under the control of the life world of welfare recipients as an end in itself.

In contrast to many of the teachers, a large number of community activists expressed personal reasons for involvement which were in tension with the way in which they justified it. The occupation had become, for most of them, a realm of life in which normative and expressive needs could be met in new ways. The goal of getting back the school was only a partial reason for their involvement. Many local activists, like many of the teachers, had left the school when they found it too demanding on their time and energy; those who stayed, stayed because they had found something for themselves there. Comments of Keith Leatherbarrow serve as an example of how the occupation became the basis for a new identity and a new sense of purpose to many of the volunteers. They also point to an inherent tension in the situation for local activists who found their work in the school highly rewarding and who yet formulated the rationale of the occupation in terms of the social wage:

Keith: I find myself in a curious situation right now because part of me says that I'm getting a tremendous amount

out of the school, there're a lot days where, as I did last week, I'm coming in in the morning, the school finishes, and I'd still be here, I'd go through the night, getting along with the job, I was so into it. And the time would go nowhere. And there are days when I just don't want to go home. But that's, I'm over the top on that I've to calm myself down on that.

P.C.: (Laughter)

Keith: No, I *have* to because at one point I'm going to get fed up with it.

P.C.: Oh I see.

Keith: And part of me says that I don't want the school to *win* for that, I want to keep on doing it as it is. But obviously the reason we're fighting is to reopen it as a school and then we'll have to take it from there.

P.C.: So if it is reopened you will feel like you've lost something?

Keith: Yeah. I really feel bad about it. I don't know if it's possible we'll get the jobs, but even then it wouldn't be the same.

P.C.: It wouldn't have as much meaning?

Keith: Yeah. I couldn't describe the way I felt the other week when Paul said to me, 'Well can you come along and run the lab for us?' Suddenly, after three months of puttering around, I was somebody all of a sudden. Oh, no, not somebody, but, everybody knew who I was and what I was here for.

P.C.: You had an identity and a purpose.

Keith: Yeah. I really feel that was important for me.

P.C.: Yeah.

Many helpers and Action Committee members expressed sentiments similar to Keith's although he expressed himself with greater enthusiasm than most. Awareness of what could be called a contradiction in the situation, the goal of getting the school re-established as a state provision and the desire to remain involved in it, increased during the third term when the end of the occupation was in sight (see chapter fifteen) and conversations held with old activists a year after the occupation, in 1984, indicated that even those who had paid jobs in the school still missed the way it had been during the year of occupation. There was something about the occupation itself which was definitely an ends, not just a means, to most of those who stayed.

This situation can be called contradictory, however, only because the discursively articulated goal of the local activists, based on the ideological theme of state provision, was in conflict with non-articulated reasons for maintaining involvement. If the *reasons for involvement* had become articulated *goals* of the campaign, their tension with the social wage ideology would have become more apparent and alterations in this ideology would probably have been introduced. The background of the action, containing this tension between reasons and explanations, was not thematised. The occupation had unexpectedly opened up new life-spaces for its participants, the school became a site for radically new routines for most of those involved, a site containing new norms and new media for self-expression.

But the newness wasn't exactly what Melucci and others who emphasise identity and expression in social movements have in mind with their term 'New Social Movements' or NSMs. As we saw in chapter two, these authors emphasise *conscious control* over normative contexts as a defining goal of NSMs. For people like Keith in Croxteth, however, a total transformation of cultural media, in which roles and identities are created anew culturally, and not just personally, wasn't exactly what was occurring. The roles and identities of a laboratory technician aren't absent from mainstream society as respectable gay identities are, though the position of technician was effectively barred from someone like Keith for reasons which include that of social class. There are differences of degree involved between the identity creations which NSM theorists discuss and those which occurred in the occupied buildings of Croxteth Comprehensive. The special meaning which 'laboratory technician' took on for Keith was contingent on other aspects of the occupation and definitely was in many ways 'new'. But Keith wasn't really in conscious control of the transformations which he was experiencing: they were becoming objects of his reflexive awareness, in conversations like the one quoted above, but they were not then made explicit *goals* of the campaign, alongside the acknowledged goal of winning back the school. Similarly, the alterations in identities and roles which took place for the people who ran the kitchen or worked in the corridors or even taught pupils weren't radical transformations from a cultural point of view, however radical they were from personal points of view. They were traditional roles, taken up and altered under the special conditions of the occupation, but not in a discursive manner, and thus not in a manner which made this process an explicit goal. If they had been made explicit goals, moreover, their tension with the explicit aim of the campaign to win back a *state controlled* provision would have to have been somehow resolved, possibly with major consequences on the course of the campaign.

Thus the occupation was not a 'new' social movement, even though identity and expressivity entered importantly into it. What is significant about these features of the occupation, however, is that they illustrate the lack of a radical break between what some theorists call 'traditional movements' and 'new' social movements (chapter three). Identity and normative transformations take place in both types of movements though the latter types probably do involve this on a more discursive and controlled level. The emphasis on 'consciousness raising' in the feminist movement

(Spender 1981, MacKinnon 1982), for example, is a good illustration of the type of method used in 'new' social movements which consciously attempts to thematise the background conditions of traditional roles and identities in order to gain control of and alter them. In the case of many teachers serving the occupation of Croxteth Comprehensive, to provide a contrast from within this study, the amount of effort to take conscious control over identity and value construction did approach a level close to what NSMs have been described as having. This will become more clear in chapter fourteen, when we discuss a phase of the occupation in which teachers felt they were losing control and were becoming demoralised in consequence.

To summarise this subsection, community volunteers justified their involvement in the occupation with an ideological theme we are calling 'the social wage'. Unlike the community power theme used by most of the teachers, the social wage does not emphasise grass roots democracy and participation in welfare institutions. The reasons, as opposed to the justifications, given by the community volunteers for their involvement, did place a value on grass roots control - their very participation in the school was an end in itself. This was in tension with the social wage ideology: reasons for involvement did not become formulated as part of the explicit goals of the campaign for the community volunteers.

B) Attitudes Towards Schooling held by the Teachers and Community Volunteers

This section examines the attitudes and views held by participants with respect to school knowledge, the purposes of schooling, school authority relationships, and assessment. These four aspects of schooling, as discussed in chapter five, have been subject to critique by community education theorists of the radical variety. The next chapter will be concerned to trace out the activities which stabilised school policy and practice in each of these areas.

1) The attitudes of the community volunteers to schooling

On the whole, the community volunteers began their occupation of the school with a basically unquestioning attitude towards schooling. They desired their school to be restored to them, and their children to attend it, and they did not really question what went on inside of it. Moreover, they felt themselves unqualified to criticise or comment on schooling. Virtually all of them, as we have seen, had been school leavers, had gained no formal qualifications, and thus did not consider themselves competent to criticise schooling or to have any say in the curricular and pedagogic policy of Croxteth Comprehensive. When the teacher volunteers first arrived, the community volunteers more than willingly deferred to them on all questions of actual educational practice.

While noting this perhaps unsurprising attitude of the community volunteers it is important to bear in mind their past experiences of

schooling. In addition to being school leavers, most of them reported unpleasant experiences in secondary school:

I didn't really take it seriously. I'm sorry now I didn't, really. I didn't do any examinations. I did hate the school. I thought when you left school you'd just go and get a job and if you didn't like that job you could just change it, go from one job to another.

Margaret Gaskell

Margaret notes something in this passage which is present in most of the remarks given by community volunteers, and teacher volunteers as well: school qualifications are something which can get you jobs which you may be more satisfied in. We discussed this point briefly in the last chapter where we described how teachers and community activists tried to get pupils to be less disruptive in the school by arguing that a good education will one day lead to jobs, and possibly satisfying ones at that. Margaret had regrets that she hadn't taken school very seriously because this had limited her chances in life (however, these regrets also owed something to her involvement in the occupied school).

Many community volunteers, instead of emphasising 'satisfying' jobs, simply emphasised *jobs* in their explanations of schooling purpose. They frequently noted that school qualifications are now something which is needed to get *any* job, unlike the time when they were leaving school. Thus another ideological theme is apparent, one labelled with the short hand of 'employability' here. A major purpose of schooling was seen to be to make youth employable.

Often the community volunteers indicated that part of the unpleasantness of secondary schooling for them had been the strictness of their teachers:

I never liked it. I never took the 11+. ... See, when I went to school, you only talk to a teacher when a teacher talked to you. You'd never be friendly with a teacher, you'd have to be frightened of a teacher.

Pat Brennan

Mick Checkland recalled his first experiences as a pupil at Croxteth Comprehensive:

I was terrified. The teachers were a lot sterner. It wasn't the way we do it now, now we can have a laugh with them, but they know that you're firm on top. They know that they're going to get a rollicking if they do something wrong, but you don't hold a grudge against them, whereas the teachers when I first came, if you ever did anything wrong I mean that grudge was held against you for the full five years. All my brothers came to this school and (pause), I was in classes which my worst brother had been in you know, and so I got terrible stick right from when I started. The first day I came here a huge teacher spotted me in the corridor and came right over to me, picked me up by the lapels and

said that he didn't take it from my brothers and he wouldn't take it from me either. I was really frightened, it was completely terrifying.

Phil Knibb was an exception in that he had actually liked school, but he didn't take examinations or try hard in school because of the stigma this would have involved in his community (near Scotland Rd). He chose not to even try to get into a grammar school:

Because at that time it was a stigma, where we lived in town, to go to college. Because we're from a basically working class area, to go to college, coming home (pause), you had to wear a uniform, to come home like that was bad. So there's no way that anyone wants to go to college.

Phil's liking of school was unique amongst those community volunteers interviewed. His comment points to the power of local culture over such positive experiences of school: it shaped Phil's educational future despite his personal disposition.

Most of the other male volunteers interviewed reported their involvement in much resistance activity during secondary school. They'd been 'lads'. Marty McArdle had been expelled from three schools for hitting teachers. Mick Checkland had played truant and gotten drunk 'as much as you possibly could'. George Knibb commented:

I used to do the same things as this lot Phil. You know, we'd rip up our work, hide books in a hole in the floor. Then we'd tell the teacher they were lost. They'd go the whole year without knowing. So, you know, I can understand them.

Joey Jacobs and Charlie Irving both said they'd been considered 'slow' in school, Joey pointing out that only the special attention of one teacher helped him to alter his self image.

Thus the secondary schooling experiences of most of the community volunteers had been unpleasant and/or characterised by active disruptions of classes. This gave the community volunteers an understanding of the frequent disruptions which Croxteth pupils were to partake in during the occupation. But none of them, initially, questioned the validity of traditional teaching, neither in terms of content, nor assessment, nor, aside from Mick's comments, teacher-pupil authority relationships. Their own negative experiences in school were not the basis, initially, of any critique of school practice. On the contrary, the very experience of 'failing' at school, of not taking the examinations, helped to solidify the unquestioning attitude of these volunteers to the competence of those who had not failed. There were several reasons for this.

One reason why personal experiences in secondary school of a negative nature did not immediately lead to a critical attitude to schooling processes is the lack of a clear and widely available critique of

educational practice in the labour movement. The campaign for the school was easily interpreted by Croxteth activists in terms of the social wage and much of the terminology and the slogans of the labour movement reinforced and further justified this type of interpretation (the fight against cuts). But the labour movement has not yet generated widely known policies on educational experience - it has kept the political aspects of schooling within the framework of provisions fought for and hasn't deeply questioned the nature of educational provision itself (see chapter eight). A way of criticising schooling practice isn't readily available to working class people having negative experiences in schools.

More fundamentally, however, the volunteers in Croxteth seem to have absorbed and interpreted their negative schooling experiences in conjunction with two features of their local culture: 1) a particular view of school knowledge (which is clearly a *result* of school practice itself), and, 2) the customary pattern of adult-youth authority relationships on the estate (which is the result of a reinforcing relationship between cultural traditions and school practice). We will look more closely at each of these.

School knowledge, as argued in chapter five, is traditionally presented in a way which makes it appear as something external to daily life. It is seen as something to be possessed, rather than continuously produced. Its value lies in its marketability for jobs. School knowledge was seen by most of the volunteers during the occupation as a desirable acquisition, desirable because it can help one to get jobs. It was not seen as something which was related to the considerable knowledge required and used in daily life, even in this situation of social disruption, where a group of people were carrying out a campaign which required significant amounts of new knowledge and processes of learning. School knowledge didn't have value as something which could enrich an individual, alter identities, or serve to promote social change, it was rather something which could at best be acquired as a possession to increase employability.

Corresponding to this view of school knowledge was an acceptance of certain authority relations which went with it. Some people had school knowledge and some people did not have it. Those who had it were believed to be entitled to a certain amount of authority, in some realms of life, over those who didn't have it. For example, the local activists having no qualifications didn't feel they had the competence or the authority to question schooling practice:

Actual standards of teaching are not up to me to criticise, 'cause I don't think I can. I can't say that the kids are doing the right work or the wrong work 'cause I've got no, I don't know, CSE's or O levels meself, I'm just ordinary. I came out of school and I was lucky enough to get a job as a sheeter, which is a specialised job. Actually O levels and CSEs, I've never had them. And knowing that this day and age you need them. I'm not looking at that part. So actually as criticising educational standards, I couldn't do it. And I don't think there's anyone else in the school that

can, on the Action Committee. The only thing we can criticise is the handling of the kids. I don't think we can criticise anyone on work standards, I don't think we have the authority to.

George Knibb

This passage is pregnant with meanings, meanings which were expressed by nearly all the community volunteers talking about schools. George uses the term 'standards', not suggested to him by the interviewer. 'Standards' is a term which we often come across in policy statements, media articles and professional articles about education. It is itself a product of the education system: a view of schooling which suggests that very clear objective criteria exist by which schooling practice can be judged and assessed (just as the transmission of school knowledge can be assessed with examinations). It implies that only those qualified can make judgements about standards or even know what they are. George calls himself 'ordinary' in this passage. Those who have school knowledge are not ordinary, those who don't have it are. A distinction is created based on possession of qualifications which has authority implications. George himself uses the term 'authority'. The experience of being a school leaver is an experience which disqualifies one, subjectively, from criticising educational practice. School leavers are 'ordinary', 'thick', or 'slow', terms which many volunteers used to describe themselves, and terms which point back to a particular view of school knowledge, tightly related to the way in which school knowledge is organised and presented.

This view of school knowledge is one more of our ideological themes, called 'reified knowledge' here. It is a view of knowledge as something external which can be possessed and which is not in an obvious relationship to the sorts of knowledge all people master in conducting their daily lives. This latter type of knowledge is rarely called 'knowledge'.

Finally, George mentions the one area in which he does feel competent to make judgements about what is occurring in the school: 'the handling of the kids', the state of discipline in the school. He is correct in speaking for all the community volunteers on this, they did, as a group, feel competent to make judgements on how teachers were handling pupils and, as we have described in the last chapter, were very critical of how it was being done. The feeling of competence with respect to judging teacher-pupil relationships is related to the second cultural factor which mediated the negative experience of secondary schooling reported by most of the activists: adult-youth authority relationships.

In chapter seven we described the nature of adult-youth authority relationships in Croxteth in some detail. They involve a style of interaction in which rough language, and sometimes rough physical actions, are often skilfully combined with humour and affection as well as disapproval. Adults in Croxteth have to negotiate and maintain their authority over youth, who frequently challenge it. Thus it was not seen as unusual but was rather to a certain extent expected that pupils would be

disruptive, would challenge authority to a certain extent whether in school or outside of it. When George Knibb, Mick Checkland, Marty McArdle and others from Croxteth were themselves pupils, they were very much 'lads'. They didn't like the harsh way in which school authority was exercised upon them and they challenged it very frequently. But they didn't interpret this behaviour as a resistance to schooling authority in a way which could have led to a critique of school authority. They didn't like school, just as they didn't like other situations in which authority was exercised over them. But this dislike, displayed in disruptive and defiant activity, was expected cultural behaviour, especially expected of youth. The existence of authority was accepted as given and the way in which they had resisted it as pupils was a way in which youth were expected to act. Hence when these individuals crossed the cultural line between youth and adult, they looked upon their past behaviour as behaviour typical of youth. As adults they could understand pupils carrying out the same sorts of disruptive activities but they opposed it just the same, in their role as adults. Most significantly, they didn't see the behaviour as justifiable in terms which would have criticised schooling but in terms which related the behaviour to expected cultural roles.

In chapter six, teacher-pupil relationships in Croxteth Comprehensive before the occupation were very briefly described. They were reported to have been 'strict', 'firm' and yet caring by community volunteers, former pupils and ex-staff. As George Smith, the former head teacher put it, 'if they step out of line, God help them'. Although former pupils like Mick Checkland and Marty McArdle explicitly stated their dislike of this type of authority, it was a style of teacher-pupil relationship which worked in Croxteth because it was in harmony with the adult-youth relationships on the estate. The two reinforced each other. But they reinforced each other not only in the sense of a continuity between adult-youth and teacher-pupil styles of interaction, but in the sense of the school actually bolstering efforts of parents to extend authority over youth. The challenge of youth in Croxteth to adult authority is not always contained within the cultural style of interaction. There is in Croxteth, as we have seen, a high rate of crime, vandalism and now drug usage. Hence, as one teacher observed:

Most of them see it [discipline] with the onus being on the teachers because if they themselves can't control the kids for one reason or another, and there're a lot of one-parent families around, ... they probably believe that their kids are being influenced by their mates and the place where they're being influenced most is at school. And if the teachers; the teachers have got to crack down on discipline in the school, because whether or not our discipline (pause), If they perceive it as bad, you know, as not as strict as other schools, then I don't believe that they'll be too keen on sending their kids here.

Tony Gannon, geography teacher

Another ideological theme is emerging, a view of the purpose of schooling which makes the imposition of authority a goal in itself, not just a means to teaching. There is much evidence to suggest that this view of

the purpose of schooling was held by many adults in Croxteth, both amongst the community volunteers and the parents sending their children to the school. Below are three incidents, recorded in the field notebooks, which help to make this attitude clear:

Incident One:

A first year pupil, John, was popular with most of the teachers. He tried hard in class and, although not considered one of the 'brightest', was believed to be doing well enough on his work in most teachers' opinions. He got into trouble outside of class hours several times, however, partly because of his association with other boys. On the third such occasion his father pulled him out of the school and sent him to Ellergreen Comprehensive. On hearing of this I visited his home with another teacher to talk with his father. His father strongly supported the occupation of Croxteth Comprehensive and said he wasn't worried about John's education in terms of what and how much he was learning, but rather worried that he couldn't be 'kept in line' at Croxteth and that he needed a school where he would be. He had the belief that John possessed tendencies to be a trouble-maker and needed strong handling. He didn't accept our protestations that John wasn't usually disruptive at all. While pulling John out of Croxteth Comprehensive he kept his daughter Debbie in, not feeling that she needed as strict an environment as did John.

Incident Two:

Another first year pupil, Terry, was very disruptive. He was often put on detention, given 'lines' to write and several times suspended. Finally it was decided to expel him. His mother then came up to the school to protest. At a meeting with the core committee she criticised the staff strongly for not being able to control her son. She also blamed him, and severely castigated him before our eyes, but she stressed her belief that it was ultimately *our* responsibility to exercise control. She openly questioned our competence as teachers and expressed her view that it was unfair to expel a pupil when it was our failure, not his, which was at fault. This attitude surprised some of the teachers present, who saw the fault as laying with the unreasonableness of Terry. Letters had previously been sent to Terry's house warning that an expulsion was possible but Terry had not changed. These teachers felt that after such contact with Terry's family, the responsibility for his behaviour was theirs, not the schools. Terry's mother, at this meeting, showed her *need* for the school to be a controlling/containing institution for her son. She was divorced from her husband and worked a full time job. If Terry was expelled, she feared, he would become truant during the day rather than go to Ellergreen. In the end Terry was expelled for several months but he did exactly as his mother feared, he was truant from Ellergreen almost the whole time. She came back to the school during the third term and begged and scolded

us into accepting Terry back, which we did. Terry made an interesting comment when he returned. After being asked whether or not the school was strict enough he said: 'This school's more strict than other schools, it's too strict. The cane's better - when you have the cane you don't expel pupils.' Terry's behaviour, though still difficult, became much better.

Incident Three:

Another pupil was doing poorly on her work because of bad study habits. Her form teacher visited her home to tell her parents that she would have to discipline herself more and do more homework if she was to pass the course. Not too long afterwards the girl's parents put their daughter in Ellergreen, informing Croxteth Comprehensive that she 'wasn't learning enough'. The form teacher was both surprised and annoyed at the news; 'I told them she would have to work harder to learn anything!' she said. The teacher thus saw the responsibility as resting with the girl herself and her family, she couldn't understand why the girl's parents hadn't forced her to study at home. The parents, on the contrary, saw the girl's study habits as being the school's responsibility.

Thus most adults from Croxteth involved in some way with the school felt that discipline and control were one of the purposes of education. This contrasted with the attitude of many teachers who felt that personal discipline was ultimately the responsibility of the pupil's family.

To end this section, we have yet to consider the community volunteer's attitude to examinations. In the beginning examinations, like other features of schooling, were not questioned. They were a part of schooling practice which teachers, not themselves, ought to make decisions about. Examination results were a way of getting jobs and therefore valuable for those who could get them. As we shall see, this uncritical attitude towards examinations changed for some of the volunteers as the year went on and the plight of the non-examination pupils became more visible to them, but initially the educational value of examinations was not in question.

Added to this was the strategic value of introducing examinations into the school for the campaign. Teaching towards examinations did two things: it legitimised the occupation to parents sending their children to the school, and it served as a weapon in the media battles taking place. As George Knibb put it:

I mean, there'd be nothing better for the Echo and Storey (Michael Storey, the Liberal chairman of the Education Committee), all them, to look at them (the examination results) and say 'look at that! Look at what sort of education they're getting in the school!' And you, Phil, you don't have to stay around in this community after it's all over, you'll never have to take the count as much as others.

Obviously there were reasons for offering examinations in the school which made the option of not doing so completely unpracticable. But what should be noted here is that community volunteers didn't reluctantly concede to necessity in this case, they rather did not question examinations initially at all. This is in contrast, as we shall see, to some of the teachers.

In summary, we have found a number of significant features of the attitude of the community volunteers to education. They took examinations for granted, had a view of school knowledge which we have found to be reified and which formed the basis for teacher authority in the perceptions of the community activists, and believed that education served two principle purposes: to increase employability and to discipline and control pupils. Moreover, we have suggested some explanations of why the community activists held the views they did. Their own experience of schooling had made them feel unqualified to criticise school practice and thus unqualified to challenge the authority of those who had succeeded in school. There were good reasons to worry about discipline of youth on the Croxteth estate and the form of school discipline which they approved of was a form which corresponded in style to adult-youth relationships in the culture of Croxteth. And there were no clearly expressed or widely available alternatives in their culture or in the culture of the labour movement generally which could have helped them to articulate an alternative to the examination system or to the form and content of schooling.

In terms of the action theory we are making use of, the adult-youth authority relations of Croxteth culture were in a reinforcing relationship with the authority relations in the school. The strict nature of teacher-pupil relations which had existed in Croxteth Comprehensive before the occupation were found to be effective because they were effective in controlling local pupils and because they won the approval of local residents. They were harmonious with the adult-youth relationships on the estate. But they also served to uphold school knowledge, and the examination system that is a part of it, as an instrument of authority - a mark of differentiation between two groups of people, those with and those without qualifications. As youth in Croxteth who leave school without qualifications become adults, they continue to view those with school qualifications as a class apart from themselves which has legitimate authority in certain realms of life which they themselves have no claim to. Hence the school is seen as something providing a service which they have no competence to question - they can only demand that a school be provided, not that they have a say in how it is run.

The reinforcing relationship between authority relations inside and outside the Croxteth school thus reinforces certain aspects of class relations. Teachers come from outside their community and from different socio-economic backgrounds to provide schooling for their children. Teachers have an authority which they do not have. Although their own children may get qualifications and thus themselves gain a competence above

that of their parents on certain matters, those children who do not get qualifications will be seen as 'ordinary' and certain features of class domination will be reproduced, not only in terms of the eventual occupational status of these children but in terms of their subordinate position towards the provided service of education.

What this section has illustrated is a complex of conditions of action which were linked together in practice such that each reinforced the other. The chain of reinforcing conditions can be presented in the following simplified form, making use of the short terminology this section introduced:

ADULT-YOUTH AUTHORITY RELATIONSHIPS IN CROXTETH / SCHOOLING FOR DISCIPLINE AND CONTROL / SCHOOL AUTHORITY / REIFIED SCHOOL KNOWLEDGE / (via cultural disjunctions between home and school cultures of knowledge) CLASS RELATIONSHIPS.

Another indication of the last term in this chain, class relationships, was the ambiguous status which certain teachers had in the school. Those few teachers who came from Croxteth and didn't have formal qualifications, like Mick, Joey, and Keith, were not easily classified in the structure of roles generated in the school. Because they were from Croxteth, spoke like people from Croxteth and were known by other local activists in the school, it wasn't clear whether they should be classified as 'teachers' or 'helpers' even though their job was clearly teaching. This took a concrete form when it came to the school lunches and to whether or not they should pay teachers fees or 'helpers' fees. Disputes broke out over it. The irony of this situation was that, in the case of Mick and Joey, they were better at controlling pupils than were most of the teachers from outside the estate. The ultimate basis for school authority in the local activists eyes, however, was possession of school knowledge and this usually associated with the status of the 'outsider' - a geographical and to a certain extent a class, 'other'. Hence the position of these teachers was ambiguous.

The reinforcing relationships between these terms were of an unacknowledged nature. Although their existence structured action in the school as the next chapter will show, it did so in a way unrecognised by the participants. In fact, the existence of these relationships on non-discursive levels was a crucial feature of the way in which they were drawn into action, in the formation of routines in the school. In the last section of this chapter, the meaning of 'reinforcements' and 'tensions' between conditions of action will be discussed more fully.

2) Attitudes to schooling held by the teacher volunteers

As in the case of political orientation, the teaching staff displayed more diversity of opinion on educational issues than did the community volunteers. We saw in the last chapter that teachers didn't have the time or the materials in the first months of the occupation to work out an alternative curriculum to that of traditional educational practice, although

many wanted to. Most teachers relied upon their own memories of what had happened when they were in secondary school and on available text books and standard syllabi to plan their lessons and organise their classroom practice.

Examinations played a major role in the attitudes of teachers towards curriculum. It was agreed by the staff that examinations were important and must be offered, for much the same reasons as those of the community volunteers. Examinations were necessary in order to legitimate the occupation in the eyes of the public and to retain the trust given the occupation by parents in Croxteth. Yet a number of teachers wished the situation could be otherwise. An interesting contrast exists between the data collected in the field note books on on-going events in the school and the responses given by teachers in interviews on the question of examinations. In the field note books there is virtually no significant record of any debates over the question of examinations. It was largely taken as a matter of course by the teachers that examinations were a major educational goal of the school. In the taped interviews, however, a number of teachers claimed that they were very much opposed to examinations in principle. The comments of teachers in interview on the examination system fall into three rough categories: those who opposed them strongly in interview, those who supported them moderately without much apparent thought, and those who supported them strongly. Most teachers fell into the last two groups, but at least three teachers, *all highly influential on the staff during the first weeks of the term*, actually felt very negatively towards examinations. Graz Monvid was one of these:

Then the decision was made that in order to prove the school's worth we had to totally orientate it towards examination results - our first step towards lunacy. Trying to carry that led to the point where kids were being expelled. Smaller and smaller numbers of kids were there because you have to exclude the ones who won't conform to what you've decided is the aim of the occupation: examination results. More and more of the teachers, as far as I could see, spent their time mainly with kids who wanted them [examinations]. The others, as in traditional parts of the education system, were being forced out.

Graz's observations were to a large extent correct. Once examinations were accepted as a goal of the school, streaming became strongly marked in the fourth and fifth year. Although we pointed out in the last chapter that pupils divided themselves, at the request of teachers during the first and second weeks, into groups which to a large extent followed those of previous years and thus were based on ability, the introduction of examinations as an educational goal further marked the groups as different in ability. It reinforced what had already taken place. Moreover, it ensured that the most experienced and dependable teachers became allocated to the higher streamed classes so that the chances of these pupils on their examinations would not be jeopardised. And introducing examination syllabi meant further divisions in the 4th and 5th year: divisions according to subjects studied and to the type of examination to be taken (CSE or O level - many pupils were double entered). Thus the 'sink' classes described in the last chapter formed in consequence. Sink classes were non examination or CSE groups who could not be consistently taught because of the shortage

of teachers. When they were taught, moreover, they were taught watered down versions of the examination syllabi for lack of alternative materials and ideas until the second term, when special projects were tried out on a couple of them with moderate success. But even when conditions stabilised enough to offer special projects with regular teachers, the 'B' pupils knew they had been classified second rate and they were openly resentful of it (see chapter fourteen).

Chris Hawes also expressed strong opposition to examinations in interview, calling them 'an instrument of class oppression and social control' and another staff member, myself, also in an influential position during the beginning, agreed with these views. Yet in staff meetings the examinations were never really discussed, probably because the external pressures on the school to offer examinations were recognised to be too great to ignore.

Examinations also reinforced the use of a traditional curriculum. Again, chapter ten described how traditional curricular practice became adopted in the school for reasons of time and material constraints. There was no real alternative which was quickly available, no materials on hand, no precedents with which staff members were familiar. Teachers holding to progressive ideals when it came to examinations and curriculum were in a similar position as the teaching staffs of Countesthorpe College and Stantonbury Campus (chapter five), an alternative to the examination system has not been presented with enough clarity and has not been proved enough in practice for teachers to implement it quickly and successfully. Perhaps even more importantly in the situation of Croxteth, an alternative curricular practice hasn't been developed and tried enough to make even a successful implementation appear legitimate to large enough sectors of society. In the realm of curriculum, no counter-hegemonic practice yet exists.

Most teachers, meanwhile, had opinions on examinations which fell into categories two and three, moderate and enthusiastic support of examinations, including those with clear left wing political views. From the strongly approving category we have Peter Clarke and John Bennett, both members of the WRP. Peter Clarke made the following comments in interview:

P.C.: So you *do* think the examinations are useful?

Pe. Cl.: Well, firstly I think it's a basic right that people have access to an education. And secondly, I think that if people educate themselves, of course it's a benefit, just for their own character and personality.

P.C.: But I mean specifically the examinations.

Pe. Cl.: Oh, well you can have no schools and just let the kids wander around, or you can have good schools and the examination system, which might have faults.

Those in the strongly approving category tended to equate successful education with passing examinations. In the conversation partially quoted above Peter at first didn't distinguish the two concepts at all and then, when further pressed, made his equation explicit. Others in this category

argued, and the argument is not an invalid one, that examinations allow pupils from deprived areas to rise above the stigmas of their local schools by proving themselves on nationally competitive examinations. But the counter point made by teachers like Graz and Chris was that very few pupils in a school like Croxteth can actually pass examinations, most don't even try them and most who do try them do poorly on them. Meanwhile making examinations a goal of the school reinforced all the problems mentioned by Graz, creating sink classes and increasing disruption (see arguments in chapter six).

Most teachers were less quick to automatically associate 'good schooling' with work towards examinations, but most, like Peter, felt they were an important part of what schools do. They recognised the problems which streaming introduced into the school and they were aware of the fact that Croxteth pupils tended not to pass examinations, but the most frequent explanation offered for this was in terms of a believed discrepancy between the pupil's actual ability and their self-confidence and/or work habits. Many teachers saw the examination question in terms of 'potential' vs 'self-image', rather than in terms of cultural disjunctions between deprived communities and school culture (chapter five). 'There is a certain false mystique about these exams, most of these kids could pass them' was a comment made by John Bennett at one staff meeting, expressing a widely held view. Angela Cunningham, history teacher, gave a more elaborated version of it:

They've got the ability [to pass O level examinations], but they haven't got any of the kinds of attitudes to work with to get through. ... It's a long process getting your child to believe he can do it or that it matters.

Here the same ideological theme but in a new context is arising, 'reified knowledge'. Teachers tended on the whole to miss the connections which exist between knowledge and lived culture and the relationships between the form and content of school knowledge and its transmittability to children from various cultural groups. Teachers tended to think that the same knowledge in the same form and taught pretty much in the same way could be transmitted to children of any cultural group as long as the barriers of self-image and attitude were gotten through. This is a view of school knowledge which corresponds to the cultural deprivation theory in the sociology of education (chapter five). It isn't the form of school knowledge which is considered an independent variable, but the culture of the home and community. Examinations are intimately linked to this view of school knowledge. They test the same type of knowledge in the same way wherever they are used. These same teachers often made statements which indicated their belief that pupils are very poorly taught in most comprehensive schools and that teachers don't believe in them enough, don't give them enough attention and time, to get them through examinations.

Of course one might point out that mode three examinations allow for a great variety in what is tested and how the testing is done. This is true and mode three's could well be the compromise which would allow for forms of community education to exist, community education in the radical sense, alongside nationwide standard assessment. But mode three's were

never discussed during the Croxteth occupation. The volunteers were on the whole unfamiliar with them and the need for them, as the above paragraphs have argued, wasn't recognised.

With respect to purposes of education, teachers tended to stress employability, but unlike the community volunteers would often mention other purposes of education as well. As Peter Clarke's comments above indicate, he saw education as a way of developing personality and character. Many teachers also stated their belief that occupied Croxteth Comprehensive pupils were learning 'special' things just from the atmosphere and the unique situation of the school. These additional 'lessons' were never specified very clearly, and they weren't believed to be a part of any deliberate teaching practice, but they were believed to be present all the same and teachers often said that they were possibly more important than academic knowledge. Thus while holding to traditional curricular content, many teachers believed that an educational experience was being provided which was more important than the content of the actual teaching. This was often stated in order to justify continuing the school under its difficult conditions, conditions which possibly lowered the quality of classroom practice in the occupied school according to traditional criteria. Such statements were often accompanied with a criticism of 'what goes on in most schools anyway' and a questioning of the ultimate worth of an academic education. The fact that these beliefs somewhat contradicted the largely unquestioned acceptance of examinations and traditional syllabi was noted by some teachers, but usually in retrospect during interviews taken after the occupation had ended.

Also, were they getting a good academic education? I didn't personally think they would get a much better academic education in an ordinary comprehensive. Also they were picking up a lot of informal things. I'm not sure about academic education anyway; it doesn't make any difference because they wouldn't get a job anyway.

Barry Kushner, English and special projects teacher

P.C.: What about the educational standards here?

Ian: Well (pause), they're getting a minimal education of a formal sort, an academic sort obviously because of all the sorts of constraints. ... And if you said to me, 'what else matters in secondary education?', I'd have to say it's all the other things that happen in school, the, umm, activities, clubs, visits, and so on, although we have been making some ground there.

And what they *are* getting is again something which isn't normally tangible, which is just the stimulus of the people involved and the actual, (pause), Well there are, I wouldn't say 'political' (pause). The fact of working in a sort of heightened atmosphere, with the parents involved in an intense way which they normally wouldn't be.

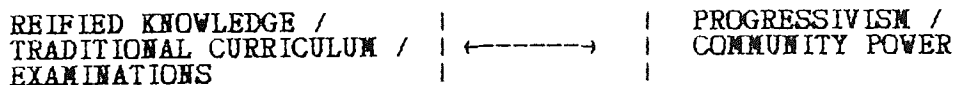
Ian Tulip, English teacher

Thus the teaching staff generated little internal ideologies, ways of justifying tensions they found between offering traditional curriculum and examinations and the unique situation of the occupied school (actual experiences of pupils in the school are discussed in chapter fourteen).

The realm in which teachers did attempt to introduce innovations in the school was that of authority relationships. This has been described in the previous chapter. The relevant ideological theme drawn upon here was 'progressivism' but progressivism largely limited to the form of authority relationships and not encompassing other features of schooling. Teachers introduced themselves to pupils with their first names, insisted that the cane be banned as a form of punishment, and did their best to give pupils formal power in school decision making through the establishment of a student council and 'form periods'. These efforts, we have seen in the last chapter, failed in the end. Classrooms were still arenas of conflict between teachers and pupils, to an extent which alarmed everyone and brought the criticism of the community volunteers and pupils upon the teachers.

To summarise this section, we have seen that teachers differed from the community activists in their advocacy of informal pupil-teacher relationships and were somewhat more critical of traditional methods of assessment and traditional curriculum than the former. But on the whole they subscribed to traditional educational practice, and had their own versions of an essentially reified school knowledge. They saw an important purpose of education to be making pupils employable but mentioned other, less tangible, purposes of education as well.

In looking at relationships between the practices, and between the conditions of practice, of the teachers, we find more relations of tension than of reinforcement. A traditional curriculum has been shown to be in tension with informal teacher-pupil relationships by other sociologists of education. Bernstein (1979), for example, predicts that strong classification accompanied by weak framing will produce a tendency to move towards strong framing. This did occur to a certain extent in the school with teachers increasingly making use of coercive sanctions to curb disruption (chapter ten), but this tension was resolved in more complex ways involving the intervention of local adults (chapter twelve). We note that the implementation of examinations and a traditional curriculum was largely due to constraints of time, materials and the lack of an alternative (a sort of a form of non-decision making - see chapter two), but was reinforced by the view of school knowledge held by teachers. This chain of reinforcing relationships between practices and ideological themes was in tension with the ideological theme of community power of the teachers:



V Virtual Conflicts and Possible Routes of Conflict Resolution

Table 11-6 contrasts teacher and community volunteers according to the conditions of action or ideological themes they tended to draw upon in expressing views on education and politics.

 Table 11-6: Ideological themes used by community and
 teacher volunteers concerning education and politics

	COMMUNITY VOLUNTEERS	TEACHERS
JUSTIFICATION OF INVOLVEMENT	Community deprivation implies demand for state provision (social wage)	Community deprivation implies demand for community control (community power)
ATTITUDES ON EDUCATION	Knowledge reified and basis for authority of educationalists. Examinations important	Knowledge reified but transmittable to any group (cultural deprivation). Examinations important and/or inevitable
	Schooling for discipline and control of pupils.	Informal teacher-pupil relationships desirable, (progressivism).
	Schooling for employability.	Schooling for employability and intangible goals.

This table does not list *reasons* for involvement because these either coincided with justifications, as in the case of many teachers, or remained primarily private and unarticulated as in the case of many community volunteers. In the latter case they will become important primarily in our discussions of the final term of the occupation - they did not lead to interpersonal conflicts during the first term.

Before proceeding with the discussion in this section it will be helpful to present another table (11-7) which lists conditions of action described in this chapter and compares them according to how 'embedded' they were, to what degree they entered the awareness of those who drew upon them.

In this final section conditions listed in tables 11-6 and 11-7 will be analysed for relationships with each other. This analysis was begun in earlier sections when relationships of reinforcement and tension were noted between some of these conditions. Here more such relationships will be elucidated after the concepts of reinforcement and tension themselves are further explained.

 Table 11-7: Conditions of action and their level of embeddedness

CONDITIONS OF ACTION	LEVEL OF EMBEDDEDNESS
Gender Relations	'Deep' for community volunteers; uncontested, and not in discursive formulation. Contested by female teachers.
Age Relations	'Deep' for community volunteers and teachers; uncontested and not in discursive formulation.
Traditional Curriculum/ Reified Knowledge / Examinations.	'Deep' for most community activists and teachers; uncontested and not in discursive formulation. Where articulated and contested by minority, no articulated alternative.
Schooling for Employability	'Deep' for both groups. Uncontested. No clear alternatives.
Schooling for Discipline/Control	'Deep' for community volunteers. Contested by teachers. Alternative formulated
'Progressivism' (informal teacher-pupil relationships)	Discursive and contested. Held by many teachers, opposed by many community activists.
'Community Power'	Discursive and contested. Held by teachers, opposed (see chapter thirteen) by many community activists.
'Social Wage'	Discursive and contested. Held by many community activists.

A) Virtual structures, systems of practice, and rationality:

In chapter three Anthony Giddens' distinction between 'system' and 'structure' was mentioned as useful for this study. 'System', it will be recalled, refers to patterns of routine action in space and time which can be empirically observed. Systems of action exist both within and between social sites (where 'site' refers, again, to both spacial and temporal boundaries). Within sites they attain stability through 'social integration', - relations of reciprocity between individuals established through negotiations made with respect to shared stocks of knowledge. Between sites a number of types of contingent system relationships operate through 'system integration', - relations of reciprocity between collectivities which are regulated in different ways according to the degree of conscious monitoring involved (Giddens 1979, pp 76-80).

Accompanying systems of action are 'virtual structures', patterns and relationships which exist *within* intersubjective stocks of knowledge. These are 'virtual' because they do not exist in space in time, they are implicated as entire structures in specific actions. Such structures closely accompany both system and social integration. In this chapter 'interpretative schemes' and 'ideological themes' have been identified which are features of virtual structures. The types of structural relationship identified in this chapter have been termed 'reinforcement' and 'tension'. To make clear what is meant by these terms it will be helpful to return to an example of a chain of reinforcing conditions presented in an earlier section, and make a thorough analysis of it.

To clarify what is meant by relationships of reinforcement and tension let us consider in detail one chain of reinforcing conditions presented in the last section, the chain of conditions which featured into most local activists' attitudes towards education. Recall that this is a chain of ideological themes which were inferred from accounts given by interviewees and observed incidents. The elements in the chain are thus subjective - clusters of assumptions and values tightly tied to identities which participants from Croxteth used in their accounting practices or which were clearly presupposed, though tacitly, in statements they made. These ideological themes were associated with routine practices in a tight manner, typical interactions between adults and youths, adults and teachers and, before the occupation, pupils and teachers.

Below the chain is presented once again and then divided into portions which were involved primarily in *social* integration and those involved primarily in *system* integration. In the case of the former, the conditions were linked subjectively through a paradigm in which terms logically presuppose each other. Social integration involves accounting practices and negotiations in which ideological themes like the ones in the chain below are continuously drawn upon discursively, and their subjective linkage is therefore tightened through the necessity of some consistency in accounting. For example, standard examinations and reified knowledge are paradigmatically linked: rational defence of standard examinations will usually make implicit use of a view of reified knowledge.

In the case of *system* integration, the conditions are subjectively linked through homology: similarity of form. System integration involves more than negotiation processes between individuals in the same social site - it involves the maintenance of relations of reciprocity between collectives. Thus the subjective links are not ones requiring accounting practices which must consistently negotiate between two or more terms in the chain. The links are there, but present according to the looser requirements of homology rather than paradigm. The view held by Croxteth residents that schooling purpose includes explicit impositions of discipline and control is similar in form to the view in Croxteth that adult-youth and parent-youth involve explicit forms of discipline and control. The forms are similar, but the terms do not presuppose each other.

Below, the relation of these paradigmatic and homologous linkages, in the case of both social and system integration, to systems of practice are noted. Here it is essential to note that, because empirically observable practices are referred to, rather than intersubjective stocks of knowledge, the linkages are purely contingent. There is no necessity in them, no linkage of paradigm or homology or logical relation. They are rather explicable through *coincidence alone, but it is a supported coincidence*. For example, most pupils in Croxteth don't do well on examinations because features of their community and home culture, - local ways of knowing and interpreting the world, - are in disjunction with school knowledge (see discussion in chapter five). This is a contingent feature of the relationships of practice we are discussing which is absolutely crucial to the way they work in Croxteth. Another contingent condition of absolute importance to understanding this system of practice is the conjunction of the style of adult-youth and parent-child relationships in Croxteth with the style of 'visible' (Bernstein 1977) teacher-pupil authority relationships which were traditional in Croxteth Comprehensive. Within the bounds of our study, these were both entirely contingent conditions which underlay the systems of practice we are outlining.

The chain and its breakdown is given below:

- 1) Ideological themes in reinforcing chain: reified knowledge, examinations, schooling for discipline and control, schooling for employability, adult-youth authority relationships in Croxteth, certain features of class relationships.
- 2) Features of chain pertaining to social integration:
 - a) reified knowledge / examinations
 - b) examinations / schooling for employability
 - c) reified knowledge / teacher authority
 - d) teacher authority / schooling for discipline and control

Subjective form of chain → paradigm: terms *presuppose* each other

Association of chain with practice →

Intended consequences:

social integration resulting in
control of pupils inside school,
success of some pupils in getting
qualifications/jobs.

Unintended consequences:

resistance of many pupils to school,
failure of many pupils on examinations,
subjective orientation of many pupils
as knowledgeable, as 'just ordinary'.

3) Features of chain pertaining to system integration:

a) Between sites bounded temporally by the extended present:
school authority (school) / adult-youth relationships in
Croxteth (home and community)

b) Between sites bounded temporally by the life cycle:
home and school of pupil / occupational future of pupil

Subjective form of chain → homology: similarities of form,
schooling as an authority relationship,
youth status as an authority
relationship, class position as an
authority relationship

Association of chain with practice →

Unintended consequences:

reproduction of class relations.

Now that we have considered in detail the sorts of relationships involved in what we have termed 'reinforcement' we will go on to consider what relationships of 'tension' between ideological themes means. Tensions between themes refer to two things: 1) expected conflicts in practices associated with one theme and those associated with another, and, 2) rationally irreconcilable features of two themes with respect to each other. Thus in the occupied buildings of Croxteth Comprehensive there were community activists who interpreted schooling in a way which made the discipline and control of pupils one of the purposes of education alongside a large number of teachers who valued informal teacher-pupil relationships. 'Progressivism' was in tension with 'discipline and control', and one could expect, simply by carrying out the sorts of interviews made in this study and the inferences to ideological themes we have conducted, that the practices of these two groups in the school would lead to disagreements and interpersonal disputes. This is the first sense of tension, illustrated by an example in which ideological themes were in an *acknowledged* tension because the ideological themes existed at relatively high levels of discursivity.

Other forms of this first sense of tension, however, are conceivable which would involve *low* levels of discursivity. The teachers in Croxteth Comprehensive, for example, held to a form of progressivism which was a feature of their discursive practice at the same time that they held to a reified view of knowledge which was never itself an object of discourse. These two ideological themes, moreover, were in tension, especially because of the chain of relationships in which reified knowledge existed. Reified knowledge supported schoolroom practices which entailed a relationship of authority between teacher and pupil contradicted by the ideological theme of progressivism. Teachers thus acted out one set of practices pertaining to the presentation of knowledge to pupils and the evaluation of their performance at the same time that they invited pupils to call them by their

first names, have say in classroom desk arrangements, and so on. The two sorts of practice did not work well together.

The second sense of tension has to do with accounting practices. Ideological themes are in tension if their rational presentation and defence are not logically in harmony. This sense focuses on rational incompatibility rather than conflicts of practice. Here it becomes clear why the term 'tension' rather than a stronger term like 'contradiction' has been chosen. Ideological themes often cannot be said to be in contradiction with each other because they are clusters of assumptions, norms and identities which *support* theories - they are not themselves systematised rationally and they may feature into competing theories. But themes may well be difficult to accommodate in the same theory. The social wage and the community power themes, for example, are difficult to fit together rationally because one suggests support for the customary client-administrator relationship of the welfare state while the other suggests the explicit challenge of this relationship. These themes are in tension. But it is possible to conceive of ways in which the two themes could be rationally reconciled: state funded provisions which involve a degree of grass roots control, for example.

An important part of the arguments in future chapters is that systems of practice, reinforcing chains of conditions of action, and tensions between conditions of action interconnect in fields of interaction. The theory of action used in this thesis conjoins subjectivity and activity partially through the claim that actions and reasons for actions go hand in hand. To understand activity one must understand, as a beginning, the reasons which actors themselves provide. These reasons, in turn, are discursively available features of interpretative schemes, - they exist in relationships with other conditions, such as the chains of reinforcement we have been describing, which are very often outside the discursive awareness of the actors. This is partially why actions produce consequences which are not intended by actors. In most situations people account, when necessary, for their behaviour by giving reasons at the very surface of structured conditions - 'virtual structures'. However, in situations of interpersonal conflict extra demands are made on accounting practice and conditions of action existing in normally unacknowledged relationships to one's reasons may be drawn upon in consequence, to justify practices which have become contested.

Here is where Jürgen Habermas's theory of rationality complements Anthony Giddens' theory of action. Accounting must conform to certain formal requirements if it is to be a genuine effort at winning the consent and understanding of others. Habermas lists three types of validity claim (see chapter four) which feature formally into any attempt to justify (win consensus rationally), and not simply legitimate (win consensus by any means), a practice: empirically referenced claims (that the goal intended by the action is attainable through the action), normative claims (that the action is morally correct), and claims of sincerity (that the overt intention of the action is in fact the intention of the actor). The validation of any practice is determinable only through its attainment of

the consensus of a social group discussing the account given of it, where this group is motivated only to understand and where power is distributed evenly amongst its members. Habermas believes that all accounts necessarily make such implicit claims.

Such formal requirements on accounting imply that in a situation of interpersonal conflict in which the participants attempt to resolve the conflict rationally rather than through the use of coercion or manipulation, the background conditions of the practices in dispute will become thematised: they will be drawn into discourse, made problematic, and discussed. This is Jürgen Habermas's contribution to our model. But background conditions exist in virtual structures, they are linked through paradigms and homologies to other conditions subjectively: this is our application of Anthony Giddens' work to the model, presented above. Thus interpersonal conflicts, where attempts are made to resolve them purely through discourse, could be expected to draw up structures of conditions for rational examination. And these subjective structures are usually linked to systems of practice extending beyond the particular practices which may have come up in dispute.

To make the significance of this point clear, let us take another example from this study of Croxteth. We will here consider only what is rationally *implicit* and possible in the situation rather than what actually happened - what happened is the subject of the next few chapters and it will be understood most clearly by considering what *could* have happened. Disputes between teachers and community activists over what form teacher-pupil relationships in the occupied school ought to take may be expected to begin initially over specific practices like whether or not teachers ought to use the cane, whether or not they should be called by their first names, and so on. But if those in dispute are in a situation facilitative of full rational discourse over the issue, other themes involved in the formation of authority relationships between teachers and pupils could be expected to be *rationally* drawn into the arguments. Community activists, for example, perceived the basis of teacher's authority to lie in their possession of school knowledge. This is what distinguishes a teacher from an ordinary adult and this is what constitutes the essence of the teacher-pupil relation within this view. Norms and identities first come into conflict: teachers aren't 'ordinary' and should control pupils. To explain *why*, it could be pointed out that for pupils to learn and for pupils to stay out of trouble they must be disciplined - this would be an empirically referenced claim. To explain why pupils need to learn it could be argued that pupils need to possess knowledge to pass examinations to get jobs. All of the these arguments draw from the same interpretative scheme.

To counter these arguments teachers could argue that teachers are not so distinguishable from other adults, that possession of school knowledge is not worthy of such differences of status. They could also argue that teachers should *not* be authoritative with pupils. This is a conflict of norms and identities, consistent with the interpretative scheme of the teachers. The overt and most discursive features of both schemes begin the conflict. But then teachers would have to either claim that non-

authoritative styles of teaching produce at least as much learning in pupils as authoritative methods or that learning itself needs to be conceived differently than passing examinations. Here the teachers would have to take steps away from other themes they held to at the same time as they held to certain features of progressivism, for as we have seen, the volunteer teachers in the campaign for Croxteth Comprehensive held to many of the same ideological themes pertaining to education as did the community activists: reified knowledge, examinations and schooling for employability among them. The empirically referenced claim, that informal teaching styles could work was clearly invalidated by events in the school (chapter ten) and teachers would thus be forced to either reject their progressivist ideals or start to rethink the nature of knowledge and the purposes of schooling.

It is ^{not} necessary to work out any other possibilities, the point to be made is that interpersonal conflicts originating over overt practices, and their associated discursive reasons, will of necessity draw tacit and unacknowledged conditions into discourse if these conflicts are to be resolved through discussion and debate. The formal requirements on communication make this inevitable. And bringing virtual structures into discourse also puts the systems of practice associated with them into question. But rational discussion is only one way of resolving conflicts, other possible routes to conflict resolution exist as well. Conflicts can be resolved through the use of coercion and manipulation, or through consensus which gives some individuals or groups more decision making power than others. Conflicts can also be resolved through toleration, itself drawing upon certain values and norms. Actual resolution is likely to involve a combination of rational discussion and these other means. A number of conditions can be expected to determine the routes taken: the organisation of the group of people involved in the conflicts is one: an organisation based on charismatic authority is not one likely to lead to much debate, an organisation based on consensus decision making is. The extent of articulation of the themes in conflict is another such condition: under-, or partially articulated themes in conflict can allow for resolution to take place in practice, through 'compromise routines', at the same time that verbal disputes take place.

Possible routes of conflict resolution will be listed at the very end of this chapter, and the actual conflicts which occurred in the occupied school of Croxteth will be described, traced through their resolution, and analysed in the next two chapters. But we have yet to fully clarify the chains of reinforcement and relations of tension of conditions in the field of interaction on which the volunteer teachers and activists from Croxteth ran their school. That will be done in the next subsection.

B) Other relations of tension and reinforcement

We can now specify further chains of reinforcement and relations of tension between the conditions brought to the school by the activists, though this will be done without the detail employed in the example chain

above. First of all, tables 11-6 and 11-7 indicate tensions between 'community power' and 'the social wage'. These two ideological themes have been presented all along in this chapter through contrasts with each other and one could expect that a rational development of either theme would come into conflict with the other. There is no *necessity* in this tension, it is not a 'contradiction' in the strict logical sense, for we are discussing clusters of norms and partial theories which could become reconciled logically in the specific situation of Croxteth. But our presentation of these two interpretative schemes has shown that they lay in an immediate conflict with each other, by suggesting actions which would have difficulty in co-existing, and suggesting directions of theoretical development which would be mutually exclusive. At this point it is appropriate simply to notice the tension between the two, to anticipate interpersonal conflicts resulting from this tension, and to wait for the next few chapters to see how these conflicts became resolved in the case of this study.

Secondly, we notice that in the realm of education there are three pairs of themes in tension. The first is reified knowledge and progressivism. Reified knowledge was, we've seen, a way of interpreting educational practice and goals held to by virtually all participants. It reinforced a set of practices, the implementation of a traditional curriculum and the examination system, which were also conditioned by constraints in the occupied school - the lack of time, personnel, materials and available, widely recognised, alternative procedures. Progressivism was also a theme which supported the adaptation of informal styles of teacher-pupil authority relationships initially by the teachers. It was in tension with reified knowledge because of the authority relationships which reified knowledge underlined in Croxteth and because a situation of weak framing and strong classification are usually in tension (we shall see how the presence of parents in the school altered this, however). The teachers, by simultaneously holding to a view of knowledge which placed it in their complete control in the classroom, and to an ideal of classroom relationships which supposedly devolved power (but actually can do so only if there is consensus over what the purposes of that classroom are), placed themselves into a situation likely to exacerbate teacher-pupil conflict rather than reduce it.

The second pair of educational ideologies in tension were the goal of discipline and control, which community volunteers ascribed to schooling, and the teachers' version of progressivism. This was a tension between teachers and community volunteers. The third pair is that of reified knowledge and community power, held to simultaneously by the teachers and underlying yet another situation of tension between the teachers and the community activists.

The third tension between educational themes existed because the view of knowledge as a reification possessed by some and not by others makes a class of people from outside the community in control of key decision making processes in the school, while the ideology of community power suggests the reverse: the community ought to take control of its institutions and participate in its key decisions. Thus the *identity* of the

teachers was ambiguous. When it came to discipline and control, responsibility was shifted to them by community volunteers at the same time that teachers expected it to be shared amongst all adults or, in especially difficult cases, referred to the homes of the relevant pupils. When it came to planning the school's future, community volunteers again attempted to defer to educationalists as we shall see. Teachers, for their part, made use of their possession of knowledge as a claim to authority over pupils in many situations (chapter twelve) and as a claim to decision making rights over certain realms of the school (chapter thirteen).

In addition to tensions, table 11-6 suggests a number of reinforcing relationships between themes; that is, one theme rationally implying or at least rationally coexisting with others. It is possible to identify four sets of reinforcing relationships from the terms in table 11-6. The first set is that between the political ideology of state provision and the view of school knowledge as reified. This relationship is reinforcing because state provision usually involves 'state providers', i.e. professionals who administer to clients. We have already argued that reified knowledge was seen as the basis of a similar relationship, the teacher-pupil and teacher-parent relationship, in Croxteth. The possession of school knowledge was the basis of the authority of the provider, the teacher. The second reinforcing set involves four terms: schooling for discipline and control, reified knowledge, examinations, and schooling for employability. Examinations both make school knowledge quantifiable (reified), hence marketable (employability) and simultaneously help to establish control over pupils by placing the teacher in the position of aiding or hindering the progress of the pupils (and thus their employability). This set of relations thus underlies the norms and the role definitions given to teacher and pupil. The third set is that between the political ideology of community power and the organisational principle of the teachers (participation and consensus decision making). This relationship is obviously reinforcing. The fourth and last set of reinforcing terms is that between reified school knowledge, discipline and control and age relations in Croxteth. The adult-youth authority relations in Croxteth reinforce teacher-pupil relations aimed at control for reasons discussed already. As we have seen, reified school knowledge in turn is reinforcing with teacher authority.

Table 11-8: Sets of tension and reinforcement

Sets of tension:

- 1) State provision ←---→ community power
Charismatic authority ←---→ community power
- 2) Traditional curriculum ←---→ informal authority relationships
Discipline and control ←---→ informal authority relationships
Reified school knowledge ←---→ community power

Sets of reinforcement:

- 1) State provision / reified school knowledge
- 2) Discipline and control / reified knowledge / examinations / employability
- 3) Community power / consensus decision making
- 4) Reified school knowledge / discipline and control / age relations

Some of the participants were aware of certain of these sets of tension and reinforcement. We have already quoted a long passage from Chris Hawes in which he mentioned a 'contradiction' between the form and content of education provided in the school and the political objectives of the campaign (chapter ten). Other teachers also described this tension. Barry Kushner, who explained his decision to volunteer in the school at least partially out of adherence to the ideology of community power, described his own feeling that what he was doing in the classroom was in contradiction to his ideals and refers to his inability to act otherwise in his teaching, no resources for alternative teaching being available to him:

There were times when I went through thinking whether what I was doing was worthwhile. To a certain extent I'm not happy with general regimes of schools and didn't know whether I was trying to do something which I didn't like. And you get involved with reinforcing things with which you don't necessarily agree. There were times when I felt like chucking it in, probably because I didn't know whether what I was teaching in class was any good.

However, in the situation in Croxteth, many of the validity claims implicitly made by individuals holding to different interpretative schemes were never drawn into discourse. Even more, many of the relationships between themes, which would have been brought into a discourse of participants considering any one theme if this discourse had been pursued some way along its logical course, were not drawn into discourse in the occupied school. This being the case, conflicts which existed between participants were allowed a number of courses of resolution.

- 1) If some of the conditions were in *discursive* conflict, their basis in conditions of action existing in tension could be openly and rationally discussed with the aim of resolving them at the level of discourse. This would require equal access to decision making power on the part of all participants in conflict and would lead to a progressive drawing out, into discourse, of the previously non-discursive conditions which were in relationship with the conditions in overt conflict.
- 2) If some of the conditions were in discursive conflict, one group could make use of *other* conditions to exclude the group it was in conflict with from legitimate decision making power. In this case non-articulated conditions in relationship to those in overt conflict might not be drawn into discourse at all, but be drawn nevertheless into some of the action, tacitly.
- 3) If the conditions in conflict never reached clear enough discursive formulation to allow competing groups to take positions with respect to them, the conflict could be resolved through the establishment of routines which drew from *both* sets of conditions. These routines might not appear satisfying to any of the actors involved in the conflict but would resolve the situation nevertheless through the establishment of stable routines, coordinated action. Conflicts would be expected to continue in discourse, but since discourse is not clearly formulated enough for positions to be taken, the question of formal access to decision making power wouldn't be at issue. The conditions which were unarticulated but in relationship to those in conflict would be expected to contribute to the outcome of the conflicts in practice without being drawn into discourse. The resolution in practice could in principle also correspond to a rational but unarticulated resolution of the conditions of action, if tacit schemes shifted to match the new routines. This would result in a decrease in the verbal conflicts carried out 'over' the development of stable 'compromise' routines.

The actual conflicts which arose in the school in relation to the conditions in conflict identified above and the ways in which they were resolved are the subject of the next two chapters.

Chapter Twelve
A DUAL SYSTEM OF AUTHORITY

This chapter begins our examination of actual conflicts which occurred between participants in the campaign, based on the tensions between conditions of action described in the last chapter, and how they were resolved. This chapter discusses only the conflicts between teachers and community activists which occurred over the form which schooling took in the occupied buildings. There are several characteristics of these conflicts which should be clarified at the outset. They were, first of all, conflicts over what form the social routines in the school *ought* to take, when these routines were already in the process of forming. The principle conflict which will be considered in this section was over the nature of teacher-pupil authority relationships. Since teacher-pupil relationships began to be established as soon as teachers and pupils met together, discursive conflicts over the form they took was very much a retrospective affair - either taking the form of justifying what routines had already been established or the form of urging a change in what had already been established. These conflicts were, secondly, not clearly formulated into positions about which opposing camps could form. They were discussed frequently, but they did not polarise into positions approximating mutual exclusion, as did the competing proposals on campaign strategy (chapter thirteen). Aside from the issue of the cane, and the use of first names with teachers, they involved issues which could not easily be formulated discursively.

I The 'Proper' Teacher

The major conflict which arose between teachers and community volunteers was over the 'proper' role of the teacher. In the last chapter we argued that community volunteers on the whole had two attitudes towards education which effected their expectations of teachers: teachers were seen as in possession of a body of knowledge which community volunteers didn't have, and teachers were authority figures expected to discipline and control pupils. These two attitudes featured into the interpretative schemes employed by these activists. The community volunteers did not question teachers on their grasp of school knowledge. It is therefore not surprising that community volunteers didn't question the authority of teachers in formulating the curriculum, pedagogic practice and basic purposes of the school with respect to education. The community volunteers did not feel competent on questions of education and frequently expressed their desire, their need, in fact, to leave all such matters entirely to the teachers.

This early attitude of the community volunteers to the teachers was part of their own experience and perception of schooling as something administered by others, even 'class others', outsiders different from themselves. The bulk of the teacher volunteers, who had not had previous experience in schools and who thus had not come to take such unquestioning deference for granted, - a part of the teacher role they were to play, - found such deference surprising and noted its naivety:

I mean I can go into a French lesson, uh, something that is supposed to be a French class, and French is one subject I'm not really prepared to teach, ..., and as soon as I go into

that lesson I'm announced as 'Tony who is going to teach you French' - you know, the assumption is that I can teach French and anything else, that they can't and I can. You know they'd be quite happy, as long as the kids are being taught, they will assume that they're being taught well, to the kids benefit, when in fact it is very much a fill-in.

Tony Gannon, geography teacher

From the side of the community volunteers we can refer back to the passage quoted from George Knibb in the last chapter: 'So actually criticising educational standards, I couldn't do it. And I don't think there's anyone else in the school that can, on the Action Committee ... I don't think we have the authority to'.

It was the second attitude of the local volunteers which led to conflict. The expectation that teachers ought to control and discipline pupils was in tension with the belief of many teachers that warm and informal relationships with pupils were desirable. It was also in tension with the actual fact that many of the volunteers were inexperienced as teachers and couldn't keep control by any method, warm or otherwise. The terms of the conflict can be broken down in the following way. Two *norms* were in conflict: the norm held by the volunteers from the estate that pupils ought to respect teachers and that teachers ought to earn this respect by establishing control over pupils, and the norm held by the teachers that pupils ought not to be subjected to arbitrary authority or coerced in any way. Underlying these norms were goal-rational positions in conflict (or ultimately empirically referenced validity claims): the claim held by local activists that authoritative styles of discipline were necessary to maintain control of pupils and were ultimately to the pupils' benefit, and the claim held by many teachers that authoritative styles of discipline had adverse effects on pupils. Finally, *identities* were involved in the conflict. Adults from Croxteth perceived themselves as being essentially *not* teachers and had role expectations of teachers which they expected to be fulfilled. The teaching staff tended to have self images of a 'liberal' sort: a kind, warm, and understanding adult acting to benefit pupils rather than rule them. Thus the interpretative schemes of teachers were at odds with those of the local adults. They were also at odds with those of the pupils:

There was a complete clash really with mainly middle class teachers coming in with certain views of how if it were an independent school, different methods of education could be carried out. For instance, right at the beginning it was decided there wouldn't be caning. But we had no tradition to draw upon. We were trying to devise completely different social norms which the kids weren't used to.

Graz Monvid

We have already made clear some of the relationships in which the interpretative schemes of the community volunteers on teacher authority existed. They existed within a 'chain' of reinforcing conditions. Let's now review and further illustrate these relationships:

- 1) There was a relationship between domination based on age differentiation in the local culture and the authority of the school

expressed most directly through teacher-pupil relationships. The experience of being a school leaver had confirmed the authority which the school had claimed over them when themselves pupils. Being a school leaver had been accompanied by an acceptance of the terms of schooling: the local volunteers had accepted the belief that a school leaver was not qualified to make judgements on school practice. This belief was assimilated through growth into adulthood. Taking on the role of an adult in Croxteth entailed, among other things, an interpretation of their previous dislike of, and in many cases resistance to, schooling and school authority. These were now seen as understandable aspects of their youth, a stage in the life cycle which they'd grown beyond.

Additionally, there was an actual desire, on the part of parents, for school authority to reinforce their own efforts to control youth - control their children. And the form which that control was expected to take was a form corresponding in its style to the form of adult - youth authority relations on the estate.

- 2) There was also the view on the part of the community volunteers that the school, though occupied, was not entirely theirs. They felt that the primary responsibility for keeping discipline *in the school* rested with the teachers, not with themselves. Here the ubiquitous part played by geography in serving as symbolic settings and thereby as locations of particular conditions of action, can again be seen. The school itself symbolised an authority position which only teachers, not local residents, could embody. Many incidents recorded in the field notebooks throughout the entire year of the occupation illustrate this. Here are two recorded in the field notebooks during the first term, one illustrating the deferment of discipline problems to teachers (which happened particularly often during the first term) and one illustrating the role which teachers were expected to play:

Phil Knibb caught two pupils starting a fire in the school one day in November. He immediately brought the matter to the teachers, insisting that one of them, instead of a member of the Action Committee, discipline them for it.

One day in December I walked into the office and noticed a lot of loud talking and noise in the room as I opened the door. As the door opened completely and my presence was noticed the talking stopped. The room was filled with many helpers and Action Committee members. Two third year boys were standing by the desk next to two community volunteers who seemed to have just dragged them in. They'd obviously just been getting a scolding for something they'd done. The talking stopped and eyes seemed to be moving from me to the two boys and back. 'Do you know what these two have just done!' said the volunteer standing next to the pupils. The whole scene seemed staged, the boys even cast their eyes downwards, waiting for the truth to be told. It was obvious what role was expected of me, I was to hear of the deed and administer the ultimate judgement. I wasn't comfortable with the role, here was a whole room full of adults like myself, why couldn't they take an equal part in the judgement? But I was the teacher, in fact the teacher coordinator, the nearest thing to a headmaster at the time. I turned to

look at the boys and asked sternly 'Well then, what have you done?'. ... (Incidents of this kind were almost a daily occurrence for many teachers).

- 3) Thus a reinforcing relationship between school authority and adult/youth relationships in the community existed which effectively supported class divisions. The disjunction between school and local cultures, between school knowledge and the knowledge used by activists in their everyday lives, was interpreted and drawn upon in a way which represented class relationships in society. Teachers were outsiders both literally and subjectively. They came from outside the estate, from a different cultural world, and they weren't 'just ordinary' as were people from the estate. Their status as outsiders contributed to their status as teachers. Angela Cunningham, history teacher, commented:

The parents here think of teachers as a caste and a class apart from them, and have greater respect, in a sense, for teachers than perhaps did the parents of the kids I was teaching last year [a private boarding school]. I feel that a lot of what the parents expect is rooted in this assumption of difference, that teachers should behave differently from other people.

Chapter ten described the growing criticism of community volunteers over the way in which children were being handled by teachers. Many at first believed that it was a mistake not to use physical punishments like the cane and blamed the discipline problems on this. Cyril D'Arcy, for example, once commented: 'I don't see why the cane isn't used. I found a kid vandalising a door and I cuffed him around the ears. It worked, and the kids don't think anything of it. *Something* has to be done!'. An incident in which a teacher was scolded by a parent for not hitting his daughter after the teacher complained of the latter's classroom behaviour has already been mentioned (chapter seven). This was not uncommon. Peter Clarke, for example, once complained to Phil Knibb during class hours of the behaviour of one of his pupils. Phil went to the kitchen and told the mother of this pupil that a teacher was complaining about her son's behaviour. The mother promptly left the kitchen, entered the classroom, and cuffed her son several times in front of all present. This upset Peter greatly and he never complained again.

Many local activists also stressed the need for teachers to maintain traditional indicators of superior status with proper dress and with the insistence that pupils address teachers with 'Sir' or 'Miss'. The teachers, on their side, invited the pupils to call them by their first names, a fatal error in the eyes of a majority of the local people:

I don't think it's strict enough, me. But that's because you all started off with this, without the 'Sirs' and the 'Misters' and that was it. So the kids just think we're just pals aren't we? I suppose it was a good thing in one way, but then you've got to have discipline with kids.

Mary Kane

The following quotation illustrates the concern of Croxteth activists with both the use of physical sanctions and the formal indicators of teacher authority such as dress and the use of 'Sir':

I think the worse thing that happened was when they came back on the 22nd of September and it was announced that there would be no cane. The kids sort of thought that 'no cane, well then they can't hit us'. But some of them thought 'Well they can't hit us anyway because they're only parents and, you know, teachers that are unemployed. They can't hit us anyway'. And they thought, you know, this is going to be great and we can get away with murder. ... I don't think detention was enough for some of them, the bad ones, the really bad pupils, and I reckon they should have stayed with calling teachers 'Sir' and 'Miss'.

Kathy Donovan

Criticism from the helpers and Action Committee caused resentment in many teachers. Chris Hawes called the expectations of the local activists 'cruel'. A few other remarks by teachers will further illustrate teacher feelings on the matter, the second remark indicating something like a dilemma in the situation:

I think they are bloody cheeky! They don't appreciate what they've got! (Yola)

We had parents in the classrooms or helpers who'd be screaming at the kids and dragging them out by the hair, thinking they were helping! But in fact they were helping. In fact I can remember fleeing from a class when my helper didn't turn up. They thought I could control the class and didn't need a helper. I thought it was deliberate sabotage at the time. There were real problems. (Graz)

Yet the community volunteers, much as the pupils, also frequently praised the warmth of the relationships between teachers and pupils. Many pupils often stated they liked these teachers better, as 4th year Steven put it: 'Some of them care about you, a lot of them do!'. None of those interviewed seemed to see any contradiction between their appreciation of the warm relations and their criticism of the poor discipline:

Ned (helper): The discipline is bad. It should be stricter.

P.C.: Well is there anything about the school, as it is now, that you'd like to see carried on next year?

Ned: Yes I would. I'd like to see the freedom continue. ... Now it's very free. Although I'd like to see a bit more discipline in the school.

P.C.: What is that freedom?

Ned: I think the lack of discipline gives the children that freedom. ... I think that the way the teachers are getting on with the pupils, that's making it very free.

II) The Development of a Dual System of Authority:

During the first term an informal, dual, authority system took shape in the school. Parents constantly disciplined pupils by giving them a good scolding, often mixed with threats of physical punishment. But usually this sort of discipline was carried out with the assumed authority of the teachers in the background. The most common way the community volunteers

disciplined pupils was to scold them severely (a 'good rollicking' as Mick Checkland expressed it) and then take them over to a teacher for the 'real' punishment.

The irony in this situation was that it was the methods used by the local activists, not the teachers, which seemed most effective in keeping control. The pupils clearly recognised this fact: 'Without the parents this school would be torn apart' one of them said (and see chapter ten). But the community volunteers, despite their awareness of their superior abilities, would consistently refer back to the authority of the teachers when carrying out their own castigations of pupils. Local activists used adult-youth forms of authority from their culture, not just to discipline pupils, but to try to force pupils to defer to *school* authority. 'That's no way to talk to your teacher!' could often be heard during a scolding session. 'I'm going to take you to see your teacher!' and so on.

But this usage of adult-youth authority relations to bolster traditional relations of school authority didn't always work so directly. There are several incidents recorded in the field notebooks in which community volunteers administered their own punishments pupils which were effective because they agreed *not* to tell any of the teachers about it. During the first half term, for example, some pupils broke into the chemistry room and stole a number of laboratory materials. It was discovered by two community volunteers who the thieves were and steps were taken by these two to get the items back and admonish the offenders. Yet, at a joint teacher-staff meeting held after the incident, these two helpers refused to reveal the names of those who had been involved. 'We can't break confidence', one explained. This was crucial to the form of discipline these community volunteers could hold over the pupils within the school. They would have been seen as 'grassing' if they'd given the names. 'Grassing' is something which has meaning only in a 'them-us' situation. The pupils saw the teachers as 'them' and the community volunteers, or at least some of them, as part of 'us', even though they were still seen as adults in opposition to their own status as youth.

A similar incident occurred when George Knibb confronted a class in which one pupil had stolen some money from a teacher's handbag. George promised he wouldn't tell the teacher or any teacher who'd done the deed if the money was given back and the culprit confessed. This done, George took his own measures to punish the offender (he talked to the pupil's parents who imposed a week's curfew on the child) and the whole act was seen as legitimate in the pupil's eyes.

What is noteworthy about these incidents is that, first of all, pupils were more successfully disciplined by community volunteers when it came to face to face confrontations. This was a fact acknowledged by all, they had more fear, if you like, of the adults from their own community than from the inexperienced volunteers from outside of it. Yet, secondly, the *form* in which many of these more feared confrontations took place referred back to what was really a symbolic, and greater, authority which was not the teachers, but what the teachers represented: school authority. Pupils

responded well to promises not to break confidence, because their misbehaviour was often a resistance to the symbolic authority of the school. Not breaking confidence meant that the resistance had still in some ways succeeded, and the pupils could feel, even when punished by a community volunteer, that they and the community volunteer were in some ways on the same side. Yet order was maintained in this way, disruptions were controlled and thus school authority prevailed under the prop of adult-youth authority relations drawn from the culture of Croxteth.

As time went on during the occupation, certain figures from the Croxteth community took on more visible roles as disciplinarians in the school. George Knibb in particular began to handle many of the discipline problems which came up. He stood in the corridors every day to make sure pupils went to their classes between periods, and he was approached by many of the pupils themselves over disciplinary matters. George began to think of himself, only partially in jest, as 'headmaster'. He was very confident that he could handle the kids better than any other adult in the school, including the various figures on the staff who temporarily occupied highly visible positions such as myself, and including his brother Phil. Yet he still held himself below the status of a teacher, a proper teacher, even if he believed that no teacher in the school was really competent to fill that status either. The following lengthy quotation illustrates both his self confidence in matters of discipline and his simultaneous insistence that he was not a teacher but was rather 'just ordinary'. The passage also further illustrates the style of adult-youth authority relations in Croxteth, its physically aggressive referents which served more to win the consensus of pupils than to frighten them:

... and eventually I took over as, umm (laughs), what can I say? I think it's come to it now. I'm not trying to blow me own trumpet or nothing like that, but I can do more with kids than our Phil and they respect that. Not that they think that, how can I say? Not that they are frightened of me, 'cause I don't take that attitude with the, I try to talk to kids as they talk to themselves. I mean, in words that they use like, if they want someone to go away, they'll say 'Do one!', you know, or 'Turn it in!'. I mean if they think somebody's snitched on them, they'll say 'He's a grass', you know. So if you talk to kids in their language, you get more response out of them. I'm not saying that's the right language to talk to them in, but I mean just for the time being if a certain situation explodes and it needs quieting down there and then. If you walk into a class and say, 'Now look kids!', like a lot of teachers do in this school, and it's not the teacher's fault, the teacher's don't come from this area so they don't know the kids' language. Like you are from America, if a kid said 'Do one!' you'd be standing there, you know, 'What did he want from me?' (laughs). Umm, but I think to defuse an explosive situation like that you've got to go in, you've got to shout at them and you've got to say 'Here, go do one right now out here!'.

And you've got to bring them down in the class and let the class see that you can stop any of them, no matter if it's a 16 year old who is 6ft 6 which we've got in this school, who's twice as big as me. But I'll walk up to him and I'll tell him, you know, that if he wants to walk outside I'll go outside and I'll knock his head off. But I would never hit a kid, but they think I would. And then when you get hold of them and you sort the situation out and start talking to them, then, you find out you've got their respect. 'Cause I think I know why I've got the respect of the kids, ... I mean, I won't allow them to call me 'sir', I mean I won't allow them to because I'm just an ordinary, well, local

person myself. So, if I go walking around the streets of Croxteth ... and I hear kids call, 'Hello sir', you know though the people I'm with know I'm doing a decent job in the school, but you know I make sure they call me George.

This passage refers to a complexity of things, three of which particularly stand out. It begins with George's emphasis on the importance of knowing the kids' language - winning authority over them through their own cultural terms. But as George himself says a little later, these terms are not simply of the youth culture, they are of the culture of Croxteth generally, and the confrontative style in which George uses them is not a style limited to the youth culture, it is a style which we have already described as characteristic of Croxteth adult-youth relations and partially of Croxteth adult-adult relations generally. George next describes the confrontative style: his skill at communicating a readiness to come to physical confrontation if necessary. George, it must be kept in mind, was better than most community volunteers at disciplining pupils and part of the reason was his ability to combine features of the youth culture with features of Croxteth adult-youth authority relations in a skillful way. Finally George says he refuses to allow pupils to call him 'sir' and stresses that this is one of the main ways in which he has won the respect of the pupils. George was drawing upon the *identity* which was most acceptable, according to his interpretative scheme, for him. He avoided putting himself into a position of directly representing school authority, and thus he was perceived as united with the pupils in some ways against that authority, against it in the sense of being on the same side with respect to it, though he uses his authority to support and defer to it. George also sees himself in this way, as just 'ordinary', and he feels he earns respect by openly acknowledging that he is just ordinary. He insists that pupils call him 'George' rather than Mr Knibb (and many community volunteers similarly were called by their first names by pupils, and were called by diminutive forms of their first names by other members of the community - 'Georgie'), again allowing pupils to see him as one of them with respect to school authority. The roles and standards of behaviour prescribed by the culture of Croxteth to differentiate between adult and youth were less of a division than those indicated by the expected behaviour of teachers and pupils.

George's practice of not allowing children to call him 'sir' or to consider him a real representative of school authority was widespread in the school. Many other volunteers from Croxteth took on activities within the school which overlapped with activities expected of teachers, and they also insisted that pupils refrain using the linguistic forms which would have ascribed school authority to them. Kathy Donovan, to take one more example, taught art and sewing during the year. She made the following remark in interview:

P.C.: What about calling teachers by their first names, do you think that is O.K.?

Kathy: I don't know, when I first heard of it I didn't think it was, you know, I didn't like it. ... I reckon they should have stayed with calling teachers 'sir' and 'miss' except for those of us who aren't teachers, like myself. Like when they

was going 'miss' (to me), I was going 'No, no!', all this!!'
(laughing).

Although the community volunteers were for the most part critical of the teachers in the school when it came to questions of discipline, then, they held the *position* of teacher in esteem, didn't feel it was a position they themselves could even in limited senses occupy, and used their authority over the pupils to try to get pupils to hold it in esteem too. The message to pupils was clearly that a feature of adulthood, of maturity, was to respect school authority. And yet a second message often accompanied this in specific interactions: that many Croxteth adults in the school understood their desire to resist school authority and that they could trust these adults not to 'grass' on them if they submitted to adult, rather than school, authority, which was often more acceptable to them as pupils. Teachers were expected to be authoritative with pupils, or at the very least to have control over them one way or another. But successfully controlling pupils was not seen as the essence of being a teacher; it was the teacher's possession of school knowledge which was seen as the ultimate basis of teacher's authority, the ultimate criteria by which the teachers and the 'ordinary' were distinguished. And, to point it out once more, those who had this knowledge were outsiders, territorial and class others. A coincidence of terms existed to reinforce one relation of domination between working class residents of Croxteth and middle class teachers.

III) Reconstituting Conditions of Action

In terms of the conditions of action we have been considering, verbal conflicts between teachers and community volunteers frequently expressed the following tension:

Tension between under-articulated conditions of action:

SCHOOLING FOR DISCIPLINE AND CONTROL ←→ PROGRESSIVISM

and we've argued that norms, identities and implicit empirical claims were involved in this tension.

The use of 'progressivism' as one of these terms means only part of what the term usually conveys, it was the features of progressivism pertaining to authority relationships which teachers often drew upon in defending themselves against criticism and in formulating specific school policy; principally the decision to ban canning. Progressivism places a value on informal, non-authoritative interpersonal relationships between teachers and pupils. But these ideological themes in tension were never highly formulated discursively. They featured into debate and discussion, but they were never formulated as consistent positions, with clear arguments to support them, and placed in acknowledged conflict with each other. Most teachers expressed confusion in the situation. They didn't like the highly authoritative relationships between pupils and adults which appeared to be coercive to them but they respected the ability of the

Croxteth activists to keep pupils in control at the same time, and they found it difficult to justify their own position when their methods failed to maintain a level of control considered adequate even by themselves. The empirical claim implicit in this position, that informal authority relationships can *work*, was not proving itself in practice. Moreover, aside from keeping the ban on the cane and the use of first names with teachers, many teachers did move in the direction of coercive sanctions. The pressure exerted by the pupils, primarily, forced many to attempt to take on sterner identities than those which seemed natural to them. The use of a loud voice, the threat of detention, suspension and expulsion, the establishment of what was called the school's 'sin bin', or discipline room, to which misbehaving pupils were sent during the day and so on, were all forms of non-progressive sanctions which the teachers adopted, though usually with regret.

When discussing the situation, a number of teachers referred to the use of a traditional curriculum in the school as being responsible for the disruptions and the failure of informal authority relationships. In doing so, they put their finger on one of the relations of tension we have been discussing:

You can't expect kids to just sit down when you haven't got a programme of work for them, where there is nothing interesting, where it's totally boring. They had been kept down with the cane before. But without the use of the cane, the sort of education they'd been given wouldn't have worked, it was so inappropriate to their needs.

Graz

Yet for the most part, this relationship between authority, curriculum and resistance was very under-articulated. For one thing, the majority of teachers did not seem to acknowledge it. For another, those like Graz who did acknowledge it missed the relation of the traditional style of authority relationships in the school to styles of authority in Croxteth culture. It has been argued already that the cane didn't so much 'keep pupils down' as symbolise a style of authority relationship which pupils, even when resisting it, saw as legitimate and thus as commanding various forms of consent. It was an expected tool to be employed in the negotiation process. Thirdly, the comments of Graz about curriculum were limited to terms which contrasted 'interesting' lessons with boring ones, 'relevant' knowledge with 'irrelevant' ones. Certainly these contrasts are to the point, but only exist on the surface. The view of school knowledge as a reified possession and the link between this and teacher authority was not discursively formulated. It isn't sufficient for a lesson to be interesting, it would have to involve pupils in the production of its knowledge in order to begin to alter the relations of domination implicit in teacher-pupil relations and the relations of domination which extend beyond this single relationship (Willis 1977). During the second term of school, for example (see chapter fourteen), interesting lessons were devised for the 4Bs, one of the most notorious of the sink classes. Pupils enjoyed these lessons but continued to feel 'second class' in relation to the examination class, the 4As. Reified knowledge still set the values for the whole school, especially through the adoption of the examination system, to which classroom

practices constantly referred for their meaning. The 4Bs eventually went ahead and destroyed their form room in an act of defiance. Lastly, an alternative to the traditional curriculum, as argued before, was not available to these teachers in clear theory, materials or precedents of practice. The progressive ideals of the teachers were not clearly articulated. They existed primarily in the form of norms and identities which weren't rationally linked in discussion to actual practice or to the many issues to which they were related. Similarly, the traditional ideals of the community volunteers were not articulated beyond the norm that school authority must be respected by pupils and imposed by teachers. Identities were assumed, roles simply expected, and the validity claims pertaining to them did not enter discourse.

Hence the resolution of these conflicts took place, not through the exclusion of any group from decision making power, nor certainly through the adaptation of specific policies agreed upon in open debate, but rather through the formation of routines in the school 'underneath', and almost in spite of, the discursive conflicts which continued for the entire year.

A 'dual' system thus emerged, unplanned and not clearly recognised by anyone. It was a dual system in a dual sense. It juxtaposed traditional school authority with local cultural forms of establishing authority in a way which bolstered the former through the use of the latter (sense one), and it resulted in a harmonious pattern in which the way community volunteers took on relations with pupils and the way teacher volunteers took on relations with pupils supported each other in the creation of routines (sense two). Pupils had become involved in two forms of authority relationships which they played off on each other to a certain extent, but which curbed their disruptions. A feature of the stability which resulted was continuous argument and conflicts between adults and pupils in the school throughout the year, and worries about discipline which never ceased. But it would be wrong to subscribe to the metaphors often used by adults in the school to describe the situation, the metaphor of a dam about to burst, of a battle field, of a barely imposed and always threatened order upon chaos. The routines were stable ones even though few people were satisfied with them. Pupil-teacher relations were often warm and liked by both teachers and pupils, but failed to get as much 'work' out of the pupils as the teachers desired. Community volunteers found themselves intervening in the activities of the school more often than they thought proper, and everyone seemed to think that daily classroom disruption was at an unacceptable level, pupils as well as adults. Yet the social relationships had taken on routine forms, just the same, 'compromise routines' if you like, resolving in practice conflicts which were inherent in the situation. The interpretative schemes drawn upon by participants continued to be in *rational* conflict, but the practices drawing upon these schemes attained stability.

The relevant sets of reinforcement have already been mentioned but will be briefly restated here. School as an agency of control was reinforced by reified school knowledge: the former condition existing at what we would call an under articulated level of discursivity and the latter

existing at a barely acknowledged level. This set was further reinforced by age divisions in Croxteth (and, to make this analysis itself less reified, other features of local culture upon which local adults could exercise authority over pupils - such as familiarity with the youth culture in the case of George Knibb). The existence of this underlying pattern of conditions in relationship with each other was only barely acknowledged by some of the participants.

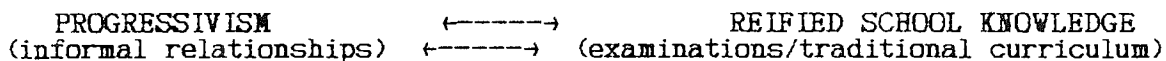
Reinforcements between partially articulated and unarticulated conditions of action:

CULTURAL DIVISIONS BASED ON AGE / SCHOOL AUTHORITY / REIFIED KNOWLEDGE / SCHOOLING FOR CONTROL

This chain of reinforcements not only conditioned the action but was reproduced by the action as well. In the occupied school, new social routines formed in what we described as a dual system of authority. But these new routines did not change the basic relationships between the school and the community. The systematic relationships between adult-youth authority and school authority remained during the first term of the occupation and only became subject to the critical awareness of the community activists towards the third term (chapter fourteen). They were never changed in practice.

Lastly, the resolution of these conflicts was also conditioned by underlying *tensions* which were not articulated. The principle one to note is the tension between progressivism (used only with respect to teacher-pupil relations) and the content of what was being taught in the school, i.e. the weak framing of authority and the strong classification of knowledge. These tensions were resolved primarily through the intervention of the community volunteers in the particular way we have noted, but also through the movement of teachers away from weak framing.

Tensions between partially articulated and unarticulated conditions:



Chapter Thirteen
THE COMMUNITY OR THE LABOUR PARTY?

I Introduction

The chronological account of the occupation of Croxteth Comprehensive was left at the end of chapter ten with the description of a new crisis facing the campaign. Volunteers had encountered so many problems with running the school during the first half term that members of the Action Committee were beginning to doubt whether or not classes should be continued. A series of post-mortem meetings were planned for the half-term break to try to come to grips with disorganisation in the school. This chapter continues the chronological account from the first half-term through the first weeks of the second term: mid October 1982 to mid January 1983.

The account in this chapter gives special attention to conflicts between groups of participants/^{WHICH} took place over the direction the campaign for Croxteth Comprehensive was to take. Two competing groups formed with distinct positions during the second half-term, one which advocated a strategy for expanding the campaign further into the Croxteth community and an other which advocated a closer identification of the campaign with the goals of the local and national Labour Party. Unlike the conflicts which took place over the form of pedagogy provided in the school, competing positions over strategy were necessarily more discursively formulated. This is because of the nature of strategy itself, where a certain amount of rational thought precedes a series of distinctive, non-routine, actions. The formation of social routines in the school, as described in the last chapter, necessarily involved a retrospective, rather than a prior, relationship of thought and discourse to activity. The development of campaign strategy was just the reverse.

Thus it is not surprising that in the case of campaign strategy, conflict manifested discursively in a way which allowed distinct camps to form, in this case the two positions mentioned above. Because the competing positions were clearly articulated, the resolution of conflict had to involve questions of formal organisation and access to the decision making process. The competing groups were roughly made up of teachers taking the pro-community position, on the one hand, and local activists, especially the Action Committee leadership, taking the pro-Labour Party position, on the other. But this was not entirely so; several Action Committee members took positions similar to that of the majority of teachers, and a number of activists didn't align themselves with either or any position. Since there were important differences between the organisation of the teachers and that of the community activists, and since there was definitely an asymmetrical distribution of power amongst especially the latter (chapter eleven), it was not likely that conflicts over campaign goals and strategy would be resolved through processes of debate and consensus. It was more likely, given the 'field of interaction' as we've described it, for the conflicts to be resolved instead through the exclusion of one competing group by the other from access to legitimate decision making. This is exactly what occurred, as this chapter will show. The way in which exclusion was achieved, moreover, involved the use of

conditions of action other than the ideological themes in overt conflict. There was both overt and covert use of many other ideological themes underlying the exclusion of one camp from power.

This chapter is a diachronic, rather than a synchronic, study - even more so than the last chapter was. It presents the development of interpersonal conflicts in the school through a chronological account, and it keeps the reader informed of other activities and events which took place during the period of time under consideration. Thus it is a continuation of the history of the campaign for Croxteth Comprehensive at the same time as it presents a detailed analysis of the formation of campaign strategy.

II The Beginnings of Polarisation

Two 'post-mortem' meetings were held on the 26th of October, one for the teaching staff and one for the Action Committee. On the next day, the 27th, a joint teacher-Action Committee meeting was held to compare and coordinate the decisions reached by both groups. The teachers were unanimous in their desire to continue running the school, especially after an initial discussion of the political significance of the occupation. Most present believed that the struggle was too important to allow to fail. The teachers organised a new time table at the meeting, planned consistent syllabuses, and established clear 'departments' in mathematics, English, and all other subjects. The Action Committee, at its meeting in the evening, accepted the teachers' conviction that the school could be adequately run and also determined to continue with the occupation.

The teachers' meeting also brought up the issue of campaign strategy. At this time the campaign for Croxteth Comprehensive was aimed at getting another proposal through the city council to re-establish a school in Croxteth; the presentation of the proposal to city council was expected for late November or early December. But there were good reasons to doubt whether this strategy would be successful. The proposal to establish a new school in the buildings of Croxteth Comprehensive which was passed in the previous March (chapter nine) had required the support of the Conservative Party, but this party strongly opposed the illegal occupation of school buildings and was not likely to support a second proposal. Even if a proposal could pass the council, moreover, it was more than likely that it would be blocked again by Sir Keith Joseph.

Teachers made alternative suggestions about the course which the campaign could pursue. It was agreed by all staff that the small numbers of community volunteers in the school was a major obstacle to running the school properly. There was a desperate need for more adults in the school, both to help control pupils and to perform many necessary tasks, like visiting the homes of the disruptive pupils and of the pupils threatening to leave, taking classes in crafts and other subjects, taking pupils on field trips, and assisting teachers in getting supplies, setting up displays and the like. In addition, many teachers were beginning to question the

relationship between the Croxteth Community as a whole and the Action Committee which claimed to represent it. At this meeting Kate, the staff's German teacher, asked rhetorically, 'Where is the community!' and a helper joined in with 'We're on an island here!'.

As the discussion progressed teachers argued that the Action Committee ought to be making a greater effort to get the community of Croxteth into the school. Mass leafletting was suggested, as were home visits to parents to see if they could come into the school to help. Parents could be invited to join in classroom activities, it was suggested, and a PTA established with activities for adults in the school. John Bennett suggested that street committees be formed in Croxteth and Henry Stewart offered to start a community newspaper, called 'Crocky News', which would both involve pupils and local residents and be based in the school. Most of these suggestions were appealing to the teachers and to the community helpers attending the meeting.

This was an early sign of a specific position which was to become more clearly formulated in time. It was a position which drew upon the interpretation shared by most teachers which we termed 'community power' in chapter eleven. At this same meeting, Henry Stewart proposed that Croxteth Comprehensive register as a 'community school', along the lines of other alternative schools in Britain, such as free schools. A number of teachers immediately indicated that this sounded like a good idea to them as well. But Cyril D'Arcy, supported by John Bennett, pointed out the tactical error this move would entail. A registered community school is a clear sign to all concerned that a group of people desire to run their own school in their own way. But the Action Committee didn't want to run their own school, they rather wanted a 'holding operation', as it was frequently to be termed, to put pressure on the government to take its responsibilities to the community to heart. They wanted a 'proper school', not a community school, with funding and professional teachers provided by the state. To declare Croxteth Comprehensive an alternative school, it was pointed out, would be in line with the policy of privatisation of the Tory government and allow it to get away with offering no support to the school.

Cyril's point was accepted by the staff after discussion at this meeting, but key questions underlying the suggestion and its immediate appeal to most of the teachers remained. One of these questions concerned the relationship between the educational and the political goals of the campaign. Many teachers felt that it was important for the political success of the occupation to get community volunteers involved in the educational activities of the school. In this way a better quality education could be provided at the same time that the numbers of local activists ready to fight for the school would be increased. Some teachers suggested that part of the educational services provided in the school ought to be directed towards other social problems on the Croxteth Estate, and thus had an idea of education in mind which incorporated some of the features of the radical version of community schooling discussed in chapter five. Hence, not only strategy but the basic *meaning* of the campaign had begun to emerge as an issue.

For many of the community volunteers in the school, however, efforts to further involve residents of Croxteth in the school ranked as a very low priority. One reason for this was a separation made by most of them between the political and the educational aspects of the occupation. There was a fear that more community volunteers in the school would further obstruct, rather than enhance, the educational activities in the school. 'If we get more people in here it would be difficult to control the situation' Phil Knibb commented. But another reason was a general feeling of scepticism about the willingness of the community to become involved in the school. The local activists knew that a strategy of increasing local participation would take a lot of time and work, when they already had so many demands on their time and energy, and they felt that such efforts would produce little results. Commenting later during this term on the amount of support the media and unions were giving to the school, community helper Eddie Pines said: 'Everyone supports this school except the community'. Another helper said about the community: 'They don't care, they can't be bothered'. When John Bennett kept stressing his idea of street committees he was given a very lukewarm response by local activists: '(Laughing) You just try to get the people on my street into a committee', was the comment of one Action Committee member at a meeting. Phil and Cyril frequently said that they'd 'tried everything, leaflets, posters, public meetings, they just don't want to know.' And Phil explained further that frequently calling public meetings was dangerous because low turn-outs to these meetings, which is what he expected, could be latched upon by the press. Liberals were already saying in council that Croxteth Comprehensive wasn't being occupied by the community but by a very small minority of people from the community. A crucial tactic, he implied, was to constantly stress in the media that the community was running the school and not to provide any incidents which could contradict it.

Many helpers who held this pessimistic view did think that 'the community' (the term became used so frequently in the discourse of the activists that a reified entity was created: there were the activists in the school, and there was 'the community' outside, conceived of almost as an amorphous mass directed by a single mind of its own) would rally to defend the school during an emergency, like a raid of bailiffs, but that it wasn't normally motivated enough to work in the school on a day to day basis. Their pessimism didn't involve doubts about community *support*, just doubts about the willingness of the community to move from passive to active forms of support. Others said that although most people in the community were opposed to the closure, they didn't believe that the occupation could possibly win and thus would not support it. Yet others reported negative attitudes on the part of people in the community towards the school. One helper mentioned an incident during an interview in which people had told her they thought the school was being run by 'a bunch of scallywags', that the pupils were allowed to smoke in classrooms and that all in all it was 'a free school' having a very bad influence on its pupils. Similar incidents experienced by other volunteers were reported during the research.

Thus there was an ambiguity in the relationship between the Croxteth Community Action Committee and the other residents in Croxteth. Activists,

especially teachers, just weren't sure about the nature of the relationship. Those who did feel sure disagreed with each other about it. Community opinion was gauged through anecdotes and rumours, no one really knew what the community thought. Most teachers, moreover, felt that something ought to be done to lessen the ambiguity, and get more local residents involved.

At this early stage in the development of conflicts over campaign goals and strategies, then, we find a majority of teachers, soon to be backed by several members of the Action Committee, beginning to argue that:

- 1) Efforts ought to be made to get more residents from the community into the school.
- 2) Residents ought to be involved in the educational as well as the political aspects of the campaign.
- 3) Educational activities could possibly be linked to political activities in this way.

The reasons, or 'validity claims', tied to these arguments were:

- 1) Increased community involvement would mean increased power. This is a political argument with a goal-rational, empirically-referenced claim.
- 2) Increased community involvement would mean a better educational institution. This was an educational argument but focused at this point primarily on the need for extra adults for controlling pupils and carrying out the many jobs necessary for running the school. It was not a pedagogic argument. Like the first claim, it was empirically referenced - a clear empirical goal (increased efficiency and control) placed alongside a clearly formulated practice which was believed to be capable of producing the goal.
- 3) Increased community involvement would be true to the community, as opposed to party-political, nature of the campaign. This was a political argument primarily normative in nature. It was the argument closest to the community power theme shared by most of the staff, for it was an argument about the goals and meaning which the campaign ought to have. This argument viewed the occupation as having political ends in itself, not simply as instrumental for winning the school back. Also involved, but much less clearly articulated, was a normative claim that educational and political activity ought to be linked. It was felt by most teachers that residents ought to have a role to play in the educational functions of the school and that these functions ought to address social problems on the estate. But exactly how educational activity and political activity could be linked together was not formulated very clearly by the staff. The basic position was to get more community involvement, the further possibilities which that would open up could be developed and understood better once that involvement occurred.

In opposition to this emerging position were the set of arguments presented by most community activists. These included:

- 1) Increased community involvement was not feasible.
- 2) Increased community involvement was not entirely desirable because more untrained adults in the school would add to its confusion.
- 3) Increased community involvement was not entirely desirable because it would be difficult to control.

The reasons or claims associated with these arguments included:

- 1) The community is apathetic. This was an empirically-referenced claim, reducible to the form that *if* the community was approached in the ways suggested by teachers (leafletting and visits), it wouldn't respond.
- 2) Local residents untrained in educational matters are not competent to be involved in educational activity. This was again an empirically-referenced claim, but it took certain educational goals for granted and had normative implications not articulated by those holding to the argument.
- 3) Educational and political activity are separate and shouldn't be linked. This existed primarily at a normative level, conceived of through the notion of the 'proper school', a sort of folk model embodying norms and assumed definitions. It was not highly articulated.
- 4) In terms of the purposes of the occupation, getting the school back as a state funded and administrated facility, there was no *essential* need to get more community involvement as long as the existing activists could keep the school running. This was a political argument closest to the theme of the social wage. It was partially normative, a conviction of the moral responsibilities of the state. Cyril's comments that the occupation must avoid taking any steps in line with the privatisation policy of the Tory government expressed it well. It was ^{an} argument which saw the occupation as a purely instrumental activity, not as possessing political ends in itself.

III 'Where is the Community?'

It is not possible, from the data collected, to determine very precisely what general attitudes towards the occupation prevailed in Croxteth; it would have been necessary to conduct a survey on a sample of the housing estate to get the information required, and there wasn't time enough during the research to do so. However, there is evidence that a number of people in Croxteth were suspicious of the occupation after it had begun to run classes, that some people in the community who would have liked to have been involved felt unwelcome in the buildings and didn't come forth for that reason, and that many residents were doubtful the occupation would succeed in getting back the school. Pat Rigby, the secretary of the Croxteth-Gillmoss federation, described her perceptions of local attitudes towards the school, after classes began, from observations she made in her office on the Estate:

P.C.: So what did people think about the occupation?

Pat: I would have thought they would have had more support to actually get in there and help them. I think they were admired for it but a lot of people thought that at the end of the day they couldn't really win with it. That was a task that was really too impossible. They might be able to hold out there for a few weeks, but gradually everyone would fall off, one by one. And there was really nothing at the end of the day that could save the school. I honestly thought they're doing their best down there but they're a hiding to nothing.

P.C.: Were there rumours about what was going on inside the school?

Pat: All sorts of rumours. And that would get interest going again. You know, the bailiffs are coming down and you're all going to be shoved out. You would get support back then and people were more prepared to go and help out on pickets. But I think that was really, some people just done it as an act of defiance. But it was eventually going to happen by one means or another, that they would be eventually out of the school. Like they would get them at a weak time. There was a big rumour going around during Christmas that they would either come, maybe on Christmas Eve or even Christmas Day itself. The bailiffs would go in then. And I think people thought it was the end of the story. Like it was a very gallant effort but the odds were just too much stacked against them and they would not win.

P.C.: I've heard that there were rumours that a sort of a 'free school' was being run, and that some residents thought the people in the school were sort of soft. Did you hear anything like that?

Pat: It was sort of you had to admire people, they'd put so much time in, and a heck of a job that they were taking on. But in the end of the day, like admirable fools. And then also you had the feeling, are they really doing the best for the kids? Would the youngsters that are down there be better in another school? Because they're inexperienced teachers in the main. By keeping them down there, should they be encouraged to go to an other school for the education's sake? A view I didn't hold with.

P.C.: Did most people you heard talking think that way?

Pat: I don't know how many, pretty divided. There was still the loyalty of the community in what they were trying to do. And then when something is going you'll always get people knocking it anyway just for the sake of it. And then you see this sort of thing in the paper, are they doing the best for the school? and people would take that up. For the sake of the kids would they be better off letting the whole thing go? But on the other hand wanting them to win and admiring them for having a go. ...

And I think some people who were very much involved in what was actually going on in the school really didn't think the education was all that inferior to what they were getting before any way. Which is my own view, I didn't think the kids were losing out at all. You'd hear like a little story that might have some basis in fact and be exaggerated. They'd say things like there were teachers down there who'd been on probation. You could retaliate against that sort of thing like with someone like Pat Kellett (retired deputy head and volunteer in the school) and then you've got your Jesuits (two Jesuit fathers who volunteered two days a week) down there and all this, know what I mean. Then like the rumour would swing to it's all ex-priests teaching down there. The community sort of in the main, I would say, have been behind them.

What is most clear from Pat's observations is that during the running of the school communication between the activists and the other residents in the community was very poor. Newspaper articles attacking the school by claiming that it was damaging the pupil's education caused genuine worry in Croxteth and knowledge of the character of the teacher volunteers was based on rumour only. Pat held the same belief that many of the local activists in the school expressed frequently: that if bailiffs were sent in many residents would have rallied to the school's support. She believed that sentiment in the community was still supportive of the school, but that the competence of the volunteer staff to teach pupils was often in question.

Other residents in Croxteth interviewed felt that the occupied school was not inviting to the community, that the occupation was an exclusive affair which they would have been involved in if they'd felt more welcomed by it. Carol Dunne, a mother of two children in the school, explained why she was no longer involved in the campaign in an interview with herself and her husband John at their home:

Carol: I went on all the demonstrations and that. I used to picket during the day.

P.C.: Then?

John: The bureaucrats took over.

Carol: I stopped going over. It'd become too, there was too many telling everyone else what to do. So in the end I stopped going.

John: You know when it first started it was just like a rabble but a *united* rabble. But then (pause), you know in some ways it's identifiable to the Soviet Union. You've got the hierarchy, the elitists come to the top like, the bosses of the rabble (laughs) and that's why (pause), she got pissed off then.

P.C.: Did you?

Carol: Always arguing between themselves, you know, he shouldn't be doing this, all this. I just got fed up with it, and *everyone* was coming in.

P.C.: I'm going to ask *you* this Carol, because you got fed up. Do you think they could have been a little more democratic and involved the people more in this struggle, you know, giving you a chance to have a say in what's going on?

Carol: I think they could have done that. Yeah, yeah, I think so.

P.C.: Both of you must have trusted the school somewhat to send your kids there.

John: I don't think it was a case of trusting anybody so much as it was just sheer indignation that they could close your school down like that. ...

P.C. Did you ever feel like you'd like to go over to the school?

Carol: Oh I do yeah, but as I say, after I sort of broke away from it it was hard to get back again. If I'd stuck it out and stayed there, well our Debbie [their daughter, a third form student at the school] said, didn't she (looking at John), she said they wanted people to teach. I'm a machinist, so I could have taught sewing. You know but I

couldn't bring myself to go over (laughs). But I would have liked to have done it you know.

P.C.: Did you feel like (pause), because you know a lot of people haven't come over, did you feel like other people had it all sewn up?

Carol: Yeah, yeah, I did, yeah. That's the way I felt.

John: I always knew that once control had been established there would be an elite.

P.C.: And then that elite puts other people off?

John: That's right, yeah, because then they become the bosses and as I say they become the bureaucrats and the elite and everybody else is just, (pause)

P.C.: It sounds like it was very confusing when Carol was going over.

John: If the object of the exercise had been laid out it would have been better. You need to know what you are going to do when you've got it. That would have prevented confusion.

Although some of the questions asked in this interview were rather leading, the discussion does make it seem probable that many more residents in the community could have become involved, especially right after the take-over of the buildings, if some of the difficult organisational problems had been solved and people had been given activities to take part in. It isn't likely that Carol and John's impressions and experiences were totally unique.

Finally, the Harrisons, with three children in the school and former activists in the campaign, had the following remarks to make on the relationship of the community to the occupied school:

June Harrison: I was there then, I was one of the first people that were occupying it.

Ray Harrison: At the beginning I was involved, but due to business commitments my time was very very limited. I've got the two small businesses. ...

At the time there was help coming from everywhere. I don't know if the help's still coming in or not. The talk of Croxteth School was on everyone's lips, you know, the talk of the day - Crocky School. And then of course you got the media coming in, the press and the television.

June: I don't think the councillors [the three local Labour councillors who hadn't shown much support for the school] realised, you see. I think he thought, 'Oh, there's a committee been formed', and that's as far as it'll go. But you see people were prepared to listen and you could make them listen and they were listening and they were getting off and they were being with you, you know. And that's when the council started fighting and they had to come in, and they had to show their faces.

But now, this is what I mean about the school, they've let it slip, they've let it all slip. Not many people talk about the school. I mean I'd be on the van [a vegetable and fruit van run by the Harrisons on the estate]. I mean I work on the van. I've lived here, I know nearly everyone. There used to be something from somebody everyday but there's nothing now.

They should have kept it up, they should have kept it going, these meetings and that. You know, inform people - public meetings, keep it going, keep the spirit up. But people were

thinking - like I'd see Mrs Smith and she'll say, the school's closing, I've put the kids in Ellergreen. So you take notice of her. ... So people have mixed feelings now, none really knows what's going on.

Ray: At the end of the day though, if the school does go, I think Keith Joseph's going to go. 'Phew, that was some battle that, I'm glad it's over'. He's going to know he's been in a fight. ... Next time they're going to close something in Croxteth they may think twice. I wouldn't say it was a total failure if the school went. It would be a disappointment but I think that the people upstairs are going to say that, you know, the people of Croxteth, they'll treat you with respect now, instead of going all over you. The fight won't be for nothing.

June: But if people'd still stand together and still fight, I don't think it'd close. Even if they do send the bailiffs in and they get turfed out there's nothing to stop you going right back in again. And you just continue that fight. But you've got to have that support, you need them people, you can't do it on your own.

Ray: There used to be vans coming around and people saying, 'get up to so-and-so', leaflets coming through the doors, 'big meeting on over Croxteth School, get up there!'. I sort of feel like if they come round, like they do when they're canvassing, if they come round the streets and say to people 'look, we need your support now more than we've ever needed it. Let's give it, let's have one final thrust, you know. Let's show them that we want the school. There's not so much, shall we say, advertising on it now. They used to, like leaflets used to come round the doors and everywhere you went you heard 'Crocky School', you know.

June: You see there's no more fighting we can do. ...

Ray: I think Phil should be saying to himself now, let's get the advertisements going again like we used to do, let's get more support like.

June: I don't think the support has dwindled so much as they haven't got nothing to do, to be out and doing it.

The picture given by the Harrisons is one of enthusiastic support for the fight against the closure, but disappointment at the lack of communication which had developed between the occupiers and the rest of the community. June's final point is similar to one made by Carol Dunne: the Action Committee was no longer providing a way in which supporters could get involved to show their support. And it is a point which many of the teachers had begun to make: they believed that the school should be opened to the community, activities planned within its doors which would give sympathetic residents something to do. The community could take part in educational activities in the school and the occupation could begin to address other problems in Croxteth, much as the Action Committee had done itself during the Spring of 1982 (chapter nine).

By attending meetings on the estate over housing problems during the time of the research, it became clear that the school was something most people didn't know much about. It's inner activities were mysterious and negative rumours were afloat which gave a worrying picture. Moreover, as the above quotations also illustrate, it was believed by many that the school was tightly controlled by the Knibbs, which put them off. At one such meeting a resident was heard referring to the school as the 'Knibb

Kingdom' in a cynical tone of voice. This was a far different picture from the one which immediately followed the take-over of the buildings in July when hundreds of people felt free to enter the school. People who were initially sympathetic to the occupation felt unconnected, uninformed and perhaps uninvited to the school when it was being run.

To place discussion briefly back within the theoretical terms of the resource management school, horizontal bonds which may have united the activists with the populace they wished to represent, were not being used to maintain and develop local support. It is one thing for bonds of sentiment and consciously shared interests to exist, but it is an entirely different matter to draw upon such bonds skilfully in a protest movement. Communication and organisational problems face any group attempting to represent a section of society. In the case of Croxteth the problem was complicated by the fact that a building with valuable property in it was under the control of the Action Committee, making a great influx of new people extra threatening. In such a situation it would be understandable for the Action Committee to actually discourage new members, especially during periods when it appeared that enough people had become involved already to serve the committee's purposes. In the early weeks of the occupation some of the spontaneous volunteers who had suddenly appeared displayed very unacceptable conduct during picketing hours: drinking and making sexual advances on other pickets for example. They had to be forced to leave. Always on the leadership's mind, in addition, was the possibility of thefts from the buildings (which did occur) and the possibility of bad conduct leading to damaging press coverage.

There is evidence that some members of the Action Committee actually did seek to discourage new members and took steps to push out some of the massive numbers involved in the school just after the occupation. A number of helpers and Action Committee members claimed in interviews that residents who offered help to the school had sometimes been chased away. Several such occasions were reported, one of which involved the chasing away of sixteen members of a Croxteth CB radio club who wanted to get involved.

What appears to have happened, then, is that the first weeks of the take-over were a period in which social boundaries between the school buildings and the community suddenly became very weak. Residents in large numbers felt free to visit the school to see what was occurring there and to see whether or not they could fit in. Poor organisation and lack of clear campaign goals at this point led to the departure of most of these people, leaving a small number which became a cohesive social group. From that time on, boundaries between the school and the community became strong again. One can speculate that had better organisation existed right after the take-over of the buildings, such that newly arriving people were given an opportunity to feel that the campaign was also *theirs*, that their ideas about what could and should be done had some value and effect and that they had definite roles to play, the amount of community activity in Croxteth Comprehensive throughout its occupation may well have remained

higher, and communication between the occupied school and the residents of Croxteth may have been much better.

Despite the evidence provided above that more community involvement in the school had been a real possibility, if certain steps had been taken at certain times, by the second half-term those sceptical about increasing community involvement had good reasons for their views. A public meeting called for 29 October, 1982, for example, to explain what had been occurring in the school and what the Action Committee's hopes and aims were had a very small turn-out. And other incidents like this confirmed the feelings of pessimism. But the reason for low displays of support at such times may only have been partially one of apathy, it was undoubtedly partially the result of actions taken earlier, particularly just after the occupation, and partially the result of a lack of skill and experience with the difficult job of balancing organisation and control with generating and maintaining popular sympathy.

IV Polarisation

The pro-community group, however, felt that the community could be further involved, was badly needed, and even should be involved for the campaign to be in line with their personal political objectives. The vast majority of teachers, we noted already, had little interest in party politics and had no wish to make the struggle for the school a merely party-political affair. They believed in grass roots struggles, community power, and were dismayed at the evidently poor relations between the Action Committee and the community. Many mentioned the belief on the part of helpers that the community was ready to rally for the sake of the school in a crisis as evidence that there was a vast potential waiting to be tapped if only the right effort was made. As it became increasingly clear that the hung council in Liverpool was no longer an exploitable resource for the campaign and that therefore the electoral victory of the Labour Party was the only political hope left, a fear grew amongst many teachers that the campaign would come to depend too much on the Labour Party for its support and lose its base in the community as a result. Rose Goodwin, English and Music teacher, gave her views during the final days of the occupation:

Rose: I think that the kind of struggle there was over which way the campaign should go was basically fought and in my view lost before I came. You know which way, should it be strongly community based or should it rely on the Labour Party. And ... it was resolved in favour of relying on the Labour Party. You know my view is that their record is such that they don't deserve any different treatment from the working class than the Liberals or the Tories. I think that they supported the school simply because it was necessary for them. ...

P.C.: Well, people on the Action Committee claim that the community hasn't shown much interest in the school.

Rose: All community struggles have a hard-core minority that does all the work and then, at special moments, everyone joins in for a time. The point is, the hard-core minority must represent the community: struggles must proceed in relationship to the community, and that relationship has to be maintained.

P.C.: And you think that this hard-core minority has lost touch with the community?

Rose: That's what I feel, though I don't know enough people around here to know if its true.

As the second half-term progressed, this conflict over campaign objectives and strategy became heightened and took very specific forms. An early incident involved the request for help from a parents' committee which had formed to prevent the closure of a school on the other side of the Mersey, Bromborough School. John Bennett first got in touch with the school and suggested that talks between Action Committee representatives and Bromborough parents begin. Phil Knibb stated, on 2 November, that their request ought to be answered by the Merseyside Trade Union Community Liaison Committee, instead of by the Croxteth Community Action Committee, because the MTUCLC wished to expand itself from the case of Croxteth Comprehensive to many other community struggles. He pointed out that the MTUCLC was planning to establish branches in Birmingham and other cities. His statement was met with much grumbling on the part of many teachers, discussing it informally over lunch and during staff meetings. There was even more grumbling on the part of the volunteers running the school office: Ev Loftus, Ann Abercromby, as well as Ann Pines, a friend of Ev and Ann's who spent much time in the school office. It was opposed by John Bennett as well.

'We have run this occupation and have the experience, we should be the ones who talk with these people' said Ann Pines one afternoon in the office. Those opposed to Phil's suggestion said they felt that referring such matters to the MTUCLC would rob the *community* of its leading role in community struggles (most participants hoped that the battle for Croxteth Comprehensive was the first of many similar struggles against cuts) and cut the volunteers in the school off from other political developments. In fact, this incident does represent importantly different conceptions of the campaign and its relationship to other struggles. Shifting the matter to the MTUCLC in which only Phil and a few others from Croxteth were involved represented a loss of power and the loss of an opportunity for developing direct connections between the majority of the activists and the world of struggles outside the school. It would create a dependency of the local volunteers on the MTUCLC, and even though the local activists had representation on the committee, it would mean a shift of power and initiative away from the grass roots to formal union organisations.

In addition to the Bromborough dispute, teachers found themselves at odds with Philip Knibb and other local volunteers when they began to make lists of proposals on campaign strategy for presentation at Action Committee meetings. This first occurred after a staff meeting held on the 9th of November, when the teachers agreed to ask the Action Committee to begin door to door efforts to get more helpers, to have pupils more involved in demonstrations and other political activities, and to co-opt teachers onto the committee - beginning with three representatives but leaving open the possibility of more at a future date. This list of proposals also included a statement that the staff felt the Action

Committee ought to begin to discuss campaign goals more itself, to clarify the goals of the campaign instead of taking them for granted. The proposal to have pupils involved in campaign activities was a step further in clarifying the link that many teachers felt ought to exist between educational and political activities. This list provoked a very angry response from Philip Knibb, Cyril D'Arcy and others on the Action Committee which is described a few sections ahead. Before this reaction can be fully understood, however, it will be necessary to describe how disputes over campaign goals and strategy became entangled with a number of rumours which developed in the school.

V Entanglements

On the same day that Philip Knibb gave his views on the question of Bromborough School, 2 November 1982, the field notebooks record for the first time evidence of rumours pertaining to Philip Knibb which had been exchanged for days or perhaps weeks previously. One rumour was that he actually wished the campaign to fail so that he could get an £8,000/yr job with the MSC which would start projects in the Parkstile Building. A few days later this rumour was changed slightly: he would be put in charge of a grant of some £60,000 to coordinate the MSC project, which of course would include a salaried position for himself. The rumour was elaborated by the contention that Phil had been approaching the parents of a number of pupils in the school and advising them to put their children in Ellergreen, thus weakening the campaign by lowering pupil numbers in the school. Finally, there were vague statements about a conflict between Phil and Ev Loftus in which Phil was claimed to have behaved in an unacceptable way: what it was was not yet communicated to the researcher. Phil was said to be centralising his power as leader and acting increasingly for his own interests, not for those of the community.

It is not clear what the origins of these rumours were though there is some evidence that they may have been deliberately started by John Bennett as part of a WRP strategy to gain more control over the campaign. Arguments backing the claim that Philip Knibb wished the campaign to fail in order to get a job were never so clearly expressed to the researcher as they were in a conversation with John Bennett in early November, when he gave a number of precise details and talked with confidence and certainty about the matter. Others who spread the rumours seemed much less certain and prefaced their remarks with 'it's being said...' or 'I've heard that..', indicating that they'd become aware of the story through second hand accounts. In the end the rumours proved themselves to be false - Philip Knibb had many opportunities after the success of the campaign to get himself a job in the school but he never took them, he did his best instead to get other activists from Croxteth jobs and became employed in the community of Netherley himself. Moreover, before the start of the rumours in November, no expressions of dissatisfaction with Philip Knibb had ever approached anything like the attack on his character which these rumours represented. It seems very improbable that they arose through a simple misunderstanding. If they were started deliberately then they were the

result of strategic conduct on the part of one or a few people with interests to move Phil out of his powerful position on the Action Committee.

Whatever their origins, these rumours wove genuine disagreements between participants about the campaign strategy with scandal and mistrust. As the two camps formed over what direction the campaign ought to take, competing positions on the validity of the rumours tended to associate themselves with the competing strategies so that arguments against Phil Knibb's political ideas became confusingly mixed with arguments against his character. The rumours were apparently taken very seriously by a small number of helpers and Action Committee members, most obviously by Ev Loftus, Ann Abercromby and Ann Pines but possibly by others giving less visible support. On the teacher's side, a small number of the more radical volunteers were starting to talk about them as confirmation of their belief that Phil Knibb didn't really want to involve the community in the school in order to secure his own position of power. These teachers didn't seem to take the specific details of the rumours literally, but contributed to the climate of doubt beginning to form concerning Phil Knibb by voicing their own complaints about Phil's powerful position on the Action Committee and the failure of the Action Committee, as a result, to get the community of Croxteth involved in the school. Tensions were growing and groups of both teachers and local activists were beginning to talk in hostile terms about each other as sides formed.

Shortly after these notes of rumours in the field notebooks are records of comments made by Phil Knibb about the school office. He began expressing criticisms of the inefficiency of the office, the usual presence of many teachers and local activists talking and drinking tea which obstructed its functions. His criticisms were related to the growth of negative rumours about himself, for the office was usually occupied by the very volunteers who were discussing the rumours. Phil thus began to act strategically himself, taking steps which eventually led to his assumption of control over the office. The office was Ann and Ev's domain in the school during the first 2½ months of term, and it happened to be the place where incoming mail and telephone calls were received as well. One evening in November Phil and Cyril had a private talk with the researcher and expressed their belief that Ann, Ev and Ann Pines had been recruited by the WRP and that they were intercepting mail and telephone calls in the office in an effort to shift control of the campaign to the WRP. 'I haven't had a letter for weeks', said Cyril, 'but I know there must have been plenty of letters'. The articles about Croxteth for *Newsline*, the WRP daily newspaper, were being written in that office, they also claimed, and the WRP generally was too active in trying to recruit local activists. They also commented on the rumours about Phil Knibb, stating their own belief that the WRP, through the activities of John Bennett, had deliberately started them in an effort to take power away from Phil: 'They're saying that I want the campaign to fail so that I can get a job out of it and the people are believing it!' said Phil. 'They want to start a revolution, I just want to get the school back, that's all' added Cyril. Ann Pines, Ann Abercromby and Ev Loftus were all believed to be under the manipulation of John

Bennett. Cyril said that he had offered his resignation at a committee meeting, one which the researcher missed, to get a vote of confidence a week before. The committee had voted to keep him. Phil and Cyril said that many members of the Action Committee were disturbed by the 'far left' views of Ev Loftus and Ann Abercromby and a number had ended their involvement as a result. They said that they intended to ban the selling of *Newsline* in the school and that they were close to putting a proposal onto the committee to ban WRP activists from further involvement. That would include Ann, Ev, and John Bennett. Phil added that he wished to shut down the office and 'reorganise' it.

Thus, added to the conflict over campaign strategy and the climate of rumours about Phil Knibb, were doubts about the role which the WRP was trying to take in the school. The sentiments created linked all these things together in a way which polarised the participants. The disputes between activists over two possible courses for the campaign to pursue were polarised in a way which combined many other factors, and the form of this polarisation was to have an influence on the way the disputes were to be resolved in the end.

Although many teachers supporting the pro-community strategy didn't take the rumours about Phil literally and although they for the most part had no sympathies with the WRP, they nevertheless tended to voice criticism of Phil Knibb as a man having and desiring too much power and to discount Phil and Cyril's belief that the WRP was trying to manipulate the campaign. At one meeting of the staff a teacher stated that the WRP may have been behind a fairly non-contentious proposal which had been brought before the Action Committee not long before. 'Oh, tisk, tisk!' exclaimed another teacher, a strong advocate of increasing community involvement, immediately afterwards. Many of the teachers advocating a more community strategy similarly indicated that they didn't think the WRP was in any way dangerous and that those worried about them were being paranoid and narrow minded. People who supported Phil, on the other hand, accepted his statements about the futility of trying to get the community involved, voiced the opinion that Ev had acted scandalously towards Phil in the personal conflict between them (instead of the other way around), and became very critical and resentful of the WRP. This group, however, was not as vocal as were those on the teaching staff and the small group in the office, and it was not clear how large their numbers were until a serious crisis broke out in the school months later. The bulk of the helpers and Action Committee members didn't communicate their views to the teaching staff during this period, which made the conflict appear to be primarily one between Phil (with Cyril as a strong supporter) on one side and Ann, Ev, Ann Pines and a large number of teachers, on the other.

The 9th November staff meeting mentioned above brought forth both the growing disputes of teachers with the obstructions they felt coming from the Action Committee to their pro-community strategy and some of the personal rumours concerning Philip Knibb. Parts of this meeting are worth quoting because the discussion reveals the growing articulation of the community power ideology through discussions of the teachers. Teachers had

begun to clarify, together, values which they'd only tacitly shared before, and they had begun to apply the clarifications to specific issues of practice. The meeting clearly shows growing dissatisfaction with Phil Knibb on the part of some of the teachers and staff, the power struggle which had begun over control of the school office and the advancing polarisation in the school on the question of campaign strategy. The discussion also shows the free style of staff meetings, many individuals contributing to what became a wide ranging discussion and official proposals called for only near the end by different individuals present, rather than by a chair. The discussion was only partially recorded in a notebook and the comments are truncated, with some entire contributions missing, as a result:

Graz (teacher): We should have a *political* policy. We should go out into the community, open the school up to the community. We can't let ourselves get isolated. We have to fill the parents with enthusiasm. We should go door to door to get people to come with us to the 30th meeting [30th of November meeting of the city council].

Ev (AC member): Couldn't we become a viable community school, register as one?

Margaret (AC member): We're just a holding operation. We aren't a free school.

Graz (teacher): We aren't going to hold this school unless we go into the community!

Ann (teacher): We need these street committees. We should be encouraging the community to form street committees.

Eddie (helper): We *have* leafletted the houses, there is no response [for the 29th October public meeting].

Ann (teacher): Not all the houses got a leaflet and it was such short notice.

Eddie (helper): Well, we could give longer notice and we could actually *talk* to the people, not just stick leaflets through the doors.

Reza (teacher): The only thing that we have definite is the holding of the school. That isn't enough. This has got to be a fight of the community against everything they don't have. We have to make our political objectives more clear. And the pupils have to also be involved in the fight, in the daily struggle. We must have the practical involvement of the kids.

Barry (teacher): The newspaper [Crocky News] would help with that - get the community involved, increase communication.

John (teacher): We should make this a *better* school than other schools, draw the community in. We should use the school as a base and it would spin off to other projects in the community.

Peter (teacher): That is how the street committees would come into it.

Eddie (helper): This idea of street committees was suggested on the committee [Action Committee] but it never got off the ground.

Reza (teacher): Well we should investigate just how we would set up these street committees.

Graz (teacher): We should have talks with individual parents, get them into the school and discuss it with them.

Reza (teacher): We have to be able to make sure the committees know what to do as committees. Our goals still aren't clear.

Tim (teacher): What this all comes down to is that we don't know how to get the community involved. The real issue is how to get them involved.

Barry (teacher): We should have a PTA, regular parent - teacher meetings.

Margaret (AC member): Parents never did come regularly to PTA meetings.

Reza (teacher): No one knows where we are going, we aren't sure what our objectives are. This fight has many values and objectives that people aren't clear about in their minds. We can't just open up channels until we understand where they lead.

Graz (teacher): Yeah, we can't look at our situation too linearly. Things are linked, integrated. We are fighting against the policies of this government and of the council. We need a creche so that parents can get involved. We need to act on all the issues which are holding this community down.

Tim (teacher): Is it clear who the enemy is? I don't think it is. With all the things Graz is saying the issue is more muddled than clarified.

...

Reza (teacher): For this council meeting [scheduled for the next day, a proposal to reinstate the school was to be brought up and a demonstration was planned], we should bring the pupils with us on the demonstration. We should hire a bus to bring them with us.

Eddie (helper): That would be putting the kids in the front line and hiding behind their backs more or less. They should be in school, not missing their education.

George (AC member): It would be like an educational trip for the children.

Eddie (helper): The media would twist the story.

Reza (teacher): It is absolutely crucial that the kids be involved in the struggle. We have to raise the fighting spirit of the kids, that will get them on our side for running this school, and it *would* be an educational trip.

...

Phil (teacher): What about Bromborough? Are we to offer them our help?

Eddie (helper): But we want to form a trade union steering committee to help with these problems.

Ann A. (AC member): But we know more about these things than this steering committee.

Ann P. (helper): Yeah! It was Phil Knibb who did it. He got the committee to follow him [on the idea of having the WTUCLC handle the Bromborough request].

Ann A. (AC member): Right. We can't just turn these folks out, we've got to help them.

Peter (teacher): At best this is very very negative, isn't it? There are serious problems with Phil. I asked Phil to get things for me that I needed for teaching from the other [Parkstile] building and he was very dismissive of me.

Yola (teacher): The same has happened to me. Phil is slow, he says he will do things and then doesn't do them. It has happened to me, to Vy [art teacher], to lots of us.

Peter (teacher): Phil has taken all these things on himself and it should be spread around much more.

Ann A. (AC member): That's right.

Ev (AC member): Right.

[Graz volunteers to draw up a list of proposals based on the above discussion.]

...

John Bennett (just entering the room): You have an administrator in this school [meaning Ev Loftus], this was decided at an Action Committee meeting. Now either you have one or you don't. I think you should fight for it if you don't have it.

Some of the comments made by members of the teaching staff appear naive - the repeated suggestions to somehow get Croxteth residents to form street committees, for example. However, even such naive suggestions reflected important issues in dispute. The danger of becoming isolated from the community was a very real danger - it was an event which the evidence of the last section suggests had already occurred. The desire to bring the campaign out to the community was linked to that of broadening the issues taken on by the local activists, as had occurred for a time during the second phase of the campaign. These issues basically were issues of where to locate and expand the power base of the struggle for Croxteth Comprehensive. Many teachers believed that it should be expanded further into the community so that other social problems on the estate be addressed by the activists in the school and that linkages to similar community movements be made between the grass roots of Croxteth and those in the other communities.

Reza's comments were also important. Teachers were not clear about what the goals of the campaign were and he was pushing for collective discussion of them so that they could be clarified. Holding the school, he pointed out, was the only goal the staff explicitly shared as a group. Explorations ought to be made into the reasons why the school was closed and what the struggle against the closure really meant or could come to mean.

Several comments at this meeting also consisted of criticisms of Phil Knibb, his seeming effort to do everything himself and his failure to respond to teacher's needs quickly enough. This was a common complaint throughout the first term and it became linked with criticisms of Phil's position of power. John Bennett's contribution was clearly made as an encouragement for teachers to openly confront Phil Knibb and Cyril D'Arcy about the office - to fight for Ev and Ann's position there.

Finally, the reason Reza and others felt so strongly about having pupils along on the demonstration was that they believed such participation would give the pupils a practical understanding of the political aspects of the occupation. It was hoped that in this way pupils would become more

identified with the school and become less disruptive in consequence, as well as learn important lessons in social and political studies. It was, in effect, a view that education and politics shouldn't be separated in the pupil's experience.

VI Legitimate Decision Making Power

The morning after this meeting Phil Knibb approached me to say that under no conditions would pupils be allowed to go to the demonstration scheduled for that afternoon. After some discussion, I agreed with his views, which were mainly put with respect to legitimate decision making processes in the school. The teaching staff didn't have the right, he claimed, to make a decision on as sensitive an issue as involving pupils in demonstrations. Phil was sure the parents of the community would be outraged to learn that their children had been sent on a demonstration, and he was convinced that the Action Committee, which was the only body that should have made such a decision, would not have approved of it. 'I know what they think', he said, 'the kids are *not* going!'

Slowly this information circulated amongst the staff. Several teachers became very angry about it. At lunch time Yola and Reza both approached me to say that they intended to act against Phil's wishes. 'Just one man!' Reza said, very incensed, 'Action Committee members were at that meeting and they agreed with the idea'. Yola told me that she had had lunch with some of the community volunteers, which I inferred had included Ev Loftus and Ann Abercromby. 'You wouldn't believe what I've learned!', she said, 'Phil and Cyril have been doing things which will really hurt this campaign'. Cyril was apparently included in versions of the rumours now. She went on into some of the same rumours I'd already heard and implied that there was 'even more', but failed to elaborate. I discovered later what this 'even more' was. Phil was accused of having made a pass at Ev which Ev had rejected. His behaviour to Ev ever since, the rumours claimed, had become very spiteful, an effort to drive Ev off the committee because of her rejection of the pass.

While eating lunch, George Knibb approached me to say that he and Margaret had changed their minds about having pupils on the demonstration after talking to Phil about it and now believed that it would be a poor move. George said that Reza was going ahead and telling his pupils to go to the demonstration and urged me to call a quick lunch time meeting to put a stop to it. This was done and a number of teachers responded very bitterly to it. No coach was hired in consequence (whether there actually would have been time to arrange a coach was questionable anyway).

The demonstration, in the end, actually did have a large number of pupils present. They had found their way down town on public buses. Large numbers of local activists and pupils stood outside the town hall with placards. The vote was not in favour of Croxteth, but the Action Committee and their sympathisers in the Labour Party intended to bring another proposal up at an Education Committee meeting on the 30th of November.

After the demonstration a large number of people were found complaining about Phil in the office. An article on Croxteth had just come out in the Liverpool Daily Post (10th November) which no one had known about and which seemed to feature Phil Knibb entirely. It had a large picture of Phil, looking tired inside the school, and described how difficult the occupation was becoming. The people in the office felt it confirmed their suspicions that Phil was trying to do it all on his own and was beginning to paint a very pessimistic picture of the campaign - 'defeatist' was the word which was used several times. The people in the office also freely discussed the rumours about Phil's desire to get a job and let the occupation fail. Cyril was reportedly 'in on it' too.

On Friday, the 12th of November, I met with Phil and Cyril and Graz in an office adjacent to the office of Ann and Ev to listen to a discussion the three were having about the minutes Graz had drawn up. When looking at the minutes I saw that Graz had exaggerated many of the points made at the meeting - many things discussed had been written up with very strong phrasing and stated as 'demands' made by the teachers on the Action Committee. Phil and Cyril were upset about it. They expressed their belief that the teachers were assuming too much with respect to the campaign. Cyril stated that he had almost written a letter to the staff in reply but had decided in the end to speak with individuals about his views instead. The campaign was the concern of the Action Committee, they emphasised, not the teachers. The teachers were supposed to be concerned only with teaching, not politics. The Action Committee came from Croxteth, the teachers did not. Graz defended the statement she'd written of the meeting and argued as well that it wasn't fair to ban the sale of newspapers in the school or to try to limit the concerns of teachers with political issues. She pointed out that volunteers in the campaign were of differing political persuasions and different points of view ought to be put forward and discussed. Discussion and toleration of other points of view could only benefit the campaign, she argued. But Phil and Cyril were adamant that politics ought to be left outside the school buildings: 'We all have political convictions, but we leave our politics at home', Cyril said. Graz was arguing for participation and democracy, Cyril and Phil for the separation of education and politics within the school.

Over the weekend Phil took further steps to halt what he saw as a growing and conscious plan to challenge his power. Ev and Ann were no longer to work in the office. He reported to the staff on Monday, 15 November, that the two had left 'on their own accord', taking their things with them. Ann Pines left (temporarily, it turned out) as well. Phil now took possession of the office himself and a new volunteer from outside of Liverpool, Kevin Stannard, was to act as the school administrator. As the days followed it was evident that most of the teaching staff accepted Phil's decision though a few complained. The resolutions passed by the staff on the 9th November meeting, to go door to door visiting parents and to try to establish street committees in Croxteth, were never really acted upon. Calls for increased community support continued in the staff meetings, but for a time were less hopefully discussed. There was simply not enough time for teachers to take the necessary steps themselves and the

Action Committee wasn't acting on the ideas. The teachers' main concern continued to be the problems of maintaining discipline and teaching adequately.

As the first term progressed there were a large number of activities which occupied the staff other than their concerns with the campaign strategy. The first issues of the 'Crocky News' came out and enjoyed some success. They had articles by students and they were distributed throughout the shops of the Estate as well as to various places in town. Requests for more teacher volunteers were printed in the paper in large letters surrounded by lines to draw the attention of readers, but though such ads specifically appealed to people in Croxteth, no significant response resulted. The hopes of involving residents in production of the newspaper, as writers, illustrators, editors and so on, never really drew in more community involvement either. But the 'Crocky News' continued throughout the rest of the occupation and was supported by the Action Committee. A sample of 'Crocky News' is given in the appendices.

In the middle of November, the Channel Four television programme 20/20 Vision sent a representative to the school to discuss a programme they desired to produce on the occupation. New disputes broke out between the teaching staff and the Action Committee over this suggestion. Most teachers felt strongly that the camera crew should not have free access in the school but should discuss all their filming intentions with the staff first. The reasons for this included the fact that many teachers were drawing social security payments they were not legally eligible for because of their full time volunteer work. They didn't want to be shown in the school on television. Some teachers also feared being put on police lists for subversive activity and didn't want their involvement known. More significantly, the teachers felt they knew more about the actual educational activities in the school than did the Action Committee and they didn't want particularly disruptive classes or classes taught by especially incompetent substitute teachers filmed.

Phil responded to this demand of the teachers again with anger. 'The teachers have no right to make such demands', he said, 'this is *our* campaign, not theirs'. The issue, again, was over which group of people had decision making rights over which sections of the campaign. Phil's views prevailed, simply because he told 20/20 Vision to go ahead with free access to the school, no effort being made to win the staff over to his views, and no power on the staff to oppose them practically. The programme was shown during the second week of December and gave a very sympathetic view of the occupation.

Another event captured the interest of the teachers and Action Committee as well. Through the efforts of Henry Stewart and Julie Meakin, Selwyn and Kings' Colleges of Cambridge University invited 40 Croxteth pupils to visit their campus for one day and one night. Julie was a student at Cambridge at the time and a friend of Henry Stewart's. There was much discussion about what criteria to use in choosing the 40 pupils and most Action Committee and staff members were anxious to be on the list

of chaperones. Chaperones were chosen by drawing names out of a hat but a rather humorous (and somewhat revealing) discussion preceded the decision for a drawing during an Action Committee meeting. Phil Knibb put the question to the committee of who should go with the kids on the trip and someone called out 'Michael Storey'. This produced some laughter and other people called out names like 'Trevor Jones', 'Margaret Thatcher' and so on. Then someone called out 'John Bennett' and the whole Action Committee burst into loud laughter. The incident is significant because the humour which the committee found in the suggestion to send John Bennett along to Cambridge was a first indication that the bulk of the local activists were not happy with suggestions of street committees and rumours about Phil Knibb, which appeared to have origins with John. (Another humorous comment was made during this discussion of the Action Committee. When the four local volunteers were chosen from the hat someone said 'I hope they come back, they might find jobs over there!', again resulting in general laughter).

The Cambridge trip was yet another instance of conflict between teachers and Phil Knibb. After long discussions, the teachers worked out a method of selecting pupils for the trip. Their method was based on getting equal girl and boy representation and also of rewarding pupils for contributions to the school which were not based on academic ability. After the method was finally agreed upon Phil Knibb approached me to say that he didn't agree with it and that he had drawn up his own list of pupils he felt should go. This time, however, his opinion was blocked successfully by the staff, Phil agreeing that it was a domain of decision making in which teachers should have priority over his own views.

The conflicts between Phil and teachers were thus beginning to take the form of negotiations over decision making rights. Phil, Cyril and other but less vocal local activists felt that teachers had no right to make decisions which effected the course of the campaign. At each confrontation over campaign issues Phil had taken actions, often without making any debate with other Action Committee members and certainly without making a discussion between himself and the teachers a condition of what actions he would take. He was acting strategically, rather than through efforts to gain a consensus on his views. He justified these actions by pointing out the fact that teachers did not belong to the community and, aside from three co-opted representatives, did not even belong to the Action Committee. He thus drew upon the very ideological theme which teachers used in formulating their suggestions for campaign strategy: community power. This invariably worked as the teachers could hardly oppose the argument, though they often grumbled that Phil Knibb was not the community either. Phil frequently stated that he knew what the Action Committee wanted, but this didn't sound convincing to most of the teaching staff. The teaching staff took its decisions, by contrast, only after long meetings in which issues were thoroughly debated, a more consensus-oriented approach to decision making which contrasted markedly with the actions of Phil Knibb.

These disputes over legitimate decision making pulled several of the formerly tacit conditions underlying the disputes into discourse.

'Community power', which had existed largely on the level of tacit norms adhered to by most teaching staff at the onset of their involvement, became articulated in ways which legitimated Phil's claims to decision making rights. 'School authority', a cluster of tacit norms adhered to more by the local activists at the start than the teachers, now became more clearly articulated to delineate certain realms in which teachers' opinions were granted priority. Examples of the latter include an incident in which a teacher volunteer was 'sacked' by Phil in December for showing inappropriate videos in the school after hours. Many teachers felt that this volunteer should have been reprimanded for running the videos, but believed that banning him from the school was too severe. They believed Phil had acted outside of his legitimate areas of authority in this case and Phil was persuaded to change his decision after some discussion. Phil once suspended a pupil who had come late to school which again was seen as outside his authority and the decision was changed. He took school keys from two teacher volunteers, Mick Checkland and Joey Jacobs who both came from Croxteth, which produced a similar uproar and the return of the keys in the end. Hence the negotiations over legitimate realms of decision making power began to informally clarify the realm of schooling issues as the legitimate domain of the teacher volunteers, and the realm of campaign strategy as the domain of the Action Committee, or Phil Knibb. Community power and school authority (based on possession of knowledge) were used by the groups least adhering to them to win the consent of the other to claims of decision making rights.

VII Towards the Labour Party

On the 20th of November a meeting was held in the school which was called to promote the objectives of the MTUCLC, the Merseyside Trade Union-Community Liaison Committee. The meeting alarmed many teachers as it made it apparent that the activities of Phil Knibb weren't simply obstructive to their own efforts at influencing the campaign but were actually taking the campaign in a different direction altogether, without any input from themselves or, it seemed, from the Action Committee. It was another sign that Phil Knibb, in their opinion, was too powerful.

The 20th November meeting featured a panel of speakers in the morning. Two were local Labour Party leaders (Tony Mulhearn the president of the District Labour Party and Bob Wareing the Labour County councillor we've mentioned before), one was from the MTUCLC (ironically Bill Hunter, not only a very active member of the MTUCLC but a long time member of the WRP as well) and one was a 4B pupil, selected to talk by George Knibb, from Croxteth. The talks given, other than Gerard Irving's, the pupil from 4B, all stressed the need for supporting the labour movement in its campaign against cuts. The speakers stressed Labour Party policy and tended to refer to the closure of Croxteth Comprehensive as an example of what they could put to right with a Labour government. 'The community movement must work hand in hand with the broader labour movement' said Bob Wareing. 'Education is linked to jobs and social service, we've got to get Labour

back in the May elections' said Tony Mulhearn (May 1983 was the month for local elections in Liverpool).

These speakers spoke of 'the community's fight for this school' in approving and glowing terms but for many teachers present it seemed that 'the community' they referred to was more a mythical entity than any thing else, especially since no effort had been made to get local residents to attend this particular meeting. The audience consisted of local Labour Party activists, a few ex-teachers from Croxteth, a number of WRP supporters (some of which had come up all the way from London), representatives from the Cockpit group within the London LEA, and many teachers and local activists who had been working in the school, but it included very few residents of Croxteth or even parents of children in the school who were uninvolved in the campaign.

After the speeches Dominic Brady, local Labour spokesperson on Education, rose and stated:

The Labour Group has plans for 11-18 comprehensives throughout Liverpool. The *only* way this campaign is going to do any good at all is if a Labour majority on the council is secured. The Labour Group has plans for housing and unemployment and related issues.

During the lunch break a group of teachers including Reza, Yola, Graz Monvid, John Bennett and myself, discussed animatedly the fact that the community hadn't even been invited and that no teacher volunteer had been invited to speak. They complained that the campaign was about to be co-opted by the Labour Party, and all were critical of Labour Party politics. They felt that the initiative was being taken away from the community. They decided to approach Phil Knibb and insist that a teacher be allowed to speak in the afternoon session. Phil was approached and he agreed. I was chosen to speak.

After lunch several more representatives from the Labour Party gave speeches, as well as Felicity Dawling, a teacher, member of the NUT and Militant supporter. Bob Parry pointed out the links between this struggle and unemployment, Eddie Loyden, Labour MP, gave an interesting talk:

Industrial struggles have failed in Britain because of the lack of links to community struggles like this one. This is therefore a unique situation. It is the first time in my experience that trade unions have taken an interest in community action.

Bob Parry's talk pointed out something very significant which was indeed taking place: the link between the Labour Movement with its traditional concerns over purely industrial struggles and an urban protest movement. In chapter three it was pointed out that such linkages are not common in Britain.

My own talk focused on a recent article in *The New Statesman* which suggested that Croxteth Comprehensive might go the community school / alternative school route. The occupation had to be viewed primarily as a holding operation, I argued. I emphasised that a move to make the school

officially an 'alternative school' would rob the campaign of its political challenge to the government. But, I added, the campaign for Croxteth Comprehensive wasn't significant only in party-political terms, what was happening inside the school was also very important and needed support. Pupils were getting certain advantages in this school which they didn't have in ordinary state comprehensives, such as greater attention and care, and the fact that parents were involved in the internal running of a school was important and needed appreciation and support. The talk also listed a number of things required by the teaching staff for their difficult job and called on those present to aid the staff by coming forth with more materials and financial support.

The conflict between a community and a Labour Party strategy surfaced dramatically during the open discussion which followed. Many representatives of the WRP and Cockpit group stood up from the audience and gave short speeches on the significance of the grass roots features of the struggle for Croxteth Comprehensive. Reference was made to 'common people' and 'the working class' having finally seized the initiative and the need to support this feature of the struggle. Other speakers who were not of the WRP urged a more community approach to the campaign as well. The efforts of the WRP to influence the occupation had misleadingly linked together the arguments for a community strategy with the ideology of the WRP. Implicit in the comments of all these people was the opposition of their view to Labour Party policy. One speaker, who didn't have any WRP affiliation, spoke longer than the rest:

You should take this struggle back out to the community. Make these buildings serve the whole community. 'Education is the greatest social need', [reference to a slogan on a banner hung on the wall behind the stage] but not education for examinations, education for life. Open the doors so that old age pensioners can have bingo sessions. Open the doors at night so that the kids getting harassed by the police have somewhere to go.

This speaker was followed by Graz Monvid who, it should be noted, was not in sympathy with the WRP though she felt their presence shouldn't be discouraged. She got up onto the stage to talk. She began by asking those in the audience who actually lived in Croxteth to raise their hands - few hands were raised, and those that were raised were the hands of Action Committee members or helpers. She then talked for some time, some of her comments are reproduced below:

The parents of this community weren't even invited to this meeting! Discipline problems in the school are very bad and getting worse and they have been caused by the immediate reversion to an 'us vs them' situation when the teachers entered the school. The kids should be allowed to participate in the debate! It is wrong to exclude kids from our meetings and our demonstrations. If this occupation is just a holding operation, as Phil [Carspecken] says, then what will happen if we *don't* get the school back? We should have the kids and the community in here to build a strong base of resistance, to raise consciousness. The school *shouldn't* return to what it used to be. The discipline problems we have make that clear, they are a reflection of what the school used to be like. The speakers that we have had up here today are useless as leaders! ...

Phil Knibb then spoke. He began by declaring that he was going to correct a number of mistakes which had been made by speakers (having Graz and some of the other impromptu speakers in mind). He said that there had been no need to invite the community, and went on to explain what had been a shift in the Action Committee's thinking and strategy:

At first we fought to make it Croxteth Comprehensive as opposed to Ellergreen Comprehensive. Now we realise that there is a need to reorganise education throughout Liverpool. We support Ellergreen and we have been down to talk to them.

This meeting wasn't called by the Action Committee. It was called by the Merseyside Trade Union Community Liaison Committee to pass resolutions for links between communities and trade unions. We want to form assemblies in different areas such as Birmingham and here in Liverpool. That is why the community wasn't invited. We represent this community, you represent the communities you have come from. We may have been politically naive, we aren't now. We are in the vanguard of the struggle against cuts.

Phil also said that the reasons discipline problems had plagued the school since its occupation were technical: problems of organisation, staff shortages, the lack of previous teaching experience on the part of the volunteers.

Thus the two competing positions became sharpest at a time when the decision making powers of Philip Knibb had virtually determined the course of the campaign anyway. Phil had mentioned a change in his own thinking that had taken place sometime during the first term. As effort after effort to get a proposal passed in the council had failed, he had come to accept that the only strategy which could succeed would be one of alliance with more powerful organised bodies of the Labour Movement: the Labour Party and the trade unions. He had made friendships with leading local leaders of the Labour Movement, and he'd come to see the purposes of the campaign in much broader terms.

We note the following points about the development of strategy which had occurred on Phil Knibb's side:

1) There were obvious strategic reasons for drawing the campaign closer to the formal organisations of the Labour Movement. The Liverpool hung council was no longer an exploitable situation, the Action Committee needed the backing of a political party having an over-all majority and the Labour Party was the only party both having a real chance of soon getting such a majority (though many believed this chance was slim) and having a political position which was supportive of the protest movement. Running the school also required funds of large proportions and the trade union movement was the only possible source for such financial support. It had proved itself, moreover, willing to help.

2) In drawing the movement closer to the Labour Party the interpretative theme of the social wage had become more articulated. During the second phase of the campaign the social wage theme had been present as a tacit orientation to the struggle, a way of

interpreting the removal of the school and of justifying the fight to get it back in partially articulated terms calling upon the moral responsibility of the state. During this same phase the Action Committee had seen its relationship to the Croxteth Community as its base of power. It was a community organisation which determined its own purposes and used a political strategy aimed to exploit the situation of a hung council in Liverpool. Moreover, chapter nine clearly shows that in addition to the view of the school as a provision, a social wage, the Action Committee made use of a version of the community power theme, the cluster of values and norms which adhere to the term 'community', in their self definition and their presentation of themselves to the media. But in terms of *schooling practice*, the Action Committee had always taken a view which deferred to the professionals of the state - in this sense the social wage theme prevailed over that of community power.

Now, however, the social wage ideology had become more than just a tacit orientation - it had become articulated policy, with the slogans of the Labour Movement being adopted to provide the rationale of the campaign. This meant that the goals of the campaign for the school were interpreted in terms of national goals held by the Labour Movement - the battle for the school was coming to be seen as an *instance* of the latter. This higher level of articulation was achieved by adopting formulations already present in the labour movement. At the same time that it broadened the *meaning* of the campaign, it limited certain possible directions that meaning might have taken. The Labour Party supported the school, as did many trade unions in Merseyside, but it didn't have a policy of political practice which could have nourished the participatory and grass roots nature of the struggle. Labour Party representatives met with Phil Knibb but they didn't visit the school on normal working days to meet the other local activists and try to get a sense of what developments were occurring inside the buildings. It retained a view of the struggle and occupation which considered only a) that the school had been closed and b) that the school ought to be re-instated.

3) Hence movement towards the Labour Party resulted in a more formal articulation of campaign goals in terms of the social wage. When this occurred, the views of the local activists on schooling authority, form, and purpose, which we have argued lay in a mesh of interconnecting conditions, became reinforced. It effectively backed the common sense views of the bulk of the community activists with the political resources of a political party and a nation-wide labour movement. Any tendency from within the protest movement to challenge certain features of the social wage ideology were all the less likely to become developed, simply because the labour movement itself has not formulated such challenges.

4) But the speakers at the MTUCLC meeting also emphasised that something *new* was taking place through the support given to the campaign for Croxteth Comprehensive. Linkages between the formal

organisations of the labour movement and community struggles over welfare provisions are not common as we noted in chapter three. This is one reason why urban movements based in working class communities usually fail (Saunders 1979). Yet they did occur in Croxteth and this was to determine the success of the campaign in the end. The development of campaign strategy from Phil Knibb's side corresponded to the formation of the MTUCLC, which was in fact a new sort of organisation created by the trade union movement to meet the new conditions of life in the 1980s. Eddie Roberts of the Transport and General Workers' Union explained:

My first introduction into trade unionism was at fifteen: into the factory, into the union. The sort of opportunity that used to exist for young people. You became part of a movement, it was as easy as falling off a log. That's something we're missing out on at the moment. Groups of young people who are not having that chance of getting into the swing of things. The natural development was: you work, you join a union, you're part of that situation. We're having to work at that to introduce trade unionism, socialism, the views of the world to young people. Work in the community is absolutely imperative. You see, in the 50s and 60s, the 50s when I started work, but right through the 60s, the situation was as I've described - our role was an industrial one, it was the traditional role of trade unions. Now the situation has changed, we have to play a community role as well.

And as Mr Roberts clarified in other passages quoted earlier, the form of this new involvement with communities corresponded with principle aspects of the form of industrial disputes. It was precisely because the style that the Action Committee leadership had used in conducting their campaign had been along trade union lines that the trade unions were able to see the protest movement as one worth supporting. The creation of linkages between the traditional trade union movement was a beginning, an important aspect of the campaign for Croxteth Comprehensive, which could develop in other directions over time.

At the 20th November meeting the community power theme was also put into further articulation. It is significant that Graz referred to discipline problems in the school in her talk and suggested that one reason for them lay in not involving pupils in the political activities of the campaign more, and not giving them an opportunity to discuss issues along with the other activists. Discipline problems in the school had been the greatest source of stress to all who worked there, they were the most visible educational issue with which participants had to come to terms. Teachers had immediately adopted an informal approach with pupils and community activists tended to focus on this as the principle reason for the disruptions. At the meeting, Phil Knibb said that discipline problems in the school were the result of *practical* difficulties by which he meant primarily the lack of a proper teaching staff. Teachers, we've seen, continued to hold to their beliefs in the desirability of informal relationships while moving in the direction of coercive sanctions, and the whole system of relationships achieved stability through the combination of teacher and adult authority relations with pupils. But teachers felt

themselves vulnerable over the question of discipline because for the most part they didn't have a clearly formulated explanation of why disruptions were occurring, other than the small numbers of staff and the absence of adequate community involvement. But some teachers had begun to explain the situation in terms of curriculum and the exclusion of pupils from campaign activities. By the time of the 20th November meeting, this explanation was gaining more clarity and it was an explanation which put the goals of the occupation deeply into question.

Graz Monvid's speech, and the brief talk made by the person from the audience whose name was missed, argued that politics and education can't be separated, that the goals of the campaign ought to go beyond simply winning back a state provision. They questioned the value of restoring a school which possibly wasn't good for children and which isolated itself from adults from the neighbourhood. Both argued simultaneously for increasing the community base of the campaign, to locate power there, while putting into question the nature of schooling. Their arguments pitted the community against the state, no matter which party was in control. If the Labour Party lost the elections, Graz argued, no community base would be left to continue with any struggle. If the Labour Party won, on the other hand, she argued that that could amount to only the restoration of a basically oppressive institution, one in which pupils were confronted with a 'them vs us' situation as she expressed it.

The pro-community argument was thus becoming a challenge to, rather than a reinforcement of, the nest of conditions which we have argued repeatedly, tacitly connected schooling practice with a political ideology of the social wage. A number of links in this chain of conditions were on the verge of being drawn up from their opacity for critical scrutiny. Pupil disruptions were pointed to as examples, not of technical-administrative problems, but of fundamental problems of domination. School authority was linked to conditions of domination which effected all of Croxteth, domination in which state authority played a large role. The solution was to change educational practice, but exactly in what way was left unexplored. The way to change educational practice, Graz and the other speaker maintained, would involve a rejection of examinations ('Education is the greatest social need, but education for life, not for examinations') and the use of the school by all adults in the community to try to change their living conditions. Reified knowledge was thus beginning to be challenged as well, by calling for an 'education for life', an education for social change and community empowerment.

VIII The Conflicts and their Conditions

The argument in this chapter has been that two interpretative schemes held by different participants in the campaign existed in rational conflict with each other, community power and the social wage. Initially, each scheme held a number of norms and very partially articulated theories which were in tension with those of the other scheme. As conditions in the school demanded decisions, each position began to be more clarified through

the formulation of specific proposals. Proposals led to interpersonal conflicts and the further articulation of positions in consequence. In the case of Philip Knibb, practical considerations led to the acceptance of Labour Party political formulations which broadened his vision of the campaign for Croxteth Comprehensive and altered its meaning for him, but which did so in a way which reinforced the chains of conditions which had oriented him to the school through a social wage ideology. The congruence of the Labour Party's stance against cuts and the further congruence of policies which defended welfare provisions and the traditional struggles over the wage relation on the shop floor, made it a smooth conversion for Philip Knibb. In the case of the pro-community group, further articulation began to put certain links in the chain of conditions underlying the social wage theme as held by Croxteth activists into critical discourse. But this occurred only with some of the members of the pro-community group and even for them only a beginning had been made.

Underlying the overt conflict between specific campaign proposals generated by the pro-community group and those generated by the pro-Labour Movement group were a number of unexpressed conditions which were rationally in conflict but not major parts of the discourse. They were rationally in conflict because they were key components in the basic paradigms or interpretative schemes subscribed to by the two groups and hence *would have to have been drawn into discourse if the groups in conflict had seriously attempted to understand each other and clearly articulate their own positions in the process.* Although this never happened, they exerted an influence on the situation just the same. When teachers began to suggest that the campaign should alter schooling practice, for example, they were seen as being dangerously naive by their opponents in the Action Committee. They were making suggestions which threatened the 'proper' education of pupils for the sake of spurious ideals. For the teachers to have appeared other than naive, the complex relationships between local culture and school authority and practice in Croxteth would have to have become articulated in discourse as at least a first step. And if these relationships had become acknowledged as factors importantly conditioning the activities of local residents in the school, the teachers themselves would probably have developed a more realistic view of the situation: acknowledging still that traditional schooling practice is not an unqualified social good but seeing perhaps that the way to change it was not so straightforward. For the local activists' part, if the reinforcements existing between 'the proper school' and relations of domination in society working to their disadvantage had been discursively available, they may have understood the position of the pro-community group better, though the practical problems of mobilising the community at this stage of the movement, and then organising this mobilisation, would have remained.

As the situation stood, however, the tacit conditions underlying the overt conflicts remained either totally unacknowledged or under-articulated and the two groups did not sit down together to try to reach an understanding. A major reason why these discussions did not take place was the informal organisation of the local volunteers about the authority of

Phil Knibb. While teachers called for greater participation and democracy, they didn't fully grasp the conditions upon which Phil's authority was constructed. We pointed out in chapter eleven that these conditions included gender relationships and the local ethic of solidarity plus a host of subtle features of the Croxteth culture upon which authority is claimed and consented to. Most of the helpers and Action Committee members had as little knowledge of the 20th November meeting as did the teachers before it was held. But there was no evidence that they were particularly upset, as were the teachers, with the way it turned out. The political questions brought up at this meeting were not questions of deep concern to the bulk of the membership. They trusted Phil's leadership. For the community power ideology to have worked in practice, the organisation of the Action Committee and helpers about the charismatic authority of Phil Knibb would have to have changed towards a more participatory-democratic organisation. The issues would have to have been discussed by the committee in some depth. Conscious efforts would have to have been made to impart the skills and confidence required by participatory decision making, and these efforts were not being made by the Action Committee leadership. They weren't deliberately omitted by any means, but rather probably had never been considered as campaign goals. The recognition that participation is an acquired skill is more a notion pertaining to middle class and 'new' social movement ideology, it was not a strong feature within the labour movement and few precedents, upon which Phil or Cyril could have drawn, existed. The committee was formally democratic and all members had rights to vote and to enter discussion. But to overcome the strong lines of authority which had informally organised the committee, based as we have seen partly on the ethic of solidarity and the prevailing gender relations in Croxteth culture, more than simply a formally democratic structure would have to have been instituted. Members would have to have been encouraged to speak at meetings, encouraged to give talks outside the school, and perhaps study circles would have to have been formed. Efforts to build confidence would have to have been made. But there is no evidence that members and helpers especially *wanted* such encouragement, *during the first term*. The form of organisation based on charismatic authority had implications for increasing community involvement as well: efforts to fit new volunteers into a participatory structure would have to have been made which may have been outside the means of the committee and its leadership.

The conditions underlying these conflicts can be presented schematically:

- 1) Articulated conflicts revolving about:

COMMUNITY POWER ←---→ SOCIAL WAGE

- 2) Partially articulated conflicts revolving about:

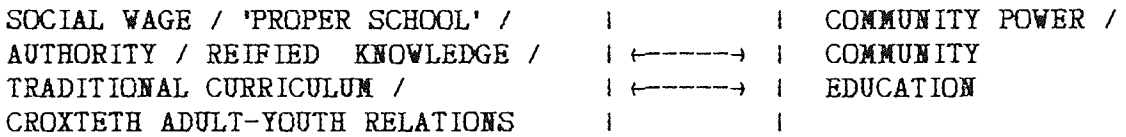
COMMUNITY EDUCATION ←---→ SOCIAL WAGE

By 'community education' here a challenge to three traditional features of schooling is meant: community-school relations which place all decision making on educational issues within the school into the hands of state paid employees coming usually from outside the community in which the school

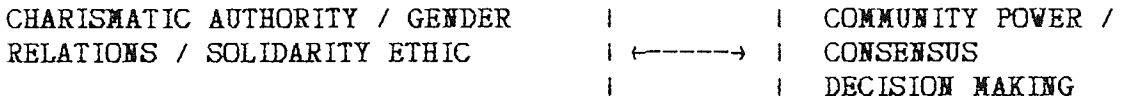
lays, teacher-pupil relations which are highly authoritative and examination oriented, and the separation of schooling from other issues of life, not only with respect to pupil's lives but with respect to the lives of adults in the neighbourhood. This conflict was only partially articulated because many of the implications of 'community education' were not acknowledged by those supporting or opposing it.

Some of the unarticulated or under-articulated conflicts between conditions of action which underlay the situation included:

- 3) Under-articulated conflicts revolving about conditions reinforcing the social wage ideology:



- 4) Under-articulated conflicts revolving about conditions reinforcing charismatic authority:



Thus the conflicts over campaign strategy were embedded in interpretative schemes which covertly linked educational and political issues. The resolution of these conflicts took the form of negotiations over respective realms of legitimate decision making. The conditions which determined the course of these negotiations were the ideology of community power, which was used to exclude the teachers in the pro-community group from decision making about the campaign, and the conditions upon which the charismatic authority of Philip Knibb was constructed, which allowed him to act with a high degree of autonomy. It is worth noting once again that because the ideology of community power was most held to by the teachers, the Action Committee leadership could use it to exclude them from decision making strategically - without themselves holding to this ideology in the same way as the teachers did. Similarly, because the notion of the 'proper school' and all its related conditions were held to by the Action Committee (leadership), it was used by the teachers to claim certain realms of decision making rights, - those pertaining to educational issues, - when the teachers themselves did not hold to this view.

We have several times mentioned the fact that a number of Action Committee members, in addition to teachers, were involved in the pro-community group. These people could not be formally excluded from the decision making processes which determined the course of the campaign and they did not give their consent to the charismatic authority of Philip Knibb. They were consequently seen as important allies by some of the teachers in the pro-community group. The way in which their challenge to

campaign strategy ended will be described in the final sections of this chapter. We will see that the way in which campaign issues became interwoven with scandal, and the strategic efforts of the WRP to influence the campaign, greatly contributed to the way in which the challenge of these individuals was resolved.

IX The Consolidation of Power

We are ready now to continue with the chronological account of events and to discover how the conflicts over campaign strategy were resolved in the end. After the 20th November meeting teachers continued to discuss the need for greater community involvement and some proposals were presented to the Action Committee. The Action Committee again agreed to visit parents of pupils, support the teachers in organising a PTA meeting during an early December evening and plans for a Christmas party which would be open to the community during its evening programme (the day was to be devoted to a staff and pupil Christmas dinner and to games for the pupils led by Pat Kellet). The television company 20/20 Vision began filming on the 30th of November which was also the day of a large demonstration in town. In the days leading up to this demonstration some of the teachers began to push once again for the older pupils to come along. This was officially brought up at a joint teacher>Action Committee meeting by Reza on the 24th but was opposed, not only by Phil, but by a number of local activists present. 'The police down town aren't like the ones here' said one parent, 'the kids would get into trouble'.

On the actual day of the demonstration many pupils attended anyway, just as they did on the 10th, taking public buses. The occasion was a meeting of the Education Committee on which another proposal was to be put forth by Labour to reopen a school in Croxteth. The demonstration was a joint one held by both Croxteth activists and students of the Liverpool Polytechnic who were protesting cuts affecting their institution. The pupils and adults from Croxteth arrived outside the town hall bearing placards, meeting many students from the Liverpool Polytechnic already there who cheered when the people from Croxteth arrived: 'Give me a C!, - C!, Give me an R!, - R!, Give me an O!, - O!, give me a C!, - C!, give me a K!, - K!, give me a Y!, - Y!, yeah for Crocky!!!', they chanted. They also shouted 'Occupy! Occupy!'. The proposal concerning Croxteth Comprehensive was defeated by a small margin.

The Cambridge trip went ahead on the 2nd of December and was a great success. Forty pupils and about six adults went to Cambridge by coach and were accommodated for the night by student volunteers from Selwyn and Kings' Colleges. Each student put up two pupils from Croxteth in their rooms. One humorous incident was reported by Yola, who had gone along on the journey. As the pupils were led about the campus by a guide to see the buildings, laboratories, computers, and the Cambridge observatory, one pupil began to marvel at the buildings and suddenly shouted out 'Lets occupy!'. The trip received nationwide coverage and did much to aid the campaign in its battle for public sympathy.

The PTA meeting held on the 8th of December didn't have as much success. Although parents did come they were small in numbers, confirming the Action Committee's contention that community support was not so easy to get (it had been well publicised). Over half of the parents who did come wore familiar faces, being those active in the campaign all along.

Meanwhile, after the MTUCLC meeting of the 20th November, Phil Knibb went ahead with his efforts to solidify links between the campaign and the Labour Party. His friends on the Party agreed to bring a proposal to the District Labour Party to vote on a pledge to reopen a school in Croxteth if they won in the May elections. The beginnings of a plan to hold a national demonstration against government cuts at Croxteth School in the Spring were discussed, and the efforts of the Merseyside Trade Union-Community Liaison Committee to expand continued with Phil's participation and support.

Despite the continued grumbling amongst the pro-community group and the continuation of rumours about Phil in the school, no new crisis broke out until the 6th of December. The conflict over strategy had cooled a good deal due to the absence of Ev Loftus and Ann Abercromby from the premises, who had apparently taken their banishment from the office as a banishment from the campaign altogether. Ann Pines did begin to work in the school again after a brief absence, but she was no longer so vocal in her objections to the way the campaign was being run. Graz Monvid, having several writing deadlines to meet, ceased to come to the school as often as before.

The 6th of December was the date that a message was communicated to the school from SDP Member of Parliament Eric Ogden that plans had been laid to send bailiffs into the school over the Christmas holidays. Eric Ogden, during an interview in his surgery with myself and Cyril D'Arcy, said that he had been approached by Keith Joseph and Trevor Jones at Westminster and had been told that the occupation had been tolerated long enough; plans were being laid to expel the occupiers. He was convinced that bailiffs would be sent in during the holidays when no pupils would be expected in the school, and even suggested a couple of possible dates.

This news provoked much discussion amongst the staff and Action Committee. The staff were convinced once again that the failure of the campaign to get the entire community involved in the school had left them vulnerable. They began calling for immediate steps to enormously increase the picket numbers (pickets had fallen enormously in number during November and early December, some nights no pickets at all being in the school, other nights only Jimmy and Chris, two young teenagers, were there). The staff believed the community should be made aware of the impending invasion and a phone tree constructed to call out for extra help at the first sign of bailiffs. It was suggested that activities for children be run during the holidays as well, to keep the buildings full so that the action of bailiffs might be discouraged. A small leaflet was pushed into the mailboxes of many houses on the estate:

THERE IS STRONG RUMOUR THAT CROXTETH SCHOOL IS TO BE RAIDED BY POLICE AND THE PICKET EVICTED, AND THE SCHOOL WILL BE CLOSED.

***** WE NEED HELP!*****

EXTRA PICKETS ARE URGENTLY NEEDED. IF YOU WANT TO KEEP CROXTETH COMP OPEN PLEASE GET DOWN THERE AND HELP. DO NOT LET 2 YEARS WORK GO DOWN THE DRAIN.

***** HELP US WIN THIS *****

YOUR BATTLE

The problem was also taken to the Merseyside Trade Union Community Liaison Committee and the possibility of holding a large protest demonstration at the school, with community and city wide union representation, was considered. At the invitation of Philip Knibb, Reza, Kevin Stannard and myself attended this meeting and urged the demonstration idea, but in the end this idea was dropped because the time of year wasn't favourable for a large turnout. Instead it was decided to 'blow it to the press' as soon as possible and to publicly confront Trevor Jones on whether or not he intended to force the pickets out. This was done very effectively the day after the MTUCLC meeting. During a session of the city council Dominic Brady asked Trevor Jones to comment on his intentions. Trevor Jones responded ambiguously but after the session Phil Knibb, with press reporters nearby, walked right up to Trevor Jones and demanded to be told if the rumours were true. This time Jones denied that he ^{had} any such intentions. The confrontation was reported on the radio, and several newspapers printed the story as well, quoted Philip Knibb as saying that the pickets would be trebled in the school (Daily Mirror, 15/12/82, Liverpool Echo 16/12/82 - see appendices).

As the holidays approached, the activists took defensive measures. All records and other valuable materials were removed from the school so they wouldn't fall into the hands of the authorities. A public meeting was called at the school just after the beginning of the Christmas vacation to increase the numbers of pickets and lay plans for what steps to take if they did come. This meeting was very poorly attended, virtually no new faces from Croxteth present, provoking the remark from Cyril that he wished more teachers were present so that they could see how little the community of Croxteth was willing to get involved in the school, even for an emergency. Just the same, picket duty was increased from the ranks of those available, and a plan to immediately contact the media if bailiffs showed up laid.

The Christmas celebrations held in the school on the last day of term were very successful. An anonymous donor had given a large sum of money for the meal and staff and pupils sat together on long tables set up in the school hall while Phil Knibb and other Action Committee members served them a large Christmas dinner. Pat Kellet's games with the younger pupils were visibly enjoyed, as were the elaborate Christmas decorations his

pupils decked some of the rooms with. In the evening a large party was held with a live band and food and drinks for everyone. On this occasion many new faces were seen in the school, the promise of a good time being much more successful than a call to duty in getting community involvement.

The holidays passed without any invasion after all. The steps taken to get the story in the press probably served as a sufficient discouragement to the city administration. The days were used by teachers and local volunteers to clean the building and plan for the coming term. First term marks with long comments, some of letter length, were written under the coordination of Peter Clarke and delivered by teachers to the doors of the parents. Teachers met as well to discuss new ways of coming to terms with the discipline problems in the school and a list of rules to be followed by the pupils was drawn up.

The first day of the second term, 10 January, 1983, brought a large number of pupils back to school, an indication of the continuing trust and satisfaction of their parents in the occupation. During the first week of term a new eight period day time-table was worked out in the hours after school and staff numbers were now very stable. Things looked better in many ways.

Two occurrences during the first weeks of January appeared to resolve the disagreements over strategy once and for all as well. One of these events was sharp, dramatic and ended with total unambiguity. A series of events, described below, led to the ending of the involvement of Ev, Ann and John Bennett in the campaign.

The other occurrence wasn't actually an event but rather a subtle shift in the group of teachers occupying the informal positions of greatest influence and prestige with the Action Committee. The most politically vocal teachers of the first term diminished in number when several, including Graz, ceased to volunteer in the school. Those in this group who remained as teachers found that they had less time to concern themselves with campaign matters as the demands on their teaching time increased. They also felt that when they did put opinions forth on campaign matters they weren't taken as seriously as they once had been. There were at least two broad reasons for this decline in their influence. One was rather complex and had to do with the separation of politics and education which occurred in the school, both as a matter of deliberate policy on the part of the Action Committee leadership and as a consequence of the prevalent educational views and practices held by most participants on levels more tacit than discursive. These teachers, in short, felt themselves pushed further into the role of being *just* teachers rather than contributors to the campaign in general. A division of labour was instituted which further removed the teachers from the political aspects of the movement (see chapter fourteen). The other reason was a consequence of the final expulsion of Ev and Ann from the school. With Ev and Ann gone, the teachers holding to the pro-community strategy no longer had strong and vocal sympathizers amongst the local activists through which their influence could be exerted.

The events leading to the departure of Ev and Ann from the campaign were much more tangible. On the second day of the first week (11 January 1983) Ev Loftus and Ann Abercromby reappeared in the school. They came in to discuss the new rules which had been formulated for the pupils over Christmas, finding these rules too harsh (both had children in the school). After discussing the rules they both asked some of the teachers if they could be of any use in the school. 'Giz a job' they said. They offered to teach art or some other subjects. That evening, when a small group of teachers met over the time table as usual to work out the next day's schedule, it was noticed that the time table had a couple of vacant slots which had to be filled. It was suggested that Ann and Ev be used. Phil Knibb was in the staff room and asked to have a private talk with one of the teachers for a few minutes. The teacher asked happened to be one of the more 'left wing' ones, very vocal in his opinions about getting more community involvement, and a supporter of Ev and Ann. When he came back he told the rest of us that Phil desired not to have the two in the school and asked us not to schedule them for teaching. He said Phil's reason was simply that 'it would ruin everything'. But, this teacher argued, Phil had just expressed his 'feeling', he left it up to us to decide. The consensus of these teachers, after discussion, was that it wasn't right to bar Ann and Ev from teaching if they wanted to teach and if there was a genuine need for them. Phil hadn't really given a reason for his objections and Ann and Ev hadn't been officially banned from the school or anything like that. Accordingly, Ann and Ev were slotted to teach art for the next day.

The next morning Phil was furious with what had been done. He expressed his anger to the teachers who had done the planning, saying, 'You've gone over my head!'. Ann and Ev were allowed to teach just the same for that day, but were told by a teacher not to come in for the day afterwards, until the situation could be discussed in an Action Committee meeting. They came the next day just the same and spent it in Reza's laboratory preparation room. Although they weren't physically visible to most of the staff and local activists, word of their presence quickly spread around. The old rumours about Phil resurfaced, but this time the sexual side of the story was being emphasised. Ev and Ann, and their supporters, were claiming that Phil had made a pass at Ev and after being rejected had done his best to persecute her. Phil didn't engage in conversation about the situation but his supporters claimed that the very reverse had taken place: Ev had made the pass at Phil and had done her best to make things difficult for him after he had turned her down. Phil was clearly very stressed by their presence in the school.

For a few more days Ann and Ev came to the school but spent their time in Reza's laboratory preparation room and in Yola's nearby history room, helping her sort out text books. Despite this low profile, their presence was fueling discussions throughout the school. Phil continued to be incensed, claiming that his credibility had been undermined when the teachers had let the two back in. The situation continued until the following Tuesday, the 18th of January.

On the 18th of January tensions exploded in the school. Ev and Ann again went to Reza's preparation room but a relative of Ev's came along this time. Some time in the morning this relative came into a corridor of the school, met Phil Knibb, and engaged in a loud verbal confrontation with him in the sight and hearing of many helpers in the school. Phil had been under tremendous strain because of the rumours, his personal reputation amongst the Committee was under attack. The rumours obviously were difficult for Carol Knibb as well. It was a matter of great worry and stress for Phil and the confrontation in the corridors of the school resulted in his walking out of the school, saying he wouldn't come back.

Immediately news of the crisis spread throughout the school and the staffroom filled with teachers and local activists talking excitedly. The school had just begun its morning break and pupils were milling about the hall and outside the building as they usually did at this time. In the staffroom most local activists were getting ready to walk out of the school themselves, to support Phil. Several arguments were taking place between teachers who supported Ann and Ev and local volunteers who supported Phil. A number of local volunteers then declared they were going to resign, as Phil had done, and began to move towards the door. There was much loud talking and angry comments. A couple of teachers suddenly gained the ears of all present and argued forcefully that walking out of the school was the absolute worst possible move. 'We have a school to run!, all this will have to be sorted out in an emergency meeting tonight, but for now we have got to run this school!!!'. The helpers listened for a few minutes and then Ev suddenly entered the room. She was immediately scolded forcefully by a teacher, interrupted as she began to explain that Phil had made a pass at her, and told to explain it all at the emergency meeting that night. A few pupils then entered the room, asking if it was true that the school was closing. If the local activists *had* walked out at that point the pupils would out of necessity have been sent home (where many would have had no parent waiting) and the occupation itself may not have recovered. But Ev had stopped talking and one of the helpers went to the office and rang the bell to signal a resumption of classes. The school continued for the rest of the day and all volunteers waited afterwards to attend the emergency meeting.

Neither Phil nor Ev attended the emergency meeting but almost everyone else who had ever had anything to do with the school was there. Taking Ev's side were Graz and John Bennett who'd travelled long distances for the meeting (they'd been phoned by someone). Yola had a letter to read written by Ev explaining her views on the conflict, and Ann Abercromby was there as well. All the regular staff and helpers were there. Cyril acted as chairman. For the first time there was a good deal of contribution from Action Committee members and helpers at a meeting. Very strong feelings were expressed, and a number of Action Committee members called for a ban on Ev's presence in the school. Most of them tied her to the WRP and claimed that the whole problem had been caused by the efforts of the WRP, with Ev's help. Many teachers, however, argued that it wasn't fair to ban Ev just because of the personality problems between her and Phil. Their arguments were not in political terms. John Bennett used

terms like 'witch-hunt' and 'kangaroo court' in describing the proceedings. One of the helpers stood up and angrily confronted John, saying he had no right to be in the school and that people were sick of the WRP. At this point John and a few others who were not members of the Action Committee, the helpers, or the teaching staff, were forced to leave the room. As the arguments continued it became clear that the bulk of the Action Committee saw the situation primarily as a choice between Phil or Ev, and they were determined to stand by Phil. Finally, a proposal to ban Ev from the school for two weeks until and unless the personal problems with Phil could be resolved was passed. This decision effectively threw the matter back into Phil's control, since it would be up to him to declare whether or their personality problems had been resolved. As it turned out, Ev never did return to the school and she pulled her son out of it and sent him to Ellergreen. Ann pulled her daughter out and never came back, in sympathy with Ev. John Bennett also ceased to come to the school and those volunteers from the community who had had some sympathy with the ideas of Ev and Ann, like Ann Pines, ceased to be vocal about their opinions.

These events were significant in many ways. First of all, at a time in which members of the labour movement all throughout Britain were writing and talking about the Campaign for Croxteth Comprehensive as an exemplary battle against cuts, a crisis precipitated by rumours and scandal had nearly destroyed the campaign from within. It demonstrates the highly contingent nature of campaigns frequently described in terms of class struggle and historical necessity on highly particular events which owe much to non-political sources, or which entwine political issues with highly contingent personal ones. There is no reason to think that the conflict between Phil and Ev was especially unusual in protest movements, though they don't usually attain much public visibility.

Secondly, although these events became an actual crisis only because of allegations of a sexual-personal nature, many political issues had been tied to it. The development and resolution of this crisis actually contributed to an unknown extent to the particular course which the campaign was to pursue. Ev and Ann had effectively led a small number of Action Committee members and helpers in an opposition to the campaign strategy of Phil and Cyril. In doing so they had also had the sympathies of the pro-community group amongst the teachers, which had been a majority on the staff. It is not known what had really occurred between Ev and Phil on the personal level, as indicated earlier, the possibility that the rumours were deliberate inventions is a strong one, the conflict was clearly deeply tied to a power struggle over control of the course of the campaign. Lastly, the way in which this crisis formed and was resolved demonstrates the intersection of many conditions of action in complex ways to produce consequences significant to the movement. Gender relations and norms of personal conduct intermeshed with issues of campaign strategy to finally polarise differences in political opinions about a choice between two individuals. Ev, and with her Ann and John Bennett, were effectively excluded from any influence over decision making through the organisation of the local activists around the charismatic authority of Phil. Although teachers at this meeting tried to separate personal from political issues,

the two were perceived as inextricable by the local activists present, and in interviews after the event most teachers agreed that political factors were a strong feature of what had happened. The effort to separate the political from the personal aspects of the crisis at the meeting were really efforts to prevent the political issues from becoming simply reduced to the personal, and lost from the agenda in that way.

A number of teachers and local volunteers were questioned about their perceptions of this dispute many months after it had occurred. What is very interesting about the responses is that teachers and local activists tended to think of the dispute in different ways. Most of the local activists questioned about it saw the dispute as a choice between Phil or Ev so that they felt obliged to back Phil even if they held nothing against Ev, or in terms of disreputable behaviour on the part of Ev, because they believed that she had made a pass at Phil, or because she was a member of an extreme Left wing group (often they said it was Militant, which is ironic because Phil belonged to Militant). Many teachers, on the other hand, saw it as a struggle over patriarchal authority relations as well as a struggle over the nature of campaign strategy. The personal aspects of the crisis and the link to the WRP was described as a 'smoke screen' by a number of them. Thus, to take a few representative quotations:

Tommy (helper): One of them [Ev and Ann] took a fancy to Phil. They wanted their own way. We didn't like them, they took special privileges that other pickets didn't have. They were causing trouble and were asked to leave.

Pat (helper): Yea, I think it was like a choice. I think it was Ev or Phil, people had to make a choice. Like I had no trouble with them [Ev and Ann], but it was a choice for one or the other. I still don't believe he made a pass. He hasn't made one at me yet, and I've been in the office (laughs).

Ned (helper): They were into the Militant Tendency and the Labour Party didn't want them in.

Rose (teacher): It [the conflict between Phil and Ev] was very complex. I think the WRP thing was just a smoke screen for deeper issues. Men vs women was part of it, and it was related to patriarchal features of the Labour Movement - you know, male-run unions and the Labour Party. It was related to the opposition between the Labour Party and real mass struggle.

Yola (teacher): The more Ev thought, the more strongly she felt, the louder she voiced her opinions, the worst reaction she got from the people around her. The more trouble she got into. It might not have stopped her thinking, but it shut her up. I mean a certain person actually told Ev and Ann that they were too advanced for that committee.

Thus teachers, by and large, saw the conflict in political and sociological terms, helpers in terms of the norm of solidarity or the local norms pertaining to conduct between the sexes. There is some evidence, including the quotation from Yola above based on her intimacy and frequent

social contact with Ev, that the challenge presented by Ev and Ann and others on the committee to the pro-Labour Movement strategy of Phil and Cyril was constructed in terms of gender long before its precipitation into scandal and crisis. If local male residents on the Action Committee had used the same campaign arguments which Ev and Ann put forth, they may have been taken much more seriously and, probably, the issues wouldn't have become so enmeshed in scandal. At any rate, the conflict over campaign strategy was finally resolved through a process of exclusion in which the informal organisation of the local activists became determinant. Phil Knibb's desperate act of walking out of the school had fully polarised the situation and turned it into one perceived by the local activists as a call for their loyalty.

X Summary

This chapter has argued that the conflicts which took place between participants in the occupation were related to different interpretative schemes in tension. On the surface of these schemes were two ideologies in overt conflict which have been given the short notation of 'community power' and 'the social wage'. Because these ideologies were articulated in discourse enough for specific proposals to be made and for two camps to form themselves about each position, and because, for various reasons, the two parties did not attempt to resolve their disputes through efforts at reaching rational understanding, the resolution of the conflicts became dependent on legitimate access to decision making. The pro-community group became excluded in the end.

In both the case of these conflicts over the basic purposes of the occupation and the case of the conflicts which developed over the form of schooling described in chapter twelve, origins of the interpretative schemes in conflict can be related to the social origins of the activists. The teachers were a clear example of what Claus Offe calls 'decommodified groups' (chapter three). They were for the most part from middle class backgrounds but were for various reasons unemployed and were not tied to occupational roles and their accompanying interests at the time of their involvement. A majority of them were involved in either left of the Labour Party political organisations or 'new' social movement organisations or both. Their interpretative scheme, their adherence to the ideals of community power and progressive education, was related to their middle class backgrounds and decommodified status.

The participants from Croxteth, on the other hand, were steeped in a working class culture and the interpretative schemes they drew most heavily upon were features of that culture. Most of them were also 'decommodified', unemployed, many of them housewives. But their culture was working class and their interpretations were tightly tied to their culture and their living conditions. In the case of schooling we were able to examine these schemes in some detail, the relationship of school authority to authority relations on the Croxteth estate in particular were described, and the context in which this relationship existed included a traditional view of

school knowledge. In the case of the goals of the occupation the interpretative scheme was in relationship to material interests which the school both embodied and symbolised (chapter eight). This is in direct contrast to the case of the teacher volunteers for whom the school neither embodied nor directly symbolised material interests. Yet the material interests which the removal of the school threatened for the local activists could have been interpreted differently than through the ideology of the social wage, as we have been calling it. The fact that it was interpreted in this way owes to the culture of the Croxteth estate and the traditions of the working class in Liverpool (and also Britain) from which many of its elements were drawn.

Claus Offe (1985), we saw, predicts that an alliance between the social groups of the traditional labour movement and the social groups involved in 'new' social movements is possible. The case of Croxteth Comprehensive shows that such an alliance will involve difficulties, as many social problems and movement goals will be seen differently by the two groups and the roots of these differences might not be clearly visible. A movement which consists of such an alliance between the traditional working class and the social groupings involved in 'new' social movements would be most successful if it provided opportunities for much open discussion, would have to make, in fact, open discussion for goal clarification one of its explicit values, a goal in itself.

As the conflicts over strategy developed during the occupation of the school the conditions underlying them became drawn into discourse to a certain extent. The teachers initially had not fully thought through their adherence to an ideology of community power, they subscribed to it primarily in normative ways. But as the conflicts with Phil Knibb grew these teachers began to discuss their feelings and views and a clearer position was in the early stages of formulation by the end of the first term, a position which began to recognise linkages between the political struggle for the school and pedagogic and curricular issues. The leadership of the Action Committee also began to articulate their political position, taking on the interpretations formulated by the Labour Party of welfare cuts and of the nationwide movement necessary to stop them. There were obvious practical reasons for making use of Labour Party ideology, but the ideology also fit well with the tacit interpretative schemes of working class culture. It was an ideology which sustained the views of education held by the local activists and spoke directly to their interpretation of their material interests. Identifying the campaign for the school with Labour Party objectives did alter previous attitudes of the activists, especially their initial willingness to be in a competitive relationship with the Ellergreen community.

By the beginning of the second term, then, a form of schooling and a clear campaign strategy had both been established in the school, to a large extent in a way which corresponded to conditions of action which were brought into the school by the activists. Participation had so far helped the activists to bring forth tacit conditions into discourse and conflict was a major factor in this process. But little questioning of the

conditions underlying the discourses had taken place by the beginning of the second term.

However, the occupation of Croxteth Comprehensive was to last another six and a half months. As participants continued to be involved in the running of the school changes did begin to take place in the way they viewed the issues discussed in the last three chapters. These changes were the result of prolonged involvement in the routines of the school and are the subject of the next two chapters.

Chapter Fourteen
POLITICS AND SCHOOLING

To conclude this part of the conference Phil Knibb got up to speak. He began by pulling together the themes expressed by previous speakers. He told the audience that originally the Action Committee had wanted to be non-political. But eventually this became inevitable. Like it or not, it had to turn to the Labour Party for help, as it was the Liberals and the Tories who had decided to close the school.

Similarly, it took three years to realise the nature of the struggle and necessity for other schools to remain open, so that all communities would have a means of education. And what had happened in Croxteth must happen in other areas, where similar campaigns will be mounted. Thus he wants there to be Community Neighbourhood schools that give an understanding and easing of pressures on kids.

For this reason education has to be and always will be political.

Report of Barry Kushner on a Spring 1983 conference and benefit organised by the Cockpit Theatre Group for Croxteth Comprehensive.

I Politics Outside and Inside the School

The political course of the campaign for Croxteth Comprehensive was virtually set by the beginning of the second term. Internally little opposition remained to the strategy worked out by Philip Knibb and Cyril D'Arcy after the crisis between Phil and Ev had been resolved. Externally many barriers to the campaign's success had been overcome by this time as well. This section looks at political developments both within and outside of the occupied buildings as the second term progressed. At the same time that leaders of the Action Committee became increasingly politicised and integrated into labour movement organisations based outside of Croxteth, the separation of politics and educational activities became reinforced and strongly marked within the occupied school buildings.

A) Labour Movement Politics

With the start of the second term many of the threats which had faced the occupation during the Autumn no longer loomed so large. An invasion of bailiffs was no longer considered a real possibility, especially after a vote of the Liberal Party against using bailiffs in early January. The appeal for Croxteth Comprehensive to be an examination centre was accepted by the CSE and AEB examination boards during the holidays. Mannwebb Electricity had given up its efforts to cut off the electrical supply to the school buildings, reaching an agreement with the Action Committee instead that the latter would pay the bills. It was also fairly clear by the beginning of the second term that the local Labour Party would soon officially pledge its support for Croxteth Comprehensive and, on 31 January, it did vote to make reinstatement of the school an electoral pledge.

The campaign strategy now merged itself with objectives of the local and national labour movement to a large extent, with Philip Knibb and his brothers becoming increasingly involved in its organisations. The Liverpool City council elections scheduled for the 5th of May became the

main hope of the Action Committee. It became the main hope of the teaching staff as well, though with regrets that more of the community couldn't be simultaneously drawn into the campaign. During the second term Philip Knibb, his brothers Ron and George, and a few other participants in the occupation began to contribute to the local Labour Party's electoral campaign. The school also became the organisational centre for planning and coordinating a nationwide demonstration to take place in Liverpool against the Conservative government's cuts in welfare services. The Merseyside Trade Union - Community Liaison Committee initially came up with the idea for this demonstration and Phil Knibb undertook major responsibility for organising it from the school premises. It was to take place in April.

Involvement in trade union activities and the labour movement generally was crucially important to maintain financial support for the occupation. Finances were the area of greatest vulnerability. Although impressive amounts of money were donated to the school regularly, expenses were at their peak due to cold weather and the agreement to pay electricity bills. Combined gas, electric and oil expenses came to approximately £1,000 per month during the winter term. Food for lunch had to be continuously purchased, and many miscellaneous expenses frequently came up such as repairs for equipment and travelling expenses for Phil and Cyril (who continued to give talks about the country). In addition, expenses for the examinations were expected to be near £1,000, and this was a constant worry until late March, when an anonymous donor gave the school £865 to meet examination expenses just before they had to be paid.

Financial pressure made it imperative that the trade union movement increase its support for the second term. The Merseyside Trade Union Community Liaison Committee put forth continuous efforts to generate funds and stressed to member unions the importance of the struggle for Croxteth Comprehensive to the trade union movement. Meetings were called regularly by Eddie Roberts who urged all members of 'the Labour Movement on Merseyside' to attend and pledge cash support 'for this vital struggle' (see appendix). Ron Knibb spent much time visiting and ringing union branches throughout the city. Such continuous efforts at fund raising and the excellent response they received from unionists just managed to bring in enough money to pay the large bills. Ideologically the campaign continued to stress the importance of the struggle for Croxteth Comprehensive to the labour movement as a whole - it was often described as the 'vanguard' of the fight against government cuts.

On the 28th of January the Liberal local government delivered the long threatened blow of sending a rates bill to the school. The bill totalled £27,353.08. It was addressed to Philip Knibb, Cyril D'arcy and Peter Kerrigan and an accompanying letter explained that it was only the first of two, another bill for an equivalent amount could be expected later in the year. Phil responded by contacting a solicitor, who suggested that the Action Committee apply for charity status to lower their liability for rates. Phil also decided to send a bill to the local authority for £127,000, which he estimated they owed the community of Croxteth over their

failure to supply essential services. The school's financial situation was so precarious that loans had to be taken at times to heat the school for a week or two, until more donations came in. This was carefully kept secret from the media, the Action Committee fearing that knowledge of it could be exploited by opponents to the occupation by stepping up pressures on the committee to pay rates and other bills. Donations from the trade unions continued to arrive, however, just in time and in just enough quantity to keep the school running.

While the Merseyside labour movement increasingly gave support to the school and justified this support in labour movement terminology and goals, Phil Knibb became increasingly involved in its organisations. He was elected secretary of the MTUCLC which came to have representatives from the NUT as well as major blue collar unions on Merseyside. At some point in time he joined the Militant Tendency. The support of Militant for the occupation became visible during the late second term, when they printed articles about it in their newspaper, *The Militant*, (at least one written by Phil Knibb) and provided the Militant-controlled Young Socialists (Crick 1984) for leafletting work on the estate. Phil gave a talk at a January meeting called by the MTUCLC at Transport House which included Ken Livingston and Ted Knight on its panel of speakers. He was co-opted onto the Liverpool Labour Party's Educational Policy Group and began to help them plan city-wide reorganisation. He was invited to a meeting of academics interested in politics and education held in Salford, to give a talk with Cyril at Ruskin College Oxford, to represent Croxteth (along with Cyril and Margaret Gaskell) at a Socialist Society workshop in London, and to attend a conference organised by the Cockpit Group of the ILEA. At the latter he pointed out the change that had taken place for himself and the Action Committee during the course of the campaign (see beginning quotation): 'education has to be and always will be political'. Phil's brothers George and Ron also became highly involved in Merseyside political organisations.

The most concrete example of the growing integration of the campaign with broad labour movement objectives was the demonstration being planned for April. This demonstration was aimed to draw national attention to the Croxteth occupation, not as an example of an isolated community suffering from corrupt local politics, but as a symbol of an allegiance of the British Labour Movement with communities every where suffering from national government policies. Through the efforts of Phil Knibb, his brothers, and to a certain extent Cyril D'Arcy, the campaign for Croxteth Comprehensive had broadened its political vision to national issues. The leadership, which had confined itself politically to essentially trade union work before the campaign, had now become thoroughly immersed in party-political activity and ideology. They felt a *responsibility* not only to the community of Croxteth but to the entire labour movement and commitment to win the campaign took on an extra dimension accordingly.

B) The Politics of Efficiency

But the situation *inside* the school reflected a different level of relationship between politics and education than the one which had taken place externally. Party politics producing policies on education is one thing, the actual process of schooling something else. After the resolution of the conflicts described in chapter thirteen, the organisation of activities inside the occupied school became more efficient through an increased division of labour, and this division of labour involved separating political from educational activities. It was overtly a movement towards a more efficient operation in the school, but it produced a number of important consequences for the personal experiences of many participants in the campaign, and it involved certain conditions which are widespread in British society. For these reasons we shall look at it closely in this section.

In what follows we will first examine what reasons lay behind the establishment of ^{an} more efficient organisation of the campaign, then what specific organisational forms it took, next what conditions of action were drawn upon in producing it, and fourthly, the main subject of the next section, what its consequences were.

Efficiency became a goal for two main reasons: to better handle the enormous internal and external demands made upon the activists (reasons of material constraint) and to consolidate control of the campaign in the hands of the Action Committee leadership, particularly Philip Knibb. The participants had enormous demands on them for running the school and handling the large amounts of information flowing between the school and organisations external to it such as the Labour Party and trade unions. It would have been difficult to coordinate all the activities necessary to make the occupation and campaign work without dividing the labour - constraints of time and energy made this actually the only possibility. Decision making was divided at the same time, some people concerning themselves primarily with campaign organisation, some with school administration, some with school maintenance and the preparation of lunches, some with classroom teaching. By allowing for autonomous decision making in these different areas decisions could be made rapidly and efficiently.

But of course dividing decision making in this way also consolidated power in the hands of those primarily involved with running the campaign, for it was this sphere that determined the meaning of all the other activities - the purposes of the campaign. And this consolidation of power was itself a reason for the increased division of labour. Phil Knibb was determined after the conflicts of the first term to keep himself in a fully informed position with considerable freedom to act autonomously because he was certain that was the only way to ensure the campaign's victory. His experience of the first term, where he hadn't had control over all the information relevant to the campaign and where his leadership was consciously challenged in a very manipulative manner, made him determined to have complete control of the crucial external features of the campaign, the linkages between the occupation and the labour movement. And he was

also anxious that some of the disorganisation prevalent in the school during the first term become lessened, so that the education of the pupils would be adequate. Thus he also wished to place himself in a position where he could observe what was going on inside the school and make interventions if necessary.

Efficiency was achieved by more clearly marking and implementing a division of labour which had already been established during the first term. The principle division of labour was that between the external, political, aspects of the campaign and its internal, educational, aspects. This was marked in the second term through the creation of a 'Campaign office', the old office which had been staffed primarily by Ev and Ann during the first term and which had simultaneously served as an area of informal socialising between helpers and teachers (and often pupils). Phil now declared this office to be his headquarters, labelled it the Campaign Office, staffed it with two helpers, and restricted the access of other activists to it. The helpers working daily in this office handled correspondence, informed Phil of meetings and other appointments he had to make, kept track of the donations arriving regularly from union branches, and under Phil's direction laid the groundwork for the April demonstration. One of these helpers, Kim Scanlon, was brought in at Phil Knibb's special request. Kim had previously worked as a clerk for a major trade union and she was involved in Labour Party affairs as well. Kim actually lived in Croxteth and had been involved in the occupation for a limited time just after the building take-overs. Her office skills and experience with the labour movement were particularly desired at this point of the campaign. Phil's desire was to create an office which would work efficiently at the many tasks necessary to coordinate the demonstration and other aspects of the campaign aside from actual schooling. The office also established his control over the information flowing between the school, Labour Party, and trade unions. With the establishment of the Campaign office, the division of labour between political and educational activities took on clear social-geographical representation inside the school, reinforcing the boundaries between the two.

In addition to the reinforced separation of political activity from schooling, schooling activity itself became divided between administrative and classroom work. Next to the Campaign office was another office which had been little used during most of the first term. This office had been given to Kevin Stannard, as school administrator, late in the first term. Kevin was soon joined by Mark Gough who agreed to edit the *Crocky News* newspaper. Conflicts between the two offices quickly manifested. Phil and Cyril had both initially welcomed the possibility of having an administrator 'from outside' who wouldn't be partisan to either side of the conflicts taking place in the first term. But Kevin, despite a willingness to work long hours and even spend nights in the school, wasn't terribly apt as an administrator. He was young, in his early 20s, had never worked as an administrator before, and made many mistakes which were seen by some to contribute to the disorder in the school rather than reduce it. Kevin also perceived the campaign differently than the Action Committee leadership, vocally taking the side of the pro-community group and holding to many

progressive ideals when it came to education. Phil responded by strictly limiting the amount of campaign information he shared with Kevin and by taking on many administrative duties himself, when he found that the administration office wasn't handling them very well. During the early weeks of the second term, for example, Phil came early to the school each morning to make sure the time-table was filled for the day, and handed out registers to teachers arriving for the beginning form period in which rolls were taken. Phil also occasionally took measures which Kevin felt he should have been consulted on: the 'sacking' of the volunteer teacher described in the last chapter is an example.

For his part, Phil didn't think it was proper to involve himself in any aspect of the educational activities of the school. He didn't wish to do so, and didn't consider himself competent to either. But Phil felt that his intervention was necessary at times and he was able to intervene successfully even if teachers protested about it. There is no doubt that his interventions did greatly contribute to order in the school, but Kevin found it difficult to work in the situation, with Phil sometimes taking actions unknown to him. The situation was less prone to conflict when Jackie Crowley, a recent Polytechnic graduate and lifelong resident of Liverpool, joined the administration staff in February. Jackie got on well with Phil, saw the purposes of the occupation more in his terms, didn't challenge his decisions as Kevin often did, and handled her responsibilities with competence. Jackie described herself as a 'militant supporter' and was kept informed of many aspects of the political campaign by Phil.

Conflicts between Phil and Kevin were only partially based in conflicts of personality. They were the most outward form of conflicts which the strong lines drawn between political and educational activities produced. The main problem was communication. Many administrators and teachers began to frequently complain that they weren't being told anything about the political features of the campaign any more. They resented the 'secretive' manner of those working in the Campaign office and pointed out that they knew virtually nothing about the April demonstration which was being planned. Poor communication wasn't a result of a conscious policy on the part of the Campaign Office - if asked, Phil willingly explained all new developments. But at the same time little conscious effort was made on the part of this office to transmit information to the rest of the activists, and few activists did ask Phil for up-dates. Action Committee meetings were hardly ever called during the second term, 'there's no time for them', Phil once said. Cyril D'Arcy also appeared much less often in the school at this time in order to concentrate more on aspects of his personal life. Phil's scope to act autonomously was thus increased, and he clearly took many decisions without consulting the staff or Action Committee - again for reasons of efficiency.

The division of schooling work between those who administrated and those who taught also resulted in asymmetrical distributions of information. With the establishment of the administrative office, teachers became less involved in schooling activities outside of their own classrooms. They knew less about what was occurring in the school as a

whole, how other classes were faring, even what new volunteers had arrived. On a number of occasions the researcher, who was very bound up with teaching during this period, was surprised to suddenly discover that two or three new teachers had been working in the school for a few days. They had offered their help to the school, been shown to Kevin or Jackie, and given educational responsibilities days before a staff meeting or a chance encounter in the staffroom could occur. This would never have happened in the first term when new volunteers were introduced to the rest of the staff at one of the daily meetings as soon as they'd arrived. Meetings were no longer so frequent in the second term, and some teachers stopped attending them when they were held. As a result, information was less evenly distributed and tended to concentrate instead into a small number of individuals. The administration could attend to things which the staff as a whole once had done.

Helpers in the school constituted yet another broadly differentiated group which continued to have internal divisions based on which area of the school they were involved in: the kitchen, the corridors, the Parkstile building, night picket duty. Thus, summarising the discussion so far, the division of labour, which had been established during the first term, became more marked in the second, resulting in four major social groups (bracketing off the pupils for the moment): teachers, administrators, helpers and the Campaign office. Boundaries between these groups were now stronger than they had been in the first term, especially in the case of the Campaign office workers. The major division which had occurred was that between groups running the school (helpers, administrators and teachers) and the group running the campaign. This division had the most strongly defined representation in the geography of the school with the creation of the Campaign Office. The differentiation of activity with its thickening boundaries corresponded to a further concentration of information in a few individuals. Conflicts between those running the political aspects of the campaign and those running the school were now based primarily on the feeling of the latter that they were being left out, rather than being based on differences of opinion with regard to campaign goals (though these still operated - see next section). Conflicts manifested primarily on the level of personal disputes, such as those between Kevin and Phil, producing both unexpressed resentments and a certain amount of back-biting.

Now we can consider the conditions upon which this division of labour drew. One condition was still the charismatic authority of Phil Knibb, which had if anything grown since the Ev and Ann dispute. This authority left Phil free to make decisions without formally consulting with the Action Committee and made it possible for Action Committee meetings themselves to become much less important to the campaign. The several conditions which entered into Phil's charismatic authority which were discussed in chapter eleven remained the basis of it in this period.

A second group of conditions were the material constraints we mentioned above. Everyone agreed that a division of labour of some sort was necessary to run the campaign. Efficiency was a goal in itself with

respect to these constraints. And efficiency was used to legitimate what was occurring as well, Phil's autonomy and power itself was justified on the grounds of efficiency.

A third condition was a highly tacit one based on a norm held by most activists that educational activity and political activity (as opposed to education and politics themselves) ought to be kept strictly separate. This was a condition that worked homologously to help separate teachers from decision making processes: teaching and politics must be kept separate / teachers and political decision makers are different groups of people . The norm involved was based on a fear that pupils could be indoctrinated politically by politically-involved teachers. Pupils should be provided neutral information with which they can in later life make their own political decisions. Critics of the occupation sometimes stated that pupils were receiving an indoctrination in the school - this was stated explicitly during an interview with Conservative spokesperson for education in Liverpool Myra Fitzsimmons . The Action Committee was highly aware of the potential for such a criticism and frequently stressed to the media that pupils were receiving a standard education with no biased political content, which was strictly speaking true. But via homologies this normative scheme helped to specify the roles which activists played to run the school as wholly separate from those played to run the campaign politically, and this became especially the case with respect to the teachers.

In ways which are explored in the next section, teachers got the message with special strength during the second term that their role was only to teach, not to concern themselves, *as a group*, with the political aspects of the campaign. The separation of politics from education on the level of actual activity made it easy for the situation to lock teachers further into their classroom activities. The homology worked tacitly through the distinction between two senses of the term 'political': political in the sense of state policies and party politics, and political in the sense of participatory power over the activities and purposes occurring within a (state) institution. It was another version of the social wage interpretative scheme, in implicit opposition to the sense of 'political' accompanying the community power theme. Education is political according to the first view only in the sense of being a state provision subject to state policy. Thus teachers may be involved in politics, but their political activities and their educational activities are made distinct. 'Political' in the second sense recognises a linkage between daily routines and the logic they take within a societal/institutional setting which mediates power relations. In the second sense of politics, the separation of role from decision making processes which influence the purposes to which that role is put, is a separation which has many implications for structures of domination in society. To say that politics and education are linked in this second sense is to say that the purposes of schooling ought also to be placed under the control of those involved in it. The play which occurred in the school between these two senses of what is political will be developed more concretely just ahead.

Several of the consequences of increasing the division of labour during the second term have already been described. Phil Knibb's power was increased, the school and campaign both ran more smoothly, and conflicts, mostly taking individual and suppressed forms, developed over the poor communication between the political and the educational activists. The separation of political and educational activities had further consequences which are discussed in the next section.

C) Demoralisation

The teaching staff had many problems to contend with during the second term. The number of teachers, though stable, was still too small to adequately fill the time table, a situation which put a great deal of pressure on the teachers. Reza, for example, had to take three different groups of science students simultaneously at times. Mathematics had to be taught to groups of O level and CSE candidates simultaneously. Many teachers worked long hours after school to tutor pupils preparing for examinations and to get ready for the next day of teaching. And discipline problems, though fewer than they had been in the first term, continued to concern everyone.

The separation of the political and the educational sides of the campaign left teachers with the job of teaching in unusually difficult conditions, without pay, minus the gratification of participating in the more exciting political features of the struggle. Working in the school without pay was hard on many of the teachers and helpers. It was common to hear activists complaining of the 'poverty grind' which constantly wore upon them. With communication failing between the Campaign office and the teaching staff, many teachers also began to feel out of touch with what was really happening and thus began to feel that their teaching had lost its meaning - or at least that the political meaning it had was no longer very clear. As Kevin Stannard expressed it during an informal conversation:

The teachers didn't come here just to teach. We came because we wanted to be involved in this as a *political* movement. But we are cut off from the political side now. Involvement had been one of our principle sources of gratification and reward, now we have no gratification or reward. We call this a community school but how much of a community school is it? State schools are bad enough - we're trying to run this like a state school and we aren't even doing a good job at it.

Many of the teachers who had played the most prominent and visible roles during the first term felt that their situation had slipped by the beginning of the second. They felt they'd lost influence over campaign issues altogether and were now even outside of any discussions, ultimately influential or not, over how the campaign was going. In interviews, three factors consistently came up as explanations of what had happened:

- 1) The pro-community campaign they'd supported was now completely off the agenda.

- 2) They were now forced into the role of teaching only. This was related to their failure, in the eyes of most local activists, to control pupils.
- 3) A new, smaller, group of teachers had 'risen' in influence to replace them.

A conversation which took place between myself, Reza, and Peter Clarke in April 1983 (and tape recorded) illuminates the perceptions this group of teachers had of the changes which had occurred. Some of the contributions of Reza are presented here in detail. The reader should picture an Iranian in his early thirties who talks rapidly with plenty of gestures for emphasis:

Reza: Well, I was listening to the conversation you were having with Peter and you were saying that there was a change around Christmas (pause)

P.C.: Yeah.

Reza: Well we were told that this whole campaign belongs to the trade unions. I heard from certain individuals that this whole thing belongs to the trade unions. That sounded to me like very bad political action, you know it was forced on the people. Well, no one can deny that the trade unions have been contributing financially towards the expenses of the campaign, nobody can deny that, but I was always under the impression that, first of all, they *had* to do that, and secondly that that should have been a gesture of their solidarity only, and thirdly, they could have contributed more than what they have done. How much they have contributed to the campaign should only have been reckoned as a gesture of their solidarity and nothing more. But it seems to me that they now are the ones who dictate the policy.

P.C.: But who? Who's saying that this belongs to the trade unions?

Reza: Well I heard it first from Ronny Knibb and although I had expected it, I'd felt the whole thing rolling away, he'd put it specifically, you know, in so many words. I remember he said that this campaign *belongs* to the trade unions because of all the support they had given to it. [This was said at the crisis meeting over the conflicts between Ev and Phil.]

P.C.: I'm interested in what role teachers have played in determining campaign policy, - you can come in on this too Peter if you like. Have you ever felt that as a teacher in the school you've had much say in the way the campaign has been conducted?

Reza: Uh, there was a time when there was more activity, more contributions made by the teachers to a certain extent, but, uhh

P.C.: Last term?

Reza: Yeah, the time before Christmas, but then things started cooling down.

Peter: Yeah, the routine just took over, now certain members of the Action Committee just go down to the trade unions in town, to the Transport and General, rather than discussing things here. You see, the teachers can't go to those meetings.

Reza: I mean, if you want to do anything, first of all you have to go through the channel of the Action Committee, and on the Action Committee I know one person that has got, perhaps one and a half persons, who've got the say in these things, and the rest, the rest are just sort of observers.

P.C.: Uhh, how did that come about? I mean we were saying that things got rigid after Christmas.

Reza: Well the whole thing got rigid because certain people who wanted the campaign to be on the level of having trade union support, on that level [only], managed to organise themselves more efficiently, you know, and it was possible for them to do so. So far as our active teachers were concerned, the number of them sort of dropped. I think the other people who wanted to maintain the campaign, the people I referred to, they managed to, because they had more spare time, a lot more than me who was in here from half past nine up to five o'clock, six o'clock, sometimes up to 12 o'clock midnight. Them people had a lot more spare time to go to people to talk to members of the Action Committee, organise them, or rather develop their influence with them. I didn't have such time at all, neither did you, neither Peter or other people. Their words became the pound of the day, worth exchange anywhere, whereas our words started to (pause)

P.C.: To?

Reza: Well also one other factor contributed. He was restricting the contribution of the teachers to the whole affairs of the campaign, I mean politically and educationally, to the mere educational work. Not directly with, 'get on, go on and get on with your work', but rather we were told that this school is not run properly, you know, we need more discipline to be done, we need this and that to be done, and through that we were more gagged, more restricted, to the question of education.

P.C.: But why did we have to go along with these restrictions? This is an interesting question, why did we have to go along with it?

Reza: ... We had sort of more experienced people around at the time when Graz was around, Chris was around, uhh, other people were around. ... But nevertheless that issue was sort

of connected to the issue of discipline, you know, the question of maintaining the classes and so on. I remember there was a big issue made of this matter that when parents or some members of the Action Committee go into a classroom the class goes hush-hush, they go dead quiet, and we were blamed for not being able to maintain the classes and that was another shot against us. It had by implication, 'don't concern yourselves with the political affairs and also of the general running of the campaign'. The logic was that since we couldn't keep discipline, we couldn't do the other aspects of the work. And I raised the question to the Action Committee, 'why don't you go into the community and ask if they would come in and help us with the running of the school, after all this is their own school, and I would hear time and time again, 'you can't mobilise any people there, you can't bring any people in, and etcetera, etcetera, etcetera.

P.C.: Well, do you think they really believed they couldn't get the community involved or not?

Reza: They could have, they could believe it. I can't blame them for what they believe. ... But that is not the point at all, that was not the point, whether, you know, we could get the people from there. What we were discussing was the fact that teachers were pushed to a corner and their contribution to the running of the general campaign was diminished. We came under quite a bit of pressure, if you remember, every single staff meeting we were discussing the question of discipline, discipline, discipline, discipline; we could have been running a sort of a military camp here (laughs). But behind that question of discipline was the fact that when we went to the Action Committee meetings the only question we could talk about was discipline and hence anything else mentioned by members of staff was not very much valued.

Teachers like Reza had held to their pro-community strategy partly because they felt that that was the way in which to establish control over pupils. But local volunteers tended to locate responsibility for control on the teachers. Teachers felt enormous pressure on themselves in consequence. The poor performance of many teachers in maintaining control led to their loss of influence in other matters and made interactions between teachers and local activists at meetings one in which teachers felt on the defensive. Yola gave her views on this same matter and refers to the rise of the second group of teachers into an influential position as well:

Yola: I don't know, sometimes I get the feeling that if you can't control kids, you know, (laughing) but maybe that's just my paranoia.

P.C.: I've heard some direct criticisms.

Yola: I've heard parents criticise some teachers very ruthlessly, very ruthlessly. They don't know how lucky they are.

P.C.: They don't appreciate us?

Yola: No; they appreciate the ones that are in with them. I mean, that do the right things, or don't say the right things

- I mean don't say *anything*. But if you sort of stick your neck out which I've done in some situations ...

These teachers were beginning to feel very demoralised by the middle of the second term. The very teachers who had talked in such glowing terms about the atmosphere in the school during the first term now felt pushed aside and felt their work in the school had become dry. Peter Clarke commented:

P.C.: Can you describe the change that took place after Christmas?

Peter: Well before Christmas I think there was more of an effort to get the school to have its own social functions. If there were to be discussions about education, they were held at Croxteth. Certainly you should look for support but at the same time you should keep the community involved.

P.C.: Do you think the community was more involved before Christmas - or at least that more efforts were being made to involve them?

Peter: Yeah, there was a lot of talk at the time about street committees which I think we lost out on. It was much to do with getting the community involved, whereas I think since Christmas the trade unions were approached for money. Now that should really have been only part of the struggle if it was to be a community struggle because what it has led to is total reliance on the trade unions.

P.C.: What do you think caused this shift?

Peter: Well I couldn't really be clear cut on that. Umm, I would say that the administration is now very much tied up with the Labour Party and with the local elections coming up. I think it's become very much tied in. And although it seems to be keeping it on a very broad level with the fight against the cuts, you know I think that in going that direction it has missed a lot of the *life* it could have had.

Peter's perceptions are interesting because, as the last chapter described, there *weren't* more efforts to involve the community nor was the community more involved in the first term than in the second term, nor were the trade unions approached only after Christmas. But there certainly was more *talk* about the issues in the first term and all of the teachers in this group (a majority of the teachers of the first term) agreed that the life in the school, so rich during the exciting first term, had dried up in the second.

The combination of being cut off from decision making processes, overwork, pupil disruptions, poverty, and isolation told on many of the staff. Both Reza and Janine spent some time in the Liverpool hospital, in Reza's case for reasons explicitly related to the stress of volunteering in the school. One afternoon in mid-term the history teacher Ann was found crying over her lunch, explaining that she felt overworked, isolated, and unappreciated.

The situation was serious enough for several teachers to leave. As early as January several key teachers, Yola, Janine, Angela and Kevin the administrator amongst them, were privately declaring that they would like to leave the school and would do so if they got replacements. Graz very rarely came to the school, making only one or two visits during the second

and third terms. Ian, the English teacher from Lancaster, informed the staff that he was taking a three week break - he never returned. Paul Shackley, a regular volunteer from Lancaster during the first term, stopped coming. Volunteers from the Merseyside Arts Association, who had taught art classes in the school from the pilot summer school to the end of the first term, no longer came in the second term. The school's first term German and French teacher Kate, who was associated with the Liverpool political publication *Left Out*, stopped coming as well. Yola left after Easter to become involved in the feminist movement in London, saying the occupation had become stagnant for her. Janine, the school's art and domestic science teacher, left soon afterwards, explaining that she'd come to feel isolated, unappreciated, and cut off from the campaign.

At least two conditions worked to separate teachers from control over the purposes and goals of the campaign: gender and the social position or role of the teacher. It is important to note that most of, but not all, the teachers who actually left were women. Conditions of domination based on gender in the school, we've pointed out several times already and will do so again, were felt as strongly oppressive by many of the female volunteer teachers. It was extremely difficult for them to gain influence over the decision making process, especially regarding the campaign as a whole; more so than it was for the males.

The social position of the teacher bundled together a number of themes discussed in various sections of this thesis, through homologies affecting interpretations of the situation by various participants. Teachers' authority was based on possession of school knowledge, and the teacher's role was expected to include control of pupils. The knowledge possessed by teachers was a 'neutral', non-political knowledge and their 'position' in the role of teacher was therefore one which separated political and educational activity. They were 'specialists'. In addition, the failure of these teachers to effectively control pupils left them with diminished authority, not with respect to teaching, for in this realm they could be labelled incompetent but yet remain unchallenged because local activists didn't feel they themselves possessed the requisite knowledge, 'the authority' as George Knibb put it (chapter eleven) to actually challenge it. But a diminished authority in other realms of the campaign. Teachers were subtly pressed towards a societal position, 'the teacher', some of them excluded from other roles, and judged as incompetent generally because of their imperfect performance in this position. They were pressed away from having control over defining their own roles in the school, as the roles ascribed to the position of teacher began to confine their field of possible action.

D) Motivations and Life Worlds

What, in short, had occurred for many teachers was the loss of normative and dramaturgical meaning for their efforts. Their hopes of aiding a genuine 'community struggle' and in some cases of helping to create an alternative school, had to be abandoned. But their feeling of demoralisation went much deeper than simply finding themselves working in a campaign serving purposes to which they had ideological objections.

After all, it was clear through most of the first term that the pro-community strategy *probably* wouldn't be implemented because it was clear from an early stage of the conflicts that the Action Committee would be very hard to sway in a new direction, for reasons thoroughly discussed in the last chapter. But in the first term there was an atmosphere of hope just the same. There were many discussions and debates amongst teachers which at least had some of the Action Committee involved. There was a sense that teachers could have *some* influence, even if only a little. This was a goal in itself for these teachers, a participatory climate in which teacher volunteers felt themselves as contributors to the meaning of the occupation. To a significant extent, they were involved in discursive processes in which the goals of their activities were being clarified, along with the values which formed the rationale of these goals. And it was this social *process* which was one of the major reasons, a major rationale, for the involvement of many of them. By the second term the participatory process had been lost. After the campaign became tightly aligned with the organisations of the labour movement, its goals became more (clearly) determined from without the school. It became objectified to these teachers, assigning them roles to play rather than allowing them to discover new roles for themselves. Participation became *work*, alienated labour if you like, a subordination of personal values to purposes determined elsewhere.

It can be argued that the stakes of the movement for this group of teachers had been close to the stakes which define 'new' social movements. The conflicts described in the last chapter had been at least partially a struggle over control of the 'cultural field' (Touraine 1985) within a single site - the captured territory in which the activists worked. It was a struggle not only over the goals and the meaning of the campaign but over how those goals and meanings were to be maintained and reproduced. This group of teachers had a stake in the campaign which put themselves, through a participatory process, in positions of contribution to the on-going process of the clarification of values and setting of goals. The loss of this climate led them into a situation in which the cultural field had become a set context instead of a field under constant examination, discussion and alteration. Thus the imagery implicit in the terms used by this group of teachers to describe the situation after Christmas, (terms like 'rigid', 'stagnant', 'routine'), was suggestive of hardness, aridity, immobility, and confinement.

Of course for other activists this loss of meaning and freedom was not occurring at all in the second term. In the case of the leadership, for example, the situation was very different. Unlike most other participants, Phil Knibb was becoming an important contributor to local labour movement activities outside of the Croxteth Community. While the teachers we've discussed felt their power over events receding towards institutions over which they had no influence or control, Phil experienced just the opposite: involvement in those very institutions with a growing degree of influence and control. For him, the normative context of the struggle and the discovery of new media of self-expression in which friendships are made and latent aspects of self developed, had simply expanded beyond their

initial location in a grass roots movement. To a very significant extent, Phil's experience was not one of the subordination of the culture of his daily life to an institutional logic beyond his control but the reverse. It could be regarded as a major factor in Phil's involvement, and in his efforts to lead the campaign for Croxteth Comprehensive, that these new opportunities were emerging for him. An explanation of his motivation solely in terms of goal-rational action and interests would certainly be inadequate: Phil was discovering new normative and expressive contexts of immense importance to his personal life, was finding himself increasingly empowered and at home in the labour movement of Liverpool. If these opportunities and experiences had not arisen for Phil, we may speculate that the vast amounts of time he put into the struggle could have been less in quantity and perhaps different in form. As well as Phil, George and Ron Knibb, Collette D'Arcy (though along a different route), and Jackie Crowley all similarly became more involved in city-wide organisations based outside of Croxteth as a result of the campaign.

That leaves two other groups of activists in the school, activists who were neither part of the Action Committee leadership nor part of those on the teaching staff feeling so demoralised during the second term. For these participants the campaign seemed to retain a good deal of meaning though not that which it had for Phil Knibb and those close to him. The small group of teachers who came to occupy more influential positions during the second term had not joined the campaign with set political ideologies and had come for the most part with the hope of trying out teaching. For several of these, participation in the school definitely opened new opportunities: friendships were created between themselves and members of the Action Committee and teaching was experienced as rewarding.

It is worth looking more closely at the experience of those teachers who rose in influence during the second term. Barry Kushner was one of them, though he had taken the pro-community side of the conflicts during the first term. Barry found personal gratification through getting closer to Phil and George Knibb socially, in teaching, and in helping out with campaign activities such as making banners and attending some of the conferences Phil and Cyril spoke at. After Christmas his involvement and his sense of having influence increased rather than decreased:

I remember having a discussion with Kevin [Stannard] when he was going through some self-examination. It was late at night and I was about to walk back to my flat and we were talking. This was just before Christmas.

I was saying that I didn't think you could be more committed than the parents. It's their decisions, it's their school. In the end you can't be more committed than the parents should be - whether they are or not is another question. It's not your struggle, it's not my struggle, it's the community's struggle. That was the way I saw it then. So for example with the incident with Ann and Ev it was to do with the community. I think I kept that view through, but I got closer to the community.

So I felt that I could make suggestions about how I thought the school should go to the parents, that was because I'd been there some time and got to know them. To some extent I could do no wrong in some eyes because we got on very well together, partly to do with staying there.

You could have stayed there and kept aloof. Reza would never mix socially with the parents but they had a respect for him.

Croxteth consumed my social and working life. I didn't take a day off in the second term. During the first term I was coming three and then four days a week. During the second term it got to five days a week and I was picketing as well (over night). I mixed more socially with Phil and George.

Barry managed to increase the dramaturgical and normative meaning the campaign had for him during the second term by 'getting closer to the community', as he put it. He was critical of the course of the campaign to a certain extent, but found a conducive social environment just the same. He definitely was not confined to the role of teaching, though he taught full time and was a popular teacher. There were a few other teachers whose experience during this time were similar to Barry's, Tony Gannon, the staff's geography teacher, being the most prominent of them, and a few others with lesser social connection and influence than these two. Tony and Barry became good friends and worked on many activities together.

Most of the group of demoralised teachers were aware of the role that Barry and the other teachers of the new prominent group had moved into during the second term and explained it as the result of their being 'chosen' by the Action Committee leadership. This did seem to be true in a sense. Because these teachers had found they could mix well with Phil and George Knibb, they were increasingly invited to attend conferences or partake in certain campaign activities which other teachers knew little about. These teachers had become integrated into the informal organisation of the local volunteers described in chapter eleven, had places of status within it, and found participation in the occupied school gratifying as a result. Their integration was of a kind barred from female teachers, for it was based on a certain comradeship with Phil and George Knibb, a style of friendship prescribed for males. What is perhaps most significant about Barry's comments above is that he gave his sense of being an *influence* in the campaign as a major reason for his positive experience. Again, reference to normative and expressive action is needed to understand the meaning which involvement had for Barry and others like him. In Barry's case opportunities for a positive involvement were ensured through the place he found within the social group of the Croxteth volunteers. The conflict between Barry's personal political views and the course the campaign had taken was not strong enough to interfere with his integration.

We should mention lastly the meaning the campaign held for the majority of the helpers and Action Committee members during the second term who did not take part in decision making to any significant extent. Although many in this group could be heard with increasing frequency to express feelings of exhaustion and being 'fed up', in the second term, most of them continued to value their participation in the same ways discussed in chapter ten. The occupation still provided them with social contacts, a sense of heightened purpose and meaning difficult to find in other realms of their lives, and opportunities to take on expanded identities through the new roles offered by the school. Most of these had never felt involved with the key decisions of the campaign and were content to follow the

initiatives of their leaders. They enjoyed their sense of control over certain areas of the school: the kitchen, the Parkstile building, or the corridors. Moreover, and this is an important contrast with most of the teachers, they extended their new friendships outside of the school, frequently having parties and bingo sessions in the local pubs, dances, and so on. Many got to know each others families, and the new social relationships they'd found within the school thus spilled over to forms of relationships within the Croxteth community. Teachers, living outside of Croxteth and often having to travel long distances to get to the school, didn't have the same resources to socialise, either with each other or with the local activists. This was particularly true for those with families who were unable to integrate, to as great an extent as the helpers, their home locales with their school locale - the two were separate worlds. Hence *meetings* in which political and educational issues were discussed and problems collectively solved were the only setting for many of these teachers to experience the sorts of normative and expressive rewards we have been describing. This undoubtedly partially accounts for the way in which control over campaign policy coincided with expressive pursuits of many teachers. Not only was a participatory climate a *media* for self-development and personal empowerment, it was virtually the only such media available to them within the campaign..

Yet another realm of meaning the occupation held for some of the helpers was the involvement and increasing influence some began to have in educational activities. This is discussed more in another section of this chapter and its implications are considered in chapter fifteen. Here it can be noted that for some helpers, being able to be a part of the school which their children attended and being able to establish informal and friendly relationships with their children's teachers was highly valued. Some even became involved in teaching pupils. Margaret Gaskell regularly tutored pupils who needed extra help and took classes when teachers were absent. Kathy Donovan taught art and domestic science, Tommy Maher taught woodwork, and so on. And for at least two local activists, Mick Checkland and Joey Jacobs, a process of integration opposite to that of Barry and Tony's took place. Mick and Joey never held high status positions on the Action Committee; they were not close friends of either Phil or George Knibb and in fact on several occasions got into fairly serious rows with them (Mick and Joey were the teachers who had had their keys taken by Phil Knibb - chapter thirteen). Mick and Joey's role in the school became that of *teachers* soon after the beginning of term one, when they took over the games and P.E. lessons. As time went on they became integrated into the social world of the teaching staff and became teacher-identified more than helper-, or Action Committee member-, identified.

To conclude this section, it is clear from the above that although all the major groups of activists in the school had maintained their involvement for reasons best theorised by the identity-oriented theories of social movements, there was a diversity of media through which identities and values were generated by them. Differences in personal history and class background lay behind the different ways in which participants interpreted the occupation and found their places within it. There were

teachers for whom political decision making was highly important and the loss of the opportunity for it resulted in a reduction in the meaning the occupation held for them. There were teachers who enjoyed teaching and felt themselves developing and gaining influence through their integration into the social world of the Action Committee, particularly its leadership. There were a number of female teachers whose *primary* experience of the occupation was mediated through gender relations. There were Philip Knibb and his brothers who became integrated into organisations outside of Croxteth and felt themselves in possession of a larger and more powerful field of possible action as a result. And there were the majority of helpers and Action Committee members who had established themselves within highly specific settings *within* the school, and developed valued relationships which spilled over to their community and familial lives. In every case, issues of status (identity) and power were important, and the fact that several different groups could be identified on the basis of their orientation indicates that media were asymmetrically distributed, differentially interpreted, and existed at different levels of awareness to those drawing upon them. The domination of the campaign by a minority of local activists was by and large consented to by the rest, and the stakes of the occupation for the majority of local activists did not include participation in the determination of campaign goals. There was consequently much social space left within the school for these activists to develop personally fulfilling relationships and activities. The stakes of the occupation for the politically motivated teachers did include participation in the determination of the campaign's purposes, and the social space left to them was consequently limiting.

Thus to explain the reasons why participants in the campaign for Croxteth Comprehensive maintained their involvement we have made use of terms used by the identity-oriented school of social movements. The majority of the theorists in this school, however, present theories on a greater level of generality than what has been drawn from the data on the occupation so far. NSMs are said to have stakes which are *explicitly* defined and consciously pursued involving the creation of new cultural milieu with correspondingly new identities and norms of social interaction (Pizzorno 1978b, 1985). Control over such features of culture has itself been given as a defining characteristic of these movements (Cohen, Melucci) and the roots of such movements, the rise of such stakes for people to mobilise around, have been given macro-sociological (Habermas) and/or historical (Touraine) explanations. In Croxteth we've noted a diversity of orientations to expressivity and identity formation amongst the activists, contingent upon personal histories, stages occupied in the life cycle, geographical proximities between home and school, and class background. The stakes normally ascribed to NSMs were only partially goals, if their *full* sense is taken, of a large percentage of the teaching staff and weren't important goals of most of the helpers and a number of teachers at all. Of course, it is no explanation of these diverse orientations to simply say that the campaign for Croxteth Comprehensive was not a 'new social movement'. Expressivity and identity were in fact implicitly important reasons for participation in the campaign, and we would think that they would play such a part in *all* campaigns.

It is interesting is to consider the reasons why expressivity and concerns with identity were unacknowledged as goals by some participants and were approaching acknowledgement and a coincidence with political decision making for others. The important factors seem to be:

- 1) Whether or not participants experienced a rise in status, purpose and sociability *relative* to the various locales they occupied before the occupation. Those who did not become demoralised in the second term, for example, definitely did continue to experience increased fulfilment in these areas compared to their lives before the occupation. The *meaning* of status and personal empowerment will take highly specific forms dependent upon culture and previous history.
- 2) Whether or not the personal histories of participants included *familiarity* with group value clarification and conscious identity formation. For many of those teachers who felt most demoralised during the second term, some precedents in their own personal histories had existed with which to compare their experiences in the occupied school. Involvement in various new social movements, libertarian movements and the like provided such precedents. Again, the 'before and after' comparison is very important: a sort of relative deprivation factor seemed to be working on the level of personal empowerment.

II Schooling

A) Pupil Perspectives

Little has been said about the pupils since chapter ten. The unique situation of the school, having both local adults and a teaching staff which didn't in many ways seem 'proper', effected the pupils primarily through the specific form of authority relationships which developed, the dual system of authority (see chapter twelve). Within these altered authority relationships learning activities took place with much weaker framing than had existed in Croxteth Comprehensive previous to the occupation and weaker framing worked in the situation partly because of the role played by the helpers and Action Committee in keeping discipline. The content of education, we've noted, didn't change from traditional educational content, with the exception of the the 4B special project described ahead. In this short section a few more responses of the pupils to the situation in the occupied school will be considered. Included are a few theoretical comments relevant to some of the theory presented in *Learning to Labour* (Willis, 1977) which are based on pupil differentiation observed in the fourth year class.

1) Political Awareness

A sample of fifty pupils taken from all the year and ability groups were asked why they had decided to come to the occupied school. Their responses had the following break-down:

1) School was close to home and/or pupil's mates were at this school:	27
2) Pupil went to Ellergreen or other school first but didn't like it:	12
3) Parents insisted on attendance out of sympathy for occupation:	8
4) Pupil wanted to support occupation:	2
5) No other school would accept pupil:	1

Very few of the pupils said that they had come to Croxteth Comprehensive out of their own or their parents' sympathy for the occupation as a *primary* reason for attending. The most common response was the convenience of the location of the school. A number of pupils had found Ellergreen objectionable after enrolling there, many mentioning conflicts between themselves and local pupils from Ellergreen as a reason for it. Political motivations as such were not high amongst the pupils, although they were clearly enthusiastic about the campaign at times when demonstrations or other activities reminded them of it. Their primary orientation to the school was the orientation of a pupil to an educational institution rather than the orientation of an activist to occupied buildings.

These same fifty pupils were asked why they thought the school had been closed down, to get some sense of the extent to which they were aware of the basis of the campaign and the occupation. Responses fell into the following categories:

1) Didn't know:	17
2) The land was going to be sold:	16
3) The school hadn't had enough pupils:	12
4) The government didn't have enough money:	4
5) There is oil under the land:	1

Despite the many assemblies in which aspects of the political struggle for the school was explained, a large number of pupils indicated ignorance of the reasons for closure. The belief that the land was going to be sold and that low pupil numbers were the reasons for closure were the most common explanations given by those pupils who did feel certain about why the school had been closed. None of the pupils interviewed, as one would expect, thought the school ought to have been closed, and a discourse of criticism against government existed which pupils picked up on. The lesson pupils had learned by attending the school was that governments were locations of struggle and could take harmful actions if certain people and groups were in control.

2) 'Ear 'oles' and 'lads'; styles of pupil culture and 'penetrations':

In chapter eleven we learned that for most of the adults working in the school, a primary purpose of schooling was seen in terms of employability. Moreover, this was the major purpose of schooling offered in discourse, as opposed to schooling for control, which was more a tacit theme than an object of discourse. We've also mentioned (chapter ten) that pupils very frequently argued that they didn't have much chance of getting jobs, with or without an education, given the high unemployment rates in Croxteth. Adults in the school, while acknowledging in private that the pupils were right, didn't readily come up with an alternative explanation of the purposes of schooling. Many teachers believed that schooling was good for 'building character', 'developing personality' and other things, but found it difficult to put these beliefs into concrete and believable formulations.

The attitude of pupils to the purposes of education, however, was more complex than simply regarding it as something which is supposed to get you a job but doesn't. The research illuminated some of this complexity through a set of special interviews taken with the entire fourth year which was partially an effort to understand the implications of the clear social differentiation which existed between the 4Bs and 4As. This study made use of socio-metric techniques to confirm what was obvious to any observer: the 4Bs and 4As did not mix socially and had poor opinions of each other. There were actually at least four social groups within the fourth year which had strong boundaries: the male 4Bs who were not on examination routes and who put up a great deal of resistance to teachers and learning activities, the female 4Bs who were not on examination routes and equally resistant to learning activities but differentiated socially from the male 4Bs for reasons of gender, the 4A1s who were all male and all strongly motivated at learning activities, and the 4A2s who were primarily female and only somewhat motivated at learning activities. The most common way in which the 4Bs described the 4As was that the latter were snobs and held themselves above the 4Bs because of their better performance at educational activities: 'they think they're better than us and that they should get special privileges'. The 4As (both 4A1 and 4A2) described the 4Bs as those 'who just mess', 'cause trouble' and the like. (There were two males in the 4A2s, however, who had friends in the male 4Bs). Thus the fourth year were socially differentiated along two axes: male - female being one, accepting of learning - rejecting of learning being the other. Polarisation was greatest between the male 4Bs and the male 4A1s, constituting Croxteth's version of the almost universal 'lads' (4Bs) and 'ear 'oles' (4A1) differentiation (Willis 1977, also Hargreaves 1967, Lacey 1970).

Some of the characteristics of the differentiated groups in the fourth year are especially interesting by comparison with the study carried out by Paul Willis in *Learning to Labour* (1977). Willis' study is well known and only a few of the conclusions reached by Willis need be reviewed here. Willis made use of several key concepts in his interpretation of the 'lads' culture he studied. One was his concept of culture as a collective production to 'make sense of' and 'explore structural and received

conditions of existence' (p 124, see chapter four). By focusing almost solely upon the culture of his 'lads', that is, male pupils formed into a cohesive cultural unit with an anti-school orientation, Willis made a simplification in contrasting lads' culture with school culture:

It [the culture of the lads] responds to their position and social location *within a collective working class logic*, rather than within the individualism of practical consciousness and of rational calculation of market chances.

(1983, p 129)

The suggested picture is one in which the specific forms taken by the culture of the lads is the *only* form which serves as an alternative to the dominant culture of the school, which is individualistic and based on calculations of market chances. Implicit linkages between terms are suggested: cultural forms rejecting school work are linked with a solidarity ethic are linked with 'working class logic'; orientations accepting school work are linked with individualism are linked with school/market logic. Studies which took place after Willis' (McRobbie 1978) showed that the forms of the culture Willis studied which were bound up with masculine gender norms were only one way of generating resistance, females produce their own cultural styles of resistance. But the basic linkages between accepting schooling work/individualism/market logic, on the one hand, and rejecting school work/solidarity/'working class logic', on the other, were retained.

One of the reasons for these linkages between terms is the concept of 'the basic teaching paradigm' (Willis 1977, p 63). The basic teaching paradigm was defined by Willis to be an exchange relationship in which respect, deference and good behaviour are traded for knowledge; and knowledge, in turn, has its value (to the pupils) via its exchangeability on the job market. Much of what has been said in chapters eleven and twelve about schooling purpose as employability corresponds to this basic paradigm, especially in the way *adults* viewed the relationship and especially with respect to its last terms: the value of knowledge as an acquisition convertible to jobs on the market. We have also seen that teachers in Croxteth tried to convince pupils of the worth of the first part of this exchange: good behaviour for, ultimately, a job. But none of this suggests that pupils who do *not* reject schooling activity themselves subscribe to the 'basic teaching paradigm' - the exchange relationship. This is assumed to be true in the work of Willis, and hence the linkages between accepting school work, individualism, calculation of market chances. Thus part, but only part, of what is meant by 'penetration' in Willis' work is the tacit perception by pupils in the lads' culture of the deception of the exchange relationship offered to them. Good behaviour and deference may lead to the acquisition of knowledge and knowledge may present one with a greater choice amongst jobs, but the lads have penetrated, 'culturally', 'collectively', (as opposed to personally, 1977, p 173; - there are problems with this explanation which will not be analysed here) the more fundamental social relations they are involved in as members of the working class. Their culture has penetrated the illusion of a variety of jobs and wage differentials to find the basic social relations of capitalism

(and their subordinate position within it): abstract labour and dependency on capital.

The 'ear oles', on the other hand, succeed at school work and gain knowledge in consequence, but they have not penetrated their position in society as the lads have done. They have opted for an individualist stance which the competitive evaluative procedures of traditional education produce. Anthony Giddens (1984), in a lengthy discussion of Willis' work, agrees that the lads have a greater (but tacit) knowledgeability than the ear 'oles. Willis interviewed former ear 'oles working in factories to show that such pupils are less prepared culturally to resist the oppression of the shop floor.

The evidence of the fourth years in Croxteth, however, suggests that pupils who do not reject learning activities do not necessarily subscribe to the 'basic teaching paradigm', do not necessarily possess any less a capacity for 'penetration', and do not necessarily engage in any greater competitive and individualistic behaviour than their counter-parts in the lads. It is significant, first of all, that the pupils of *both* the 4Bs and 4As (both A1 and A2) had pessimistic views of their occupational futures which effected their attitudes towards schooling. As part of the interview schedule employed, all these pupils were asked what they expected to be doing in five years time. The responses broke down in the following way (these figures also indicate the small class sizes in the school):

4Bs:

- | | |
|------------------------------|---|
| 1) Unemployed, drawing dole: | 9 |
| 2) Job (unskilled) | 3 |

4A2s:

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1) Unemployed, drawing dole: | 6 |
| 2) Unskilled job (cleaner, waitress): | 4 |
| 3) Skilled job (typing, hairdressing): | 3 |
| 4) Housewife: | 1 |

4A1s:

- | | |
|------------------------------|---|
| 1) Unemployed, drawing dole: | 4 |
| 2) Armed forces: | 3 |
| 3) Bank clerk: | 1 |

Undoubtedly due to economic conditions of the 1980s, with their negative effects acutely focused in areas like Croxteth, *all* of these pupils were doubtful about whether or not schooling would help them get a job. Even those who said they expected to have one also usually expressed some uncertainty about it as well. Most of those who aspired to jobs, aspired to unskilled ones. Thus in terms of the awareness of these pupils with respect to the purposes of education and their futures, none fully believed that schooling was a mobility route for them. The desire to 'be mobile', to move into middle class occupations, was not expressed by any of them. Each group, more over, was cohesive socially and produced group cultures. Yet social differentiation had occurred based on these pupils' attitudes to *school work*. And the unique situation of weak framing and a system of dual

authority in the occupied school of Croxteth was drawn upon by these groups in different ways correspondingly.

Secondly, the 4A1s delighted many teachers because they seemed to really *enjoy* learning. They came in after school to work in the laboratories and on the computers, they were once found together after school hours reading a play aloud out of a textbook with each pupil taking a part, and they did their homework - in subjects like mathematics actually asking frequently for especially challenging problems. The 4A1s enjoyed cerebral activities of an academic sort, many times clustering around a teacher after school hours for a stimulating discussion. On one occasion most of this group sat with the researcher for an hour after school to discuss the principles of relativity physics and the possibility of time travel. The discussion went on into philosophical problems with conceptualising time and infinity. 'That was the best discussion of my life!' said one of them several weeks later.

Of course what was involved in the enjoyment this group took in learning activities can't be narrowly understood. It was a part of their culture as a group which could have constituted an area of study in itself. It involved the positive identities they had previously constructed in relation to teachers and learning and it also involved certain masculine themes associated with scientific equipment and computers. It wasn't simply 'learning for its own sake'. And competition between members of this group did exist, just as Willis predicts for 'ear 'oles'. But it wasn't a competition which can be contrasted with solidarity. Croxteth's 'lads', the 4Bs and 3Bs, also competed amongst themselves, but over how much micky they could take out of a teacher and similar goals. The competition within both groups had similar group meanings and existed on comparable scales.

The 4A1s were also scornful of the other 4th year groups for not taking learning seriously, but most (all but two) of them didn't explain the value of learning in terms of job opportunities. They rather spoke of learning as something they enjoyed and frequently complained that they didn't have enough options. They had formed identities in terms acceptable to teachers in years previous to the occupation because they did not find learning difficult, but they were not providing a rationale for these identities in terms of getting jobs - they weren't 'deluded' by the ideology of employability; in many teachers' minds, who continuously tried to get them to consider a future at the university, they seemed on the contrary to take the 'no jobs anyway' argument too seriously. None of the 4A1s accepted the invitation to go on the trip to Cambridge, saying that universities were places for posh kids and that they didn't intend to ever go to one. The 4A1s used the situation of weak framing to their advantage, not by increasing the amount of time in which they didn't have to work but rather by making sure they could study the subjects they liked (science, mathematics and computing) and making sure they didn't have to study subjects they didn't like (German, history). They threatened strikes to get out of art and played up in German until teachers let them drop it, but always in order to study other subjects. All of them liked the school under occupation much more than they had in previous years and they showed

the advantages of weak framing with working class pupils who incorporate a value of learning for its own sake into their cultures (as well as showing that such pupils exist).

The 4Bs and 4A2s, on the other hand, did not like school work and formed identities, in the case of the 4Bs, through frequently, openly and dramatically rejecting it. Like the 4A1s, they had developed these identities in years previous to the occupation. They made use of the weak framing in the school to increase the amount of time when they didn't do school work and to enjoy the times when they did have to work through having a laugh and a joke. They did refer to unemployability in justifying their position; like many other pupils in the school continuously pointing out that 'you can't get jobs anyway'. But this did not appear to be equivalent to what is embodied in the term 'penetration' (Willis 1977). It seems rather that the 'employability' ideology of schooling was virtually the only *articulated* purpose for schooling available to pupils, teachers (though we've seen that teachers also believed in less tangible purposes to education) and local activists. If pupils didn't enjoy school work they often resisted it and could easily punch holes in any argument given by an adult for its usefulness through pointing out the employment situation. But pupils who found no particular objections to school work, like the 4A1s, were not unaware of the difficulties of getting the sorts of jobs which educationalists usually hold before pupils to get them to study. They didn't even claim to want such jobs.

What these brief observations point to is simply the fact that resistance cultures in working class schools probably form initially over issues of dignity and identity, much in the way Lacey and Hargreaves (and actually Willis as well, see 1975 p 11) described it. The sorts of implicit penetrations which are found within the cultural forms of these resistance cultures probably owe more to the origins of the *media* drawn upon in the formation of these cultures than to an awareness on the pupils' part of relations of domination. The term 'penetration' itself actually doesn't seem appropriate for the sort of relationship discovered by Willis between the *media* upon which the lads' culture drew and the *media* for resistance cultures on the shop floor. It is a relationship better explained by terms introduced later on by Willis - 'isomorphism' and 'locking' in particular (Willis 1983 - see chapter four), which in turn are explicable with Giddens' concept of *social system*: reinforcing loops existing between the *media* for action between one social site and another which don't necessarily owe their existence directly to knowledgeability. In the case of the 4A1s, a long study would have to have been carried out to see whether or not other types of loops, corresponding to their own culture (which undoubtedly also drew upon working class themes but in different ways) exist. The 4A1s tended to have a cynical attitude towards their occupational future and tended to emphasise leisure time in their discussion of it, though their use of leisure differed from the 4Bs. At any rate a study of subcultural groups within working class schools which are not rejecting of traditional learning activities would be highly interesting and would no doubt give important results.

3) 'There's no jobs anyway':

The 4A1s were small in number and unique in the school in their social cohesiveness and high motivation. They were a group forming its own cultural practice based on the affirmation of learning. *Individuals* from other age groups also took advantage of the situation of weak framing and earnest teacher volunteers to increase their studies, but they fit the 'ear 'ole' mould more than the 4A1s in that they clearly had hopes of getting qualifications and jobs. Two were fifth year pupils, David and Jimmy, who had been in CSE, rather than O level, streams previously. With the occupation, however, came new opportunities to get help, attention and encouragement from teachers for the examinations. Both responded by putting in long extra hours studying and arranging special tutorial sessions with teachers after school, during lunch and on the weekends and holidays. Both passed a number of O level examinations and CSEs in consequence, and David got a paid job as laboratory assistant in the school the following year.

Otherwise disruptions were frequent in the school and the 'no jobs anyway' argument presented often. From first years to fifth years the sense of schooling was questioned continuously. To take just one of countless examples, one lunchtime, the researcher sat with a number of first year pupils who were talking about a dispute which had arisen between one of their number, Steve, and their biology teacher, Neil Murtough. Steve had called Neil a 'fucking nigger' (Neil was anglo-Indian racially) in class and Neil, taking a measure he seldom used during the year, banned him from his classes until such time as he got an apology. The discussion during lunch was over whether or not Steve should apologise. 'I don't have to go to biology', said Steve, 'you can't get any jobs anyway, there's no point in going'. 'Getting an education definitely *can* help you get jobs' a teacher sitting at the table argued. 'I'm going to be a window cleaner like my Dad' said John, another first year pupil and friend of Steve's, 'you don't need biology for that'.

A particular disappointment to the teaching staff was Paul, a fifth year pupil of much ability in all subjects. Paul was expected to take many O levels and to do well on them. He had been receiving special tutoring during the first term in history from a volunteer who came from outside of Liverpool weekly just for that purpose. But Paul gradually began to show a loss of interest in his studies. He stopped doing his homework and then started missing classes by the end of the first term. By the middle of the second term he had stopped coming in at all, arguing like the rest that qualifications can't get you work anyway. Like the 4A1s and most pupils, he had low aspirations for an occupation. Unlike the 4A1s, he was not a member of a pupil culture which valued learning activities. His desire was to get a job 'on the boats' like his brother had, not to pass examinations and take higher schooling. He did, in fact, get such a job before the end of the school year.

B) Innovations

Despite the demoralisation of many staff members, the second term did involve many interesting and stimulating educational activities brought about by the unusual circumstances of the school, the 4AIs being one example. Weak framing, the willingness of most staff to give extra attention to pupils, and the presence of many local adults in the school led to a number of unusual and rewarding activities.

Local resident and P.E. instructor Joey Jacobs, for example, began tutoring David, one of the second year pupils, during lunch hours. David was having great difficulties in his classes because he was far behind in basic skills. He responded by being extremely disruptive and made teaching difficult for staff. David was frequently put on detention, sent to the office, given lines to write, but his behaviour didn't change. Joey felt that David's situation was similar to what his own had been as a pupil. He invited David to eat lunches with him and they went over work together. Similarly, Margaret Gaskell began teaching remedial classes daily with pupils extracted from their normal lessons. She went over reading and writing with them in the staffroom and was observed to hold their attention. Margaret herself enjoyed teaching.

The consistent teaching provided by local volunteers in subjects like P.E., games, and crafts proved to be highly successful. These teachers were able to establish excellent rapport with their pupils, using their familiarity with the local culture to establish control and yet form warm and friendly relationships with them. The cases of Joey and Mick have been mentioned already. Both had grown up in Croxteth and both took over P.E. and games instruction at the start of the first term. Mick described his own method of teaching:

Put fun into it, you know, you let them do it, you make the kids think that it's their idea all the time and they'll work like mad, they really will.

And Mick and Joey were both very successful in motivating pupils in educational activities. They shared the progressive's ideal of producing an environment in which pupils were self-motivated, but didn't accomplish it through what is usually understood as 'informality' or 'weak framing'. Rather, they were skilled with aspects of the local culture and could combine plenty of gruff handling with 'a laugh and a joke'. Their framing was stronger than that of many volunteer teachers from outside the estate but produced less resistance because of the style they employed - closer to adult-youth or even older youth - younger youth styles on the estate than to teacher-pupil styles as they had existed in Croxteth Comprehensive previous to the occupation. Yet Mick and Joey, as we have seen, became integrated into the social group of the teachers more than that of the local activists. Both had described their own experiences as pupils negatively, referring in each case to a dislike of the highly authoritative relationships they'd found themselves in. They managed to reinforce school authority with cultural styles of authority, as did other local participants, but not in the form of interventions, rather by identifying themselves as

teachers - quite unique amongst the local activists. When the end of the occupation was approaching, both Mick and Joey had become confident of their abilities as teachers, and both expressed much resentment over the fact that their lack of formal qualifications were to bar them from continued teaching. The subjects they taught, P.E. and games, were subjects in which such an identification with the position of teacher was no doubt easiest for a local activist to take on - the possession of 'school knowledge' was not viewed as so necessary a condition by them, though other helpers found their status to be ambiguous (chapter eleven).

Pupils confirmed that Mick, Joey, and Tommy (helper teaching woodwork for a time) were especially liked as teachers:

P.C.: Is there anything about school this year that was better than last year?

Wayne (4B pupil): One or two teachers are better, like Joey and Mick and the woodwork teacher.

P.C.: Why?

Wayne: They let you make what you want to make instead of some stupid thing.

P.C.: And Joey and Mick?

Wayne: Yeah, they're alright. You can play football with them and they're alright, they'll have a laugh with you. The other teachers used to just tell you what to do.

Another successful teacher was Paul Gerard, who, though not from Croxteth, had grown up in a similar Liverpool community (with a similar name - Toxteth). Paul was not a qualified teacher but a self-taught man highly competent in physics, chemistry and computing. His lessons were successful both because he could control pupils through his familiarity with local culture and because he designed lessons which involved a lot of activity on the part of the pupils. His physics laboratory was full of equipment set up into different learning centres which illustrated various principles of science. He also had a small library of physics and chemistry books which pupils were allowed to check out. In his lessons he often put the most potentially disruptive pupils immediately to work. One lesson which was observed had one of the school's most disruptive pupils swinging a huge weight suspended from the ceiling back and forth, an activity which seemed to content the pupil, while Paul explained momentum and pendular motion to the class. Many good science teachers no doubt do things similar to what Paul did, but Paul was unique with his Liverpool gruffness and ability to speak the language of the pupils from Croxteth. When the O level examinations were held in the school Paul sat the English examination along with the 5th years, having never taken it himself (Paul had completed Open University courses in science and computing, however).

An important point which should be noted here regards a further clarification of the term which we have been calling 'adult-youth authority relations in Croxteth'. This form had different functions with respect to male and female youth. We've described this style of authority as being a combination of 'gruffness' and the ability to 'have a laugh and a joke' - a way of establishing control through winning consent and 'getting on' with

youth at the same time. This was a style which was very masculine in form, based on a process of negotiation in which some competitiveness in establishing superior male prowess was involved. Paul Gerard's style was very masculine and his success in stimulating learning was far greater with male pupils than female. He could easily control both genders in the classroom, but his style simultaneously worked to exclude female students from occupying a 'serious' place in the learning process. The subjects he taught were the subjects which are usually male dominated as well: hard sciences and mathematics. His fourth and fifth year pupils were predominately male and those few who were female often complained about their treatment in his classes. Mick and Joey also used a masculine style of establishing authority but were less rejecting of female pupils when it came to actual learning. However, their subject was partly responsible for this, and it is significant that for a long time, the entire first term in fact, they didn't teach female pupils at all, agreeing to teach them only when a woman P.E. teacher couldn't be found. The only woman amongst the volunteers from Croxteth who did significant amounts of teaching in the school was Margaret Gaskell who employed a different style of interaction with her pupils, a much 'softer' form (not all women from Croxteth used such a soft style, however).

Another innovation in the school was the awakened interest in school knowledge which many of the local activists who were involved in the actual education of pupils experienced. Keith Leatherbarrow, now employed at Croxteth Community School as a laboratory technician, found new interests and abilities in the sciences. 'I study more than the kids do!' he stated once during the occupation, and he obviously did spend much of his time over the laboratory equipment, computers, and textbooks in the school. His brother Frank similarly studied mathematics and physics while involved in the school. Philip Knibb, in addition to reading academic papers and articles on education, was once seen taking a German language textbook home: 'I used to work there', he explained. After the occupation Mick and Joey both began studying for O levels in science courses and sociology. Mick went on to study A levels the next year and presently intends to go to university. He ascribes his educational ambitions completely to his experiences of the occupation. Margaret Gaskell similarly has enrolled in adult education courses and found during the campaign that she has an interest and ability in writing poetry.

After school each day a number of pupils and teachers could always be found in Reza's laboratory preparation room, listening to music, drinking tea, chatting, and often examining scientific equipment. Pupils and teachers also held weekly 'training' sessions after school together where they exercised, jogged and ended with a game of five-a-side football.

There were also guitar lessons and music, French, and girls' clubs (all short lived, however) after school during the second term. The *Crocky News*

continued to come out with advertisements from local shops and with continued requests for community residents to come into the school:

YOU CAN TEACH!

You don't have to know higher Mathematics or English grammar to teach. You too probably have a useful skill. If you can touch type, do shorthand, woodwork, metalwork, cookery, needlework, motor mechanics, electrics, home maintenance or anything else please contact us. These are subjects with real practical value for kids.

Appeal in early second term issue of the *Crocky News*.

But such appeals continued to draw little response from the community.

Some alternative curricular projects were tried out in the school with the 4Bs, one of the most difficult classes to teach. Barry, Tony, and George Knibb managed to engage the Open Eye Gallery in Liverpool to teach the 4Bs and themselves photography during the second term. A project developed in which the 4Bs created and mounted a series of photographs comparing housing and environmental features of Croxteth with those of more well off communities. The project was a success in so far as it captured the attention of the pupils and led them to discuss and think about their social environment and the relevance of the campaign to it. Another part of the project involved the 4Bs in designing and making posters and badges for the campaign and to write letters of invitation (a lesson in English composition) to one of the heroes of Bleasdale's 'Boys from the Blackstuff': Yasser Hughes. The 4Bs were also given their own room with a tea pot, record player and table tennis, which they painted and decorated with posters. These activities do not differ much from projects currently taking place in some of the MSC training schemes for school leavers but were the closest the teachers got to tying educational activity with the real life surroundings of Croxteth Comprehensive and to the campaign to save the school. The project was also unique to Croxteth Comprehensive, which had been run much more traditionally in the years before the occupation. The activities were enjoyed by the 4Bs and had the advantage of involving local resident George Knibb who shared their interest and learned along with them. But the 4Bs continued to complain, with justification, that they weren't treated as seriously as were the 4As, and the contrast between them and their 'more promising' counterparts made these projects seem less serious educationally than the examination work they didn't take part in. Eventually the 4Bs destroyed their form room, indicating a basic failure of the school to fully engage their commitment and win their identification with the school.

On the 3rd of March, Janine's 4th year domestic science cooked and served an evening meal to the members of staff, helpers and the Action Committee in the Parkstile building. The meal was delicious and ended with small speeches from Phil Knibb and myself to commend the activists and pupils for their achievements. Afterwards Angela, a fourth year pupil, sang songs to the accompaniment of a piano and a party with music, drinks and dancing followed for several hours.

Phil Knibb commented on this occasion that the school needed a strong figure head, a sort of a headmaster or headmistress, to help control the children. It was suggested to him that one of the Action Committee might best fill this post, as that would further symbolise the community aspect of the occupation. It was also felt that no teacher volunteer really had the personality for such a post. Phil replied that he was in agreement with this idea and said that Margaret Gaskell would probably be best for the job.

Soon afterwards Margaret Gaskell became the official headmistress of the occupied school. She shared Kevin's office and served her post primarily by talking with pupils who were involved in discipline problems, keeping contact with parents of pupils, and assigning punishments to pupils who violated school rules. She sometimes mediated in disputes between pupils and teachers, such as the conflict between Neil Murtough and Steven, and she continued with her remedial work. Margaret never took on the role of the fearful head and ultimate administrator of sanctions, however. Her role was very low key, and I continued to give the school assemblies, probably being the activity which made a teacher most visibly in a central position. Pupils felt the situation was ambiguous with respect to who was actually the 'head teacher' of the school. Myself, Margaret and George Knibb were frequently mentioned as 'heads', and Barry Kushner also was a central figure for many pupils. But pupils never really consistently focused on a single figure. Margaret was soon joined in her administrative duties by a few teachers and the administrators Kevin and Mark in what became known as the 'core committee'. The core committee handled all discipline problems in the school, met with parents on occasion and took decisions on day-to-day issues which didn't require the consideration of the full staff.

III Politics and Schooling: Spring Thaw

Aside from some of the conversations which were stimulated by my interviews during the second term (an example, in fact, of how research and action having some effect on the occupation sometimes coincided), there was very little visible discussion between teachers about the demoralisation many were experiencing during this period. The shift in the position of the teachers took place at the same time that classroom and tutorial work had increased the demands upon them, and teachers' feelings about their political situation were enmeshed with the experiences of classroom isolation and hard conditions of life without adequate incomes. Demoralisation had slowly crept upon teachers to be born in silence, its causes not fully recognised for some time.

One evening in mid April (the 14th) two teacher volunteers, Kevin and Janine, unexpectedly visited my house saying they wanted to discuss some of their feelings. The visit had actually been prompted by Janine, who said she was especially feeling 'low' and wanted to talk about it. I felt this was something new, and I welcomed it for it gave me a chance to talk about my own feelings which had also become low. The interview situation, as

used predominantly in this research, was generally one in which only two or three people talked with a nearby tape recorder running and comments made with the understanding that they would be kept confidential. Although they often clarified feelings, they didn't usually have immediate implications for action. This meeting was different, it was the beginning of an effort on the part of teachers to clarify their situation together and do something about it.

Janine began the discussion by saying that she wished the campaign was still the way it had been during the first term. She said she felt excluded from the campaign now and that only a few 'selected' teachers (like Barry) were allowed to have any involvement in it. She said she had the feeling that important things were constantly going on which weren't told to the staff, at least to the bulk of the staff. Kevin, also present, said that he had once felt the same as Janine but now he'd accepted that the campaign was important, even if it wasn't being conducted in the way he wished. 'Everyone has a role to play. The campaign isn't the way I'd like it to be but it is still doing some good. People should accept it or leave'. Janine replied that she was seriously thinking of leaving. She argued that it wasn't just a question of individuals having to put up with certain aspects of the campaign that they didn't like but a question of the whole meaning of the movement. I sympathised with Janine, saying that I'd come to feel similarly about the occupation: isolated and out of touch. All three of us agreed that the situation for most of the teachers had slipped, slowly and almost unnoticeably, during the second term. It was now rigid and burdensome when it once had been exciting and gratifying.

Soon afterwards, the day before the national demonstration organised by the Campaign Office, Kevin decided to try to re-stimulate some of the debates and discussions which teachers had taken part in during the first term by typing up a list of questions and circulating them amongst the staff. The questions were all on the meaning of the struggle: 'What will happen if the school is reinstated - is that an end in itself?' being one of them. The staff, joined by some of the helpers, met later in the day and discussed these questions. It was immediately obvious that Kevin's idea appealed to many of them and that the feeling of demoralisation was widespread. Some of the discussion was recorded in notebooks and it is worth presenting here:

Paul G. (teacher): I'm only here to teach. Teaching is part of the campaign.

Mick (teacher and former resident): I feel left out! When I first came to the school it was like a big family here. Everybody talked about everything together. But it declined. Now I don't know anything, we don't know anything, and this is affecting us - lots of us are becoming despondent.

Pat B. (helper): The pickets in the Parkstile building have the same feelings.

Paul G. (teacher): We should only teach - that's *our* job. I trust the way the campaign is being led. There is a division of labour here, they let me teach and I let them run the campaign.

Reza (teacher): I didn't come here just to teach. The question of education has only one meaning to me, political.

We have been put on the defensive - we should become offensive. We could go on like this for years now and no bailiffs would be sent in because we are actually no threat, no challenge. I'm not here just to teach kids.

Mick (teacher): We're not told anything any more.

Margaret (helper and headmistress): Yes, this has happened. But it wasn't deliberate. We got really involved in running the school, it's so demanding. The people running the campaign really got involved in that. The communication got cut off but it got cut off unintentionally.

Henry M. (teacher): The national campaign is disconnected from teachers and parents. Parents should get into the classrooms again and the running of the school needs to be tied more to the campaign against cuts.

Pat B (helper): We tried that but it didn't work.

Margaret (helper and headmistress): More information should be sent home to make parents more aware and interested in what's happening here.

Henry M. (teacher): Actual visits should be made to the homes.

Mick: (teacher and former resident): Public meetings used to keep the community involved. These have dried up, they should be reinstated.

At this point one teacher came in with a copy of a leaflet about the march and rally to be held the next day - the nationwide demonstration against cuts which had been organised from the campaign office. The leaflet listed speakers to talk at the rally which was to be held outside the Parkstile building. All the names listed were Labour Party figures not directly involved in the occupation except for Phil Knibb and Collette D'Arcy. But Phil was now himself seen as a Labour Party figure and Collette had not been active in the running of the school at all, she was possibly better known city-wide for her activities in the Young Socialists. No teacher or helper was on the list to speak. The staff became upset as a result:

Joey (teacher and local resident): We're being used! This is outrageous, I'll boycott the march!

Kevin (administrator): This campaign isn't about the school, it is about cuts in general.

Teacher (name missed): But 'Croxteth' is written in big letters on the top of the leaflet. The name of Croxteth is being *used* by other organisations!

The consensus reached was to immediately approach Phil Knibb and insist that a representative of the staff and of the helpers be put on the list of speakers. I was voted to represent the teachers and Margaret was voted to represent the helpers. Barry agreed to take the message to Phil Knibb that evening.

At this point the meeting was officially ended but Kevin invited all who wished to stay to participate in a further discussion. No one left. Again, the record of the discussion throws yet more light on the conflicts which had persisted under the surface between staff and the campaign leadership:

Pat B. (helper): You keep hearing that we're just hanging on until May because if Labour loses, it's all over, if Labour wins, it's on. What happens if Labour loses - are we going to just give it all up?

Margaret (helper and headmistress): Ultimately it is up to Keith Joseph, not the Labour Party, whether or not the school opens. People are kidding themselves.

Barry (teacher): If Labour doesn't win, we could make this a free school - that should be discussed.

Pat B. (helper): We *should* be discussing these things, but at Action Committee meetings only the chair makes the decisions, no one else.

Margaret (helper and headmistress): That's right, only the chair.

Pat B. (helper): It's mostly women on the committee, they want to be led, they don't understand anything.

Margaret (helper and headmistress): That's true. They can't make decisions because they just don't understand the issues.

Teacher: We have got to push for more involvement.

Joey (teacher and local resident): We are being used by the Labour Party. This demonstration should be only for Croxteth, not all the other cuts and things.

Kathy (teacher): But this struggle *is* related to other cuts.

Joey (teacher and local resident): But those other cuts should be fought against away from this school, not by using the school. The Labour Party just wants to get votes by using this school - they're not the ones here fighting for it every day.

Paul G. (teacher): The Labour Party has a lot to do with the way England is these days. (Produces many nods of agreement)

Thomas (teacher): After the May elections this struggle shouldn't end - it should go on in new directions.

Teacher (name not recorded): The possibility of it going in new directions certainly exists, but whether or not it will is another question. There would have to be a lot of pushing to make it do so, and that pushing would have to take place on the Action Committee.

Again these comments were recorded rapidly during the actual discussion and much has been left out - participants talked longer than the above passages suggest and there was a good deal more discussion than what is presented above. But the issues of concern are clear: many teachers and some helpers were feeling 'left out' and isolated. The expression of these feelings tended to draw upon the community power theme, just as this theme had been heard so frequently during the first term. Community power was again put forward as an alternative to dependence on the Labour Party, the possibility of broadening the occupation into other issues and more sections of Croxteth put forth.

However, something more than just a return to articulations of political views prevalent amongst the teachers during the first term was going on in these meetings as well. In assessing what had been most of value to teachers during the first term, and most missed during the second term, teachers were becoming conscious of normative and expressive

investments they had in the campaign. Mick's term 'family', and his complaint of 'feeling left out', expressed feelings held at personal levels which were disassociated from the goals of the campaign. They were now being brought forward as legitimate concerns, explicit goals, which teachers like Mick now felt the campaign *ought* to have. The community power theme was connecting more closely with personal experiences. The stakes held by teachers were becoming articulated closely along 'new' social movement lines. Kevin Stannard was especially aware of this and tried to make it yet more explicit by continuing to write his question sheets and to call non-business meetings over the goals of the campaign and the feelings held by teachers. He was concerned to do something about the complaints of many female members of staff that they were isolated and had difficulty in speaking at meetings. His efforts were applauded by many members of staff but produced negative responses in others.

On the 16th of April a procession of about 550 people marched from the Clubmore playing fields in Liverpool to the Parkstile building of Croxteth school (photographs in appendix). It was led by Tony Mulhearn, the president of the district Labour Party in Liverpool and a well known supporter of Militant, and Phil Knibb. Many banners were carried, the T&G union banner, a banner of the Young Socialists and others, and the Labour Party and Militant newspapers were sold by hawkers to people watching. Very few residents of Croxteth other than the usual group who worked in the school were present in the march although the Young Socialists had reportedly distributed 7,000 leaflets to houses in the area.

The speeches for the most part called on those listening to vote Labour in the coming elections, and the closure of Croxteth Comprehensive was pointed to as an example of the policies of the national Conservative government. Collette D'Arcy gave a particularly effective ^{ive} speech along these lines, drawing much applause and a positive review in the Daily Echo of the following day. I gave a short speech on what was taking place inside the school buildings, and of some of the needs teachers had for more involvement in the school: 'There are two senses of 'socialism' involved in this campaign - there's the socialism which speaks primarily to government policy, the socialism of fighting cuts and standing for the provisions needed by areas like Croxteth. But there is also the socialism of personal relationships we are developing in the school. Schools aren't always such nice places for our children, - we've been trying to change some of that ...'. Phil Knibb had approved of a teacher representative talking but had vetoed the request made to have Margaret talk for unexplained reasons. Several teachers urged Margaret to talk anyway but she declined. After the rally refreshments were served in the Stonebridge building.

The following Monday many teachers complained of the obvious party-political orientation of the rally, that it was primarily a Labour Party affair, not a rally for the school. The presence of Militant was also criticised and found to be surprising by most teachers. Kathy, an English teacher, said she had tried to collect money for the school from people standing by and had been beaten to the task by young people collecting for Militant. When she'd protested to them that they were preventing her from

getting money for the school they'd replied, 'That's your problem', and continued to collect. Staff began to speak bitterly about the Labour Party but Tom, an English and history teacher, pointed out that the Action Committee had invited their support for the struggle and had determined the extent of that support: 'Any amount of inordinate Party influence is *their* doing - it comes internally, not externally.'

The Monday meeting was another of Kevin's organised discussions of political and personal aspects of the campaign, as opposed to a business meeting to discuss problems with running the school. The combination of Kevin's efforts and the shock to the teachers of the nature of the demonstration reawakened discussion and debate in the school. These meetings continued for some time. The staff decided to start an internal newsletter to break down some of the communication barriers which had developed during the second term, and this newsletter came out continuously every two weeks for the rest of the school year. It often included humorous sections to take the micky out of some of the helpers and staff and definitely served its intended function of drawing staff back together. The staff also decided to pressure the Action Committee (Phil Knibb, actually) to hold fortnightly meetings again so that communication about the campaign would be more widely distributed. The Action Committee agreed to this during the joint AC-staff meeting of the 19th of April, described below.

During the 19th April staff and Action Committee meeting, the first held in several months, several teachers complained to Phil about the nature of the demonstration. Once again the conflict between charismatic authority, the ideal of community power, and the strategy of affiliation with the Labour Party came up. Some portions of the meeting follow:

Kev: Can some representatives from the Labour Party come to talk to the teaching staff. We want to know what will happen if this school is reinstated - will the community retain any involvement? What will happen to the teachers? That sort of thing.

Phil K. : I doubt it, they are too busy with their campaign.

Barry: Some could come - those who aren't running.

Phil K.: They would represent the Labour Party. We can't make demands to the Labour Party.

Jackie: The District Labour Party ought to be in communication with the school.

Barry: Someone must come.

(Vote taken in favour of requesting a representative to come)

Reza: That demonstration was a Labour Party demonstration.

Harry (AC member): We accept help from who ever will offer it.

Phil K.: It was the Merseyside Trade Union - Community Liaison Committee who organised that demonstration.

Reza: We weren't even invited - the teachers, the helpers, even the Action Committee!

Phil K.: I represent the Action Committee on the Merseyside Trade Union - Community Liaison Committee.

Kevin: The Action Committee wasn't involved in any of it.

Phil K.: I know what the Committee thinks.

This brief revival of vocal opposition by teachers to the campaign policies of the Action Committee didn't constitute as much of a genuine challenge to the Action Committee as it had during the first term. By this time it was obvious that the campaign absolutely depended on the victory of the local Labour Party in the May elections. Efforts to get the community further involved in the school through circulars put out in the second term had failed, and a real alternative didn't seem to exist. The staff complaints had more to do with their own experiences in the school and with doubts about the school's future. The new discussions did, however, lighten the mood on the staff a good deal. Although Yola had already left by this time and Janine left shortly after the demonstration, those who remained began to feel less isolated and more involved, at least, in discussions about the campaign. The discussions themselves were more structured than those of the Autumn had been through the efforts of Kevin, and more of the tacit issues involved began to be articulated than before. The internal newsletter kept staff informed of developments in the campaign as well as in the school.

The new discussion sessions included educational issues as well as political: streaming, methods of discipline, remedial extractions and so on were repeatedly discussed, with the teachers favouring policy of more progressive than traditional form. With the increased stability of the school, and the months of experience teaching in it, teachers felt less constrained than they had during the first term and openly regretted their inability to implement more progressive educational methods, such as mixed ability teaching, now that the basic organisation of the school had been set. Not all the staff liked these discussion sessions, some even became critical of Kevin for organising and insisting on them, arguing that these sorts of discussions ought to take place informally rather than at meetings. But many did find them meaningful.

As the 5th May elections approached, the campaign leaders and several teachers began to canvass for the Labour Party. Pat Kellet had decided, at the urging of his Party, to run as an SDP candidate for the Gillmoss electoral ward in which Croxteth lay. The SDP was not much liked by the more politically aware local volunteers in the school, who regarded it as the party of defectors from the Labour Party. But Pat was so highly respected by the local activists that some of them, Margaret Gaskell included, helped him distribute his leaflets, saying, however, that they wouldn't actually vote for him. The members of the Labour Party campaigned on the issues of jobs, housing and services, and speeches frequently pointed to the example of the Croxteth School as a fight they supported against policies they opposed. 'I go to the houses and I tell people what happened to our school, I tell them it could happen to them too' said George Knibb.

On May 1st a May Day parade through Liverpool included a Croxteth float which Barry and Tony and some of the helpers and pupils helped to construct. It had a strict, victorian schoolroom scene on one of its sides

and a scene of a modern, efficient classroom on the other. Radio City declared this float the best in the parade. The Friday before May Day, Aston University Lecturer Henry Miller (who taught weekly history classes in the school) gave an assembly to the pupils about the traditions of May Day and indicated some of its significance to the context of the occupation.

The elections were a success for Labour, the Party ^{for the first time} winning an overall majority on Liverpool council for over ten years. The Action Committee held a celebration in one of the local pubs and two eyewitnesses reported that at other celebrations in the city during election night, deputy leader Derek Hatton and leader John Hamilton independently stood up, at two different celebrations, and announced that the first thing they would do in office would be to reinstate Croxteth Comprehensive. The next day John Hamilton gave an interview on television in which he was asked about the policies the new Liverpool government intended to implement, and the first thing he commented on was education: 'We are going to staff schools by curriculum, not by pupil numbers' he declared, providing an immediate indication and justification of the government's policy towards Croxteth.

The victory was announced in a special assembly in the school the next morning, an assembly which was filmed for nationwide television making Croxteth a symbol of the local Labour Party victory. The mood in the school was jubilant - pupils, teachers, and helpers all sharing in the feeling of having won a long and hard struggle. Members of the Action Committee most intimately involved in the campaigning claimed in interview that the success of the Labour Party undoubtedly owed much to the inclusion of Croxteth in their campaign pledges and several prominent members of the Party agreed in interviews that taking on Croxteth definitely helped their campaign a great deal.

Chapter Fifteen

TOWARDS A COMMUNITY SCHOOL

1 After the Victory

Reinstating Croxteth Comprehensive as a state funded school proved not to be as straightforward as many of the activists had anticipated. With the Labour Party's victory came a host of new questions - would paid staff, perhaps supply teachers, immediately replace the volunteers in the school? Could supply teachers at least supplement the staff and fill some of the empty slots in the timetable? Could the volunteers have their expenses paid by the government or receive salaries? What would happen in the coming Autumn? Would any of the present staff be hired? Would the local activists have any say in the school or would it go back entirely to the state? And an equally large host of obstacles existed between the intentions of the Labour Party to give immediate aid to the school and its legal ability to do so. The only immediate changes which did come were the return of free school meals and the employment of caretakers for both the Parkstile and the Stonebridge buildings. Repairs in the buildings and maintenance of the grounds were also begun by paid city staff; one could hear lawn mowers and the hammers of window repair work only a few days after the election.

But the Labour Party actually could not immediately declare that a new state school existed in Croxteth. It could have pushed a council resolution to this effect through, but realised that Keith Joseph would simply block such a proposal, just as he had done one and a half years before. It was expected that Keith Joseph would allow a new school to be opened in Croxteth only as part of an over-all reorganisation plan effecting the entire city. Croxteth Comprehensive had to be reopened as part of Labour's city-wide reorganisation programme. And this would take time to refine and vote into policy. It was thought, moreover, that the reorganisation should go into effect in the Autumn of 1984 rather than the Autumn of 1983, leaving a year of uncertainty for Croxteth Comprehensive.

Phil and George Knibb, sometimes accompanied by Jackie Crowley the administrator and sometimes by myself, met frequently with the Labour Party's chairman of education Dominic Brady and the director of education Kenneth Antcliffe to try to find a way to finance the school for the upcoming year. Different possibilities were considered with care, much research going into the legal and financial implications of each one. The goal was to fund Croxteth Comprehensive as much as possible with local government resources, but to do it in a way which escaped the DES's rights to intervene. For a time it appeared that the school could be funded as a 'public facility', but research eventually revealed problems with this approach. Finally the only course appeared to be for Croxteth Comprehensive to become an independent school for a year, which allowed it 50% funding from the local authority. The other 50% would have to be raised by the Action Committee.

These frequent negotiations indicated the commitment of the new Labour government to the Croxteth school. Access to the Director of Education and to the chairman of the Education Committee was completely open to the Action Committee leadership; both were willing to meet with campaign

representatives at almost any time. Such access is unusual (Saunders 1983), reflecting both an enormous campaign success in gaining power over local government decision making and the sincerity of the new government in honouring its campaign pledges to the Action Committee. In terms of the research carried out for this study, the open access which the campaign had achieved enabled me to several times discuss matters with Dominic Brady and Kenneth Antcliffe over the phone and to conduct long interviews with both without any difficulty at all. This access, however, worked totally through the personal relationships which Phil Knibb had succeeded in establishing with the local Labour movement. All negotiations were under his control, and concerns of the rest of the activists had to be presented through him. It was largely through having Phil Knibb's approval that I was able to meet with these officials as easily as I did.

Most members of the teaching staff, meanwhile, were becoming concerned about their personal futures with the school and with the nature of the new Croxteth Comprehensive which would soon emerge. Their position in the campaign was now clearly a powerless one. Many were concerned with their lack of representation in the meetings taking place between the Action Committee leadership and local government officials. For this reason I was voted to represent the teachers at several meetings. As most teachers wished to be employed in the new independent school for the Autumn, I was invited to collect resumes from all interested and present them to Kenneth Antcliffe. Phil Knibb declared his commitment to have all volunteer teachers who were 'appropriately qualified' gain employment in the school. Through Phil's request Kenneth Antcliffe agreed to help those unqualified get into teacher training courses if they wished.

Phil was also determined to have as many helpers hired for the school's ancillary staff as possible. But the helpers, like the teachers, were basically powerless in the matter, and they too began to voice worries in informal conversations. Most by far of all the activists wished to retain some kind of involvement in the new independent school.

At a meeting with the staff during mid May Phil Knibb explained his determination to make Croxteth Comprehensive a 'community school':

When we got started we just wanted our school back. Now we want a community comprehensive. What we've tried to achieve, we've achieved. Now the priority is to plan what we want to have in the school, to carry out the ideals we've struggled for.

At the same time, Phil saw the significance of the campaign for Croxteth Comprehensive now totally in terms of broader political issues, and through his work on the Labour Party's education policy group he was helping to shape policy for all schools in the city. An indication of the extent to which Phil had become identified with the goals of the local Labour Party was a comment he made just after making the one quoted above. In response to a question Phil said he wouldn't support re-establishing a school in Croxteth if that meant that another nearby community would lose theirs. Thus Phil was presenting arguments from a city-wide perspective,

180 degrees from the horizontally competitive arguments used during the first phase of the campaign (see chapter eight).

The insistence that teachers be fully qualified in order to be hired in the school was actually a way to screen out volunteers which the Action Committee didn't want as teachers. It was true that in a full county comprehensive qualifications would be a must, both because of legal requirements and because of the pressure of teacher unions in the city. The Labour Party intended to make no redundancies a part of their reorganisation plan and the addition of some of the Croxteth volunteers to the number of Liverpool teachers to be employed might have caused some problems. The Liverpool teaching unions, especially the NUT, also made it clear to the local authority that they would fight any attempt to have volunteer teachers at Croxteth Comprehensive employed. But the Action Committee could have hired any teachers they wished for the independent school which would run the next year, and there were many volunteer teachers which the Action Committee felt were not competent to teach and didn't want back in the school. At the staff meeting mentioned above Phil explained that 'Some of the volunteers will have to become disassociated with the school'. George Knibb, meanwhile, began to observe classes in the school to determine which teachers the Action Committee wanted for the independent school.

II Community Schooling

The campaign speeches of the Labour Party and reports and articles in the media frequently referred to the occupied school buildings in Croxteth as a 'community school', a 'school taken over by its community' and to the campaign as a fight 'of the community' against the government. As the Labour Party in Liverpool formulated its city-wide educational reorganisation programme, moreover, it based its policy on the concept of 'community comprehensives', closing 26 secondary schools in Liverpool down officially and opening 17 new 'community comprehensives' in the buildings of some of them, the Croxteth and Ellergreen buildings included. In media and campaign reports after the May elections, it was not uncommon to hear Croxteth mentioned as 'a community school already' or as 'a community school in the *real* sense'.

But we have seen that the issue of community involvement was continuously in dispute during the campaign and occupation, and this dispute continued into the summer term. To what extent was Croxteth a community school, and in what sense? What policies could make it more a community school? These were some of the questions debated in the staff meetings of the third term, at the same time that the Labour Party Education Group, with Phil Knibb and George Knibb actively contributing, considered the future of the Croxteth school and the policy for all schools in Liverpool.

The situation of the school by the third term can be summarised by making a number of points:

1) The occupied school had reproduced traditional forms of schooling in a number of ways described in chapters ten through twelve. Four points will summarise the traditional aspects of education in the occupied school which had developed very quickly during the first term and had remained largely unchanged for the rest of the year:

- a) The implementation of a traditional curriculum for most pupils.
- b) The division of pupils into classes based primarily on ability.
- c) The creation of authority relations which, although uniquely involving two forms of adult-youth authority relationships, basically reproduced traditional school authority.
- d) Despite the participation of approximately thirty adults in the school during the year, the occupation failed to draw other adults from the estate into the school. There were still social boundaries between school and community.

2) However, the presence in the school of thirty adults from Croxteth had led to some unintended consequences which deviated from traditional schooling, especially traditional schooling in Croxteth Comprehensive. Four general areas of such innovations can be listed. The first two were discussed in previous chapters and the last two will be elaborated below:

a) The dual system of authority in the school had led to very warm relationships between some of the teachers, adults and pupils. School authority was still imposed as a principle upon pupils, but it was done in a way which opened new spaces for social relationships with pupils to develop. On the one hand, some of the teachers established very close relationships with pupils at the expense of a certain amount of control, but control was maintained through regular interventions by local adults. On the other hand, some of the local adults began to initiate successful educational activities with pupils in a way which drew upon features of the local culture. These local activists were successful partially because they were perceived by pupils as being on 'their side', on their being 'not-teachers' (chapter twelve).

b) Many of the local adults were becoming interested in school knowledge themselves and learned alongside the pupils (chapter fourteen).

c) Almost all of the Croxteth adults in the school had begun to become critically aware of traditional schooling by the 3rd term, through their work in the school (see below).

d) Most of the local activists had a much greater political awareness by the third term than they had had before their involvement in the campaign, and their perception of the schooling process itself was coloured by this (below).

In the rest of this section we shall look at changes in political and educational outlook which the local activists experienced as a result of the campaign. We will then consider the significance of such changes in the

light of community education theory (chapter five). This will involve a brief discussion about the relationship of schooling to social relations of domination and the extent to which community involvement can and cannot alter it.

A) Attitudes Towards Education in the Third Term

After the election victory, when the end of the occupation was clearly in sight and the re-absorption of the school into the hands of the LEA was imminent, helpers and Action Committee members began to express a changed perspective on schooling:

When I first came in, I just was interested in a school, and being involved during those 12 months, that's when I started to (pause), I mean, you were trying to decide if you should have exams, you should have that many O levels, CSEs, and the kids would turn around and say, 'well, why?'. And I started to think about it, you know, and then I said to myself, 'Well, why!?' You know, they're leaving school, the kids with O levels, A levels and what have you, and they're still on the dole.

Margaret Gaskell

Margaret was by implication questioning the primary purpose of education which she and most volunteers in the school, both teachers and residents, had assumed at the beginning: employability. The link between schooling and jobs is one which may be argued to be necessary in one form or another, but the subsumption of *all possible* educational goals to this single one has adverse effects in a working class community like Croxteth. As long as employability is tied to qualifications, schools have no choice but to put most of their efforts towards passing as many pupils on the highest status examinations as they possibly can. Examinations then determine the status put on various learning activities through out the school - both examination and non-examination activities. We saw how this worked in the occupied school of Croxteth: examinations were made a priority and limited educational resources were deployed to their end, creating a number of 'sink' classes. For many activists, critical awareness of schooling began with the observation of the plight of the non-examination groups during the first term.

Ann Pines, for example, became closely associated with the 4Bs during the school year and was well aware that they were getting less teacher-time, less resources, and less relevant education until the projects were tried out with them. She began to feel bitter about it, expressing her thoughts on the matter at several staff meetings and personally to several teachers. Phil Knibb joined her in this, as did George Knibb and Pat Brennen. Margaret saw it as a general problem, existing not only in Croxteth but in all schools:

That's very unfair! And I found out it wasn't just going on in this school, it is happening in other schools!

When enough time and stability had been achieved in the second term to try out more appropriate educational activities with the non-examination

groups, the non-examination pupils still felt themselves in a second class position and greatly resented it. The value of the projects tried out with the 4Bs, for example, was diminished through the fact that it wasn't leading towards examinations, and the 4Bs continued to be disruptive and to express resentment towards the preferred treatment of the 4As.

The value of all school knowledge, of all learning activities tried out in the occupied school of Croxteth, was strongly influenced by the examination system which in turn took its principle rationale from the translatability of qualifications into jobs. But the irony in Croxteth was the glaring fact that over 90% of 16 to 19 year olds were unemployed, qualifications or not, and over 50% of the adult population generally were without paid jobs (chapter seven). The last chapter noted the frequent use by pupils of the 'no jobs anyway' argument against doing school work. But it was argued there that the 'no jobs' argument was first of all a way of turning around the only discursively available explanation of schooling purpose to resist work which pupils didn't find engaging. It was also a 'penetration' of the real future of most of these pupils, but some pupils who shared in this unpromising vision of the future actually enjoyed school work. School work doesn't need to be so tightly tied to the job market nor so competitive and hierarchical. Locally based forms of assessment, referenced to criteria rather than to normative achievement, would allow schooling to remain related to possible future careers without completely subsuming all schooling activities to them. They would therefore open up more room in areas like Croxteth for developing and trying out alternative forms of educational practice, suitable for class and social-geographical locations of schools, and suitable for the internal diversity of pupil needs and orientations which are present in even so homogeneous a community as Croxteth. The inflexibility which examinations introduced into Croxteth with respect to both the curriculum and *explanations* of why schooling may be worthwhile, made schooling experience for most, but not all, of the pupils in the school of highly questionable worth. As we argued in chapter ten, the excitement felt by pupils for the campaign never translated very far into the classrooms. And this was because of the traditional curriculum, shaped to a large extent by the national examination system.

Hence employability was both the only explanation usually on offer for teachers and parents to justify the work they expected of pupils at the same time that unemployability was the most readily available argument for pupils against it. Under pressure from pupils, local activists like Margaret began to question the sense of education as a means to a job. By the middle of the third term, Margaret had come to think that a form of schooling ought to exist which wasn't linked so tightly to jobs and which had relevance to the social situation of pupils:

I think we should be offering something. Maybe there are no jobs, but there must be something else they could be doing worthwhile, that'd make them feel as though they're not a burden on society, which is what a lot of the kids feel they are. *What* I don't know. I know there should be something.

Thus critical awareness was growing with respect to the purposes of education. Margaret Gaskell was one of the most articulate activists with

respect to this, but she was joined by a number of others as well. As we shall see ahead, during the third term a discourse of criticism was just beginning amongst the local activists showing wide spread discontent in traditional schooling and an interest in exploring alternatives. However, a number of constraints prevented any translation of this critical awareness into alternative practice. The two most immediate constraints were the examination system itself, which will always be a constraint unless it is changed nationally, and the lack of an articulated and tried alternative upon which the activists could draw. The constraints which worked upon the progressive minded teachers during the first term were still intact. They originate from outside of any single school (chapters five and ten).

As well as a growing critical awareness of what is taught to whom in schools, most local activists in the occupied school had altered their views on discipline by the third term as well. Few of them still believed that the cane ought to be used to punish pupils, and almost all of them appreciated the warmth which existed between many of the pupils and the teachers. The view that a fundamental purpose of schooling is to discipline and control pupils had not been dropped, for as argued in chapter eleven there are reasons for this view based in conditions of life on the Croxteth estate, but helpers and Action Committee members came to believe equally that warm and informal relationships between teachers and pupils were good. Marty McArdle explained his view of this:

I think the teachers are great like. I've never had teachers like these. You know if I was at school and I'd had teachers like these I'd never have been in trouble. Because they seem to fit in with you. You know you get some of these teachers 'cos they got a bit of knous at the top here. They think, they tell you where to go, push you about, you know you're dirt to them. That's what I looked at in school. You know [they think that] all you've got to have is discipline in school. You have discipline. You have discipline and discipline. You know like they're pushing you about left right and centre. That's the thing that's wrong.

But these teachers like we've got in here. If we'd had them ones in the schools, I'd be a lot cleverer and a lot more knous than I am now. Like meself I was very slow, you know reading and writing and everything. I could read and write but not everything. You know these people'll spend their time with you, help you out where they wouldn't in another school. And that's how you end up in trouble like. I just can't believe it like.

But being honest if we'd had these teachers what we have today I'd been a lot happier. They seem to have more understanding. They seem to like understand more and there was like some lads down there and some of the lasses, they are slow some of these right. And like Tony and Barry and yourself, you spend time with them, talking to them don't you. Know what I mean. Where in another school you wouldn't. They'd say 'Back to your lesson and listen, sit up and listen' like.

B) Growing Political Awareness and Involvement

The local activists were questioning both the apparently primary purpose of education to make pupils employable and the form of discipline in traditional schools. They were also, as a result of their involvement, seeing linkages between schooling and political activity. They were more

aware of political issues on their estate and nationally as well. While few of the community activists had taken part in political activities or belonged to political organisations before the campaign to save Croxteth Comprehensive, most had become involved in some form of political or community activity, outside of the occupation, by the third term.

We've already noted the involvement of Phil Knibb in the local Labour Party, Militant, and the efforts of the NTUCLC to establish official channels between community movements and the labour movement. These activities were new for Phil. Similarly, George Knibb, Margaret Gaskell, and Jackie Crowley all became supporters of Militant. Collette D'Arcy, having had no previous political interest or involvement at all, became a very prominent and publicly visible member of the Young Socialists. These people were all either part of the leadership of the Action Committee or socially close to it. How their decisions to join Militant actually took place is unknown to the researcher but it is clear that the experience of the campaign started them thinking in politically new ways and recruitment to Militant seemed a way to make sense of their campaign within a broader political ideology. The struggle of Militant to control the Liverpool Labour Party (Crick 1984) won the sympathy of these people and seemed to be the answer to the failure of the three local Labour Party councillors to show much support or interest for the occupation, the new shape of the Liverpool Labour Party was one which promised to get things done. Militant's policy in Liverpool is based on an end to cuts in state provisions, the protection of jobs and the development of housing, and they were ready to confront the national government to achieve these ends. Cyril D'Arcy writes of his own politicisation (or repoliticisation) as a consequence of the campaign:

I left the Labour Party a long time ago - disenchanted with negative attitudes of old Labour Party representatives. Regained membership during school campaign and am now active in my own ward Dovecot.

For many of the rest of the Croxteth activists an increase in political interest and awareness took place but didn't lead to affiliation with any political organisations except for the Labour Party in some cases. The need to justify illegal action, to answer the questions of their neighbours and family members as to why they were involved, forced these volunteers to construct a rational account of their activities which out of necessity meant thinking about politics:

P.C.: Had you been involved in any struggles before, or any political organisations?

Jackie Madden: No (laughs), I actually, uhh, I thought politics was really really boring like, didn't want no part of it, and then when we took over the school; well no, it was before when we first started fighting for the school, we'd go down when there was a council meeting or something, you know, someone would be going past and they'd say, 'What's going on?', and you'd say, 'I don't know, they're voting on something to do with Crocky School, I haven't got a clue really, I'm just standing here demonstrating'. And like, you know, you sounded stupid. The people didn't know what we were talking about so you had to know what you were going down there for and you had to know the ends and outs of it.

Because I was sort of in the middle of it and because it was political; like it isn't *political*, the reason that we're fighting for the school, but it's political in closing the school and fighting against the closure. Because it was *sort of* political, I sort of got into politics and I'm in the Labour Party and all kinds now.

Many of the volunteers distinguished, as did Jackie in the passage above, between 'politics' and their reasons for being involved in the occupation. 'Politics' carried the sense of party-politics to most of them and they had become cynical about party-politics after the closure of the school, if not before. But most of the activists stated that they had become more aware of political issues as a result of their experiences in the campaign and a large number of them joined the Croxteth Tenants Association and began attending other community meetings in consequence. The occupation had given them more confidence that they could do something about the conditions in which they live:

You know, normally when you pick up a paper and read out, 'so many jobs going here', you think like, 'Oh my God, it would have to be on Merseyside as well'. But then that's it, you just put it down. But then being here I've learnt, umm, just how important it is, just everyday things that you've always read about but never sort of cared about and never cared to do anything about it. And then being and fighting for the school and we've won it now for 12 months, hopefully for ever. It makes you want to go on, not just let things drop here, carry on in life. You know things in life, you've got to fight for them.

Kathy Donovan

Mary Kane: I got involved in a lot of things, through this school, that I'd never even talked about before. ... Now I can talk to these people about different things. If I hadn't joined this committee I [garbled] not knowing what was going on, not being involved. But now I seem to get involved in things because I get involved in committees I don't know anything about, till I go to the meetings.

P.C.: Like what?

Mary: Well like I belong to the tenants' committee and I went to a meeting a while ago about job creation on the estate.

With the large number of women volunteering in the school, the experience of participation also put traditional gender roles more into question. In the summer of 1984, a year after the end of the occupation, Henry Stewart and I interviewed a number of the former activists in the occupation and found most of them involved in a large number of community activities:

Pat Brennan: The thing is, I don't think you could ever go back to being an ordinary housewife again. I mean, when you're stuck at home there are all these jobs and you get them all done, and there's nothing to do then. Now you go home and you try to get bits done you know, every bit of the time, because we've got meetings nearly every night now as well. The tenants' group, the womens' health group and all that.

Henry Stewart: You know, the women's health group, would you have gotten involved in something like that before?

Margaret Gaskell: I don't think I would have. I was never involved in many things before, but this (pause), this sort

of trained me. Just going back to being a housewife when you know you are capable of doing more. It makes you want to use what you're capable of.

In many ways the campaign for Croxteth Comprehensive led to increased social awareness and activity on the part of those who were involved in it. We can summarise with another quotation from Cyril D'Arcy:

Without going at length, I see the tremendous spin off that the campaign was responsible for. People became more educationally aware, socially and politically as well. The strength of character that people acquired was enormous, being able and willing to fight and speak up for themselves and others.

There was a rise in the confidence of the participants in the campaign for Croxteth Comprehensive, the feeling that by being involved they could do something about the circumstances of their lives. And this growth in the desire for political and community activity alongside the growth in a critical awareness of schooling is precisely what advocates of community schooling have called for but have found so difficult to create through the policies of LEAs and educationalists (chapter five).

III The Beginnings of Critical Dialogue on the Form of Schooling

At the suggestion of Henry Miller, lecturer in sociology and education at Aston University and volunteer history teacher in the occupied school during the second and third terms, two meetings were held in May for staff and local activists at which the theory of community education and some examples of contemporary community schools were presented for discussion. The first such occasion was a joint staff-Action Committee meeting held on 23 May and chaired by Cyril D'Arcy. Janet Strivens, a lecturer in the department of education at Liverpool University, friend of Henry Miller, and occasional volunteer at Croxteth during the occupation, gave a talk about community education. The local residents listened to Janet but little discussion followed, probably because of the format of the meeting which took up a large number of issues and dealt with them as quickly as possible. The usual passivity of Action Committee members at their meetings served once again to inhibit effective discussion.

The second meeting produced more discussion. It was held at lunch time during a school day (26 May) and was very informal and well attended by staff and helpers. At this meeting Henry Miller gave a brief history of community education in Britain and described a few contemporary community schools such as the Sutton Centre. Henry then indicated some of the unique features of the Croxteth school which gave it an advantage over other efforts to create community schools. Instead of having a school run by educationalists who try to get the community to accept their ideas and get involved, community activists were presently in possession of some power over their school and were in a position to negotiate for what they wanted. It would be important to take advantage of this situation now, he said, before it is lost, by becoming clear about what the helpers and Action Committee wanted and putting it forth to the Education Committee. The

discussion which followed was recorded in a notebook and some of the comments of parents are presented below:

Margaret: I know what I want but I don't know how to put it into words. Schools are frightening - they are academic and some kids aren't academic, are they?

Mary Kane: In the system as it is now, kids who aren't academic feel like failures. That's wrong.

Charlie Irving: Some kids aren't good at academics but they're good with their hands - we should bring them around to another system so that they aren't left to feel inferior, and when they leave they have a qualification.

(nods of agreement)

Charlie Irving: And if a kid is clever, he should be pushed. They should make sure these kids get the qualifications they could get.

Pat Irving: Most people are good at one or the other, aren't they?

Pat Brennen: I think they should continue with the O level qualifications.

(nods of agreement)

Mary Kane: But I don't want this school going back to reading, writing, and arithmetic!

This meeting brought forth the critical awareness which had developed amongst the local activists and the beginnings of attempts to bring it into formulation. The difficulties of coming up with alternative ideas was obvious, but that would be expected in a community school - new ideas could be tried out, discussed, and altered over time. The concern with qualifications and jobs was very apparent, as was a desire to make non-academic subjects carry higher status. The local activists seemed to perceive pupils as falling into two types: the academic and clever and the non-academic but possibly talented in other ways, and the desire was to reduce the gap in status between the two.

This meeting was the beginning of a dialogue forming between the teachers in the school and the Croxteth residents involved. The innovations which had taken place in the school consisted in part of mutual learning processes taking place between local activists and teachers. Many of the former had developed ways of relating to pupils and had developed activities which were successful in drawing their enthusiasm because of their familiarity with local culture. This familiarity was naturally lacking on the side of the teachers. Community activists had much to teach the teachers in this way. The teachers for their part were familiar with aspects of school knowledge many local activists wished to learn too. By the time of the May meeting, both groups had begun to discuss the situation in the school. If these two groups had been able to continue to work together, new ideas and practices would probably have evolved over time. Attempts to alter curriculum and pedagogy by educationalists without a dialogue with residents have met with strong parental protestations in the past (chapter five). Opportunities must exist for local residents and teachers to establish a dialogue with each other, based on mutual

involvement in the school, and some educational power must be devolved to these groups so that their dialogue and practice can alter the organisation of knowledge and ultimately the experience of pupils. What was beginning in Croxteth, and it took eight months of involvement in the school for it to begin, was the growth of critical awareness or, in Boyd's terms, 'conscious dissatisfaction', in the school (Boyd 1977, p 21). Boyd points out, no doubt correctly, that this necessary ingredient for 'community education' to really be community education is hard to come by. It cannot be imposed from above, and the unique and delicate feature of the Croxteth occupation by the third term was precisely that this dissatisfaction and desire for involvement had arisen from below.

Croxteth Comprehensive thus had several of the ingredients prescribed in the literature for the radical version of the community school. It had involvement, a degree of community power, political awareness, and the beginnings of a dialogue in which teachers and local residents were together beginning to discuss alternative educational practice. A number of the reproductive features of the occupation in which systematic linkages between features of local culture and traditional schooling practice became reconstituted during the first term were now coming into discursive and critical awareness: school authority, schooling purposes, the traditional curriculum, were all just beginning to come into question and the possibility to make changes was apparent. This is not to say that more fundamental constraints on the forms which schooling could take in an area like Croxteth did not exist. It has repeatedly been argued that the examination system is one such constraint, and the nature of the job market itself is another. A further constraint, discussed in detail in chapter five, was the lack of control over resources necessary to link educational and socially transformative activities typically present in inner and outer city areas. But it is to say that, although limited, room for alternatives does exist, room which could have been explored by the participants in Croxteth. The light which the Croxteth campaign throws on community education theory is further examined in the final chapter.

Speculations about what may have occurred aside, the local residents present at the May lunchtime meeting unanimously expressed one clear desire they had with respect to Croxteth Comprehensive: the continuation of their own involvement in it. The seventeen local activists interviewed during the field work also indicated a wish to remain involved:

P.C.: Think you'd like to continue as a teacher?

Kathy Donovan: Well I was really considering it in cookery, cookery or art. But anything like this, I think it's really great. Even all the kids today have long faces and they say 'We won't be seeing you any more will we?' and I say 'You know you should be made up with winning the school and all'. And they say 'Well you know we are made up, we just thought we might be in with the people who have won it for us'. A lot of kids have said this.

P.C. Would you like to still be involved in the school if you could be, you know, in the Autumn?

Kathy: Oh yeah! Definitely!

P.C.: Do you think you will be?

Kathy: Well I don't know. A few weeks ago, or, say, two months ago, somebody said to me, 'Well would you stay in the school, would you work here for pay, in the kitchen or whatever?' And I said 'Well I've done it for 12 months for no pay, I'd still do it voluntary, just to be here, just to be part of it'. We tell the kids we'll be here for the first day at least.

P.C.: What will you do if the school closes? [interviewed before the election victory]

Keith Leatherbarrow: For 80% of us working here it would be like having most of your teeth removed; a big gap in your life. Most of the helpers would probably go back to being like sheep around here: sleeping until 12:00 and then moping around looking for something to do.

P.C.: What do you think you'll be doing after this term? Would you like to be still be involved in the school?

Marty McArdle: Like what school has helpers? When this goes I know I'm going to go with it. I'm really going to miss it. But like people've said, it's going to be a community school, you can come in and see them. But you're going to put them off [the new staff]. And getting up every morning and coming into the school, that's going to be done [finished].

IV The last half-term

- Sunshine

To return to the chronology, Croxteth Comprehensive was being run during the final term with a light and almost joyous atmosphere. The weather was brilliant, day after day of sunshine and warmth. Classes were often held outdoors and many trips were arranged for the pupils. Pat Kellet took the 1st and 2nd years on several field trips. Margaret Gaskell, Pat Brennen, Tony Gannon, Barry Kushner, Keith Leatherbarrow, and others took a group of pupils on a trip to the Isle of Man in June. The Liverpool Graphical Society donated £30 for the trip and the Open Eye Gallery £46. Another group of pupils were taken caving. Henry Miller took his 4A2 history pupils to the Maritime Museum on the Mersey River and to visit Janine's art gallery in town, and a group of teachers and pupils spent a couple of days on the beaches of Freshfields and the swimming baths of New Brighton. On the 7th of July, all pupils, staff and local volunteers went to Alton Towers for the day.

A school-wide mock election was held near the time of the national general election as both an entertainment and an educational exercise. Speakers representing the Labour Party, the SDP and the Conservative Party urged the pupils to vote for them from the stage. Barry gave a talk for his 'Rainbow Party', which made absurd promises like giving everyone in the country a slice of pie. The Conservative Party speaker was loudly booed and the final vote was in favour of Rainbow.

The atmosphere was light and informal. Pupils seemed to share the sense of having won a long battle and relations between teachers, parents and pupils had never been better in the school. A record in the field note books describes scenes from a not uncommon day in late June:

29 June: I walked around the school grounds at lunch time. A beautiful, sunny day. Many of the staff were playing rounders with pupils on the front lawn. Laughter and cries of excitement. Margaret was sitting on the front steps reading a book of Trakl's poetry, several pupils sitting next to her.

Later in the day I noticed a number of infants and babies in the school as usual. Margaret was holding one while she directed pupils moving for class changes through the corridors. Others were near their parents or friends of their parents by the front door, people talking and drinking tea as they kept an eye on the kids.

I saw Mick [Checkland] playfully enacting a street fight with two pupils in the corridor. Mock kicks and karate chops, jabs to the stomach. Smiles afterwards.

Several classrooms were observed during this period as the easing pressure on the teaching staff, with the departure of the 5th year at the end of examinations, allowed more time for it. Classes tended to be very informal but possibly less disruptive than at other times in the year. In one class a fourth year pupil was observed giving a lesson in computing to a second year class. The pupils gave almost undivided attention to their young teacher. A lesson of Tony Gannon's in geography showed teaching in this unusual school at its best:

5 July, Class Observation - Tony's 1A Geography class:

The physical appearance of the room is very disorderly. There are books stacked all about, paper on the floor. Desks are littered about the room in no order. The room is very noisy as Tony takes roll - I hear sexual jokes made between Terry and Tracy ('Where was you on the night of the 23rd? You was in bed!' - a wink and both laugh).

As Tony marks off the roll several very familiar comments are made to him. 'I like the way you write Tony!' (Tony is left handed). Lots of good humour, light comments as Tony talks.

Tony doesn't appear at all bothered by the noise. He laughs with the kids, exchanges jokes as he finishes the roll. He asks a question requiring the raising of hands and all seem to understand and raise them. I missed the question due to the noise myself.

The girls leave the room excitedly to do some project in the library next door. Six boys remain. Tony disappears into his storeroom and reappears shortly afterwards holding a film strip. The boys applaud and Tony raises his hand and nods in a humorous way, as if he was entering a stage to the delight of its audience.

As Tony threads the filmstrip into the projector at the back of the room the boys cluster their desks near him. The filmstrip is to be about Brazil. While he makes adjustments he engages in a discussion with Bradley: 'The only reason the Brazilians are so good [at football] is because they play on the sand'. Tony asks, 'what happens when water touches sand - you know, moves through it all the time?' The rest of the pupils pay attention and start offering answers. Tony seems appreciative of all suggestions, finding something right about each one but continues to ask questions until he gets the answer he wants.

He starts the filmstrip. Tony keeps asking questions about the scenes displayed and mentions many facts about Brazil as he goes along. The group dynamics never move into a situation in which he talks for long periods, with the pupils listening and taking notes, - instead there is frequent interchange, mixed with jokes.

Tony explains the origin of the film. It was made by Cadbury's. 'Cadbury's have a stake in Brazil - they get their coco cheaply there'.

The lads can talk any time they like, hand raising isn't necessary. Often several talk at once. All are attentive and only one bad behaviour corrected (so far) - a pea shooter taken from Steve Harrison.

David Knibb is playfully corrected for talking too much - a friendly push on the head used.

Pupils spontaneously get up to assist in making some points. Jason goes to the screen to point to different parts of a map. Terry goes over to the projector, which is being operated by Bradley, to put a shadow circle on the right place.

....

The change in the status of the school from an illegally occupied one to a legally recognised one resulted in new interest from outsiders. Many pupils who had left the school for Ellergreen during or just after the first term began requesting to return to the school for the last term. Most of these were initially accepted but as the requests continued pupils and parents were told to wait until the Autumn. A group of three teachers who had taught in Croxteth Comprehensive before its closure and had been teaching at Ellergreen during the year of the occupation asked to have a discussion with members of the Action Committee and a teacher representative. At the meeting they made it clear that they wished to get jobs back in the school, one even saying that he intended to apply for the headship. Each brought a list of suggestions about how the school might be run as a community school with them, and they all claimed that many of the former teachers of Croxteth Comprehensive were not happy with their new positions. They were told that no guarantees could be made - they would have to apply to join the staff just like all new teachers would.

Early in the term, Allen Kaye, a chemistry teacher with a Ph.D. in the subject and a former teacher at Croxteth before its closure, arrived to volunteer his services. Allen had been unhappy with teaching at Ellergreen and resigned his position there. He clearly hoped to become employed in Croxteth Comprehensive for the Autumn term, possibly with a rise in position (he did become head teacher of the school during the following year and as deputy head the year after). Allen began taking mathematics and science classes.

Many community groups and service organisations also asked for interviews with the Action Committee. They were met at the school by Phil Knibb or George Knibb and the latter began to request the helpers and staff to stop drinking tea in the corridors during school hours so that the school would look more official and presentable. Representatives from the Liverpool Education Authority also occasionally visited the school to

examine the buildings to see if they still met standards. The kitchen was inspected and all kitchen staff required to wear uniforms according to government regulation.

- Closing Rituals

As the last week of school approached most teachers gave final examinations to their non-5th year pupils. Year reports with many comments from each teacher were written out to be delivered to the homes. At several staff meetings the last day was planned. It was decided initially to have an awards ceremony in which certain pupils would be given certificates of honour for outstanding contributions to the campaign. Staff members decided that very broad criteria would be used to determine which pupils were worthy of awards, effort as well as achievement on school work, helpful behaviour in classrooms, original contributions made by some pupils to the campaign through writing songs or making original posters and badges, and so on were all to be included. A certificate was actually ordered, paid for and collected from the printers which had a large area left free for personalised comments. But at a staff meeting only days away from the final day of school teachers changed their minds. Largely through arguments made by Barry and Tony it was decided that certificates of merit, no matter how broad and non-traditional the criteria of selection used, would leave many pupils out. The criteria was bound to be both somewhat arbitrary and expressive of certain values which the staff wasn't perhaps fully aware of. As Tony put it, 'I wouldn't want to be responsible for the damage done to the pupils left out': the idea was dropped, though it was agreed to give a trophy to the 5th year pupils David Edwards and Jimmy Kane for the very hard work both had put in on their examinations.

On the last day of school an assembly was held at which David and Jimmy were given their awards and a final commendation was expressed for all pupils, staff, and helpers for the year of hard work which had led to a victory for Croxteth.

This campaign and your parts in it are part of history now. Many eyes from all over England and eyes from areas of Europe have been on you throughout this year. Some hoped we would fail, others were very anxious that we succeed. We have won this struggle, and we've won it together. We've proved something that will not be forgotten in this community or in this country - we've done something together which all of you should always remember with pride.

Immediately after the assembly, all staff helped to administer a questionnaire, prepared by myself with the help of Henry Miller, to all pupils simultaneously. Pupils were extremely cooperative, as were the staff, and the event helped to further symbolise the closing of the year of occupation.

After the questionnaire pupils, helpers and staff gathered together outside the school for a photograph: Croxteth Comprehensive, year of 1983 (see photograph at the beginning of the thesis). Both the arrangements made to produce the photo and the visual result itself well symbolised what had taken place in Croxteth Comprehensive during 1982 and 1983. Pupils

scrambled and struggled with each other for places most visibly in view of the camera. The photographers, volunteers from Liverpool's Open Eye Gallery, made several suggestions in vain as to how pupils could align themselves orderly for an effective shot. Different groups moved about as various individuals shouted out new suggestions. The situation seemed chaotic. Finally George Knibb, the school authoritarian, had all pupils line up by year groups just as in traditional school photographs: the first years at the bottom sitting down, the second years behind and so on up to the 4th and 5th years at the back. Teachers stood to the side and behind. Then George took his place in the middle next to one of the school's most disruptive 3B pupils. Three members of the kitchen staff, one with her baby in arms, took a position to the right and back, and a couple of the younger helpers got on top a ledge of the building. A banner hung from this ledge prepared for the school by the Cockpit Theatre Group:

CROXTETH COMMUNITY SCHOOL
GIS' OUR SCHOOL!

The photographers took their shots and a week later there appeared, in frozen form, a representation of the year for all pupils and activists. Like the school itself had been, the picture is organised in very traditional form, - the class of 1983 lined up by age groups at the front of their school building. And yet there is George Knibb sitting with the third year in the middle, there are the kitchen staff standing in between groups of teachers, pickets and maintenance crew are scattered amongst the rest, and two young pickets sitting on the roof next to a political banner. Phil Knibb and Cyril D'Arcy, as often during the campaign, are not visually present, but it was much of their skillful work which made the picture, and the occupation and campaign themselves, possible.

That evening a party was held in a local church hall, St. Pauls' Hall, for all teachers and local volunteers. Education Committee chairman Dominic Brady arrived to give a short informal talk, and activists danced, listened to music, talked, and shared food and drink late into the night. John Bennett showed up, apparently uninvited, for part of the evening. This party had been planned separately from a party held a week before in Netherley for 350 trade unionists who had supported the campaign. Helpers and teaching staff had not been invited to the earlier party though some helpers attended to serve food and drink to the trade unionists present. It had been intended as a thank you party for those who had provided the absolutely essential financial support for the struggle. But the separation of these two events was resented by many helpers who thought there should be a single victory party in which all who had been involved would participate together. This idea was strongly resisted by Phil Knibb, who insisted that they be separate affairs. The two parties, two separate closing ceremonies for the protest movement, provided another indication of the old community power vs labour movement conflict which had appeared many times during the occupation. The labour movement and the grass roots of Croxteth never really met during the year of protest. Despite their mutual acknowledgement of each others' importance, they were linked together only through the campaign's leaders.

Just before this final party the teaching staff handed back their school keys. After the party they went home, many never to return to Croxteth. The teachers' last day had ended without any clarification of whether or not they could expect employment in the Autumn or get onto training courses. Nor was the question of how the community would continue to be involved in the school and what type of schooling was to be provided answered by this time.

V 'Croxteth Independent Community Comprehensive School'

In August of 1983 I returned to Croxteth to find that plans had gone ahead for the running of the school the 1983/84 school year. The missing 50% of the funding for the school was to be supplied primarily by having the teaching staff donate half of their salaries back to the school but also by getting grants here and there - some from the Labour-controlled Merseyside County Council to run the adult education portions of the school. The Action Committee had been anxious to get a headteacher of their choice and an informal invitation was made to Henry Miller, who was on sabbatical for that year, to fill this post. Henry refused for various reasons and Dr Allen Kaye was given the job instead. Jackie Crowley was hired as school administrator to act as a go-between for the staff and the Action Committee, and Phil Knibb intended to remain in close contact with the school to make sure community input wasn't lost, although Phil was actually employed on a NACRO project in Netherely. Margaret Gaskell, Pat Brennen and Debbie Johnson, all from Croxteth and all former activists in the occupation, were to work in the school as volunteer secretaries. Many of the former helpers got part time work in the school kitchen and as cleaners. Jimmy Coza, a young ex-pupil of Croxteth Comprehensive who had served many overnight picket duties throughout the occupation, was hired as caretaker for the Parkstile Building and caretakers for the Stonebridge building were local residents as well, though not former helpers or Action Committee members.

The assessment made by George and Phil Knibb on the abilities of the volunteer staff resulted in only three choices from their number: Tony Gannon, Reza and myself. Reza, Dr. Kaye, Jackie and myself formed a hiring committee and added a fourth ex-volunteer to the staff: Hugh Sanderson who had served as substitute teacher during the second and third terms. Keith Leatherbarrow and the ex-fifth year pupil David Edwards were hired as laboratory assistants. All the rest of the teaching staff were new to the school.

A few things may be said about the 1983/84 school year of relevance to this study. No community curriculum was introduced into the school and the involvement of parents was now minimal, despite the hiring of many onto the ancillary staff. On the first day of school Phil Knibb addressed an assembly of pupils. His beginning line was revealing: 'I hope that this is the last time that a parent addresses you from up here'. The policy was to keep the community and the teaching of secondary pupils as separate as possible. Phil was convinced that this was in the best interests of the

pupils. The presence of local adults in the school for the previous year had been a necessary aberration from proper schooling which could now be dispensed with. The school was expected to now be run 'properly', its disorganisation and problems to be eliminated by the removal of the local adults and the hiring of a properly trained and experienced staff.

Despite the fact that many of the former helpers and Action Committee members had been hired as ancillary staff of the school, the impression given in interviews was that they had felt pushed out of the school's other functions with the argument that their presence would interfere with the proper teaching of the pupils. Moreover, there weren't enough jobs for all the local activists, choices had to be made and a fair number of old activists pushed out altogether, causing some bitterness amongst those who had to leave.

Within a few months of the 1983/84 school year it became obvious that the school had at least as many discipline problems as it had had during the year of occupation. By my own observations, discipline problems took place roughly on an equivalent scale to that of the most stable periods of the previous year. Reza claimed that they were possibly even worse. Phil Knibb, who retained close involvement in the school, very quickly realised that simply having a more trained and qualified staff without local adults to 'get in the way' didn't improve matters for the pupils. Within a month and a half of the new school year he expressed his belief that 'some mistakes were made' and that perhaps the old activists shouldn't have been discouraged from continuing to be involved in the school. At the end of the year, when Henry Stewart and I carried out some follow-up interviews, those former activists who had remained in the school, like Phil, Margaret and Pat, further expressed some regrets over what had occurred. Following are some comments made by Margaret and Pat:

Pat Brennen: See, what I think happened, because the school was getting taken over you know, getting a proper headmaster, proper staff you know, so we thought it was going to be run like a normal school, that's the idea we got. I mean we thought the kids were just going to change overnight you know. It just didn't work like that. Well, they said it would be better to let the teachers on their own. Really like, we were like the others, weren't we? (looking at Margaret), we were getting thrown out. (Margaret nods agreement)

P.C.: Who was doing that?

Pat: Nobody really because everyone was getting told like not to come back, the only reason we were still here was, there were bringing Debbie and me because if we stayed we could show the new people the ropes in the office, that sort of thing.

Margaret: I think we could have got over that with a little more communication. And I don't think it was deliberately done. I think what it was, people just assumed everyone knew what was going on and I think that if there'd been a bit more communication and letting everybody know what was happening.

Pat: But they're still doing it now aren't they?

Margaret: It still goes on now and as I said I don't think it's deliberate. I know that quick decisions have to be made, but at the same time, everybody involved should be

brought together to let them know what is going on, because otherwise it makes the people not want to know any more. It all boils down to communication.

But it boiled down to more than communication, to the *reasons* why communication was poor between the leadership of the Action Committee and the local activists in the school. The loss of the community volunteers from the school was a result of their informal organisation which had consisted of many passive and only a few active individuals. A conversation with Yola during the occupation points to the role of gender roles, once again, in blocking some of the critical awareness which had developed in the local volunteers from manifesting into demands for a more community school:

P.C. Do you think the Action Committee is democratic?

Yola: No. I think constitutionally wise it is, but because (garbled) the chairman and secretary dominate.

P.C.: Do you think it is a personality thing?

Yola: I think it's a male-female thing.

P.C.: Why do you think the Action Committee and helpers are mostly women?

Yola: Women are more likely to be worried about kids and the freedom of getting out of their houses. I mean, it's a classic example, it's an obvious indication that there are a hell of a lot of bored housewives on this estate. Bored out of their minds! And there's so much potential there which we see in the school every day. Some of them have let that potential develop and some of them haven't. Those who have broken away have caused a lot of trouble in their homes. It must be pretty scary for them. I've seen some of them sort of stick their toes into the water and pull them out again.

P.C.: Can you get concrete about that?

Yola: Yeah, I've heard a number of conversations about education and it's gotten around to actually criticising the system of education, not just certain aspects of it. But when they've started putting their ideas forward they've been slapped down for it, and they've had to back down.

P.C.: Like who, who have you seen this happen to?

Yola: Like Ev and Ann.

But in the Autumn of 1984 Croxteth Independent Community Comprehensive School was about to become Croxteth Community Comprehensive with yet another new staff and a new head, Mr Blair, who had former experience as head of Netherley Community Comprehensive in Liverpool. Phil's hope was that improvements in the school would occur with its full funding and permanent staff.

I left teaching at Croxteth School at the end of the 1984 school year but visited it one year later, towards the end of its first year as a county secondary school. Tony and Reza had remained as teachers for this year but Hugh and Jackie had left. Allen Kaye had remained for the year, this time as deputy head. In a talk with Tony it was discovered that, to his mind, much of the original spirit which had characterised the school during the year of occupation was gone. Disruption was still a constant problem and

now little of the former unity existed amongst the staff and ancillary workers, partly due to differences in pay, partly due to the lack of a common purpose beyond that of working a job in the same buildings. Tony was due to leave teaching for a year of training but he expressed doubts as to whether or not he would in the end choose teaching as his career. He felt discouraged about the amount of good a teacher can do and noted that it was difficult with pupils who were so disruptive and who showed so little enthusiasm for school work. Needless to say, Croxteth Community Comprehensive still had not adopted a curricular policy in line with radical community education theory, nor were local residents and parents involved in the formulation of school curricular policy. Reza left Croxteth School the next year to take a job at Paddington Comprehensive.

Croxteth Community Comprehensive has, at the time of this writing, a board of governors with strong representation from the old Action Committee - now disbanded. Phil Knibb is the chairman of the board of governors and Cyril and Collette D'Arcy are members. The physical aspects of the two school buildings have been greatly altered and improved and a paid member of staff has a full time job as school-community liaison officer. Many adult education classes are being held within the building and plans for more of them exist. Phil and Margaret hold community jobs with offices in the Parkstile building and both feel positive about continued changes in the school towards greater community involvement. Phil Knibb has been working hard to increase community involvement and reports indicate a good deal of success with much hope for the future. Cyril D'Arcy wrote, shortly before the writing of this chapter.:

It is now becoming a true community school and linking with others in the area. Phil is doing an excellent job as full time liason officer. HM Inspectors of Schools came and were most impressed and full of praise; the same people who called during the occupation [actually the year after it - they weren't so full of praise at that time]. School governors are very active in controlling what goes on in the school, probably more than any other governors countrywide. They understand education and its jargon. Making decisions that they think and agree are best for pupils, staff, and the school in general. They are not easily persuaded by educationalists to do what is best for them and the system. The governors have the confidence and respect of most of the staff and parents for what they know, through experience and through what they are prepared to do.

Cyril wrote that ten of the old activists are on the school's board of governors, that he himself is also on the board of governors of Croxteth Infants' School and that George Knibb is one of the governors of the Croxteth Juniors' School. Hence a community school in the moderate sense discussed in chapter five certainly does exist in Croxteth at the moment, and it appears to be developing, possibly towards a more radical version.

A letter from Margaret Gaskell in late 1986 gives another perspective on Croxteth Community Comprehensive. It also comments on the effects of low educational budgets in Britain during the 1980s:

I am still working in the school. It is very different than it was when we were running it. A lot of things are better, but the atmosphere and comradeship just isn't there as it was before.

I don't think we can ever recapture that feeling again. Most of the teachers are very caring and really put themselves into the work with the kids. But not all have that dedication that we felt when you were here Phil.

We haven't had enough requisitions and some departments are really short on materials. It is very disappointing when you think how hard we fought for this school, and we can't even get some very basic things. A lot of money has been spent on the buildings, but without materials that is not much use is it?

The evidence of this research suggests that a community school of the more radical kind could have been developed in Croxteth after the year of occupation if certain policies of the Labour Party and/or the Liverpool Local Education Authority had been different. If, for example, it had been recognised by these groups that the presence of local activists in the school having the desire to remain involved in some capacity was educationally advantageous, they could have encouraged them to remain there, perhaps offering suggestions as to how their copresence with teachers could be organised. It is not unlikely that the Action Committee leadership would have been responsive to such encouragement. If the LEA and Labour Party had had a policy which encouraged the development of a community curriculum, they could have supplied advisers to the staff with recommendations not only on educational content and practice but also on some of the organisational difficulties involved in keeping a continuous dialogue between parents and teachers, a dialogue which had certainly begun in the school during the occupation. Precedents exist for such arrangements (Poster 1982, Moon 1983a) which the LEA could have made use of.

The occupation of Croxteth Comprehensive had resulted in a dependency on the Labour Party which was linked to the Action Committee through only its leadership. Communication barriers existed between the leadership and the rest of the activists in a way which limited the influence the latter could have had on the crucial decisions made after the electoral victory of May 1983. Such barriers and such lack of confidence and passivity on the part of most local participants may be expected conditions in a social movement of any kind and they point out the desirability of the Labour Party and the labour movement generally for recognising participation as a goal of socialist activity which must be *nurtured* when it arises.

If the above remarks sound critical the reader will be asked to consider them in perspective. Phil Knibb and Cyril D'Arcy didn't deliberately stifle the participation of the other activists in the Campaign for Croxteth Comprehensive, they served the campaign very ably as leaders and had to learn very much in the process, constantly feeling their way along untrodden ground as crisis after crisis developed. Both are extremely able and principled individuals who served the protest movement skillfully and brought it to its successful conclusion. After the victory they ensured jobs for most of the local activists in the school and have done much since to set put the school to the maximum service of community needs. But they had no precedents to refer to which would have encouraged them to involve those they led in developing their confidence in

participation. They saw the goals of the campaign in the end primarily in terms of the social wage and felt that the winning back of a state provision was the only serious goal of the movement. It would have taken *conscious* policy on the part of the Labour Party to draw out more of the potential which the campaign clearly had for altering more fundamental relations of domination than those which had removed a school from Croxteth.

Chapter Sixteen

CONCLUSIONS

The previous chapters present a detailed account of the campaign to save Croxteth Comprehensive School with accompanying analyses made on many points. Most of that analysis will not be repeated here. This conclusion will limit itself to two general areas of interest arising from the thesis: the use of a conceptual framework for the study of social movements which incorporates both macro and micro levels of analysis, and the theory of community education. It ends with a few suggestions for future research.

I Social Theory and Social Movements

A) Links Between Micro and Macro Analysis

The campaign for Croxteth Comprehensive is presented in this thesis as a chronology of events alongside continuous analyses of the conditions in which those events occurred. Both description and analysis vary as the chronology proceeds, from macro to micro contexts. A consistent relationship between micro and macro analysis is maintained through the concentration on conditions of action which vary according to how general or particular they are. Macro levels of analysis take general and widespread conditions of action for their object of study, micro levels of analysis take on-going interactions as their object of study and explain them in terms of convergences of general with particular conditions. There are two ways in which such convergences are described:

1) Through specifying 'nests' of conditions. Studies carried out on levels of high abstraction, such as the structural location of the state, reveal general conditions of action and allow one to predict certain agendas, tensions, tendencies and the like. When looking at a specific event, for example the decision taken to close Croxteth Comprehensive, one must list a large number of more particular conditions, for example the social geography of Liverpool, the proximity of Croxteth to the Liberal chairman of the Education Committee, the age of the head teacher and so on. But these particular conditions take on the meaning they do only in relation to more general conditions. This is a way of linking specific activities and events to abstract studies of social structure. Events are not determined by structure: no structural analysis could cover all the contingencies which enter into any particular act, and conditions are anyway always the frameworks within which *choices* are made. Agency is the ultimate link between structure and event, and the two are fundamentally distinguishable.

2) Through specifying 'intersections' of conditions of action. Intersections differ from nests in that the most relevant conditions behind particular actions may all be 'general', and yet the action itself involves complex combinations of them with respect to a specific social site. For example, when specific interactions taking place within the occupied school were examined, general conditions of

knowledgeability, - ideological themes widespread in various ways in society, - were found to be employed in complex combinations with other themes and to be interpreted in specific ways understandable through the specification of the site, the temporal and spacial boundaries of action. What we called the 'community power theme', for example, refers to a cluster of values and a general framework of interpretation which exists extensively in society. Its roots in British history and in certain features of modern society can be studied in their own right. Similarly, the social wage theme is a general way of interpreting the relationship of citizens to the government which has deep roots in British labour history though its specific form is a more recent phenomena. It too can be studied in its own right, a general feature of British society. But both of these general themes took on highly specific usages in the school which can be understood only in terms of the context of the occupation, the codes associated with the school buildings themselves, the fact that the buildings were occupied, the employment of the themes in combination with other themes, the ways in which these themes have become enmeshed with long embedded systems of practice, and so on. The general and the particular are not only related through 'nesting' of conditions, the intersection of general conditions on specific social sites through specific types of activity is another way in which to model the relationship.

To study events, whether extraordinary or routine in nature, one must look for nesting and intersecting conditions of action which vary according to how general or how particular they are. The distinction between micro and macro analysis is primarily a distinction concerning the *object* of study, whether the object consists of the particularities of interactions or the generalities of institutional features of society. However, all micro studies are better informed by specifying the institutional contexts and general historical conditions in which they take place. A micro level of analysis does not in any way exclude or bracket macro levels, on the contrary, a close study of interactions necessarily involves the specification of the general contexts in which particular conditions take their meanings and exert their effects.

B) Theoretical Concepts, Levels of Analysis, and Sites of Study

Included in the category of conditions of action are interests, relations of power and domination, and social structure. These three concepts were discussed alongside the concept of action in chapter four and a number of general points were made with respect to each concept there. The points made with respect to each concept, summarised at the end of chapter four, have been consistently supported throughout this study. For example, we have repeatedly distinguished between different dimensions of power (e.g., formal access to decision making, conditions of knowledgeability), between a narrow and a broad sense of 'material interests' (the needs of people in Croxteth for use of their school, the *symbolic* value of the school for other material needs and interests, and the importance of *identity, values and expressivity* for activists involved

in the occupation), between dramaturgical, normative and goal-rational features of action, and between systems of activity and virtual structures conditioning such systems. The analyses presented during the account of the campaign for Croxteth Comprehensive illustrate the appropriateness of the distinctions made with respect to these concepts in chapter four and those points will not be repeated here.

However, the particular features of each of these concepts do not enter equally into every analysis carried out in this study. The discussion of the structural location of local government in chapter six, for example, examines the relationship of structure to action primarily through the goal-rational quality of action, without much commentary on its dramaturgical and normative qualities. The discussion of interpersonal conflicts within the school, on the other hand discussed in chapters eleven to thirteen, explicitly refers to all three formal qualities of action. Power is also used in different ways at different points in the study: primarily as formal and informal access in some, primarily as conditions of knowledgeability in others. This is worth examining further, as it casts more light on the theoretical issues raised by this study.

There are two reasons why the concepts used in analysis take on different usages in different sections of analysis. The first is an analytical reason: certain dimensions of a concept may be bracketed from a particular analysis because of the level at which that analysis is taking place. The second reason is a substantive one: interests, action, structure, and power, with the full senses in which they are used in this study, are limited to certain of their dimensions on certain social sites, - some of their dimensions predominate over the others according to where the activities under study are taking place.

For example, chapter six uses a high level of abstraction to describe certain features of the structural and historical location of the local government of Liverpool in the 1970s and 1980s. General conditions in which government decision makers had to make their decisions were described, without any analysis of the many interactions which must have taken place between politicians and civil servants during this period. Action itself was not made an object of study, there was no appropriate data collected to do so, and the detailed presentation of 'virtual' structures and specific conditions of knowledgeability was therefore not possible. Because of the level of abstraction, conditions effecting *goal-rational* action became the focus of analysis, although it is clear that other forms of action were certainly involved. The connection between structure and event was modelled through a goal-rational model of action, and limited in this way for analytical reasons.

But in addition, structure and action are related on the site of government through the substantive limitation of action to a goal-rational, administrative form. That is why the high level of abstraction leads to a specification of linkages between structure and action in terms of conditions which effect rational decision making, rather than other forms of action. The other qualities of action, though certainly and inescapably

present in government activities, become instrumental to this form, subsumed by it. Thus when examining the structural location of government, the structure of conditions effecting government decision makers, one finds oneself concerned primarily with the presence of a political agenda, limited in its forms from outside of government itself, which officials must address in a goal-rational manner. Hence it isn't only the level of analysis but the actual site of study which determine the sense which 'structure', interests, action and power take. The quality of action which predominates in government becomes goal-rational because of the structural restriction of action. This point will become more clear in the discussion just below.

C) Analysis of the Croxteth Campaign on Three Sites

To further clarify these theoretical points and to simultaneously review some of the conclusions drawn in specific sections of this study, the various levels of analysis employed will be reviewed and compared just below. Table 16-1 summarises the chronological periods covered in the study and the object of analysis focused on for each period. The ways in which concepts were used and related to each other is then summarised, in a highly condensed form, for each of the three main sites examined in this account of the Croxteth campaign.

Table 16-1: Objects/Levels of Analysis in the Croxteth Study

<u>Time Period</u>	<u>Events</u>	<u>Objects/Levels of Analysis</u>
1975-1980	Development of an educational crisis in Liverpool	The local government, its structural location and political parties.
Nov. 1980- Nov. 1981	School closure. Phase One of the campaign.	The local government. The protest group, strategy/tactics.
Jan. 1982 Sept. 1982	Phase Two of the campaign.	The protest group, its leaders, social base, strategy and tactics.
Sept. 1982- July 1983	Phase Three of the campaign.	The occupied school: inter-personal conflicts, pedagogy curriculum, attitudes towards education and politics.

There were three main sites pertaining to the campaign for Croxteth Comprehensive evident from figure 16-1 above: the local government, the Croxteth community, and the occupied school. Below we will schematise the use of concepts when analysing each of these three sites. These uses of the concepts were partially for analytical reasons, but reflect substantive characteristics of each site.

1) Liverpool Government; the development of a crisis in provision and the closure of Croxteth Comprehensive

Historical and structural conditions underlay the crisis in educational provision which developed in Liverpool in the mid-1970s. The especially

acute economic and social conditions facing Liverpool in the 1970s, the social geography of the city, the hung council, and traditions of militancy in Liverpool all contributed to the closure of Croxteth Comprehensive and all are understandable only through a knowledge of the city's history.

Figure 16-2: The Local Government

SITE: Local government

EVENTS/OBJECTS OF STUDY:

- Crisis in educational provision
- Party-political conflict
- The closure of Croxteth Comprehensive

STRUCTURE:

- Relationship of government to economic organisation of society
- Relationship of local to national government

Producing:

- Political agenda established from outside government
- Structural restriction of action to goal-rational forms
- Tensions between the 'form' and 'content' of government

PRIORITISED FORM OF ACTION: goal-rational

INTERESTS:

- Those associated with maintaining government positions
- The interest of government office holders in maintaining finances

POWER:

- Severance of political agenda from government decision making
- Severance of purposes of educational services from local decision making
- Obfuscation of both of these facts

CONTINGENCIES:

- Hung council of Liverpool
- Social geography of Liverpool
- Location of Croxteth next to ward of Liberal Education spokesperson
- Head teacher of Croxteth due for retirement
- etc.

The structural location of the local government of Liverpool involves the specification of a political agenda, determined from outside of local government itself, *which had to be* addressed. The activities of government administrators and political-party officials certainly involve all the formal qualities of action discussed in chapters two and three, they involve references to identity and norms, but the *position* of these individuals within government subsumes such qualities of action to goal-rational pursuits which must address an agenda determined from elsewhere. Personal norms and identities, in so far as they differ from those directly instrumental to the rational agenda of government, are structurally prohibited from integration into goal-rational action, - that is one feature of the structural location of government: it separates the normative components of action from the goal-rational. It places tight constraints on the determination of the purposes of action and pressures decision makers towards administratively-rational forms of action. If the norms of a particular local political party contest those present in the rational agenda, a power confrontation between local and national government is the

only possible way of changing the terms. This is what eventually occurred in Liverpool with the rise of the militant-influenced local Labour Party in 1983. Such confrontations can shift the priorities and create more room for decisions at odds with national government policy.

Structure also explains tensions between the political agenda, the 'content' of state power in Offe's terms, and the representative-democratic form of the government. The form is one which allows representation of interests from 'below', the interests of citizens, while the content limits the extent to which such representation can determine political decisions. The form takes a frontal position in the appearance of government, - obscuring the reality of constraints imposed from without actual governmental procedures. This is how norms and values concerning educational provision became drawn into public debates in Liverpool during the late 1970s: Liverpool's three political parties presented policies of reorganisation phrased in terms of the needs of pupils and the decision making rights of parents. But no party put forth a position which challenged the financial constraints imposed on the government of Liverpool and no party questioned the purposes of education itself - these purposes we found to be usually phrased in terms of employability, education for the job market.

Power manifests on this site in the severance of the determination of political agendas from local decision making, in the partially hidden nature of this agenda behind the democratic form of decision making, and in the absence of any genuine debate over educational purposes. Interests were the interests of government and political party officials, involving above all the necessity of retaining their positions and thus of conforming to the general outlines of the political agenda. We can safely speculate that interests associated with norms and identities operate within government: the close identity of certain officials with their social position, for example, probably frequently had effects on actual decisions taken. The attitudes displayed by Liberal chairman of the Education Committee Michael Storey certainly must have involved his self-perception to a certain extent, and his attitudes helped to spark discontent in Croxteth. But again, these were not actual objects of this study, they were bracketed from the analysis.

2) The Protest Group in the Croxteth Housing Estate

Social structure is useful in a study of the protest group in Croxteth in two primary ways: as relationships between the government and the Croxteth Housing estate, and as general conditions, economic, social and cultural, on the housing estate itself which effected the interests of the residents. In the first case structure appears again as an agenda for political decision making. The Parents' Action Committee, and later the Croxteth Community Action Committee, could challenge the government's decision to close Croxteth Comprehensive only within a limited framework. Arguments had to be phrased in a way which took the political agenda into account. Neither the priority for school closures in Liverpool generally, nor any Liverpool political party's programme for implementing these

closures could be challenged at first. Instead arguments of exception and horizontally competitive arguments were used. There were structurally given reasons for the initial form of the arguments used by the protest group. Without much of a power base, institutional means of protest had to be used in the hopes of shifting the balance of opinion on the hung city council. No single party's overall ideology of reorganisation nor the necessity of closures in general could be challenged at this stage. The purposes of education were also not in question. These are all features of structure which put priorities on strategic action and essentially material interests. Structure specifies the routes possible for rational pursuit of a material goal: the retention of the school. Power in the first phase was studied as the rules of access to political decision making which the protesters had to play.

Figure 16-3: The Protest Group

SITE: The Croxteth Community

EVENTS/OBJECTS OF STUDY:

- The social base: horizontal bonds in Croxteth, material interests
- The formation of a protest group
- Development of tactics, strategy, justifications
- Rise of leadership

STRUCTURE:

- The political agenda determined from outside of Croxteth
- The coincidence of residence with class position in Croxteth resulting in shared conditions of life and a shared culture.

POWER:

- Rules of access to political decision making
- Societal-wide political ideologies, 'democracy', 'responsibility', 'community': contestable.
- Resources in Croxteth: culture as medium for solidarity

INTERESTS:

- Material interests on the Croxteth Estate
- Cultural interests of participants: new forms of knowledge, opportunities for expressivity and identity formation

PRIORITISED FORM OF ACTION:

- Goal-rational action prioritised by rules of access to local government
- Expressive-normative action part of the reasons why participants joined - not part of explicit goals of campaign.

CONTINGENCIES:

- The existence of appropriate leaders on the Croxteth estate
- Hung council of Liverpool

As the power base of the protest movement increased during its second and third phases, the rules of access, the agenda through which the protest group had to make its appeals, was changed. Increased power means increased ability to determine the rules of access. In phase two of the campaign, non-institutional means were used to add the weight of public opinion to the weapons of the protest group. Civil disobedience, technically illegal activities such as blocking traffic, drew much attention

to Croxteth and the battle to save its school. With public attention struggles over the meaning of common cultural values and terms, like 'democracy', 'responsibility' and 'community', were carried out in the media. The Action Committee was successful in legitimating its tactics in this way and in swinging public opinion in favour of the protest. Such struggles were crucial features of the campaign and point to the mediation of power relationships through societal ideologies in which consensus is won or lost. It demonstrates the essentially contestable nature of these ideologies. Through skillful handling of the media the Croxteth Community Action Committee was able to mobilise public opinion in Liverpool in its favour, greatly adding to the amount of pressure it was able to bring to bear on the government.

Phase two increased the power base of the movement from the small group of parents and teachers originally using institutional channels to lodge objections to the Croxteth Community as a whole and to public opinion in Liverpool. Doing so opened up more space for defining movement objectives. Arguments of exception now became stressed to the exclusion of all other arguments, including horizontally competitive ones which compared Croxteth Comprehensive to Ellergreen Comprehensive. This was also the phase in which the Croxteth Community Action Committee began for a brief period to take on other issues on their estate such as housing and health.

Phase Three was the phase in which the protest movement became identified, through the activities of its leaders, with the Liverpool labour movement and expanded its power base to include formal institutions like the Labour Party and trade unions. In this last phase the goals of the campaign became interpreted, in the movement's front regions, through labour movement slogans against cuts in services nationally. The argument of exception was no longer needed in this phase, for the movement had united its objectives with the electoral goals of the Liverpool Labour Party. And the Liverpool Labour Party, as we have seen, developed a policy of educational reorganisation based on a moderate interpretation of community education theory - schools in all areas, especially deprived areas, which meet a wide variety of needs.

The second way in which social structure enters the analysis of the protest group has to do with material conditions and interests existing in relationship to the state (and by implication, beyond that to fundamental economic relationships in society). Croxteth is a housing estate in which class relations and geographical residence coincide, where class is understood in terms of culture, tradition and common economic position. Hence common experiences of life shared by residents came to be symbolised by the closure of Croxteth Comprehensive and resistance could develop which involved a number of intersecting interests. We argued that Croxteth Comprehensive had the symbolic significance it did partly because it was a state provision which was meant for the collective consumption of a group of people in common dependency on the state. Welfare provisions have become politicised because they have become seen as obligations of the state to her citizens, aspects of the social wage. Anger was collectively

expressed over the closure of Croxteth Comprehensive which had its origins in years of harsh living conditions.

Structure involves here the nesting of a number of conditions, the most general of which involve class relations, mediated through state provisions. The link between structure and action is described through the concept of objective interests, or objective conditions of life, shared by a population with a common orientation of dependency on the state. Action now comes into the analysis to include its normative and expressive components. The campaign for Croxteth Comprehensive was from the start, but especially in phases two and three, a movement which articulated conditions of life on the Croxteth estate as being unacceptable. It became a new set of social relationships within which people could express themselves in new ways and gain a sense of power and personal validation. Hardships were no longer born in private and isolated realms of life, they were talked about in ways which offered an immediate sense of relief and hopes for the future. These were important aspects of the campaign - aspects which addressed certain cultural interests held by the participants.

3) The Occupied School

The objects of analysis within the site of the occupied school were chosen at a very particular level of analysis in this study: ongoing conflictual interactions, the formation of authority relationships, schooling practices, and so on. This level requires a more exacting usage of the terms 'structure', 'interests', 'action', and 'power'. Power must be studied as expressed through interpretative schemes which actors use to make sense of their situation and formulate their goals. Interpretative schemes involve clusters of assumptions, values and identities, and mediate power relations through their effects on the knowledgeability of the actors drawing upon them. Action thus must be studied with respect to all its formal properties: goals, norms and identities. Interests include interests in expressive action, - in this case, the interests activists had in the formation of new cultural climates within the school within which they could take on new identities. For some of the activists, control over the formulation of movement objectives became an important interest.

One of the most important areas of theoretical interest which emerges from the analysis of events within the occupied school is the role played by conditions of knowledgeability in the formation of a social movement and the effects a movement itself may have on knowledgeability, unintentionally. Participants in the occupation of Croxteth Comprehensive developed new routines together by drawing upon interpretative frameworks. These frameworks served as both resources which promoted the movement and made it initially possible, and limitations on the routes it took. The 'social wage' theme, for example, became a way of interpreting the occupation and campaign which homologously supported other themes: school authority, reified knowledge, and schooling for discipline and control being three of them. This scheme gave support to certain features of the campaign - gave a normative justification for the confrontation with the state and gave the campaign a particular style compatible with labour movement ideologies and

thus made it capable of drawing the support of the Labour Party and other organisations. But it was a scheme which limited the extent to which a critical consciousness could arise amongst the activists from Croxteth over schooling practice itself, not only because it didn't in itself provide ways for critically understanding schooling process, but because of the supportive relationship it maintains with traditional aspects of schooling.

Figure 16-4: The Occupied School

SITE: The Occupied School of Croxteth

EVENTS/OBJECTS OF STUDY:

- Formation of routines in the occupied school
- Determination of campaign strategy for phase three
- Interpersonal conflicts based on tensions between ideological themes
- Resolution of conflicts in specific ways, underlying conditions of resolutions
- Struggles over control of campaign's self-definition and purposes
- Rise of discontent of community activists with traditional schooling

STRUCTURE:

- Virtual structures: ideological themes and their implicit relationships
- Systems of action: between community and government, between community and school, within the school.

POWER:

- Allocative resources controlled by local authority
- Allocative resources controlled by trade unions
- Severance of traditional control of authoritative resources over school
- Relations of domination in culture: gender, age, school authority, etc.
- Conditions of knowledgeability: relationship of interpretative schemes to interests and conditions of living, degree of discursive awareness of interpretative schemes.
- Division of labour within the school, separation of teaching and helping roles from the determination of the purposes of the campaign.

INTERESTS:

- Dramaturgical and normative interests in participation
- Interests over controlling the purposes of the campaign

ACTION:

- All formal features of action (goals, norms, identities) important and linked to knowledgeability.
- Reflexivity highly important - a way of altering conditions of action.

CONTINGENCIES:

- Specific personalities involved in campaign
- Development of rumour and scandal
- Involvement of certain groups in campaign (e.g. WRP)
- etc

Towards the end of the occupation, local activists began to express experiences they were having in the school which the social wage theme didn't frame adequately: their enjoyment of participation and their growing awareness of problems with traditional schooling practice. But the social wage theme remained the framework through which the official objectives of the campaign for Croxteth Comprehensive were formulated - the actual experiences, the real reasons why local activists had become involved in the school, never became formulated into campaign goals. Yet the very

existence of new experiences on the part of these people, and their partial expression, shows how the new routines a campaign can create may alter realms of common sense, may generate new tacit meanings which the official self-definition of the movement may fail to capture.

The concept of virtual structure is related to knowledgeability. Virtual structure includes relationships of tension and reinforcement between frameworks of knowledgeability, subjective conditions of action. Linkages between subjective conditions may take different forms, such as those of homology and paradigm, and they correspond to systems of action. The systems of action we looked at in this study included relationships between the community and the Croxteth school, relationships between the community and the government, and social relations within the school itself, both before and during the occupation. Reinforcements between school authority relations and adult-youth relations in Croxteth correspond to homologous and paradigmatic linkages between interpretative frameworks. Thus virtual structures have a basis in lived routines.

The analysis of interpersonal conflicts in the school demonstrates that formal requirements on accounting practices, Habermas's description of the process of argumentation, will draw out paradigmatic and homologous linkages in subjective interpretative frameworks, if 1) extra pressure for accounting exists (as is often the case in a social movement), and, 2) a social environment exists in which participants are motivated primarily to reach an understanding. Several interpersonal conflicts which occurred in the occupied school, especially those taking place over campaign strategy and goals (chapter thirteen), progressively drew up previously unacknowledged features of certain interpretative schemes into discourse, because of the pressures which conflict bring and because of the formal rational requirements on accounting. The thematisation of background conditions of action was truncated in this case, however, because of asymmetrical relations of power within the occupied school.

II Community Education

In chapter five we proposed a research question for this study concerning the concept of community education: if local working class residents are in formal control of their school, what would the effects be on curricular and pedagogic practice? would the school be a 'community school'?

It is worth summarising the discussion of community education theory presented in chapter five briefly, before ascertaining what contribution the Croxteth occupation has to make it. Community education is a concept which has been interpreted in various ways ranging from 'moderate' interpretations which make schools available for the use of community groups and offer adult education classes, to 'radical' interpretations which call for the involvement of community residents in decision making processes over the form and content of education. It is the radical version of community education which we are most interested in, since its

call for the devolution of power to local residents occurred in Croxteth: the Croxteth Community Action Committee was formally in control of the school under its occupation.

The radical version of community education, as formulated by Halsey (1972), Midwinter (1972) and others, calls for:

- 1) Involvement of adult residents in the community in all key school decision making processes.
- 2) An alteration of the curriculum towards usefulness and incorporation of the local culture. The combination of learning with social action.
- 3) The use of informal pedagogic relationships.

Reasons for these three essential components of radical community education include the removal of the hidden curriculum by making education correspond to the culture and the needs of pupils and the implementation of teaching which is socially useful for *groups* of people, so that they may be empowered to change their circumstances. Devolving educational power to local adult residents is seen as a means of ensuring that curricular changes correspond to local culture and do not become the impositions of middle class educationalists who are not in an 'organic' relationship to the communities they teach in. It is also seen as a way of making education a resource for adults as well as pupils.

But efforts to implement radical community education programmes have run into several problems. In chapter five we listed three:

- 1) It is extremely difficult to motivate local residents to become involved in their schools.
- 2) When involved, residents from deprived areas have usually supported traditional forms of education rather than 'progressive' ones.
- 3) Even if it were possible to get adults involved in schools who wanted to implement new curricular and pedagogic programmes, the location of the school in society places a number of constraints on it which are difficult to overcome. Schools are involved in power relations which extend beyond their boundaries. Devolving educational decision making to adults sending their children to schools simply subjects a new group of local decision makers to the same constraints, it has little scope of altering the educational process itself. The examination system and the difficulties of tapping the extra-educational resources necessary to combine learning with socially transforming activities are the two main examples.

What was unique in Croxteth was the presence of motivated adults from the community who came to enjoy being involved in the school and who were

definitely motivated for social change in a number of areas. However, these adults did not feel competent to make decisions about curricular and pedagogic practice. Most of them had been school leavers themselves and had not taken examinations. At the beginning of the occupation they insisted that the teacher volunteers take responsibility for all aspects of the occupation which had to do with schooling. When problems arose with keeping order in the school during the first weeks and months of the Autumn term the local activists began to pressure teachers to exercise firmer forms of authority over pupils, and they were insistent, as were the teachers, that national examinations be made a priority.

The case of Croxteth Comprehensive also points out ways in which the organisation of school knowledge becomes linked to many tacit conditions of action which can be expected to influence the attitudes and activities of any parents within a school. The organisation of knowledge as it appeared in Croxteth during the occupation can be termed 'reified knowledge' and we demonstrated several ways in which this view of knowledge became drawn up into reinforcing relationships with adult-youth authority relations on the estate and with the client-administrator relationship between residents and the State. Examinations greatly contributed to this view of knowledge.

However, these attitudes changed over time. As the last chapter describes, local activists began to become critical of the effects of streaming and began to question the usefulness of examinations during a time of such high unemployment. By the end of the third term a number of local activists were stating like Mary Kane that they didn't 'want this school to return to reading, writing and arithmetic'. Most by far wished to maintain their own involvement in the school and most were interested in discussing possible alterations in traditional schooling practice with the teaching staff. This critical awareness was connected to their own experiences in the school, experiences which were very fulfilling. Some of the unacknowledged chains of ideologies examined in this study were beginning to become unravelled, thematised, drawn into critical discourse, by the end of the campaign.

Croxteth Comprehensive had been on the way towards becoming a community school of the radical variety at the very end of the occupation. Curricular and pedagogic practice had not radically changed, nor were there definite plans about how it could be changed. The first two of the three components of radical community education listed above had not been met. But the last one, involvement of local adults motivated for social change, had been met, and that is the condition which has traditionally been so hard to come by (Moon 1983a). A dialogue between teachers and local residents had begun which may well have led to changes in schooling practice if it had been nurtured and explored for a considerable period of time. This did not occur, as we have seen, but what happened in Croxteth demonstrates that involvement in schooling activities can lead to a critical awareness of them on the part of local residents and an interest in altering them - in making schooling more organic to the community in which it takes place.

That is one major lesson from the Croxteth occupation and it corresponds to the tight linkages between attitudes, interpretative schemes, and social routines which has been pointed out in many other ways in this study. Schools in deprived areas usually have thick social boundaries which keep local adult residents from involving themselves with schooling. Getting local involvement with corresponding power over internal features of their schools can be expected to result in at least critical local awareness.

But the case of Croxteth Comprehensive also demonstrates the power of standard national examinations on internal school arrangements, which compel teachers and pupils to structure pedagogic and curricular features of schooling around the standard syllabi. Just as the structural location of the state involves the imposition of an agenda of purposes and goals from outside its boundaries, so the structural location of the school involves the tight tie between schooling and the job market. But the *extent* to which this tie is made and the *terms* which pupils must meet to become eligible for types of jobs are not beyond alteration. Claus Offe's comments, quoted in chapter six, that the purposes of schooling are *not* to promote the self-development of pupils or transfer knowledge to them but rather to prepare them for the job market are phrased in what approaches functionalist terminology. Certainly the link between occupations and schooling is a necessary feature of society, but it is specifically the role of the national examinations in Britain which make this link so tight as to subsume all other educational goals under the single goal of employability. There is no necessity in this tight a linkage, the connection could be made much more loose with the substitution of alternative forms of assessment, flexible to local conditions, and criteria referenced rather than norm referenced.

Hence the location of the school in society is not one in which the mere transfer of formal power over *one* school to parents and other community members will totally alter the relations of domination it perpetuates. Keddie (1971) argues that unless the organisation of knowledge in a school is changed, the experience of the pupils will not be fundamentally altered despite other innovations. Salter and Tapper (1981 p 71) write 'whoever controls the organisation of knowledge also controls the experience of schooling'. This was true in Croxteth: knowledge was organised in a way which ensured an experience of failure for the majority of pupils in the school and the organisation of knowledge was controlled from far outside the school doors of Croxteth Comprehensive. For radical community education to work, changes in national policies, particularly those of assessment, are necessary.

This study indicated another area of constraints on educational innovations as well: the lack of precedents for alternatives in the labour movement, and the lack of an interest on the part of the labour movement in educational *experience* as opposed to educational provision. Teachers and parents were constrained from the beginning of the occupation to the end through the lack of clearly formulated and tested alternatives to traditional forms of schooling. It is true that a number of promising

community schools exist which do serve as precedents for good practice to those who are aware of them. Schools like the Sutton Centre, Countesthrope College, the Abraham Moss Centre and others (see Moon 1983a) are good examples of practice in the direction of effective community education. But the labour movement doesn't seem to have given much significance to such experiments in community education. The tremendous support which Croxteth Comprehensive got from the Liverpool Labour Party and trade unions was primarily support for retaining the school in Croxteth. No interest was shown in the daily activities taking place within the school, no recognition of the occupation's possible *educational* significance, and no advice offered for realising the full potential of the occupation. Labour movement officials supported the campaign financially and politically, but hardly ever visited the school or bothered to get to know the rank and file activists from Croxteth. All support for the school came through the leaders of the Action Committee. Educational experience, issues of assessment, curriculum and pedagogy are not prominent features of the labour movement's educational agenda.

III Final Comments

Effects of the campaign for Croxteth Comprehensive continue to be felt in Croxteth to this day. As the last chapter described, the school has been greatly improved physically and runs an outreach programme to get adults in Croxteth in its educational programmes. It has a working board of governors containing many former activists in the campaign and chaired by Philip Knibb. Outside of the school, the community as a whole has become more unified and active as a result of the successful protest. There are now women's health programmes, community meetings over drug and unemployment problems, a community-wide tenants' committee, a successful NACRO project located in the Parkstile Building, and other organisations and activities which were greatly boosted by the occupation.

An interesting follow-up study to this one would be one which examined all of these developments on the estate to gauge the long term effects of the successful mobilisation. Present community-school relations could be examined to see how far community influence and involvement have progressed. Cyril D'Arcy and Philip Knibb have reported a steadily increasing involvement of the community in Croxteth Comprehensive over the past few years, it may be that the official policy of the Liverpool Education Committee, to create community schools, is working in Croxteth - that the community has been coming back into the school since the end of the occupation, and doing so for reasons influenced by the occupation itself. Other community organisations could also be studied to measure the extent of the spin-offs and present connections between schooling and community action. Few if any studies of the long-term effects of successful community movements have been carried out to the author's knowledge.

Other studies can be imagined as well to continue to develop issues raised by this one. It would be extremely interesting, for example, to do a

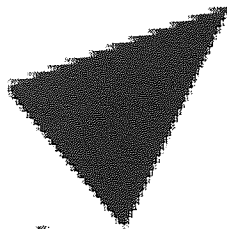
comparative study on a 'new' social movement using the type of analysis developed here: the study of action in terms of the interpretative schemes it draws upon, and the extent to which movements alter interpretative schemes through the new forms of practice which emerge within them. In the case of 'new' social movements, conscious control of the movement's purposes and of roles and identities movements generate for their membership is supposedly their defining feature (Cohen 1985). It is doubtful, however, that such control ever reaches a fully discursive and participatory form. 'New' social movements probably involve asymmetries of power and unacknowledged conditions of action just as the campaign for Croxteth Comprehensive did. It would be enlightening to map out the fields of interaction within such movements to see exactly where, how, and why they differ from more traditional ones.

Lastly, the analysis of interaction was carried out in this study in a manner which could be applied to *any* system of interaction, not just those pertaining to social movements. The emphasis this study puts on levels of awareness actors have of the conditions in which they act, and the way in which subjective conditions of action, interpretative schemes and ideological themes, exist in structured relationships to each other, could be the objects of continued work on virtually any social site.

APPENDIX I:

The School Photograph, July 1983

(Photography by the Open Eye Gallery, Liverpool)



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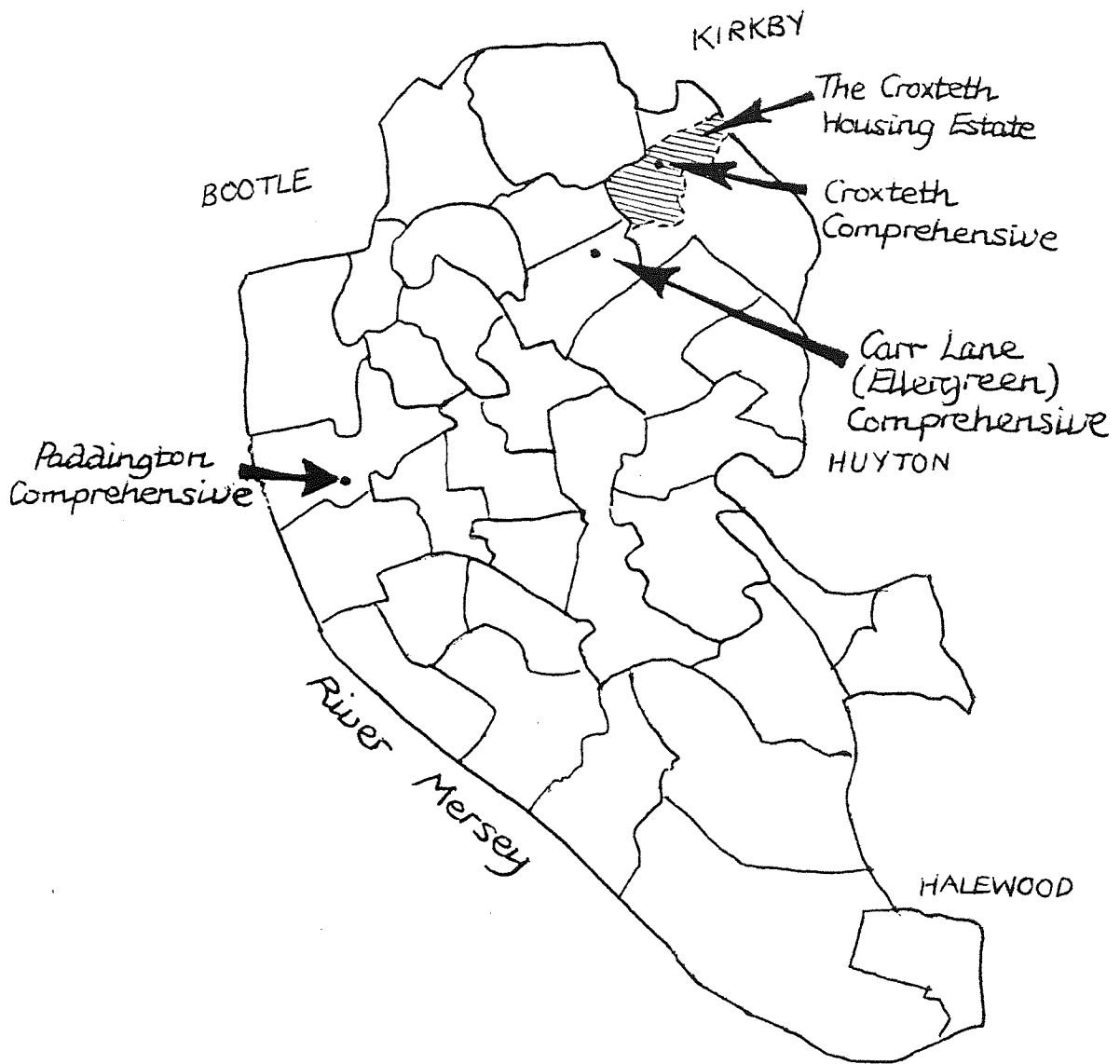
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APPENDIX II:

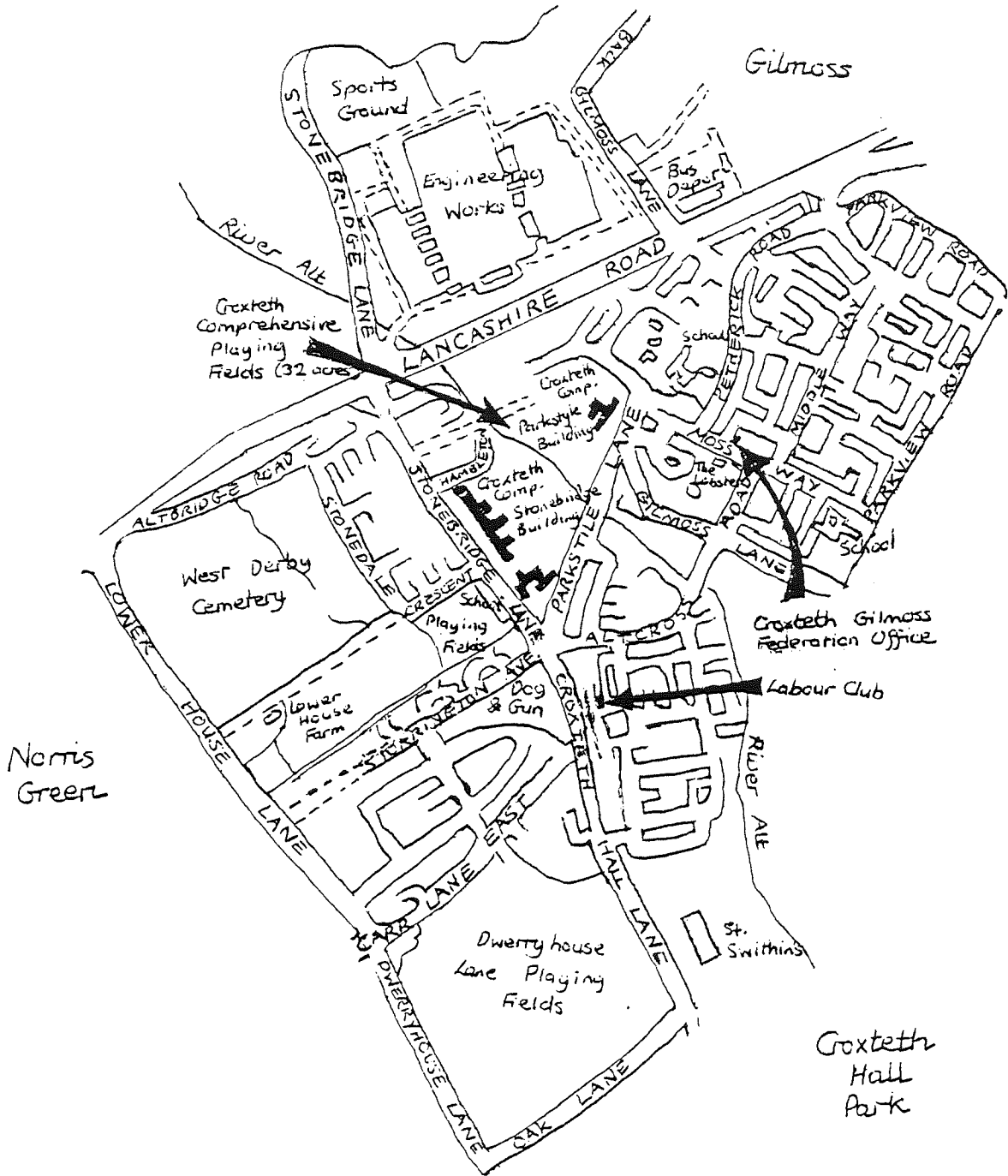
Maps

(Prepared by Lucinda Carspecken)

Liverpool

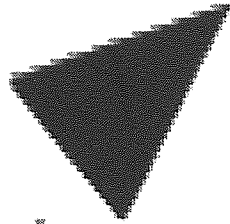


The Croxteth Housing Estate



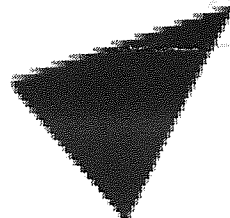
APPENDIX III:

The Media Story



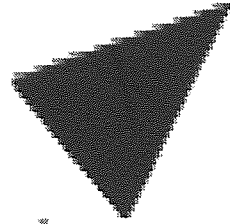
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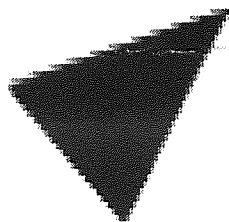
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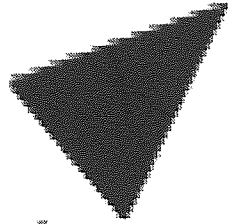
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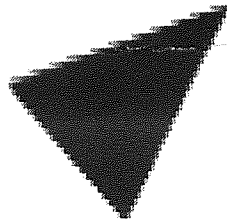
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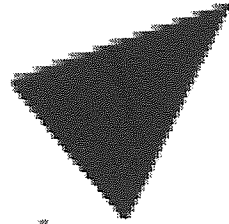
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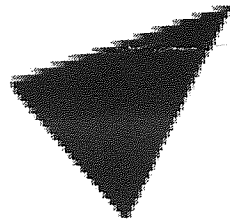
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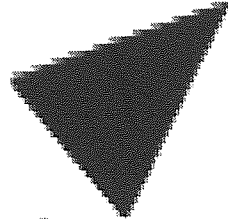
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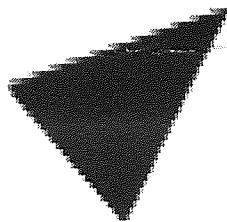
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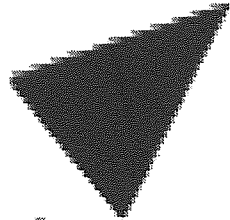
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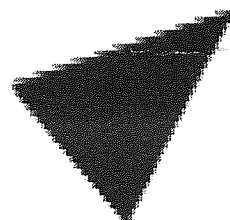
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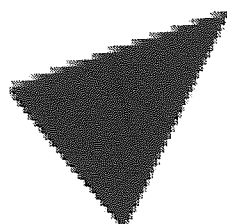
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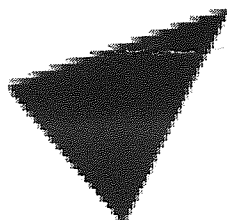
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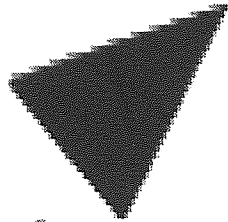
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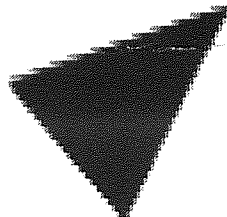
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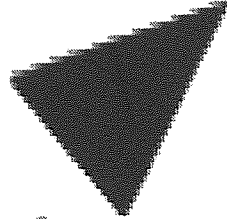
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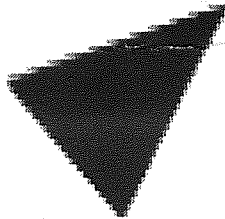
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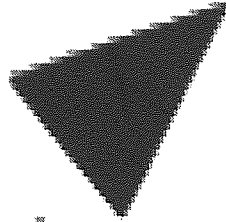
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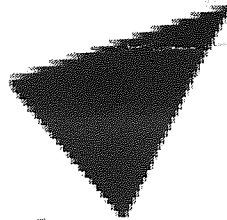
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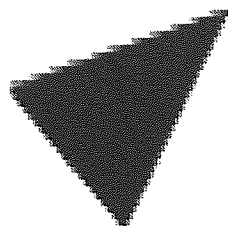
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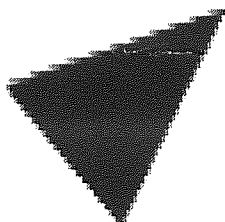
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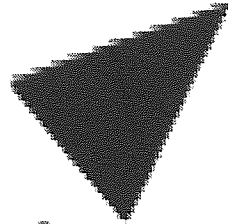
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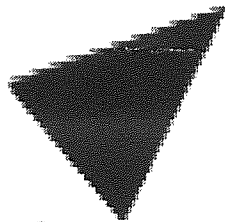
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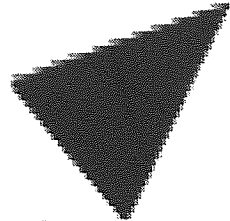
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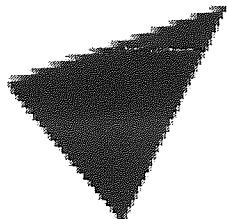
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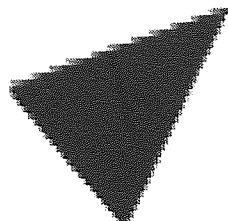
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APPENDIX IV:

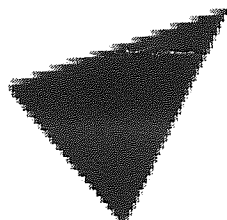
Photographs

(Henry Miller, Photographer)



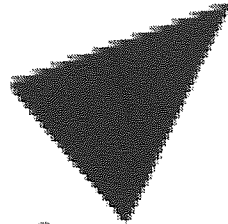
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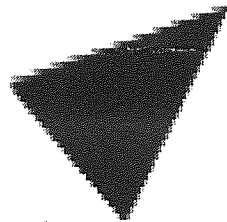
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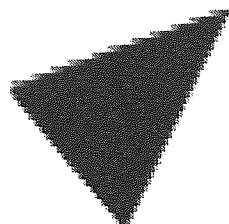
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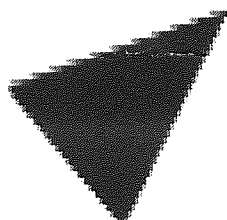
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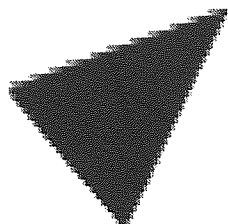
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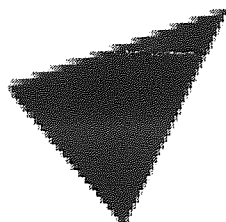
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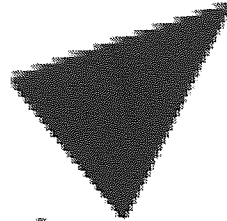
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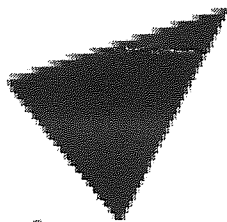
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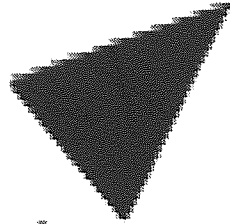
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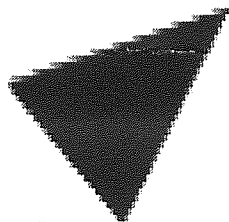
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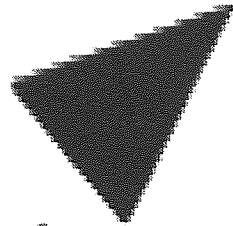
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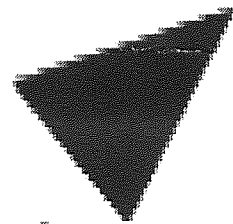
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APPENDIX V:
Selected Documents



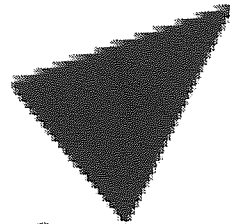
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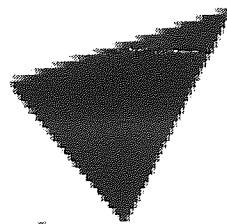
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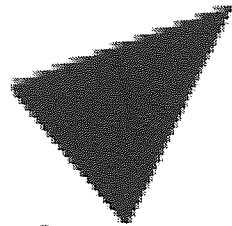
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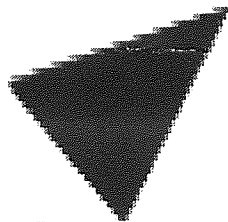
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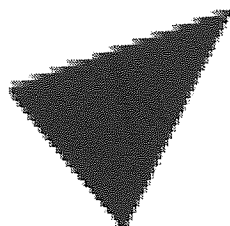
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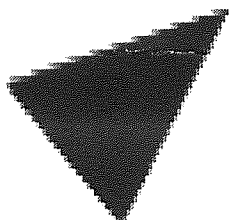
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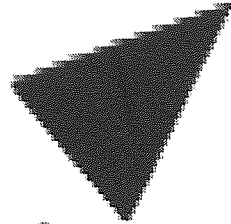
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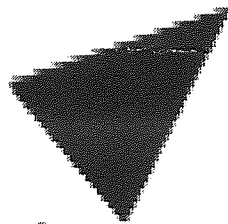
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