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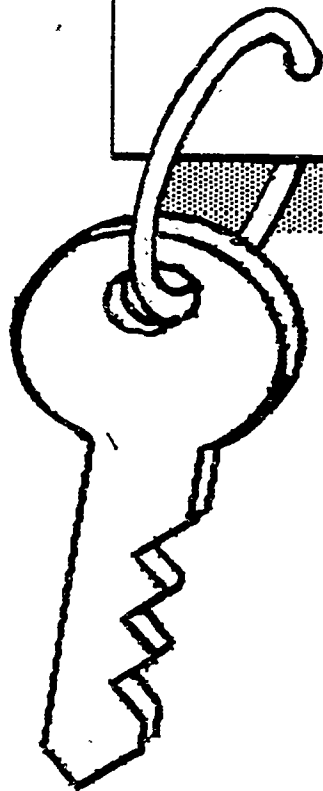PUB TYPE   Reports - Research/Technical (143)

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ABSTRACT
                A research study explored how a group of adults who
have had limited schooling (and therefore, would be expected to be
nonparticipants in adult education programs) view their educational
experiences and the opportunities open to them as adults. As an
exploratory study, a focused sample of 40 members of the Northern
Hotel Workers' Union in New Zealand were interviewed about their work
and family life, schooling experiences, and adult education. The
study found that school had been a varied experience for the
respondents. Most considered schooling something to be endured and
had few expectations. As adults, many regret their limited time at
school, but these negative feelings do not appear to be related to
their nonparticipation in education. Although most feel they have
been able to achieve what they want as adults despite their levels of
schooling, they see this becoming more difficult as they age and the
job market becomes more competitive. Most respondents are aware of at
least some form of adult educational provision and see these programs
as filling two roles: providing recreation/leisure and providing
"second-chance" opportunities for social mobility. There is a strong
level of interest in and respect for education among the respondents.
About half are interested in educational opportunities for
themselves. Four types of nonparticipants were inferred from the
research, and strategies for involving three of these types were
suggested. The questionnaire, interview schedule, and a bibliography
are appended. (Author/KC)

The View from the Other Side of the Educational Door :
Adult Education from the Perspective of People with Low Levels of Schooling

John Benseman

"No other subject is more widely pondered and discussed by people interested in the education of adults than the motives which lead men and women to introduce systematic learning into the patterns of their lives. Legal requirements reinforced by social expectations no longer apply to them. Yet in the years beyond compulsory schooling and amidst all the pleasures and duties of responsible ma .rity, many people are moved to devote part of their time to the development of their potentialities. They either go seeking for an activity or somehow become aware that one exists and are led by impulse, often obscure to themselves, to take part in it.

Many other people never seek, are never aware of opportunity or, if it does come to their attention, are apathetic or negative to it." (Houle)

THE VIEW FROM THE OTHER SIDE OF THE EDUCATIONAL DOOR:

ADULT EDUCATION FROM THE PERSPECTIVE OF PEOPLE WITH LOW

LEVELS OF SCHOOLING

JOHN BENSEMAN

JANUARY 1989

Foreword

Why do some adults participate in education programmes and not others? This question has long puzzled adult educators and researchers in their efforts to make lifelong learning a reality.

This research study seeks to add to our understanding of the issue by looking at adult education from the perspective of those adults who have not been involved in education – the non-participants. In order to show the issue from the non-participants' perspectives, this study has utilised qualitative data. Both of these attributes are significant changes from most other participation research.

Recognising that not everyone will need or want to read the whole report, casual readers are directed to Chapters Nine, Ten and Eleven for a summary of the research findings and conclusions. Unlike most research reports however, where the bulk is often statistical data, this report's presentation of data is in the form of people's stories and opinions. Readers are therefore recommended to also read Chapter Eight to gain a feeling of the data in the respondents' own words as extensive use has been made of interview transcripts.

Contents

Abstract

Non-vocational adult education world-wide is dominated by those adults who have already received disproportionately high levels of education.

The central aim of this research study was to explore how a group of adults who have had limited schooling (and therefore, probably very limited education as adults) view their educational experiences and the opportunities open to them as adults.

As an exploratory study, a focused sample of forty members of the Northern Hotel Workers' Union were interviewed about their work and family life, schooling experiences and adult education.

School has been a varied experience for the respondents. Mostly schooling was something to be endured, with few expectations. As adults, many regret their limited time at school but these negative feeling do not appear to be related to their non-participation.

While most feel they have been able to achieve what they want as adults despite their levels of schooling, they see this becoming more difficult as they age and the job market becomes more competitive. Generally these aspirations are in terms of horizontal, rather than upward social mobility.

Most respondents are aware of at least some form of adult educational provision (usually Polytechnics or high school evening classes) and see these programmes largely as fulfilling two main roles

- providing recreation/leisure,

- providing a 'second-chance' opportunities for social mobility.

There is a strong level of interest in, and respect for, education among the respondents. While many still see education as synonymous with schooling or 'for others', approximately half are interested in educational

opportunities for themselves as adults. These differences are reflected in the typology of non-participants developed from this research,

(i) Low-interest, passive abstainers for whom there is minimal chance of involvement,

(ii) Low-interest, schooling-oriented abstainers. Interest in education expressed through schooling for their children. Some potential for their involvement through this avenue,

(iii) High-interest, vocationally-ambitious respondents, interested in adult education for social mobility,

(iv) High-interest, culturally active respondents already active in various groups removed from the middle-class ethos of adult education institutions.

Specific implications for involving the last three of these groups in adult education are given.

CHAPTER ONE

POLICY AND PERSPECTIVES ON PARTICIPATION

INTRODUCTION

The analysis of participation in continuing education[1] has long been a central issue, as reflected in the field's research and theoretical literature.

Participation analysis has undoubtedly generated more research than any other single topic in the field. Participation can be analysed and understood at a number of levels · from the analysis of a particular institution's ability to recruit particular groups through to the understanding of continuing education as a component of the social structures that influence people's life chances.

In the latter, continuing education is related to more deep-seated ideological connotations. As Jarvis (1985:139) points out, "...it is politically appropriate to be demonstrating that access to the educational system is open to everybody throughout their lives, so that an appearance of egalitarianism occurs." In a political system where social mobility is perceived as the means whereby individual merit is recognised and 'wins through', it is important to show that all sectors of the population have equal access to the means (including education) for achieving social mobility. Thus, a cross-representation of the population in continuing education's clientele constitutes a form of 'proof' that a society is functioning efficiently, with individuals,

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[1] 'Continuing education' is a broad term usually referring to the education of adults who have left secondary school. Because this study focuses primarily on the voluntary participation of learners, it is used here to refer primarily to the non-vocational education of adults as most vocational programmes have some degree of compulsion (e.g. as a condition of apprenticeship) associated with them which thereby exclude the participants from the issues being studied. 'Continuing education' in this study, therefore, refers to organised (non-vocational) learning activities for adults whose participation is voluntary.

irrespective of their social origins, using the state's educational resources to realise their full potential.

For a variety of reasons, continuing educators themselves have often taken up the cause of open access with an almost evangelical vigour. The ideal of involving a representative cross-section of the catchment population is at least implicit in most continuing education agencies' agenda. Others strive to recruit predominantly from those groups who are seen as socially disadvantaged. Whatever the specific challenge, there is little doubt that for continuing educators "...access is an ideology and participation the measure of success of a movement that has few educational criteria, such as examinations, by which to evaluate its contribution to society." (Jarvis 1985:200)

Despite these intentions and ideological connotations, however, the challenge of providing genuinely open access to its programmes has continually eluded continuing educators. In programmes in New Zealand and throughout the world, participation research has consistently shown that continuing education has been, and remains, the preserve of those who have already had the lion's share of the state's educational resources - and in particular, formal schooling.

The reasons for the domination of continuing education by the socially and educationally privileged are still not fully understood. Research of the topic, as we shall see in the following sections, has trodden a well-worn path mapping the contours and dimensions but with little illumination as to why various groups are under- or over-represented. In particular, the research has included few efforts to stand outside the psychological/survey modes of enquiry.

The aim of this study is to examine how continuing education and adult learning are perceived by a group of people who, research shows, have made little use of continuing education resources. This perspective has been almost totally ignored in the study of participation. If educators are concerned with opening the door c. educational opportunity it is essential to undestand how it is viewed by those who are on the other side – and have failed to come through it.

THE CALL FOR EQUAL OPPORTUNITY

The call for equality of opportunity in education generally first came to prominence during the Industrial Revolution (see Costin 1985). With industrialists calling for more educated workers to ensure efficiency and expansion and the workers themselves equating education with employment, status and security, education came increasingly under the control of the state. Education was not only a right of individuals but an obligation of society.

Costin (1985:124) shows that the major focus initially was on the equal provision of education so that individuals were seen as starting from the same point in the educational race with the state ensuring that any barriers (such as cost, entrance requirements) were removed or at least minimised. Given this initial equality of provision, it was then over to the individual to 'run the race' with winners and losers emerging according to their natural talents, determination and skills.

Thus, rewards of social positions and greater status were based on a fair contest with the state ensuring universal access and objectivity in the whole process.

Historically, there has always been concern among adult educators to involve all sectors of the population (see Courtney 1981:99). Educational movements such as the British Labour Colleges and the Workers Educational Association (WEA) were founded with a central mission of providing educational opportunities for working men (sic) for whom access to education was extremely limited.

With the increasingly critical scrutiny of the results of education generally in the 1970's (for example, the Coleman Report) attention turned more to achieving equality of outcomes. For continuing education this shift meant increased expectations that its educational endeavours could help modify, if not rectify, the inequalities perpetuated by formal schooling. Consequent to this role was the call to cater for a true cross-section of the adult population, if not a disproportionately higher number of schooling's failures.

These concerns are probably best illustrated in the various UNESCO policy statements produced during this period (see for example, the Faure Report (1972) and in New Zealand, the Simmonds Report (1972),.

PERSPECTIVES ON INCREASED PARTICIPATION

It is interesting to note that increasing the involvement of a greater range of adults has wide appeal right across different educational philosophers - albeit for different reasons.

For those concerned with a market approach - selling the greatest number of courses to the greatest number of clients - increasing the numbers of non-participants increases the size of the educational enterprise and hence more staff, better facilities, etc. There is usually less interest in the purposes of this involvement - it is usually participation for its own sake or 'individual satisfaction and stimulation' (i.e. satisfied customers).

A second argument for increasing participation beyond its present parameters is associated with the concept of using education as a means of utilising 'human capital' - education as an investment (see Shultz (1961).

Because schooling does not always function efficiently as a talent selector (see Hopper and Osborn (1975) in Chapter Four), continuing education has an important role of spotting 'unrecognised' talent among adults and ensuring that these people are trained appropriately for new roles and help ensure that society functions more efficiently and effectively.

Continuing education in this view is, therefore, aimed predominantly at vocationally-orientated programmes for the 'reserve of talent' not recognised and trained by the formal schooling system.

A third view sees increased participation primarily in terms of general social justice. The state provides resources by way of continuing education opportunities and has an obligation to ensure that these resources are utilised equitably. While the purposes of this involvement are usually related to individual fulfilment, the main concern is ensuring equality of opportunity - a 'fair go' for everyone to discover and develop their natural talents and interests.

A fourth perspective for increasing participation is focussed on involving those who are most disadvantaged by the functionings of our present society. Equally important to involving the socially disadvantaged is the aim of educating these people to understand and work against the structures that produced the inequalities in the first place. In Paulo Freire's words, a liberating education for the oppressed.

PARTICIPATION POLICY IN NEW ZEALAND

Unlike some countries (e.g. Norway), New Zealand has no national legislation or policy regarding participation in continuing education.

While it was never embedded in official legislation, Peter Fraser's famous dictum that education would be available to every person "whatever his (sic) level of academic ability, whether he be rich or poor, whether he live in the town or country" has echoed throughout our educational history ever since. While it is doubtful whether Fraser had continuing education in mind when speaking, there is little doubt that this exhortation for equality of opportunity has been carried over into numerous subsequent continuing education developments.

The nearest equivalent to a national policy is our official representation at and support of the UNESCO International Conferences of Adult Education in 1949, 1960, 1972 and 1985. The purpose of these meetings is to "review the achievements; assess the problems and priorities and consider proposals for improving and expanding adult education provision in the member countries of UNESCO"(UNESCO 1987:11). Each conference (and in particular the

1972 Tokyo Conference) has mentioned the inequality of provision and urged member states to take specific measures to counte; this inequality of access.

Educational policy stressing social equity is also found in political party manifestoes. The concept of the community college as a counter to existing social inequality was a strong element of the 1972-75 Labour Government's education policy.

In the 1987 general election, the National Party gave particular emphasis to equity - "Equity has become an important issue in education. Education is, after all, the best passport from dependence and disadvantage to opportunity and enterprise......Fairness must be measured by both opportunities and outcomes; the guarantee that opportunity and outcome won't be dictated by gender or race, by learning disabilities, by geographical or socio-economic circumstances." (National Party 1987: Section 16).

Within New Zealand, the 'open access' mission is certainly implicit with most continuing education agencies and stated explicitly by a number.

WEAs' adoption of the International Charter of Workers' Education is reflected in individual District Councils' policies on recruitment - for example, "...giving priority to working people in these areas of special need

(i) Among those who have not participated in any formal education beyond the school leaving age." (Proposed Objects of the Manawatu WEA)

Central to the launching of the first Community College in Hawkes Bay was what the then-Director-General of Education, Bill Renwick, termed "the college's missionary activity" in reaching identifiable groups whose educational needs were not being met by other educational agencies (Renwick 1973:20). The current call for increased enrolments of Maori and Pacific

Islanders in Polytechnics is a continuation of this type of policy, as is the recent Hawke Report's concern for "..access of disadvantaged groups" (Section 2.5,p23).

While not always stated explicitly, most educational policy about increased participation is usually of the first three types outlined earlier – the 'increased market' approach (usually found in individual institutions/administrators), the 'reserve of talent' and 'human capital' models (e.g. the National Party policy) or the 'equality of access' approach (e.g. Hawkes Bay Community College).   Few groups openly espouse an 'education for liberation' model.

CHAPTER TWO

SO WHO GETS TO GO TO CONTINUING EDUCATION? - A SUMMARY OF THE

RESEARCH FINDINGS

TYPES OF PARTICIPATION RESEARCH

Although continuing education has not generated a great deal cf research as a field overall, there is a considerable amount on the issue of participation. In reading the literature for this study I have reviewed more than 60 studies on some aspect of participation - eight of these in New Zealand.

Participation studies are carried out at a number of levels (examples quoted are all NZ studies):

(i) National: looking at participation rates across entire states or countries (see, for example, Bird and Fenwick (1981)),

(ii) Regional: (see, for example, Waghorne's 'Adult Learning Activities in the City of Christchurch' (1975)),

(iii) Institutions: analyses within single institutions (see, for example, Benseman 1980, Horton 1976) or comparisons of several institutions (see Boshier 1971, Wagemaker 1978),

(iv) Specific groups: usually a specific social group (see Tobias' (no date) study of older people) or common-interest groups (see, for example, Benseman's (1984) study of general practitioners).

In each of these types of study, researchers can focus on any of the following:

(i)   participants-only: those who use some specific form of education or a broad range of educational activities,

(ii)   non-participants: those who have not taken part in educational activities,

(iii) comparisons of participants and non-participants.

Of all of the above possible combinations, the most frequent types of survey are:

- institutional analyses of participants,

- total population (national or regional) comparisons of participants and non-participants.

The least frequent type of study tends to be that of non-participants - usually because of the difficulties of sampling.

RESEARCH FINDINGS

Despite the large number of studies from a world-wide range of cultures and institutional settings, there is an amazing consistency in the findings reported.   Whether in the Eastern Bloc, the West or the Third World, the research persistently shows participation in continuing education to be a middle-class phenomenon.   Lowe (1975) in a world-wide review of the literature concludes "...a law of participation might be stated thus: 'the more education a person has experienced, the less education he is likely to seek'...It is a cross-cultural phenomenon."

A number of writers have summarised the findings from more than 80 specific studies2 carried out in their regions and internationally - Sumner (1985) in Australia, Cross (1982) in the United States, Bergsten et al (1973) and Rubenson (1976) in Sweden and Jarvis (1985) in Britain.

The first point from these studies is that continuing education caters only for a minority of adults in the total population. These rates vary from 13% of all adults in the United States (Kay 1983) to 25-30% in Scandinavian countries (Nordhaug 1983, Levnadsforhallanden 1974). These studies report participation largely in terms of formally organised programmes for adults. The only national survey of New Zealand adults (Bird and Fenwick 1981) using a much broader definition of adult learning, estimated that approximately 30% of all adults were involved in 'agency-directed learning activities'3 in 1977.

From these summaries of research a very clear socio-demographic profile of the typical participant emerges. In their oft-quoted study in the USA, Johnstone and Rivera (1965:8) saw this person as being "...just as often a man[4] as a woman, is typically under forty, has completed high school or better, enjoys an above average income, works full-time and most often in a white collar occupation, is typically white and Protestant, is married and a parent, lives in a urbanised area but more likely in a suburb than a large city."

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[2]There is some repetition of studies in the reviews.
[3]Unlike the other studies these included non-continuing education agencies (e.g. tennis lessons at the local tennis club).
[4]The even distribution of men and women is true overall. However, men tend to dominate (usually 2:1) in vocationally-oriented classes; the reverse proportions are true for women in non-vocational courses. Krajnc (1975:10) sees this difference as confirming women for their altruistic social roles, to be able to help other people ('belonging') whereas men's education confirms and furthers their individual personal roles ('being and becoming'). See also Thompson (1983) - esp. Chapts 5,6 and 7.

Conversely, those underrepresented disproportionately in continuing education include the elderly, ethnic minorities, immigrants, those who left school early and those on low incomes.

Although all of these socio-demographic variables (age, income, etc) have been found to be significant in differentiating between those who participate and those who don't, socio-economic status (and in particular educational attainment) is the most consistent indicator of participation. "As SES (socio-economic status) drops, degree by degree, so does the likelihood of participation in continuing education" (Darkenwald 1980:3). Anderson and Darkenwald's (1972) study using sophisticated statistical procedures confirms that it is educational attainment that exerts the greatest effect on participation - independently of all other components including income and occupation.

One study in particular has exerted considerable influence on participation research studies - that of Cyril Houle(1961). Houle concentrated on twenty-two exceptionally active adult learners. His analysis divided the group into a typology of three sub-groups- (i) goal-oriented learners who use learning to gain specific objectives, (ii) activity-oriented learners who participate primarily for the sake of the activity itself and (iii) those who are learning-oriented and pursue learning for its own sake.

While Houle did not claim this typology to be a definitive description of adult-learning motivation, his work has been used as the definitive basis for much research in this area - in particular that of Roger Boshier (see, for example, 1971 and with John Collins, 1983). Although much of this work has involved sophisticated statistical methods, it has, as Cross (1982:96) concludes "illuminated rather than changed Houle's basic

conclusions". Broad-scale surveys of adults' learning interests (largely efforts to guage what would attract would-be learners) provide predictably similar results and add little to the other types of research.

NEW ZEALAND STUDIES

Participation studies carried out in New Zealand[5] include Boshier's (1970,1971) study of three Wellington adult education institutions; Waghorne's (1975) study of adult learning activity in Christchurch; Horton's (1976) study of university extension participants; Wagemaker's (1978) comparison of three adult education institutions in Dunedin; Benseman's (1980) study of enrolments at the Hawkes Bay Community College and participation in continuing medical education among general practitioners (1984); Bird and Fenwick's (1981) national study of adult learning and Tobias' (no date) review of participation by older people in educational activities. All of these studies present a picture very similar to those reviewed in the international literature.

Studies of participation in more formal, vocational programmes (Dept of Education (1987:42), NZCER (1987:63) and Benton 1987:7) show an even lower representation of low socio-economic status people in their enrolments.

Generally, the higher the status of the educational institution, the greater the dominance of high-SES participants - the societal distribution of SES thus corresponds very closely to that of the educational institutional hierarchy (as measured for example, in state resource allocation[6])

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[5]Some smaller studies are not included because of their limited data or other methodological difficulties.
[6]In 1984 the average cost per student was $4,986 for universities, $1,076 for technical and community education and $124 for 'other' (i.e. non-formal) continuing education - Infact 8, p.4.

SELF-DIRECTED LEARNING

Allan Tough's (1979) work showing the prevalence of independent (or self-directed, as opposed to organised or incidental learning) learning has been widely quoted over recent years. One recent report on the future development of continuing education,suggested the name "Committee for Independent Learning in Aotearoa/New Zealand" for its governing body.

The popularity of Tough's work has gone some way to emphasise the ubiquity of adult learning, especially outside educational institutions (see, for example, Gunn 1986). More sceptical observers (see Brookfield (1985)) have noted that the sudden popularity of self-directed learning as the manifestation of a desperate quest for professional identity by continuing educators seeking recognition in the wider educational field.

Implicit also in some of the literature drawing on Tough's findings is the claim that (at last!) adult learning, and by indirect implication continuing education generally, can free itself to some degree at least from the criticisms of social class bias. By promoting the idea of the great majority of adults learning systematically (whether inside institutions or outside) the criticism of catering for an educational elite gets watered down to some degree.

It is interesting, therefore, to note the work of Borgstrom (1981). Using a Swedish national survey of living conditions (some of Tough's work has been criticised for the small size of his samples - see Jarvis 1985:91) Borgstrom used a similar definition of self-directed learning. Her findings present a somewhat different picture to that of Tough. Only 14% of the adult Swedish population had participated in self-directed learning. And, as we

have seen in more formal learning situations, even this type of learning is largely the domain of those who are already well-educated. Borgstrom (1988:130) "These results seem to give poor support to the hopes that have been attached to the function of self-directed learning to increase democracy....this study found that self-directed learning rather contributes to the reproduction of inequalities in society." This conclusion also has some support in the findings of Shipp and McKenzie (1981) on active learning.

'SPECIFIC GROUP' AGENCIES

Finally, it should be noted that all of the participation studies of specific institutions quoted are of what may be called 'general' continuing education agencies. That is, their programmes are open to anyone who has an interest in the programmes offered. Hence the interest in analysing who actually takes up the educational opportunities offered.

There is, however, another type of continuing education agency which as yet has attracted little attention from participation researchers. These are the 'specific-group' agencies who aim their programmes at specific groups - usually people who are seen as socially disadvantaged and not catered for by the 'general' agencies. In New Zealand these groups include the adult literacy movement (see Woodward (1984)) and the Maori Te Ataarangi group. Because their activities are aimed primarily at people who are usually non-participants, participation analyses would presumably show a very different profile from those outlined in the research earlier.

In New Zealand there is little evidence of 'general' agencies being able to widen access to non-participants (for one account see Benseman 1985) despite explicit policies to do so. Overseas, probably the most successful

attempts to open access to lower socio-economic groups have been of the community education/social action programmes aimed at specific low-income areas (see Lovett (1983), Fordham et al (1979) or specific social groups (see Thompson (no date)).

CHAPTER THREE

PARTICIPATION RESEARCH - PERSPECTIVES AND METHODOLOGY

SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC SURVEYS

Research studies seeking to understand who gets involved in education as adults and why, fall readily into three distinct groups - the 'Survey Strain', the 'Sociological Strain' and the 'Psychological Strain' (after Courtney 1985).

The 'Survey Strain' was most active in the 1940's and 1950's drawing heavily on concepts and methods of the newly emerging field of sociology. These researchers, using socio-demographic surveys, were primarily interested in educational participation within the broader perspective of community involvement - which social groups take part in organised aspects of social life, including the various forms of educational provision.

This 'Survey Strain' methodology has been widely used over and over with little refinement of the method[7]. As Courtney (1985:133) points out, these studies have repeatedly described consistently similar results but have offered little in the way of explaining causality. Even the most statistically significant socio-demographic factors only offer a partial understanding of participation. For example, even among social groups usually associated with non-participation (unemployed, school drop-outs, etc), there are some who participate and, conversely, there are non-participants among groups normally

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[7]Most New Zealand studies are of this type.

shown to have high participation rates. As Douglah and Moss (1968:248) point out, there is a "...tendency to lose sight of the differences _within_ groups while focussing major attention on the differences _between_ groups".

PSYCHOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE

Following Houle's (1961) publication 'The Inquiring Mind' and his criticisms of the sociological survey method ('focussing on what people do and not on what they think about what they do or why they do it') the 1960's through to the present have seen a proliferation of studies focussed primarily on individuals' decisions to participate in adult learning opportunities.

Courtney (1985:133) identifies three distinct categories of research within the Psychological Strain. The most prolific of these are the Motivational Orientation studies based on Houle's study — usually associated with Roger Boshier. The second, Decision Models, are inspired by the ideas of Lewin (1935) which theorise participation within an environment of forces (see, for example, Rubenson (1975)). The third type covers research based on concepts of the adult life cycle (see, for example Setsaas (1985)).

In an evaluation of these types of study, Courtney (1985:134) feels that generally the studies testing Houle's typology have "not been a success, more from confusion over the task at hand than from failed grapplings with an intractable subject." He feels that 'Decision Model' studies have at least moved closer to the reality of participation although they have not been tested extensively. Life-cycle studies have rarely been used, especially in theoretical formulations.

Both Rockhill (1982) and MacLean (1984 and 1985) have also offered detailed critiques of work done within the Psychological perspective, particularly Boshier's Congruence Model.

THE SOCIOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE

The 'Sociological Strain' Courtney identifies as being separate from the 'Survey Strain' though it is obvious that the two are very similar, with surveys in effect being a form of sociological study. Nonetheless, both are concerned with a macro view of participation, rather than a 'micro' view of individuals' decisions and motivatio.is.

The theorists and researchers Courtney quotes (1965:134) have worked in other educational spheres - primarily in the context of compulsory schooling. The social reproduction theories of Bernstein, Bourdieu and Bowles and Gintis remain largely untested in participation research and continuing education generally. Perhaps the only studies to utilise some of these concepts are those of Hopper and Osborn (1975) and Gooderham (1987) both of whom have looked at older adults returning to formal study and how this relates to the social selection process of educational institutions.

HISTORICAL OVERVIEW

It is interesting to note the changes over time in research methods and perspectives used to analyse participation. The change from a 'Survey Strain' to a predominance of the 'Psychological Strain' has not, Courtney (1985) claims, happened by accident.

Rather, the change in approach reflects changes in the field's politics and the changing philosophy of its practitioners. In particular, he points to adult education researchers' increasing concern for scientific respectability (as reflected, for example, in the use of increasingly complex statistical methods) as a prime reason for moving to a more individualistic explanation for participation. Thus, Courtney (1985:131) points out that the change from participation explained in terms of a theory of society to a theory of motivation mirrored changes of a larger scale - "Adult education had ceased (by the 1970's) to be the quasi-political arena where the fulfilment of democracy and the dream of social justice were played out and had become synonymous with psychology, professionalism, and the themes of personal growth and individual striving." Research, like all social phenomena, reflects political changes at large.

PARTICIPATION RESEARCH - A REVIEW

Since the first participation analyses in the 1920's, this area of study has seen a number of research approaches. The 'Survey Strain' has painted a consistent (but somewhat incomplete in its finer details) picture of educational provision for an already educationally privileged minority of the population. Beyond this picture, survey methods have contributed little (see Courtney (1985), Duke (1985), Cross (1982), Douglah (1980) and Rockhill (1982)).

Riding on an increasingly popular wave of popularity, the psychological perspective has been dominant in the research literature over recent years. This approach has also produced reasonably consistent results, although some have pointed out some technical problems in its use. The conclusion reached from the work appears to be that while we may now have

a much clearer understanding of people's motivations and psychological profiles, there are still other areas to be explored which remain outside the capacity of the psychological approach (see for example, Dowling (1985), Courtney (1981), Rubenson (1977), Cross (1985), Rockhill (1982)).

QUALITATIVE RESEARCH

Recently, there has been considerable call to utilise qualitative data (and implicitly, a sociological perspective) as a way of advancing the understanding of participation. This call has come from proponents of the 'Psychological Strain' (Dowling (1985, Rubenson (1977)), authors who have carried out extensive reviews of research on participation Osborn et al (1980), Courtney (1981),(Cross (1985), Duke (1985), and Tuomisto (1987), as well as writers openly partisan to qualitative studies (Rockhill (1982)).

Justifications for a move to qualitative research perspective include the following:

(i) the incorporation of the human perspective in place of statistical dimensions,

(ii) giving the subjects' viewpoints priority over researchers' preconceived frameworks,

(iii) recognition of the subjects' own values as central to the study (after Rockhill (1982)),

(iv) moving away from a 'blame the victim' implication where individuals' personal qualities are seen as the origin of the problem (for example, 'deficiency-oriented' (Boshier), 'the withdrawn, indifferent people' (Douglah 1970:89), 'passive' (Rovan 1979:50) and those who have an 'absence of any moral commitment in regard to the opportunities offered' (Lorenzetto 1979:58)),

(v) the ability to utilise 'dynamic' rather than 'static' factors (after Beal (1956)). The use of the former is particularly valuable to practitioners in making use of research work. Dynamic factors (for example, the knowledge of educational opportunities) are more open to change by practitioners, whereas static factors (for example, sex, years of schooling) are not. Duke (1985:17) is sceptical, for example, of the usefulness for practitioners of replicating studies of the 'Psychological Strain' developed by Boshier.

Specific aspects of future research recommended by various writers include the following,

- the study of differences within homogeneous groups; for example, comparing participants and non-participants in a group of people with low levels of schooling[8] (Douglah and Moss (1968:248)),

- case study approaches exploring the meaning of education/learning within the total context of non-participants' lives (Osborn et al (1980:99), Rubenson (1977:12), Rockhill (1982:12),

- a more detailed examination of the relationship between personal schooling (in particular people's feelings about their experiences) and adult learning (Goodman (1985:180), Cookson (1985:314), Cross (1982:80)),

- people's own perceptions of education and learning (Rockhill (1982:14), Duke (1985:17), Courtney (1981:109)),

- further confirmation on the extent of self-directed learning (Rockhill (1982:16)),

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[8]My own study (Benseman 1984) of general practitioners is an example of participation variations within a highly-educated group. See following chapter on Theory.

- studies which are grounded in the realities of practice and are of direct
  use to practitioners (Duke (1985:18), Cross (1982:80), Darkenwald
  (1980:77)),

- studies drawing on conflict theories of education (the 'new' sociology)
  (Courtney (1985:135)).

Additional factors associated with the theoretical bases used in
participation are also covered in the following chapter.

CHAPTER FOUR

PARTICIPATION RESEARCH – A THEORETICAL REVIEW

EXPLANATORY VS DESCRIPTIVE STUDIES

The great majority of participation studies are descriptive in nature – essentially concerned with describing who makes use of continuing education opportunities. Few can be classified as explanatory – seeking to explain why people do or do not participate and expressing this explanation in terms of generalised statements or laws which can also predict likely future patterns of behaviour – that is, theory.

Descriptive studies (especially of the 'Survey Strain') can perform an important function in, for example, reviewing how well a particular institution is performing in relation to stated clientele policy, but have little use beyond those particular parameters.

Most explanatory studies use concepts derived from related sociological and psychological theory (for example, concepts of socio-economic status) but use them only in the same way as, for example, socio-demographic variables, to describe the participants. The nature of the clientele is not related to the theory from which these concepts were derived, to explain how or why these particular people enrol and others do not.

THE ROLE OF THEORY

This dearth of explanatory theory is not surprising. Most continuing education research is atheoretical, perhaps reflecting the field's confusion over its professional identity and more especially, the pragmatic approach of most of its practitioners.

MacLean (1985:43) says that this lack of attention to the role of theory has crippled the field in a number of ways

(i)   by failing to provide the jumping-off point for lateral thinking about adult education,

(ii)   the reinforcement of current hegemonies within the adult education domain. The acceptance of current practice leads to asking the 'wrong' questions and a proliferation of the same kinds of research efforts,

(iii)   the lack of explicit theory limits the accountability of adult educators and denies acceptance of the fact that <u>all</u> behaviour is ultimately theory-driven (whether stated or not).

In contrast, the generation of theory performs a number of positive roles. Glaser and Strauss (1967:3) list these as,

(i)   to enable prediction and explanation of behaviour,

(ii)   to be useful in theoretical advances,

(iii)   to be usable in practical applications - prediction and explanation should be able to give the practitioner understanding and some control of situations,

(iv)   to provide a perspective on behaviour - a stance to be taken toward data,

(v)   to guide and provide a style for research on particular areas of behaviour.

BARRIERS TO PARTICIPATION

In this context, it is interesting to review the literature on 'barriers to participation'. The identification and explanation of barriers that prevent participation are often used implicitly as theoretical substitutes to explain why some people do not participate.

The most common classification of barriers (see, for example, Rubenson (1985:27), Cross (1982:98)) is,

(i)   Situational – stemming from the person's immediate situation; for example, childcare difficulties, lack of transport,

(ii)   Institutional – aspects of how the educational provider functions; for example, availability and timing of courses,

(iii)   Dispositional – those related to the attitudes and self-concepts of the learner; for example, attitudes towards schooling, self-confidence.

Research on barriers usually relies on self-report techniques, although studies of actual behaviour and testing hypotheses through experimental design are also used occasionally.

The findings on barriers to participation vary considerably, depending on the particular situation studied and the research method used. For example, transport difficulties are a considerable barrier for most rural people, less so for inner-city residents; men rarely report difficulties related to childcare, women do.

BARRIER RESEARCH – A CRITIQUE

While there is no doubt that barriers such as entrance qualifications or lack of knowledge about specific programmes (see Osborn et al 1980:48) are obvious barriers to enrolling, this information is at best only part of the reason why people don't participate. Why do some people make considerable effort to find out about opportunities available while (most) others don't? In particular, dispositional barriers (which in most ways 'precede' situational and institutional barriers) require much more explanation beyond simply identifying them – why do some people have such negative attitudes towards schooling?

Secondly, 'barriers to participation' are usually deduced from an institutional point of view. The research questions and methods reflect a perspective of 'looking from the inside (of the providers) out'. There are very few studies on how participation is seen from the perspective of the non-participants themselves.

In one of the few studies to incorporate a much broader perspective of participation in the overall context of people's lives, London, Wenkert, and Hagstrom's (1963) findings challenge a number of 'mythical' conclusions drawn from participation barrier research (for example, they say non-participants may be antagonistic towards schooling, but still retain a strong interest and appreciation of the value of education).

Thirdly, research using self-report encounters particular problems with the validity of respondents' replies. Questions asking why people don't participate tend to produce responses of the situational ('don't have enough time') or institutional ('they don't teach what I'm interested in') categories,

rather than of the dispositional category. This difficulty is borne out in studies (reported in Cross (1982:107)) where respondents were asked to cite barriers for themselves and other adults. Respondents were much more likely to identify dispositional barriers for others, than themselves. In other words, 'others have problems of attitude - I don't'.

The use of access barriers to explain participation has a rather simplistic, superficial appeal to researchers. The assumption underpinning this work is that all the practitioner has to do is to remove or minimise these barriers and continuing education will attract in the deserving masses[9]. Most writers of this ilk adopt a consensus-based framework of analysis where the solution is seen in fine-tuning present educational structures, rather than critically reviewing and changing the structures themselves.

Certainly,the analysis of barriers to access rarely approaches anything resembling general theory. Rather, these concepts are used in a similar way to socio-demographic variables in surveys to describe particular situations with a low degree of generalisability outside those situations.

EXPLANATORY STUDIES - THEORIES AND MODELS

In attempting to explain participation, researchers have used a range of theoretical frameworks - mostly drawn from psychology, a few from sociology and some using elements of both.

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[9]For an example of this type of material see NZACCE'S Resource Kit for Changes in Access to Continuing Education (1986).

FORCE FIELD MODEL

Drawing on Lewin's Force Field analysis and Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs, Miller's (1967) work postulates that participation is seen as dependent upon the relative strength of positive and negative forces that shape individual behaviour - these can be within the individual (i.e. psychological) or external (social or environmental). It is essentially the 'sum total' of these forces (in number and potency) that results in an individual finally participating or not. For example, Miller lists negative forces acting against lower-class adults, including 'action-excitement orientation of male culture, hostility to education and to middle-class object-orientation', while the (weaker) positive forces include 'survival needs and safety needs of female culture'. Reducing negative forces or enhancing positive ones can, therefore, lead to changes in participation.

Criticisms of Miller's work (see Jarvis (1985:211)) question the identification of these forces (for example, lower middle-class people are seen as having no negative forces - how does this then explain non-participation among this group?), the use of questionable conceptual foundations (Maslow) and being patently over-simplistic.

CONGRUENCE MODEL

As mentioned previously, Cyril Houle's (1961) study of learning 'addicts' has spawned a large number of studies emulating or refining his basic typology of goal-oriented, activity-oriented and learning-oriented participants.[10]

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[10] It is ironic that studies derived from Houles's work include some of the most obtuse, statistically-ridden work in the field - Houle's original study involved the interviewing of twenty-two subjects for approx. two hours each.

The best-known of these is the work by Roger Boshier. His Congruence Model proposes a two-step model of participation.

The first step involves the identification of people as either 'growth' (those open to experience, who are progressing through some kind of initial heterostasis to an equilibrium to a higher level) or 'deficiency-oriented' - seeking to find some kind of stasis - to move towards homeostasis through remedial action for perceived needs within areas of their life. These orientations are measured on an Education Participation Scale (E.P.S.).

Step Two suggests that an individual's 'growth' or 'deficiency' orientation then carries through to participation/non-participation in continuing education. Those who are 'growth-oriented' tend to be not only more congruent to their ideal-self but also key aspects within the educational environment; the reverse being true for those who are 'deficiency-oriented'. Thus, the propensity to participate varies according to the individual's orientation.

Boshier's Congruence Model has come in for some criticism in recent years. MacLean (1984,1985) questions the construct validity of the E.P.S. instrument used for defining the orientations and the use of homeostasis and heterostasis as polar opposites, where they may co-exist within the individual at any time. Rockhill (1982) also criticises Boshier's work for suspect 'quantum leaps' in logic used to link different parts of the model.

The model also has an implicit 'blame-the-victim' orientation – the 'deficiency-oriented' individual is seen as the difficulty rather than the operations of the educational institutions. It is also not clear to what degree the individual's orientations are fixed or open to change. Finally, it is questionable how useful Boshier's model is to practitioners – how do you identify 'deficiency-oriented' individuals and strategise to increase their involvement? The model leaves a certain feeling of inevitability about these people's non-involvement.

EXPECTANCY-VALENCE MODEL

Kjell Rubenson (1975) postulates that participation is determined by expectancy and valence. Expectancy refers to the individual's belief that they will finish a programme and in doing so, will achieve certain outcomes. Valence denotes a positive or negative attitude toward the expected outcomes of participation. Thus, in deciding whether or not to participate in a programme, individuals 'sum up' the anticipated value of the programme for them and the desirability of those outcomes in their long-term goals. Implicit in this decision is a high level of self-awareness and the likely effects of the experience.

Variations in participation are explained by analysis of variations in individual and social/environmental variables and their interactions. Low socio-economic status affects valence and expectancy negatively, thus resulting in low levels of participation.

MacLean (1985:49) points out that the value of the opportunity-cost concept implicit in Rubenson's model is useful for showing adult education participation in competition with other aspects of people's lives and the

influence of previous socialisation in shaping the decisions people make. Rubenson (1977:12) himself has pointed out the difficulties of a single theory to explain participation and has urged a more dynamic approach viewing participation in terms of the individual's total living situation.

CHAIN-OF-RESPONSE MODEL[11]

Drawing on an analysis of Boshier, Rubenson and Tough[12], Cross (1977:125) has proposed a "conceptual framework designed to id~ the relevant variables and hypothesize their interrelationships[13]". The model assumes that participation in continuing education is not a single act, but the result of a chain of responses. The figure below summarises ~ e model.
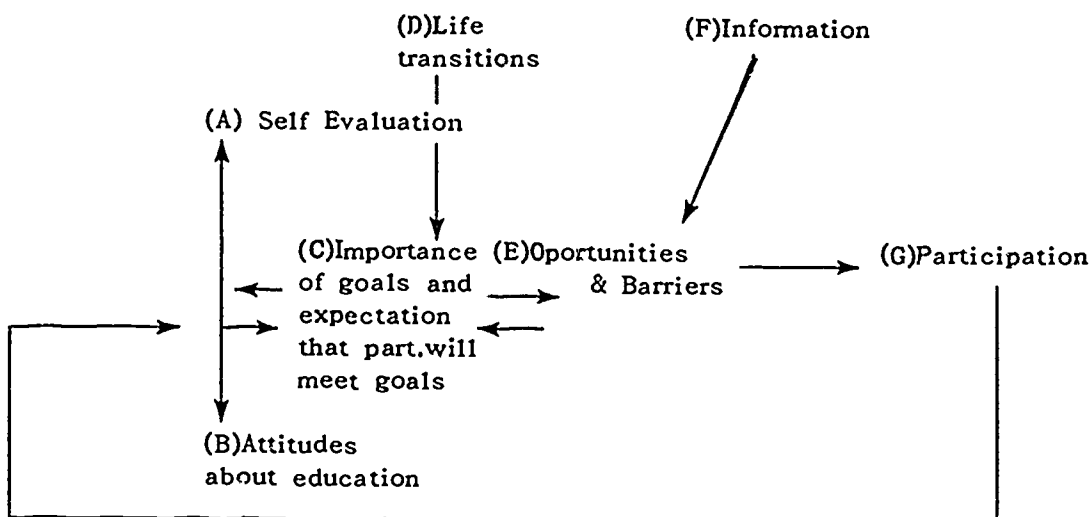
The model is read like an educational 'snakes and ladders' with those with positive self-evaluations (based on Boshier-type findings) also having positive attitudes about adult education, having goals attainable

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[11]Cross and Darkenwald and Merriam specifically propose 'models' of participation, rather than a theory. Darkenwald and Merriam (1982:141) suggest their model to be a "rough version of a theory", with more abstract, crude propositions and therefore lacking a theory's specificity and explanatory power. They see models as important in helping develop more comprehensive theory.

[12]Tough's work has focussed primarily on independent or self-directed learning.

[13]The model used by Lehtonen and Tuomisto (1976) is very similar.

through education, being aware of appropriate opportunities and overcoming barriers, eventually participating. Conversely, anyone 'stumbling' any of these stages remains a non-participant.

Cross emphasises the importance of the beginning parts (A + B) of the model in contrast to most writers' preoccupation with the later elements - particularly barriers. Thus, she stresses the importance of understanding factors that lead to low self-esteem (and subsequent non-participation) rather than the effects of low self-esteem (non-participation - shown again and again).

While Cross' model is useful in bringing together a number of previous writings, it is, as far as I am aware, untested. The linear nature of the model can also be challenged to some degree in terms of how well this corresponds with the realities of people's lives. Many would argue that few people follow such a clear logical sequence in deciding to enrol in a course.

PSYCHOSOCIAL INTERACTION MODEL

Gordon Darkenwald and Sharan Merriam (1982) have also proposed a linear life-span model, similar to that of Cross and Lehtonen and Tuomisto. Darkenwald and Merriam's model appears to place more emphasis on social-environmental forces that shape the individual from birth and that continue to influence decisions throughout the individual's life-span.

ISSTAL - THE INTERDISCIPLINARY, SEQUENTIAL, SPECIFICITY, TIME ALLOCATION, LIFE-SPAN MODEL

The work of Peter Cookson (1985) draws on a model developed by sociologist David Smith to describe the participation of adults in a range of activities - including voluntary learning activities for adults. It therefore enables comparisons between different types of participation - for example, participation in political, religious and educational activities.

The model (1985:309) identifies six classes of independent variables within a "logical causal and temporal system predictive of social participation": (1) situational and definition of the situation variables, (2) retained information variables, (3) attitudinal disposition variables, (4) personality variables, (5) social background variables and (6) external context variables.

Implicit in the model is that "the influence on participation by all antecedent variables is mediated by all subsequent variables" (p.310). Also, that "the closer a variable is situated to the criterion behaviour, the greater the magnitude of impact of that variable". Thus, like a series of concentric rings (or ripples moving inwards), the influence of each variable category is assessed, moving with increasing intensity as they progress from (6) to (1). In sum, the model asserts that individual acts or behaviour are the end result of many influences, ranging from the general biophysical, cultural and social structures of our environment through to specific influences such as information details and the immediate situation.

Cookson has thus far only reported the zero order correlation analysis of his study of adult education participation in the lowest income areas of Vancouver. He sees the next step of multiple regression analysis as being able to break down the overall association among the variables thus showing the effects of each variable, and "the determination of both direct and indirect paths of influence between each independent variable...and adult education participation" (p.314).

Cookson's explanation of the model is not always lucid, but appears to be largely a 'sociological version' of Boshier-type analyses using sophisticated sequential, statistical analyses of a wide range of 'ingredients' to put together a final picture of participation. As such, it suffers from similar difficulties already outlines for other models of this type – particularly "the understanding of the meaning of participation in the life-world of the individual" (Rockhill (1982:3)).

REFERENCE GROUP THEORY

Pointing out that little is said in most research about why schooling exerts such a strong influence on participation, Gooderham (1987) has used Reference Group Theory to analyse a second-chance 'higher secondary education for adults' programme in Norway. Because all of the participants have low levels of schooling, the study is useful for showing differences within a homogeneous group (i.e. those who do participate from a group who have very low levels of participation) – a perspective Douglah and Moss (1968:248) have suggested to be particularly valuable.

Reference Group Theory seeks to explain how, while generally people act in accordance with the frames of reference of the groups with which they are most associated, they also "frequently orient themselves to groups other than their own in shaping their behaviour and evaluations (Merton quoted in Gooderham p.142).

Reference groups to which people refer for appropriate behaviour and evaluations are of two types - normative reference groups "from which a person takes standards, attitudes and values"; comparative reference groups whose "situation or attributes a person contrasts with personal ones and must inevitably entail some measure of relative deprivation" (p.142). The differences between the two groups is particularly important with the possibility of social mobility - people aspiring to a higher social class will look increasingly to comparative reference groups for behaviour models as part of their anticipatory socialisation into the new social grouping.

In the adult education context, Gooderham's study shows that potential participants' normative reference group values should be in accord with those implicit in the educational programme. Secondly, courses with a social mobility potential will have greatest appeal among those with a middle-class reference group.

Gooderham's study only refers to qualification - oriented courses. He makes no effort to explain participation in non-examination courses except to say that these participants probably involve reference groups whose orientation is positive towards education. Because the course would not be likely to contribute towards participants' social mobility, comparative reference groups would not be involved.

While Gooderham does not claim to present a comprehensive theory of participation, the value of his work lies in its attempt to understand participation in terms of each programme's "socio-cultural content and socio-economic effect". Unlike most other analyses, Gooderham stresses the understanding of the perception of the educational programmes themselves and their role in the workings of a society.

EDUCATION AS SELECTION AND SOCIAL CONTROL

In a similar study, Hopper and Osborn (1975) interpret the education system - initial and continuing - as performing a selection function for the various levels of social stratification. While the idea of schooling as a social selection mechanism is not new, their inclusion of (voluntary) continuing education is more novel. The education of adults aimed at formal qualifications (similar to Gooderham's sample), they argue, acts as a 'safety-valve' for capitalism. Individuals 'incorrectly' selected and allocated to lower social strata can have a 'second go' at the educational selection process. If successful (as most adult students are) they are able to use their new educational qualifications to become socially mobile, thus increasing their personal levels of satisfaction and thereby removing potential dissidents who could potentially question and threaten the status quo patterns of inequality.

Although, like Gooderham, Hopper and Osborn have concentrated solely on exam-oriented courses, their work represents a significant attempt to apply a theoretical sociological perspective to the phenomenon of participation.

'LOCATION WITHIN THE PROFESSION'

Finally, a brief ...ention of some exploratory model-building based on a study of homogeneous participants at the other end of the scale (Benseman (1984)). From my study of participation in voluntary educational programmes for general medical practitioners I have proposed the concept of 'location within the profession'. Rates of participation did not differ greatly among the GP's overall(thus confirming high levels of formal education = high levels of continuing education), but the variation that did occur appears to be clearly related to the practitioners' position within their profession.

Those GP's on the periphery (part-timers, solo-practices, strong interests in 'fringe' medicine, women, those trained overseas) consistently have the lowest rates of participation, while those GP's who resemble the 'ideal ethos' of the profession and are usually most readily associated with it (men, those in group practices, NZ-trained, middle-aged, etc) are the most active educationally.

These types of continuing professional education programmes are probably best understood then in terms of a 'group legitimation' function. Organised by the 'inner core' successes cf the profession, the resulting programmes are largely 'mirror images' - reflecting the interests and needs of practitioners like themselves. Continuing education of this type then, serves to confirm the social hierarchy within the group with all its associated philosophy, methods and public image.

These conclusions /ere drawn from a group whose overall participation rates are extremely high (93% 'coverage' of the total number over a four-year period) but certainly warrant further study. The study is of

interest also in terms of showing extremely high participation among a group who have very high levels of formal education - the key differentiating factor in participation analysis to date. They are, therefore , a group of the type suggested by Douglah and Moss (1968) to look at differences within homogeneous groupings.

PARTICIPATION THEORY - SOME CONCLUSIONS

From this review of the attempts thus far to deduce theoretical explanations of participation, a number of general conclusions can be drawn.

Firstly, the numerically dominant psychological models as in most adult education research (see Nordhaug (1987)) have been repeated widely with similar conclusions. Most differ little from Boshier's (1971) original expansion of Houle's typology. Input from people like Rubenson and Miller (1967) have incorporated more environmental considerations but the prime focus has been on what drives some individuals to decide to participate and not others.

This type of theoretical explanation is probably best summarised in Cross' (1981) 'Chain of Response' model where she draws together the work of Boshier, Rubenson and Tough.

Secondly, limited use has been made of sociological perspectives and usually only in very specific areas of participation.

Thirdly, most of the studies reviewed have focussed primarily, if not solely, on participants. There are few studies of non-participants - most conclusions about them are drawn 'in absentia' or as 'corollaries' of

participants. (For example, Houle's (1979) introduction in an OECD study of non-participation, reviews only participation studies.)

Fourthly, the prime focus has been on individuals, with increasing recognition of the social and cultural environments that influence them. Little analysis has been carried out on present and potential participants' perceptions of the educational institutions and their operations.

Associated with this is the assumption implicit in a number of theories that it is individuals who are responsible for their non-participation (for example, 'deficiency-oriented' non-participants), with little or no consideration of the educational agencies themselves - resulting in 'blame the victim'-type conclusions.

Finally, there is only beginning to be an appreciation (in, for example, Hopper and Osborn) of how continuing education functions in relation to other educational sectors (in particular compulsory schooling) and other social institutions.

Most observers agree that the complexity and diversity of continuing education participation mean that it is unlikely that there will ever be a single theory to encompass all the elements involved. It is important, however, to keep adding the building blocks from which we can eventually build a better platform from which to view it.

CHAPTER FIVE

AIMS AND METHODOLOGY

INTRODUCTION

The review of the research literature on (non) participation in Chapters Three and Four showed the clear dominance of certain types of research and perspectives on this topic.

In sum, participation research has been dominated by:

(i)   the study of participants (from whom conclusions about non-participants are frequently drawn),

(ii)   psychological (esp. individual motivations) modes of enquiry and socio-demographic surveys.

(iii)   studies of an empirical/analytical nature.

This study has, therefore, set out to offer a distinctively different examination of why some people participate in continuing education and others do not.

The central aim of this study has been to explore how a group of adults, who have had limited schooling (and, therefore, probably very limited education as adults) view their educational experiences and the educational opportunities open to them as adults.

Specific questions include:

– what is the relationship between subjects' compulsory schooling experience and their subsequent non-involvement in adult education?

- what are the subjects' perceptions of the influence of compulsory schooling on their life-chances and life-styles as adults?

- what are the subjects' perceptions of the (adult) educational opportunities available and the place of learning new skills and knowledge in their lives in both work and recreational settings?

- what are the perceptions of the value of education of the subjects, their family and friends?

- what are the social and cultural settings within which the subjects live and (potentially) extend their adult learning?

RESEARCH DESIGN – COLLECTION OF DATA

STUDY SITE

One f the main reasons there has been so few studies of non-participants is their inaccessibility. Although up to 70% of the adult population are potential subjects for this type of research, access and more importantly, cu-operation are problematic.

The subjects for this study were drawn from the Northern Hotel, Hospital, Restaurant and Related Trades Employees' Industrial Union of Workers (HHRTU). This union was chosen for a number of reasons.

Firstly, the researcher was known to many of the union staff and members. Having the confidence of these people 'purchase high levels of co-operation and acceptance from the members.

Secondly, the union in general, and their educ. n officer in particular, have a strong interest in the findings of the reseai for their own purposes.

Thirdly, because of its members' characteristics (especially their low wage levels relative to the general population) this union could reasonably be expected to have disproportionately high numbers of non-participants. This assumption was based on the high levels of correlation between (low) income, (low) levels of education and (low) levels of participation in continuing education found in all the research reviewed. The validity of this assumption was to be checked by a mailed questionnaire (Appendix A) to 300 randomly-selected union members prior to the selection of the interview sample.[14]

SELECTION CRITERIA OF RESPONDENTS

The choice of respondents for this study was based on what Hakim(1987:141) terms 'focused sampling'. (Glaser and Strauss (1967) use the term 'theoretical sampling'.)

Focused sampling is the "selective study of particular persons, groups or institutions, or of particular relationships, processes or interactions that are expected to offer especially illuminating examples, or to provide especially good tests for propositions of a broad nature".

In this study, a group of 40 low-paid workers have been chosen as a particularly fruitful source of information and opinion of continuing

[14]This questionnaire was requested by the study's funding grr ip, the Department of Education.

education and in particular why they do not utilise the educational opportunities available.

The number of respondents (40) is within the bounds of what Hakim (1987:27) suggests is acceptable for a study of this type, and somewhat larger than Stalker Costins' (1988, in press) comparable study (20 interviews).

The final selection of respondents was made up of 20 delegates and 20 non-delegates. The original intention was to interview delegates only[15]. Criticism that this would skew the study's respondents to an atypically active group led to modifying the selection of 20:20 delegates/non-delegates. The limited results from the mailed questionnaire (see Chapter 7) and the final selection of respondents indicated no great differences between these two groups in terms of their social and demographic characteristics.

Although in no way intended to be a statistically representative group (see following discussion), efforts were made to ensure a reasonable cross-section of people in terms of sex, age, ethnicity and occupation.

The most important characteristic of the subjects, however, was their low levels of schooling as this is the key variable differentiating between those adults who participate in continuing education and those who don't.

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[15]Because of ease of access and that they are arguably the sorts of people adult education agencies could recruit if they were to extend their recruitment beyond present patterns.

RECRUITMENT OF RESPONDENTS

Non-delegate respondents were recruited by the researcher accompanying a union organiser (Kia Ora Linda) on her rounds of workplaces. The accompaniment of the organiser ensured ready access and allayed most of the inevitable suspicion of an outsider asking for interview time.

Delegate respondents were recruited from two delegate training seminars held at the union office. While it is true in a sense that this source of recruitment technically makes these respondents participants, for the great majority the seminar was the first educational involvement they had had since leaving school. The seminars also differ from most educational programmes for adults in that the participants are actively recruited (e.g. in the course of worksite visits) by union organisers. This direct-approach recruitment contrasts with most educational groups' passive recruitment strategies (e.g. newspaper ads)[16]. Finally, these courses are outside the definition (p.3) of voluntary, non-vocational programmes specified in the parameters of this study.

With both groups, the respondents were asked either for a suitable time and place for the interview or a contact phone number. In the latter case, interviews were arranged within a fortnight of the initial contact.

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[16]Differences in recruitment techniques have real significance for the involvement of people with low levels of schooling as will be shown in Chapter 7.

INTERVIEWS

All interviews were arranged for times and locations of the respondents' choice. Most were conducted at the work-place outside work hours in an unoccupied room away from workmates and workplace interaction. The remainder took place at respondents' homes.

The interviews were semi-structured. Such a technique is particularly appropriate to the nature of the research topic. Semi-structured interviews use the same set of questions for each respondent but retain a degree of flexibility suitable to following up fruitful paths of enquiry that develop from the initial questions.

The questions (see Appendix B) are, therefore, deliberately open-ended, enabling the interviewees to respond in ways that reflect their own viewpoints, thereby lessening the likelihood of offering socially- acceptable replies.

The main areas covered by the interviews included:

(i) the respondents' work - nature of the job, length of time in it, job training, assessment of (dis)satisfaction, past work history, future work-related aspirations,

(ii) schooling - type and length of schooling, assessment of its value and enjoyment; parents', siblings' and children's length and type of schooling; opinions of importance of education, effects on their adult lives,

(iii) adult education - details of any involvement in education as an adult (recruitment, assessment of its effects, etc); reasons for (non)involvement; involvement of relatives, friends, workmates; awareness of

educational opportunities; perceived image of adult education; obstacles to involvement,

    (iv)   leisure/adult learning – spare-time activities/interests, group/organisation membership; reading; independent learning episodes,

    (v)   socio-demographic data – age, sex, ethnicity, marital status, number of children, job title, hourly pay-rate, highest school level and qualifications, vocational training.

The order of the questions varied somewhat, according to the respondents' train of thought/discussion. Inevitably some respondents were more informative and analytical in their responses than others; similarly, the provocativeness of the questions varied from person to person[17]. In all cases, the flexibility to probe further than the original questions was essential in gaining the information discussed in this report.

All the interviews were recorded and transcribed onto a personal computer after the interview.

A trial interview was conducted prior to the main study to test and refine the interview questions, their order and general strategies. The most significant change was the order of questions (as above) starting with the respondents work leading onto less 'obvious' topics of schooling, adult education and leisure-time.

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[17]Issues arising from this type of research are discussed in Appendix C.

STUDY'S CHARACTERISTICS

This study then differs from most (non) participation research in
that it:

(i)   focuses primarily on non-participants (and participants who
differ significantly from those usually found in continuing education),

(ii)   utilises an interpretive perspective (in contrast to the usual
empirical analytical perspective),

(iii)   uses a qualitative research technique.

While the change of focus ((i) above) is reasonably straightforward,
the changes of perspective and technique18 ((ii) and (iii) above) warrant some
further discussion[18].

INTERPRETIVE PERSPECTIVE

Most participation research has used an empirical/analytical
perspective where 'objective facts' (e.g. ethnicity, income, personality
characteristics) are described, interrelated and analysed, often using
sophisticated statistical methods. That is, people's behaviour (participation
in continuing education) is analysed in terms of what Marton (1981) calls the
'first-order perspective' - facts that can be observed from outside.

The interpretive perspective (Marton's 'second-order perspective') on
the other hand is about how something appears to someone from their vantage
point. This may or may not correspond to the 'objective facts' but is deemed
important because of the notion that "people's behaviours are guided by their

[18] In both these discussions I have drawn heavily on the explanations given
in Joyce Stalker Costin's (1988, in press) study - see following chapter.

interpretations of their social worlds and of the symbols within those worlds".
(Stalker Costin 1988:11)

Stalker Costin (ibid.) goes on to explain that the intent is "to look beneath people's observable actions and to find the meaning, structures of 'rules' which govern them, that is, to seek the ways in which people interpret, create and sustain their worlds through human negotiations, interactions and communications. For interpretive researchers it is these rules, not the law-like generalisations of the empirical/analytical researchers, which make and sustain the real world."

As mentioned in Chapter Three, there has been a considerable call for the use of the interpretive perspective in the study of (non) participation (e.g. Courtney 1981:109, Rockhill 1982:14, Duke 1985:17).

QUALITATIVE RESEARCH TECHNIQUE

Along with the empirical/analytical perspective, most participation researchers have relied almost solely on quantitative research methods. Apart from the usual criticisms of quantitative methods, there has been specific criticism of this methodology for this type of study.

Stalker Costin (1988:14,15) points out the difficulties of dealing with the many variables associated with participation (in particular, the separate effects of the different variables) and the tendency to emphasise the homogeneity of the groups involved. For example, non-participants who may comprise up to 70% of the population, are usually treated as a homogeneous group which is obviously far from the reality.

In contrast to the quantitative approach of describing phenomena in
s' , numerical form, qualitative research uses "humans in a more active way
as a data collection instrument and expresses the data collected in
descriptive forms". (Stalker Costin 1988:15)

Hakim (1987:26) says qualitative research is "concerned with
individuals' own accounts of their attitudes, motivations and behaviour. It
offers richly descriptive reports of individuals' perceptions, attitudes, beliefs,
views and feelings, the meanings and interpretations given to events and
things, as well as their behaviour; displays how these are put together, more
or less coherently and consciously, into frameworks which make sense of
such experiences; and illuminates the motivations which connect attitudes and
behaviour, the discontinuities, or even contradictions between attitudes and
behaviour or how conflicting attitudes and motivations are resolved in
particular choices made. Although qualitative research is about people as the
central unit of account, it is not about particular individuals per se; reports
focus rather on the various patterns, or clusters, of attitudes and related
behaviour that emerges from the interviews".

While qualitative research is often used for exploratory studies[19]
leading into quantitative studies, they may also stand in their own right.

Qualitative research is certainly not without its criticism - usually
around questions of validity, reliability and objectivity. Stalker Costin's
study (1988:16-20) includes ιn extensive discussion of these issues.

Quoting the classic work of Lincoln and Guba (1985), Stalker Costin
(1988:17) shows that in qualitative research internal validity is

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[19]In participation research, Houle's (1961) study of 22 learners is the obvious
example.

reconceptualised as credibility, external validity as transferability, reliability as dependability and objectivity as confirmability.

With regard to the interpretive perspective and the use of a qualitative research technique, it is important to note that their use in this study is not because they are inherently better than any other. Rather, their use is warranted to complement the types of research already carried out on participation and hopefully, to open up more fruitful avenues for future research on this topic. As Phillips (1983:9) says, "no one framework provides the royal road to truth".

DATA ANALYSIS

Qualitative research obviously necessitates different methods of data analysis than those used in quantitative research.

All the interview tapes were transcribed onto a personal computer and copies printed. Additional notes of the main parts of each interview were also made on an index card system as an insurance against tape or computer data loss. Field notes on emerging themes and points on methodology were also kept throughout the study.

The interview transcripts were read and re-read extensively and notes made of emerging themes and concepts. Quotations illustrating these were marked on the transcripts.

Two levels of analysis were used. As each section in Chapter 8 (work, family life, schooling, etc) was prepared, these themes and concepts were set out in a logical sequence. The transcripts were re-read again,

identifying specific quotations upon which the observations and generalisations were based. Thus, there was a constant checking of the generalised statements with the respondents' interviews to check the accuracy between the two levels.

This first level of analysis (Chapter 8) explored the range of the respondents' experiences and offered some preliminary statements of a general nature.

Further analysis of these statements led to a second, more general level of observations. This involved the grouping of respondents into groups according to their levels of interest in education and possible motives for participation. The typology of non-participants presented in Chapter 9 was abstracted from these groupings. The conceptions of education and adult education in Chapter 10 were also abstracted from the details of the preliminary level of analysis.

The most important elements of the analysis of qualitative data in this study have been the transcribing of the full interviews and the extensive reading and rereading of these texts.

CHAPTER SIX

COMPARABLE RESEARCH STUDIES

PSYCHOLOGICAL STUDIES

In reviewing all the research literature on (non) participation, very few studies similar to this proposal were located. While some studies like those of Rubenson (1976) and Darkenwald (1985) include consideration of non-participants, both are within the psychological tradition and also have some methodological limitations.

Although distinctive in being a longitudinal study, Kjell Rubenson's (1976) study is limited to men 25 years of age. Lars-Erik Olofsson (1980) has used the same data base and included women but is still limited to a group of 27-year-olds.

Gordon Darkenwald's (1985) study also has some limitations in terms of his sample. Although he claims it to be of little import, his survey drew an 11% response rate (210 individuals). The study was carried out in one of the wealthiest counties in the USA and did not distinguish between participants and non-participants (those who have never/not recently participated) when analysing deterrents to participation over the past "year or two".

Darkenwald's study is of particular interest here in that he uses an empirical/analytical perspective to look at non-participation. As he says (p.4) "The development of the DPS-G (Deterrents to Participation Scale) was a complex undertaking". The DPS-G consists of 34 Likert-type items (e.g. 5

point rating of the importance of the time of a course) which were analysed and related to respondents' socio-demographic variables. The resulting cluster analysis gave Darkenwald " a 'pure' typology of deterred adults" (p.5).

For example, "Type Two adults comprised 27.1% of the sample. This group scored high on Factor 1, 'Lack of confidence', and low on Factor 6, 'Personal Problems'. Fifty-three per cent were females with an average age of 47; almost half (47%) had not gone beyond high school and 73% were employed full-time. One might characterise this cluster as consisting of relatively older and less well-educated individuals who are deterred from participation by such Factor 1 variables as 'not confident in my learning ability', 'felt I couldn't compete with younger students' and 'felt I was too old to take the course'". (p.7)

Non-participant-types are thus painted in statistical terms with a clear emphasis on their individual characteristics (usually deficiencies) and little consideration of their social environment. From a practitioner's point of view, there appears to be little indication of strategies that might change the various deterrent factors.

QUALITATIVE STUDIES

In strong contrast are the studies by the Goteborg University group (as reported in Larsson and Helmstad (1985), Larsson (1987)) and Stal or Costin (1988, in press)[20]. All of these studies have used qualitative material within an interpretive perspective to look at (non) participation from the viewpoint of people not usually found in continuing education.

[20]This work was located half-way through the present study.

THE GOTEBORG GROUP

Larsson and Helmstad are part of a larger research team based at the University of Goteborg in Sweden. This group has carried out a total of 194 interviews in five sub-groups of unskilled workers, including dairyworkers, auxiliary nurses, textile workers, factory storemen and unskilled mechanics. In addition, 42 training officers were interviewed about the training of unskilled workers from their perspective.

The main aim of these studies was to see how unskilled workers 'conceive of education' and in particular their own schooling, their children's schooling and education generally (Larsson and Helsmstad (1985:2). From their interviews, the researchers set out to describe the "variation of qualitatively different conceptions" of education among unskilled workers. 'Conceptions' (after Marton, Hounsell and Entwistle (1984)) are "the filters by which individuals interpret their world. They are forms of thought or ways of understanding the world. Conceptions are categories of description which reflect a second-order perspective (how something appears to someone) and which give direction to the research technique and data analysis. Basically, conceptions represent different ways in which people experience or understand phenomena in their worlds". (Stalker Costin 1988:36)

Below is a summary of the storemen's conceptions[21] of education:

A. Their own schooling

(i) 'school is an isolated phase in a collective plan of life,'

(ii) 'school is an integrated part of an individual's career,'

(iii) 'it is natural to continue schooling after compulsory school but where they themselves had failed because of different but very specific and individual external reasons.'

[21]Multiple and contradictory conceptions may be held between and within individuals.

P.   Their children's schooling

(i) 'school is an integrated part of an individual's career.'

C.   Education in general

(i) 'education only has a function in relation to work – directly or indirectly,'

(ii) "education has a function in developing the person in a general sense.'

Most of the ensuing discussion looks at what categories of workers (e.g. older vs younger, different levels of schooling) hold these different conceptions and how these then affect their likelihood of participating. For example, workers who hold an instrumental view of education (as in C (i)) and who are reconciled to staying in their present jobs are seen as being very unlikely recruits to educational activities.

These research studies are very work-oriented and appear to ignore educational opportunities outside this context. Larsson (1987) has developed a theoretical model of participation based on these studies, although he expresses some reservations about it (p.12).

STALKER COSTINS' STUDY

Joyce Stalker Costin's study is still unfinished at the time of writing but most of her results are available in a preliminary form.

Her study covers interviews with 20 workers with low levels of schooling (high school diploma or less) in a large Vancouver municipality (read City Council) department. Respondents identified themselves as

participants (5 male, 5 female) or non-participants (5 male, 5 female). Stalker Costin acknowledges (p.46) that an unspecified number of the non-participants (using a very narrow definition of not participating over the previous 12 mo ⁎ only) had actually participated in some form of educational programme.

Otherwise, the study is quite similar to those of the Goteborg group. From Stalker Costin's analysis, eighteen conceptions are drawn:

A.   Opportunities for Participation in Adult Education

(i) participation in organised adult education activities is the responsibility of the individual,

(ii) it is a privilege to be granted the opportunity to participate in employer-provided adult education activities,

(iii) opportunities for participation in adult education activities are imposed,

(iv) the opportunity to participate in adult education activities is a right.

B.   Uses of Adult Education

(i) participation in adult education activities is used to acquire credibility for the workplace,

(ii) the skills, information and knowledge acquired through participation in adult education activities are used in their practical application,

(iii) through participation in adult education activities one acquires a personal possession,

(iv) participati   n adult education is used to allocate status

C.   Control of Workplace Opportunities

     (i) workplace opportunities are self-determined,

     (ii) workplace opportunities are other-determined,

     (iii) workplace opportunities are determined by a system of rules and regulations,

     (iv) workplace opportunities are determined by "the times".

D.   Outcomes of Work

     (i) work has intrinsic outcomes,

     (ii) work has extrinsic outcomes,

     (iii) work conflicts with out-of-work outcomes.

E.   Impact of Technology on the Workplace

     (i) the impact of technology is selective,

     (ii) the impact of technology is comprehensive,

     (iii, technology will have no further impact.

It is not clear at the time of writing to what extent Stalker Costin will interrelate and elaborate on these conceptions and/or whether they will be used to propose a theory of participation as Larsson (1987) has.

CONCLUSION

The work of the Goteborg group and Stalker Costin represent a significant move away from the empirical/analytical analysis of participation in continuing education.

Both have relied mainly on the drawing of 'conceptions' as their chief form of analysis. Their main achievement is, therefore, in showing how

people with low levels of schooling view, or conceive of, education generally
and adult education (esp. as it relates to work) in particular.

Their analyses thus far appear to largely stop with the
identifications of the conceptions. It is also disappointing that their writings
do not contain many extracts from the interview transcripts which are usually
seen as important in qualitative research.

However, as qualitative studies of how people with low levels of
schooling view continuing education, they clearly approximate the present
study and therefore provide valuable points of reference.

CHAPTER SEVEN

RESULTS – THE SAMPLE

MAILED QUESTIONNAIRE

Reviewing the evidence on social stratification in New Zealand, Collette (1973:42) concludes, "Available data show that occupation, education and income are closely interrelated and determine an individual's position or social stratum membership. This in turn has an important effect on an individual's ability to achieve the tangible and intangible rewards in life."

The research literature (see Chapter Two) consistently show that non-participants have disproportionately high numbers of people who leave school early. Because low levels of schooling are, as Collette shows, highly correlated with low status jobs and low income, the sample for this study was drawn from a union with low wage awards and low-status occupations.

Although low income, low-status jobs, low levels of schooling and non-participation in adult education are virtually synonymous, a mailed questionnaire was used to try and confirm these relationships within the Hotel Workers Union (HHRTU).

A questionnaire (Appendix A) was mailed to a random selection of 100 HHRTU delegate members and 200 ordinary HHRTU members. The delegate/non-delegate selection was to determine any major differences between the two groups for final selection of the interviewees. Each questionnaire was accompanied by a letter explaining the purpose of the questionnaire and a reply-paid envelope.

Of the 300 questionnaires sent out, a total of 37 (12.3%) questionnaires were returned. Even with extensive, successful follow-up, it was obvious that a satisfactory return rate was highly unlikely with this source of data. The posted questionnaire was therefore rejected as a suitable methodology to use with this group of people and alternative sources of information sought.

The failure of this information source is worthy of a brief note. The low return rate[22] can at least in part be related to the topic under study – participation. Union members appear not to respond to written requests in much the same way as non-participants do not respond to recruitment techniques such as newspaper publicity. Written questionnaires (even when explained and from a known source) are clearly an inappropriate way of collecting data from such a population. These observations are confirmed also to some degree by the high success rate of face-to-face recruitment for the interviews (see later in this chapter).

CENSUS AND RELATED DATA

The national census was used as an alternative source of data regarding HHRTU members education levels and other socio-demograpnic characteristics.

The census (NZCSCO) occupational minor groupings[23] correspond very closely to the Hotel Workers' Union occupational coverage. Information on age, sex and ethnicity was gained from these groupings.

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[22]Another union, offering the chance to be in a draw for five $100 prizes, achieved a 24% return rate, even with follow-ups.
[23]Numbers 5201, 5202, 5203, 5204, 5209, 5312, 5319, 5321, 5322, 5323, 5324, 5329, 5401, 5402, 5405, 5521, 5522, 5529, 5992, 5993.

Although they follow the Hotel Workers' membership less closely, the Census major occupation group of service workers was still considered a reasonable indicator of members' tertiary qualifications. Because this major group also includes some managers, working proprietors and some other (higher status) occupations, this grouping 'inflates' the overall level of tertiary qualifications - although it is still one of the least qualified major groups overall.

The Census figures given are national figures while the union'scoverage includes Northland, Auckland, Waikato, Thames Valley, Bay ofPlenty and East Coast. There is no reason to assume that these groups would differ significantly, except for ethnicity where the Hotel Workers Union has higher proportions of Maori and particularly, Pacific Islanders.

Below is a summary of this data.

TABLE 1 - AGE AND SEX OF SERVICE WORKERS (minor groups)

	Male (%)	Female (%)	Total	(%)
15-19 yrs	3.3	9.1	4,955	12.4
20-29 yrs	8.0	18.9	10,742	26.9
30-39 yrs	4.7	16.0	8,280	20.7
40-49 yrs	3.9	16.6	8,150	20.5
50-59 yrs	4.5	11.3	6,347	15.8
60+ yrs	1.4	2.3	1,470	3.7
Total	25.8	74.2	39,904	100.0
(Average Age)	(35 yrs)	(37 yrs)		(36 yrs)

Source: NZ Census (1986) Labour Force, Pts 1 & 2, Series C Report 5

TABLE 2 - ETHNICITY OF SERVICE WORKERS (minor groups)

	Total	(%)	(NZ%)
European/Pakeha & Other	26,540	66.5	(81)
Maori	9,992	25.0	(9)
Pacific Island Polynesian	3,372	8.5	(3)
Total	39,904	100.0	

Source: Census (1986) Labour Force, Pts 1 & 2, Series C, Report 6

TABLE 3 - TERTIARY QUALIFICATIONS OF SERVICE WORKERS

(major group)

	Service	Workers	All	Categories
	N	%	N	%
No tertiary qual.	66,525	70.0	31,214	61.7
One tertiary qual.	25,623	27.2	420,852	32.9
Two+ tertiary qual.	2,721	2.8	69,855	5.4
Total	94,869	100.0	1,221,921	100.0

Source: NZ Census (1986) Education and Training, Series C, Report 15

Personal incomes can best be seen from award wage tables and comparing these with the average weekly wage from the Department of Statistics half-yearly survey of all industrial sectors.

TABLE 4 - GROSS AWARD WEEKLY WAGES FOR SELECTED HHRTU OCCUPATION GROUPS

	Kitch-hand $	2nd Cook $	Waiter $	Hsemaid/clnr $	Barten. $	Porter $
Public Hosp.	322	362	322	322	-	322
Private Hosp.	313	325	313	313	-	313
Chartered clubs	279	297	279	279	288	279
Hotels/taverns	279	283	279	279	288	-
Rest homes	296	309	-	296	-	-
Boarding schools	280	296	-	280	-	-
Tearoom/rest'rant	263	278	263	278	276	-
Priv.hotel/motel	261	287	263	263	-	261

HHRTU Average Weekly Gross Wage - $291

National Average Weekly Gross Wage (Feb.1988) $437

Two attributes of service workers were not available in Census data – their highest level of schooling and participation in continuing education. However, the data above does verify most of the attributes for which the HHRTU was chosen as the source of respondents. While service workers are reasonably spread through the age groups, they are a largely-female industry which is true of most low-paid industries (women are paid approx 80% of men's wages overall). They include disproportionately high numbers of people with no tertiary qualifications and Maori and Pacific Islanders. In terms of income[24], HHRTU members earn on average approximately 66% of the national average gross wage level.

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[24]This data is the most direct measure of the members' characteristics and is the greatest deviation from the national norm.

These characteristics were also found in the limited returns of the mailed questionnaire and the respondents encountered in the interviews.

INTERVIEW RESPONDENTS

As explained previously, this study has used focused sampling where the respondents are chosen because of their likelihood of providing insight on the topic of (non) participation in adult education. Within the membership of the union, efforts were made to include a reasonable cross-section of various characteristics, which it could be expected would be important in studying participation. These, of course, were not meant to be statistically representative of either the union or the general population. They included approximately equal numbers of men and women, a selection of age groups, occupations, ethnicity[25] and delegates/non-delegates. Because the information with which to compare delegates and non-delegates was incomplete it was decided to select a 20:20 sample of each, endeavouring to keep other characteristics in mind at the same time.

RESPONDENTS' CHARACTERISTICS

A total of 44 members (21 delegates and 23 non-delegates) had to be approached to achieve the required 40 interviews. This 91% success rate contrasts strongly with the 12% return rate for the questionnaires. The higher response is most likely due to the face-to-face contact, enabling the researcher to answer questions and clarify any misunderstandings and the influence of a known person (union education officer and organiser) who initiated the introduction.

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[25]Ethnic minorities are often underrepresented in research.

Characteristics of the respondents interviewed for this study were:

<u>Union status</u>	20 delegates, 20 non-delegates
<u>Sex</u>	21 women, 19 men

<u>Age</u>

Under 20 yrs	– 2
20–29 yrs	–11
30–39 yrs	– 8
40–49 yrs	– 8
50–59 yrs	– 9
60+ yrs	– 2
	40

Average age – 38 yrs

<u>Ethnicity</u>

Pakeha/European	– 26
Maori	– 6
Samoan	– 3
Cook Is.	– 2
Niuean	– 2
Tahitian	– 1
	40

<u>Income</u>

Hourly rate – Range $6.98 – $8.94

Average $7.76 ($310 gross weekly)

(National weekly gross wage $437 – Feb. 1988)

<u>Hours worked</u>

Full-time	– 35
Part-time	– 5
	40

	No.	Elley/Irving SES rating
Occupation		
Bar a.tendant	9	5
Chef	4	3
Rest home worker	5	5
Orderly	5	6
Wardsmaid/housemaid	3	6
Domestic/cleaner	3	6
Food servery asst	2	6
Bottle store asst	2	5
Kitchenhand	1	6
Take-away worker	1	4
Dry-cleaner	1	6
Handyman	1	6
Cafeteria worker	1	6
Porter	1	5
Cook	_1_	5
	40	

Vocational Training	
Wool-classing	1
Retailing (private)	i
Cooking (Polytechnic)	7
None	21
	40

Highest School Level

Primary only	1
1-2yrs secondary	16
3yrs secondary	11
4yrs secondary	11
5yrs secondary	<u>1</u>
	<u>40</u>

School Qualifications

None[26]	26
School Cert[27] (1 or more passes)	10
University Entrance	<u>4</u>
	<u>40</u>

Non-vocational Continuing Education (any time since leaving school)

None	32
High School Evening Classes:	
- School Cert subjects	1
- Maori Language	1
- Samoan language	1
- multiple enrolments[28]	1
- Cake Decorating	1
- Continental Cooking[29]	1
- WEA TUPES	<u>2</u>
	<u>40</u>

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[26] 48.9% of all NZ adults have no school qualification (NZ Census, Series C, Report 15)

[27] Including one passed as an adult.

[28] All other respondents had only ever done one course.

[29] Done as a preliminary to formal chef training.

These figures show a group respondents who are well below national norms of education, income and jobs status and are an appropriate focussed sample for a study of continuing education (non) participation.

To complete the sample description, a brief summary of each respondent is given below.

Name	Job	Sex	Age	Marital Status	Chn	Ethnicity	School Quals	Non vocat cont.ed
Anne	Barmaid	F	29	Sep	2	Cook Is.	-	-
Audrey	Housemaid	F	24	S		Pakeha	-	CakeD
Barbara	Bottle st	F	49	Div	1	Pakeha	SC	-
*Basil	Porter	M	30	M	-	Pakeha	SC	-
Bill	Barman	M	53	M	2	Pakeha	-	-
*Dave	Chef	M	23	S	-	Pakeha	-	Cookg
Edna	Cafe asst	F	40	M	3	Pakeha	-	-
*Emily	Wardsmaid	F	45	M	2	Tahitia.	SC/UE	-
Ephra	Catering	F	52	Sep	2	Pakeha	-	-
*Frank	Bottle st.	M	43	S	-	Pakeha	-	-
Fred	Barman	M	48	Sep	4	Pakeha	-	-
Gary	Orderly	M	21	S	-	Pakeha	-	-
*Irene	Wardsmaid	F	50	M	2	Pakeha	-	-
Jane	Resthome	F	50	Sep	3	Pakeha	-	TUPES
Jason	Barman	M	27	Div	1	Pakeha	SC**	-
Joanne	Resthome	F	30	M	3	Pakeha	SC	-
John	Orderly	M	58	S	-	Pakeha	-	-
joy	Resthome	F	35	M	2	Pakeha	SC	TUPES
*Larry	Orderly	M	40	M	3	Maori	-	-
Loi	Barman	M	39	M	3	Niuean	-	-

Name	Occupation	Sex	Age	Marital	Children	Ethnicity		
Lorraine	Cook	F	45	M	3	Maori	–	Maori
*Lynn	Take-away	F	28	S	–	Pakeha	–	–
*Max	Chef	M	28	S	–	Pakeha	SC/UE	–
*Molly	Cleaner	F	56	M	4	Maori	SC	–
Noel	Chef	M	19	S	–	Pakeha	SC/UE	–
Nora	Resthome	F	58	M	1	Pakeha	–	–
*Pam	Dry-clnr	F	19	S	–	Pakeha	SC	–
*Pat	Cleaner	F	61	M	3	Maori	–	–
Paul	Orderly	M	33	M	4	Maori	–	–
Pearl	Barmaid	F	55	S	–	Pakeha	–	–
*Pefi	Food Serv.	F	30	M	4	Niuean	SC	SCEng
Reg	Barman	M	35	S	–	Pakeha	SC	–
*Sione	Barman	M	27	M	2	Samoan	–	–
*Susi	Cleaner	F	50	M	7	Samoan	–	–
*Tane	Orderly	M	21	S	–	Maori	SC/UE	Samoan
Ted	Chef	M	26	S	–	Pakeha	SC**	–
Tera	Kitch-hand	F	29	M	3	Cook Is	–	–
Va'a	Barman	M	42	M	3	Samoan	–	–
*Wayne	Handyman	M	31	M	1	Pakeha	–	–
Wendy	Resthome	F	60	M	3	Pakeha	–	Multi

*Delegate

** Australian equivalent

CHAPTER EIGHT

GENERAL FINDINGS

WORK - INTRODUCTION

Paid work is an important part of the interviewees' lives. Besides taking up 8 hours of their day, their income largely determines their access to goods and services - whether it be the size of their food budget or the quality and frequency of their children's health care.

The first part of each interview covered the subjects' present job, what they thought of it, previous jobs they held and their future job aspirations. The purpose of this section is to briefly describe and analyse the social contexts in which these people live and to se＿ ow these factors affect their attitudes towards education and (non)participation.

All of them are in low-status occupations as was shown in the Elley/Ir ; and Irving/Elley ratings in Chapter Seven. Even the highest occupational rating (chefs at 3 on a 1-6 scale) and most are in the bottom ratings of 5 and ', which reflects the low incomes and educational levels of people in these occupations[30].

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[30]The Elley/Irving and Irving/Elley ratings are based on the educational levels and personal incomes of all New Zealanders (using Census data) in these occupations.

PRESENT JOB

Most of the respondents are at best ambivalent about their work situations. Those who enjoy their pres nt jobs most are the chefs and others who have some degree of autonomy and are in occupations that are very people-oriented.

Jane[31], a 50 year-old rest-home worker, describes her job:

' I like it [her job]. I get satisfaction out of it. If you didn't like it you cry some days. They're like children, this is it, you get your good days, your bad days as you do in any job. It's sad some cases, you know, you get great satisfaction. Like .... for instance, when she came from Kingseat, she was like a witch. And to see that woman now, putting on make-p, taking pride in her appearance, she was like a frightened little rabbit when she came here, there's great satisfaction out of that...I think you do get a satisfaction - you say you're not going to get involved, but you do. If anything happens in our lives they're just as concerned for us, and they express their sorrows and their pleasures and everything too. And it's like big family.'

Comparing being a chef to manual work, Dave prefers the former

'cause it's heaps better. Cheffing's a lot better, a lot more fun,so I have no plans to more on.'

For Ephra, the variety and people-contact in her work as a catering assistant at a mental hospital are important:

'I enjoy it. You've got contact with different walks of life and the different patients.'

Even those who are not very satisfied with tneir present jobs can identify positive aspects of them. Many enjoy the company of their co-workers; for Joanne her part-time shift in a rest-home works in well with raising her three young children; Pefi and Paul both value the security of

[31]All names have been changed.

their weekly wage packets even if the hours are long and the wages low; Nora values the financial independence from her husband and Pam sees her dry-cleaning work as a worthwhile career even though she is frustrated by her present work situation.

Most of the respondents, however, are negative towards their jobs or, at best, tolerate it with the hope of finding something better. Many could not think of a single positive aspect of their job.

Often, it is simply the nature of the work,

'Well nobody likes cleaning really, do they?' (Molly, 56 year old hospital cleaner)

'It's all slog, hard slog.' (Irene, 50 year old wardsmaid)

For many, the worst aspect of their work is the long hours of physically-demanding work. Edna's work as a workplace cafeteria assistant means a 4.30am start to her working day; Susi worked until recently, as a cleaner in the inner city - her husband would drive her to work at midnight and she would work until 6 a.m. (while he slept in the car), returning home to prepare her family's breakfast and her husband went off to work; Paul works a night shift as a security guard and then a day shift as an orderly (often 6 days a week in order to pay the mortgages on his recently-purchased house; many talked about their dislike of the unpredictability which is associated with shift-work.

Other dislikes include poor wages and poor working conditions,

'And the way this place [smoko room] looks at the moment, it looks like a giant public shithouse. Let's not mince words.' (Larry, orderly)

being at the bottom of the social hierarchy,

'...you're only a bloody labourer anyway' (Larry)

'The thing I dislike most is being treated like dirt by the supervisors. I hate their sarcastic manner, the attitude of the supervisors to the workers' (Emily, wardsmaid)

'When you're doing manual work you're treated as somebody not quite all there. And as a result you're talked down to, you're never talked to. It's a completely different attitude.' (Ephra, cat·· g assistant)

the constant pressure,

'...I don't like the pressure on us. You know, we're a people [Maori] we lik being happy. But when you're told to keep quiet there's a noise. God, the only time we're allowed to laugh is when we have our breaks...there's a lot of pressure from our supervisors.' (Pat, cleaner)

'The job I'm in, you give a hell of a lot of yourself to people in the course of a day. I've never bothered to count how many people you might encounter in a day. And in this particular job, it can get stressful at times, the people consuming alcohol and a lot of them want to kiss. But a certain per cent want to kill you, you know. So you really have to be very careful how you approach people. And it's a matter of just assessing how they are, what they can take and how you can talk to them. And that takes its toll.' (Frank, bottle-store assistant)

lack of recognition,

'Generally I think we're grossly underpaid. I really do...Well you're not a nurse but you do get the odd dressing and that sort of thing. You're a char lady, you're a cook, you're everything. You've got to be able to turn your hand to everything and at the same time remain cool, calm and compassionate. Which is what they need and deserve at their stage of life.' (Nora, rest-home worker)

'When I finish getting a new wall in, and heating and power points...and I just try to cost them $70. But they didn't want it. Why? Because you're only a shitty old orderly...you don't qualify.' (Larry, orderly)

which leads to stand-off situations,

'...they [workers] can see what needs to be done and everything else. Where the money needs to be spent. And if they say anything or put any input into a 2-way process they're hammered out of it. And put on a roster or a shift that person at the top knows is not suitable. Just to cause hassles. And so they're all so frustrated inside themselves and so they couldn't give you a damm. And that's a terrible attitude, but it's coming right through the whole lot. So they think they're going to work, going to earn their money, they don't want to be interested in anything else, they're going to enjoy their life, going to try and forget it.' (Ephra, catering assistant)

and powerlessness,

'The blokes are getting pushed everywhere, they don't know where they are from day to day. They're working here today and they're working somewhere else tomorrow, different places the next day. What happens they think to themselves, 'Well why should I do a good job here and clean up all this mess and make it look nice and clean, when I won't be here tomorrow' and some other bloke's going to have to do it. So there's no incentive to work here at all really.' (John, talking about recent changes brought down by hospital management)

Tane's comment sums up many of the subjects' feelings about their work,

'I think it's boring, tedious and just not motivating at all.'

JOB TRAINING

In keeping with the low status of their jobs, most have had little or no job training. The exceptions to this are the chefs, most of whom have attended some form of Polytechnic training as part of their initial training.

While most of the chefs went through a conventional trade training, for Dave formal qualifications were the last stage of a 'back-door' entry into cheffing. Starting out as a part-time kitchen hand he progressed through to a fully-qualified chef.

For Lorraine, formally-recognised courses represent opportunities to ensure job security and open up the possibility to long-term vocational advancement,

> '...I've been taking different cooking courses. At ATI, through the hospital. They put workers through these courses. And I've been fortunate enough to be one of those selected to do those courses. I'm waiting for another course to come up. There's that many of us want to do them we've just got to take it in turns.'

A number of the women - Nora, Emily, Jane and Wendy - started their training but never completed it due to traditional expectations of women putting marriage before careers.

> 'I did 14 months maternity training, of an 18 months course. Got pregnant, got married. That was it.' (Jane, rest-home worker)

> 'Oh yes, I did 3 years. But I mean, that's not enough is it? I mean you don't get a medal for 3 years (for a 4-year course, later changed to a three-and-a-half year course - Nora, rest-home worker)

'I did nursing, I did a year's nursing. And then I fell violently in love. And was going to get married, leave my nursing and then it all fell through. And by that time I decided I didn't want to go back to do that again...so I started working as a nurse-aid.' (Wendy, rest-home worker

Some like Pat and Tane have had training in other vocational areas that they have no wish to return to (wool-classing and cooking). For Sione and Reg, qualifying overseas has banned their entry into higher-paid jobs in New Zealand - Sione in carpentry, Reg in hotel management.

But for most, training is picked up on the job from workmates,

'Mainly picking it up as you go along. When I was younger if there was a senior person who took an interest in me, spent some time showing me what to do and how to do things, that was there. But no formal courses.' (Basil, porter)

'They're supposed to train the domestics and the catering on the electrical machines. For example, polishing machines. Sometimes that is done by your block supervisors, but 9 times out of 10, it's the person that they put you in to work with that's got to teach you. And depends if there's a clash of personalities whether you get a good training or not. Not everybody can get on cause everybody's different.' (Irene, cleaner)

Even with a work history of more than 30 jobs in different types of work, John has never had any formal job training.

PREVIOUS JOBS

Although some like Loi and Phyllis (both in the same jobs for 15 years) have had few jobs since leaving school, most have held numerous positions - usually in some form of semi- or unskilled work.

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'I started cooking when I was 17, did for a it year. And then worked at De Bretts as a wine waiter for about 2 months and got the sack there. And then I moved across to the Glue Pot and worked there for about a year and a half as a cook, barman, basic – then came here. I done it all really.' (Tane, 21 year old orderly)

Very few talks about their job history in terms of a career. Most have moved from job to job for variety, better pay or as their circumstances change. Jane's first job grew out of her after-school job,

'I left half-way through [the 5th Form], cause I had a good job in a chemist shop that I...well, when I was in high school I was working after school and Friday nights in a chemist shop and then they offered me a full-time position so I left. Cause you didn't think about things in those days. School was just school in those days. And jobs were easier to get.'

Lynn has worked in 10 different food shops in the 9 years since she left school – various branches of Uncles, a dairy, Pak'n Save (twice), a coffee lounge, a delicatessen and a factory cafeteria; Joanne (30) in addition to bringing up three children, has worked as a toll-operator, bank clerk, a housemaid, a barmaid, a cleaner and a rest-home worker.

Although some women like Lorraine and Wendy have had considerable periods out of paid work to raise their children, many have stayed in paid employment, usually on a part-time basis while their children were young. They have then moved back into full employment as the children reach school-age. For Pefi and Joanne shift-work helps with childcare problems.

In a time of full employment, Pat was able to choose jobs that worked in with her role as a mother,

'Yeh, but I was still working. Because the jobs that I had [fruit picking, etc] I could take my children in those days. And I sort of pick a job that I could have my children with me, my husband and I. But when they got older, to school age, then I stayed home. But I used to take up a part-time job, not Watties, Birdseye. So I used to do part-time jobs at Birdseye. I'd start at 9 o'clock before the children. And I'm home when they get home.'

For some of the men, progress in work has meant being able to move from heavy labouring jobs to less (physically) demanding jobs as they get older. For Larry and Paul this has meant moving from the freezing works and farm labouring into driving and then orderly work; for Wayne, moving from general labouring to being a handyman.

A few of the respondents could be said to be socially downwardly mobile in that they have previously held more skilled jobs previously. Emily used to be a nurse, Molly a security guard, Sione a carpenter, Reg a hotel manager, Basil an aircraft engineer and Fred a customs agent. Emily, Sione and Reg would like to return to their previous occupations although present entry requirements will remain a barrier until they upgrade their present qualifications, as well as overcome other obstacles.

'I have the plan, [to become a social worker] but it's very difficult now, because my husband wouldn't let me go, and financial thing...I need it, so I don't know what I will do. At the moment I stay what I in now and see what the future's going towards.' (Emily)

Basil and Fred are both keen to pursue new careers as an airline steward and hotel manager respectively.

FUTURE JOB ASPIRATIONS

A few of the interviewees are using their present jobs as a breather before they move on to other jobs or as an interim training period.

Jason, with (Australian) Army experience behind him, plans to become a surveyor. His job as a barman is an interim job to help clarify his future directions and get over his child's death and recent divorce.

Fred, who has worked as a licensed customs agent, is now separated, his children are all adults and he is recovering from a major health problem. He   s his job as a barman as a way of learning more about his future ambition to become a hotel manager. For him, the low wages are compensated for by the in-house accommodation and learning his new trade.

While quite a few of those interviewed are moderately keen to move on to better jobs, a few are much more ambitious. Basil is determined to work as an airline steward for Air New Zealand, although he has already applied unsuccessfully for the last seven years. Fred wants to become a hotel manager and has recently been granted a manager's licence; Paul wants to become self-employed, although he's unsure in what type of work; Joanne to become some type of manager; Joy a teacher; Frank a hotel   er and Emily a social worker.

But most are either content to stay in their present jobs or move on to similar sorts of work - hopefully for better pay and conditions.

For older workers, job security is particularly important as they feel more vulnerable in a youth-oriented workforce.

'There isn't much long term left. I'll just stay here. Can't move on now'. (Barbara, 51 year old bottle store assistant)

'I'm 50 now so I can't manage to take on anything else.' (Irene, cleaner)

'Not at my age, no. I'm at the unemployable age now. If I went out there to look for a job, I'm too old, I'll never get another job.' (John, 58 years old)

Even for younger workers, moving on to new jobs is done more cautiously now because of the much tighter job market and their lack of qualifications.

'I think I stay here cause I think it's an OK place and I don't think I get anything else going with my schooling.' (Anne, 30 year old barmaid)

The most important aspects of their future aspirations are having job security and a steady income. Many of the subjects see education, either in terms of formal schooling or vocational training, as an integral part of these developments. Lack of qualifications are a barrier - gaining better qualifications opens doors and acts as a safety-net against unemployment.

'But he [his brother] says to me see how you like being an orderly and then you've got a ch....e to go and do nursing [qualifications] or something like that. He said you want a career to hold on to, really. I've done labouring, I've done storeman, worked in shops. now I'm working here...I've been told by a nurse who said it's something to look at really. To become registered.' (Gary)

'Well it [education] gets you a very secure job. Which is something that I've never had. And that's good, it's your livelihood.' (Joy, rest-home worker)

'The better education you get, the better off you are in life. And the higher standard of living and job you get. No one wants to be a bum.' (Noel, chef)

'Do it quite soon, before you get too old to be considered for these other jobs. I think with my particular enthusiasm for people. But then that doesn't always get you a job. Any certificates and qualifications usually, which they demand now in the modern hotel industry.' (Frank, bottle store assistant)

'I'd like to get interested in something to do with children, like welfare work or something like that. But then I guess of limitations...not only time, but probably education limitations now. Because there is a pretty strict limit.' (Molly, cleaner)

For most, the reality is that they may move from one job to another, but it's unlikely to involve significant changes in their present life chances and life styles.

'It's not a job with a future, is it? It's just a convenient job really. I would t say the money's good, but it does afford me a little bit of independence. I can't say I'm planning to stay there forever and a day. I would imagine that my best bet is to get my butt out of there, though I'm not sure where.' (Molly, 56 year old cleaner)

WORK – SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Work for most of these people is a means to an end, rather than an end in itself. Although some are vocationally ambitious and will move on to better-paid, and probably more interesting jobs, most are likely to stay in similar types of work to what they have now and have had in the past.

Within this type of work, a steady income, job security, variation, autonomy, responsibility and less physical demands are all goals to be sought. Few see themselves as having any of these to any great degree in their present jobs.

Not surprisingly, few have had extensive job training - most job skills and knowledge are picked up on the job from workmates.Better educational qualifications are seen as the passport to better employment.

Work for these people is largely a means of earning their financial support, something you try to make the best of - whether it be working in a tight social group, outwitting your supervisor or looking forward to your next pay rise.

Employment is holding down your present job or moving on to a similar job. It is rarely a career - that's for other people.

FAMILY AND SOCIAL LIFE

As the summary characteristics in Chapter Seven showed, the subjects of this study cover a wide range of different family situations.

Dave, Ted, Pam and Audrey are all young and single, with strong interests in night life and active leisure pursuits in riding motor-bikes, windsurfing and stock-car racing.

The transition from single to married life or Joanne was something she drifted into rather than consciously decided on,

'You met your boyfriend at 16, you went out for 3 years and got married. It was just the way things were.'

For Wayne, the arrival of his first child has meant big changes in his social life,

'I look after the baby - she's only 4 months old. That's one thing I miss. Used to go out partying, me whole life changes.'

Joy and her husband spend their spare time building their new house; Molly and Paul have taken on responsibility for relatives' children; Pearl looks after her aging mother; Anne is a solo mother with young children; Jane, Fred, Ephra and Barbara are also solo parents but have no children at home anymore.

Many talked of the importance of their family lives. For Pacific Islanders like Sione, Va'a and Loi family means their extended family; Paul's family are central to his future plans.

'I'm a guy who likes to try and plan my future. Like I've got kids. I've just bought my house. But what I'm earning here doesn't keep me enough to pay my mortgage and take care of my kids so I've got secondary employment as well...I want them to have something I didn't have, the opportunity I didn't have. For them, my future lies with them.'

But families have also brought their share of pain and frustration,

'My girl was alright. In fact, she's quite capable of working on computers. But she doesn't want to go to work. She's 18. My son is 17 and he doesn't want to work....and the other one, when I get hold of the little prick, because he decided to be a speed-king. Now I know about those fellas here, because I did it with the eldest boy. I took a pair of pliers to his nose and I screwed the shit out of his nose. If he wants to go sniffing out of a glue bag, well he got to

have a nose to sniff with. As soon as I get hold of this other the same thing will happen. It stopped the other fella. I'm hoping it'll stop him. He's about 2 years younger, he's only just turned 15.'
(Larry)

Emily, like several of the other women, talked about the lack of support and recognition from their husbands,

'I told my husband [about her buying aeronautical books] and he think I'm crazy. 'Woman, shame on you.' Even to go to Ardmore because I love flying. That's my hobby. So I can go out at Ardmore and watch those planes going from morning to day and night. Because I'm interested in them. He thinks I've gone crazy, he thinks I'm mad. So I feel ashamed and I put all these things away. And I thought, maybe he's right.'

Certainly traditional expectations of women as primary child-raisers has meant a number of women have had to change or delay their long-term work plans.

'I wanted a chef job and all that. But that didn't happen...Little one on the way. When you pass your test and they have to examine you to see if you can go on shifts and all that. Yeh. I was upset.'
(Anne, barmaid)

' 'ell when you got married in those days, you stayed home and minded your children. And that was the end of it and the career was the husband's...And then of course the air force doesn't take older people.' (Ephra, catering assistant)

'Yes, because for many years I lost that in the interim of bringing up a family. Once I gave up work I sort of lost it. I had my own little group if you like, to take care of and that's where all my interest was centred. And it stayed centred on these kids until such time as they were able to go out into the world themselves. And then, right up until I moved to Auckland I sort of just became a very mundane housewife with no interests at all. And found no avenue in which to foster the real deep interests that I have.' (Molly, cleaner and elected member of a statutory body)

OTHER INVOLVEMENTS

Most of those interviewed have some form of recreational pursuit –
Paul is involved in a Maori culture group and is three belts away from a
black belt at martial arts, Dave races motor-bikes, Basil restores cars, Fred
judges dogs, Lynn plays hockey, Reg is an avid rugby supporter, Noel plays
rugby and cricket, Pearl goes for long walks, Edna sews and knits. Many
claimed they watch little or no TV.

Few felt they had much spare time. Involvement in children's
activities, maintaining their houses, long work hours, shopping all cut into
days off.

'On Sunday ve go to church. Except Monday, that's my other day off.
Nothing to do at home, just shopping, cleaning up the place, doing the
washing.' (Sione)

'Well mainly it's bringing the house up to scratch. Getting on with
maintaining a household and family...That's my responsibility towards
my husband and son. And I like to see that I can at least spend if
not two days, then a day doing this.' (Molly)

'Saturday's your cleaning, shopping. Sunday I go to c' ch.' (Pat)

Some are active in various community organisations. Molly is a
member of a statutory body, Joanne is on the local Plunket and Kindergarten
committee, Susi the president of her Samoan Catholic Mothers' Group, Gary
goes to a head injury group and Audrey is on her local community council. A
number of the men spend a lot of time at various men's clubs – the RSA,
Cosmopolitan Club and Workingmen's Associations.

For all of the Pacific Islanders and for Pat and Max, the church is a significant part of their lives. The Pacific Island churches usually involve a full-day commitment and often other activities during the week.

In addition to two three-hour services on a Sunday, Loi is also involved in church-based cricket, fishing, English and Bible-study classes. Susi organises extensive social services for the sick and elderly through her church as well as various social activities. The church undoubtedly provides a significant focal point for these people.

FAMILY AND SOCIAL LIFE - SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The participants for this study come from a wide range of family and social settings. Family and domestic life are central to their routines and involve considerable demands on their time and energy, especially with young families, extended families and long work hours.

Involvement in community groups, sports clubs, hobbies and church are also important parts of the lives of many. Few of the respondents are not involved to some degree in some organised group or activity. Some of these groups involve a wide range of activities - for example, the religious, cultural, social, recreational and welfare aspects of the Pacific Island churches.

Social and family life are certainly seen more positively than work. Work exerts an influence on family and leisure time however - whether it is

the financial resources available or the feelings of tiredness after working in physically-demanding jobs. But work is only the means to support and develop one's social and family life.

SCHOOLING EXPERIENCES - INTRODUCTION

As the summaries in Chapter Seven showed, most of the interviewees have had limited schooling. Over two-thirds of the respondents had had 3 years secondary or less; only one had had 5 years. In keeping with this, two thirds of the sample had no school qualifications; only four had passed University Entrance; one had sat University Bursary (and failed).

Recalling their school experiences was difficult for some. While for others it was often the time span involved (40+ years in some cases) for some, others gave the impression they simply didn't want to remember school.

Seven of the eight Pacific Islanders started their schooling in their home country; three of them completed it in New Zealand. The other respondents attended a range of schools - urban/rural, day/boarding, state/religious, large/small. Only Noel could be said to have attended a prestigious secondary school (Auckland Boys' Grammar).

For most of the Pacific Islanders who attended schools in the Pacific, schooling started later than in New Zealand (in some cases not until 10) and also finished later (18 or 19) - often with no exams passed or even sat. For those like Susi and Anne who came to New Zealand in their school years, the transfer to New Zealand schools was particularly difficult.

'I was the oldest in class. It was too hard. Much too hard than in Samoa.' (Susi)

Emily also found the transition difficult but went on to pass School Certificate and University Entrance.

'I went to school in Rarotonga. I stays in the boarding schools and in those years they set exam for the scholarships. I got my scholarships and they sent me over to New Zealand to further that scholarships. So I went to college in Whangarei and sat my exams.'

Wayne, Pam and Ephra all moved around the country a lot as children and found the moves unsettling in their schoolwork, making work a more attractive option. Pat's geographical isolation meant there was no local secondary school for her to attend.

SECONDARY SCHOOL/QUALIFICATIONS

While a few like Noel and Reg were in academic streams at secondary school, most were in some type of non-academic stream – 'commercial', 'technical', 'manual' or 'rural'.

'We ∢ d two subjects, two classes we could take. Rural or academic. Rural was farming, agriculture.' (John, orderly)

'I did a technical course – tech drawing, art, ¬ngineering, woodwork.' (Dave. chef)

Even with the abolition of rigid streaming for younger respondents, most ended up with a predominance of non-academic subjects.

For most the 'choice' of stream or subjects was unspoken, it happened, or was determined by availability.

'There wasn't a lot of opportunities, unless you wanted to get up into difficult parts of the education system in those days. Social studies was about the easiest subject, so I think most of the girls opted for that. Unless you were ambitious and wanting to go on to becoming, maybe if you had some hopes, like law or something like that. But I came from a farming family and we're a big family, so there was more to consider than me.' (Molly, cleaner)

'Commercial. Shorthand, typing, we did bookkeeping only for one year. When I was there, there was only a few people actually wanted to do bookkeeping so they wouldn't teach us for School C. Cause there's only 2 or 3 of us who could do it, or wanted to do it, so they scrapped it. ,ust did commercial papers, which I wasn't as good at.' (Lynn, fast-food worker)

'The subjects I wanted to learn you couldn't sort of pick your own subjects. Subjects I was given.' (Paul, orderly)

Only Reg mentioned any direct parental involvement to 'push' their children into a higher stream,

'I went through the professional subjects. Like maths, French, geography, history, biology. I was sort of being groomed to be a diplomat. That's what my dad wanted me to be. But I had other ideas.' (Reg, barman)

As mentioned earlier, most either did not pass or even sit national exams. Of those who did pass, some often took several attempts. Ironically, it was two of the interviewees with the highest qualifications who talked of their poor basic skills,

'Yeh, well I probably neglected a lot. I can't spell for nuts, stuff like that. I can't add. I can't do my time-tables. The basics.' (Tane, School Cert., UE)

'I can't write an essay to save my life.'   (Noel, School Cert., UE)

while others with no qualifications like Pearl and Lynn pride themselves in these skills.

For those who sat and failed, exams were something you went through as a part of school.

'I sat it, but I didn't pass anything. But I didn't really try, cause I hated it. And I just wanted to leave school.' (Lynn)

'The year I was 11 they brought in the 11+ in Ireland. They'd had it in England, but this was the first year it was in Ireland. And we were given about 6 weeks to prepare what everyone else had had for a year or so. We were given it and told this was our last chance. I think we were all scared of it before we even got into it. I didn't do very well. I never ever heard from them, they never told you your marks or anything. You just didn't pass and that was it. You didn't hear anything, you never heard.' (Irene - mother of two sons - one with a Ph.D. and the other a masterate)

'No, I bucked out [sitting School Certificate]. Take the fee and didn't walk in the door, I just didn't have the confidence.' (Lorraine)

'Failed UE. I was the only one of about 2 people I've ever met in my life that didn't get UE accredited the second time.' (Reg)

and were also a source of great anxiety,

'Like you know, any exams that I sat, if I was finished first I worried, because I thought my God I can't have done it properly. And if I was last to finish, again I worried because I thought I was dumb, everyone else had finished. Paranoid do you think?' (Nora)

EXPECTATIONS

Few mentioned any real expectations of their schooling. For most it's something you go through and hopefully do all right in.

'School's just like a pastime sort of. You didn't like school so you didn't put much attention to it.' (Dave)

Of the expectations mentioned, equipping people with the basic skills of reading, writing and arithmetic was the most common.

'I don't care how modern times are, you still, I think, need to be able to spell and read.' (Pearl)

' But I feel that the education system in this country has moved away from the basics – reading, writing and arithmetic to, dare we say it, trendy levels...but looking at some of the people I've employed, younger people – 18, 20-year olds – their writing levels, their spoken English is not as good as I learnt it.' (Basil, 30 years)

Some had expected help to cope with living as an adult,

'And there's the other education. Education of life that they don't really teach you much of...how to go flatting, how to keep things and that.' (Dave)

For Wendy, Barbara and Joy schools gave out clear messages as to what their futures held as young women,

'Girls didn't matter much because they were going to get married and have kids, so it's [education] a bit of a waste wasn't it?' (Wendy)

'They weren't very interested in girls in those days. You were supposed to just get married.' (Barbara, 51 years, working in the same job for the past 15 years)

'When we were at school it was always drummed into us that guys have to get decent jobs, they have to get good qualifications, but it's not important for women because they won't work anyway.' (Joy, 35 years, hoping to become a teacher after 20 years of manual jobs)

Success at school is seen as the way out of low-income jobs and limited choices - especially women. Talking about her daughters, Edna observed,

'if you haven't got that education behind you, she would probably end up, you know, just getting that [housework] once again, having children and remain, and probably just staying like I am, like a cafeteria worker. If you got that little bit of education, especially for her, it would lift her up, get her out. Probably my youngest daughter, she'll probably end up getting married and having children and that, cause school was right out. She didn't even try for School C. She took it and flunked it and said, what the hell.'

For the non-Pakeha, school was the key to the Pakeha world, the way to overcome the stigma of colour.

'English of course was my strongest subject. My father was adamant that we had to speak good English because we were Maori people. My father wasn't a full Maori anyway. But one thing he did object to about going away to school was...he was a little bit afraid of I think, was coming out and speaking pidgeon English. Cause in those days it was necessary for Maori children to be able to make themselves clearly understood. (Molly)

'My father say it [education] the only way to go on.' (Susi)

EVALUATION OF SCHOOLING

When asked to review their schooling from their present perspective as adults, a wide range of views was offered.

About a third talked positively about their schooling. While Ephra and Molly recalled it very fondly.

'Absolutely loved it, yes.' (Molly)

most expressed reservations also,

'I enjoyed bits of it, like everyone does, hated bits of it.' (Noel)

Only Tera mentioned learning as a positive aspect of her schooling. More frequently mentioned was sport,

'Oh yes, balls (sic) of fun. Football, cricket, hockey.' (Wayne)

'I think I had lots of things other than schoolwork to keep me content, like playing rugby, getting into sport, getting involved in the school council and stuff like that. It wasn't the schooling that made it interesting, it was the extra-curricular stuff.' (Tane)

and particular teachers,

'Well, I enjoyed my English teacher. He was very good. Lo and behold, a few years later I banged into him in Otahuhu and he was a professor at the university. That's why I took my schooling from him, I enjoyed my schooling with him.' (Larry)

'I guess it was generally adequate to good. I guess I think about specific teachers.' (Max)

A second (small) group felt somewhat ambivalent about their schooling.

'I sort of enjoyed it. It was OK. Could have been better.' (Pam)

and about half were negative in their assessments.

'Well I just didn't really like it, just didn't like it.' (Lynn)

'I hated school. Absolutely hated it.' (Nora)

'I don't think school was any great shakes at all. The headmaster was a pretty tyrannical sort of a person. So that got up everyone's nose. He was suspended from the school a couple of years ago for................ He was a pretty sick sort of a guy, I always felt that when I was there...So I bowled down to this thing [school reunion] and there was no-one from my era there. And I honestly think that a lot of guys who went through school with me have the same opinion about the place. I don't think for the majority of them it was a fun time. I wasn't bitter and twisted, I just didn't like the place.' (Reg)

'I had a few teachers I liked, but I liked them personally, but I don't like the school. I was late every day and because I was late I had to spend an extra half-hour in school. It didn't do me any good but it didn't stop me from being late.' (Irene)

'No, I was always in trouble, always getting in scraps. It was a typical Catholic boys' school – they'd keep you in after school and drill it into you. It was a hard time.' (Jason)

Wayne and Ephra also talked critically of the strict discipline and all of those who boarded (Nora, Emily, Wendy, Max and Joy) hated being separated from their family.

'When I was at boarding school I was desperately unhappy because I was homesick.' (Nora)

'Cause I lives in a boarding school and the nuns is very, very disciplined in school. And I come straight from the boarding school to NZ school and then I lives in the hostels. And there is always a mother around to tell you not to do this, do that.' (Emily)

'We had to go to school, down to Christchurch. And I nearly died in the first 3 months I was there. I was so unhappy. I bawled all the time at the drop of a hat and I was so homesick. To describe it, it just feels like the bottom's dropped out of your stomach. And there's nothing to live for and you're so miserable that you can't get any enjoyment out of anything.' (Wendy)

Dave, Joanne and Tane all criticised the standards of academic skills; Audrey, Dave and Basil felt that much of the teaching content was irrelevant to their lives since leaving school.

'One of the things I studied in Social Studies in my 3rd Form year was the structure and political makeup of a Samoan village society. Now what in hell's name relevance does that have to working in the hotel industry in New Zealand? Or in my first job as a storeman..That's just using one example, so I feel that the end result should relate to what life is.' (Basil)

'There was a lot of things they teach you there that was not necessarily to do with the outside world, getting a job and that.' (Audrey)

Irene saw history as a political imposition,

'We never got any Irish history, you got the English history. We're from the North and it's mostly Royalists. We never heard anything of Irish history.'

For Wendy, her schooling was limited because of her sex,

'But I just sort of felt that we did a lot of home science in the class I took, which I thought was a lot of waste of time...You know, girls were trained to be good wives and stay at home and cook good meals and what have you.'

Others saw the rigidity of the streaming system as a major source of difficulty,

'I should have taken the academic instead of rural. But you couldn't really change half-way through it.' (John)

'...things I got absolutely no enjoyment out of, I didn't like those subjects. So therefore I couldn't put my whole into them. I would think now, I would hope now, that children are encouraged more along the lines of the subjects they enjoy. But it was, like compulsory. We had to do things, we had to go to these sessions.' (Frank)

PERCEIVED EFFECTS OF SCHOOLING

All those interviewed were asked if they thought their lack of schooling had affected what they had been able to do in their lives as adults.

As with their assessment of their schooling experiences, the responses to this question were mixed. About a third felt they had not been hindered in their lives significantly.

'No, I always got job I want.' (Susi)

Those with some qualifications felt that these had helped them, relative to those with none.

'Not opened doors, but it hasn't presented any closed doors for me. I haven't felt trapped, like if I'd left school at 15 at the end of the 4th Form or something like that.' (Basil, School Certificate)

'Well if I didn't have School C I wouldn't have got the jobs I did get. But if I had continued...other ones could have opened up. But of course, at the time, and especially in Wanganui, it was just so easy. Those that went off to university were an oddity.' (Joanne)

Others were very clear that their lack of schooling, and especially qualifications, had closed some doors for them. Most see it as an opportunity that has passed by and are getting on with their lives within those constraints.

'Regret, like looking at these job in Post Office and banks, I could be one of them right now. But I'm happy where I am now. (Anne)

'Yes I think so. I think without qualifications it's useless for you. And also if you've got qualifications, you've got confidence too.' (Irene)

'Well, yes, I suppose it has in a way. Because I'm not dumb, you know what I mean? And I often think if I'd have done I probably wouldn't have got married as soon as I did, you know? Other than that I've been quite happy with what I've got. Don't get me wrong. I'm quite comfortable with what I've got now, and that. But probably I'd have gone on and done different things for myself. I've got an outgoing personality and I probably would have moved on and done better things for myself.' (Edna)

'I can't type, anything like that. So you sort of finish up, well you're not even semi-skilled cause you haven't got any qualifications.' (Nora)

An increasingly competitive job market means that the significance of schooling and qualifications has increased. Larry feels that he has alwa. been able to get the jobs he wanted (semi- or unskilled) but even this type of work is now potentially more elusive.

'But I tell you that if I had to go look for another job now it wouldn't be that easy. Because what really reads between the lines in a lot of jobs here, it's plainly with those who've had an academic education. It's not for those who have just had a general 2 years of secondary and that's it.'

Finally, there is a small group who have felt blocked by their lack of schooling and qualifications but who are determined to rectify these. Joanne (with School Certificate already) plans to undertake a Central Institute of Technology course in Business Studies (similar to what her father did as a mature student) and move into some form of middle management. Joy, with one School Certificate subject, is currently doing a Workers' Educational Association Trade Union Postal Education Service (TUPES) course, plans to do maths and economics through the Correspondence School and become a teacher; Pefi has gained School Certificate as an adult, is currently doing other night classes and wants to become a teacher of English as a Second Language; Paul is less clear in his plans, but wants to become self-employed, recognising that further education is an integral part of that ambition.

> 'If I had the opportunity to learn a managemental course, although I'm not all that clued up on a lot of things, I'd take that advantage. I'd use that, whether or not I'd eventually get my business, but I'd take it. That's the sort of thing I want to learn. Managemental things, bookkeeping, mortgages and all that sort of thing. Those are the sort of thing I wanted to learn at school whereas all I was taught was tech drawing, metal work. I wasn't interested in metal work, nor was I interested in woodwork. They gave me stupid bloody subjects I had to take. And when you had a free period [sic] or a free afternoon, you had to take what they gave you, not what you wanted to do.'

Many of the respondents expressed regret about their schooldays.

> 'I probably missed out a lot. You see I think if I had a better education, I'd probably be happier within myself.' (Joanne)

Adult life has provided them with plenty of hindsight - something they tend to direct towards their children, rather than themselves as potential learners.

'Cause you don't think about things in those days. School was just
school in those days. And jobs were easier to get. Well, these days
they're not.' (Jane, 50 years)

'I just wish that I studied a bit harder and that. I mucked around.
Cause I didn't know what I was going to do.' (Audrey, 24 years)

'I wouldn't mind turning the clock back now and going back myself.
At this point of my life it's too late.' (Molly, 56 years)

'Put it this way. When I was younger I thought it was monkey
business for me. All I wanted to do was go fishing and surfing. But
now I can see the value of it, as to the situation and achievements
I've gained through my schooling years...' (Ted, 26 years.)

'Looking back, when I think about, they didn't really encourage me, but
as I say, because me head was full of boys, going out, and school
didn't really interest me as such then. Which, as I say now,
sometimes I do regret it.' (Edna, 40 years)

Besides regretting not staying at school longer and working harder,

several felt they would like to have done different subjects.

'I wish I had taken commercial because my sister took commercial and
she seemed to have much more interesting jobs than I did.' (Wendy)

'I just wish I'm made some different choices at school.' (Max – twice
turned down by journalism school because of 'wrong' subjects)

LEAVING SCHOOL

Many left school during the academic year or in a crisis, rather

than as the result of any deliberate plan. For Jane the offer of a full-time

position in the chemist where she worked after school was enough to make

her leave school. Dave didn't have a specific job to go to,

'I left school basically towards the end of the 3rd Form, so I didn't get much after that...I had enough, I wanted to move out.'

Joanne felt the pull of her peers leaving,

'...looking back I should have stayed and gone to university. but at the time everybody just left and went to the railways or post-office or one of those jobs and stayed there forever. That's what you did in Wanganui.'

Wendy returned home from boarding school at 15 to look after her younger brothers when her mother died; Pat's on-going health problems made schooling attendance too difficult,

'No, I left school through the doctor's orders. Not because I wanted to, because the doctor ordered. I was in and out of hospital all the time.'

Gary's long recuperation from an accident put him behind his classmates, so he left; Pefi got pregnant in the 4th Form. Frank felt that he got very little encouragement from his parents and Paul's mother actively encouraged him to leave school.

'My old lady, wanted me to work in the gardens and at the same time she wanted me to go to school. Well, I loved school but I couldn't see the point of me going to school...like I'd bring my homework hou ل and she wouldn't let me do my homework. She'd keep me home and working in the gardens. And I thought well bugger it. I just had enough of her keeping me home. It's no good me going to school...early hours of the morning go to garden, home, school, home from school, back in the garden. So I finished up and just left. At least I was able to do something, sort of pick up things as I went along.'

For a number of the people interviewed (usually older), lack of money and being part of a large family combined to push them out of school at an early age.

'I wanted to go out and earn some money. I came from a poor family, had no mother, just my father – my sister was looking after me. She couldn't get out and get a job because she had to stay home to look after me and my old man.' (John)

'The oldest often got shoved out of school quicker. Well, ∫ was the one. The rest, mum and dad could afford the education. They couldn't really afford it with me in those days.' (Anne)

'I didn't go on to School Cert. Cause back in those days when we went to school, if you were the eldest in the family you got to make way for the others.' (Ephra)

'In those days our parents depended on us. Me being the oldest, I had to stay home and look after the babies while they go to work...My father hurt himself and his leg got gangrene. So my mum had to be mother and father. She had to bring in the money...she used to work from morning till night just to get that extra bit of money. And there was 12 of us in the family, so you just imagine what it was like.' (Molly)

'Because I was able to leave and also because the family really needed money. They weren't interested in education unfortunately. They needed someone to bring a bit more money into the household.' (Frank)

FAMILY MEMBERS' SCHOOLING

Although not quantified in this study, there is an overall impression in the interviews that each successive generation in the interviewees' families has had progressively more education. Many of the subjects had a maximum of two years secondary schooling, but most of their parents never

went to secondary school. A lot of their own children have several school qualifications and have even gone on to polytechnics and university.

The crucial aspect of these steadily-increasing levels of education however, is their relativity to their age peers. Educational 'inflation' may mean that a primary school education of eighty years ago may now be equivalent to School Certificate.

'Because it's getting that way now where you got to pretty near have School C just to hang on to a shovel.' (Larry)

The other general point to emerge from the details of the subjects' parents', siblings' and children's education is that there is considerable variation within, as well as between, generations. While Dave left school in the 3rd Form still unable to read, his mother was a secondary school teacher; Wendy's mother had had a tertiary education; Gary's brother is a well-qualified business person; Barbara's father was an accountant. Irene has one son with a Ph.D, the other with a masterate; all of Susi's children have passed at least School Certificate.

Some, like Bill, Tera, John and Pearl can't remember ever discussing their schooling with their parents. But most parents generally had even less than those interviewed.

'My old man, my mother there she didn't have much schooling and neither did my old man. In fact, my old man he says to me, 'You're going to laugh. You know what class I finished at. He says Primer 2.' (Larry, 1 year secondary)

Lorraine and Irene's parents all went to school part-time and worked part-time.

'Mum went to Standard 3 and my dad went to Standard 3. They only went to school 2 days a week. That's the days that the teacher came to their school, 2 days a week and 2 days at another school. It might take him a day to travel by horse to another school.' (Lorraine)

Reasons for their parents' limited schooling varied but are similar to their own childhoods – poverty, large families, isolation, war, depression, being immigrants, lack of role models and traditional sex-role expectations.

There appears to be no particular patterns of variation in schooling among the subjects' siblings with the relative levels of schooling still being low overall. More schooling is usually associated with being younger in the family or seen as ·bright'; less schooling with 'laziness'. Brothers appear to stay on slightly longer than sisters.

Many expressed strong hopes for their children's education – especially the hope that they would achieve better.

'Well you can see today it's really hard to get a job. So when their time comes, I just hope she won't go through it like we did, you know. Looking for a job and bumming around.' (Anne)

'I hope they learn more than what I did. I want them to learn something, you know, for themselves.' (Tera)

'Yes, you know I've tried and said, 'You've got to go to school, you've got to learn otherwise you're going to get nowhere. If you want to be like me, end up like me, working in factories, textile factories and cafeteria work. Obviously you always want a little bit better for your children.' (Edna)

Paul, Va'a and Joy all have young families and are determined to make sure their children go as far as they can at school.

'I've sort of got their future planned out for them. Whether they like it or not I don't know. My son, he loves cooking, so I intend to put him through as a chef, and at the same time, part-time as a mechanic. And eventually put him into the air-force, put him through the air-cadet first. And then my daughter and niece, like I want them to get School C first and I want them to have something that I didn't have, the opportunity I didn't have. For them, my future lies with them...' (Paul)

Some of those with older children have had great satisfaction from watching them achieve better qualifications and jobs.

'They both working in the banks, you wouldn't believe it. One in Australia, he left me because he was a dux at .... So he left me and went to Australia for training...in Westpac...My other one he's working in the Bank of New Zealand.' (Emily, cleaner)

'Not too bad. My son works at .... power station, an apprentice engineer...My middle daughter is like an office administrator...My youngest daughter, she's just working at Foodtown. So she was a bit like me.' (Edna, cafeteria worker)

and some had watched with frustration as their children leave school early,

'I wish I had been able to keep them at school longer. But they were mid-stream people. They weren't dull and they weren't clever and the eldest one got in with the wrong crowd a bit. And then his friends started leaving in the 5th Form. So, oh no, he wasn't going back to boring old school and things like that. So he just quit and stopped trying and all that sort of thing. And if there was something you could do, could do about that interim period, somehow or other. I don't know whether there maybe is these days. To give them that extra spurt of stay there.' (Wendy)

Certainly modern schooling is seen by many as being more interesting, with a wide choice of avenues possible, although often with an accompanying increase in the pressure to succeed.

'I think the whole system has changed. The way of teaching has changed. Certainly when I compare it to what my kids went through, the kind of work they did, it's where I left off is where they're starting.' (Lorraine)

'I had a problem with maths and to this day I still cannot add...My 7 year old had a problem with reading and she's done the reading course, reading recovery and she's fine now because it was caught in time.' (Joanne)

'They do just about anything they want.' (Susi)

SCHOOLING - SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Schooling is seen in many ways to be like work - it's something you had to get through and hope you can salvage something good out of it.

Most of the interviewees spent their two or three years secondary in some sort of non-academic stream or taking non-academic subjects. Sitting exams was either not done or something you endured before getting on with the real business of leaving school and starting work.

Their expectations of school were not great. School, if anything, is to provide young people with basic skills. Reviews of their schooling experiences are somewhat mixed, with some quite enjoying it or being ambivalent, but most do not have positive memories. Positive memories are mainly associated with extra-curricular activities (especially sport) and specific teachers. Negative aspects include poor teaching, sexist limitations, fears of failure, irrelevance of curricula, separation from family at boarding school and a lack of flexibility to allow individual choice.

Those who feel their lack of schooling/qualifications has not affected their lives as adults see this situation steadily changing, as even unskilled jobs become more scarce. These respondents however are primarily concerned with getting jobs within the same type of work – that is, they aspire (and are usually able) to move horizontally rather than vertically in terms of social mobility. A second group say that their choices have been restricted by their schooling but they largely accept these limitations and try to get on with their lives within this framework and work to ensure that their children have greater choice through a better education. A few see their present situation as limited and have long-term plans to rectify this through gaining qualifications as adults.

In keeping with their limited expectations of school and generally unrewarding experiences there, most left school within a year of the compulsory leaving age. Work usually appeared more attractive than staying on at school. Health and family crises, lack of parental support (or active pressure to leave), family financial demands and job offers often precipitated the move from school to work. Hindsight in adulthood has often meant this is regretted – with the desire to have stayed longer, worked harder or taken different subject-streams now transferred to their own children or grandchildren. Only in some cases are these desires directed to themselves as 're-entry' adult students.

The range of education attainments by the subjects' parents, siblings and children show that there is a considerable amount of variation within and between generations. But while each generation has usually surpassed the standards of their parents and there are children attending tertiary institutions (and even a Ph.D) the overall levels still appear low, relative to their generation's norms. So while passing several School

Certificate subjects may be an improvement on parents' primary-only schooling, the former still restricts the choice of jobs to the lower end of the occupational scale in terms of today's criteria.

Despite (and probably because of) their own schooling experiences, education is highly valued by the subjects in this study. While they may be satisfied with (or resigned to) their present type of work and life-style, most hope for better for their children for whom they see the pressures are even greater.

> 'I think it [education] is THE important thing in society today as far as I'm concerned. Whatever career you decide on doing.' (Jason)

> 'Shit, nowadays you need it. Shit, yeh. Bloody important alright. That's what I said to the kids. I've said even when you're 15, 16 and 17 you're still going to bloody school, ae. So whether you like it or not you got to learn.' (Paul)

> 'I think education's the key to everything. That without any education you'd be on the street.' (Anne)

Overwhelmingly, education is seen as synonymous with jobs. More schooling/qualifications means a greater choice of jobs; less schooling/qualifications means being less competitive in an ever-decreasing job market at the bottom end of the occupational scale. Secondary (but related) to greater social mobility, are the personal changes that come with more education. These changes are best expressed in terms of the greater self-confidence that is seen to come from more education.

> 'I think without qualifications it's useless for you. And also if you've got qualifications you've got confidence too.' (Irene)

'We? I think that it teaches people to go out into the world, to be self-sufficient and get on with other people. Perhaps go about a ... ving what they want for themselves. If they are perhaps not very well educated, they don't quite know how to go about what to do.' (Wendy)

Education has shaped these people's present parameters and it is also the key to changing those parameters in the future.

'I think you do need a good education to get a good job. Because there is pressure on a marriage right from the start, if you're unskilled. You never seem to get ahead in life. You haven't got much future to get ahead in an unskilled job or something like that.' (Jane)

ADULT EDUCATION - INTRODUCTION

This section focuses primarily on voluntary, non-vocational adult education, although there are, as we shall see, inevitable references to vocational programmes and the vocational implications of non-vocational programmes[32].

The first part looks at the eight interviewees who have been participants in non-vocational programmes at sometime in their life. The second part discusses how the non-participants see adult education from their perspective. The final sections review the delegates' experiences at union seminars, reading and the use of libraries.

PARTICIPANTS IN ADULT EDUCATION

Those who have participated in adult education in this study are Dave, Jane, Wendy, Audrey, Lorraine, Pefi, Tane[33] and Joy. They are

[32]Educational programmes related directly to employment are included in the first section of this chapter under the discussion of work.
[33]Tane did not complete his course but is still classified as a participant.

participants in a very broad sense in that their participation includes any course since leaving school. Most (non)participation studies use a criterion of participation over the previous two (and sometimes one) years. Only Pefi and Joy are participants within this definition.

Such numbers are well below the norm expected in any national survey. The ACACE (1984)survey in Britain calculates at least 22% involved over a three year period (equating to 9, rather than the 2 participants in this study); approximately 13 participants would be expected on the basis of Bird and Fenwick's (1981) New Zealand national survey; approximately 32 (vs. the 8 found) participants using the lifelong definition of participation used in Waghorne's 1975 Christchurch study. By any of these criteria, the number of participants in the present study is low relative to norms found in other studies.

CHARACTERISTICS

Compared with participants typically found in participation research studies, this study's participants are an atypical group – three are non-European, all have low incomes, all except Dave are in very low status (5 or 6 Elley/Irving) jobs and most have no school qualifications. Dave left school unable to read.

Compared with the non-participants in this study, the participants appear reasonably similar, except perhaps that six of the eight are delegates. Audrey is on her local community committee, Lorraine is active on several Maori committees, Tane is on the union executive and Joy has been a Girl Guide District Commissioner until recently. On the other hand, Dave, Jane and Wendy don't belong to any organisations. Pefi, Tane, Joy and Lorraine (to a

lesser extent) are keen to move on to other types of work; the others appear to be reasonably content to stay in their present jobs.

Overall then, the participants don't appear to be especially different from the non-participants. If anything, they are slightly more active in community and union activities and have stronger long-term ambitions but these differences are minimal.

COURSES

Dave did a continental cookery class at his local high school soon after he left school. His mother (a teacher) suggested he enrol as he had an interest in cooking. The course proved to be the first step in his becoming a chef.

Jane read about the WEA Trade Union Postal Education Service (TUPES) courses in her union newspaper and decided to try a psychology course.

'I just suddenly decided. I saw it actually in our union magazine, in SHIFT. And I thought, oh well, I'll try psychology and the more I got into it the more I liked it.'

Wendy has done a number of courses over the years, mainly at her local high school. Most have been in traditional female crafts and typing.

Lorraine did a Maori course at her local high school.

'I hadn't planned on going to these night classes. I didn't even know they existed until a lady from up the road just popped in because we were new to the street and just told me I was to go with her. She was a Maori lady. This particular night she was going to the Maori class. And so I went. When I got there I found I enjoyed it. But I don't think I would have gone if it was just on my own.'

Audrey did a cake decoration course at her local high school with active support from her employer at the time.

'What actually happened, I said to my boss [at the cake shop] there's a cake decorating class going and I was thinking of doing it. And he said, I'll pay for your fees and that and I thought Oh yeh, this is good. But it was something that I myself wanted to do.'

Pefi did an English School Certificate class at her local high school as the first step of her ambition to become an English as a Second Language teacher.

Tane started a Samoan language course at his local high school to help in his delegate work with Samoan co-workers. He didn't complete the course because of competing commitments at the time.

Joy also enrolled for a WEA TUPES course after hearing about their courses from Jane, a worker at the same rest-home.

For Dave, Audrey, Lorraine and Joy the active encouragement and support of someone were important in changing their latent interest in enrolling into action. For Dave, Jane, Audrey, Pefi, Tane and Joy their involvement was clearly related to their present or future job aspirations as well as personal interests.

'I don't know. I just thought I'm going to do something. And I thought, what's psychology? I was a bit screwed up myself, well not screwed up, but I was getting ratty with the clients here and I thought why do I react the way I do. Why do I fire back?' (Jane)

A number of them however, are unable to specify what drove them to enrol.

'I don't really know why.' (Audrey)

For Wendy classes are part of her determination to stay physically and mentally active,

'I don't know. I've got quite a lot of energy. And I don't want my brain to get stagnant. I don't really want to retire back and put my feet up. Seen too many people do that and they get old. I don't want to do that. I don't really feel any different now from what I did at 40, physically and what have you. I'm perhaps a bit slower, but I'm a pretty active person.'

While Pefi and Joy trace their motivation back to 'unfinished school business'.

'Maths I've always wanted to do. It always bugged me.' (Joy)

'I felt I had a gap missing in my life, that my education wasn't complete and that's been at the back of my mind all these years. So I decided I better do something about it.' (Pefi, left school at 14, pregnant)

THE EXPERIENCE

Most of the participants found their courses fairly easy-going and enjoyable. The initial stages however f - Pefi (and to a lesser extent Dave, Jane and Joy) in her year-long, exam-oriented class were difficult.

'It's hard [arranging childcare] in time and I'm tired sometimes. I really have to try and push myself, sometimes I've skipped a few classes. But that's the way things go.'

Their experiences in the courses were largely what they expected, although somewhat more relaxed and friendly than their school experiences. Talking about the all-women cooking class, Dave says,

'They were good fun to work with. Lots of fun, would talk to me.'

Pefi was surprised to find herself the only non-Pakeha in the class,

'I was quite amazed when I went. I was the only Islander there and sort of felt...oh...all the rest were Pakeha and they were all older than me, like they had retired and everything like that, and I sort of felt left out.'

Talking about their experiences in the classes, all were clearly positive about the overall effect on themselves.

'I'm far more patient, I understand the clients more. And at least I can sit down and talk to them and see why they do the things they do. Then I feel good. Like Charles, when he ran away, I sat for 3 hours with him, talking to him. I felt good after, because he felt so relaxed and so good. I felt I could relate to him better. I can relate to them better now. I still blow. But I look at them and think, well it's not just like children with their naughtiness, there's something behind it, something perhaps in their family. Although it's not part of our job, it's good. I see them in a totally different light....My ex-husband, he had a brain tumour. And all his emotions have gone and things like that. And it [the course] really showed you the parts that they do miss and why they lose them. I can understand him more too.' (Jane, rest-home worker)

'I don't know. I just feel better inside of me. I'm doing what I've always wanted to do. I felt there was this gap missing and I'm sort of plugging up all the little holes and I'm feeling a lot better. I'm feeling good that I can do it. That I actually sit down and sit an exam and pass it. Because all this time before I thought I'd never

have a chance to sit School C, would I have passed if I had stayed at school. There's always that doubt...It helps me with my eldest son. It's quite good. He says he's going to try and beat my marks in School C, going to try and outdo me.' (Pefi)

'Gradually - it wasn't suddenly - I gradually realised that there was a lot more in life than in being a wife and mother...And since then I feel I've grown in that...I don't know. I'm not into women's lib or anything like that, but I accept women have got a much different role today than they did when I went to school.' (Wendy)

'Personally, it's given me more confidence. It's made me think I'm not so dumb after all. Cause I got good reports for both of them.' (Joy)

The involvement in the courses (and especially the longer ones) has, at worst, provided the participants with a positive educational and social experience and, at best, had profound effects on their vocational and personal lives.

WORKMATES AND FAMILIES

None of the participants could think of family members who had been involved in non-vocational adult education. Several knew neighbours who had; only Lorraine had several workmates who have taken classes. None of Pefi's workmates had ever enrolled in a course but she is very clear about the general need for education among her workmates,

'Also I can see that from working here among the women here, I can see there's a need for a lot of them to...they want to do something but I don't know what it is.'

So while 'chain recruitment' has been a significant factor in several of the subjects becoming participants, they do not come from home or work environments where participation is at all common.

NON-PARTICIPANTS - INTRODUCTION

Thirty-two of the subjects in this study had never participated in any form of voluntary non-vocational adult education. Only the three chefs (Ted, Max and Noel) had received any extensive trade training; five others had attended some short form (usually a maximum of a week) of training in their jobs.

As stated in the discussion in the previous section, there appear to be no clear differences between the non-participants and the participants in this study.

ADULT EDUCATION AGENCIES

Asked where they could go for non-vocational adult education, only three of the non-participants could not name a specific agency.

'Well, ncthing comes to my mind at the moment.' (John)

Polytechnics and/or high school evening classes were named by at least half of the non-participants. Less common were commercial institutions (e.g. Stott's private correspondence courses, Readers' Digest programmes-named by seven respondents). The university was named three times; ACCESS, WEA, the Pacific Island Resource Centre and the Technical Correspondence Institute were all identified only once. In most cases, the respondents had 'heard about it' somewhere, or seen courses advertised in their local newspapers.

The responses to this question clearly showed some confusion in the distinction between vocational and non-vocational agencies and/or courses – a fact that is not helped by the fact that many agencies (increasingly) offer a mixture of both and that students can attend a course for vocational or other motives (e.g. Dave attended a 'hobby' cooking class as part of his plans to become a chef). Vocational training tends to be identified typically as apprentices attending trade training programmes at polytechnics (although polytechnics were also (correctly) seen as providing non-vocational programmes).Non-vocational courses were seen as more for general interest or hobbies – usually at local high schools.

IMAGE

Non-participants were then asked for their impressions of what sorts of people attended adult education programmes – an indication of the image they held of it.

Only a few had no idea. Most described the image either in terms of what socio-demographic groups were dominant, or the motives people had in attending.

The socio-demographic groups mentioned were the elderly, 'foreigners', low socio-economic status people, housewives and young people. Motives fell into two main categories – people wanting to fill in time, develop hobbies/leisure pursuits and those wanting to 'better themselves' or 'get on' – usually in terms of improving their formal qualifications and/or acquiring new skills and knowledge in order to move on to better-paid, more interesting jobs.

'People who maybe missed out a lot on their education when they were younger. People like me, who think, oh well, you're in a dead-end job kind of thing. Do something about it, go to school, learn again.'
(Edna)

Further discussion usually showed that the two types of images (groups and motives) were in fact different ways of describing similar images. Thus, housewives and the elderly were seen as having hobby/recreational motives; 'foreigners', low socio-economic status people and the young were seen as attending to 'better themselves', especially in terms of work aspirations.

These are best expressed by Basil,

'People who either want to better themselves for economic reasons or the other side of the coin is people who just have an interest. Like a friend of mine's mother who's 62, she's learning how to use a computer. The likelihood that she'll ever need to use a computer in a job is pretty remote but she's taking the time to learn how to use one.'

and Fred,

'There's two categories of people who go isn't there? There's those that go to get some qualifications, to help their work side. And other people go along for the hobby side.'

Regardless of their motives, all participants are also seen as being somewhat different from the general population in terms of their drive and personal energy.

'People who want to get somewhere. Not necessarily ambitious in the good sense of the word.' (Jason)

'They are just people who just want to go out and do something better for themselves.' (Pearl)

'People that are wanting a little bit extra out of life.' (Ephra)

DETERRENTS TO PARTICIPATION

The non-participants were then asked what they thought had prevented their own and others' involvement in adult education.

This question received a wide range of responses. Many initially shrugged their shoulders and said, 'I don't know...I suppose...'. The most common response was the lack of time available or being fully committed already (especially with sport and young families).

'I work security night shift, work at the hospital during the day and probably get one, sometimes two days off a week. And that's only a Saturday or Sunday.' (Paul)

'What with three young kids and working, even part-time, it doesn't leave a lot of time left over.' (Joanne)

Allied to this are the difficulties of organising your life around shift work.

'But it's a bit difficult at the moment with me doing nightshift.' (Pam)

'I work at night. Sometimes I start at half-past five to eight o'clock, sometimes five o'clock to half past eight. I don't have much spare time. I work Monday to Friday, shift work and on the rosters here.' (Emily)

With the hard physical nature of her job, Irene finds she has little energy for activities after work,

> 'I think I'm past it...well, I'm not past it in age I know, but, I don't know, I'm too tired mostly. At the minute, I'm really at work to get these two [sons at university] through.'

John, Basil, Nora, Barbara and Reg all feel they would have trouble getting back into 'study habits' because of their age and the length of time since they practised these skills.

> 'Yeh, probably the swot. The swot would worry me.' (Nora)

> 'I think it's a hell of a lot harder to learn at my age. There's so many other things going on in your life that it's hard to devote that real high mental something and get that total concentration.' (Reg)

Four respondents saw cost and/or transport as inhibiting their involvement.

While most of these factors were mentioned in relation to their own non-participation, two factors were identified only in relation to others' non-participation – shyness and laziness/lack of interest.

> 'They probably just can't be bothered.' (Lynn)

> 'A lot of people are content just to sit at home, whereas some have got more, they want to do something different.' (Fred)

> 'The fact that they feel not confident enough in themselves to handle it. Cause you can't just go there and be insecure and that, cause you feel all funny.' (Wayne)

'And some people are so shy and have absolutely no confidence in themselves.' (Ephra)

LEVELS OF INTEREST

About half of the non-participants did not explicitly express any interest in pursuing any adult education in the future and several expressed a determination not to.

'No, not really. What could I learn that haven't learned already?...not a thing.' (Bill)

'Like, I've learned all I want to learn sort of thing. There's nothing I think I need to know that I've already been through at school.' (Pam, 19 years)

But half of the non-participants did express some degree of interest in being involved in some form of education. Overall, these tended to be respondents who have some interest in changing their work in the short or long-term.

'But I'm still keen. Still go to learn. If I can learn that little bit more...I don't want people thinking - he's a dumb Maori - type of thing. No, I'm not as dumb as a lot of people think. But then again, like I said, I'm not as clever as I'd like to be. I listen to a lot of people talk, sit back and listen, pick up a few big words now and again. It's surprising I'll even use some of those big words. Sometimes I even surprise myself. You know, at school, I didn't know how to even use the words.' (Paul)

'I'd like to talk to you again, if you've got time. Just to tell me what everything's like, just like I want to come to school, you know, and tell me where I have to go...yeh, anything, how to run the hotel, anything.' (Sione)

'No, I've been encouraged to do it. I guess I'm scared. That natural thing that comes to me. My daughter says to me, Mum it's a matter of giving it a go, cause you're a trier. Even though you never been educated, but you still give it a go, she said. I've noticed you when you were working for .... you handled finance very well. Which is a shock to me because you've never done that in you whole life. Well, yeh, this is true cause I was taught, I was eager to learn.'
(Pat)

But apart fro. Joanne and Jason, who have specific plans for their future education, most are vague about how they will go about finding the training appropriate to their interests. In particular, they have little idea about the education appropriate to their vocational hopes. For most, there is a general recognition that they need further education, but they have no idea about how to match their plans to their hopes. Even a participant like Pefi who has taken the first step in passing School Certificate, has little idea of where to head next to become a English as a Second Language teacher.

Long-term aspirations are also tempered by the recognition of the financial difficulties involved,

'Yeh, yeh. I wouldn't mind going back to school. But I'm out of the study habit and can't afford it. Sure, if someone said to me, look we'll give you $300 a week to live on and you can go back to school I would.' (Basil)

Talking about participants, Paul (who has recently bought the state house he previously rented) says,

'People who want to advance themselves for a start. One like me, but who can afford it. Who hasn't got commitments like I've got. I got too many bloody commitments.'

While such factors are obviously serious obstacles to overcome, the overall impression is that some critical event or active encouragement needs to occur before these people will become participants.

'Maybe I could just do with a push. Like a bit of company and get out and do something.' (Edna)

DELEGATES' COURSES

Most of the delegates in this study had attended at least one 1-day union seminar under the Paid Education Leave provision of the Trade Union Education Act. For the great majority of these delegates these courses were the first educational programme they had attended since leaving school.

Many of the delegates had been elected to their positions through seniority in the workplace or the reluctance of anyone else to take on the role.

'But it's just like me taking on being a delegate. I never wanted to take it on. Cause I don't want the hassle to go through.' (Pat)

Only Tane and Molly talked about actively seeking their positions as delegates.

But having taken on the role, many have found that they have gained a new perspective from their work.

'It's part of my life that I never had before. Never knew, I knew it existed, but didn't know what it was about until I became a delegate. And I think through being a delegate it's made me a lot more aware in my workplace. Which, I just went to work for 3 hours and came home

before. But I'm more aware of what goes on and how things are done here. It's made me very, very aware...people say to me I've changed since becoming a delegate...they say I'm too observant as far as work in concerned.' (Lorraine).

'The interest for me is the challenge for people, virtually being responsible for people. And seeing that people within the workplace are fairly looked after, and treated. And I'm an avid fan for that.' (Molly)

Many delegates see their attendance at union seminars as a significant factor in the emergence of their developing awareness. While a few like Lynn and Basil are critical of some of what they saw as the controversial nature of the courses, the great majority find them educationally interesting and relevant to their work as delegates.

'Well, first thing is confidence. I used to be a very shy person believe it or not. You know when you sit there and shrink behind someone and let them do the talking...But when you become so involved because it means so much to you seeing people getting kicked around, then you forget about being shy, you're fighting for the underdog.' (Ephra)

'I got quite a bit, yeh. Especially dealing with your bosses and the members themselves. They come to me a lot more now, the girls themselves. And I find I can stand up to the boss, our housekeeper.' (Audrey)

'Things that I'm learning, how to stand up for myself. I've never done that before. I always let people walk over me. When I was a young girl I was like that. That's been the biggest problem with me. I'd just say, OK, rightoh, you know. I was a yes, yes sort of person. And I didn't feel it was wrong...I'm sort of more open myself, that I want to lea. .' (Pat)

'Quite a lot. Basic understanding of what's going on, why it's happening, better communications. That's one thing I lacked when I first started. And basically just a bit of general knowledge.' (Tane)

Most found the union courses more relaxed and enjoyable than either their schooling or adult education experiences, primarily because they often knew some of the other participants already and the courses covered issues of direct relevance to their work situations.

'I think the atmosphere is different, I found that I could relax more at the union seminars than I could at the school night classes. I suppose it's because the teacher's got a certain time to teach certain things and he's got to get through it. Whereas with the seminars it was different and I felt it sunk into me a lot better, quicker in a relaxed atmosphere than being all tensed up with people that I really don't know.' (Lorraine)

'I guess it's a lot more informal. I don't really feel constrained to take a lot of notes. Which I had to do at Tech cause I felt I was at school again.' (Max)

and was the first time several had been exposed to good adult education practice,

'It was good the way everybody put in their piece. The thing I enjoyed was going backwards and forwards to a subject.' (Pam)

'And we all got a go to say something. All about our own workplace and problems.' (Susi)

READING

About two-thirds of the respondents said that they read for recreation. Their interest vary from westerns and thrillers through to the Bible and English royal history.

'I'm basically a royalist. So, I have quite an extensive library on the British royal family[34]. I like the history of the British royal family. I'm not that terribly keen on the present royal family, I mean the children. I'm not a Diana fan or a Fergie fan. But I like reading past history, like the life-story of Henry the 8th, Elizabeth the 1st, Queen Anne...I've actually seen Mastermind and seen the subject of the British royal family come up and been able to answer the questions before the participant, yeh.' (Molly)

Jane and Pefi have found that their education courses have stimulated their reading in related topics and changed their tastes in reading generally and TV programmes.

'No, I hardly watch TV these days because the programmes are so boring. I read a lot now, I read books, I read newspapers, I read anything I can get my hands on. I never used to read so much, I used to watch television. The only thing I watch on TV now is the news. Before I went to classes I had a video...but we haven't got it anymore now.' (Pefi)

Only six respondents said they belong to a library; the rest borrow or buy their own books. Most were vague about their non-use of libraries,

'I buy from the bookshop, go in the bookshop, look at the books. Not any reason why. No reason, I just don't go.' (Anne)

'No. I should go to a library. I notice some of my grandchildren taking books back in. But it's something that's a bit hard for me to understand.' (Pat)

Of the forty respondents in the study, only Dave said he had had reading difficulties. He left school as a 14 year old to go to Wellington.

'When I came back home I was about 15. So I just got my mother [a teacher] to do a course with me. And we just sat down and went through the whole alphabet phonetically and the other way. The Look and Learn way. Both ways. And I just picked it up straight away. I couldn't spell, I was Level 3 spelling till she taught me.'

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[34]From my own observation, several hundred books.

From there, Dave went on to train at a polytechnic as a chef and lists reading as one of his hobbies.

Only Lorraine had ever come across someone with reading difficulties among their workmates or acquaintances. Pefi felt that while her workmates could technically read, many had difficulty with literacy in a broader context.

> 'I think they all know how to read, it's when they're trying to comprehend, trying to understand what they're reading about and filling in forms that they have a lot of problems with.'

The extent of these problems with this study's respondents and/or their contacts is clearly beyond this study's scope.

ADULT EDUCATION – SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Of the forty respondents interviewed in this study, eight had participated in some form of non-vocational adult education at some point in their lives. As expected from the research literature review, this number is well below what could be expected from a general population sample.

As a group, the participants in this study differ from the usual participant profile found in most research. They include three non-Pakeha, all have low incomes and work in low-status jobs and have low levels of schooling (one was unable to read when he left school). Six of the eight are union delegates and five are active in community organisations.

Six of the participants attended high school evening classes, the other two did WEA TUPES courses. Active encouragement from family, workmates or friends was an important factor in getting most of them involved initially and yet most come from environments where education is the exception and not the norm. Vocational motives were another important factor in their recruitment.

Their involvement in adult education programmes had been a positive experience for all the participants, often having a profound effect on their personal and working lives. In R.S. Peter's words, they now 'travel with a different view'.

Most non-participants are aware of at least some form of adult education provision in their areas - usually a polytechnic or the local high school evening classes. Although this study is concerned primarily with non-vocational forms of provision, it is clear that most respondents do not make this distinction in their minds, with many talking of vocational programmes interchangably with non-vocational ones35.

Adult education from the perspective of non-participants is seen as catering primarily for two groups - young people, 'foreigners' and low socio-economic people taking courses who want to 'get on' in life; housewives and the elderly who do courses for recreation or time-fillers. Participants from both groups however are seen as people who have a bit more 'get up and go' than the average person.

35A distinction, it is acknowledged, not helped by the blurring of these programmes in many institutions and people's motives in taking various courses.

Asked why they or others did not participate in adult education, many were unsure, felt they did not have enough time, or that difficulties of planning around shiftwork were too great. Other factors also mentioned were tiredness, difficulties of getting back into 'study habits', transport difficulties and cost. Laziness, lack of interest and shyness were mentioned for other people's non-participation.

Despite their non-involvement, about half of the non-participants indicated at least some degree of interest in taking some education programme in the future – often geared to helping them change their present type of work. The interest however was usually very generally stated and clearly lacking any specific plan or sense of direction.

As with the participants in non-vocational adult education, the delegates attending union seminars have found these educational experiences personally satisfying and helpful in their roles as delegates – especially in terms of greater self-confidence.

Most of the subjects read (anything from light fiction to academic history) as a recreation, although most do not make use of any library facilities. Only one respondent had had reading problems as an adult.

CHAPTER NINE

CATEGORIES OF NON-PARTICIPANTS

INTRODUCTION

In his seminal study of participants, Cyril Houle (1961)interviewed twenty-two people who had been involved in a considerable amount of adult education. In endeavouring to find out why these adults engaged in learning as adults, Houle classified his respondents into three categories – goal-oriented learners, activity-oriented learners and learning-oriented learners. As Houle (1961:16) points out, "These are not pure types; the best way to represent them pictorially would be three circles which overlap at their edges. But the central emphasis of each sub-group is clearly discernible." Houle's categories are similar to Weber's concept of 'ideal types' – abstractions based on reality but never actually existing in reality.

As the literature review in Chapters Two, Three and Four showed, Houle's categorisation of participants has subsequently spawned numerous research studies verifying and expanding his initial analysis.

Just as Houle's typology reminds us that people participate in continuing education for a myriad of reasons, it is also essential to recognise the heterogeneity of non-participants. As pointed out previously, it is patently obvious that treating a group of adults (who may comprise anything up to 70% of the adult population) as if they are a single category is extremely limiting and misleading – and yet this is how non-participants are usually discussed in the literature.

This chapter therefore seeks to differentiate among the non-participant respondents in a way that reflects their diversity and hopefully indicates their varying levels of potential to be recruited to educational activities in the future.

ANALYSIS

As a central thrust of this study is to understand why people with low levels of schooling do not participate in adult education, the following categorisation of the respondents is based on their degree of interest in adult education, their cultural and social milieux and their possible motivations to participate. An analysis of the non-participants using these factors can provide useful indicators for practitioners in developing appropriate recruitment strategies (these are discussed in further detail in Chapter Twelve).

NON-PARTICIPANT TYPES

The discussion in Chapter Eight showed that approximately half of the respondents expressed very little interest in their becoming involved in adult education programmes. These respondents tend to be older, not active in community groups and have low work aspirations. This group falls into two sub-groupings.

A) The Low-Interest, Passive Abstainers. These respondents tend to have very low interest (if not hostile attitudes) in not only adult education, but education generally. Respondents like Bill and John feel that they know all they need to know,

'What could I learn that I haven't learned already?' (Bill)

they are content to stay in their present (or similar) job and operate within a largely passive social milieu (e.g. 'pub culture') which is removed from people and interests associated with adult education. Other respondents in this category include Pearl, Pam and Barbara. The potential to recruit these people into adult education programmes is probably minimal.

B) Low-Interest, Schooling-oriented Abstainers. Although not interested in education for themselves, this group do value education – especially for their children. For while they see themselves as 'past it' for education, they have a determination that their children will have a better life, largely due to better educational qualifications. Respondents like Irene, Nora, Edna and Anne have resigned themselves to work in low-status occupations but have worked actively to ensure a better deal for their children. They are not interested in adult education as a means of social mobility, as they are likely to stay in their present type of work and as 'non-joiners' they have no interest in education for recreational purposes. The potential for recruiting for these respondents is probably still somewhat limited but their strong interest in their children's education could provide a possible avenue of access.

The respondents who expressed interest in education for themselves as adults also fall into two sub-groupings.

C) High-interest, Vocationally Ambitious – these respondents are dissatisfied with their present job and social status and would like to change them. Generally younger, they see education as an important means to achieve their aspirations. Respondents like Paul, Reg, Lynn, Dave, Wayne,

Joanne, Sione, Max, Gary, Noel and Jason are younger on average and most are not involved in any organisations. While they vary in their degree of dissatisfaction and ambition, virtually all of them are vague about how they can realise their ambitions. Second-chance educational programmes to improve their formal qualifications and basic skills, educational counselling and vocationally-oriented programmes are all essential to help change these respondents' latent interest into active involvement.

D) High-interest, Culturally-active respondents are usually older than the previous group but share their interest in adult education involvement. Few of these respondents aspire to greater social mobility. While they share an interest in education with Groups C and D, the differentiating factor for this group is their greater active involvement in various social and cultural groups. For the Pacific Islanders like Va'a, Tera, Susi and Loi the focus for their activities is their church, for Tane, Ephra and Larry it is the union while Lorraine, Pat and Molly are active in Maori and community organisations. But each of these cultural or social groups are largely removed from the Pakeha-dominated sphere of adult education provision. In other words, these respondents are culturally active within their own sub-cultures which have little contact with the middle-class, Pakeha adult education institutions.

Most of these respondents' sub-cultures are group-oriented as opposed to the individual-oriented forms of educational organisation. Activities for the former are based on common kinship or economic ties, while the latter is based on recruitment of individuals at random.

There is real potential to involve these respondents in adult
education activities. Their involvement however will cor   about through
direct contact with existing social and cultural links and not through the
present passive recruitment techniques of most education agencies.

CHAPTER TEN

CONCEPTIONS OF EDUCATION AND ADULT EDUCATION

INTRODUCTION

In both the comparable studies on non-participation (Stalker Costin and the Goteborg group - see Chapter Six) the central tool of analysis has been the identification of conceptions - how the world is experienced or conceptualised by the people researched.

Both studies use a second order research perspective (explained in further detail in Chapter Six) which is concerned with how something appears to someone. This perspective is based on the belief that regardless of the 'objective truth' about something (a 'first order' perspective), these conceptions are important. Individuals' actions can only be understood by identifying the meanings which individuals attach to their actions. Conceptions then, are the "lens through which individuals view their worlds". (Stalker Costin 1988:36)

In participation research, how non-participants view their non-participation is seen as an essential factor to understand when looking at why some people participate and not others. In non-participants feel that there are no programmes suitable to their particular circumstances, such a perspective is important - regardless of the actual availability of such programmes.

The interviews for this study were therefore analysed to dertermine how education generally, and adult education in particular, are seen by the

respondents - their conceptions. Key words, phrases and sentences relating to the purposes of education were noted from the reviews of the interview transcripts. These key words, phrases and sentences were then reviewed to abstract or 'sift' out the conceptions held by respondents.

CONCEPTIONS OF EDUCATION AND ADULT EDUCATION

Respondents' conceptions of education in general mostly emerged from their discussion of schooling and to a lesser extent from work and adult education. Most are self-evident and require little explanation.

The five conceptions of education are:

A.1. <u>Education is synonymous with schooling.</u>

A.2. <u>Education is geared for the talented/Pakeha/males.</u>

A.3. <u>Education is the key to better jobs and life-styles.</u>

A.4. <u>Education is a phase of life to be endured.</u>

A.5. <u>Education is a competitive enterprise with lifelong rewards for those who succeed.</u>

Conceptions about adult education in particular included:

B.1. <u>Adult education is a form of recreation, especially for those with an excess of spare time.</u>

B.2. <u>Adult education provides an opportunity for those who want to 'get on' in life and 'better themselves'in their jobs and social standing.</u>

B.3. <u>Adult education is for people with drive and energy.</u>

B.4. <u>Adult education provides a broader perspective and deeper understanding of all aspects of life.</u>

While the first three of these conceptions were not peculiar to any specific group of respondents, the last conception was confined almost exclusively to those who had participated in some form of adult education. In other words, it appears that the experience of participating in adult education changes people's conceptions of it. As a result of the education, they see it has broader purposes than previously.

COMPARISONS WITH OTHER STUDIES

A comparison of these conceptions with those identified by respondents in the studies by Larsson (1987) and Stalker Costin (1988) shows some areas of similarity but also some differences.

The respondents in all three studies see a clear relationship between education and work,

- Education is the key to better jobs and life-styles (Benseman),

- Education only has a function in relation to work - directly or indirectly (Larsson),

- Participation in adult education activities is used to acquire credibility for the workplace (Stalker Costin),

- The skills, information and knowledge acquired through participation in adult education activities are used in their practical application (Stalker Costin).

Education is an isolated phase of one's life (childhood),

- Education is synonymous with schooling (Ber ~·

- School is an isolated phase in a collective plan o life (Larsson).

For those who have higher-than-average ooling or adult education experience, education has an important role in developing the whole person,

- Adult education provides a broader perspective and deeper understanding of all aspects of life (Benseman),

- Education has a function in developing the person in a general sense (Larsson),

- Through participation in adult education activities, one acquires a personal possession (including personal growth and power) (Stalker Costin).

Adult education is a means of changing one's social status,

- Adult education provides an opportunity for those who want to 'get on' in life and 'better themselves'in their jobs and social standing (Benseman),

- Participation in adult education is used to allocate status (Stalker Costin).

The main difference between this study and those of Larsson and (especially) Stalker Costin is that the latter two used sites where on-going, work-related training is extensively used. Consequently, considerable attention is given to the purpose and uses of this training as seen by the respondents.

The conceptions in Stalker Costin's study are subsequently heavily oriented to these forms of training. There are few equivalents to these in the New Zealand context of the present study. The main exception is the training for chefs. The differences between the studies may be due to the lower skill component of the New Zealand respondents' jobs and/or less emphasis on job-training in New Zealand.

With their primary focus on the on-job training of respondents, neither Larsson or Stalker Costin's analyses appear to refer specifically to non-vocational forms of adult education.

These differences notwithstanding, and despite their different cultural settings, there are clear similarities in all three studies.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

INTRODUCTION

This chapter will provide a summary of the main points raised in this study and conclusions from these points. The following chapter will then outline specific implications for practitioners that arise from the findings.

The issue of who is recruited into voluntary, non-vocational adult education programmes has long been debated among adult educators. Although an extensive amount of research in New Zealand and overseas has focussed on participation, most observers agree that the issue has been only partially illuminated at best.

Despite many groups' and institutions' policies of equal educational opportunities for all adults, the reality is that most cater predominantly for a social and educational elite who have already consumed disproportionately high amounts of state educational resources. Although adult education is often seen as a remedial sector for inequalities produced in formal education, the truth is that most adult education probably accentuates, rather than rectifies, these inequalities.

PREVIOUS RESEARCH

The world-wide wealth of research on participation has been remarkably consistent in its findings. The key factor distinguishing those

adults who enrol in educational programmes from those who don't is their levels of education. As a person's educational level rises, so too does their likelihood of participating in adult education. Conversely. 'the earlier one dismounts from the educational train, the harder it is to clamber back on'.

The research to date reviewing participation has been dominated by psychological studies of individual motivation, and socio-demographic surveys. These have focussed almost exclusively on participants. There have been few studies of non-participants and/or the use of sociological/qualitative research perspectives.

AIMS OF THIS STUDY

The central aim of this study has been to explore how a group of adults who have had limited schooling (and therefore, probably very limited education as adults) view their educational experiences and the educational opportunities open to them as adults.

In seeking to answer this question, this study differs from most participation research in that it,

    (i)   focuses primarily on non-participants,

    (ii)   utilises an interpretive perspective - how things are viewed from the perspective of the subjects, rather than attempts to 'objectively verify' phenomena,

    (iii)   uses a qualitative research technique of semi structured interviews (rather than quantitative/statistical procedures).

All of these attributes have been identified in reviews of participation research as being important in future research of this area (see

for example, Osborn et al (1980), Rubenson (1977), Rockhill (1982), Duke (1985) and Courtney (1981)).

Specifically, the study involved interviewing forty people from a union which, because of its low wage award rates, could be expected to have a high number of non-participants. This assumption was based on the high correlation between low wages, low levels of schooling and low adult education participation (see Collette 1973). An attempt to verify these correlations through a mailed questionnaire to 300 random members was abandoned because of an unsatisfactory return rate (12.3%). Adequate verification was therefore gained through New Zealand Census data.

The forty respondents were chosen by focused sampling - "the selective study of particular persons, groups or institutions or of particular relationships, processes or interactions that are expected to offer especially illuminating examples, or to provide especially good tests for propositions of a broad nature" (Hakim 1987:141). Although not intended to be a statistically representative sample of either the union membership or the general population, care was taken to ensure a reasonable cross-section of respondents according to sex, age, union involvement (delegates/non-delegates) ethnicity and type of work.

RESULTS - SAMPLE

A total of forty-four union members were approached to achieve the necessary forty interviews. This 91% success rate was achieved through approaching union members personally in the company of a union official and being able to respond to any queries directly.

The respondents interviewed represent an appropriate sample for the study of non-participation. In particular, there is good representation of non-Pakehas, all are paid well below national wage averages, a. are in low status jobs (Elley/Irving, Irving/Elley ratings), few have had any vocational training of any sort and most have had limited secondary schooling and/or formal qualifications. Eight of the forty had participated in a non-vocational adult education class at some time in their lives – well below what could be expected from a normal sample of New Zealand adults.

All of the interviews took place at either the respondents' homes or workplaces and covered the same range of questions. As semi-structured interviews, the order of questions varied and fruitful leads arising from the standard questions were discussed in further detail with the respondents.

Because this study sought to understand educational participation in the full context of people's lives, the first part of the interviews covered the respondents' work and social :ves before going on to discuss their schooling and adult education.

RESULTS - WORK

Work for most of the people interviewed is a means to an end, rather than an end in itself. Although some are vocationally ambitious and will move on to better-paid, and probably more interesting jobs, most are likely to stay in similar types of jobs to what they have now and have had in the past.

Within this type of work, a steady income, job security, variation, autonomy, responsibility and less physical demands are all goals to be

sought. Few see themselves as having any of these to any great degree in their present jobs.

Not surprisingly, few have had extensive job training — most job skills and knowledge are picked up on the job from workmates.Better educational qualifications are seen as the passport of better employment.

Work for them is largely a means of earning their financial support, something you try to make the best of — whether it be working in a tight social group, outwitting your supervisor or looking forward to your next pay rise.

Employment is holding down your present job or moving on to a similar job. It is rarely a career — that's for other people.

Family and Social Life

The people in this study come from a wide range of family and social settings. Family and domestic life are central to their routines and involve considerable demands on their time and energy, especially with young families, extended families and long work hours.

Involvement in community groups, sports clubs, hobbies and church are also important parts of the lives of many. Few of the respondents are not involved to some degree in some organised group or activity. Some of these groups undertake a wide range of activities — for example, the religious, cultural, social, recreational and welfare aspects of the Pacific Island churches.

Social and family life are certainly seen more positively than work. Work exerts an influence on family and leisure time however - whether it is the financial resources available or the feelings of tiredness after working in physically-demanding jobs. But work is largely seen as the means to support and develop one's social and family life.

Schooling

Schooling is seen in many ways to be like work - it's something you go through and hope you can salvage something good out of.

Most of the interviewees spent their two or three years secondary in some form of non-academic stream or taking non-academic subjects. Sitting exams was either not done or something you endured before getting on with the real business of leaving school and starting work.

Their expectations of school were not great. School, if anything, is to provide young people with basic skills. Reviews of their schooling experiences are somewhat mixed, with some quite enjoying it or ambivalent, but most do not have positive memories. Positive memories are mainly associated with extra-curricular activities (especially sport) and specific teachers. Negative aspects include poor teaching, sexist limitations, fears of failure, irrelevance of curricula, separation from family at boarding school and a lack of flexibility to allow individual choice.

Those who feel their lack of schooling/qualifications has not affected their lives as adults see this situation steadily changing, as even unskilled jobs become more scarce. These respondents however are primarily concerned with getting jobs within the same type of work - that is, they

aspire (and are usually able) to move horizontally rather than vertically in terms of social mobility. A second group say that their choices have been restricted by their schooling but they largely accept these limitations and try to get on with their lives within this framework and work to ensure that their children have greater choice through a better education. A few see their present situation as limited and have long-term plans to rectify this through gaining qualifications as adults.

In keeping with their limited expectations of school and generally unrewarding experiences there, most left school within a year of the compulsory leaving age. Work usually appeared more attractive than staying on at school – with health and family crises, lack of parental support (or active pressure to leave), family financial demands and job offers often precipitating the move from school to work. Hindsight in adulthood has often meant this move is regretted – with the desire to have stayed longer, worked harder or taken different subjects/streams now transferred to their own children or grandchildren, ut only in some cases to themselves as 're-entry' adult students.

The range of education attainments by the subjects' parents, siblings and children show that there is a considerable amount of variation within and between generations. But while each generation has usually surpassed the standards of their parents and there are children attending tertiary institutions (and even a Ph.D) the overall levels still appear low, relative to their generation's norms. So while passing several School Certificate subjects may be an improvement on parents' primary-only schooling, the former still restricts the choice of jobs to the lower end of the occupational scale in terms of today's criteria.

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Despite (and probably because of) their own schooling experiences, education is highly valued by the subjects in this study. While they may be satisfied with(or resigned to) their present type of work and life-style, most hope for better for their children for whom they see the pressures are even greater.

Overwhelmingly, education is seen as synonymous with jobs. More schooling/qualifications means a greater choice of jobs; less schooling/qualifications means being less competitive in an ever-decreasing job market at the bottom end of the occupational scale. Secondary (but related) to greater social mobility, are the personal changes that come with more education. These changes are best expressed in terms of the greater self-confidence that is seen to come from more education.

Education has shaped these people's present parameters and it is also the key to changing those parameters in the future.

Conceptions of education include,

1. Education is synonymous with schooling.

2. Education is geared for the talented/Pakeha/males.

3. Education is the key to better jobs and life-styles.

4. Education is a phase of life to be endured

5. Education is a competitive enterprise with lifelong rewards for those who succeed.

Adult Education

Of the forty respondents interviewed in this study, eight had participated in some form of non-vocational adult education at some point in

their lives. As expected from the research literature review, this number is well below what could be expected from a general population sample.

As a group, the participants in this study differ from the usual participant profile found in most research. They include three non-Pakeha, all have low incomes and work in low-status jobs and have low levels of schooling (one was unable to read when he left school). Six of the eight are union delegates and five are active in community organisations.

Six of the participants attended high school evening classes, the other two did Workers Educational Association Trade Union Postal Education Service courses. Active encouragement from family, workmates or friends was an important factor in getting most of them involved initially and yet most come from environments where education was the exception and not the norm. Vocational motives were another important factor in their participation.

Their involvement in adult education programmes had been a positive experience for all the participants, often having a profound effect on their personal and working lives. In R.S. Peters' words, they now 'travel with a different view'.

Most non-participants are aware of at least some form of adult education provision in their areas – usually a polytechnic or the local high school evening classes. Although this study is concerned primarily with non-vocational forms of provision, it is clear that most respondents do not make this distinction in their minds, with many talking of vocational programmes interchangably with non-vocational ones.

Adult education from the perspective of non-participants is summarised in the following conceptons,

1. Adult education is a form of recreation, especially for those with an excess of spare time.

2. Adult education provides an opportunity for those who want to 'get on' in life and 'better themselves' in their jobs and social standing.

3. Adult education is for people with drive and energy.

4. Adult education provides a broader perspective and deeper understanding of all aspects of life.

Asked why they or others did not participate in adult education, many were unsure or felt they did not have enough time or had difficulties in planning around shiftwork. Other factors also mentioned were tiredness, difficulties of getting back into 'study habits', transport difficulties and cost. Laziness, lack of interest and shyness were mentioned for other people's non-participation.

Despite their non-involvement, about half of the non-participants indicated at least some degree of interest in taking some education programme in the future - often geared to helping them change thei present type of work. The interest however was usually very generally stated and lacking any specif c plan or sense of direction.

As with the participants in non-vocational adult education, the delegates attending union seminars have found these educational experiences personally satisfying and helpful in their roles as delegates - especially in

terms of greater self-confidence.For most, these seminars have been their first-ever experience of enjoyable and effective learning experiences.

Most of the subjects read anything from light fiction to academic history) as a recreation, although most do not make use of any library facilities. Only one respondent had had reading problems as an adult.

CONCLUSIONS

This study has confirmed the need to look at all parts of people's lives when understanding why they do or do not participate in adult education. Their work situations and aspirations, family and social lives as well as past experiences in areas like schooling all exert influence on attitudes towards, and behaviour in, education as adults. A 'sum total' of such factors does not fully explain why one adult enrols in a course and another doesn't, but they do provide invaluable indications c¯ the likelihood of such behaviour.

This study also confirms London and Wenkerts' (1964) conclusions that commonly-held assumptions and beliefs about non-participants are indeed myths. Subjects in this study showed very strong interest in education, they are certainly capable of "sustained intellectual effort" and a good percentage show signifisant interest in adult education.

So why then have some of the respondents participated in educational programmes as adults and others haven't? There is no clearcut answer to this question. While it is true that some respondents face considerable deterrents to participation, some like Pefi and Jane have overcome them, driven by something they are unable to identify. While

Lorraine and Paul are very similar sorts of people and have comparable degrees of interest in education, Lorraine went to a Maori Language class because of the active encouragement of a neighbour. Paul retains his interest in education but has yet to take it further. Chance also plays a part.

It is probably more fruitful however to look at the issue of non-participation by asking how non-participants can best be attracted to adult education in the future.

Firstly, it is important to recognise that there are a significant number of adults who are extremely unlikely to ever be active in educational programmes. Their interest in education generally and adult education in particular is minimal.

But most are interested in education, albeit for a variety of reasons.

One group who has a stronger interest in education see it largely in terms of formal schooling. Their interest tends to be channelled through their children's education. While they see themselves as being 'past it' for education, schooling is central to their children having a future of better jobs and lives generally.

Another group also values education, but see it having relevance for them as adults. Dissatisfied to varying degrees with their present jobs and social status, these people see education as a way of 'getting on'. They are often not clear about how to achieve their goals and the specific ways in which education could help, but have potential for involvement in educational

programmes. The programmes could range from specific vocational training through to various basic skills and confidence programmes.

The final group are those who are interested in education for themselves as adults, but not necessarily in a vocational direction. These people are already active in various cultural and social groups but these groups operate in settings somewhat removed from conventional adult education institutions. These respondents are active culturally, but not within the contexts of mainstream (Pakeha, middle-class) culture.

The difficulty of helping all these groups clamber back on the educational train as adults obviously varies considerably. Some of those wishing to change their jobs will require a range of educational programmes in order to achieve their ambitions; others could achieve them with much less. But the potential to recruit these people is probably greater than most observers estimate.

Perhaps the biggest change to increase these people's involvement is to change some of the ways we perceive and subsequently organise adult education. The metaphor of an educational train is no accident. Education is something people come to. Programmes are offered in people's residential areas and individuals come forward to enrol. But these programmes are not without their own cultural and social values. While respondents in this study did not feel excluded in any particular ways, their reality is that these contexts and settings have few, if any, links with conventional educational groups.

If adult educ rs were to take a more active/initiating role in organising and promoting programmes, they could recruit greater numbers of

people who are usually non-participants. But this would require changes from the present forms of provision. Programmes could be offered directly through Pacific Island groups, educational counselling services could be offered through union contacts. Instead of always running on the same track, the educational train could learn to make new stops on new lines.

But the train will also need a refit. To know the new railway tracks, new staff and methods will be needed. People who know the contexts within which this study's respondents work and live. People familiar with, if not drawn from, the anticipated clientele. This could involve specific staff recruitment policy and strategies to ensure that the staff reflects typical non-participant groups.

Use should also be made of existing groups within the community. Adult education resources could be allocated directly to these groups to offer their own educational programmes. The surest way of involving non-participants is to work with the groups these people are already active in. In this way, educational programmes would not only recruit people who have not participated previously, but they would also be able to address these people's issues and interests in a more direct and effective way.

All of these suggestions involve changes to present forms of provision; but without changes adult education will continue to cater for an educational and social elite and thereby relinquish its potential as a means of achieving greater social justice.

Theoretical Implications

While this study has been largely exploratory, and has focussed primarily on non-participation, some comments can be made on the various participation theories reviewed in Chapter Four.

Of the individual-focussed theories, this study's findings probably confirm Patricia Cross' Chain-of-Response Model most closely. Respondents' self-evaluations, attitudes about education, the importance of anticipated value of goals, life transitions, opportunities and barriers and information are all clearly components in decisions to participate or not. The interconnections between the components are complex however and do not necessarily occur in the neat, sequential way posited by Cross. In particular, this study has shown that the active support/intervention by outsiders (not really specified by Cross) is a key factor in helping to 'trigger' a person to participate.

At the societal level, the conceptions (Chapter 10) and grouping of non-participants (Chapter 9) both confirm Hopper and Osborn's identification of adult education as a remedial agent. People 'misallocated' by the formal schooling sectors have a second chance to change their jobs and social status through adult education programmes. While Hopper and Osborn offered this analysis with regard to more formal, qualification programmes, this study suggests that adults see all adult education potentially in this light. Theories of non-vocational adult education will need to consider the remedial role as well as the leisure/recreational role identified in this study.

CHAPTER TWELVE

IMPLICATIONS FOR PRACTITIONERS

There are a number of concrete implications arising out of this study for adult educators interested in involving adults who do not normally participate in their programmes.

A.   Educational Counsell'ig ervices.   Most of the respondents interested in pursuing some form of adult educ .on for long-term vocational aims had little idea of how to go about getting what they needed.   With limited experience of the education system and little, if any, contact with it since leaving school, these people are simply unaware of the range of educational provision available, let alone how to use it for their long-term goals.

Some respondents like Sione will need remedial-type programmes before being able to take on programmes of a more vo .ional type.

Most of the educational counselling services available at present are specific to particular institutions (e.g. polytechnics) or a particular area (e.g. Department of Labour job market training).   There is a need for a more comprehensive counselling service that takes into account the full range of educational provision (e.g. non-formal programmes, distance learning, etc) as well as the long-term planning of people's educational development.   An existing group like Citizen's Advice Bureau could look at such a role or large areas such as Auckland could provide a separate specialist service (similar to the 'education shops' provided by the Inner London Educational Authority in

urban shopping areas) funded on a trial basis. Adult education institutions could provide counselling sessions at the end/beginning of the academic year. Economically, the service could be justified in the savings of directing people more accurately to appropriate programmes.

B. Compensatory Programmes. This study confirms the need for re-entry-type programmes that enable adults to return to education despite their poor schooling experience and qualifications. There is a need to publicise such programmes more clearly in term of their 'second-chance' role and to provide them in conjunction with the usual range of programmes and educational counselling.

C. Improved Publicity. Educational providers need to broaden their publicity and liaison within the community. Advertising in the local newspaper is not sufficient. Direct contact should be made with community groups whose membership are not involved in education at present. Talking to these groups will provide better information from which programmes can be planned and negotiated. In many cases, programmes related directly to these groups' interests could be provided.

D. Building Links through Schools. Although some non-particip nts may not be interested in education for themselves, they are vitally interested in their children's schooling. As the Play Centre movement has shown throughout its history, adults' interest in their children's education is a valuable and successful way of involving adults in education. Such involvement also has potential for broadening these adults' perceptions of education beyond the confines of schooling.

E. Active Recruitment. Discussions with the respondents accentuated the observation that most programme organisation is based on a passive model of recruitment. Courses are based at a central location to which individuals are expected to come. A more active model (often found for example in rural REAP programmes) would put the onus on educators to take education to people - particularly through existing groups and settings. This would obviously require a significant change of approach for most adult educators but has real potential for changing present patterns of participation.

F. Recognition of Groups as Educational Providers. Most adult education resources are channelled at present through government institutions such as high schools and a few non-government groups such as the Workers' Educational Association, the Adult Reading and Learning Association and Te Ataarangi. The list of agencies approved to use government resources directly could be extended where provision for non-participants could be ensured. While this happens unofficially to some extent at present, these allocations could be formally recognised along with appropriate criteria and methods of accountability. There is some indication that the newly-formed Committee for Independent Learning in Aotearoa/New Zealand (CILANZ) is planning such a scheme for non-formal groups.

QUESTIONNAIRE

1. General background

(a)   Are you - female   male

(b)   Maori   Fijian   Samoan

      Pakeha   Niuean   Tongan

      Cook Is.   Other (please state)

(c)   Age 15-20 yrs   21-30 yrs   31-40 yrs

           41-50 yrs   51-60 yrs   Over 60 yrs

2. Work

(a) What is your main job ?   ....

(b) What is your hourly rate ? $.........

                         office holder)
)
(c) Are you a union site delegate)
)
                         member only)

3. Education

. (a) What was your highest level at schooling ?

            Primary school only
            1-2 yrs secondary
            3 years secondary
            3 years secondary plus
            Some school certificate subjects
            4 or more years secondary

(b) Have you had any further formal education (e.g.
    technical institute, university) since leaving school?

        Yes   No

    If yes, what ?   ....

(c) Have you attended any of the following over the last 2 years ?

Trade Union training (e.g. basic delegates) course
Worker related training course (put on by your employer)
High school evening class
A course at - Community House
            - Church
            - Technical Institute
            - University
Other (please state) -

(d) Are you active in   <u>No</u>   <u>Office-holder</u>   <u>Member only</u>

- Your Union
- Church
- Social/Sports Club
- Political Party
- Other (please state)

(e) Are you interested in attending any of the following ?

<u>No</u>   <u>Perha'</u>   <u>Yes definitely</u>   <u>Have attended</u>

<u>By your union</u>

- union related
  course (e.g.
  health & safety)

- general interest
  course (e.g.
  public speaking)

Some other educational
group (e.g. high
school evening class)

(f) Are there any particular topics you would like to learn about ?

       Yes   No

If yes, please state : ....

       ....

Work

What is the official title of your job?

How long have you been in it?

What do you like/dislike about your job?

What other jobs have you had since you left school?

Have you ever had any formal job training for any of these positions?

What do you plan to do work-wise in the future?

Schooling

Where did you go to school?

What sort of school was it?

What subjects/stream did you do?

When did you leave school?

For what reasons?

Tell me about your schooling, what was it like?

What did you enjoy/dislike about it?

In what ways has not having School Cert (UE,etc) affected what you've done as an adult?

How much schooling did your parents/brothers and sisters/children have?

How important do you think education is?

Adult Education

Have you done any courses or night classes since you left school?

If yes – what was it?

– what was it like?

– how come you went to it?

– what did you get out of the course?

– is there any particular reason you have not done any more since?

If no – have you ever thought of doing any?

– is there anything in particular that puts you off going?

Have any of your workmates/family been to any courses

or night classes?

If yes – how come do you think they go and others don't?

If no – is there anything in particular that puts them off

going?

If you wanted to do a course in something (e.g.

computing) where would you go?

What sorts of people do you think go to night classes at

secondary schools or community hous ̄ (examples given

from the local area)

Why do they go?

Is there anything in particular that would make those

classes more attractive to you?

Leisure   Do you have much spare time?

What sorts of things do you do in your spare time?

If hobby-type things identified – have you ever

considered doing a night class in ....?

Do you read?

What sorts of things do you read?

Do you belong to a library?

Have you come across adults with reading problems?

Do you belong to any groups or organisations?

If yes – what ones?

– what sorts of activities do you have in..............?

If you wanted to learn something new. like

.............., how would you go about it?

For Union Delegates

Have you attended any of the union delegate training
courses?

What was it like?

What did you expect when you went along?

What did you get out of the course?

If also a participant in another course - how did the

delegates course compare with

_____?

- in what ways are they different?

APPENDIX C - NOTES ON METHODOLOGY

Because the methodology used in this study is not very commonly found in participation research, I would like to offer a few brief observations about my experiences.

1. Using semi-structured interviews does elicit views and perspectives that may well be missed in methods (e.g. questionnaires) that are pre-determined by the researcher.

An illustration of this from the present study is that although I was clear that the focus was a non-vocational adult education, most respondents do not make any distinction between vocational and non-vocational programmes.

The ability to 'divert' on to topics and events beyond the scheduled questions is valuable in not only providing new information, etc, but also gives a great depth of understanding of the topics. Respondents' long rambling stories are sometimes 'dead ends' but often lead on to greater information and clarity.

2. It is inevitable that there will be considerable variation in respondents' abilities to provide information and observations. Some (like Tera) in this study were obviously not used to being asked their opinions or recounting their experiences; some (like Va'a) were quiet by nature or gave very brief answers. On the other hand, some (like Paul and Larry) were very vocal and often expressed what others had struggled to recount.

3. I experienced some difficulties in interviewing several of the Pacific Island respondents because of language difficulties. Although not particularly serious, these interviews did not have quite the same fluency of the other interviews. Provision could be made to employ an interpreter to carry out these interviews.

Overall, there was a very high degree of co-operation with the interviews. Although some were initially hesitant, the great majority warmed to the task and enjoyed recounting their experiences. With appropriate introductions and good explanations about the purpose of the interview most people are pleased, if not flattered, to be asked for an interview.

4. Qualitative research is not easy for solo researchers. Because of the fluid nature and size of the data, it is recommended that qualitative studies should be carried out by a research team. I was fortunate in having access to sympathetic ears - these discussions were often important in gaining new insights or directions. This sort of interaction should be an integral part of qualitative research studies.

5. I needed to work extra time to finish within the project timetable as qualitative data takes more time to analyse and write up than quantitative data. More time (30%of the total) should therefore be set aside for this part of the research.

For all its difficulties, qualitative research is certainly an enjoyable experience for the researcher. People have experiences that are varied and valuable. They deserve to be told.

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