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Addressing Inequality and Creating Educational Opportunity in Feltham: A Systems Approach to Local Change

PETER JOHN

Abstract
This article explores how persistent inequality in London can be addressed through a place-based systems approach, using Feltham in the Borough of Hounslow—one of the capital's most deprived areas—as a case study. It offers a blueprint for community regeneration using a 'pathways to progression' education model. Emphasising civic engagement, neighbourhood cohesion and diversity, this article argues that community interactions can build social solidarity, increase agency and encourage self-help, and a higher education experience tailored to local contexts can not only benefit the community but also address inequality in opportunity and outcome.

Keywords: Feltham, place-based policy, educational inequality, higher education participation, community regeneration

THIS ARTICLE will contribute to the ongoing debate about the levels of inequality in the capital and how those disparities can be alleviated by improving educational and employment opportunities. In so doing, it will add to the literature on economic geography, urban economics and education, while emphasising the importance of 'people' and 'place' and why 'place-sensitive' policies are fundamental.[1] It will focus on Feltham in the London Borough of Hounslow, which has some of the worst pockets of poverty and educational variance in the capital and is one of the UK's 'cold spots' for participation in higher education. To explore the issue, I will use a place-based systems approach and offer a blueprint for community regeneration using a 'pathways to progression' education model. I will show that specific community interactions can build social solidarity, increase agency and encourage self-help.

The prospective approach adopted in this article proposes that such change occurs when individuals interact with their settings. I will follow Bronfenbrenner who argues that for educational programmes to work they need to 'fit' with the attitudes, beliefs and views of local families, communities and peer groups.[2] A recent report from the United Nations Development Programme supports this approach by encouraging policy makers at a local level to use a systems approach that distinguishes between basic and enhanced capabilities, which in turn drives educational capacity-building.[3]

The objective is to offer a blueprint for the creation of a higher education experience in Feltham that will benefit the whole community

[1]J. Bowell, J. Denham, J. Furlong, A. Killick, P. Ndugga, B. Rek, M. Ryan and J. Shippi, 'Place-based politics and nested deprivation in the UK: Beyond Cities–Towns, "Two Englands", and the "Left Behind"', *Representation: Journal of Representative Democracy*, vol. 58, no. 2, 2022, pp. 169–90; S. Iammarino, A. Rodríguez-Pose and M. Storper, 'Regional inequality in Europe: Theory and policy implications', *Journal of Economic Geography*, vol. 19, no. 2, 2019, pp. 273–98.

[2]U. Bronfenbrenner, 'Recent advances in research on the ecology of human development', in R. K. Silbereisen, K. Eyforth and G. Rudringer, eds, *Development and Action as Context: Problem Behaviour and Normal Youth Development*, Springer, 1986, pp. 287–309.

[3]United Nations Development Programme, *Human Development Report 2019: Beyond Income, Beyond Averages, Beyond Today—Inequalities in Human Development in the 21st Century*, 2019.

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at all levels, regardless of age, while simultaneously addressing the sticky problem of inequality. Connecting the two is an ambitious undertaking but to achieve this I will focus on civic engagement, neighbourhood cohesion and individual agency as the key drivers.

The paper is split into two parts: the first entails an analysis of the Feltham higher education question while the second offers some possible remedies using a place-based systems approach. However, I will begin with a brief examination of the scope of inequality in the capital and why it continues to be resistant to change.

Unequal London

Despite London being the UK's richest city, it continues to be its most unequal. This is in part because of the preponderance of lagging-behind areas in the capital, which form part of 'ignored London'. This is a waste of both economic resource and human potential. Also, too often the effects of living in these 'places that apparently don't matter' mean that birthplace becomes fundamentally connected to intergenerational socioeconomic circumstance and limits educational opportunity.[3] This leads to restricted educational choice, poor outcomes and insufficient occupational success. These elements are further accentuated by the discourses that predominate within families which carry socialising messages across generations. These messages are often shaped by family background, prior educational attainment, aspiration, values and particular social norms.[4] These disparities challenge the portrayal of London as socially and educationally homogenous.

This 'effectively maintained inequality' allows more advantaged social groups to assemble various educational contexts around their own familial and personal needs and interests while leaving the others to navigate the complexities unaided.[5] Lareau suggests that this hoarding of opportunity gives them a competitive edge, which is aided by their store of social and cultural capital.[6] This not only has strong roots but also has deep geographical correlations.[7] This form of capital refers to the non-financial assets that particular social groups have acquired. Such assets include education, style, comportment, particular intellectual tasks and knowledge of a certain type. These assets, which are often hoarded, then promote social mobility and maintain social and economic inequalities underpinned by superior academic credentials which influence employment patterns. They often get passed on intergenerationally and maintain social advantage. As Friedman and Macmillan point out, it is in London where this hoarding is at its fiercest, which often results in educational access being cut off to a number of those new and indigenous to the capital. This limits the 'room at the top' and allows those who hoard to cling on to their already significant advantages.[8] They then close ranks and display reward signals linked to their class background such as 'place of residence, accent, styles of dress, values, manners, self-presentation and cultural taste'.[9]

As Reeves highlights in *Dream Hoarders*, this opportunity hoarding creates a glass floor for each affluent child by virtue of his or her wealth and familial status, which then becomes a glass ceiling for the less advantaged.[10] Throughout

[3]A. McNeil, D. Luca and N. Lee, 'The long shadow of local decline: Birthplace economic adversity and long-term individual outcomes in the UK', *Journal of Urban Economics*, vol. 136, 2023, 103571.

[4]R. Erikson, 'How does education depend on social origin?', in R. Becker, ed., *Research Handbook on the Sociology of Education*, Edward Elgar Publishing, 2019, pp. 35–56.

[5]L. Hamilton, J. Roska and K. Neilson, 'Providing a "leg up": Parental involvement and opportunity hoarding in college', *Sociology of Education*, vol. 91, no. 2, 2018, pp. 111–31.

[6]A. Lareau and A. Cox, 'Social class and the transition to adulthood: Differences in parents' interaction with institutions', in M. I. Carlsen and P. England, eds, *Social Class and Changing Families in Unequal America*, Stanford University Press, 2011, pp. 134–64; P. Bourdieu and J.-C. Passeron, *Reproduction in Education, Society and Culture*, Sage, 1977.

[7]Ibid.

[8]S. Friedman and L. Macmillan, 'Is London really the engine-room? Migration, opportunity hoarding and regional social mobility in the UK', *LSE Research Online*, vol. 240, no. 1, 2017, pp. 1–34.

[9]Ibid.

[10]R. V. Reeves, *Dream Hoarders: How the American Upper Middle Class is Leaving Everyone in the Dust, Why That is a Problem and What to Do About it*, Brookings Institution Press, 2018.

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the book Reeves explores the creation and perpetuation of this hoarding, and what should be done to limit it. The book indicates that people's well-being can be negatively impacted by this hoarding, as well as their socioeconomic position and educational attainment. Others further show that the inequalities that result from this hoarding can lead to significant health disparities, erode civic engagement and shape political preferences across the life course.[11]

These inequalities have become embedded in the capital with the poorest Londoners owning just 5 per cent of the wealth compared to 50 per cent being held by its wealthiest.[12] This means that in London the richest 10 per cent have around nine times the income of the lowest-income households. In contrast to the rest of the UK, where this measure of income inequality has been more stable, those in the highest 10 per cent income bracket earn just short of five times the income of those in the lowest income decile.[13] Health outcomes in the capital paint an even sharper picture, with males in Richmond reaching roughly the age of 70 before any major illness sets in, while those in Barking and Dagenham begin their illness trail in their late 50s. Research from Loughborough University for the End Child Poverty Coalition further shows that out of the 20 UK local authorities with the highest child-poverty rates, 14 of these are in the capital.[14] According to these new figures, 40.9 per cent of Hounslow's children live in families that are below 60 per cent of the median income after housing costs.[15]

The Feltham question

One way to help deal with some of these intractable problems is to make educational improvements, especially access to higher education, which should generate better levels of socioeconomic advancement. London already has some of the best levels of post-18 higher education engagement in the UK, but cold spots persist. One such spot is Feltham in the Borough of Hounslow.

One option to tackle this problem is to make higher education in Feltham more accessible and improve the number of routes through education into the world of work, while at the same time offering second chances to those who perhaps struggled first time around. Both these issues are holding back economic growth and maintaining inequality because too few young people in Feltham reach adulthood without the requisite qualifications needed for labour market entry and the skills required for higher-level employment.

Higher education and Feltham

Feltham is located in the London Borough of Hounslow, which is rich in ethnic diversity and has a high percentage of young people (18 years or under). Locationally it is bordered by Kingston and Sunbury-on-Thames to the south and Heathrow Airport is adjacent to it—this being its biggest employer. Although there is a broadly robust geographical definition of Feltham, where traditional Feltham ends and where it begins remains moot. Of its eight wards, Feltham, with a population of almost 71,000, makes up almost half the total population of Hounslow. However, it is an area where the annual household income is below the London and national average, with a higher number claiming state benefits than those in the surrounding boroughs.

A more granular analysis shows the demographic make-up of the area with 37 per cent identifying as Asian or Asian British, and Black and Black British Caribbean or African groups making up more than 7 per cent of the population. In addition, 45 per cent class themselves as White, 3.5 per cent as mixed race, and 7 per cent as another ethnic group.[16]

[11]R. Wilkinson and K. Pickett, *The Spirit Level: Why More Equal Countries Almost Always Do Better*, Allen Lane, 2009; R. Wilkinson and K. Pickett, *The Inner Level: How More Equal Societies Reduce Stress, Restore Sanity and Improve Everyone's Well-Being*, Penguin Books, 2019; and McNeil et al., 'The long shadow of local decline'.

[12]D. Dorling, *Shattered Nation: A Geography of a Failing State*, Verso, 2023.

[13]Trust for London, *London's Inequality Data: Wealth and Income Gaps*, Trust for London, 2024.

[14]End Child Poverty Coalition and Loughborough University, *Child Poverty in Your Area 2023: Analysis of Local Data*, 2023.

[15]Child Poverty Action Group, *Child Poverty Action Group: England*, 2024.

[16]London Borough of Hounslow, *Local Demographic Profile: Feltham and Hanworth Wards*, 2021.

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In terms of gender, 51 per cent classed themselves as female and 49 per cent as male. As for age, each of the wards of Feltham has a higher percentage of its population under 15 years than the national average, and the population below 30 years of age is lower than the mean for England. However, 60 per cent of the demographic is above the age of 40.[17]

In addition, the proportion of those below the lowest level of income threshold (£25,000 per annum) is higher in the Feltham wards than the mean across Hounslow. Occupationally, the number employed in transportation and storage is three times the national average and almost four times the average for London. Wholesale and retail trade and repair of motor vehicles and motorcycles is a key employer for Feltham residents with nearly one in five being employed in the sector. There is further evidence to suggest that the labour market in Feltham is 'at risk' with just under 2,800 people in Feltham West classed as unemployed.[18] Feltham West also has the fourth-highest number of employees working in 'at-risk' jobs in the sectors of accommodation, food services and retail. Those risks stem from changing consumer demand, dips in the hospitality sector and the inevitable influence of new technologies. These increasing economic uncertainties are exacerbated by the relatively high levels of personal debt across the ward.

In addition, those employed in professional, scientific and technical roles in Feltham are fewer than a third of the London average, while those in health and social work professions are well below the national and regional level. In terms of income, the median annual salary for those working in transportation and storage is about £35,000 per annum—slightly below the median for full-time employees in the UK. In the capital, the median is £41,300 per annum. As a result, the percentage of the Feltham population that sits within the highest occupational classifications is much lower than in London and across England as a whole.

The Office for Students shows that areas with higher deprivation tend to have lower levels of involvement in higher education.[19] The Index of Multiple Deprivation for 2022 further indicates that students from the least deprived areas have much higher participation and outcome rates than those from the most deprived. This appears to be the case in Feltham where data show that the percentage of those in the 16–24 and 25–49 age brackets in receipt of Universal Credit in Feltham wards, is far higher than those of a similar age in Hounslow or London. In fact, in the 25–40 age group it approaches between a quarter and a third of the whole population of the area. In addition, Feltham is classed in the lower POLAR quintiles (Office for Students) for participation. It has been estimated that barely 20 per cent of young people progress to higher education—less than half the national average and far below the London average of 62 per cent. As a result, families with low household income need to be convinced of the importance of higher education and its impact on work options, family stability and overall life chances. All of this is taking place in an era of student loans, which plays negatively to the debt-averse nature of many families in the area.[20]

Despite the above, the fact that rates of participation in higher education still tend to skew towards the under-25 age group suggests Feltham should be ripe for engagement with higher education. Additionally, the ward has a relatively low population of over-30s (59.5 per cent compared to England's 64.4 per cent). This highlights a possible future demand if the provision offered is relevant, accessible and appealing to Feltham's particular demographic.

As the figures above further show, Feltham needs a better qualified and more varied workforce. When this is placed alongside the national and regional need for upskilling, reskilling and economic growth, the educational undertaking becomes even more imperative. Research from the National Foundation for Educational Research, entitled *The Skills Imperative 2035*, indicates what the future demand for higher-level skills and related qualifications is likely to be in a decade.[21] In

[17]Ibid.
[18]Office for National Statistics, *Labour Market Profile for Hounslow and Feltham*, 2023.
[19]Office for Students, *Annual Report and Accounts 2023–24*, 2024.
[20]G. Atherton and M. Le Chevallier, *HE in Feltham: A Feasibility Study*, University of West London, 2024.
[21]National Foundation for Educational Research, *The Skills Imperative 2035*, 2024.

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London, for example, the study showed that demand for credentials at all levels below higher-degree will have declined and be replaced by qualifications at higher-degree level 7. In fact, as the stark statistic indicates, demand for these level 7 credentials will have more than likely doubled by 2035. This makes getting those in Feltham onto the undergraduate track even more vital.

Some solutions?

The evidence described earlier shows that Feltham is an area with significant potential for greater access to, and progression through and beyond, higher education. Some in the borough do progress, but not to the same extent as their peers outside the area. The material presented in this article further shows that the occupational profile tends to be shaped heavily by local employers, which is skewed away from more highly skilled roles. This suggests making a moral, as well as an economic, case for 'good jobs' so that the citizens of Feltham can contribute positively while addressing some of the inequalities that arise through low-paid work.[22] Higher education participation can play a major role here. The key, as Bronfenbrenner put it, is 'fit' between supply and demand.[23]

In terms of partners and infrastructure, that 'fit' links to groups of organisations in and around the ward that include schools and colleges as well as the functions of the local borough council of Hounslow. There are also large employers located close to the area who need more highly skilled, graduate-level employees—Heathrow Airport in particular. To address this issue, in 2021 the Feltham Convening Project was set up to offer support from early childhood through to adulthood for children and families. It brought together a range of organisations and key individuals who influence young people, in order to work with them to improve educational outcomes. It focused on Feltham North, Feltham West and Hanworth. Part of its remit centred on post-16 opportunities, including early years teaching and support, health and well-being, and those with educational special needs.

Some key economic drivers have also been identified that might provide the springboard for a local skills improvement plan (LSIP) which should underpin any higher education offer in the area. The key focus is on post-16 technical skills. In London, the LSIP was put together in 2023 by Business London, incorporating all the LSIPs across the capital. The key priorities included: health and social care; screen and media; hospitality and retail; transport and logistics; and manufacturing and various food sectors. The cross-cutting skills comprised digital futures, the green agenda and construction. Others to be addressed encompassed inclusive recruitment, English for Speakers of Other Languages, careers advice and essential skills, and communication and engagement with employers.

It is essential that these drivers are aligned so that any new higher education provision in Feltham can connect with employer organisations, plan workforce needs and help stimulate economic growth. In terms of Feltham, the following were emphasised: advanced and basic digital skills; sector-specific technical skills, particularly in health-related disciplines; social care; construction; basic numeracy and literacy; and green skills.

The evidence further suggests that Feltham has the capacity to flourish if potential learners are afforded fresh opportunities to progress to higher education, underpinned by a demand-driven economic core. These affordances would address the differential between levels of qualification gained by young people in Feltham compared to those in other areas of the capital. This approach might also help reshape much of the knowledge and skills required by the various local employers both small and large. It is now well recognised that in future, the large regional employers, such as Heathrow, will also need higher skill and ability levels and better qualified staff.

Pathways to progression

This new higher education strategy for Feltham, and *ipso facto* Hounslow, aims to connect the region's strengths into a clear place-based narrative. Building on this, the goal is to provide maximum value for the whole community and remove any 'long shadow of

[22]T. Bell, *Great Britain? How We Get Our Future Back*, Vintage Books, 2024.
[23]Bronfenbrenner, 'Recent advances in research on the ecology of human development'.

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decline'.[24] A critical element will be how the local economy interacts with the community so that the skills agenda that emerges supports both growth and economic inclusion. The proposed Higher Education Hub for Feltham therefore aims to provide further pathways for young and mature learners to enter, and where appropriate make return steps to, higher education. Other education providers in the area also recognise the need for an educational bridge into the community so that a university education can be available to all who desire or aspire to it.

In order to provide these opportunities and realise the possibilities for higher education in Feltham, there has to be an equivalent emphasis on alleviating inequality, and the role higher education can play in creating economic inclusion through upskilling and reskilling. I am of the belief that if this project is to succeed, provision must be located close to the learners. I am therefore advocating the setting up of a 'UniCommunity Hub' close to where those who wish to study in an higher education environment, are able to do so, and one which is rooted in the community and not restricted by it. This anchor hub would therefore help to nurture the aspiration of those who live in the area while ensuring the people of Feltham have the same or similar entitlement and opportunity as others who progress to higher education elsewhere in the capital. This provision would aid local and regional upskilling and reskilling and improve occupational choice. The projected pathways would therefore need to display the following features: synergy with the needs of the local economy, tailored to the needs of the diverse range of students and all connected to clear progression routes linked to a learning escalator.

The national Lifelong Learning Entitlement (LLE) might prove instructive here. The construction of 'micro-credentials', which could include, *inter alia*, a Certificate of Higher Education, a Diploma of Higher Education, and credentialed foundation-year modules of different lengths and levels, would add flexibility. These would be in addition to higher-level apprenticeships and undergraduate degrees. Enrolment on these micro-courses would be framed by the 'pathways to progression' model, which would allow each learner to access the LLE loan to the full entitlement of £37,000 once they had stepped onto the pathway. This flexibility in terms of access, engagement and funding provides both certainty and opportunity, as well as a potential space for innovation. The LLE will also help overcome the debt aversion that many living in areas of nested deprivation exhibit.[25] The curriculum proposed also overlaps with national priorities and the wider skills and growth agenda.

Conclusions

Tackling complex social and educational problems requires innovation and forward thinking. Central to any initiative is a shared vision and purpose alongside a mindset that recognises the need for place-based systemic change. Any strategy must be underpinned by trust and cooperative relationships between all the interested parties. The relationships forged need to be intricate and cultivated energetically, subtly and imaginatively.[26] Such public-interest conditions are essential to the success of the proposed venture.

It must also be remembered that in economically unequal societies or regions, only those with sufficient resources can make informed choices while others need support, guidance and help. Hence the importance of continuing careers advice and encouragement to those who need it as they proceed on their learning journey.

We must also be mindful that what the people of Feltham want is not an endless choice of higher education providers, often in far-away places, but access to a local, available provision of a high standard. The aim of the 'UniCommunity Hub' concept is to serve those in Feltham who wish to gain a higher education qualification without the encumbrance of cost and loss of community. The latter is the lynchpin of a civil society and lays the intellectual, occupational and social foundations for a meaningful, fulfilling and healthy existence within the region. It also allows for human

[24]McNeil et al., 'The long shadow of local decline'.

[25]Bowell et al., 'Place-based politics and nested deprivation in the UK'.

[26]R. Sennett, *Together: The Rituals, Pleasures and Politics of Co-operation*, Penguin Books, 2012.

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resources to stay within the area, enriching the local socioeconomic fabric of the community rather than being lost to it.

It has been my contention in this paper that greater equity of participation in higher education can have significant individual and collective benefits. These enhancements improve life chances, address issues of social mobility and solidify community attachment. The economic benefits include upskilling of the workforce, a greater variety of available jobs—especially higher-status roles—and greater community confidence. The approach suggested can also address the unjust inequalities that stem from the decline in social mobility and intergenerational unfairness that haunt the region.[27] All this can be achieved by investing in people and widening opportunity to those who wish it.

Professor Peter John CBE, Vice-Chancellor and President of the University of West London, and Principal of Ruskin College, Oxford.

[27]Bell, *Great Britain? How We Get Our Future Back.*

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