

In Search of the Abstract Quality

**An Investigation into
the Nature of Community Education,
with particular reference to the development
and implementation of a policy
in one English county**

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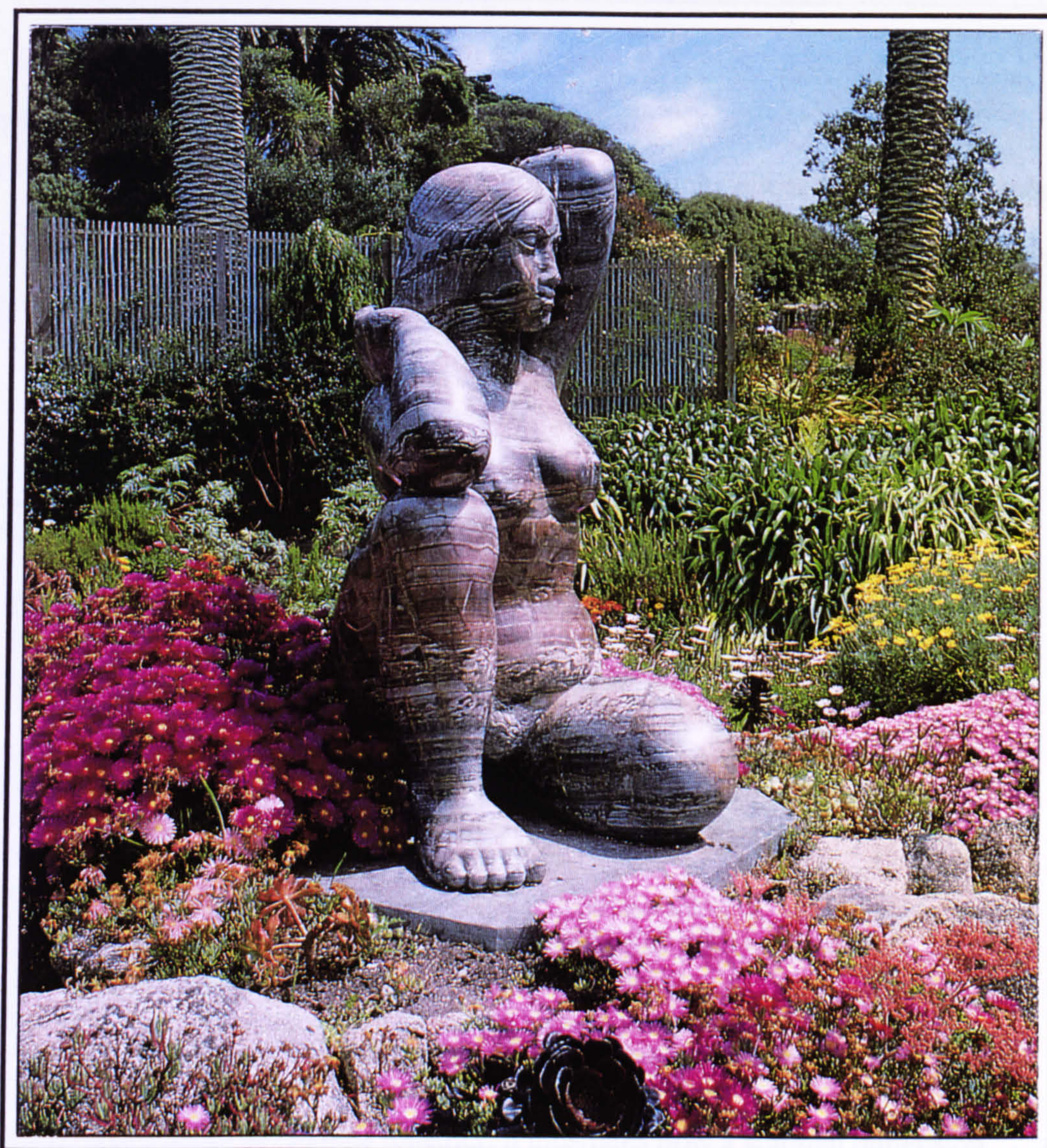


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Frontispiece. 'Gaia' in the Abbey Gardens, Tresco, Isles of Scilly; sculpted by David Wynne from South African marble (from a photograph by F.E. Gibson, St. Mary's, Isles of Scilly; published by Beric Tempest Colourcard, Truro, Cornwall).

Summary

This thesis has three strands:

- an investigation into policy and practice in community education, with particular reference to Derbyshire;
- an exploration of a rationale for setting debate about the concept of community/ education within a discourse of spirituality;
- an autobiographical/ reflective narrative which seeks to explain how professional and personal interests underpinning the first two strands became interwoven in their present form, and with what consequences for the content and structure of the thesis.

Its core comprises the empirical work in *chapters three to six*. Based on information derived from questionnaires, interviews, participant observation, minutes and reports, this describes and analyzes the development and implementation of Derbyshire's community education policy. The role of the Community Tutor is highlighted, together with the perceptions of Tutors and lay members of Community Education Councils of the work in which they were engaged. The latter appear as a SWOT analysis, intended to inform continuing practice.

Chapter two contextualizes the empirical section by providing an historical overview of ideas and issues that have influenced the development of education, and especially of community schooling, in England. It discusses a number of typologies of community education.

Chapters one and seven articulate a personal understanding of 'spirit', its place in contemporary thought, and its possible relationship with 'community'.

Chapter eight focuses on community itself. It suggests that an 'abstract quality' is often sensed in community activities. This influences the use of the term but is not encapsulated in existing definitions. It may be understood in terms of spirituality.

Chapter nine draws the strands together. It illustrates how a spiritual dimension might be added to one particular typology, and explores a possible relationship between existing discourses in community education and concepts of spirituality. Implications for practice are noted. Parallels are drawn between the content of the thesis and the process of writing it.

Finally, *chapter ten* provides an update on recent developments in Derbyshire and locates them within the broader context of human development.



Acknowledgements

I'm glad I did it, partly because it was worth doing but mostly because I shall never have to do it again.

(Mark Twain, c.1900)

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Chapter One

Continuity and Change

This thesis has three strands, comprising:

- an investigation into the nature of community education, including how a unique policy was developed and implemented in Derbyshire;
- exploration of a rationale for setting debate about the concept of community and, by extension, of community education, within a discourse of spirituality;
- an autobiographical/ reflective narrative which seeks to explain and explore how professional and personal interests underpinning the first two strands became interwoven in their present form, and with what consequences for the content and structure of the thesis itself.

Chronologically, though it appears first, this chapter was written after most of those that follow. The chapter is itself in three parts: parts one and two constitute a narrative form of reflection-in-action (Schön, 1983) in which an attempt is made to articulate personal values and their relationship with the primary investigation upon which the thesis is based; part three illustrates how the thesis is located within both a personal learning journey and a broader social and theoretical context, and it provides clarification of terms.



Part One: Getting Going

*You cannot step twice in the same river for other waters are continually flowing on. ...
Everything flows and nothing abides; everything gives way and nothing stays fixed. ...
It is in changing that things find repose.*
(Heraclitus, 513BC, in Morgan, 1997: 251)

An Exercise

Yesterday, in the research/ professional practice journal which I keep intermittently, I posed the questions: 'Is it possible to write an introduction to something which feels both finished and yet is still in formation? Why do I feel such a strong need to do this and yet create such resistance?'. Today, whilst waiting for the computer to boot up, I idly opened a book which has lain undisturbed on my desk for some time: Morgan's (1997) *Images of Organization*. Why should the first thing I read be a quotation [above], half-remembered from my schooldays, which suddenly helps to make sense of a process with which I have been struggling for some time and which found voice in the somewhat despairing journal entry?

I could hazard several guesses ranging from random chance through divine intervention to the coincidence of having recently met Henryk Skolimowski at a conference and encountered his work on the 'participatory mind' [Skolimowski, 1994]. Ultimately, however, the 'Why?' of this event has much less significance than its consequence - which is to enable me to begin to write *something* after months of what has felt like paralysis. Whether this will now lead to a resolution of the journal questions remains to be seen but, in writing just these few lines, I have become aware of three factors.

One, I have made several references to feelings, using a number of tactile words; two, my questions are framed in terms of 'both/ and', not 'either/ or'; and, three, the apparent paradox of that which is finished still being 'in formation' not only underpins the world-picture which currently shapes much of my thinking but is integral to the whole structure of the education system in which I work where each stage/ level has its own completeness but also anticipates those that may follow. When I sat down at my computer a few minutes ago I had no idea of what I would write, least of all that it would be prompted by thoughts about the incomplete text of a thesis that I abandoned more than a year ago. I knew only that I had a potentially undisturbed day to myself during which I intended to act on vague promises recently made to two different people.

The thoughts about the thesis were certainly at the back of my mind. One of the 'vague promises' - that I would at least re-read the sections I have already written - was made to Susan Weil who was acting as principal facilitator of a seven-month cycle of collaborative inquiry modelled on Donald Schön's work on reflective practice and organizational learning¹.

Our conversation took place after one particular workshop session in which I had described how my initial field of inquiry, the management of community education, had led me into a much bigger arena - that of spirituality - which I wanted to explore and acknowledge since, without it, the original investigation had begun to feel inconsequential. As I explained that I had, nevertheless, now abandoned the attempt for a number of what seemed to me to be entirely valid reasons, my attention was drawn to my voice which was evidently much huskier than usual. Further questioning raised the issue of the extent to which I might have felt 'silenced' in discussing spiritual matters by the academic setting in which I work and, in particular, by the traditional format of the PhD thesis. I shall think about this again this afternoon as I do the re-reading.

My second promise was made to Gillie Bolton to try out some exercises designed to stimulate the processes of reflective writing to which we are planning to introduce post-graduate students undertaking a course by distance learning. The first of these exercises involves writing whatever comes into one's mind for six minutes, paying no attention to grammar, syntax, punctuation, or even to sense [Bolton, 1997].

River out of Silence

The product of my 'six minutes exercise' appears above, now in a 'grammaticized' though otherwise substantially unaltered form. I am surprised by what has surfaced in this short piece of writing as well as by some of the underlying themes that it has in common with materials I have written over a period of several years, all loosely connected with my original thesis, which I have just finished reading again.

At this moment, my sense of trying to step into the same river twice is very strong: each chapter, article and diary entry that I have revisited evokes its own memories of the time when it was written and the thoughts and feelings that were prevalent. But those thoughts and feelings are inevitably tempered by the passage of time and what I now know, feel and do. In trying to return to a particular place in the river of my own thoughts, therefore, I can also sense not only how their 'flowing on' has changed me, but how the surrounding landscape and my relationship with it has changed too.

The landscape to which I refer encompasses both the personal detail of my family and professional life and the broader sweep of academic and social discourse. Boud

and Miller (1996: 18) draw attention to the inseparability either of one feature from another in such a landscape, or of the internal from the external learning environment, using these terms:

Our world is defined by the people and objects that surround us, the meanings with which they are imbued and the language which is used to represent them. This world manifests the political, social, economic and historical situation in which we exist. Significantly, the context of learning is not merely an external environment which provides the scenery and objects of learning. The world is mirrored within each individual. Learners create an internal representation of the world which influences all their thoughts and actions. They test their thinking on this internal representation and judge their actions accordingly. This internal world is a filter through which perceptions are modified. ...

Learning occurs within a framework of taken-for-granted assumptions about what is legitimate to do, to say, and even to think. It is influenced directly and indirectly by the power of others as well as by forces which constrain participants' views of what is possible.

Boud and Miller (*op.cit.*: 19) also comment on the power of discourse, noting that:

The concept of discourse embodies the notion that language is not only a means of communication of facts and feelings, but also of ideology: the choice of particular words and phrases structures expectations and aspirations, and frames what is legitimate to think and to do. ...

At any historical moment, some discourses are dominant. For example, ... the use of economic discourse is dominant at present in education and training. Metaphors of the factory, of inputs and outputs, and of efficiency, quality and accountability are seen to have taken over in public debate from earlier discourses such as the humanistic, which drew on horticultural and biological metaphors of growth and development, nurturing and fruitfulness.

I came across the Boud and Miller text only a few weeks ago². It provided welcome affirmation of the way my own thinking has been developing, particularly in the light of issues which the Schon Inquiry raised for me around the concept of silence.

The term 'silence' means not only, from its Latin root, 'to say nothing, keep quiet', but connects, through an Old Norse root, with the image of 'standing, or quietly flowing, water' as well as, through Indo-European usage, with 'to allow, especially allow to be in a place' and 'situated' (Partridge, 1979: 622-623). All these images, though I have only just (in referring to an etymological dictionary in the process of writing this paragraph) become consciously aware of the last two, have played an important part in my personal learning journey and in the shaping of the present thesis. I have already commented on the imagery of flowing water; that of 'allowing to be in a place' is also significant on two counts.

First, it adds weight to the implicit message in Boud and Miller's commentary that, by their own creation of an 'internal representation' of the world, a creation which is itself strongly influenced by power relationships, learners become constrained in their view of what is possible: they allow themselves to be in a particular place, to be 'situated' in relation to others. It is only by engaging in reflective practice and trying to articulate the reality of that process in order to facilitate it for others that I have recently come to recognize where I have personally allowed myself to be situated, and what implications this has had for what and how I write and where I have offered my writing for public scrutiny.

Second, the power relationships and discourses which determine who is 'allowed' to be seen and heard in what place are fundamental to considerations of community education and its form and purpose; they have similarly shaped the conventions of

university life, determining what kind of knowledge is acceptable within the bounds of academia and, broadly, in what form it should be presented.

Additionally, in its conventional sense of quiet, of a space where there are no words, the concept of silence lies at the very heart of the present thesis: it has simultaneously given it impetus and created an enormous source of resistance, for me and in others, as I have struggled to articulate the existence of a 'felt-reality' which I sense primarily in other than word form.

This felt-reality is of an almost unsayable domain of, for want of any precise terminology, 'the spirit'. Perhaps I should have heeded Wittgenstein's (1955) injunction on this difficulty: 'Whereof one cannot speak, thereof one must be silent' (Needleman, 1984: 210). Instead, I have felt driven by the 'strong need', to which I referred in the writing exercise, to find some way of confronting and incorporating knowledge of, and from, this domain into my life and professional practice. The 'resistance' to which I also referred has come from what has often seemed like the near-impossibility of the task itself, compounded by messages from powerful figures in my life that this is not a proper area for study, nor is a PhD thesis ostensibly about community education the right vehicle in which to enter it.

Frozen Core and Changing Circumstances

It may help to include some personal detail here in order to give substance to these statements. Such detail may also help to provide a rough sketch of the landscape which the thesis now encompasses; and to illustrate why its focal point is essentially a small sample of a river of ideas which has remained frozen in its own time while power relationships, discourses, and my own understanding of these, have changed and flowed on during the passage of a decade.

Chapters three to six constitute this 'frozen core'. When I wrote-up this empirical work five years ago in the form of a report to be presented to a research funding body and a county council, it represented a number of things: a partial closure of a major developmental period in my own professional life during which I had been responsible for designing and delivering an extensive staff development programme in community education throughout the English county of Derbyshire; a way of capturing and celebrating something of the work in community education which had been accomplished in the county over the preceding five years; a means of feeding information back to decision-makers who had just precipitated the beginning of the end of Derbyshire's unique and brave attempt to make community education the flagship of its county-wide education policy; and the onset of a new phase in my career.

Having worked on a part-time basis while my children were growing up, I had recently been appointed as a full-time member of a university's academic staff. I was now expected to 'do research' as well as to teach and, ideally, prove my status as an academic by undertaking a PhD thesis - the starting point for which was to be the materials that had been generated through the staff development work in Derbyshire and a parallel programme I had devised and run for the Local Education Authority (LEA) in Sheffield.

I planned to examine the value systems of practitioners in community education and the relationship between these values, existing LEA management structures, and the movement towards greater public participation in local services. This was to be set within the broader context of the historical and political factors which had given rise to existing models of community education and, finally, against a broad backcloth of so-called 'New Age' thinking which at that time (in the mid/late-1980s) had just begun to burgeon in Britain.

Within a few months of my having, somewhat naïvely, backdated my registration for a PhD so that I could incorporate the staff development programme materials, the practicalities of changes resulting from the 1988 Education Reform Act, in particular from the introduction of local financial management in schools, had caused Sheffield LEA to abandon its attempt to implement a coherent city-wide system of community education. In Derbyshire, the face of community education and its associated management structures was also changing rapidly and dramatically.

By the time I had adapted the field-work in which I was already engaged so that I could take advantage of the opportunity, which would otherwise have been lost completely, to gather views about the work that they had undertaken directly from practising Community Tutors in Derbyshire, whose posts were about to be disestablished; written up the findings; and disseminated them within the county in the rather vain hope that they might still influence future policy, I felt I had lost all impetus for further investigation. It was depressing to witness the collapse of something which had begun with such high hopes, and with which my own professional development had become briefly, but significantly, entwined.

Eventually, two articles drawn from the reports I had written were published (Hunt, 1995a; Hunt, 1995b). A third is still awaiting adaptation in the light of a referee's comments but I have been unable to create time or enthusiasm for the task, largely, I think, because it now seems too firmly located in the past: I do not 'do' community education any more³.

My job has changed considerably. I am now primarily involved in postgraduate programmes for experienced educators and trainers; in the supervision of work-based dissertations; and in the development and facilitation of reflective practice. In consequence, I have become more familiar with academic literature associated with reflection and research methodology. If I were to begin the work I did in Derbyshire again, I would probably approach it differently in the light of what I now know.

Chapters three to six constitute the 'frozen core' of the thesis, therefore, because of their location in time and within a pattern of changing ideas and identities. Within the national context, they were produced at, and in response to, a time when the education system in England was beset by radical change and the relationships between politicians, LEAs, schools, professional educators, students, and the parents of school students were being drastically redefined. Locally, in Derbyshire, a major political initiative in community education, underpinned by the careful weaving together of long-cherished ideologies which were now under threat, was itself falling apart. In terms of my personal history and development, the chapters mark the end of a lengthy, and formative, active involvement in community education as well as a time of change in my family life as my eldest child prepared to leave home for university.

Bridging Discourses

Though it is more evident in retrospect than when they were written, these core chapters straddle discourses in a number of ways. Most notably, the events which they encapsulate are essentially the working out on the ground, in the lives of a small group of professional community educators and some of the people from communities with which they worked, of the transition in national politics, and its profound effects on the education system, from engagement in a humanistic/welfare discourse, which had held sway at least from the 1960s, to that of economics and 'the market place' which characterized Thatcherite Britain in the 1980s and 1990s (and which does not seem to have been reversed by the election of a Labour Government in May, 1997).

During the period when these events were taking place, I now realize that I was also personally involved in two other quite distinct discourses. One concerned the relationship between academic and practice-based understandings of community education and was being teased out in staff development workshops and conferences (key issues are illustrated in Hunt and Clarke, 1989). The other was contained in literature popularly referred to as 'New Age', in which I had recently become interested. What had caught my attention, in particular, were Marilyn Ferguson's *The Aquarian Conspiracy* (1981), Peter Russell's *The Awakening Earth* (1984), and the way in which a scientific text by James Lovelock (1979), *Gaia: A New Look at Life on Earth*, had spawned a number of surprisingly 'unscientific' texts on the theme of spirituality.

The latter was not an interest that I had really discussed outside a small circle of friends. However, in an in-service workshop with a group of community educators in the mid-1980's, I remember tentatively mentioning the idea that, in its emphasis on interconnectedness and the removal of barriers, the concept of community education had certain 'New Age' overtones and, in particular, links with much of the new *Gaia*-inspired literature. The idea was favourably received and sparked a line of thinking which finds its culmination in the present thesis.

The thought-line has been neither straight nor even. It was several years before I felt confident enough to commit any part of it to paper for publication, and then only in the comparative safety of a journal aimed at community education practitioners (Hunt, 1992a). Encouraged by the response, I have gradually written more and extended the arena in which I have presented this work (e.g. Hunt, 1992a; 1992b; 1993a; 1993b; 1998a; 1998b; 1999b). I let myself be persuaded, nevertheless, that, because of its roots in the 'unscientific' realm of spirituality, this work was difficult to classify as 'proper' research: in effect, that the discourse was not entirely acceptable within the discipline-based conventions of a university setting (I shall return to this point in part three of this chapter).

It is only as I have learned more about the concepts of reflective practice and experiential learning, and research methods based on 'human inquiry' (Reason and Rowan, 1981; Reason, 1988a; Heron, 1996) that my attention has been drawn to the existence of a bridge which seems to span the divide between 'academia' and, if not the realm of spirituality *per se*, then at least the inner world of 'the self'. Finding that Boud and Miller's book was built on the principle of contributors being asked to 'write themselves into their chapters so that their accounts would be grounded in personal experience as well as in professional practice and social scientific theory' (Boud and Miller, 1996: 5) affirmed my growing belief that what I want to write here, now, can probably only be written in this kind of self-inclusive, semi-autobiographical form.

The prompt for the thesis was my own experience of working in community education, and especially of facilitating staff development workshops for other professionals in this field at a time when the impact of politics on practice was particularly disruptive. This experience, together with my memory of it and associated reading about the concept and practice of community education, has become entwined with subsequent personal experience - and exploration through a different body of literature and discussion - of the realm of spirituality. It is virtually impossible, therefore, to disentangle the two threads in my current thinking.

In attempting to write 'purely' about community education for academic purposes, I have often been reminded of aspects of Tom Stoppard's (1968) play, *Rosencrantz and Guildenstern Are Dead*, in which the two eponymous characters exist simultaneously in a contemporary play as well as in Shakespeare's *Hamlet*. Their contemporary lives run in parallel with, and are influenced by, events on the

Shakespearean stage but cannot feature on it directly: the dialogue and conventions of the two stages are pre-determined and different.

Using the bridge which Boud and Miller (1996), Brookfield (1995), Heron (1996), Reason and Rowan (1981), Schön (1983; 1987; 1991) and others have identified and established between what is admissible on the conventional academic stage and what is experienced and known in the personal, contemporary world of the individual as learner/ teacher/ researcher, this thesis represents an attempt to bring together the two 'plays' in which I have spent a large part of my professional and domestic lives. On the academic stage, the position in relation to my own of certain influential players who masked my view of the bridge has shifted; others players have since appeared, in person and in print, who have encouraged me to move freely across the bridge and to speak on at least a small section of the academic stage of my own experience, in my own voice.

The thesis explores an interpretation of community education which, because it is derived from my own felt-experience, necessarily lies outside 'traditional' academic models built on technical-rational/ positivist principles. The approach taken is rooted in that advocated by C.Wright Mills (which, now I recall it and its reference to time, also seems to provide a positive answer to the question with which I began about whether it is 'possible to write an introduction to something which feels both finished and yet is still in formation'):

To say that you can 'have experience' means, for one thing, that your past plays into and affects your present, and that it defines your capacity for future experience. As a social scientist you have to control this rather elaborate interplay, to capture what you experience and sort it out ... (Mills, 1967: 196).

Thus far, I have attempted to 'capture and sort out' certain issues which came to mind in the process of a simple reflective writing exercise. In the next part of this chapter, I shall describe how reflection on the recent coming-together of several ideas prompted me to articulate some of the 'taken for granted' which both inform my current professional practice and underpin several of the avenues of exploration in subsequent chapters.

Part Two: Personal Values

*[Since this section of the chapter was first written, it has been published in an abbreviated form in **Teaching in Higher Education** (Hunt, 1998b). The 'mind-pebbles' model also underpins a published conference paper (Hunt, 1998a)]*

... reflective practice at its best is neither just a set of operational techniques nor only a clearly identifiable group of academic skills, but is rather a critical stance. Good reflective practice takes practitioners beyond mere competence towards a willingness and a desire to subject their own taken for granted and their own activities to serious scrutiny.

(Johnston and Badley, 1996: 10)

Converging Ideas

I was interviewed by Johnston and Badley as part of their research on competences in reflective practice (from which the quotation above is drawn) and was pleased to note that their eventual conclusion built on my own feelings that reflective practice goes 'beyond mere competence'. By coincidence, on the day that I re-read their report in order to incorporate reference to it in some distance learning materials on reflective practice which I was updating, I also attended a public lecture on counselling given by Brian Thorne⁴. Though drawing on different sets of ideas and assumptions, the report and lecture both seemed to suggest that good professional practice is linked to the search for self-knowledge.

Speaking about '*Spiritual responsibility in a secular profession*', Thorne argued that clients almost invariably require one (or more) of three things from a professional therapist: Love, Healing and/ or Meaning. In Thorne's view, few therapists are actually able to give a client any of these, much as they may wish to, because any gift is dependent upon the willingness of the other to receive it. Consequently, the best thing therapists can do for their clients is to attend to their *own* 'belovedness, health and meaning'. They need, in other words, to attend to and constantly monitor, their own beliefs and to 'live them, not just preach them'. In this way, therapists should neither become dependent upon other people's needs for their own sense of self, nor slip through habit into practices in which they no longer believe⁵.

This view seems not dissimilar to Peck's (1990a: 53) in the context of psychiatry, although he adds a rider indicating that the process may not be quite as straightforward as Thorne implied:

Psychiatrists ... know that it is impossible to realistically understand the conflicts and transferences of their patients without understanding their own transferences and conflicts. ... Unfortunately, ... there are many who stringently examine the world but not so stringently examine themselves.

Emphasis on the need for self-examination in order to understand one's own 'way of being' in the world is also pivotal to Rogers's (1969) person-centred work in both therapy and education; its origins can undoubtedly be traced much further back to the Socratic injunction 'Know Thyself'.

I had attended Brian Thorne's lecture purely out of interest and, when it began, had not consciously been thinking about my own professional practice. However, I jotted in the margin of my notes on the lecture 'Is all good professional/ reflective practice dependent upon a willingness not to compartmentalize (erect/ hold on to barriers between) one's experiences and knowledge?'. Thinking about this afterwards I realized that the notion of 'non-compartmentalization' - of removing barriers between self and others; between practical experience and received,

academic knowledge; and between internal and external 'worlds' - which had characterized some of my earlier '*Gaia*-inspired' writing about community education, had resurfaced.

One of the most fundamental precepts of community education has always been about the importance of removing barriers between home and school; 'provider' and 'client'; age groups; races; professional bodies and so on. Much of the theoretical underpinning of community education is thus concerned with the need to effect structural change of a practical and political nature. However, while the focus of community education is thus largely on activities in the socio-political arena, it intrigues me that the same concept of development through the removal of barriers, albeit of a more personal or esoteric kind, is also fundamental not only to many therapeutic processes but to most of the world's great philosophical traditions. In both cases the barriers are assumed to prevent the individual from being fully-functioning.

In the first case the problem may be that the individual has mentally linked and compartmentalized certain disparate ideas/ experiences in such a way that they appear to make rational for that individual what others interpret as dysfunctional behaviour; in the second, the barrier is a Cartesian one between the world of the senses and the world of the spirit.

Many philosophical/ religious writings seem to be concerned with the notion that, despite apparent diversity in the world of the senses - the world that is generally perceived to be 'out there' and in which people mostly conduct their lives, there is unity between all things at a spiritual level (see, for example, Huxley, 1946). They suggest that it is the function of humankind to examine the barriers between the worlds of the senses and of the spirit, but that (and here there seems to be a close link with several of the processes which underpin reflective practice) this can only be achieved if people become properly conscious of themselves and their actions.

Building on this idea, the next section constitutes a tentative exploration, in the light of my personal experience, into possible links between reflective practice, spirituality, and community education.

Meaning-making

Giving the keynote address to the Sixth World Conference of the International Community Education Association (ICEA) several years ago, Robert Muller⁶ commented:

When you work for the United Nations for some time, you wake up one day and ask yourself - 'What are we trying to do? What is the purpose of it all? What is the meaning of our temporary lives on this planet?' Once you ask yourself this question, you encounter the spiritual dimension of life, higher than the physical, the mental and the moral... (Muller, 1991).

I remember thinking at the time that sometimes the questions might also occur to people who do not work for the United Nations. During the past two decades there has been a demonstrable upsurge of interest in the process that is now known as 'personal and social transformation' and its close association with exploration of what constitutes 'the spiritual' in a largely secular society (see Ferguson, 1988, for further discussion).

When I first thought about community education in this context, I felt that its emphasis on the removal of barriers linked it firmly to the transformative movement. However, with the exception of some of Clark's (1992) work which considers community education from a Christian perspective, most of the typologies and

models of community education which attempt to explain its ideological origins, underlying themes, focus and function rarely extend beyond the historical and political and the immediacy of 'how to' (see section three of chapter two). Much the same might also be said of reflective practice.

Explanatory typologies and models are undoubtedly useful. As Titmuss (1974: 30) points out, they 'help us to see some order in all the disorder and confusion of facts, systems and choices'. However, as experiments with random blot tests have shown, the very process of seeing order usually results in some information being ignored: identifying and giving a name to a previously undefined pattern grants it a validity that is not then bestowed on information that has become peripheral to what now looks like the 'real' picture (see Figure 1.1.⁷, on the following page).

It is often the case that the information individuals ignore is the most profound (in the sense of having the most potential to cause them to question, and therefore to change, their existing 'world-picture'). Most people tend to prefer things that way. As Peck (1990a: 54) puts it:

Examination of the world without is never as personally painful as examination of the world within, and it is certainly because of the pain involved in a life of genuine self-examination that the majority steer away from it.

It is undoubtedly more comfortable to see the familiar, and to order the manageable within existing thought patterns, than to boggle the mind by considering what may lie outside and ready to threaten mental maps that have often been carefully constructed over many years of pain-avoidance. The common 'back off' response to such threat is probably not unlike that of early navigators who wrote 'Here Be Dragons' at the point where their sketch maps of the known world ended - and who not only refused to travel any further themselves but also discouraged others from doing so.

(Perhaps this is why as much, or more, effort often seems to be put into observing, dissecting and describing potential dragon-seeking movements and practices like community education and reflective practice as into supporting or actively engaging with them. A colleague, Hazel Hampton, has drawn attention in this respect to what she sees as the tendency of 'academics' to 'colonize the space' where teachers and learners might be encouraged to 'speak their own practice'. She suggests that an increasing number of academics have begun to write and speak in that space in theoretical terms which muffle, distort and/ or devalue practitioners' descriptions of, and reflections on, a real lived process⁸).

This kind of distancing phenomenon is well documented. Ferguson (1988: 214), for instance, draws attention to John Kenneth Galbraith's astute observation that 'Faced with having to change our views or prove that there is no need to do so, most of us get busy on the proof'. She offers a reminder, too, that John Stuart Mill was particularly concerned with the way in which whole societies can apparently suppress new ideas and the questioning of existing ones. He urged people to welcome such questioning, even of those ideas, like Isaac Newton's, that seem not only to be most obviously true but also to underpin so many other ideas and processes in science and society, because 'We must neglect nothing that could give the truth a chance of reaching us' (Ferguson, *ibid.*).

I was interested to discover that, shortly before his death, Newton himself apparently acknowledged not just the limitations of his own work but the vastness of what he had *not* considered, observing:

I do not know what I may appear to the world; but to myself I seem to have been only like a boy, playing on the seashore, and diverting myself, in now and then finding a smoother pebble or a prettier shell than ordinary, while the great ocean of truth lay all undiscovered before me (Sagan, 1981: 71).



Figure 1.1. The 'Hidden Man'.

Much academic writing about both community education and reflective practice might usefully be subjected to questions couched in these same metaphors. For example: To what extent is the attempt to identify historical trends and political ideologies that have contributed to the present shape of both processes merely the polishing of existing 'pebbles'? Has the design and refinement of the fascinating 'shells' of local or individual practices simply been a distraction from engaging with their real purpose of fostering personal growth? Has the focus of research and commentary been so much on the form and detail of community education and reflective practice that the possibility has been neglected that these processes are no more than the foreground to a much bigger picture?

Framing that last question reminded me of a workshop based on Kelly's (1955) personal construct theory in which I once took part. Using simple 'Why?' questions in a 'laddering' exercise to explore value systems, participants joked that there seemed to be no more than seven steps from the mundane to the Almighty. It hardly ever took more questions than this to arrive at a point where we were each confronted with our fundamental beliefs about the way the world is, in what manner it is sustained, and the nature of our own part in it. It is with the collectivity of these individual 'bigger pictures' that Muller's 'spiritual dimension of life' and Newton's 'great ocean of truth' seem to me to merge into a dimension of human understanding which is only rarely addressed or even articulated in the context of educational and professional practice.

I wonder if the time has now come when, as Muller suggested in the conclusion to his ICEA address:

We must rediscover our roots pertaining to a deeper vision of life in relation to society, nature and the universe. ... we must recognize the importance of the revival of spirituality in human beings and society and that any educational programme must have a deep spiritual approach (Muller, 1991).

To endorse such a view is not, of course, to advocate that educational activities should have some 'religious' content but, rather, to suggest that educators might begin more openly to address, and to consider possible implications for their practice of, that most profound of philosophical questions: 'Who am I?'. Though it may hover constantly on the periphery of perception, it can generally be ignored in the immediacy of dealing with the more tangible 'pebbles and shells' of everyday mental and physical experiences.

A Model

In trying to illustrate exactly what I mean by that last statement I am going to use a model (see Figure 1.2, following page), largely derived from Eastern philosophical traditions, which I have found helpful in contemplating the 'Who am I?' question. Although I shall couch the explanation in the inclusive language of the first person plural and a 'conversational' style, this is simply for ease of description and is not to imply that others will find the model either unproblematic or acceptable in the context of their own world-pictures.

In terms of Figure 1.2, Line A-B represents the 'life-force' which sustains our physical being. We will each have grown up attributing different names to it but what we call it matters less than how it seems to manifest itself in the physical world. For the purposes of the model, assume that the line operates like the beam of a powerful torch, illuminating and making us aware of everything in its path. Circle N represents our innermost nature: such attributes as we bring with us into the world. Circle M encompasses the realm of mind. It contains all the ideas, values

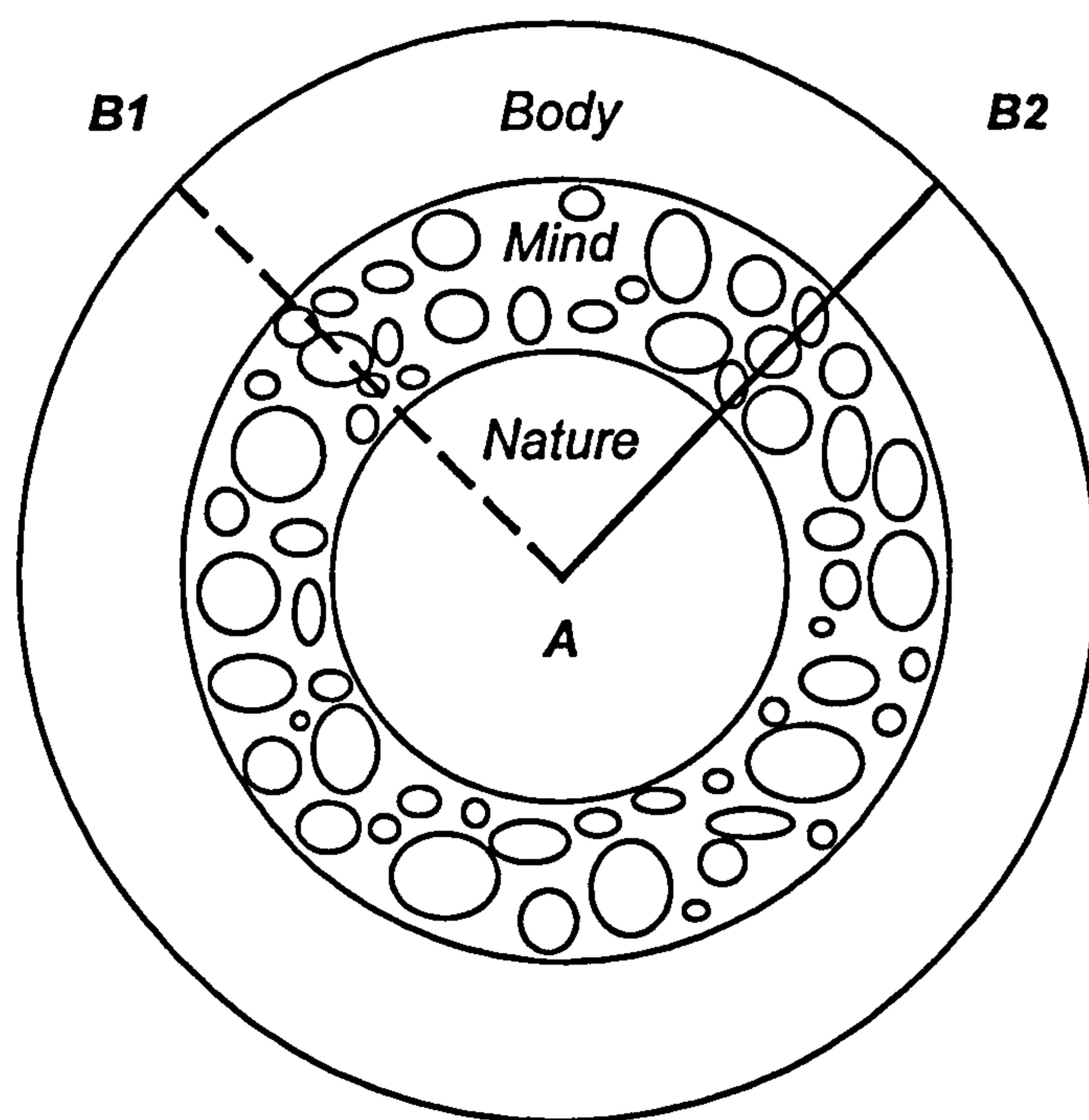


Figure 1.2. 'Mind pebbles': Locating an unchanging self within changing ideas and behaviour patterns

and beliefs (represented by the 'dots') that we accumulate during the process of our lives. Circle B denotes the physical world of the body.

In order for the body to do anything at all it has to be 'activated' by the life force. However, the way in which the body reacts will be dependent upon two things: the nature of the person 'inhabiting' the body and the number and quality of the 'mind-dots' that are lit up at any one time. To get some idea of the power of mind-dots (or, to stay with the earlier metaphor, the power of our carefully polished pebbles of experience and belief), imagine that the broken A-B1 line of the model represents you on the way home at the end of a long working day.

Some of the pebbles that are likely to be lit in these circumstances contain ideas about how tired you are, how your feet/ back/ eyes ache and how you are going to spend the evening in a comfortable armchair. These ideas may be linked to a value system that encourages hard work so other pebbles will also be in there congratulating you on your efforts, reminding you how much more dependable you are than X who always leaves early, and telling you that an evening in your armchair is a just reward. Physically, it is likely that your eyes and head will be lowered, your walk less springy than usual, your shoulders bent ...

Now imagine that, as you come through your front door, the telephone is ringing. At the other end is a good friend whom you have not seen for a while, inviting you to meet later in the evening. It is probable that your body language will change - back upright, eyes sparkling, voice animated *etc.* - not because you consciously choose to change it but simply because a completely different set of pebbles has suddenly been lit up (associated with fun, friendship, and maybe also linked to the 'I deserve it' value system). This has activated a different physical behaviour pattern and, in terms of the model, 'you' are now represented by the strong A-B2 line.

Thus, it would seem that the position of the A-B line substantially determines behaviour in the physical world: when the pebbles that our torch beam of attention lights up in the mind are associated with the idea 'I am happy', our observable behaviour becomes different from when the beam touches an 'I am sad' pattern (or 'I am hard-done-by' or 'wise' or 'stupid', or any one of a myriad other things). One purpose of the model is to begin to demonstrate the power of these mind-pebbles.

Some mind-pebbles - ideas, values, beliefs - can be so 'diverting', to use Newton's words, that they permanently disallow the existence of others. Some, in a very real sense, make us become what they reflect back to us. Thus, as in the example above, when our 'I am tired' pebbles are shining we literally become so. Similarly, when we claim 'I am a teacher/ a miner/ redundant' (or whatever definition we habitually use), the consequent illumination of well-established pebble-patterns is likely to activate associated thought and behaviour patterns even before we are conscious of them.

Indeed, many such patterns may never be brought to conscious awareness without deliberate engagement with 'consciousness-raising' techniques. Those developed in the early days of the Women's Movement to examine effects of the internalization of female gender stereotypes are a case in point. Engagement with reflective practice in a professional context can also result in exploration of assumptions and responses that are deeply embedded in pebble-patterns whose origins are no longer in evidence, and which may lie in arenas way outside the present workplace.

In terms of the model, it is clear that when people say 'I am ...' they speak only a partial truth: essentially, they are investing all of their life force, all that is 'I', in something that is demonstrably so much smaller than 'I'. Not only do the 'unlit' areas of the mind effectively not exist at any given moment, thereby allowing conflicting views to be held quite comfortably, but the 'lighting up' process is rarely noticed: for the most part people merely react to what the light is shining on,

thinking that that is what they are. Even more significant is the general neglect of the 'A' which appears to give rise, through the agency of the mind-pebbles, to all the 'B's of people's behaviour patterns.

In earlier referring to the 'pebbles and shells of everyday mental and physical experiences', therefore, what I was trying to get at is this: what people think and do in the 'everyday world' in which they habitually operate, and which is charted, modelled, written about and otherwise placed for further discussion in the public/academic arena, may constitute an immediate reality but, as all the great philosophical traditions try to show, this reality may be permeated, and ultimately given shape, by another that is both intangible and indefinable (see Huxley, 1946).

Wittgenstein (1955) alludes to this in the oft-quoted seventh proposition of the *Tractatus* to which I have already referred: 'Whereof one cannot speak, thereof one must be silent'. Nevertheless, he, too, hints at a world beyond that of the mind where the logic of speech gives meaning to physical experience. This 'world beyond' is a world of silence which neither logic, language nor intellect can enter, but which itself enters and sustains 'everyday' life. It seems to me to be the world of the 'A', of the 'great ocean of truth': the 'spiritual dimension of life'.

Though behaviourists might argue that what I have called the 'torch beam of attention' has no 'inner' source, that it originates not at some mysterious 'A' point but as a consequence of an individual's interaction with her/ his immediate 'outside' environment, it seems inappropriate to dismiss entirely the possibility of an 'inner reality'. Seriously engaging with the question 'Who am I?' has certainly caused me to explore writings and practices which do admit that possibility.

Professional Implications

One consequence for my professional practice of this exploration has been that I now openly acknowledge my uneasiness with educational processes that focus on too many apparently indisputable 'facts' about the world 'out there' and which are rooted in a Newtonian view of a 'clockwork universe' where things, including people, are separate, mechanical, dispensable, and can be understood only in their immediate context and/ or by dissecting/ analyzing them. I am happier with a form of knowing which seems to have more affinity with the new quantum physics, and assumes both that there is no separation between the mental and the physical and that order is imposed and can be changed by the act of perception (see Zohar [1990] and Skolimowski [1994] for further elaboration).

My approach to reflective practice is inevitably also set in this context. In Johnston and Badley's (*op.cit.*) terms, I suppose what I have described above are my 'taken for granted's' and, however hard I try to subject them to 'serious scrutiny', I do not currently feel able to relinquish them; nor can I yet identify others with which I might feel as comfortable. I am aware of a massive assumption in what I have just written - that it is necessary to hold *some* kind of world-picture as the *sine qua non* of one's beliefs and actions - but I simply cannot imagine what it would be like *not* to have such a picture. Such a limitation is perhaps what Johnston and Badley (1996: 10) had in mind in concluding their research report with the statement:

The reflective practitioner has to become ... an educational critic who is willing to pursue self- and peer appraisal *almost* to their limits (my emphasis).

Intellectually, I acknowledge my own argument that, by holding to a world-picture that enables me to reconcile information derived over many years from a wide range of sources, including my own felt-experience, I am probably withholding from the picture 'peripheral' information (like the rabbit or witch or just the randomness around the 'Hidden Man' in Figure 1.1) which would require me to

change it. Emotionally and practically, I am not sure that I am ready right now to open the doors of my perception to such dragons (or even rabbits!).

Nevertheless, by following Thorne's advice to attend to, and constantly monitor my own meaning-making, I am fairly clear about the position from which I currently try to respond in the various roles required of me as a professional educator. I know that the position is not necessarily that taken by other colleagues, and that for some it makes little sense. One argument that I accept, but which does not yet carry enough force to make me abandon my own picture, is that a philosophy which places the act of individual perception at its core ignores a collective political/ socio-economic reality and the issues of power which sustain it.

I acknowledge, however, that for many people meaning-making within that particular reality is a priority. Indeed, most students whom I have encouraged to engage with the processes of reflective practice choose to explore their practice in the light of their own organizational constraints, and the way these are linked to broader social issues, rather than in a more psychological or philosophical context. I find one of the most difficult elements of facilitating reflective practice is determining how to allow students to centre themselves in their own reality whilst also ensuring that they remain open to other 'layers' of interpretation and new possibilities for meaning-making.

I noted at the outset that this part of the chapter had been prompted by the coincidence of encountering, in different professional contexts, the notion that reflective practice can take practitioners well beyond considerations of professional competence into the realms of what constitutes their own meaning-making and, ultimately, their 'way of being'. I have attempted to remain true to my core belief about reflective practice: that it requires a willingness to state 'This is how it is for me, now', regardless of whether or not that is an 'acceptable' position. Given that I also believe reflective practice is a never-ending process, I suppose it is not surprising that I should have returned to my on-going concern about acknowledging different personal realities.

In a second coincidence, however, with the issue of personal realities very much in mind, I came across an article by Wellington and Austin (1996) which postulates five different orientations to reflective practice, each associated with different paradigms within the social sciences and different fundamental beliefs and values about education. It not only provides a useful basis for future work with students but I was also reassured to learn that my own form of meaning-making has a name: apparently I have a 'transpersonal orientation'. Wellington and Austin (*op.cit.*: 311) note that people who fall into this category are most likely to:

... contemplate questions such as: 'how can I integrate my personal/ spiritual growth with my vocation? What is my personal responsibility to myself and others?' Depth psychology and spiritual teachings underpin the theoretical and research literature associated with [this] orientation.

Had I known sooner that I could be 'classified' so precisely, I need not perhaps have struggled for so long to articulate and justify the approach I have finally taken to this thesis! In making that remark, I am mindful of Douglas's (1987: 100) discussion of Hacking's (1985) work on 'Making Up People' by providing new social categorizations for them. Nevertheless, I propose to adopt the Wellington and Austin categorization, not as a new *persona*, but as independent justification for setting a spiritual/ psychological and reflective discourse alongside those more generally associated with academic analysis of, and professional practice in, community education.

In the last part of this chapter I shall describe the origins of the thesis and discuss in more detail some of the issues to which I have already briefly referred; clarify my

use of particular terms; and indicate how the key discourses interweave with my own autobiography.

Part Three: Premises and Terminology

The truth knocks on the door and you say, "Go away, I'm looking for the truth," and so it goes away. Puzzling.
(Pirsig, 1974: 15)

Background to a Puzzle

The term 'community' is commonplace and consorts with a wide range of others. Linked to 'education', it takes on an identity which Baron (1988) argues should 'be understood as specific interventions into specific contexts and not as an itinerant, rather timeless, educational strategy looking for a home'. Various models and analyses illustrating its history, interventions and contexts have sought to make clear what community education is. The process has parallels in the ancient Sufi story of the blind men who tried to describe an elephant: the person holding the trunk thought the elephant resembled a snake; the one touching the tail thought it more like a rope; the leg was likened to a tree - and so on. In description, the elephant's 'wholeness' was lost.

This thesis starts from the premise that the wholeness of community, and hence the identification of what community education is, or might be, may also be greater than the sum of the models through which it is generally articulated. There is an intangible quality which is frequently sensed in community activities but which, like the life in the elephant, is almost impossible 'to get hold of' in description or analysis. The title of the thesis derives from Poster's attempt at description. He notes that the word 'community' is used in two different ways:

... to represent a feeling, a state of mind, an abstract quality that can only be appreciated conceptually; and to denote a group of people apparently drawn together by a common purpose (Poster, 1982: 1).

Poster (*ibid.*) concludes, somewhat tautologically, that 'Community, the abstract quality, is a derivative of the activities of those who associate in communities'. In subsequent chapters, I shall attempt to articulate the nature of this 'abstract quality' - the intangible, sensed but unseen, element of associating in communities

Since words are like the visible tips of icebergs which hold trapped, and mostly hidden, a range of knowledge, experience and understanding, often gleaned over many centuries, I often turn, as I did in the first part of this chapter, to an etymological dictionary to provide a useful starting point for any new investigation. Partridge (1979: 112-113, 205) points to several significant elements within the iceberg of 'community'. Interestingly, the root of 'community' and 'commonplace' seems to be the same: in the Greek *koinoia*, the fellowship of sharing. 'Communication' - rendering knowledge available to all, and 'communion' which has come to mean 'sharing with God' are similarly derived. 'Fellowship' has connotations with 'the bringing together of wealth'.

Putting these elements together, the enormity of the concept of community and its pivotal nature in human affairs becomes evident. However, while the implications of sharing knowledge and wealth figure in much educational and political debate, the element of community which is associated with 'communion' or 'sharing with God' seems largely to be overlooked. I have begun to wonder whether, in order to appreciate the wholeness of community, including its acknowledged but elusive 'abstract quality', it is necessary, or, indeed, possible to introduce a 'spiritual dimension' to the debate. The aim of this thesis is to address this question and its implications for the further theorizing of community education.

In undertaking this task, I am very aware of how different my understanding of community education is now from when, as a mature student with three young

children in the late 1970s and early 1980s, I first encountered it as a concept rather than as something I did/ had done as a volunteer, educator and/ or participant in activities in a variety of community settings. It is different, too, from the theoretical picture I had begun to build for myself when I became involved, in the late 1980s, in the staff development programme for professional community educators in Derbyshire which eventually resulted in the empirical sections of this study.

The shifting nature of both the 'truth' and the questions about the work in which one becomes engaged will be familiar to anyone who has attempted both to track the development of their own experiences and ideas over a period of time and to discern some coherence in them in the face of changing personal, professional and social circumstances. In retrospect, I can see occasions when questions about the 'wholeness' of community, and the possibility of articulating this in spiritual terms, knocked on my door and I was too busy working with, or writing about, other preoccupations with community education to be able either to recognize or to respond to them.

In responding to them now and in this form, I am under no illusion that to conceptualize community education within a spiritual context would be to arrive at THE truth of what this animal is. I hope simply to make a contribution to the continuing debate about the purpose and practice of education by putting into words, and its own historical setting, what Pirsig (1989: 15) calls the truth of the 'hereness and nowness' of my present understanding of these issues. I shall return in a moment to the business of questions knocking unheard upon one's door. First, in Figure 1.3 (see following page) I have described the relationship between 'my present understanding' and the way in which the thesis is structured.

Present Thoughts: Time Future contained in Time Past

So far, so logical. Or is it? Thanks to computer technology, I am able to slip in seamlessly here, in a way which would have been much less tempting in my relatively recent 'paper, pencil and eraser days', some thoughts which were not originally a part of this section but which have been prompted by my subsequent re-reading of it. I am slightly amused by the certainty implied in the outline of the thesis given overleaf because I am only too well aware that what looks superficially like logic and forward planning is largely a *post-hoc* rationalization of fragments of thinking and writing in which I have been engaged over at least a decade.

I sense that, if this thesis is ever completed, it will have been accomplished not in the kind of linear fashion indicated by Figure 1.3, but rather from the inside out. In the shifting and sifting of my ideas that the constant re-ordering of the fragments has necessitated, I have a sense, too, of the thesis working on me from the outside in.

Let me try to explain those comments in terms of what has actually happened. My concern at the beginning of this chapter about whether it was possible to write an introduction to something which was both complete and 'in formation' was prompted by having already written several different 'introductions', each of which has subsequently become absorbed by another. When I first began to conceptualize this thesis, I think I rather naïvely envisaged the telling of a 'community education story' which would begin with analysis of particular events at a local level, extend into a broader examination of social and political issues and academic model-making, and culminate in a general discussion, in the context of 'New Age' thinking, of the story thus told.

Even in the beginning of the telling, this story quickly lost its 'from here to there' shape. I found myself increasingly using phrases like 'as I shall note later' and 'this is to anticipate the final chapter': if the concept of the 'New Age'/ *Gaia*/ spirituality -

Structure of the Thesis: Rationale

Wholeness and Spirit

In the remainder of this **first chapter** and then in much more detail in **chapter seven**, I shall try to illustrate - drawing on personal experience and reflection, metaphors, received knowledge and quotations from a range of sources - how changing circumstances, and encounters at different times with certain texts, ideas and philosophies have brought me here, now, to where I have a particular view of the concepts of 'wholeness' and 'spirit'.

Frozen Core: empirical work

Chapters one and seven straddle what I earlier called the 'frozen core' of the thesis: the empirical work which I conducted in Derbyshire during the late 1980s and early 1990s, re-presented here as **chapters three, four, five and six**.

Background: history and models

Chapter two has been included to provide a broad historical sketch of the national educational background from which Derbyshire's community education policy emerged, and also to indicate the parameters of my own understanding of community education at the time when I undertook the empirical part of the thesis.

Community

Chapter eight separates the concept of 'community' from that of 'education' and examines a range of meanings attributed to it: the intention is to discover whether, like the life in the Sufi elephant, there exists an 'abstract quality' in community that can perhaps be best articulated in terms of spirit.

Chapters seven and eight have been placed after the description and analysis of the empirical work in Derbyshire because, in 'real time', it was not until after I had almost completed that work that I began seriously to investigate the possibility of a relationship between community (and, by extension, community education) and 'spirit' which I sensed but had not yet begun to articulate properly.

(For ease of future description, I shall use the written convention 'community/ education' throughout the thesis to denote such 'by extension' references to the concept of community and its contribution to that of community education.)

Conclusion: tying the threads

In the light of the preceding discussions, **chapter nine** returns to the typologies of community education outlined in chapter two and explores the extent to which a 'spiritual dimension' might usefully be modelled and attached to them. It also includes an attempt to re-evaluate my own meaning-making and examines apparent parallels between the content of the thesis and the process of writing it.

Derbyshire is revisited in the **epilogue** which provides an update on recent developments in the county.

Figure 1.3. Outline of the Thesis

which was (and remains) so significant within my personal world-picture - was to underpin the thesis, it clearly had to be named up front (even if then, as now, I was not entirely sure of the most appropriate name to use). What I had thought would be the final chapter had to be written first: it concerned the issues that interested me most and which I particularly needed to articulate in order to incorporate a discourse which was important in my personal life into my professional academic practice (though I could not have expressed the need so clearly then, it was felt just as 'something that bugged me').

It continued to 'bug' me in a rather different way after I had written what I privately termed my 'world-picture chapter' (which, in a much amended version, now appears as chapter seven). Initially, I was quite pleased with it since it incorporated much of the 'leisure' reading I had done over several years. Reflecting on this now, having just finished reading Nod Miller's overtly autobiographical thesis, I think I must have imbibed at an early age what, as Miller (1993: 119) reminded me, Bernstein (1977: 120) calls the 'underlying rule' of an 'invisible pedagogy': 'Things must be put together'. I find it hard to live with things that are kept apart⁹.

Indeed, in quoting the 'rule', I recognize it as a personal imperative which has pushed and shaped my approach to this thesis as well as my interest in community education and reflective practice: the discussion of 'non-compartmentalization' in part two of this chapter, written before I was reminded of Bernstein's work, is indicative. It is, perhaps, what Brookfield (1995: 2) would term my deepest 'paradigmatic assumption'¹⁰. Using Bernstein's model of different pedagogies, I can now also recognize how circumstances in which that assumption was challenged effectively blocked me from writing much more on the subject for well over a year. The circumstances were as follows:

A senior and respected colleague read the first draft of my 'world-picture chapter', pointed out a few minor typographical errors, and gave me the following fairly encouraging feedback (written in red ink at the top of the front page):

Well argued at a good philosophical level. My only comment would be to suggest some recognition that not everyone shares even the underlying premise. This will pre-empt the examiner's first line of questioning! A little more of "I" rather than "us" or "we" might indicate your recognition of contrary views. None of which is an argument against the strong presentation of your thesis. There is, in my view, always an avoidance of power in your approach which might also need attention somewhere.

I accepted the criticism of the 'inclusive' language. (However, I chose to use it again, with due recognition this time, in my description of the 'mind-pebble' model in part two of the present chapter. In retrospect, although I had previously thought it was merely a by-product of writing numerous distance learning materials in this particular 'house style', and possibly also a reaction to the 'third person/ scientific' writing I was required to produce as a psychology student in the 1960s, I am beginning to wonder to what extent my preference for, and tendency to drift into, an inclusive style also derives from the 'Things must be put together' imperative.) I duly adapted the style, corrected a few errors, and made several substantial additions and alterations to the chapter before moving on to the next. In order to keep my colleague up-to-date with my progress, I passed on a copy of the amended chapter.

It was returned with no comment in the text but nine points written in red on both sides of the brown A4 envelope containing it: each effectively demolished some aspect of what I had written. Two short examples may help to illustrate the nature of this feedback:

3) *Page 8 - Why should we assume that there is any more meaning in human lives than in the life of an ant?*

9) *... I would not endanger my mind or mental health with such practices [meditation] any more than I would use LSD or other drugs for such purposes.*

They are undoubtedly legitimate observations, as were most of the other even more scathing remarks - but even as I look at them again I can feel a stirring of the sickness in my stomach that so strongly accompanied my first reading. Since the 'nine points' still clearly wield such emotional power over me, I probably need to question why I have not only returned to them but included an extract here. I certainly had no intention of doing so when I began to add this section to the present chapter. Moreover, I can hear a voice at the back of my mind asking anxiously whether it is OK to make this inclusion: not, interestingly now I listen more carefully, in terms of how this might help or hinder my own reflection and development, but in relation to the power/ status of, and ownership of the words by, the person who wrote them. (Perhaps I can justify their use by assuming that they will have been long-forgotten by their author but have evidently not yet fully played out their impact on me!)

I have no idea what prompted the apparent change in the nature of my colleague's feedback. Maybe it is a manifestation of the internalization of the rules of Bernstein's 'visible pedagogy' where 'Things must be kept apart'. That was certainly the message transmitted to me, though that interpretation and the following comments on it have only just presented themselves. At the time, I was incapable of rationalizing what felt like an enormous side-swipe which knocked me off balance and convinced me that I did not have the intellectual ability to undertake a PhD. Within the framework of Bernstein's model, I can conjecture now that the sense of disorientation and powerlessness came from a sudden contextual shift.

In his more recent work Bernstein (1990) has indicated that his earlier analysis of pedagogy, in which the acquirer is referred to as 'the child', is to be understood as encompassing all types of educational transmissions. With this in mind, a key to my state of disorientation can perhaps be found in one of his defining characteristics of an 'invisible pedagogy':

(3) Where within this arranged [by the teacher] context, the child apparently has wide powers over what he [*sic*] selects, over how he structures, and over the time-scale of his activities (Bernstein, 1977: 116).

After many years in adult education settings I find such a context comfortable, and mostly take it for granted. However, my belief that this was the context in which I was operating in writing a PhD thesis under the aegis of an adult education department was abruptly challenged by the sudden and unexpected total demolition of what I had written. The implicit message (only now decoded in these terms) was that my writing 'activities', though hitherto seemingly encouraged, were not acceptable within the visible pedagogy of the University and its requirements for a PhD. Even more significantly, it was not just my 'selection and structure' of material that was apparently deemed unacceptable but the very ground from which it sprang: the articulation of a personal belief system.

In entering my present reflecting-through-writing state, I am mindful of the particular reflective writing exercise which introduces this chapter, and of my references in it to feelings and to both/ and rather than either/ or questions. In addition, my reading of Miller (1993: 10-11, 132) shortly before embarking on this written interjection here has also brought to mind two other works which I had earlier encountered and which seem to have some significance in the context both of my references during the writing exercise and of the 'decoding' in which I have just engaged (the both/ and format is clearly taking hold!).

The work of Boud *et al* (1985) in modifying Kolb's (1984) 'experiential learning model' to include a more detailed process at the reflection stage stresses the importance of returning to experience, *attending to feelings*, and re-evaluating experience. This return to the feelings which helped to create and sustain not just a writing block but a sense of intellectual inadequacy, and the re-framing of the experience in which these arose, seems to have bestowed at least some legitimacy on my 'world-picture material'. I can now accept that, perhaps like a dandelion that appears in a carefully-tended lawn, the material was not intrinsically 'inferior' but merely presented in the wrong place at the wrong time. If the experience had not had quite such a debilitating effect, maybe I could simply have redefined it in the vernacular as my colleague 'having a bad hair day'.

However, as Miller (*op.cit.*: 132) puts it in summarizing one of her own early assumptions about research:

9. Debate between researchers, at least as it surfaced in print, was like a gladiatorial struggle, a fight to the death to defend one's own definition of 'truth'; another vivid metaphor for this process is to be found in Bernstein's statement that, 'It is very rare to have an intellectual dialogue which is not at some point transformed into symbolic cannibalism; my formulation can eat up yours' (1977, p.7).

Symbolically speaking, and to mix a number of metaphors, my erstwhile colleague's 'nine points' not only created a contextual shift which knocked me off the gladiatorial platform but I felt that the 'formulation' of my world-picture, acquired over many years but only tentatively presented on this new platform, had been eaten up and spat out. In order to preserve something of it, I gathered up the remains, took it away from the gladiatorial/ academic stage and retired hurt. The person who had earlier noted mildly that *'there is, in my view, always an avoidance of power in your approach which might also need attention somewhere'* was absolutely right: when that same person later wielded it right over my approach, I avoided it, rolled over, emulated *Rosencrantz and Guildenstern*, and played dead on the academic stage.

I described in part one of this chapter how other players have since encouraged me to stand upon that stage again and to speak of what I 'know', of a world-picture which has a tested legitimacy for me, in my own voice. I sense that this may be becoming stronger with each new 'introduction' I have written.

On the advice of a sympathetic colleague to whom I spoke of the effects of the 'cannibal episode' long after it had occurred, I wrote a new introduction as a preamble to the world-picture chapter (although this latter now forms the basis of chapter seven, at that time I had begun to envisage it as an introductory chapter rather than, as originally intended, the concluding one). The new post-cannibal introduction constituted an attempt to clarify what the concept of 'spirit' meant to me and how my personal history inclined me towards a world-picture where such a concept has meaning: it forms most of the remainder of the present chapter.

I subsequently wrote what has become part two of this chapter as a separate article for publication. I now suspect it was in an attempt to bestow the legitimacy of 'outside approval' (or at least acknowledgement) on a personal belief system. Part one of the chapter, written even more recently, contains its own explanation of its origins. It is this process of repeatedly moving back a step to which I alluded earlier in saying that the thesis seems to be being written from the inside out.

I noted, too, that it seems to be working on me from the outside in. By this I mean that what began as a fairly simple report on other people's policy and practice in community education has prompted a voyage of discovery into my own meanings and values. As a result, I think I have become more tolerant of ambiguities. I no

longer assume that a choice has to be made between either 'my' world-picture or 'yours', but that they both have their own internal validities, constructions, comparisons and contradictions: the framing of 'both/ and' questions in my initial reflective writing exercise and my perhaps over-frequent subsequent use of this textual pattern throughout the chapter may be significant in this respect.

In the context of the model known as the Johari Window (Figure 1.4a, following page), what may be happening here is an expansion of the 'Open' area. The model was designed to identify four types of messages used in interpersonal interaction. Miller (1993: 92-94) uses it to draw attention to certain group processes where the 'Blind' area is reduced by the giving and receiving of feedback which brings hitherto unrecognized information about oneself into the 'Open' area, and the same effect is brought about between the 'Hidden' and 'Open' areas by self-disclosure (Figure 1.4b).

I think it might equally well be used to explain the process of expanding Area 1 through the less immediately public reflective process of deliberately exploring one's thoughts (messages self is aware of but others are unaware of) in the light of academic literature (messages others are aware of but self is unaware of). The comparison has only just occurred to me and it may not be helpful to explore it further right now. In introducing these diagrams to this text, though, I think I may have been seduced by the idea that work on the two boundaries mentioned could ultimately create a conscious link with Area 4 which looks tantalizingly close to the silent domain 'Whereof one cannot speak' but which has such a strong presence in this thesis.

Before I digressed into self-disclosure in discussing the shape of the thesis, I noted that 'In retrospect, I can see occasions when questions about the "wholeness" of community, and the possibility of articulating this in "spiritual" terms, knocked on my door and I was too busy to be able either to recognize or respond to them'. It is to that point I shall now return.

A Knocking at the Door

Perhaps it is not too puzzling that new questions take time to form before they are heard knocking on the door of one's consciousness. Psychologists such as Erikson (1963; 1982) and sociologists like the Rappaports (1975) who have studied the human life-cycle and its implications suggest that individuals are likely to re-focus their ideas and priorities, and therefore what they are able or willing to hear, at different life-stages. There is a tendency, with age, to move from 'doing' to 'reflecting' and to attempt, in however basic a form, to integrate previous experiences. Rather like pieces of a jigsaw puzzle, life-experiences do not always seem to have a coherent pattern. Occasionally, however, the addition of a single piece acts as a catalyst to make evident hitherto unseen connections.

For me, the catalyst which caused a number of things to come together was reading, several years after it was first published, M. Scott Peck's *The Different Drum* (1990b). It helped me to re-frame, in the context of community processes with which I had subsequently become familiar, some of my earlier experiences: first, as a psychology student in the 1960's, of partaking in 'T-groups'¹¹ and of struggling with the reality and morality of 'consciousness-raising' techniques *via* hallucinogenic drugs and other means; and then in various groups connected with the Women's Movement during the 1970s. It also encouraged me to re-examine tentative connections which I had made in a number of short articles (Hunt, 1992a; 1992b; 1993a; 1993b) between work that I was doing in community education and a world-picture which seemed to me to be emerging in association with the 'New Age' movement and its links with spirituality.

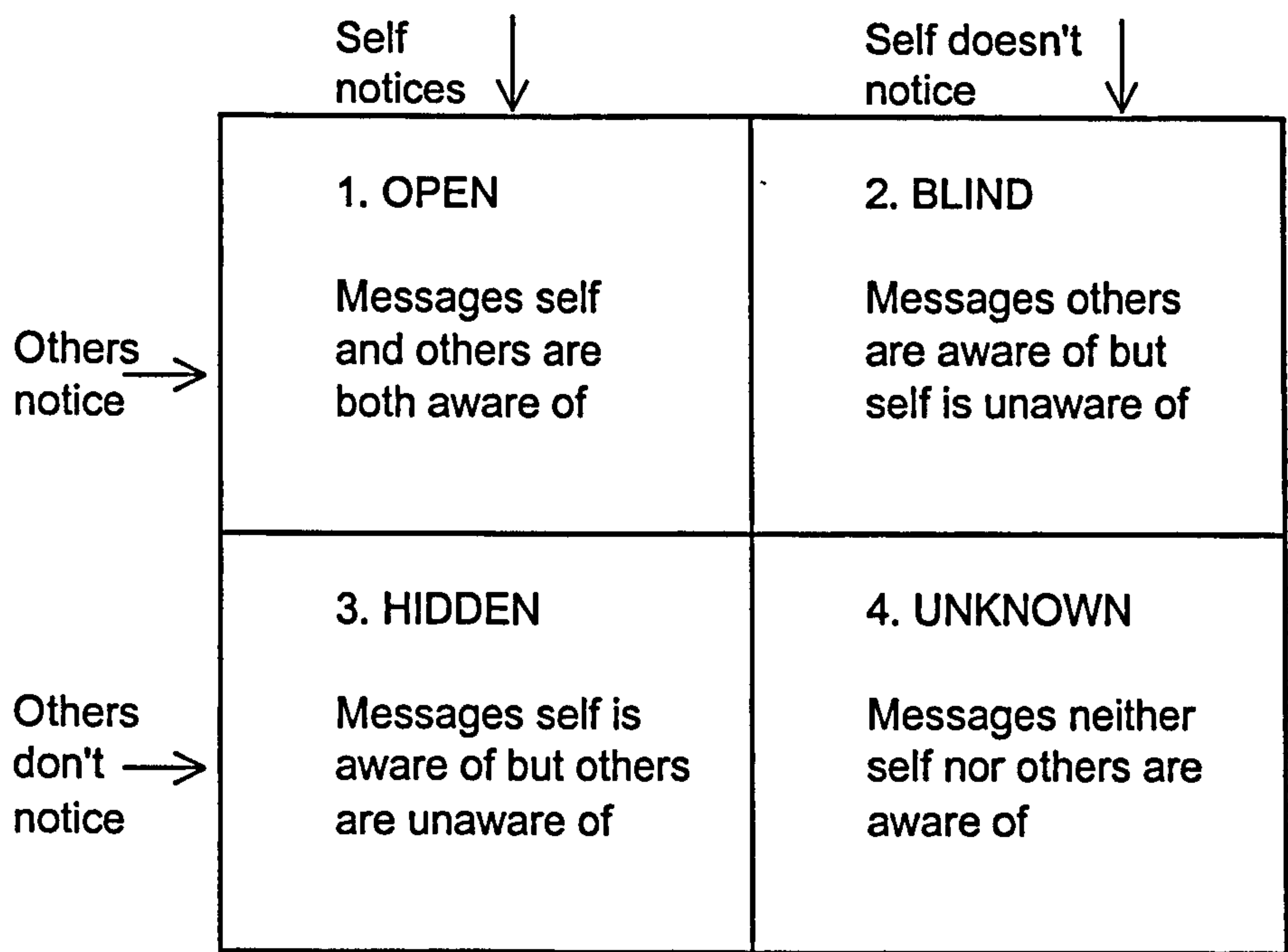


Figure 1.4a. The Johari Window (from Miller, 1993: 93).

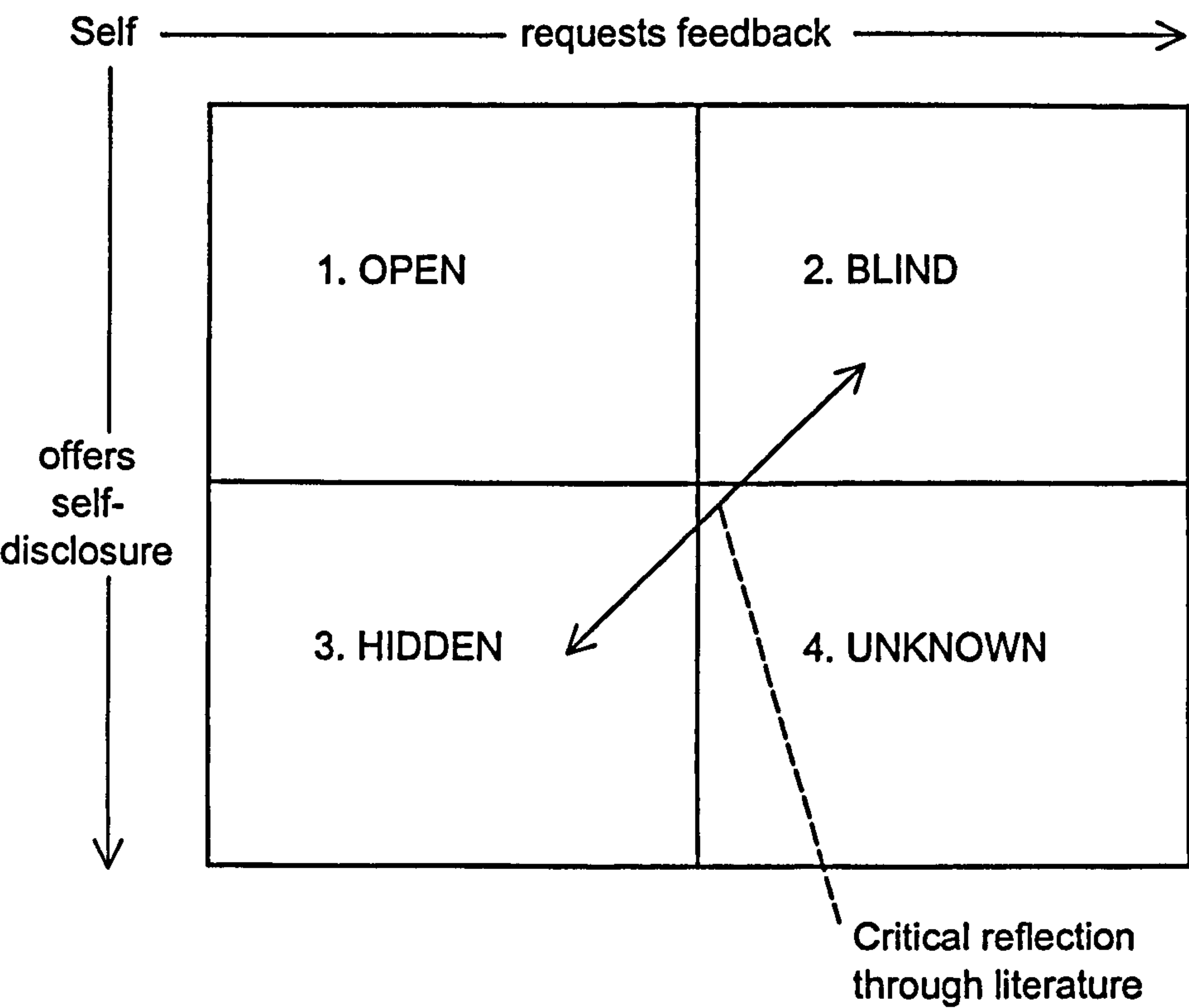


Figure 1.4b. The Johari Window: action to increase open' area (after Miller, 1993: 93).

In general, my community education practice has been bounded by what works; my writing and teaching about community education 'theory' has largely been informed by existing typologies, models and analyses. As I have already noted, I had made the 'New Age' connections tentatively because of a wariness about their reception. I suspected, rightly, that they would be seen as slightly 'way out', 'alternative', certainly 'non-academic': many 'New Age' ideas emanate, almost by definition, from groups that are seen to be part of a counter-culture and so can easily be placed outside the boundary of what is an appropriate area for academic concern. Many of the texts which inform and derive from this movement have been dismissed as non-scientific: they are judged to make claims which are unverifiable, rooted in feeling/intuition and, therefore, irrational.

Although it is more than a quarter of a century since Roszak's (1969) *The Making of a Counter Culture* offered a critique of the intellectual/ analytical process and tried to re-admit emotion/ experience as a valid way of knowing the world, these two modes are still often regarded as oppositional, with the former generally afforded higher status than the latter. Even leaving relative status aside, the duality implied here remains an issue. As Bateson (1972: 438) once pointed out:

We live in a strange epoch when many psychologists try to 'humanize' their science by preaching an anti-intellectual gospel ... It is the attempt to *separate* intellect from emotion that is monstrous and I suggest that it is equally monstrous - and dangerous - to attempt to separate the external mind from the internal. Or to separate mind from body (original emphasis).

Bateson's work fed directly into the development of Neuro-Linguistic Programming (NLP) and other 'whole-person' therapies which are often associated with 'New Age' beliefs. Their defining feature seems to be the attempt to overcome dualistic thinking and to re-join intellect/ emotion, mind/ body, and external/ internal worlds.

Incorporating some of the insights gleaned from early T-group sessions and the ensuing 'sensitivity group movement', such work is often conducted in the context of a supportive group. It has undoubtedly spawned some cranky and disreputable activities and ideas, but the focus on the 'whole-person', rather than simply on the intellectual aspect of mind *or* on emotion *or* on behaviour, is now also reflected in systems theory, including the way in which this has been applied to management (see Senge, 1990), and in the notion of the interconnectedness of all things (see Bohm, 1980; Capra, 1979 and 1997; Sattler, 1986; and Sheldrake, 1981, for further discussion of this concept in scientific terms).

Gaia, the name of the ancient Earth goddess, is increasingly being invoked both to represent the view that the Earth itself is a living system (Lovelock, 1979) and as a metaphor for a changing world-picture - the 'dawning of a new age' - in which the implications of the interconnectedness of dynamic systems appear to demand new individual and political responses (Thompson, 1987). By association, the concept and place of 'spirit' and its possible 'manifestations' in modern society seem to have become common, legitimate and fairly comfortable subjects for comment and discussion in literature that can be broadly defined as 'New Age'.

Peck (1990b: 73-76), for example, argues that 'The "atmosphere" of love and peace', which many participants have experienced during T-group work, and which sometimes also arises through other community activities, 'is so palpable that almost every community member experiences it as a spirit'. He questions whether this atmosphere is 'simply' a creation of the group itself or whether it might be a manifestation of the 'Holy Spirit' which, in the Christian tradition, is identified with Wisdom. Wisdom, in this context, is used to denote a direct experience of connection between the everyday world of the senses and a Kantian *noumenal* realm beyond them¹².

‘Spirit’

A concern with the nature of ‘spirit’ is clearly not solely the prerogative of any one group of people or of a particular historical age. Within the statutory education system in Britain, to take a fairly prosaic example, the obligation on educators to concern themselves with spiritual matters was actually embodied in the 1944 Education Act, although current educational policy and practice seems either to pay it scant attention or to interpret it in terms of imparting a particular religious doctrine.

However, I am aware that ‘spirit’ is such a contested and emotive concept that to consider it as a potential context for the exploration of an area of education that is itself the subject of much debate may be ill-judged. But not to do so would be to deny the presence of something that I sense in my own life and which, as I indicated in part two of this chapter, has increasingly informed my educational practice.

Although I shall discuss the use of the term in detail in chapter seven, it is important to note here that my sense of ‘spirit’ is not of a separate, almighty, all-powerful, ‘God/ person’ existing outside of, directing, and sitting in judgement on human affairs; nor is it of any other kind of ‘entity’ located outside the physical world: it is of something much more abstract and intimate. Though derived from experience, it is reinforced by what I have subsequently learned of some of the major mystical and religious traditions.

Thus, when I speak of ‘connecting with spirit’, I am referring to being in a state of consciousness in which there is no me *and* spirit, no me *and* the chair on which I sit, no me *and* you; it is a state which transcends difference, in which no duality is experienced; a state where there is no object of experience (*i.e.* that which is *being experienced* either physically or mentally) and no subject - experienter - of the experience (*i.e.* no ‘me’ who *has* the experience).

Once such connection has occurred, it brings into question every aspect of definition - of oneself and of the apparently ‘external’ world since, if there is no duality, how can ‘I’ and ‘the world’ be separate? One answer underpins most ‘New Age’ thinking and will be a key element in much of the discussion which follows: they cannot be separate; there is no real separation because, at the very deepest level of being, there is a ‘spiritual dimension’ which both contains and sustains all things.

This is expressed in terms of the sacred text of the Indian *Upanishads* as, ‘What is within us is also without; what is without us is also within’; in the Christian tradition, the Gospel according to Thomas says ‘The Kingdom is within you and it is without you’; the Buddhist view is that ‘All things from the beginning are in their nature Being itself’ (Russell, 1991: 123).

In more secular terms, this belief system might be translated into one which simply acknowledges that, for whatever reason, it is possible for humans to experience directly what many have described as ‘being at one with the world’ and that this very often has an impact on future beliefs and behaviour. Maslow (1954) referred to this as ‘peak-experience’ and found it had a strong relationship with psychological well-being. It led him to postulate the existence of a ‘needs hierarchy’ in which human behaviour is driven by a desire to satisfy the next ‘level’ of unmet need: the lowest level being concerned with hunger and thirst and the highest levels with self-actualization and altruism.

Maslow’s model is essentially Western, tempered by the concepts of progress and of separately identifiable functional levels. However, it embodies the principle that

humans are somehow 'driven' to seek the experience of 'at one-ness', and that this experience itself is likely to result in behaviour which is generally informed by a strong sense of identity with humanity as a whole, and certainly of belonging to something bigger than oneself. One question which has influenced the compilation of this thesis is whether this drive finds expression in the search for community, and may be channelled through the processes of community education.

Peak-experiences, as Maslow and other transpersonal psychologists have shown, are especially familiar among athletes and mountaineers who push themselves to the limits of physical endurance; many do, indeed, speak subsequently of 'feeling driven' to repeat the experience. Mountaineers, in particular, have also described the experience as 'mystical'. After descending from a successful attempt in 1979 to reach the summit of Kanchenjunga, the third highest peak in the world, Peter Boardman, who was tragically killed on Everest three years later, questioned the use of the mystical label but nevertheless admitted that there was a vital aspect of the experience which defied description. He wrote:

Had the mystical experience of reaching the West Ridge been no more than the result of a combination of lack of oxygen, food and water, and perhaps an excess of negative ions in the air? "That hill cragged and steep where truth stands." Mountains do not reveal truth, I decided, but they encourage something to grow inside - something I was not yet able to explain fully (Boardman, 1983: 164).

After a life-threatening storm on the same expedition, Boardman (*op.cit.*: 141) also noted:

Out of one of the worst experiences of my life, I've learned again how precious life is - we've a new measure for our lives. The mountain has to make us work, has to be uncertain. Through the efforts and the weeks the mountain is seeping into us. Through this communion, I am sure, we shall eventually discover the key, and I am beginning to feel ready for it.

Boardman's sense that he might eventually find the key to 'where truth stands' through the process of 'communion', interpreted, in this case, as the mountain 'seeping into' him, seems broadly similar to my own sense that a fuller understanding of, and a different way of being in, the world may be derived from directly experiencing a 'dimension' of existence which transcends the 'ordinary' world of separateness.

In chapter seven I shall attempt to explore some of the qualities and questions associated with this experience. Csikszentmihalyi (1990: 239-240) draws attention to a crucial element of the debate in the following terms:

In the past few thousand years ... humanity has achieved incredible advances in the *differentiation* of consciousness. We have developed a realization that mankind is separate from other forms of life. We have conceived of individual human beings as separate from one another. We have invented abstraction and analysis ... It is this abstraction that has produced science, technology, and the unprecedented power of mankind to build up and to destroy its environment.

But complexity consists of *integration* as well as differentiation. The task of the next decades and centuries is to realize this underdeveloped component of the mind. Just as we have learned to separate ourselves from each other and from the environment, we now need to learn how to reunite ourselves with other entities around us without losing our hard-won individuality. The most promising faith for the future might be based on the realization that the entire universe is a system related by common laws and that it makes no sense to impose our dreams and desires on nature without taking them into account. Recognizing the limitations of human will, accepting a co-operative rather than

	INDOCTRINATION	NURTURE ←————— Educare (to mould or train) —————→	INSTRUCTION	TRAINING —————→	EDUCATION <i>Educere</i> (to lead out)
Aim	Conditioning	Socialization	Imparting knowledge	Imparting skills	Animating and empowering
Focus	'The Cause' or 'The System'	Culture	Subject	Technique	Life and the person
Rationality	Irrational (ignores evidence)	←—————	Non-rational (accepts evidence)	—————→	Rational (questions evidence)
Method	Imprinting	Assimilation	Memorizing ←————— (understanding) —————→	Mastery —————→	Discovery and commitment
Choice	Determined by the 'teacher'	Determined by the tradition	Determined by the curriculum		Open - towards a new culture
Type of authority	Autocratic (imposes)	Paternal / Maternal (guards and guides)	←————— Directive (informs and explains) —————→	—————→ (demonstrates and practises)	Democratic (shares and enables)
Morality	Immoral (ignores and distorts values)	←—————	Non-moral (accepts values)	—————→	Moral (questions in order to develop values)

—————→ TOWARDS EDUCATION —————→

Figure 1.5. Approaches to learning (from Clark, 1992: 120; original diagram [Clark 1989: 32] draws on concepts from Hull, 1975: ch.3)

a ruling role in the universe, we should feel the relief of an exile who is finally returning home. The problem of meaning will then be resolved as the individual's purpose merges with the universal flow (Fullan, 1994: 146, original emphases).

To experience this 'universal flow' is almost certainly to experience what I have been calling the 'spiritual dimension' of human life; in Boardman's words it is to enter into the 'communion' that provides a key to a different way of seeing and being in the world. Perhaps to seek the reassurance of community is simply to seek 'the relief of returning home'.

Personal Journey, Social Context

While, and since, writing the articles which prompted the line of enquiry from which much of my 'world-picture chapter' (chapter seven) derives, I have been introduced to, and read for the first time, the contemporary writings of Sattler (1986), Peck (1990a, 1990b), Clark (1992) and others who have also attempted to grapple in their academic texts with the 'mysterious'; and some of the work of Hegel (1956) on the concept of the 'World Spirit'. Had I found these several years earlier, this thesis might have been finished much more quickly and in a more coherent fashion.

It might have been but, I suspect, could not have been. I am at a very different life-stage personally and professionally than I was when the possibility of writing a thesis was first presented to me. It is a stage where reflection has become important, not simply because of age (though that is a factor) but because it is a concept with which I and several colleagues have been struggling since 1993 with students whose 'reflective practice' as educators is an assessed element of their post-graduate studies. This work has been informed by that of Schön (1983, 1987, 1991), Brookfield (1987, 1995), Carr (1995) and others: a key element is to 'take ownership' of what is known personally in a context where much of what passes for education tends to be about the world 'out there', and about what others know.

To date, there is some evidence from students' work that the possibility of taking ownership is partly age-related (Stuart, 1995) and partly determined by the nature of previous learning experiences (Cartney, 1997). This fits with Clark's view of a move 'towards education' through the related states of 'nurture, instruction and training', each of which, he suggests, may be mistaken for 'the real thing' (Clark, 1992: 120; see Figure 1.5, following page).

I am aware of my own educational journey moving in stages through the states illustrated in Figure 1.5, and of my professional career and its links with community education also following a similar pattern.

My first involvement with what I would now define as community education was as a volunteer and activist in various organizations such as the Pre-School Playgroups Association, Parents' Associations, School Governing Bodies and so on which were predominantly associated with my children's activities and development: nurturing my children determined what I and, as I later discovered, what many other women similarly became involved with outside the home (Hunt, 1984a; 1985). The involvement led me to seek specific instruction and training in order to do the jobs effectively; doing the jobs opened up the possibility of further study on an MEd course as I sought to understand the relationship between parental education and children's schooling.

This wheel continued to turn as, in addition to increasing political involvement in local community issues, I took on part-time work as a tutor on training courses for school governors (Hunt, 1990), primarily to help financially in nurturing my

children's expanding activities. The work gradually escalated and evolved: I moved on to run a certificate course in community education for school governors and others who wished to extend their knowledge of, and participation in, the education system (Buckley, 1991; Hunt, 1984b); to develop training and staff development courses for community educators (Hunt, 1988a; 1988b; 1988c; 1988d; 1995a; 1995b; Hunt and Clarke, 1989); and, currently, as I also attempt to come to terms with the re-ordering of my family commitments as my elder daughter starts her married life and my youngest child prepares to live abroad, to work with the concept of reflective practice on postgraduate programmes for trainers and educators from a wide range of different settings (Hunt *et al*, 1994; Hunt, 1996b; 1997a; 1997b; 1997c; 1998c; 1998d, 1999c).

How and what I write now is very evidently a product of this journey. My writing style, using the personal pronoun and attempting to grapple with my personal belief system, owes much to the processes of Gestalt psychology and of reflective practice. Thirty years ago it would not have been acceptable for me, as a student of psychology, to write a research report couched in other than the traditional third person. Had I lit a bunsen burner or observed some aspect of social behaviour, I should have been obliged to write: 'The bunsen burner was lit' or 'It was observed that ...'. Such early patterns are hard to break so the over-use of the passive phrase may well be evident in much of the present text.

Acceptance of the personal in research marks much more than a stylistic transition. As Mills (1967: 13-14, first published 1959) pointed out:

In every intellectual age some one style of reflection tends to become a common denominator of cultural life ...

During the modern era, physical and biological science has been the major common denominator of serious reflection and popular metaphysics in Western societies. 'The technique of the laboratory' has been the accepted mode of procedure and the source of intellectual security. That is one meaning of the idea of an intellectual common denominator: men [*sic*] can state their strongest convictions in its terms; other terms and other styles of reflection seem mere vehicles of escape and obscurity.

During the 1950s and 1960s, when the emerging social sciences were seeking to establish themselves, much of the thinking, and certainly the methodological approaches associated with them, were heavily influenced by 'The technique of the laboratory'. Indeed, Mills's (*ibid.*: 14) own contention that 'The sociological imagination' would become 'the major common denominator of our cultural life and its signal feature' was tempered by his observation that 'many social scientists are themselves quite unaware of it'. At that time, too, as Skinner (1994: 4-5) notes:

Within the philosophy of science, a positivist account of what constitutes an explanation largely held sway. To explain a puzzling set of facts was taken to be a matter of showing that their occurrence can be deduced and hence predicted from a known natural or at least statistical law. The prestige of this analysis not only served to direct social scientists to look for regularities as the only acceptable basis for explaining social phenomenon. It also required them to believe that there was no reason in principle why human actions should not be viewed and explained in just the same way as natural events. The result was that 'man [*sic*] as a subject for science' - to cite the title of a well-known essay by A.J. Ayer - came to seem not just a possible but the only respectable goal for the social disciplines.

Popper's (1959: 78-92) interpretation of what could properly be counted as respectable science also exerted a powerful influence on the way social science was conducted. In Skinner's view, Popper's contention that a belief is only rationally

grounded if it has been subjected to a 'crucial experiment' designed to falsify it, and has succeeded in passing that test, provided the social disciplines with an easy way of 'separating purportedly factual from merely normative or metaphysical assertions, and thereby placing themselves on the straight and narrow path towards becoming genuine sciences' (Skinner, 1994: 5).

Over the past quarter of a century, philosophers have increasingly challenged the application of the 'laws' of natural science to human behaviour and, like Habermas (1974), questioned the role of science as the only valid kind of knowledge in relation to either the natural or social world or, like Gadamer (1975) and others of the hermeneutic tradition, stressed that to understand human behaviour it is necessary to understand its meaning (Giddens, 1994: 125).

There have, in addition, been doubts raised from the field of psychiatry about the usefulness of attempting to define human behaviour in causal terms since this results in questions about abnormal behaviour having to be asked in the context of what 'malfunction' must be prompting it (Laing, 1960); Kuhn (1970) has challenged the Popperian ideal of rationality by questioning whether facts exist independently of theories about them; Foucault's work has brought into question the extent to which the practice of science has become a means of controlling knowledge and exerting power (Gordon, 1980); and the Women's and Black Movements have contested what counts as knowledge and whose voices determine it. These Movements have illustrated, in the process, the inseparability of the personal from the political. They have also brought about a marked change in the use of language, particularly in relation to sexism¹³.

In consequence of such shifts in thinking, 'taking ownership' of one's own knowledge whilst setting this in its historical, philosophical and social context has gradually become accepted as a valid approach within the social sciences. As Boud and Miller (1996: 6) put it, acknowledging Mills's influence:

Autobiographical research and writing, in enabling researchers to link the personal and the structural, individual life-histories and collective social movements, and public and private worlds, can be seen as central and fundamental to the social scientific enterprise.

It has certainly become central to my own enterprise here: though the influence is overtly evident in what I have written thus far, it seems appropriate to reiterate at this point that the evolution of this thesis, and its final shape, are closely linked to the way in which I have gradually come to grasp the meaning of such concepts and processes.

Discussing, in Hegelian terms, the impossibility of transcending one's own historical context, Carr (1995: 18-19) uses the notion of 'embeddedness' which, as I shall note in chapter eight, is familiar in communitarian thinking, to illustrate the links between 'the way we grasp the meaning of concepts and the way we understand ourselves'. As a child, Carr had written his address on the fly-leaf of a school book, starting with his street and moving through ten other 'levels' of location, including district, county and continent, to 'The Universe'. I remember putting similar inscriptions in my own school books: as Carr notes (*ibid.*) it is 'a popular means for children to secure themselves against their initial lack of placement by locating themselves in a reality that is familiar and knowable'. In addition, as he goes on to argue:

Just as I can only grasp the meaning of a concept by clarifying the role it plays in constituting a particular form of social life, so I can only gain an adequate sense of who and what I am, by the range of social communities in which my self-identity has been formed. It is no doubt for this reason that my childhood exercise in self-understanding involved listing my membership of precisely

those forms of community - the street, the neighbourhood, the city, the region, the nation state - to which I belonged (Carr, 1995: 19).

Scherer (1972: 120) also draws attention to the structure provided by community, noting:

Many of our important life-concepts are, in fact, synthetic devices by which we can control our destiny and find a place for ourselves within the universe, for men require forms and patterns to remove uncertainty. If community can provide a satisfying and meaningful context in which man may order many of his social relationships, stimulating communal development by artificial means is worthwhile.

That people 'belong' in, and to, communities and that communities 'can provide a satisfying and meaningful context' not only in which to 'order' social relationships but in which to learn and develop have always been central tenets of community education. However, as in Carr's summary, the location of humanity within 'The Universe' has generally been overlooked, and the concept and implications of membership of the global community have only recently begun to be taken seriously. The ways in which such communities should be defined, the nature of the relationship between 'community' and 'education', and the role and function of the 'community educator' has long been a matter for debate: I shall attempt to engage with it in subsequent chapters.

In acknowledging that changes have occurred over time in the ideas held in society about the philosophy and practice of community education, about the processes of research, and about the nature of knowledge itself - and that these changes have influenced my own ideas, understanding and style, I am acutely aware of the relationship between change and continuity to which I drew attention with the river analogy at the beginning of this chapter. Carr (*ibid.*) describes the relationship in terms which provide the keynote of the whole thesis:

... in the course of the passage of time, both the meaning of our concepts and our understanding of ourselves may change and become something other than they once were. But in neither of these cases is the process of change so complete as to allow either our understanding of a concept or our sense of who we are to become totally detached from their historical roots. ... The biography of an individual, like the genealogy of a concept, is always a story about unity through diversity, continuity through change.

The emerging Gaian/ 'New Age' world-picture to which I shall return in chapter seven is founded in the notion that unity underpins diversity and that to experience a real sense of unity is to connect with 'spirit'. In subsequently examining the concept of 'community' in chapter eight, I shall consider whether the 'abstract quality' (Poster, *op.cit.*) of community that has caused the term 'never to be used unfavourably, and never to be given any positive opposing or distinguishing term' (Williams, 1976: 66) may be located in this same 'spiritual dimension'.

First, however, I shall approach, and metaphorically break the ice around, what I have called the 'frozen core' of this thesis - the discussion of issues arising from the development and implementation of a highly innovative community education policy in the English county of Derbyshire. I shall follow a similar route to that which I took, in practice, in arriving at the understanding of community education which informed my design and facilitation of the staff development programme for Community Education Tutors, and other professionals in Derbyshire, who were charged with implementing the county's policy.

The first part of the next chapter will therefore provide an overview of some of the key themes which, from the introduction of elementary education for all, in 1870, to the 1970s, when the rhetoric of community began to influence the provision of

education both inside and outside schools, have underpinned political thinking about education and, in particular, the making of the English schooling system. Part two will examine some of the difficulties of definition in community schooling. Part three will focus on the typologies and models which were devised during the 1980s in an attempt to make sense of the complex reality which the concept of community education subsequently came to embody.

¹ This was known colloquially as 'The Schön Inquiry', organised by the SOLAR Centre, Nene University College, November 1996 - May 1997.

² Nod Miller has since referred me to her own PhD thesis (Miller, 1993) which was thirteen years in gestation. I have found in it some striking parallels, and contrasts, with the way my own thinking and writing have both developed and been blocked. I am indebted to Nod not only for her 'worked example' of autobiographical writing but also for her encouragement not to lose sight of my own story.

³ This article has now been adapted in the context of a more recent debate about the nature of lifelong learning, and accepted for publication in *Studies in the Education of Adults* (Hunt, 1999a).

⁴ Director of Counselling, Anglia Polytechnic University: Annual Counselling Lecture, University of Sheffield, February 1997 (unpublished).

⁵ Parker (1997: 50) follows a similar line of argument in relation to reflective teaching. Making specific reference to the removal of barriers, he notes: 'Through immersion, commitment and responsibility, the reflective teacher softens or dissolves altogether the boundary between expert and client. Indeed, this entails that the reflective teacher is always primarily *her own client*' (original emphasis).

⁶ Robert Muller is a former Secretary General of the United Nations.

⁷ I first remember seeing this picture as a child in the 1950s. It appeared on the front page of a Sunday newspaper, purporting to be 'The Face of Christ'. I think it is 'really' an aerial photograph of snow in the Arctic (or the Pyrenees; reports I have seen subsequently have varied!). The photograph has been reproduced in several books: e.g. Abercrombie (1954); Russell (1991). I have used it in a variety of teaching contexts to illustrate a number of points, including: how fully-formed pictures can emerge from random data; how, when effort has gone into 'seeing' a particular picture, it becomes difficult to let go of that picture (I now find it impossible to return to 'randomness' and *not* see the 'man' in this particular picture); and how the 'seeing' of a significant picture can obscure or reduce the importance of other things which other people see and/ or which seem peripheral to the 'real' picture. Besides the 'Hidden Man' (variously described as a Christ-figure, a Cavalier and Ché Guevara), students have also identified, amongst other things, rabbits, a witch, a 'Red Indian', a cat, a crocodile and Richard Wagner.

⁸ Hazel Hampton has since published an article containing these points (Hampton, 1993).

⁹ I have recently come across a book review which gives me a new name for this preference: Consilience. Payne and Goodwin (1999: 14) write: "'Consilience" is Wilson's [1999] requirement that everything shall be seen to fit together in one system of knowledge. We live in one universe with us ourselves inside it. Our knowledge should not be fragmented, but must strive after the same holistic unity as reality. [This] ...does not mean naïve reductionism. ... The whole is often greater than the sum of its parts'. Much of this thesis attempts to say just that!

¹⁰ Brookfield (1995: 2) postulates three different kinds of assumptions: 'causal', 'prescriptive' and 'paradigmatic'. He refers to the latter as 'basic structuring axioms we use to order the world into fundamental categories. We may not recognise them as assumptions even after they have been pointed out to us. Instead, we insist that they are obviously valid renderings of reality, the facts we know to be true'.

¹¹ For a summary of the development, theoretical base and various applications/ interpretations of the T-group process, see Miller, 1993: 86-127 *et passim*.

¹² In writing this paragraph and glancing back through the chapter, I am reminded of a passage in the satirical history book *1066 And All That* where an attempt to tell the complicated story of the Picts and the Scots in five lines involved the heavy use of parenthesis, resulting in the observation that 'the Picts (originally Scots) were now Irish (living in brackets)' (Sellar and Yeatman, 1960: 5). In struggling to present something for which there does not seem to be a ready vocabulary, I have become increasingly aware of what is perhaps a similar over-use in this text of inverted commas. However, I shall continue

to use them, conventionally, to distinguish short quotations or words taken deliberately from the texts of other authors - and also to denote words/ phrases used in a way, or context, that I feel might be especially open to debate or question.

¹³ Whilst I warmly welcome the raised awareness this represents of the part played in society by women, it seems unnecessarily cumbersome to continue to make 'apology' for the use of sexist language in quotations extracted from earlier texts - as I have in those from Mills and Ayer, used above. In what follows, therefore, I shall not include further acknowledgement of this kind. There is, in any case, a further issue concerning the use of the terms 'Man' and 'Mankind' which appear to derive from the Sanskrit *manus*, meaning 'thinking being', a category from which I would not wish to separate women.



Chapter Two

An Overview:

From Elementary Schools to Community Schools - Ideas, Issues and Models

So that the fate of Derbyshire's community education policy, which is described and analyzed in chapters three to six, can perhaps be better understood, the purpose of the present chapter is to provide a rough sketch of the national background against which the policy was conceived, developed and implemented.

Like the previous chapter, this one is also divided into three parts. The first contains a very broad historical overview of thinking which appears to have shaped the face of the schooling system in England between the introduction of elementary education for 'the masses', in 1870, and the 1970s, when the rhetoric of community began to impact upon local education authorities, schools, and the education of adults.

The second part places the development of community schooling itself in an historical perspective and explores some of the difficulties of determining what a 'community school' is. A personal perspective is included where I am aware of certain aspects of national policy having had a direct impact upon my own thinking and professional practice.

Part three provides a summary of a number of models and typologies which were developed during the 1980s in an attempt to capture and simplify the richness and diversity of activities subsumed by the concept of community education. I shall return to these typologies in chapter nine to determine whether a 'spiritual dimension' of community, as explored in chapters seven and eight, might usefully be modelled and incorporated.



Part One:

‘To Do With Schools’ - An Historical Perspective

... the development of community education in this country has been school focused. The assumption has been that if it is to do with education, then it must be to do with schools.

(Richards, 1987: 123)

Terminology

It is with some trepidation that I embark on this chapter since I am aware that, because of the constraints of space, so much must be left out, not simply in terms of detail but of a huge debate about the nature of, and relationship between, different forms of education which have developed in England, especially during the past century. One aspect of the debate concerns the use of terminology: 'adult education' and 'community education' are often regarded as interchangeable, or even combined to become 'adult community education'. This is despite the fact that, in essence, the history, intentions and practices encompassed by these terms have been somewhat different.

The concept of 'adult education' in England has its roots in the belief system of the Western Enlightenment which sought to achieve collective emancipation and a rational society through individual growth, development and learning (Finger, 1995: 111-112). Although this is also an important aim in most forms of community education, perhaps a key distinguishing feature is that 'traditional' adult education originated outside the confines of the state education system. Predicated on the view that any individual might 'better' himself (or, though less often, herself) by engaging in a period of sustained study, it was strongly influenced in its early years by the churches. Later, in the nineteenth century, it became associated with the blossoming of scientific societies and the subsequent rise of the Mechanics Institutes, the University Extension Movement and, in more radical vein, the Workers Educational Association (see Fieldhouse *et al*, 1996; Kelly, 1992; Legge, 1982; and Lowe, 1970, for further detail).

By contrast, as Richards indicates in the quotation which opens this part of the chapter, what happens in schools (especially those that are state-funded), and what schools are deemed to be 'for', has tended to provide the baseline for much that has been done in the name of community education. This is not to overlook the fact that there is also a radical strand in community education which seeks directly to challenge existing systems, nor that the general Post-Russell expansion of educational provision from the mid-1960s to the mid-1980s did begin to conflate the two traditions. However, I have chosen to take Richards's lead and to focus this chapter primarily upon the background to, and issues arising from, school-based community education for two reasons.

The first and main reason concerns the empirical section of this thesis: school-based community education constituted a crucial element in Derbyshire's policy and was also, in a sense, its undoing. Additionally, it was the primary focus of the staff development programme which led me directly into the research that is described in later chapters. The second reason is that, on a personal level, I first came to know community education from a school base and I continue to feel more comfortable in this context rather than in the more radical arena. Combining both reasons with the constraints of space, I have decided not to include discussion of the radical, non school-based, aspects of community education except insofar as they are encompassed by the typologies to which reference is made in the last part of this chapter. Also, I shall not engage in further discussion about terminology except that, in part two, which is directly related to community schooling.

Broadly speaking, this chapter incorporates the main elements of what, in the mid-1980s, constituted my knowledge and understanding of the history, nature and purposes of schools and community education, much of it derived from having just completed a Masters degree which included a major component on community education. The background information included in the chapter is thus also that which, more or less consciously, informed my thinking when I designed and facilitated the staff development programme in Derbyshire. This was closely linked to the first phase of implementation of the county's community education policy.

It is perhaps significant, therefore, that 'spiritual issues', and those relating to inner growth and development and to the 'wholeness' of community, are touched on only tangentially, largely in relation to the philosophy of Steiner schools and the questions they beg about the definition of a community school. As I noted in the previous chapter, spiritual issues occasionally 'knocked on my door' during the time I was working in Derbyshire but I only properly heard and began to articulate them in the context of community/ education later. A detailed exploration of these issues is therefore placed within the thesis where I entered into it in real time - after the empirical work described in chapters three to six.

In deciding to write this present chapter largely in the form of a chronological history of events and issues which appear to have influenced the nature of school-based community education, I am aware that my personal involvement as an educator, in schools and in community education, spans the period from just before the point in the early 1970s, where I intend to conclude an initial historical sketch of how expectations about schools and education seem to have been shaped, and the early 1990s. It also illustrates something of the relationship between politics and local schools and communities as this is mediated through practice. I shall preface the 'proper' historical section, therefore, with an autobiographical excursion which both draws attention to a formative period of my own educational journey and is, at the same time, indicative of how the direction of all such journeys can be affected by changing political ideas about what education is 'for', and how it and 'the community' might be linked.

A Personal Perspective

Context

I embarked on my career in 1968 as a teacher of English and Drama in a small secondary school on an estate in a 'deprived' area of Sheffield. In the wake of the Plowden Report (1967) this had been designated an Educational Priority Area (EPA), though technically that only affected the operation of the adjoining primary school where additional funding was allocated to run a Twilight Club, to care after school hours each night, for children whose parents did not return from work until six o'clock. School attendance during the daytime was poor, especially on Fridays when many children would "help out down t'market", but a considerable number from both schools would regularly attend the Twilight Club, even after a day's absence from school.

An Educational Welfare Officer (EWO) worked full-time on the estate to try to shepherd children back into the schools. Though I considered my own background to be working class, I had come to this estate *via* a privileged route of a girls' grammar school in the south of England and then university. The EWO's stories of the ways in which families coped with acute poverty introduced me to a world I had not previously encountered. Initially I remember experiencing disbelief, and some distaste, for what I heard. Gradually, though, I developed enormous respect for the resourcefulness of many of the families, a lasting affection for the majority of the children with whom I worked, and an increasing number of questions about what I was supposed to be doing with them.

All the children left the school, if they had not unofficially already done so, in their fourth year (the school-leaving age was then fifteen) without taking any public examinations. Their full-time job prospects, even at that time, were not good: I still have a vivid memory of a bright and attractive fourteen year-old saying to me, in my first weeks at the school, about the possibility of applying for a factory job, "What's good o'goin' fer t'interview, Miss? Soon as they know I'm from t'estate they'll not 'ave me". Since none of the children, to my knowledge, ever went on to any further education either, I went home wondering what I and my teaching colleagues could possibly offer them.

Relationships between children, teaching staff and parents were complex. Parents tended to come to the school only to complain about a presumed injustice to their child: "I'll tell me Dad" was the common rejoinder to attempts by staff to impose any discipline, especially when this involved the still-sanctioned use of corporal punishment. It was generally "Mam" who came though, to shout, and, more often than not, leave mollified by the Deputy Head who, like many of the staff, had been at the school for so long he had taught whole families, probably including the

mother herself. The question of whether the staff might need to re-think their approach was never even formulated: the 'new sociology', which later characterized the 1970s with its concerns about what went on inside schools, was yet to come.

There were few incentives to study to be offered to children in an area where education was largely synonymous with what was 'done to' them in school and apparently had little to do with anything that people engaged in outside. There was, nevertheless, a very strong feeling of camaraderie within the school; the majority of teachers, though often exasperated and exhausted by the children, also evidenced a real affection for them. Indeed, this was one of the first things I noticed about the school when I became acquainted with it as a student on teaching practice, and it was something in which I quickly came to share. Though I did not then identify it as such, the school undoubtedly constituted a 'community' in providing a 'safe place' where differences, inadequacies and problems were tolerated and worked through, largely in a non-judgmental fashion. The core of long-serving staff and a lack of external pressure associated with examinations were probably contributory factors.

The estate was physically cut off from the rest of the city in terms of the road networks, and psychologically because of its long-term bad reputation. This had its origins in notorious gang wars of the 1930s and a later 'slum-clearance' scheme. Yet the school itself was well known for its innovative teaching. Its charismatic Headteacher, who had previously spent some time in American schools, had introduced team-teaching and programmed-learning techniques far in advance of these becoming popular elsewhere in Britain and, in consequence, received numerous visits from educationists keen to observe such methods in operation. The feeling this bestowed of the school being somehow special (and, to a certain extent, of staff and pupils alike being exhibits) while, at the same time, remaining identified with an isolated and unpopular area of the city created a strong impression of 'us against the world'. This, too, must have contributed to the sense of camaraderie/community within the school.

When the school was threatened with closure in 1969, during a city-wide re-organization of schooling into a comprehensive system, parents and children mounted a well-organized campaign to keep the school open. It was doomed to failure because, within the new system, the school was too small to be viable: children were to be bussed to another school which could offer a wider range of subjects and sustain a sixth form; the existing primary school was to expand onto the vacated secondary school site and become a middle school.

The campaign was also complicated by the fact that much of it was conducted during one of the very few times in the history of Sheffield City Council when the Conservatives had control. In order to appease various interest and pressure groups, constant amendments were made to the re-organization proposals (Hampton, 1970: 240-242). Perhaps not surprisingly, the fate of one small school in a generally neglected area seemed to arouse little political concern even when the Labour Party regained control of the Council in May 1969.

Several of the school staff applied for early retirement; the rest were dispersed to other schools in the city for the start of the new autumn term. Anecdotal evidence suggests that over the next few years even more children than usual from the estate unofficially left school early, despite the subsequent raising of the school leaving age to 16. For my own part, I had developed an interest in home-school relationships which later led me into working with parents and other adults in informal and community education settings.

Key Issues

A number of key issues can be identified in this story, some particular to the 1960s and 1970s, others rather more general. In roughly the order in which I have touched on them, they include: the influence of the Plowden Report and its attempt to engage with primary school children and their families in 'working class' areas; the actual and presumed relationship between people living in such areas and the schools situated there; the task and authority of teachers and other educational professionals; the balance between providing care for children and exercising power over them; the nature of the relationship between parents, teachers and children; the school 'ethos' and how it is developed and maintained; the implications of large-scale 'external' solutions for local communities; the expected and actual response to national and local political initiatives; who co-operates and colludes with whom, and the social and political consequences of this; the relationship between 'comprehensive' and 'community' education.

Having just identified those issues now, I am quite surprised at how many there are. Although there were occasions when I felt either cheered or concerned in relation to what was going on, I would certainly not have identified or articulated the issues in the same way when I was caught up in them. For the most part, they simply formed part of a rich but unremarkable pattern against which I attempted to do a job in a world on which I assumed I had little influence.

At the time, 'relevance' was a very strong theme in the teaching of English; it was considered desirable to work with material in which children would find reflected matters that were of concern in their own lives, written in a language to which they could easily respond. There was a counter-argument that said they would also benefit from some escapism, and certainly from being introduced to the traditional 'great' literary figures, but in the school on the estate this was barely countenanced. 'Relevant' contemporary literature was what we worked with, though I do not remember any serious thought ever being given to using it in such a way as to encourage children to take either a Marxist or a Platonic approach to examining their own lives.

I mention this matter here for two reasons. First, it provides an example of something on which I shall comment again later: how expectations of one group of people held by another, more powerful, group can influence the access of the former group to materials and ideas. Second, and primarily, because the greatest problem in all that I have been commenting on seems to be encapsulated in a couple of lines that I remember from a poem in a popular children's anthology which we used at the time.

Such is the nature of popular works that I can no longer locate a copy of the book. However, the poem, by Charles Causley, entitled 'Timothy Winters', tells the tale of a 'blitz of a boy' who bore considerable resemblance to many of our pupils (though, as the poem wryly observes, 'they say there aren't boys like him any more'). As I recall, poor Timothy heads for school each day largely to get away from home where he suffers various privations, including a gin-swilling granny who 'sits in the grate', and a mother who has run off with a bombardier. Timothy causes the Welfare Worker to lie awake but, as the poem concludes, 'the law's as tricky as a ten foot snake' so, while 'the authorities' struggle with his case:

Timothy Winters drinks his cup
And slowly goes on growing up.

Like the old adage 'Life is what happens while you are planning it', this sad refrain seems to encapsulate a problem in educational and social policy-making that has no solution: namely, that while solutions are being devised, the questions are likely to be changing and, most importantly, by the time 'solutions' are presented, the

people who figured in the questions will already have lived a never-to-be-repeated chunk of their lives and will almost certainly be different people with different needs as a result.

Allied to this, of course, is the 'buying heaven' factor which afflicts all policy initiatives. The phrase is derived from an observation made by a now-retired personal acquaintance who spent the latter part of his life as one of Her Majesty's Inspectors of Schools (HMI). He once told me that he felt many politicians spent money on education in the same frame of mind in which one or two of his neighbours spent Sunday morning in church - hoping that what they were doing would lead them to the heaven in which they would ultimately like to live. Cynical though this view may be, it highlights a common assumption that there is a causal relationship between education and society such that what happens today in education, or more particularly in schools, will create the desired society of tomorrow.

Even if this assumption is unfounded, there can be little doubt that politicians have the power to change the face of education in order to meet what they perceive to be the immediate needs of society. In the next section I shall briefly outline how various ideas seem to have become embedded in the English statutory education system, mainly in the century between the introduction of elementary schooling (1870) and the introduction of a national system of comprehensive schooling at the end of the 1960s when, under the influence of the New Left, the rhetoric of community was becoming influential. (I shall discuss the latter in more detail in chapter eight.)

In the early part of the historical account which follows, I shall draw heavily on a seminal text by Harry Armytage, *Four Hundred Years of English Education*. It was first published in 1964 (and re-printed in 1965) when I was undertaking a postgraduate Diploma in Education in the University Department of Education where Harry was the much-loved Professor of Education: I still hear his voice when I read the book which, for more than thirty years, has coloured my understanding of the history of education.

Schooling in England: Early Influences

Though the present education system is perhaps rooted most obviously in the ideas held in Victorian society, Armytage (1965) gives an account of four hundred years of English education traced forward from 'The Politics of Protestantism' in the period between 1563-1603. Lending substance to my point about schools being expected to create the society of tomorrow, he notes 'To keep England Protestant, no instruments were more effective than its schools' (*ibid*: 1). Sir William Cecil had a particular interest in education during this period. As Master of the Court of Wards, he was persuaded by Humphrey Gilbert to set up a school for the noble children who became 'Queen's Wards'. Gilbert argued:

By erecting this Academie, there shal be hereafter, in effecte, no gentleman within this Realme but good for some what, Whereas now the most parte of them are good for nothing' (Armytage, *op.cit.*: 3).

Subsequently, abbeys in each of the shires were encouraged to support scholars and, in addition, 'Protestant merchants, especially in London, [were persuaded] that poverty bred ignorance and Popery' (*ibid*: 5) and helped to found grammar schools all over England.

The education provided was strongly classical, in its content as well as through the influence of the dialectic approach. Although, considerably later and after much argument, science was generally also included in the curriculum, this remained the

dominant model in English education until the present century. It is perhaps no coincidence that the influence of classical Greece remains literally enshrined in the architecture of many schools and colleges: witness the mock pillars, topped by temple-inspired triangular arches, that grace the front entrances to many erstwhile grammar school buildings. Interestingly, however, I am not aware of any where the injunction to 'Know Thyself', once inscribed over the Temple of Apollo in Delphi, appears over the doorway; nor of many schools, come to think of it, which encourage such an introspective approach to education as that which underpinned Plato's similar canon that 'The life which is unexamined is not worth living' (Mackail, 1906, Vol.III: 38).

The classical model of education did not go completely unchallenged: Armytage (*op.cit.*: 82) points out, for example, that in 1805 the Lord Chancellor was required to rule on a case brought by the Governors of Leeds Grammar School who, against the wishes of the Master, wanted to see introduced into the curriculum 'utilitarian subjects like algebra, mathematics, French and German'. The Chancellor arrived at a compromise which clearly still favoured the classics, announcing that "new subjects" would be taught only as "ancilliary" to the "fundamentals" of the classical languages' (*ibid.*).

Other influential figures evidently shared the Chancellor's view that teaching of the classics should remain schools' primary concern, as Armytage (*op.cit.*: 66) illustrates drawing on the following quotations:

'Classical knowledge', Lord Chesterfield told his son, 'is absolutely necessary for everybody, because everybody has agreed to think and to call it so.'

'The advantages of a classical education ... are two-fold - it enables us to look down with contempt on those who have not shared its advantages, and also fits us for places of emolument, not only in this world, but in that which is to come' (Thomas Gaisford).

How seriously each of these statements should be taken is not entirely clear, but the fact that they appear to have been made at all is noteworthy. They clearly imply that the purpose of an education founded in the classics was no longer, as it had been in classical Greece itself, to 'Know Thyself' but was more about what needed to be done to 'Get Thyself Known', or at least to get thyself into the right position in society. A training in the classics was seen as a training for the mind and it goes almost without saying that this was intended for noble and/ or scholarly young men who would ultimately take their place at the forefront of a society which they would help to shape; women were still firmly located in the home.

Thus, within the education provided by the beginning of the nineteenth century there was a firm consensus that the 'academic' was preferable and superior to anything more 'utilitarian' and that education should, first and foremost, be geared to the needs of 'gentlemen'; it was functional in terms of making them 'good for some what' and, ideally, fitting them for 'places of emolument'. Additionally, if a scholar was rescued from a poor background *via* the merchant-funded grammar school, it was to provide containment for his ideas, and certainly to stop his thoughts from straying towards Rome; the influence of the Protestant church was significant. The Platonic ideal of critically examining one's own life does not appear to have been of much concern.

The Victorian Legacy

Factories and Machinery

The kind of thinking outlined above seems to have remained deeply embedded in the structure of English education even though the coming of the Industrial Revolution subsequently resulted in an enormous expansion of educational provision. Of the rationale which underpinned much of the latter, Armytage (*op.cit.*: 89-90) remarks, somewhat dryly:

Exhilarated by factory techniques, some tried to apply them to schools. The monitorial system was, to Sir Thomas Bernard ... 'the division of labour applied to intellectual purposes'. 'The principle in schools and manufactories,' he wrote, 'is the same.' To Samuel Taylor Coleridge, perhaps the least mechanistically minded thinker of his age, the monitorial system was an 'incomparable machine', a 'vast moral engine'.

These observations provide stark illustration of the embodiment of what I shall describe in chapter seven as 'Machine-think' in the imagery and language of a period which gave visible shape to many current ideas about education, and particularly to those about what schools should be 'for'.

A key feature of the Industrial Revolution was the shift from a predominantly rural and domestic economy to a largely urban and factory-oriented one. The changed nature of the work patterns needed to service the new economy inevitably raised new political and social issues. As Beard (1927) observed somewhat testily:

... grass may grow and sheep may graze if the peasant lays drunk under the hedge occasionally, but the wheels of mills cannot turn steadily if boiler stokers have frequent debauches.

A particular issue was what to do about unsupervised children on the streets of the towns and cities. While 'child labour' is a necessary and accepted part of an agricultural society, industrial societies, even in their early stages, not only have much less need for children to work but much less scope for home supervision as parents go 'to' work in industrial and commercial centres rather than being 'at' work in villages and farms. During the 1860s, as Midwinter points out in terms remarkably similar to those used by Armytage:

Especially in large towns, there were thousands of youngsters with neither work to do nor parents or others to look after them. They were at best, social casualties, at worst, social nuisances, along with paupers, criminals and the sick: indeed, they often managed to personify all four forms of social mishap at once. What is sometimes called the Factory Formula was the Victorians' measured response to the pressure of social casualty; poor law workhouse, general hospital (often associated with the workhouse) and large scale prison, along with the large school were the cornerstones of their policy of social incarceration. They corralled social misfits. The political literature of the time is redolent with the need to control. ... it envisaged, overall, education as a sanitiser of an odiferous situation, as a gentler of the masses (Midwinter, 1982: 36)

The hallmark of the Victorian society bred from the Industrial Revolution was the 'Protestant ethic' which proclaimed that work is central to life. This probably owes its origins to the notion, closely allied to the classical Platonic model, of work on the self being a necessary pre-requisite to knowing God. However, it became transmuted through the anti-monastic Puritan code which developed towards the end of the sixteenth century, when the educational underpinning for Cecil's 'Academie' was being developed, into a belief in the sanctity of work in terms of labour in the material world.

This was a belief ideally suited to the economic needs of a newly-developing industrial society which depended upon the constant labours of a disciplined and time-conscious work-force. British Protestantism had already, in Lafargue's (1958: 117) terms, 'dethroned the saints in heaven in order to abolish their feastdays on earth'; Hill (1958: 131) also draws attention to the linking of religion and work in the view popularly cultivated at that time that 'Popish religions created an unaptness for trade, hard work and accumulation'. As Armitage (1965: 9) says of the Puritan code, it expressed itself in '... records of coming to grips with the world rather than running away from it. The parable of the talents was, to the preachers, a divine endorsement for labouring in one's vocation'.

The logical assumption followed that those not working, and so not contributing to the common good, should be separated from those who were until they had undergone whatever 'treatment' was necessary to ensure they could take their rightful place in society.

Notions of separation, incarceration and control are not only evident in nineteenth century political literature but seem, like the earlier legacy of classical studies, to be physically embodied in the architecture of the time; in, for example, the austere aspect, high surrounding walls, and distance from the nearest roads of Victorian prisons, hospitals - and schools. Perhaps it is not surprising that the ideas thus 'held' in such buildings should continue also to be held in popular thought, or that some people should experience a real sense of uneasiness at the prospect of entering buildings with such associations.

Because the roots of the present education system remain physically and emotionally embedded in this way in the response of Victorian society to the several problems of increasing industrialization, the assumption appears also to remain strong in England that the most appropriate 'treatment' for schools to provide for their inmates is 'preparation' for adult life rather than an experience for its own sake. Whether such preparation should be primarily for the good of the individual or of the state, and how the one relates to the other, never seems to have been properly resolved. (Though the emphasis of recent governments on testing, standards, and a version of lifelong learning that is firmly embedded in the economics of certification and improved performance at work suggests a preference for 'the state'.)

Individual and State

The passage of the 1870 Education Act, which effectively introduced elementary education for all, brought the issue into sharp focus. The Act was apparently given impetus by the Paris Exhibition of 1867 where the relatively poor show put up by Britain was blamed on the inadequacies of its workforce. It was also influenced by a particular element of the 'education for the individual or the state' debate which has played an intermittently high-profile part in the shaping of both the curriculum in English schools and the provision of adult education and community education services: the need to educate for 'citizenship'. (The 1919 Report of the Ministry of Reconstruction's Adult Education Committee later re-emphasized the increasingly important role of the 'adult educational movement' in this connection [University of Nottingham, 1980].)

By 1870, as Midwinter (1982: 36) observes with typical cynicism, Victorian society had become increasingly elaborate in its structures; it relied more and more upon the written word, especially in 'official documentation' such as 'summonses, Inland Revenue returns, conscription papers', with the result that people who were illiterate were effectively turned into 'social cripples'. In the 1860s there was also increasing concern over the soaring crime rate, and an influential body of opinion to

suggest that the children of the working classes were in need of moral instruction, in accordance with the Christian tradition, in order to divert them from the life of crime to which they might otherwise turn if they were left unsupervised on the streets for long hours. In consequence of all this, as Midwinter (*ibid.*) notes with tongue slightly in cheek, the main argument about the introduction of elementary education was eventually:

... between those who regarded literacy as an avenue, via the scriptures to redemption, or the primrose path, via scabrous scurrilous revolutionary diatribes, to revolution. In the event, the case for vocational literacy, alongside that for civic literacy, won the day.

Questions over the extent to which education should be directly concerned with religious matters, meeting the economic or civic needs of the state, personal development or social change have always remained. The key question of whether education is primarily 'for' the individual or the state was conflated within the Enlightenment tradition which, especially as it manifested itself in the context of adult education, encouraged the intellectual development of the individual *in order* to build a just and rational society. However, when introducing the 1870 Education Act to Parliament, its architect, W.E. Forster, urged the House of Commons to recognize the importance of education to the nation, in these terms:

"Upon the speedy provision of education depends also our national power. Civilized communities throughout the world are massing themselves together, each mass being measured by its force; and if we are to hold position among men of our own race or among the nations of the world, we must make up the smallness of our numbers by increasing the intellectual force of the individual" (Midwinter, *op.cit.*: 36).

The involvement of the state in the provision of schooling had evidently moved from a religious (albeit politically motivated) concern to 'keep England Protestant' to a much more secular and machine-inspired preoccupation with 'national power' - and 'mass' education, though still associated with education of the intellect, was clearly now intended to serve the needs, rather than to shape the nature, of the state.

From an Elementary to a Comprehensive School System

Creating an Ordered Society

By the 1920s when parliamentary discussions took place about the possibility of rationalizing and extending the somewhat hotch-potch provision of elementary education, great concern was expressed that the 'intellectual force' of the individual should not thereby be increased *too far*. J.C. Wedgewood noted "if you make cattle think they will become dangerous" and Lord Norwood commented that the kind of education thus far provided in Britain. had prevented "Bolshevism, Communism and theories of revolt from obtaining any real hold on the people of the country". It was held that the uprisings in India were the direct result of the population becoming better educated and that education would raise the aspirations of the English working class to unacceptable levels (quotations from Bacon, undated: c.1985).

When the elementary school-leaving age was subsequently raised to 14 it seems, like a number of more recent changes to the education system, to have been in response to the economic stimulus of high unemployment rather than to the force of reasoned educational debate or concern for individual development.

Provision was not made until 1944 for a national system of secondary education. A committee had been appointed in 1941 under Sir Cyril Norwood to consider

possible changes to the secondary schools' curriculum and the nature of examinations: it took two years to report and strayed well beyond its brief, producing a complete blueprint for a national tripartite system, comprising grammar, secondary modern and secondary technical schools. The system was a product of, and underpinned by, the scientific thinking of the time.

The development of 'Intelligence Tests' in the 1920s and their subsequent widespread use (which continued until the 1960s) had reinforced the view that, as the Hadow Report in 1926¹ had argued, because different categories of children, 'able', 'average' and 'backward', could be identified, a common education was not desirable. Norwood similarly assumed that children could be broadly categorized into three groups, identifiable through the use of appropriate tests: the first group comprised those interested in learning for its own sake, including those who were sensitive to languages and to the expression of abstract thought; the second included those who were technologically minded and had a sound grasp of material things; the third encompassed those who could only deal with the concrete and had little interest in the abstract.

Not only were these ideas reflected in the establishment of different types of schools but contained within them, too, was a vision of an ordered society. Its 'leaders' would continue to be serviced by the long-established 'public' schools (which remained independent of the state system) while from the new grammar schools, as from the earlier merchant-founded grammar schools, would emerge those who had been suitably prepared for further and higher education and who would later enter commerce or the professions.

The technical schools were intended to provide the highly skilled technicians who would be needed to re-establish Britain's manufacturing supremacy in the post-war years; these schools never properly took off in the way that had been envisaged but were all but revived by the last Conservative government in the concept of City Technology Colleges. The secondary modern schools were to offer a basic, strongly vocational education to those who had 'little interest in the abstract'.

Access to the various schools was to be determined by a competitive examination, the so-called '11+'. This was intended to measure children's aptitudes and abilities through the use of English, mathematics and 'intelligence' tests, and so to predict what would be the most appropriate form of education for them.

In practice, since the selection process was actually more dependent upon the number of grammar school places available locally than upon a national performance norm, there were wide regional variations in the numbers of children allocated to each type of school. Nevertheless, in popular parlance, those who were assigned to secondary modern schools were generally deemed to have 'failed' the 11+ and, although there was an opportunity to take another examination at the age of 13, in reality only a very small number of pupils ever transferred to grammar schools as a result of it. Thus, nearly 80% of all pupils of secondary school age became locked into a system which laid heavy emphasis on vocational subjects. It not only effectively denied them a through-route to further and higher education, but the hidden curriculum strongly reinforced the Victorian notion of knowing one's 'station' in life, as well as of hard work and a rigid time discipline.

Cowburn (1986) argues forcibly that the provision of education in Britain can be interpreted almost solely in terms of class struggle. Throughout the nineteenth century, he maintains (*op.cit.*: 14), 'the lower orders ... wanted an education which they believed would enable them to transform the political, social and economic ordering of society'. Cowburn (*ibid.*) supports this view with reference to Vincent's study of nineteenth century working class autobiography which suggests:

Only by understanding himself could the working man understand the world in which he lived, and conversely, true self-knowledge was impossible without comprehension of the structure and historical identity of the section of society in which the personality was formed. The search for such knowledge was both a pre-condition and a result of the growth of class consciousness (Vincent, 1981: 36)

There are clear echoes here of both Marx and Hegel as well as of Plato's assertion that 'the life which is unexamined is not worth living' (Mackail, *op.cit.*). In Cowburn's (1986: 14) opinion, however, the operation of the British education system has never allowed free rein to such examination since its intention is entirely to 'if not negate, then at least considerably weaken any growth in understanding and class consciousness' which might result in serious challenge to the existing 'ordering' of society. He substantiates his opinion using the words of an official report published in 1840 which, in a foreshadowing of Gramsci's work on hegemony, notes that 'a body of efficient schoolmasters is kept up at much less expense than a body of police or soldiery' (Curtis, 1984: 64).

Cowburn's analysis of the British education system is based on what he calls 'a crude form of shorthand' which states that:

... a social control education seeks to explain why the world must be as it is; whilst a liberation education seeks to understand the world so as to discover whether it need be as it is. These notions of education relate to classes with interests in conserving the world and with changing it (Cowburn, *op.cit.*: 15).

In these terms, Cowburn sees both the 1870 and 1944 Education Acts as triumphs for the bourgeoisie in its attempt to use education to 'reproduce the working class, as a class in the economic sense, but not to reproduce it as a class in the cultural sense', to 'denigrate the class and find it lacking whilst claiming to be doing no such thing' (*ibid.*). Thus, as changes occurred in the needs of the bourgeoisie, translated into the needs of the state, early references to the virtual 'ineducability' of large sections of the population gradually metamorphosed into scientific debate about levels of intelligence and the need for different types of educational provision which would, to all intents and purposes, be class-based, though ostensibly built on universal scientific principles.

Challenge and Change

By such means, the 1944 tripartite system was maintained fairly uneventfully until well into the 1960s, a decade which saw a number of challenges to the political and social *status quo* throughout Europe and North America. In Britain there were suggestions that much of the unrest was due to the emergence into public life of the adults and young people of the post-war 'baby boom'. Dahrendorf (1975) subsequently pointed out that all the major changes in education and many other areas of social policy since the Second World War could be linked to the fortunes of this generation - which was the first to receive the benefits of secondary education and then the increased opportunities offered by the expansion of higher education.

Several factors eventually culminated in proposals to replace Norwood's tripartite system of schools with a national non-selective system of so-called 'comprehensives' which would cater for children with a wide range of abilities. First, there was growing recognition of the inequities of regional variations in the number of grammar school places available. Second, the phenomenon of 'test sophistication' had been identified in those children who worked regularly on, in particular, 'intelligence' test questions, thereby illustrating that 11+ results could be affected by practice and so could not be taken as evidence of a child's fixed 'intelligence quotient' (IQ). (I remain convinced that it was the practice during the

final year of my primary schooling of working on intelligence tests every Friday afternoon, the results of which determined the order of our seating in the classroom for the following week, which gained me a place in a grammar school and everything that has followed from it!) Third, it was becoming increasingly clear that the 11+ was not even useful as a predictor of future academic performance: test results showed little relationship with those at 'A' level and virtually none with degree classifications.

There was also a considerable body of evidence to show that the 'Factory Formula' really did work - but in a negative fashion since children who were lively and enthusiastic at primary school could apparently be 'processed' to emerge from their secondary schools with a 'D-stream mentality', feeling they were no good at school work so there was no point in trying (see Holt's discussion of *How Children Fail*, 1964/ 1970). Part of the task of many adult and community educators continues to be to grapple with the consequences of this process.

Although several comprehensive schools had actually been in operation since the 1940s (Watts, 1977: 18), there was, predictably in the light of Cowburn's class analysis, a split on party lines in terms of support for a national comprehensive system which was predicated on the abolition of the grammar schools. However, as Hampton (1970: 233-242) illustrates, the split was by no means clear-cut. For one thing, class divisions themselves were becoming somewhat blurred as advances in technology resulted in changing patterns of work.

Additionally, from the late 1950s, one of the inevitable results of the 'baby boom' had been to put increasing pressure on the limited number of grammar school places, thereby compounding the long-standing regional inequities. Thus, a growing number of traditional Conservative voters who might have expected a grammar school place for their children had been denied them. Many saw the proposed new comprehensives as a better option than the old secondary modern schools, offering a surer route into examination classes and sixth forms with all their promise of qualifications as a passport to an appropriate career.

Nevertheless, it is not surprising that the comprehensive system was actually brought into being by a Labour Government which made no secret of its concern to bring more equality of opportunity to the education system. As Jeffs (1987: 112) notes:

Supporters of comprehensive and community schools in particular have always seen them as a means of achieving a social mix, of breaking down class and ethnic barriers. For example, the working party set up in 1965 to advise the government on comprehensive reorganization laid down three objectives for a comprehensive school which were:

1. To gather pupils of the whole ability range in one school.
 2. To collect pupils representing a cross-section of society in one school.
 3. To concentrate teachers and facilities to use scarce resources economically.
- (NFER 1968 p.xi.)

Those objectives may have been embellished but they have never been jettisoned.

There were, however, as Jeffs goes on to elaborate, and as the events I described at the end of the autobiographical introduction to this section demonstrate, particular problems associated with the second objective: it could only properly be achieved by linking some communities and dividing others by means of creating artificial catchment areas and 'bussing' policies. Without such devices some of the newly-created comprehensives risked becoming 'sink schools' with others catering primarily for more 'advantaged' pupils. Thus, although the problem was not fully articulated at this time, there was a certain tension between the government's

professed concern for equality of opportunity and the rhetoric of 'community' which, for a variety of reasons as I shall note in the next chapter in the specific context of work in Derbyshire, had begun to seep into educational policy-making.

In the second part of this chapter I shall focus on the development of community schooling and concerns about purpose and definition. First, it may be helpful to summarize the issues raised thus far in this necessarily highly selective excursion through more than one hundred years of education in England.

Most significantly, it would appear that the provision of education in general, and the nature of schools in particular, has been moulded by the twin politics of religion and class; and that such historical antecedents have created an education system which continues to be utilitarian in both outlook and scope, geared much more strongly to the economic needs of the state than to the personal developmental needs of the individual. Except in relation to specific kinds of religious instruction, broader 'spiritual' matters rarely seem to have entered the educational debate.

Drawing attention to the present end point of some of the interests which the education system seems to have been geared to serve, Carr laments an inevitable consequence of the utilitarian approach. Education, he says, is now generally regarded:

... as a means to something other than education itself. To politicians it is about raising the Gross National Product; to economists it is an investment in human resources; to employers it is about providing an adequately trained labour force; to most parents it is about acquiring qualifications, status and a career. ... It is because this all pervading utilitarian mentality now largely defines the ethos of our postmodern age, that those who still try to practise the belief that education serves nothing but itself and no-one but those who enjoy it, always have to stand against a current that eventually overwhelms them (Carr, 1995b: 14).

As I shall discuss more fully in chapter eight, the concept of community has sometimes been conceived as a way of mediating between the interests of the state and of the individual. Community education and community schools, by extension, would appear to have a role in safe-guarding the interests of local communities against the weight of a state education system. I shall now turn to some of the issues associated with the concept of the community school.

Part Two: The Development of Community Schooling

In the beginning was the word and the word was community education, and there arose many prophets willing to interpret the word, but few to deny its veracity. So that community education became a self-fulfilling prophecy, for its tenets were not written down on tablets of stone handed down from on high. And since no man knew what either community or education meant as separate creeds, when they were joined together their offspring multiplied exceedingly, offering diverse avenues to salvation.
(Scottish Education Department, 1977)

What's in a Name?

Confusions

The somewhat tongue-in-cheek extract above, taken from a Report of her Majesty's Inspectorate of Schools (HMI) in Scotland, provides graphic illustration of the problem of attempting to bring together the twin concepts of 'community' and 'education', each of which, as this chapter has begun to indicate in relation to education, and chapter eight will elaborate in respect of community, encompasses a wealth of tradition and meaning which renders it susceptible to wide interpretation. However, the purpose of this part of the present chapter is to identify at least some of the 'offspring' of the union of the two concepts, in the context of community education provided through English schools, and the nature of the 'salvation' they have purported to offer. (The Scottish system is somewhat different and I have refrained from incorporating reference to it because of the constraints of space).

The label 'community school' or 'community college' has undoubtedly provided a source of considerable confusion. During the 1980s, the heyday of community education in England, a community college would have been rooted firmly, in some parts of the country, in the further education sector and concerned only with post-16 education. In others, 'community college' was the name given to a building primarily housing the upper forms of a comprehensive school but where a youth club and adult education classes also took place.

The problem continues to be compounded by the facts that some secondary schools - in Coventry, for example - have generally been described as 'community schools', although their correct designation was originally 'school and community college'; some schools, including primaries, may, like several in Derbyshire, have been designated community schools by their Local Education Authority (perhaps following a period of re-organization in order to differentiate them from what went before or to highlight a particular philosophy); some have *called* themselves community schools while doing little in practice to justify the label; and some may actually *be* community schools but not use the label at all.

Much of the confusion has arisen because community education is an essentially local phenomenon that has largely remained on the periphery, if indeed it has got that far, of national policy and of public and academic debate. In order to simplify matters, and because the definition relates closely to what Community Education Tutors in Derbyshire were expected to do, for the purposes of this discussion I shall use the term 'community school' in the way that Mitchell (1987: 90) suggests has been most common, as:

a generic term describing institutions which, although primarily designed for the education of children and young adults from 5 to 18, are expected to plan *for* and generate education in its broadest sense for the benefit of the local community (original emphasis).

However, while this might simplify the 'institutional' aspect of the term, it leaves wide open the problem of what constitutes the 'local community' for which the institution should try to 'generate education'.

Defining Features

The local communities of schools could once be most easily identified in terms of the people living in a school's immediate catchment area although, since catchment boundaries were delineated by local authority planners, they sometimes cut across 'felt' communities. The definition has become virtually meaningless since the Education Reform Act (1988) gave parents a much wider choice of schools for their children. There have, in any case, always been anomalies in this kind of bureaucratic definition since the communities relating most closely to some schools, such as independent schools and/ or those with a specific religious, philosophical, interest, or skills base, have generally been drawn from a much wider constituency.

Amongst these last two types might be included, for example, drama schools or even special schools. Each serves a particular community of interest/ need and each might claim to be generating education for a broader community than that of its students: drama schools through performances open to the public, and special schools through advice and support for parents and other carers. I do not propose to include such schools in this exploration of community schooling, but have referred to them here simply to illustrate the perennial twin problem of attempting to determine what a community school is, and what constitutes its community.

The problem is also reflected in the other types of schools mentioned above since those who attend schools with a stated religious or philosophical orientation, Catholic or Steiner schools for example, may have little direct day-to-day contact with people living in the immediate vicinity of the institution. Nevertheless, the 'feel' *inside* the school may be of a close-knit community with shared life-shaping values, and/ or the links between the school and its constituency may be sensed in the kind of spiritual terms that transcend physical boundaries.

In drawing attention to this problem I have made reference to three distinct features by which a community school might be defined. They are:

- *Physical:* a community school serves people living in a clearly defined geographical area.
- *Emotional:* a community school 'feels' like one because there are strong and supportive links within it. These may be, but are not necessarily, linked to a particular belief system.
- *Spiritual:* a community school is clear about its 'spiritual' beliefs and values and one of its main functions is to transmit and uphold these through its curriculum and internal organization. Access to such a school is generally available to those who hold similar beliefs, regardless of where the individual or family might live.

I have already mentioned Steiner schools in this latter connection: it is perhaps worth saying a little more about them at this point, not in any attempt either to endorse or to criticize their philosophy but because, dismantled from their esoteric origins, a number of the practices which Steiner advocated would also find favour in more 'orthodox' institutions which would regard themselves as community schools. In addition, the discussion will help to frame another question concerning the community aspect of community schooling. It will also briefly bring back to centre stage consideration of spiritual issues in the context of education and schools in the guise in which they first knocked faintly on the door of my own consciousness: when a student on a certificate course in community education suggested we invite the co-ordinator of the local Steiner settlement as a guest speaker.

Communities of Belief: Steiner Schools and Others

Rudolf Steiner died in 1925 but, in addition to the many 'Camphill' institutions (established on the basis of Steinerian principles for people with special educational needs and probably better known in Britain than the schools that actually bear his name), there are at least two hundred 'ordinary' Steiner schools still in existence (*source*: verbal information from the Steiner Settlement, Sheffield). Such schools are more often referred to in other parts of Europe as Waldorf schools after the name of the old factory in which the first school was situated.

The schools closely follow Steiner's philosophy. This is now commonly known by Steiner's preferred term *Anthroposophy* which he said should be understood to mean simply 'awareness of one's humanity'. Steiner was heavily influenced as a student by the teachings of both Karl Marx and the philosopher Goethe and, later, by the Theosophists. He became concerned that mankind had apparently sunk into a 'spiritual sleep' which was resulting in cultural and physical decay, especially in the cities of Western Europe. As a 'hard scientist', Steiner knew the risk he ran of becoming isolated by making his views public but he continued to write and to speak about the need to develop a spiritual science that was in accordance with the true spirit of natural science.

Anthroposophy itself is concerned with 'inner development' and how this can be nourished with appropriate experiences at key stages of physical development. Unlike those identified in the context of the National Curriculum, Steiner's key stages are associated with the nurturing first of the 'will' then of the emotions and, finally, of the logical thinking processes. The stages are not dissimilar to those subsequently observed by the developmental psychologist, Jean Piaget, but Steiner's insistence that children should not be encouraged to read or to write before the age of seven is easily dismissed as the foolhardy application to practice of seemingly unverifiable philosophical insights.

The common tendency to dismiss that with which one does not agree cannot itself be dismissed from the debate about what constitutes an acceptable definition of community schooling. Issues associated with the right to hold particular beliefs beg the question of who/ what defines the community that defines the school, and of the relationship between smaller or unorthodox communities/ schools and larger, more conventional, ones.

Like many institutions which develop out of minority interests and beliefs, Steiner schools are sometimes viewed with deep suspicion ('middle-class cult' is one of the kinder epithets that I have heard attached to them). St. James's Independent School in Notting Hill, West London, one of several schools world-wide where the curriculum and organization is founded on a combination of the teachings of the Indian spiritual leader, the Shankaracharya, and those of the Eastern European philosophers George Gurdjieff and Pyotr Ouspensky, has similarly been the object of public scepticism. It was featured in a lengthy article by Andrew Billen in the colour supplement of the Sunday newspaper *The Observer* (27.3.1994: 26-33). Ten years earlier it had already faced an even fiercer 'exposé' of its work and that of its parent organization, The School of Economic Science, in a book entitled *Secret Cult* (Hounam and Hogg, 1984).

There are other schools, too, which follow particular philosophical teachings, not all of them quite so esoteric in origin or with sister institutions in other countries but which have, in their time, been publicly criticized for their approaches. For example, Punch (1986), writing about the difficulties of undertaking research in and about such an institution, draws attention to the controversy over the methods employed at Dartington Hall in Devon. Another school in Devon, the Small School

in Hartland, has been less controversial but is modelled on the work of E.F.Schumacher who sought to develop human-scale projects linking practical and spiritual approaches². The more recently established Dame Catherine School in Ticknall, Derbyshire, based on the ideas of Roland Meighan and Philip Toogood, is maintained through parental contributions and the work of a local co-operative. The co-operative has also been responsible for the publication of a journal, *Education Now*, and continues to produce occasional educational booklets³

All of these schools have been established in order to serve the needs of particular communities of people who are bound together, not necessarily by present location, ethnic origin or even by social background, but by common belief systems. The fact that such communities can appear insular and dismissive of too much involvement in other local communities (be they geographical, social or political), and of other local schools, can lead to difficulties and, sometimes literally, a bad press. There is undoubtedly a fine line to be drawn between tolerance of unorthodox belief systems and what is acceptable in the wider society, between what is ostensibly a cult and what is a community. Nevertheless, the conventional academic literature on community schools seems to have paid scant attention to what might be learned from even the more established schools which serve a community of belief.

In relation to Steiner schools, for example, there seem to be three key principles underpinning their operation which would be endorsed by many state-funded community schools. First, prime importance is placed on helping individuals to develop a 'sense of belonging' and of inner peace and self-confidence. Second, the concept of equality is strongly upheld: Steiner himself firmly believed that power resides in the individual, in the way that people behave and in the expertise they acquire, rather than in any positions they might aspire to. Third, parental involvement in the life and direction of the school is to be encouraged.

Additionally, great emphasis is laid, through the unfolding of Steiner's 'spiritual science', on balancing the developmental needs of individuals against the immediate needs of whole communities. How to deal with this dilemma in the context of individual and state, as I indicated in part one of this chapter, is a fundamental educational issue. Steiner's approach can be summarized as follows:

... we cannot expect to build a healthy social order except on the basis of a true and deep insight not only into the material but also into the soul and spiritual nature and needs of human beings as they are today.

These needs are characterized by a powerful tension between the search for community and the experience of individuality. Yet community, in the sense of material interdependence, is the basic fact of economic life and of the world economy in which it is today embedded. But individuality, in the sense of independence of mind and freedom of speech, is essential to every creative endeavour, to all innovation, and to the realization of the human spirit in the arts and sciences. Without spiritual freedom our culture will wither and die.

Individuality and community, Steiner urged, can only be lifted out of conflict if they are recognized, not as contradictions but as a creative polarity rooted in the essential nature of human beings. Each pole can bear fruit only if it has its appropriate social forms. We need forms which ensure freedom for all expressions of spiritual life, and forms which promote brotherhood in economic life. But the health of this polarity depends on a full recognition of a third human need and function, the social relationships between people which concern our feeling for human rights. ... we need to develop a distinct realm of social organization to support this sphere, inspired by a concern for equality - not equality of spiritual capacity or material circumstance, but that sense of equality which awakens through recognition of the essential spiritual nature of

every human being. In this lies the meaning and source of every person's right also to freedom of spirit and to material sustenance (Davy, undated).

Presented thus, the Steiner approach certainly seems, quite literally, to promise a 'path to salvation' through one very particular form of community education. From the foregoing discussion, however, it is evident that the operation of Steiner schools highlights a number of questions about the nature, needs, expectations, demands and, ultimately, the rights of communities that are linked to any kind of school.

Because the intention of Steiner schools is primarily to reinforce a belief system to which pupils' parents generally already subscribe, boundaries between home and school inevitably become blurred. Coincidentally, one of the main aims of more conventional community schooling has also been to achieve a blurring of home-school boundaries, although this has often stemmed from a desire to involve parents and other community members in the philosophy and practices of schools, about which they are deemed to have little or no previous knowledge or understanding. In the next section, I shall set the development of community schools in an historical perspective; note, especially, some of the attempts that have been made to draw homes and schools together; and seek to identify the origins of a number of ideas that are embedded within the traditional concept of 'the community school'.

Community Schools: An Historical Perspective

Early Days

Community schools in the sense of schools which actively encourage the participation of local residents in the educational and recreational activities they provide, can be traced back at least as far as the middle of the last century: the Danish Folk High Schools are but one example (see Poster, 1971). A more recent example is offered by the evocatively-named 'lighted schoolhouses' of the 1930s in Michigan, USA, which were opened to adults in the evenings and at weekends (see Brookfield, 1983).

In England, school buildings which were also open at certain times to local residents for various purposes were not an uncommon 'offshoot' of the Industrial Revolution when they were built by some wealthy individual benefactors and companies. At Denaby Main in South Yorkshire, for instance, the local coal company established the Colliery School to serve not only as a school but as a drill hall, theatre, dance hall and religious meeting place - complete with an altar which could be wound down from the ceiling (see Smith and Smith, 1974).

The first documented use of the term 'community school' is attributed (by Rée, 1973: 86) to Henry Morris who saw the establishment in 1930 of Sawston College, Cambridgeshire, as a cultural and leisure focus for the village and its neighbourhood to counteract the pull of the city at a time of general agricultural depression. Like those of his contemporaries in Michigan, Morris's prime concerns were to respond to the local effects of a wider socio-economic crisis; to create educational and recreational opportunities for local people in order to meet social and developmental needs that were not being met, as at other times they might have been, by participation in regular paid employment; and to create a more cost-effective use of school buildings and resources.

Ultimately, and given impetus by the Government's commitment in the post-war years to expand the provision of secondary education, a whole system of 'village colleges' was established throughout Cambridgeshire. In addition, such was the charisma of Morris (who was then Cambridgeshire's Chief Education Officer), and the devotion and enthusiasm of his supporters, that a close copy of his system was later developed in other counties where some of his associates subsequently took

up key posts, notably Leicestershire, Devon and Cumberland. Many of Morris's ideas and some of the practices which he initiated also spread to, and have continued to be developed in, other parts of the country⁴. However, as Martin (1996: 112-113) points out, Morris's original ideas were not unproblematic. His approach was excessively paternal and his village college movement not only obscured issues associated with power and difference but, as a result, ran counter to the approaches being taken to develop adult education by the Worker's Educational Association (WEA) and the more radical elements of the university extension movement.

Although many of the issues which initially concerned Morris are still very much alive in the 1990s, the early associations of the term 'community school/ college' with unemployment and poverty appear to have coloured subsequent thinking about these establishments. Such associations were reinforced by the Inquiry and Report of the Plowden Committee which coupled the term 'community school' with the recommendation for such schools to be 'tried out first in [educational] priority areas' (Plowden Report, 1967: 67). (It was not, incidentally, until the Russell Report in 1973 that 'official' recommendations were made for new secondary school buildings to be designated as community schools.)

The Plowden Report

At the end of part one of this chapter, I noted that the advent of comprehensive schooling came about in response to a growing concern about equal opportunities, especially in relation to social class. The Plowden Committee had similar origins. It focused on primary schools in what were termed 'disadvantaged' (and were generally 'working class') areas where parents were traditionally felt to be less sympathetic to the values and ethos of schools than were their 'middle-class' counterparts. Specifically, Plowden noted a concern about those neighbourhoods where schools were regarded as 'a brief prelude to work rather than an avenue to further opportunities' (Plowden Report, 1967: 50) (areas in which the Victorian ideal of an appropriate education for the working class had evidently taken a firm hold!).

Despite reinforcing connections in the public mind between the concept of 'social deprivation' and community schooling, there can be little doubt that the Plowden recommendations also contributed significantly to the later development of community schools, serving both to highlight the importance of home-school relationships and to begin the process of 'opening up' schools, particularly to parents. Given the informality of most primary schools today and the taken-for-granted assumption in many that parents have a major part to play in classrooms in activities as diverse as listening to children read, washing paintpots or participating in maths games with their own children, it is easy to lose sight of the dramatic change that has taken place in them in a relatively short time. As recently as the late-1960s, for example, it was not unusual to find a line drawn across primary school playgrounds bearing the legend 'No Parents Beyond This Point Without An Appointment'. (An erstwhile colleague with whom I used to teach on training courses for school governors had a carefully preserved photograph of such a line and instruction, taken just before they were painted out in 1967.)

Recommendations made by Plowden which have had a particular bearing on subsequent developments in community schooling, especially in blurring home-school boundaries, were as follows. First, there should be extra resources for teachers in primary schools in areas designated as having 'educational priority' status. Such resources were to include people to act as 'teachers' aides' in classrooms, and payment for extra-curricular duties such as staffing the so-called Twilight Units, to which I have already referred, which catered for children whose working parents would not be at home until after the end of the normal school day.

Second, there should be an expansion of nursery education and funding for liaison visits by teachers to the homes of pre-school children. Third, new building programmes should be initiated where appropriate and should include facilities for parents' rooms.

In the schools themselves there were inevitably a few problems at the time with the implementation of such recommendations. Some teachers did not take kindly, for example, to the idea of teachers' aides - largely because having another adult in the classroom alters the balance of power and status traditionally enjoyed by teachers in Britain: it is a problem with which many community educators continue to battle.

A study by Dunham (1976), which examined the effects on teachers of the enforced change from grammar/ secondary modern schools to comprehensives, sheds some light on the reservations many teachers had, and continue to have, about the presence of other adults in classrooms and about the introduction of a 'community dimension' into the curriculum. Dunham found not only that large numbers of teachers were suffering from unduly high levels of stress but that many were exhibiting symptoms normally associated with bereavement. In some cases these symptoms persisted for months, and occasionally years, as people struggled to come to terms with the removal of a familiar and comfortable pattern from their lives. Such findings provide a salutary reminder of the individual costs which have been (and undoubtedly continue to be) paid for the perceived benefits of effecting major change in educational and social patterns.

While Plowden may have been the prime catalyst for change in opening home-school relationships to wider scrutiny, other factors also played their part. Not least of these were the broad social movements, which began in the 1960s and characterized local politics during the 1970s, urging the development of a more participatory society in all areas of public life (see Boaden *et al*, 1982), and their links with changing attitudes towards the role of the professional. Another is that each generation of parents of children attending primary schools has itself had the opportunity to benefit from increased educational provision, both of a formal and informal nature. Off-shoots of this particular factor, which have also had considerable impact on the way in which mothers, especially, expect to be able to relate to their children's teachers, have been the consciousness-raising activities of the Women's Movement and the development of the Pre-school Playgroups Association.

Influence of the Plowden and Halsey Reports

Historically, the Plowden Report seems to stand at the watershed of sociological interpretations of educational policy. The Plowden Committee set out to redress some of the imbalance that had been shown to exist between the educational performance of children from different social class backgrounds. However, since it clearly had no intention of redressing the imbalance of opportunities which might exist between children attending state and public schools, the baseline from which equality of performance was to be judged was evidently that of children in state schools serving 'middle class' communities. Additionally, if the performance of children in these schools was to be taken as the norm, the implication was that any kind of performance not meeting the same criteria was not 'normal' and should be assisted to become so.

In sociological terms, then, the model of society which helped to give shape to the Plowden investigation was one in which 'deficiency' could be repaired. It formulated the underachievement of many children from working class backgrounds as a problem located very firmly in the unaspiring attitudes of the working class community rather than in the very processes of schooling which, as

noted earlier, had actually *set out* to provide a limited and very specific work-orientated overt and hidden curriculum for these children. In consequence, the 'solution' was seen to be to help working class communities, parents especially, to become more aware of the advantages of schooling; not that the schooling system might itself require some adjustment.

Nevertheless, while Plowden's *concern* was with access to education and how the attitudes towards it of the working class might be changed, some of the *processes* to which the investigation gave rise were instrumental in raising questions about the appropriateness of trying to transmit a 'middle class' culture through schools. Such questions focused attention within the schools themselves and, in consequence, the 'new sociology' of the 1970s began to examine the relevance of the curriculum and teaching styles, thereby relocating educational 'problems' in schools rather than with individuals and local communities.

The study of educational issues subsequently took on a two-directional, Janus-like quality. While questions were being asked about the impact of school practices on children, it was also clearly acknowledged that children are part of a larger social group of family and community and that the formal education system is only one of the educative forces to which they are subjected. Reporting on the Red House Project in the West Riding of Yorkshire, one of the Educational Priority Area (EPA) Projects set up in the wake of the Plowden Report and its direct successor, the Halsey Report (1972), Smith (1975: 253) admits:

We were a small cog. Only by starting from this point could we make any impact. This approach explains the change in direction over parental involvement - to increase educational involvement in homes, rather than parental involvement in schools. [There was] ... an attempt to strengthen the educative forces outside school, rather than add further to an educational arsenal of firepower already stockpiled within school walls.

Acknowledgement of the tension between the 'educative forces' at work in schools and communities has continued to underpin the debate about the most appropriate location for community education. Richards's (1987: 124) argument, for example is that:

Community education in debate is a reappraisal and critique of the current practices of educational institutions. Schools and colleges may be seen as bureaucracies, operated by hierarchies of professionals (Wallis and Mee 1983; Easthope 1975). Given that community education in theory is based on a set of propositions that are to do with:

- Access to any educational opportunity for all at any time.
- Greater participation by more people in the decisions about the use of educational premises and the kinds of curricula that are offered by them.
- Informal learning in the family, in clubs, community centres and on street corners.

It becomes clear that community education in practice should not be subject to schools and colleges. What is more, one ought to ask what we thought we were doing creating community schools or community colleges. They are not run by local communities, but by groups of professionals who may have very little in common with them. Such enterprises may be seen as being much more to do with the aggrandizement of the professionals of the education service than with the education of local communities.

Smith (1975: 253) had been well aware of the differences between both the rhetoric and the reality of the 'community school' and the educational perspectives of and constraints on, those who work primarily inside or outside the formal education system. On the concept of community schooling, he observed:

The idea can and has been criticized for its vagueness; 'it takes over everything that's successful in education and calls it "the community school"' as one critic remarked. But criticism should also focus on the failure to think through the necessary institutional arrangements to give flesh to the idea. It may be true that education is a ready made launching point for social and community work, but schools as organized at present can only with difficulty take advantage of their position. There is an inherent conflict between the regular and fixed operation of the statutory educational system, and the fluid and varied response required in social and community work.

The question of the extent to which schools should be concerned with 'social and community work' has, as indicated earlier, dogged the education system in England since the inception of the elementary schools. In addition, the 'buying heaven' assumption, to which I referred in part one, that there is a circular relationship between what happens in schools today and the society that will exist tomorrow, has resulted in various changes of direction in educational policy - often before the impact of an earlier policy has been fully assimilated or assessed. Halsey (1975: x) referred to this difficulty in his preface to the Report on the West Riding Project, noting:

... the main body of our recommendations ... has not been taken up and the central debate on education and 'positive discrimination' launched originally by the Plowden Committee and turned into a specific set of recommendations by ourselves has been, as they put it, "left badly becalmed".

There are many reasons for this sad state of affairs. Among them is to be counted the extraordinary swings of fashionable opinion expressed by those who interpret the social sciences to the politicians. George Smith, very rightly, is ironically perplexed by the swinging pendulum and ... notes that 'the evidence either for success or failure has scarcely proved robust enough to justify such sudden lurches of national interest or policy'.

Behind all this lies a comprehensively unsatisfactory set of relations between the social sciences and government - a general feature of modern societies which urgently requires the attention of those who seek to inform political decisions with soundly based social knowledge.

From Welfare to the Market

Since the Plowden and Halsey Reports there have inevitably been other swings of the political pendulum, the most significant of which, particularly in relation to community education, has been the attempt to reconstitute society as a market in which education, health and social services can be bought, sold and controlled in the same way as other, more traditionally commercial, goods and services.

Although community education *per se* has never been a particular concern of central government, there was an attempt during the 1980s to 'hijack' some of the more community-based activities which had developed out of the designation of EPAs and the subsequent 'Community Development Projects' (CDPs) of the 1970s, both of which were partial responses to the so-called 'rediscovery of poverty' at that time. In attempting to manage issues associated with unemployment in the '80s, these activities and areas were targeted, under the aegis of the wondrously-named Manpower Services Commission, to stimulate further developments of a largely vocational nature⁵. Many adult and community educators were understandably ambivalent about taking part in such ventures, despite the incentive of significant amounts of money⁶.

The Education Act of 1981 (which was primarily concerned with children with special educational needs) was probably the last piece of legislation relating to education to develop out of the 'social welfare model' of society which, until then, had largely shaped policy for more than a century since Forster's Education Act in 1870.

The subsequent emphasis on the individual and employment, which was the hallmark of Conservative governments throughout the 1980s and early 1990s, rather than on 'community' values, has made lasting marks on the education system⁷. One effect on schools, which the Taylor Committee (1977) could hardly have foreseen, in the heady days of the public participation movement when it recommended that every school should have its own Board of Governors, is the extent to which the control of schools has been removed from local authorities (arguably already representatives of local communities) into the hands of school governors (who may not be properly representative of the school's community).

Interestingly, it was as long ago as 1974 when George and Theresa Smith suggested local community control as one of the five main criteria by which a community school might be defined. The others were that a school should serve an entire community; share its premises with the community; have a developed curriculum of studies based on local material; and seek to involve itself directly in promoting social change within the local community.

The Smiths' view was heavily influenced by the trends towards greater public participation in local services generally which typified the 1970s. Husén (1979) says of this decade that it was:

a period of less public deference to the structure of major social institutions, such as schools, factories and families. A greater willingness to question the purposes and effectiveness of schools existed among greater numbers of people ... (Allen, 1987: 199).

Despite such 'willingness to question', however, as Husén himself predicted, the 1980s marked a period of political retrenchment. Moves towards increased centralization of power in education, demands for a 'return to basics' within the curriculum, and an emphasis on the purely functional aspects of education, especially vocationalism, gradually began to militate against the kind of community schooling which seemed to be emerging at the end of the 1970s. They culminated in the Education Reform Act in 1988.

Attempting to capture the concerns of a number of Headteachers of community schools about the implications of this Act and what it appeared to signify, Mackenzie and Steward (1990) found them worried, amongst other things, that:

- "They (the government) wish to see a separation of community and school."
- "We are struggling against current legislation to maintain a corporate approach within school community education."
- "Recent Acts show a lack of government understanding of community schools."

An interesting development subsequently occurred at Stantonbury Campus, Milton Keynes, where the legislative provision made by central government for 'opting out' of local authority control was hailed as a means of actually preserving a set of values that central government no longer seemed to embrace⁸.

Stantonbury was a flagship community campus of the 1960s, combining educational, social and recreational facilities on its site. In his Editorial to the April 1991 edition of the journal *Education Now*, Philip Toogood acknowledged the clear influence on Stantonbury of Henry Morris who 'had planned for the extension of his

ideas into the post-war New Towns but did not live to see his dreams fulfilled'. Toogood noted of Stantonbury's decision to apply for Grant Maintained Status that it had:

... a paradoxical irony. ... cuts in public expenditure have been imposed by successive governments ... this has let loose on schools the full force of local party political interference ... Stantonbury has opted out ... to preserve for the campus the right to follow through the educational policies of the comprehensive school without political interference locally. Their educational policies are a searching back into the roots of the comprehensive ideals of the 60s but in new ways (Toogood, 1991: 2).

Rosemary Deem (1991: 21), then chair of one of Stantonbury's two governing boards said of their decision:

... we have offered staff and students the genuine possibility of greater empowerment in relation to teaching and learning by following this route. In doing so we are also confident that together we will be able to enhance, develop and enrich our shared conception of community comprehensive schooling.

At the end of part one of this chapter, I noted that, as community is sometimes regarded as a means of mediating between the interests of the state and of the individual, the role of community education and community schools might be seen as important in safeguarding the interests of local communities against the weight of the state education system. Acknowledgement of such a role seems to have underpinned the action taken at Stantonbury.

However, this also begs, once again, some of the questions that have been raised in the foregoing brief examination of various aspects of community schooling: in particular, to which community does the term refer? 'Political interference' might be said to be the exercise of the will of the people who have elected local representatives to act on their behalf. Does 'opting out', therefore, merely take account of the will of a smaller group of people, many of whom have not been democratically elected? Which community is it whose 'shared view' ultimately shapes the conception of a community school? What about those who do not share the view but who want to relate to the school because of its physical proximity to their home?⁹.

The final part of this chapter focuses on the typologies which were developed during the 1980s in an attempt to capture and simplify the diversity, and richness, of ideas and activities - and questions - subsumed under the concept of community education.

Part Three: Typologies of Community Education

The purpose of model building is not to admire the architecture of the building, but to help us to see some order in all the disorder and confusion of facts, systems and choices.

(Titmuss, 1974: 30)

The 'Models Period': Context

The mid-1970s to late-1980s probably marked the heyday of community education initiatives in England: it is no coincidence that Derbyshire was prepared to invest so much time and money in developing and implementing its own far-reaching community education policy during that time.

In the 1980s, however, under the influence of successive Conservative Governments, there was also clear evidence of the 'retrenchment' that Husén (1979) had predicted, in the form of a fundamental sea-change in social policy. The direct consequences for education were spelt out in the Education Reform Act (ERA) in 1988. Although this effectively heralded the end of an era for many community education initiatives funded by local authorities, including those in Derbyshire and Sheffield, it may, ironically, have been the uncertainties created by the Government's commitment to a market rather than a welfare economy that had actually fuelled interest in community education from the late 1970s onwards. As Allen *et al* (1987: 1) argued at the time:

People in the community are losing confidence in public services largely because public services are losing touch with the people in the community. In this respect, the current crisis in education reflects a wider crisis in the welfare state as a whole, and it is a crisis of confidence and expectation as well as ideology and finance. To this extent, the present groundswell of interest in community education mirrors many of the problems and possibilities of a seemingly beleaguered commitment to social and educational welfare at a time of unprecedented structural change, political dissension and economic retrenchment.

The very title of the book from which the above extract is taken, *Community Education: an agenda for educational reform*¹⁰, symbolizes the enormous optimism felt during the mid-1980s about the future of a form of education whose time seemed most definitely to have come, although - or perhaps because - it had never properly figured in national policy or legislation. As the authors indicated, it was a point at which:

Community education now exists not only in the long-established practices of some local education authorities, but also in increasing numbers of policy documents and discussion papers as well as generic initiatives across statutory and voluntary sectors. However unfinished its messages, community education represents a significant attempt to redirect educational policy and practice in ways which bring education and community into a closer and more equal relationship. ...

Community education offers a basis and rationale for positive, coherent and open-ended responses across the education service as a whole to the structural changes and social polarization now being experienced in many communities (Allen *et al*, *op.cit.*: 2-3).

Interestingly, however, although community education had self-evidently become well established in both practice and policy in many localities, in universities and elsewhere systematic research and academic theory occupied only 'a rather marginal place in the field' (Allen *et al*, *op.cit.*: 5). When they did begin to assume a

more central position, in the guise of several models and typologies, the benefits proved to be somewhat ambiguous.

In 1992, the journal *Community Education Network* commissioned a series of articles in an attempt to explore some of the issues that practitioners and policy makers needed to address if community education was to have any kind of future in the wake of the 'reforms' and cutbacks precipitated by the ERA¹¹. Neatly reflecting the already beleaguered state of community education and the feelings of practitioners at that time, the first article was entitled 'Praxis for the punch-drunk and powerless'. It pointed out that:

A key question for us as community educators is how to bridge the gap between, on the one hand, 'actionless thought' and, on the other, 'thoughtless action'. The resolution of this problem may not have been helped by the fact that community education 'theory' up till now has been seen to consist primarily of the construction and institutionalization of different models of practice. The many theoretical models that have been built up in *Network* and elsewhere (for example see Allen *et al*, 1987) have undoubtedly served an important and useful purpose in helping to develop a framework and series of reference points from which to evaluate the plurality of practice and clarify different ideological underpinnings (Johnston, 1992: 3).

Johnston (*ibid.*) was concerned that the 'actionless thought' of the models was becoming reified in a way that could prevent practitioners from problematizing 'the complexity of the theory/ practice inter-relationship' and cause them to 'end up saying one thing and doing another'. In Schön's (1983) terms, though Johnston makes no mention of them, the concern was obviously about the danger of allowing the newly 'espoused theory' of the models to obscure proper recognition of practitioners' on-going 'theories-in-use'. Once community educators accepted 'theory' in the form of models of practice, Johnston seemed to suggest, 'the priorities and constraints of the "real world"' might become subordinated to the mere rhetoric of vision and purpose and, indeed, the rhetoric might itself become subverted by politicians and others to serve their own purposes.

In a later article in the same *Network* series, Fletcher endorsed this view whilst also reaffirming a common perception that community educators operate somewhere outside the orthodoxy of the educational establishment:

With hindsight it seems that the 'models period' of the '80's was a transition from community education's origins in the visions of administrators and philanthropists to its authenticity as the professional practice of those who overcame the limitations of their initial training by taking risks and opportunities. Again with hindsight, the models period paralleled an upsurge in party political interest, the 'models' were a major feature in the exchange between key professionals and their local politicians. In sum, the models became 'actionless thought' largely used as the framework of discussions between local politicians and liaising professionals (Fletcher, 1992: 3).

I confess to having used some of the models in just this context when tendering for and devising the community education staff development programme in Derbyshire! I found them invaluable in framing the kinds of issues and questions which it seemed necessary to work through with people who had arrived *via* very different routes and associated experiences at an understanding both of the term 'community education' and of its possible implications for their professional practice and relationships. The models and typologies provided an effective means of articulating, and occasionally re-orienting, practices and values within the developing framework of local policy.

Models and Typologies

Lovett, Clarke and Kilmurray (1983)

Despite Richards's (1987: 123) contention, with which I opened this chapter, that 'the development of community education in this country has been school focused', the earliest attempts to distil the plethora of ideas and practices of community education into the kinds of manageable proportions in which some 'order' might be seen paid particular attention to community-based rather than school-based activities.

One of the first typologies was devised by Lovett, Clarke and Kilmurray (1983). Drawing especially on innovative work in adult education and community development which had been initiated by some of the Home Office sponsored Community Development Projects in the late 1960s and early 1970s, they suggested that four distinct models of community education might be identified: *community organization*, *community development*, *community action* and *social action*. The first places emphasis on:

... the effective co-ordination and delivery of the wide variety of educational resources available to meet local needs and interests. It usually implies appointing outreach workers - community education tutors ... (Lovett *et al*, 1983: 36)

It seems to have been such a model which partially informed Derbyshire's policy, although the tutors appointed there were based in schools rather than directly in local communities and, as later chapters will illustrate, this often created a tension when the needs of the schools and local communities were perceived to be different. Lovett *et al* (*ibid.*) note that work conforming to the *community organization* model is often founded upon the notion of personal development and may successfully encourage working class adults to participate in education. However, it is likely to leave the general conditions of the local community unchanged.

The *community development* model attempts to address the latter issue by focusing more on the learning needs of communities than of individuals. Here, information, resources, advice and skills training are likely to be provided to help residents to address specific local problems like, for example, poor housing. Community educators working within this framework might also expect to provide a 'community dimension' within courses for other local professionals. The operational problem with this model is held to be that it is rooted in the notions of co-operation and co-ordination and of improved understanding which may not, in themselves, be enough to effect real change in the conditions in which local communities live.

The *community action* model, by contrast, emphasizes the role of conflict in resolving problems, and the need for alternative social structures. It is heavily influenced by Friere's (1972) work, attempting to place understanding of local problems within a wider social and political framework. Lovett *et al* (1983: 39) note that criticisms of this model may be two-fold: it sees local rather than broader social, class-based, movements as solutions to the problems of inequality; and it often lacks intellectual content because of an underestimation on the part of professionals of the ability of working class people 'to undertake sustained study; an emphasis on process rather than content and motivation' (*ibid.*).

Issues of content and motivation are taken seriously in the *social action* model which stresses educational effort and social, rather than local community, action. It contains elements of the classical liberal tradition in adult education, though the tutors influenced by the principles underpinning this model are likely to be less 'dispassionate' than their 'liberal' counterparts, generally being committed to radical

social action alongside their students. In operation, this model comes almost full circle back to that of *community organization* in the emphasis that it places on the education of the individual - though this is now firmly located within the recognition and development of class-consciousness. As such, it is not so much about community education in a local geographical sense as about redefining community as a shared class experience.

Clark (1985)

Clark's was one of the first typologies to appear in *Community Education Network*, in January 1985. In the form of a review of current practice, it was broadly similar to that of Lovett *et al* though it postulated five different models, one of which took particular account of the use of school buildings. Clark's models are based on different interpretations of community education ranging from the practical to the political. Martin (1987: 19-20) summarizes them as shown in Figure 2.1. He claims that this analysis 'is a useful contribution to the continuing debate about definition because it demonstrates the difficulty of reaching any kind of meaningful consensus when the whole gamut of practice is considered'.

As Martin (*ibid.*) also points out, framing practice in this way begs questions about the extent to which the more radical versions of community education can be accommodated by formal educational institutions, especially schools.

Martin (1985/7), Dodds *et al* (1985), Falken (1988)

Martin's own attempt at modelling stems from his argument that Clark's identification of the *ideological approach* as a single model is confusing since all interpretations/ models of community education are 'intrinsically ideological because each reflects a particular set of values' (Martin, 1987: 19).

Martin bases his models on an historical analysis of educational policies and practices developed during the twentieth century and associated in some way with what, in 1985, had 'only quite recently come to be known as "community education"' (*op.cit.*: 23). His typology (see Figure 2.2) is an attempt to identify ideologies underpinning practice which, though not necessarily explicit at the time particular practices were first developed, nevertheless manifested themselves through certain social and political attitudes, intentions and outcomes. Martin is at pains to point out both that the typology does not represent an historical or chronological continuum and that, although, in reality, practice often occurs in 'the blurred areas between the theoretical models' (*op.cit.*: 25), which are themselves obviously abstractions, each model is distinctive in terms of its origins and apparent intentions and, in the 1980s at least, clearly continued to influence practice.

Martin initially developed his typology in consultation with, and in order to provide a conceptual framework for, 'several groups of in-service student collaborators' (*op.cit.*: 22). I was fortunate to be introduced to it when he contributed to a workshop for some of my own in-service community education students in Sheffield in 1986, shortly before I was invited to tender for the Derbyshire staff development programme. I remember referring to Martin's work at an early meeting of the Derbyshire planning group, well ahead of publication of the book by Allen *et al* in which it was due to appear. I was delighted when an influential member of the group, whose support I was anxious to win, offered his compliments on the up-to-date references being used to underpin the programme!

My advance sight and discussion of Ian Martin's analysis not only helped me to give credibility to the preliminary reading list but it subsequently underpinned the staff development work in a very practical way as Headteachers and newly-appointed

Model	Purpose	Community educator's role	Query
1. Dual use	Cost-effective use of plant	Administrator / manager	No more than common sense?
2. Community service	Meeting local needs	Multi-purpose provider	Educational rationale?
3. Networking	Sharing / exchange of local educational resources	Network agent	Control and direction?
4. Awareness raising	Analysis of key current issues	Enabler / catalyst	Nature of praxis?
5. Ideological approach	Political education and social action	Advocate / change agent	Institutional tolerance?

Figure 2.1. Clark's (1985) review of practice (from Martin, 1987: 20).

	Universal model	Reformist model	Radical model
<i>Implicit model of society / community</i>	Consensus	Pluralism	Conflict
<i>Premise</i>	Homogeneity and basic harmony of interests	Heterogeneity and inter-group competition	Class structure, inequality and powerlessness
<i>Strategy</i>	Universal non-selective provision for all age / social groups	Selective intervention to assist disadvantaged people and deprived areas	Issue-based education, equal opportunities and social action
<i>Initial focus</i>	Secondary school / community college	Primary school / home / neighbourhood	Local working-class action groups
<i>Key influences</i>	Henry Morris	Eric Midwinter, A. H. Halsey	Tom Lovett, Paulo Friere and de-schoolers
<i>Twentieth-century origins</i>	Cambridgeshire and Leicestershire village / community colleges	Plowden Report (1967) and Educational Priority Areas	Community Development Projects, innovative adult education and community work
<i>Dominant themes</i>	Lifelong learning Integrated provision Openness and access Decompartmentalization Rationalization Co-ordination Voluntarism Neutrality Co-operation	Positive discrimination Decentralization Participation Social relevance Home-school links Preschooling / play Informal adult education Self-help Partnership	Redistribution / equal opportunities Community action / power Redefinition of priorities Local control Political education Learning networks Structural analysis Solidarity and collaboration
<i>Organization</i>	Top-down (professional leadership) Formal Programme Institution Reactive		Bottom-up (local leadership) Informal Process Locality Proactive

Figure 2.2. Martin's (1985 / 1987) models of Community Education (from Martin, 1987: 24).

Community Education Tutors struggled to get to grips with the implementation and practical implications of Derbyshire's community education policy directives. As Martin himself notes:

... the typology helps to relate personal views about community education to the situational variables of work, the spectrum of practice as a whole and the wider issues of society. In this way, it may be used to identify areas of tension and conflict as well as agreement. In the process we can begin to clarify both connections and contradictions between the personal, professional, institutional and political dimensions of practice. ...

... multi-purpose posts, such as that of the school-based 'community tutor', often involve conflicting demands and these need to be clarified theoretically before they can be confronted practically (Martin, 1987: 26).

In chapter four, I shall return to the particular role of the community tutor and some of the practical issues arising from its development in the specific context of Derbyshire. For the moment, however, I want to remain with models of community education and their place in the generation and articulation of new theoretical perspectives - a matter that I specifically wish to explore in chapter nine in the context of spirituality.

In the context of feminism in the early 1980s, writers such as Thompson (1983) had begun to highlight the need for female community educators to develop their own theories of practice. Dodds *et al* (1985) subsequently extended Martin's typology not only in an attempt to articulate a feminist perspective on community education (see Figure 2.3) but to try to stimulate debate about a developing trend towards 'separatist' experimentation where girls and women had begun to set their own agendas and objectives for group work in a growing number of schools, youth work projects, health groups and self-help initiatives.

Falken (1988) later also used Martin's original structure to produce a black model of community education but pointed out that:

The very terms he [Martin] is forced to use to delineate these strands in the history and practice of 'community education', however, are part of a specific, white European, academic and cultural tradition (Falken, 1988: 4).

Close inspection of Martin's 'strands' does, indeed, suggest that, though they are ostensibly founded in different 'premises', in essence they all seem to derive from a class-based analysis of society.

Although Martin had denied a continuum within his typology, Falken (*op.cit.*: 5) locates his own model between Martin's 'Reformist' (pluralist) and 'Radical' (conflict) models, arguing, perhaps not surprisingly, that 'There appear to be few black adherents for the assimilation/ consensus model'.

Fletcher (1987)

Like Martin, Fletcher also developed his analysis of community education through work with in-service students, though he eschewed an historical approach for a more immediate examination of the questions practitioners asked in their researches. These, he felt, reflected the range of actions taken by community educators generally, and indicated particular kinds of relationships with local communities, which he summarized as follows:

The Type A relationship with community is looking at social conditions with a dispassionate scientific eye. The Type B relationship is sharing people's meanings with individuality and with sympathy. The Type C relationship is learning through social movements as a politically committed activist. Each

<i>Implicit model of society / community</i>	Radical feminist
<i>Premise</i>	Gender-related equality Oppression of women
<i>Strategy</i>	Positive discrimination Gender-role analysis Separate provision Reconstruction of female knowledge and reality
<i>Initial focus</i>	Girls' / women's groups Women's studies Feminist education
<i>Key influences</i>	'Discounted' women in history, Mary Wollstonecraft, Virginia Woolf, Jane Thompson
<i>Origins</i>	Suffragette movement World Wars I and II Modern birth control 'Sexual revolution'
<i>Dominant themes</i>	Separatism / collectivism Control / autonomy Nature of oppression Family, education and work Personal politics (Nature of) learning process Historical excavation and analysis (of women in history) Redefinition: (female) continuity, identity and knowledge

Figure 2.3. The radical feminist addition to Martin's typology (after Dodds *et al.* 1985: 20).

relationship has its 'facts' about 'community' and each personal preference is strongly affected by the opportunities and obstacles to the development of community education pursued by the educator (Fletcher, 1987: 43).

These relationships and associated issues are summarized in Figure 2.4.

O'Hagan (1987)

Another three-stranded typology was developed by O'Hagan and presented in *Community Education Network* in the same year that Fletcher's and Martin's appeared in Allen *et al* (1987). It took the purpose envisaged for community education as the basis for each model. As O'Hagan notes:

... this is reflected in the names given to the three models. I consider this question of purpose to be central to an understanding of how and why particular patterns of community education emerge. By looking not at types of community education practice, but at the purposes postulated for community education, I believe more useful analytical distinctions can be made (O'Hagan, *op.cit.*: 2).

The alliterative trio of 'purposes' underpinning O'Hagan's typology are entitled 'Efficiency', 'Enrichment' and 'Empowerment'.

Those who operate within the first model, O'Hagan suggests, regard community education's primary purpose as improving the efficiency of the education service as a whole. They regard current inefficiencies as the fault of educational agencies where adjustments need to be made, largely to management structures. O'Hagan (*op.cit.*: 3) summarizes the founding assumptions of this model in these terms:

... change is necessary in the design of the educational provision and the style of delivery only, because the nature and purposes of education are not raised as questions. Neither education in general nor community education in particular are allowed any political role, for education is a neutral economic tool.

The 'Enrichment' model adherents see the purpose of community education as enriching the cultures of particular communities. The model is strongly linked to the tradition of the Western Enlightenment of advancement through the dissemination of knowledge - which, as in the efficiency model, is regarded as politically neutral. There is acceptance of diversity and a pluralistic society, and an assumption that positive acknowledgement of difference will result in social cohesion. Within this model, education is seen less as an economic tool than a social one: communities have to be helped to adjust to feelings of alienation and to cope better by improving their knowledge, skills and relationships.

By contrast, the purpose of community education for those who favour the notion of 'Empowerment' is to assist the 'powerless' to challenge rather than to adapt to the *status quo*. This model has its roots in working-class educational movements which located learning as firmly in the processes of struggle and conflict as in the traditional structures of teaching.

Although the characteristics of O'Hagan's models are similar to those of Martin's, his own purpose was less to construct a theoretical framework *per se* than to devise a structure to demystify and simplify the analysis and planning of current and future policy and practice. With precisely this intention in respect of Derbyshire's community education policy, I was delighted when, not long after the publication of his *Network* article, Bob O'Hagan agreed to co-facilitate two workshops with me as part of the staff development programme in the county.

Relationship of:	Type A: Looking at social conditions	Type B: Sharing people's meanings	Type C: Learning through social movements
<i>A focus on:</i>	Profiles	Priority groups	Pressures
<i>Expressed through:</i>	Economic activity Population statistics Housing Voluntary organizational life	Deprivation Deficiencies Networks of mutual care	Sexism Racism Class relations Poverty Economic and physical crises
<i>By co-operation with:</i>	Administrators	Professional colleagues	Local, organized people
<i>In methods of:</i>	Surveying	Participant observation	Participatory action
<i>And the difficulties of:</i>	Costs Changes over time	Tokenism Politics with a small 'p'	'Causing' antagonisms to be expressed 'Inviting' reactions from the powerful
<i>Through the personal ideology of:</i>	Being scientific	Being realistic	Being political
<i>On the moral basis of:</i>	Equality	Civility	Justice

Figure 2.4. Fletcher's (1987) summary of relationships with community in community education (after Fletcher, 1987: 45).

The workshops - and models - served their purpose well. However, although the next four chapters deal exclusively with the development of community education policy and practice in Derbyshire, there is not sufficient space to include details of the content and process of the staff development programme itself: that is another story to be told elsewhere; it is summarized, in part, in Hunt and Clarke (1989).

The intention of the present chapter, as indicated at the outset, has been two-fold: to provide a broad historical sketch of the national background from which Derbyshire's community education policy emerged; and to indicate the parameters of my own understanding of (community) education at the time when I devised the staff development programme and subsequently analyzed the data which underpin the empirical work that is presented in the following chapters.

¹ The Hadow Report was one of several produced in the inter-war years which had a marked effect on subsequent educational provision in the schools sector. The Parliamentary Consultative Committee responsible for these reports was chaired first by Sir Henry Hadow and subsequently by Sir William Spens, whose own Report provided the blueprint for the post-war tripartite secondary education system. Part of the remit of the Consultative Committee was to report on 'the differentiation of curricula between the sexes' and 'psychological tests of educable ability'.

² An account of the first eight years of the Hartland school is given by Colin Hodgetts in *Inventing A School*, published by Human Scale Education, 96 Carlingcott, Bath BA2 8AW, UK. Other information about Human Scale Education is published at the same address. The organisation produces a regular newsletter and supports conferences and courses to promote Schumacher's work on sustainability (outlined in his seminal text *Small is Beautiful*). It also supports parents and others wishing to set up their own small schools. The separate international Scumacher College, which provides residential courses, incorporating meditation and community living, for adults wishing to explore issues of sustainability and wholeness, is a department of the Dartington Hall Trust. Details available at: <http://www.gn.apc.org/scumachercollege/>

³ The latest, *Trailblazers*, edited by Paul Ginnis (1998), provides a summary of the thinking of key 'unorthodox' educators, including Friere and Illich: Education Now Books, 113 Arundel Drive, Bramcote Hills, Nottingham NG9 3FQ.

⁴ There is a debate, however, as to how far some of the more recent urban developments especially bear more than a superficial resemblance to Morris's early village colleges. Because of the size of some of the 'community complexes', such as the Abraham Moss Centre in Manchester, there is a concern that 'sheer size impedes the articulation of the institution with any identifiable community. In other words, economics impedes social purpose' (Martin, 1996: 117).

⁵ W.E.Forster's association of 'national power' with the education system had clearly never been forgotten!

⁶ All forms of education in communities continue to be plagued by concerns about who funds them, and for what purpose, and the extent to which ideological principles can be balanced against pragmatic considerations of how to operate at all. The issue is currently a live one in Derbyshire where economic regeneration money from the European Social Fund is financing specific local projects. Some established adult and community education workers feel that these cut across, and are sometimes supported at the expense of, more general provision (see Epilogue).

⁷ A White Paper, *Learning to Succeed - a new framework for post-16 learning* (Cm4392), published by the Blair government in the early summer of 1999, makes mention of a revitalised role for local government in community-based adult learning but the focus of the paper remains on individuals and employment, especially through 'partnerships' with employers. An early response to the paper by NIACE (2.7.1999: 2) notes: 'Something of the breadth and generosity of the Secretary of State's foreword to *The Learning Age* [an earlier government response which brought the concept of 'lifelong learning' back into vogue] has been lost with more apparent concern with personal prosperity than with community capacity'.

⁸ Interestingly, between 1989 and 1999, 6% of English schools 'opted out', taking 10% of all pupils with them. From the autumn of 1999 such schools will have three options: 1. to become 'foundation schools', retaining much of their autonomy but with 'fair funding'

channelled through LEAs (*i.e.* without extra cash from central government); 2. to become 'aided', a likely choice for schools with religious affiliations; 3. to become community schools which is the new status offered to schools that have not opted out (*source: The Independent, Education Section, 17.6.99: 6-7*). It is not clear at the time of writing what the expectations of these newly-designated community schools will be but it seems likely that the title may be largely cosmetic. There is little indication that such schools might be expected to fulfil the functions outlined by Smith and Smith (1974).

⁹ Carspecken's (1991) account of *The Battle for Croxteth Comprehensive* includes a useful in-depth exploration of the latter two questions. He details the difficulties encountered when two groups of people, both apparently pursuing the ideals of community education, do so by following different 'ideological themes' that are inherent within the one concept but which are actually widely divergent in terms of the practice they generate.

¹⁰ It was part of a highly topical series entitled 'Innovations in Education'

¹¹ The answer may, incidentally, be contained in the fact that the last time I encountered *Community Education Network*, which was once glossy, available in university libraries, and widely read by community education practitioners, for whom it provided a respected forum for debate, it had been reduced to a small newsletter available primarily to schools, by subscription.



Chapter Three

The 'Great Experiment': Development and Implementation of Derbyshire's Community Education Policy

This and the following two chapters are based on a research report that I completed in 1993 after the posts of Community Education Tutors in Derbyshire had been disestablished. This chapter examines the background to the development of the county's community education policy, some of the difficulties of implementation, and events which led up to the disestablishment of the 'Tutors' posts.



It has always been our intention to put Derbyshire into the forefront of community education development nationally and we firmly believe that when all the proposals contained herein are implemented we shall have done just that.

(Derbyshire County Council, 1986: v)

Scene-Setting

My purpose in putting this thesis together is to seek to grasp an 'abstract quality', an element of the 'wholeness' of community and, therefore, of community education which, like the life in the Sufi elephant, is recognizable in practice but seemingly lost in analysis. I want, in particular, to consider the implications of adding a 'spiritual dimension' to the community/ education debate. The practical parameters of this study are provided by the development of community education in England, primarily in the post-war years. The empirical work - what I have termed 'the frozen core' of the thesis - is located in what the late Harry Rée, a lifelong advocate of community education, once called 'The Great Experiment' which took place in the county of Derbyshire (Powell, in Hunt and Clarke, 1989: 27).

The 'Experiment' - and my own research into its origins, conduct, and implications for one particular group of community education professionals, and a number of lay people who became involved in its management - was almost over before, as I noted in chapter one, the spiritual question 'knocked on my door'. However, I might never have tried to answer this question had it not been for the period between 1987 and 1994 when, on a personal level, my practical and academic involvement in community education helped me to ground, and link together, a number of ideas and experiences that had hitherto seemed unconnected.

In 1987, after a process of planning and local consultation, first initiated in 1981; and the establishment and monitoring of some small pilot schemes between 1982-1985, the implementation of Derbyshire's county-wide community education policy was finally under way. The intention was to set up over thirty local Community Education Councils, each with a professional co-ordinator. The proposed appointment of nearly one hundred new Community Education Tutors in local schools had already begun. I was invited to tender for, and subsequently to direct, a fifteen-month staff development programme in community education for the Tutors and their respective Headteachers. Although there were undeniable difficulties

during this time, the over-riding sense of excitement, enthusiasm, and optimism was almost palpable.

Six years later, I was asked to contribute to a special edition of the journal *Adults Learning* featuring 'Community Education in New Times' (Hunt, 1993a). The mood of that time was very different. In his introduction to the edition, Sayer (1993: 141) wrote:

At the beginning of the 1980s, community education was on a roll. ... [Now] Legislative changes throughout the education service, restructuring in local authorities, nationalization of the curriculum, rate capping and the recession have combined to strip away much of the funding that had been made available for community education as non-statutory provision, and to disable the focus for community education which had traditionally been provided by local education authorities. Community education programmes have been cut in institutions throughout the education service; staff posts have been lost; new priorities have been set for those who remain. The professional associations and voluntary organizations which led the development of support services and staff development have seen membership and subscription numbers decline beyond the point where many of these services remain viable. Starved of resources they have been similarly constrained to cut provision and seek new territory for their work.

In Derbyshire, all the Community Education Tutor posts had been disestablished; key political and professional figures who had spearheaded the 'Great Experiment' had left; the Community Education Councils were much reduced in size, they had lost their professional co-ordinators, and their members felt frustrated and powerless.

The focus of this and the three following chapters is on these practical events and the political, professional and ideological issues associated with them. This chapter deals specifically with policy issues. Chapter four attempts to encapsulate the nature of the Community Education Tutor's role. Chapter five provides an analysis of events, from the early vision of community education in Derbyshire to the disestablishment of the Tutors' posts, in terms of a model of project development. Chapter six is concerned with the experiences and perceptions of lay people who served on Community Education Councils: it is based on a report which I completed in late 1994 with support from the Nuffield Foundation¹. The present chapter, together with chapters four and five, is underpinned by an earlier report of work undertaken with support from the University of Sheffield Research Fund.

Community Education and Schools

The Poor Relation

Although community education in England has assumed a variety of forms, it has, for the most part, remained separate from, and usually a 'poor relation' of, statutory school provision. It has also been subject, perhaps appropriately, though not always advantageously, to local rather than national control. The 1944 Education Act did contain a proposal to establish 'county colleges' to provide part-time education and leisure facilities for young people who were not in full-time education, thereby reprising some of Morris's thinking from a decade earlier, albeit without the adult education component. However, although this encouraged some Local Education Authorities (LEAs) to make plans for a more extensive service, including adult provision, the proposal was never pursued by central government. With minor exceptions², it has largely remained silent on the subject of community education ever since.

LEAs have tended to develop community education from a school base primarily as a way of extending or rationalizing the services provided on school sites³. Because they are not obliged to make such provision, however, when LEAs have been under financial pressure, it has often been their community education services which have borne the brunt of budget cuts. In the first six months of 1990 alone, the leading article of the then-influential journal *Community Education Network* deplored substantial cuts that had been made to community education in Hampshire (January, Vol.10, No.1), Somerset (February, Vol.10, No.2) and Manchester (June, Vol.10, No.6). Similar reports appeared with disturbing regularity in the months that followed.

Despite certain ideological differences on other matters, most community educators would probably agree on one basic precept of community education: it should enhance the quality of life in local communities. To some extent, this hinges upon the personal development of individuals, and especially upon their understanding of, and willingness to bring influence to bear on, societal issues. It is somewhat paradoxical, therefore, that the erosion of community education should have occurred under the direction of a Conservative Government ostensibly committed both to the concept of 'individualism' and to greater public awareness of, and involvement in, the management of education, especially in the schools sector of the state system.

Derbyshire's community education policy not only put the spotlight on the somewhat volatile nature of the relationship between community education and schools but, arguably, ultimately foundered as a result of it. Before examining this in detail, it may be helpful to pick up some of the threads of chapter two to reaffirm that, in the 1980s when Derbyshire's policy was under construction, various patterns of community education could be identified, not all of which had their locus in schools.

Patterns of Community Education identifiable in Practice during the 1980s

In some parts of England, most notably Cambridgeshire and Leicestershire, community education had developed through designated community schools and colleges in which many staff had a community dimension to their work. This was often on a contractual basis which included teaching adults and/ or undertaking evening or other out of school hours work. The bulk of this work generally centred on the institution and its satellite buildings and followed fairly traditional patterns and programmes of adult education. The most notable departure from 'normal' schooling was that adult students were frequently to be found in school buildings during the daytime and a number might attend classes alongside older school pupils, either working towards examinations or simply studying for pleasure. Though there might be a vocational element in what adults chose to study, their choice was primarily determined by their individual needs and preferences and the emphasis was on personal development through education.

Elsewhere, a more common pattern of community education centred on schools was a 'Cox and Box' arrangement whereby adult education took place separately from, and only when classrooms and other premises were not required for, classes for pupils attending the school. One of the main arguments for this was economic rather than educational: to make use of expensive plant, funded by the taxpayer, which would otherwise be left empty for lengthy periods out of school hours.

These school-based approaches to community education contrasted with that taken in areas, like Liverpool, where the locus of community education, often building on Community Development Project (CDP) work, tended to be in the community itself. Those employed as community education practitioners were generally expected to

develop educational opportunities and political awareness in equal measure through work with, for example, tenants groups and other community organizations. Community education was seen primarily as a means to the enhancement of social conditions rather than as something to be undertaken for its own sake and, in consequence, activities were much more likely to be geared to specific and immediate local issues rather than to pre-planned institutional programmes. The emphasis was less on the personal development of individuals than on the collective empowerment of local communities to take control of, and give direction to, the social and political factors that most influenced their lives.

Another form of community education was that which developed on an *ad hoc* basis in many LEAs as individual schools sought to encourage community - and especially parental - involvement in their activities. This was most usually designed to enable parents to understand better, and therefore to assist their children with, a variety of school activities. It has now become common practice in large numbers of schools, particularly those in the primary sector. The emphasis is usually on the help that can be given to the child and the school rather than on any educational and developmental elements there might be to their involvement for the adults themselves.

There have been several attempts, as outlined in chapter two, to determine the origins and purposes of the different community education practices developed throughout England, and to summarize these in models and typologies. Different approaches to community education have evidently developed in response to varying combinations of social conditions, economic pressures and political ideologies. Rarely, however, except perhaps in the early vision of Henry Morris (Morris, 1925; see Rée, 1973), has the intention been to create a systematic and developmental approach to education in which education in and of the community played as significant a role as that traditionally expected of schools.

For various reasons, not least being the strong hold that the Victorian work ethic took on the shaping of the formal education system in Britain, schooling has effectively become what Houghton and Richardson (1974) once succinctly described as 'a terminal apprenticeship for a working life'. In consequence, community education has generally been considered by those not involved with it to be peripheral to the education which takes place within the statutory sector. It has often been regarded, at best, as a form of social welfare - either as a means of providing 'second chance' education for those who did not achieve educational success at the 'usual' time or as a communal (and cosy) form of leisure activity determined, and largely sustained, by local interest; at worst, it has been dismissed as being associated with the far political left and attempts to overthrow the *status quo*.

The Derbyshire Model

The approach to community education to which Derbyshire County Council committed itself in 1986 drew liberally from, and attempted to bring together in a structured and coherent form, much of the theory and practice that had been generated in the field of community education since Morris first coined the term in the 1920s. In particular, it sought very deliberately to link schools into the process. The Council's *Programme for Development* (December 1986) noted, as the first item in its list of Aims and Objectives:

- 1.1 The general aim of community education is to afford opportunities to people of all ages, whether in the statutory system or not, for growth and development as individuals and as members of communities and to encourage local people to take responsibility for their own learning.

It then took care to spell out the belief that:

... schools have a dual role, in respect of their pupils of statutory school age, and of the community at large, to which they are expected to respond, in terms of curriculum, resources and expertise... (para.1.2).

Drawing on accepted principles of community schooling, the *Programme* specifically recommended not only that 'adults should be permitted to attend school classes' but that school pupils should have the opportunity, if they wished, 'to enrol in a class sponsored under adult education arrangements' (para.6.24).

However, the *Programme* also endorsed the view, held at the more radical end of the community education spectrum, that there is a responsibility, too, 'to go to where people are, and not necessarily expect them to come to a school, college or other centre' (para.1.3) and it stressed the need for 'Local and democratic control of community education' (para.1.12). In addition, it acknowledged the belief, triggered by Morris's approach and held by many practitioners in community education whose daily work touches on that of a variety of organizations and services, that:

Community education is different from most operations of the County Council in the extent to which it crosses boundaries, not only between different parts of the Education Service but between different services of the County Council (para.1.8).

A sub-committee was set up at Council level to ensure liaison with social services and considerable effort went in to the 'marketing' of Derbyshire's broad vision of community education, both within the county and nationally.

Development of Community Education in Derbyshire: Background

The Context

Following the re-organization of local government in 1974, the former County of Derbyshire was amalgamated with the County Borough of Derby. In consequence, Derbyshire became one of the largest education authorities in England, having a total population of almost one million (933,000: Office of Population Census and Surveys District and County Estimates, 1990). The county comprises well over five hundred square miles of dales and moorland, much of which lie to the north west within the boundary of the Peak National Park. The formerly extensive Derbyshire coalfields are located in the north east. Derby is the largest centre of population, lying at the southern end of the county.

In the early 1980s, a traditional pattern of 'sector' education existed in Derbyshire with strong - but separate - adult education and youth services operating alongside the schools and colleges. At that time, two particular ideas featured strongly in much educational and political debate.

The first was the concept of continuing education. It had become apparent in many Western countries, including Britain, that improvements in health care coupled with demographic trends were resulting in greater numbers of people spending more years in retirement than ever before. In addition, advances in technology were having an impact not only on the nature and stability of the work that people were required to do but also on the amount of leisure time they might be expected to enjoy. Schooling systems based on the 'terminal apprenticeship for a working life' model, it was argued, were no longer appropriate in this new post-industrial society, being wasteful of human resources - economically and in terms of the personal development of individuals.

The second idea concerned the need for both participation and accountability. The political imagination had been caught by the idea and a number of mechanisms had been designed to involve local people in the decision-making processes affecting their local services (Boaden *et al*, 1982). In education, the Taylor Report (1977) had recommended that every school should have a governing body composed in equal parts of representatives of the council, teachers, parents and the local community.

Although both ideas were clearly influential in shaping the subsequent development of Derbyshire's approach to community education, it was undoubtedly also prompted by attention which, in the early 1980s, had been focused nationally on the social factors which might give rise to civil unrest. Following the disturbances which had occurred in several major cities, the Scarman Report (1981), among others, referred to divisions in the community and the sense of alienation and rejection within some sections of it, most notably the young and socially disadvantaged.

In consequence, the notion of 'community' - and how a sense of it might be fostered - had come on to the agenda of many Local Authorities. It was no coincidence that Tameside Metropolitan Borough, for example, published the report of its own community education review group, *Community Education and Development in Tameside* (August 1986), at much the same time as the final Derbyshire proposals were made public. It, too, made particular reference to the need for local forums and suggested that, where community schools were already in operation, a Community Education Teacher should be appointed 'to contribute to the area team a strong understanding of the particular role that the school could undertake in community education and development' (p.14, para.4.6).

Earlier, the Education Committee of Newcastle upon Tyne had brought out its consultative document, *Community Education and Community Schools in Newcastle* (undated, c.1983/4), which concentrated on the development of community schools. It commented specifically on the reference in the Scarman Report to the need to restore a sense of community endangered or already lost as a result of rapid social change and mobility, and on the recommendation that local communities should be more fully involved in the decisions which affect them.

The Scarman Report clearly gave similar direction to the thinking of the Education Committee in Derbyshire although, by the time this came to fruition in the *Programme for Development*, it had been shaped by the research into community education undertaken by two Working Parties and by an extensive county-wide consultation exercise.

In the Beginning ...

Derbyshire's Education Committee first established a Working Party on community education in October 1981. The Working Party produced a report in November 1982 which, after wide circulation and discussion, resulted in monies being made available to finance a number of small pilot and experimental projects in community education, some of which were located in schools and colleges. Seven years later, reflecting on the innovative and sometimes isolated and difficult nature of these projects, Geoff Lennox, then Chair of the Education Committee, referred to the people who had carried them forward as 'islands set in a vast sea of traditional education' (Hunt and Clarke, 1989: 46).

In 1985, a new Working Party was set up, comprising members of the Education Committee and professional representatives. Its terms of reference were to :

Review the development of community education to date, including the contribution of schools, colleges, adult and youth service, consider future arrangements and make recommendations to the Education Committee.

Its subsequent report was widely circulated for consultation in April 1986. This was later revised and re-published. The revised version was formally adopted by the County Council in December 1986.

The December 1986 report (para.8.6) acknowledged the considerable impetus given to community education not only by 'the small-scale pilot schemes that the Authority was able to establish in 1982' but by 'influences from outside the Authority'. It noted, too, that there was an awareness within the Authority of 'considerable momentum and of many who are frustrated by a lack of structure and a lack of resources to implement much needed programmes'.

The report outlined a vision of community education which drew heavily on the principles of public participation and continuing education and on a wide range of practice in community education, in and outside the county. Entitled *Community Education in Derbyshire: A Programme for Development* and encased in a shiny pink cover, it became popularly known as, and has rarely been referred to in the county since as anything other than, 'The Pink Book'. It is a convention with which I shall now continue to comply.

The 'Pink Book'

A Blueprint

In their foreword to the Pink Book, Geoff Lennox, as Chair of the Education Committee and Bob Walker, as Chair of the Community Education Working Party, wrote:

We do not claim that this is the definitive statement in community education. Better let it be seen as a blueprint for development which will be a basis for policy decisions by the Education Committee, and which will help the practitioners to put policy into practice.

Three years later, I noted in the foreword to another publication:

... the translation of architectural blueprint into finished product involves a lot of effort and dust. Often, too, existing structures with which people have become familiar have to be removed or substantially altered; foundations which no-one saw but which sustained solid walls are threatened. The translation into practical reality of Derbyshire's blueprint for community education has been no different. Traditional ways of doing things, as well as fundamental belief systems, have been challenged; there has been some frustration and anger about the nature of the process and the reactions of the people involved in it; some basic scaffolding in the shape of information and support systems has sometimes been shaky. And all the dust has not yet settled ... (Hunt and Clarke, 1989: i)

Some of the practitioners who attempted to turn the Pink Book's blueprint for community education into practical reality would doubtless argue that the dust never settled - and that the blueprint was dramatically changed even while construction was in progress. A major contributory factor seems to have been that many people *did* regard the Pink Book as the definitive statement - and became frustrated, disappointed or angry, and sometimes all three, when they found proposals and practice were not necessarily the same thing. Whilst the development of community education in Derbyshire was considerably accelerated by the proposals in the Pink Book, the number of practitioners and participants who came, as a direct result of the expectations raised but not fulfilled by those proposals, to feel 'frustrated by a lack of structure and a lack of resources to implement much needed programmes' probably increased at much the same rate.

In some localities and in respect of some relationships, these frustrations and the difficulties associated with them were never fully resolved and they undoubtedly influenced the county review of community education which was set up in 1991. At that time consideration also had to be given to the consequences of the Education Reform Act (1988), which had changed the balance of power between schools and LEAs and altered the financial basis upon which schools were to be managed, as well as to the increasing financial difficulties within the county. Following the review, the decision was eventually taken to alter substantially the structures to which the original proposals for community education had so far given rise.

Significantly, the choice was made to restructure on a county-wide basis rather than to make local refinements to existing arrangements: I shall return to this point in later sections. In the concluding section I shall also suggest that the restructuring of community education which took place after 1991 was primarily of a reactive nature and undertaken with none of the sense of vision and optimism that accompanied the launch of the Pink Book in December 1986. For the moment, though, I intend to examine some of the proposals and intentions of the original 'blueprint for development' in more detail.

Amongst other things, the Pink Book set out:

- the *rationale* for the proposed new approach to community education;
- draft *job descriptions* for the proposed new posts of District Community Education Officers, Community Education Co-ordinators and Community Education Tutors;
- an *outline constitution* for the establishment of Community Education Councils;
- the *seven criteria* by which schools' involvement in community education would be assessed in relation to applications for additional staffing for community education (*i.e.* for a Community Education Tutor);
- *recommendations* for the organization and control of resources, the management of education buildings, and the relationship that could best be developed between the youth and adult education services and the new community education structure.

In their foreword to the book, Geoff Lennox and Bob Walker stated:

It has always been our intention to put Derbyshire into the forefront of community education development nationally and we firmly believe that when all the proposals contained herein are implemented we shall have done just that.

In 1986, there were several features of the Derbyshire approach to community education, including the sheer scale of it, which not only did set it apart from any other but which may have created some of the confusions which ultimately left it so vulnerable to later restructuring by those who did not seem to share or support the original vision. Two proposals were particularly significant in both respects.

One was the proposal to establish Community Education Tutor posts in schools - and to ask schools to make application for such posts by submitting a *Statement of Intent* which was to include the school's agreement to be assessed on seven different criteria which would indicate the extent of their involvement in community education. I shall list these in the next section: the important point here is that schools were to be asked to make a firm commitment to develop community education before they would be permitted to appoint an additional member of staff - whose role it would then be to assist in that development by working with existing staff in the school and liaising with other professionals and community members outside, especially those involved with the local Community Education Council.

The second proposal concerned the establishment of thirty-seven Community Education Councils (CECs) on which would be represented:

the County Council, District Councils and Parish Councils where considered appropriate by the Authority, local providers, and representatives of the communities concerned and those who wish to make use of the opportunities available (para 3.3).

Community Education Councils

Operationally, it was envisaged that:

Much community education will continue to be self-financing. Most of the existing programme of traditional adult education classes will continue to raise income equal to the cost of tuition. ... In addition, local Community Education Councils will have income from affiliations, which can be applied to develop programmes (para.8.3).

Each CEC was also to have control of 'significant programme resources' (para.8.3) and would determine the community education programme for its area through a 'bid' system. All would-be providers in the area - from Headteachers operating 'a large community education site' to a community group which 'might request modest assistance with a single educational event' (para.4.1) - would have to prepare and submit a bid for support to the CEC which would be able to allocate some monies out of its own programme resources but would otherwise have to 'bid up through the system, with a co-ordinated programme for the locality, and compete for funds with other local CECs' (para.3.4).

In the light of political commitment to public participation in local services, the particular significance of these administrative arrangements was that they:

... would provide the means of putting the initiative into the hands of users of educational services, and place institutions schools and colleges in the role of responder and servicer ... The CEC would provide a nexus where overlapping interests and demands can be made to meet so that community education strategy can be decided for particular localities and priority decisions made as near to the community as is reasonably practicable (para.3.6).

Clearly, CECs were to be created in order to bring into being a vision of community education which the Pink Book described in these terms:

(Community education) may be provided by any institution or none. Its totality is larger than any single institution or provider (para.1.11).

However, the Pink Book also acknowledged how difficult it might be for many people to conceptualize community education in anything other than institutional terms:

The upbringing of most adults has been through ... institutions, and some are content to relate to them. For example, many youth and community workers, although community based, like to feel they belong to the youth and community service. The majority of those employed in education, work in institutions and therefore see education in institutional terms. Yet most individuals in the community, who are not associated with education, would not see educational institutions as having particular significance in their lives. Indeed the contrary may be the case. For many, whose memory of formal education is unhappy, the idea of going back to school or college for continuing education may be positively inhibiting (para.1.9, original emphasis).

Essentially, it was in order to begin to make inroads into the approach of, and attitudes within, the key institutions deemed to be responsible for setting this 'positively inhibiting' process in motion - the schools - that the Pink Book had proposed the appointment of Community Education Tutors. So crucial were these posts seen to be to the whole process that they were the first to be advertised and filled. Before examining them more closely, it is necessary to consider where the Tutors were initially placed within the professional staffing structure for community education and the impact that the phasing in of the various staff appointments in community education had on this position.

Staffing for Community Education

Contradictions and Consequences

The intended professional staffing structure - and especially the lines of responsibility and accountability that were built into it - reflected a desire on the part of the County Council both to devolve decision-making about local issues to local communities and, at the same time, to retain central control over the implementation of 'the general policies of the authority' (Pink Book: para.9.10). It is also possible to identify within it a certain tension about wishing to make schools more responsive to local needs while not providing any real challenge to the autonomy traditionally enjoyed by Headteachers.

Although the apparent contradictions of these approaches are no strangers to the debate about community education itself, in this case they almost certainly stem from difficulties inherent in the Labour Party at that time, nationally as well as in Derbyshire, in reconciling ideological differences between the radical 'New Left' and the more traditional 'paternalistic' attitudes that had hitherto characterized the Party.

Whatever the actual cause of these inbuilt contradictions, one consequence of them was considerable uncertainty about where the locus of power for community education in Derbyshire was really supposed to lie. Not only did this result in unnecessary confusion for staff charged with putting policy into practice but, since it was never entirely clear who was responsible and/ or accountable to whom, tensions inevitably arose between schools, the professional members of the community education teams, the 'lay' members of the CECs, and the County Council itself.

As I have noted, before these tensions could be properly resolved at a local level the decision to restructure was taken centrally. The decision was a significant one in view both of the specific issue of local *v.* central control and of the general debate about the involvement of schools in community education. By 1992, it had resulted in the virtual removal of schools from the equation, the restructuring (and considerable demoralization) of the professional teams, and a reduction in the financial powers of the CECs coupled with the loss of their designated Co-ordinators. I shall take up these points again in chapters five and six.

Financial Constraints and their Impact on Appointments

The financial problems in Derbyshire had always cast a long shadow over its 'Great Experiment' in community education. Although the publication of the Pink Book in 1986 had signalled a definite political commitment to develop a new and intricately structured system of community education, based on considerable research and pilot schemes, a reduction in the intended budget had had a significant impact on the proposals for staffing even before attempts were made to implement them.

At the time of its publication, it was envisaged that the proposals in the Pink Book would be underwritten by a budget amounting to approximately £4.5m and that they would be put into operation as soon as practically possible. However, in 1987 there was a general election which returned a Conservative Government for a third term of office. Speaking at a private meeting during the staff development programme in April of the following year, one of Derbyshire's senior Education Officers described 1987 in the county as "A fallow year for navel-gazing and angst as a result of the election result". One of the results of the 'angst' was the decision to cut the proposed community education budget by £3m to little more than £1.5m.

It had been expected that over 100 new Community Education Tutors would be in post for the start of the academic year in the autumn of 1987; 20 District Community Education Officers (DCEOs) were also to have been appointed, together with 36.2 Community Education Co-ordinators (for the proposed new Community Education Councils). In addition, there were to have been Assistant Education Officer posts established at Area level, plus those for Area Advisors for Community Education who were to have training and advisory functions for community- and institution-based community education services. As a consequence of the drastic cut in the budget, the number of posts to be offered had inevitably to be reduced and the time-scale for implementation was extended.

Crucially, however, rather than simply reducing proportionately the numbers of each type of job that had been proposed, it was decided that none of the CEC Co-ordinator appointments would be made immediately but that most of the Community Education Tutor appointments would go ahead. The other posts were to be phased in over the following year although, in the event, the Area Assistant Officer and Advisory appointments were never made and only 20 Co-ordinators were appointed.

With hindsight, it is arguable that a locally based approach would have been preferable, allowing full area teams to be established in the way that had originally been envisaged - perhaps first in those areas where pilot schemes had already been developed. Instead, the clearly preferred county-wide approach was adopted and it seemed to take little account of local conditions.

Thus, at the very end of 1987 and in early 1988, about 80 newly appointed Community Education Tutors - a good proportion of whom had moved from other parts of Britain to take up their posts - found themselves not only in schools where Headteachers and staff were not always completely clear about, nor entirely supportive of, the Tutor's role, but also without the expected community education team structure in place outside the school to provide them with much-needed support and encouragement.

Many inevitably felt isolated and confused about the work they were expected to do and these feelings often manifested themselves in expressions of anger and frustration against the LEA. Derbyshire had appeared, through its national recruitment campaign and the detailed documentation of the Pink Book, to be offering employment in a brave and welcoming new world of community education. Once they were in post, the Tutors discovered that the allusion to a 'blueprint for development', made by the Chair of the Education Committee and tucked away in the foreword to the book, had been more literal than it might have appeared - and that the Pink Book, in reality, provided no more than a sketch map from which they were now expected to construct the new world themselves.

Moreover, Tutors were also expected to create a new niche for themselves within the school structure, to influence attitudes towards community education within the school - and, in these early stages of their work, to reach out almost single-handedly to the local community to stimulate interest and involvement in such community education initiatives as might be established.

Viewed in retrospect, the initial difficulties that a large number of Community Education Tutors encountered, and the frustration and anger they felt, are understandable. Unfortunately, as I have already indicated, their manifestation probably reinforced the negative views of those who preferred school and community to be kept separate and eventually added weight to the final decision to disestablish the Tutor posts.

Ironically, the Pink Book had actually been at pains to spell out how important it would be to the success of Derbyshire's proposed new community education system to appoint not just school-based Tutors but also community-based Co-ordinators. In the light of the pilot schemes, it argued that the separation of the functions of Tutor and Co-ordinator should:

... overcome the difficulties and tensions that have emerged where community tutors, based in schools, have felt themselves to be in an ambiguous position with regard to community-based education activities (para.8.12).

It also made clear what the expectations of the post-holders should have been, noting that the roles would be 'similar but complementary', dividing along the following lines:

The task of the Community Education Co-ordinator will be, in association with the local Community Education Council, the development and maintenance of appropriate links with statutory and voluntary agencies in the area, and the organization, development and co-ordination of a community education programme, taking into account the contributions of various schools and centres in the locality. The functions of the school-based Community Tutor will include a contribution to the teaching programme, a responsibility for organizing the school's response to the community, the organization of the involvement of pupils in the community, the provision of a focus for staff and curriculum development in community education and providing the school's link with other agencies, including education agencies in the community (para.9.8).

In other words, the Co-ordinator was originally intended to work in the community and, in the process, to look towards the schools to ensure appropriate links were made; the Tutor was to work with staff and pupils in the school, looking out towards the community to create and maintain links in that direction. In the terms used at an informal meeting of the South Yorkshire Community Education Association⁴ by one of the leading figures in the production of the Pink Book, the Tutor and Co-ordinator were meant to be "almost hermaphroditic". Each was to sustain and nurture the other and her/ his work and, between them, they would cause osmosis to occur in the barrier that had traditionally separated school from community.

Using slightly less classical terminology, the Pink Book itself had stressed that:

The relationship between these two workers will be crucial. The relationship represents the point at which the school and the community meet, as far as community education developments are concerned (para.9.9).

In the early months of their appointment, however, many Community Education Tutors were expected to operate on the sensitive school/ community interface not only with little guidance or support from within the school but without a great deal of practical assistance outside. Several found it hard to establish their 'credibility' with staff in the school since they often felt the need to be doing what, in more favourable circumstances, would have been part of the Co-ordinator's job outside - including, in some cases, being instrumental in setting up the CECs. It is probably no coincidence that their job title quickly became shortened simply to 'Community Tutor'.

Such initial difficulties scarcely provided the best introduction to the job either for the Tutors personally or for those critics who had yet to be convinced of the value of community education and, particularly, of the importance of the relationship it might enjoy with schools.

Additionally, and even had the financial constraints not delayed the implementation of the full range of planned community education appointments (and reduced the total number that were eventually made), there were, as I noted at the beginning of this section and will explore in more detail at the end of the next, some problematic aspects to the lines of accountability and responsibility the Pink Book had set out between the key players. While these problems may have stemmed, as I suggested, from ambivalences both about local and central control and the place of schools and their respective Headteachers within a community education system, their biggest impact seems to have been on the Community Education Tutors.

The Appointment of Community Education Tutors to Schools

In order to understand fully the somewhat awkward position within the community education staffing structure in which Tutors were placed, it is necessary to consider the nature of their appointment in relation to those of other community education team members, especially those of the Co-ordinators and the District Community Education Officers.

Unlike either of the latter, the appointment of Tutors was made through the schools, on the recommendation of the appropriate school Governing Body. Schools had been invited to bid for this additional staffing by submitting a *Statement of Intent* giving 'general assent' to seven criteria by which their involvement in community education would be assessed, plus an indication of progress made so far in meeting these seven criteria and of possible lines of development, including arrangements for evaluation.

The 'Seven Criteria' These were set out in Annex 1 of the Pink Book (p.106) as follows:

1. Management A style which embodies consultation, participation and partnership.
2. Staffing A staffing policy which fully acknowledges the community education dimension.
3. In-service Training, and Staff Development A programme of In-service and staff development in community education.
4. Curriculum and Timetable There is an outgoing curriculum overlapping life outside school.
5. Style of Learning There are student centred active learning approaches.
6. Relationship with Parents There are open informal relationships to encourage confidence and partnership.
7. Relationship with Surrounding Community The school is involved with the community, and demonstrates a merging of concern and resources.

The Tutor's Job Quite clearly, the intention was that schools should be entirely committed to community education before having the opportunity to appoint an additional member of staff whose 'Job summary and scope' (Pink Book, p.107) was to be:

Responsible, as team leader of the Community Education Team within School for:

1. Developing, maintaining, supporting and articulating the school's relationships with all statutory and voluntary bodies working within the District.
2. The organization and development of the school's contribution to community education.
3. Developing a co-ordinated team approach to community education in the school.
4. Taking a direct role in the planning and development of an overall community education policy at the school.

In the event, as several Headteachers subsequently told me during the staff development programme, the 'bids' for Tutors were required at much the same time as Headteachers were also being asked to put in bids for the Technical Vocational Education Initiative (TVEI) and other curricular resources. As one Head said somewhat pragmatically, "It was a really frantic time and, to be honest, you just put in a bid for everything in the hope of getting something!". When that 'something' turned out to be a Community Education Tutor, it appeared that some schools were not at all sure what to do with it.

That is not to deny the fact that many schools had already developed a major community education dimension to their work and that they were keen to have, and, once they had been appointed, were extremely supportive of, their Community Education Tutor. However, a number of Tutors did find themselves in schools where the Headteacher or staff - or both - were uncertain about the role they should play, what they should be asked to do, and what resources they should have with which to do it. Negotiating the use of a telephone and of a designated space where they could meet and talk to people became the first task of several Tutors - as well as a feature which appeared to set them apart from other members of staff and which sometimes caused considerable aggravation.

Regardless of any internal problems that the appointment of Tutors may have generated, there was also some feeling at the time that a few schools had actually been allocated Tutors 'for political reasons' while others that were further down the community education route and therefore more 'deserving' had not. Whether this view was correct or not, the tensions it engendered were compounded by the fact that the budget cuts had made it necessary for a number of schools, notably in the primary sector, to share a Tutor. The 'record' seems to have been held by a Tutor who was answerable to seven Headteachers but it was commonplace for Tutors to serve up to five schools within a local primary cluster.

To all of this was added the fact that Tutors were appointed under different conditions of service: some who were qualified teachers were appointed to the teaching staff and expected to combine their Tutor role with part-time teaching; others who had a background in youth and community work were appointed under Joint Negotiating Committee (JNC) conditions and expected to undertake 'at least three evening sessions of work per week and some weekend sessions' (*Conditions of Service*, section A). The situation was also complicated by differences in the salary - and certainly a perceived difference in the status - of Tutors appointed to primary and to secondary schools. There was, indisputably, a great deal of spadework to be done in order to create a coherent system of school-based community education on the basis of these highly individual appointments.

The school-based system was itself, of course, intended to become an integral part of a wider community education network and service in Derbyshire - with the

Community Education Tutors straddling the gap between school and community. The expectation, set out in their job description, was that they would, in conjunction with the Headteacher,

... supervise and support the work of the full-time members of the Community Education Team in the school, the part-time paid and voluntary workers, ancillary and clerical staff.

They themselves were directly responsible to the Headteacher and, *via* him or her, to the Governing Body of their school. The link with the community and, in particular with the Community Education Team that was to operate in the community, was to be primarily through the local District Community Education Officer (DCEO). The Tutors' job description outlined the relationship in these terms:

The person appointed will be expected to have a close consultative relationship and professional liaison with the DCEO(s) on all matters of community education, and with the CEC.

It also stated:

Though responsible to the Headteacher the person appointed will receive support via a team approach to community education within the district. Considerable freedom to initiate and take action in securing and developing provision will exist within the team.

A non-hierarchical supervisory role will also exist with the DCEO(s), and the CEC (my emphasis).

Before I comment further on this supervisory structure, it may be helpful to look more closely at the job of the DCEOs.

District Community Education Officers It was intended that two DCEOs would be appointed for each district council area. In the terms of their job description (Pink Book, p.103) they were to be responsible in that area for:

... securing the provision of a balanced programme of community education, including the development of facilities for young people and the education of adults within educational establishments and otherwise.

In addition, they would 'manage community education staff in an agreed part of the district' and:

... provide advice, expertise and support in an agreed specialism (*e.g.* youth work; the education of adults) in the whole district, and co-ordinate the programme in the district within this specialism.

In other words, one DCEO would be responsible for co-ordinating youth work and the other for adult education throughout the district - but each would be the line manager responsible for half of the district's full-time and part-time community education staff (in, for example, either the north or the south of the district) regardless of the particular focus of the work of those staff.

Included among the staff who would be responsible to the DCEOs were to be the Community Education Co-ordinators. These would, however, also be accountable to the Community Education Councils (CECs) to whom they were designated.

The DCEOs were themselves to be responsible to an Area Education Officer. The Pink Book (para.9.10) noted:

The office of Area Education Officer draws together all strands of the education service in the area, and it is appropriate that the organization of community education should be placed as close to the communities concerned as possible.

At the same time, County based staff have the task of ensuring an even development of the service across the county as a whole, of introducing a county perspective into the work of districts and of ensuring that the general policies of the authority are being positively and appropriately implemented. There will, therefore, unavoidably be two strands in the management of District Officers...

One of those strands was considerably weakened because the appointments of Assistant Area Education Officers who were intended 'To release the Area Education Officer from sufficient duties to allow for these (CE [community education]) responsibilities' (Pink Book, para.8.10) were never made.

This may be the reason why some of the Tutors and Headteachers taking part in the staff development programme clearly perceived the DCEOs to be highly influential figures with, as one Headteacher put it, "a direct line to Matlock" (the County Offices). Whether or not this was actually the case or, if it was, whether or not it mattered, is less important than the fact that some people felt it to be, and did think it mattered.

Lines of Accountability and Responsibility The tensions created by perceptions of 'who knew what' undoubtedly stem from the tangled web of lines of management, of supervision and support, and of consultation and liaison that had been envisaged between the various members of the community team and the schools (see Figure 3.1).

To some extent the community team structure of CEC → DCEO → Co-ordinator appears to have been set up as a mirror image of the school structure of Governing Body → Headteacher → School Staff/ Community Education Tutor. The idea of 'a partnership of equals' at each of the operational levels, working in a complementary manner in and outside the school to achieve the common goal of an integrated community education service, seems to have been implicit in the planning of the staffing arrangements.

However, as I have noted, a deviation from this ideal first came about with the delayed appointment of the Co-ordinators and the need for Tutors to take on some of their role including, in a number of cases, being instrumental in establishing the CECs. When fewer than expected Co-ordinators were eventually appointed, some Tutors continued to operate more extensively in the community than had originally been intended. This exacerbated the concerns of several Headteachers that, although Tutors were deemed to be 'on' the staff of the school, they did not always seem to be 'of' it.

In a summary of the main concerns voiced in workshop sessions at a conference for Headteachers held in March 1988, drawing verbatim on some of the comments that were made, I pointed out:

There was a feeling that the original concept of the Tutor "helping the school to become a community school" had changed: the Tutor now seemed to be "attached to the school rather than an integral part of it". This had left some Tutors wondering with which group they should attempt to "establish their credibility" first - teachers, parents, children or 'outside groups'. Several Headteachers felt that the Tutor should be "well-established in school before venturing outside". Others queried whether this was compatible with the need to "produce concrete measurable results". ... Tutors are being "pulled apart between the school and the community"...

Relationships between Head and Tutor have sometimes been strained when Heads feel they are being "circumnavigated" (e.g. Tutors attending meetings

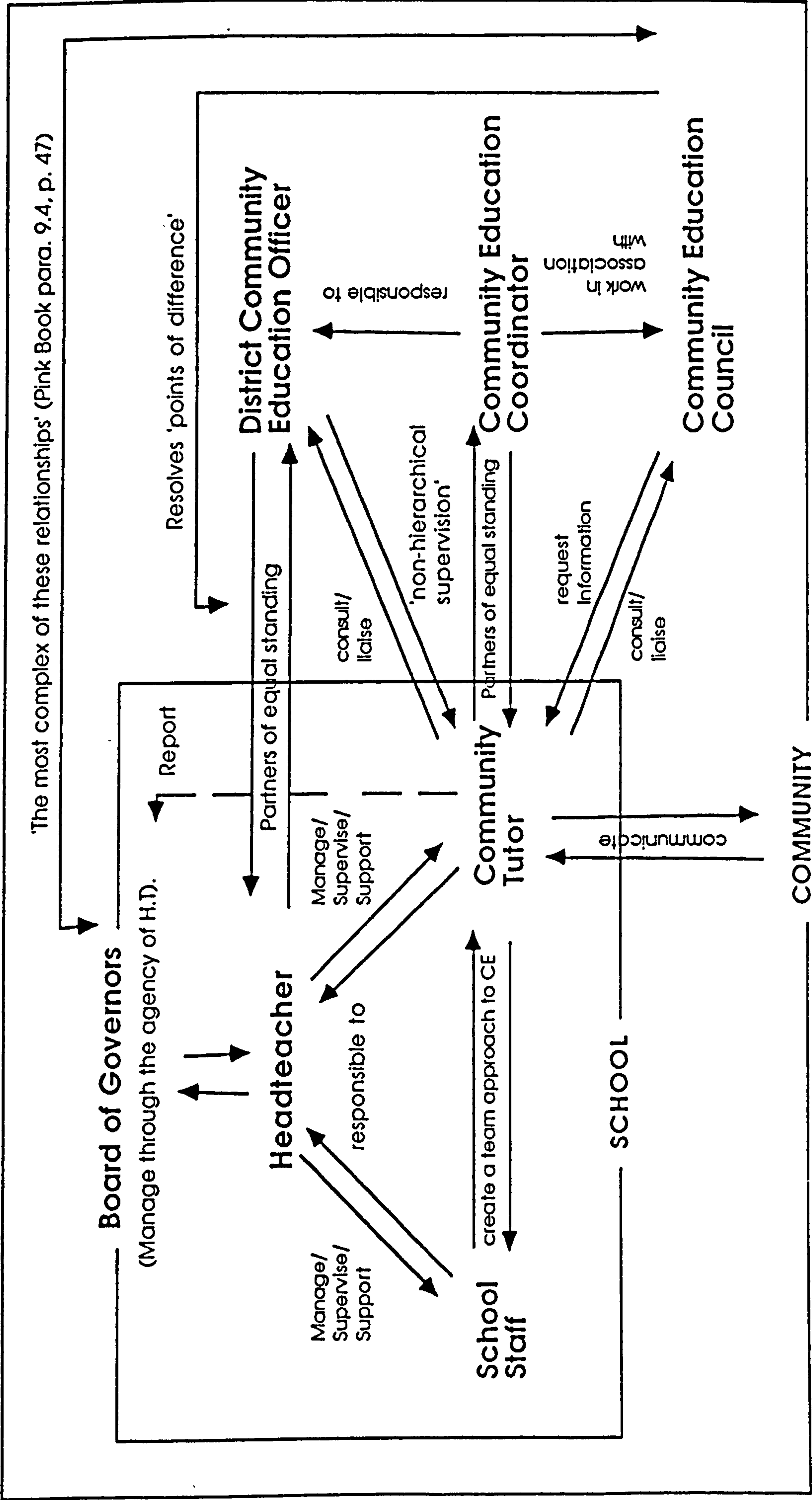


Figure 3.1. Lines of accountability and responsibility focusing on the Community Tutor

and receiving information without the Head's prior knowledge). There was evidence of much anxiety because "the Head's role is affected by the Tutor, his/ her functions will be affected by the CEC". Several Heads were uncertain how the Head/ Tutor/ District Officer relationship would/ could work (Hunt, 1988d: 3).

If there were tensions in the relationship between some Tutors and Headteachers, they were, as the last comment begins to suggest, sometimes greater in the relationship between Headteachers and DCEOs. The Pink Book (para.9.7) had envisaged that:

The relationship between District Community Education Officers on the one hand and Headteachers on the other will be that of colleagues of equal standing. ... They will be expected to work together as colleagues on the preparation of programmes within an overall framework determined by the local Community Education Council and any points of difference between them will be resolved by that Council.

Perhaps what it had not envisaged was the strength of some of the ideological differences of opinion between several Heads and DCEOs, sometimes in relation to the work that might be expected of Tutors but often in relation to the whole ethos of community education and the part to be played by schools.

Over a year after the first Community Education Tutors had been appointed, the effect of such tensions on some Tutors is encapsulated in the words of one who noted, in response to the suggestion that she might ask her DCEO for help in negotiating with the Headteacher the introduction of a particular activity in school:

"Appearing to bring someone in from an alternative power base to fight my corner for me in school would probably do more harm than good to subsequent working relationships between me and the Head. In any case, the Head would not be obliged to take any notice of the DCEO at all if he didn't want to. What I do at the moment is to use the district team as a support group to enable me to go back and function in the school. The danger is, though, that my 'identity' - for me, now, as well as everybody else - is becoming even more strongly located outside of the school." (Hunt and Clarke, 1989: 69).

As well as having to have regard to their position in the relationship between Headteachers and DCEOs, Tutors also had to develop a working relationship with appropriate Boards of School Governors and CECs. In some cases this was made complicated because they had been personally involved in recruiting and setting up the CECs which, once operational had the power to 'resolve' any 'points of difference' between Heads and DCEOs. Some members of CECs might also be members of Governing Bodies to whom Tutors, through their Headteachers, were directly answerable as members of the school staff.

Into this tangled and potentially highly sensitive mesh of relationships a new ingredient was added in 1988 with the introduction of the Education Reform Act. Amongst other things, it made provision for Local Management of Schools (LMS) which, ultimately, required school governors to assume responsibility for the school's budget, including that for staffing.

Exploring some of the practical implications of the Act for Tutors' work at a conference in April 1989, one workshop group produced a pictorial account of its discussions. The picture is included here as Figure 3.2 since it illustrates vividly the complexities that had to be negotiated on an almost daily basis. The commentary on the picture which appeared in the conference proceedings was as follows:

It suggests that Tutors have been unleashed into the rapids and whether they sink or float may depend upon the 'rocks' that they encounter. For some, the

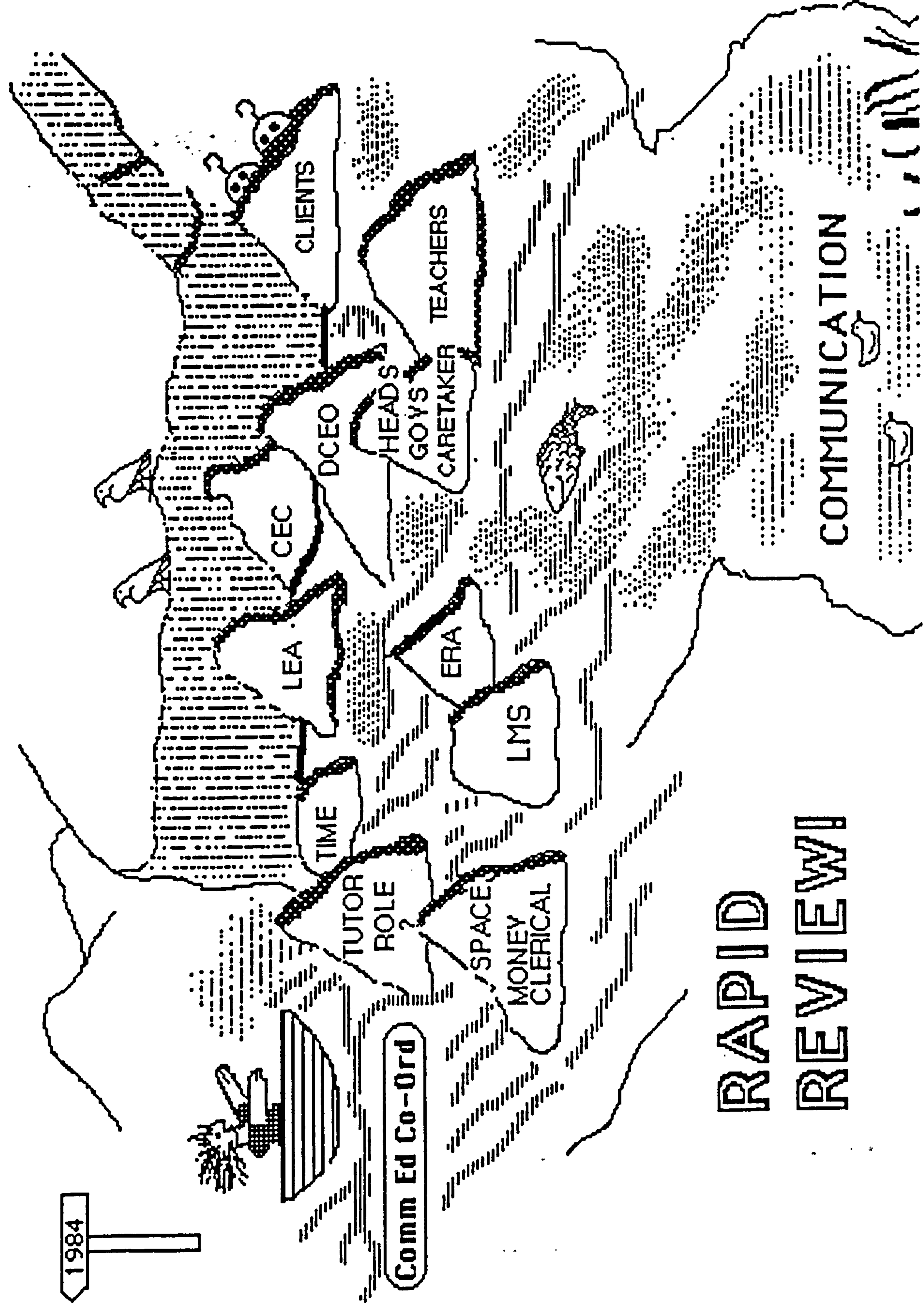


Figure 3.2. 'Shooting the Rapids': a pictorial review of a discussion about the role of the Community Tutor (from Hunt and Clarke, 1989: 75).

rocks may actually provide a safe haven to cling to for a while. And is the Community Education Co-ordinator a life-raft to assist the passage? Significantly, it would appear that the safest haven lies in the cool pool of communication (Hunt and Clarke, 1989: 76).

It may be significant, too, though probably coincidental at the time, that the 'rocks' of the ERA and LMS appear in a central position and, like Scylla and Charybdis, to block the way to 'safety'.

In the End ...

On 4 April, 1990, just three years after the majority of Community Education Tutors had been appointed, a letter (ref. 1E/258/CAT/DJF/JK) was sent to Headteachers. It said:

The passage of time makes it appropriate to review the scheme and come to a judgement about the impact that the employment of Community Tutors (*sic*) has had on schools and communities. The approach of the vesting day of the local management of schools makes it necessary that such a review should take place over the period April 1990 to March 1991. Arrangements are in hand to transfer the budget for the employment of Community Tutors from schools to community education. Technically, therefore, the post of Community Tutor will not be part of the school's establishment and the terms upon which members of staff are placed in schools need to be renegotiated.

Schools were invited to prepare a 2,000 word statement, making reference to the 'seven criteria', on 'the present and future position of community tutor staffing resources'. The statement was to be endorsed by school governors and placed with the Area Education Officer within three months. Statements were to be considered by Area and District Community Education Officers between August and October; CECs were to 'have an opportunity to comment'; finally, in January and February 1991, decisions were to be made 'in association with managing Headteachers, about working arrangements to be adopted from April 1991'.

The letter concluded:

There is no doubt that the appointment of 102 (full-time equivalent) Community Tutors to the service in 1987 and 1988 has made an outstanding contribution to the development of schools' contributions to community education.

The Education Officers' recommendations following the review reflected what had actually been happening 'on the ground' as, over the three years during which Tutors had been in post, they had gradually established their working arrangements with Headteachers and DCEOs. Four 'categories of management' were recommended (*Officers' Report*, section D, para.2.3, p.7), as follows:

1. Headteacher managed where the Tutor post would be held on the area's staffing establishment but placed with a specified school or schools. It would be subject to an annual review but management was to be the responsibility of the designated Headteacher. The DCEO was to be involved on a termly basis for 'monitoring, evaluation and performance appraisal purposes'. The CEC would receive an annual report.
2. Joint Management was to be as above but the management would be shared between the Head and DCEO for an agreed period with a view to eventual Headteacher management.

3. Shared team resource between a group of schools where the Tutor posts would be held on the area's staffing establishment and seconded, subject to annual review. Secondary and primary Tutors would work as a team servicing schools within a geographical 'patch'. A designated Headteacher would be responsible for the management of the team leader and other schools would take part in termly strategic planning meetings. Again a report would be prepared annually for the CEC.
4. Management by Community Education Officer where individual Tutors or teams would be managed by the DCEO. Tutors would be 'available to work within a designated area on specific programmes ... prioritized by the Community Education Council'.

The recommendations for deployment provided for '88% of the Community Tutor resource to continue to be deployed in schools and managed by Headteachers'. It was a substantial and significant proportion which suggested that, despite all the early problems that had been encountered, the majority of Tutors and Headteachers had managed to establish satisfactory working relationships which they wished to continue to develop.

Equally significantly, however, the recommendations proposed 'a variety of models of deployment *all* of which provide for greater accountability to CECs and increased responsiveness to community needs as well as involvement of Authority staff in monitoring and evaluation' (p.8, my emphasis).

The CECs themselves, perhaps not surprisingly, wished to have a greater 'say' in the deployment of the Tutor resource in the future. There were a number of recurring items in their responses which the Officers' final report (section D, para.2.4, p.8) listed as follows:

- Eleven CECs had a preference for Tutors to be deployed in teams rather than in single posts serving one school or a cluster of schools;
- Fourteen CECs preferred to see Tutors serving all of a CEC area rather than a base school and its surrounding community;
- Fifteen CECs expressed concern that 'the Community Tutor resource and other staffing equipment should be more equitably deployed'.

The report concluded that:

Taken together, the response indicates that the discharge of the "relationships with the surrounding community" referred to in the "Pink Book" is regarded by a significant number of CECs as requiring a broader focus than the allocation of Community Tutors to a school or group of schools (*ibid.*).

The two strands of Derbyshire's community education policy, through the schools and through the community were, it seemed, entwined in such a way that the one in the community might be empowered eventually to pull the other out of the school system. Indeed, the report (section D, para.2.5, p.8) made the point that:

The review exercise shows that considerable progress has been made in the development of the Authority's original concept of community education, as an approach to the provision of community-based educational opportunities.

It went on to suggest that 'The priorities of Community Education Councils and the schools development plans will converge... A further review should be envisaged for two or three years time'.

The latter was never to happen.

During the course of the review period there had been a reshuffle of the Officers responsible for education in the county. The Director of Education had left and at least one of the main architects of the Pink Book was no longer in a position to be

able to influence policy significantly. One of the new key policy makers had come from a background where youth and community work had been operated in isolation from the schools sector.

By this time, too, the county's on-going financial problems had worsened, forcing councillors to agree to major budget cuts. On 7 March, 1991, the Education Committee approved cuts to the community education budget amounting to £1,850,000. A paper (EC/355) was published on 11 April outlining the specific cuts that were recommended. Paragraph 2.2.1. read:

Community Tutors

The total budget is £1,968,900 for Community Tutors. Members will recall that the review of the Community Tutor Resource made recommendations to redeploy many of the Community Tutor posts into teams of tutors. These proposals were accepted in principle. ... It is proposed that all the present Community Tutor posts be disestablished and that 47 new posts funded by the residue of the Community Tutor budget be established. ... deployed within a teamwork approach. ... The work ... will have a considerable change of emphasis compared with the work undertaken by postholders in the present structures affected by these proposals. ...

As a result of the cuts, a severe reduction in Community Education initiatives and programmes will occur as the tutors were involved in many more than 108 schools. With clusters of primary schools being served by a single tutor, the figure is expanded to nearer 160 schools losing a resource which has enabled schools to link more effectively with communities to the educational advantage of all concerned in processes and activities supported by Tutors.

The bottom line, quite literally, however, was:

SAVING £1,062,000

Derbyshire's unique experiment in community education had, it seemed, finally foundered on the financial rocks.

I shall examine some of these events further in chapter five in the context of a model of project development. First, chapter four explores the key role of the Community Tutor: it is based on a survey undertaken shortly after the disestablishment of the posts was announced.

¹ Small Grants Scheme in the Social Sciences (Grant No. SOC/100/000410)

² In response to public pressure in the mid-1950s, the Department of Education provided a financial incentive for schools to open in the evenings for adult education classes. During the expansion of the Youth Service in the 1960s, further funding was made available to build youth wings, for statutory and voluntary sector work, on school sites. When comprehensive schools were being established during the 1970s, and especially following the reorganisation of local government in 1974, many LEAs saw the establishment of community provision on school sites as a shrewd economic measure. They were encouraged in this thinking by the Department of Education. In Circular 2/70, *A Chance to Share: Co-operation in the provision of facilities for educational establishments and the community*, the Department recommended collaboration between LEAs, District Councils and the voluntary sector to develop community facilities when building new schools, and to consider the possible economies of scale in multiple service provision on school sites.

³ Martin (1996: 118-119) discusses this factor in relation to the development of adult education and notes that benefits are largely judged by what the school has to gain from the involvement of a wider community. He notes: 'Given the characteristically hierarchical nature of British schooling and the power of the Headteacher, the partnership is never equal and the statutory priorities of the school inevitably tend to become dominant, especially

when the priorities are judged primarily in terms of cost-efficiency'. The unequal partnership became particularly evident in the Derbyshire context and, following LMS, the costs associated with schools' individual lettings policies often priced community groups out of the market.

⁴ Park House School, Sheffield, 12.4.1988.



Chapter Four

Community Tutors' Perceptions of their Role and its Impact on Schools and Local Communities in Derbyshire: A Survey

This chapter reports the findings of a survey undertaken shortly after Derbyshire County Council had announced its decision to disestablish all the Community Tutors' posts. The main purpose of the survey was to try to capture in Tutors' own words what they felt they had achieved and what had hindered their work during the four years that the posts had been in existence. Tutors' original comments are used to introduce each section of the chapter, and liberally throughout the analysis of the results of the survey.



How do I ensure that my epitaph doesn't read: I came, I shared, I disappeared?
(Community Tutor, in Hunt and Clarke, 1989: 71)

Background to the Survey

This research was initiated at very short notice during the early summer of 1991 when I became aware that the posts of Community Education Tutors in Derbyshire were to be disestablished before the start of the next academic year. Between late 1987 and mid-1989, I had devised and co-ordinated a staff development programme for the Community Education Tutors (whose title, as illustrated in chapter three, subsequently became abbreviated simply to 'Community Tutor') and their respective Headteachers. After the end of the programme, I had kept in loose contact with several of the participants and, through them, with the fortunes of community education in the county.

When the decision to disestablish the Community Tutor posts and to re-structure the community education service was made, I was already engaged in a small-scale research project in Derbyshire examining the operation of two local Community Education Councils (CECs)¹. The decision to disestablish the Tutor posts represented not only an alteration in county policy but a major change in the philosophy underpinning the 'delivery' of community education and its relationship with schools. For these reasons, and since there were only three months of the school year left during which the Community Tutors would technically be in post (many of them would be leaving before that), I decided to use the remainder of my research period to attempt to document some aspects of the work that Tutors had undertaken in the three/ four years since their initial appointment, and how they felt about it.

In preparing the survey, I was very mindful of the comment which introduces this chapter: it was made only half-jokingly at a conference during the staff development programme and reflected, even then, uncertainties about the future of posts into which a great deal of time and energy had been invested. By undertaking this research and drawing extensively on Tutors' own words in a report which was subsequently made available within the county (Hunt, 1993c) and later published in summary (Hunt, 1995a), I hoped to ensure that Tutors would not 'disappear' without formally voicing something of their story.

Methodology

[In retrospect, I sense that I 'fell into' this research rather than setting about it in a 'proper' fashion. Although I had completed a taught Masters degree several years before, my knowledge of research methods was fairly limited. If I was influenced by any particular approach, it was probably that of Glasser and Strauss (1967). I remember being intrigued by this when I did my Masters degree since, by drawing attention to inductive processes, it introduced me to an alternative to the traditional scientific, deductive methods that I had been required to follow as a psychology student a decade earlier.]

The notion that theory can emerge from collected data rather than that theory is a necessary pre-requisite for the gathering of data certainly provides some justification for what I chose to do - although my intention was not so much to look for the emergence of a 'theory' as to become, as I now know Van Manen (1990: 8) proposes, 'thoughtfully aware of the consequential in the inconsequential, the significant in the taken-for-granted' in respect of the work that Community Tutors had undertaken in Derbyshire.]

I began by holding separate informal discussions with six of the Tutors with whom I had kept in touch: each was based in a different part of the county. I wanted to determine what, for them, seemed to be the major issues that should be recorded if the essence of their work was to be captured in a report or some other form. Based on these discussions and on my own observations of the ways in which Tutors' work had developed since 1987, I devised a questionnaire which was piloted, adapted and subsequently sent (with reply-paid envelopes) to fifty Tutors. They were selected because they had all taken part in the initial staff development programme in Sheffield and were known, by the six Tutors I had consulted, still to have been working in the county within the last year.

In other circumstances I might have tried to gather data by means of group discussions and individual structured interviews. However, I decided to use a questionnaire because of both the limited time available before the Tutor posts were to be disestablished and the Tutors' heavy workload during this period. I chose a mixture of 'quick tick' questions and those that were open-ended since this gave maximum opportunity either for speedy completion or for reflective thought. In the event, the majority of Tutors who returned the questionnaire supplied substantial written comments, some of which ran on to additional sheets.

Since I was aware that some - but not which - of the fifty Tutors to whom the questionnaires were to be sent might already have moved from the last addresses I had for them to new jobs/ areas either within or outside the county, a covering letter was included asking the current Tutor to complete the questionnaire or to forward it, if possible, to the original Tutor.

I have no clear indication of the extent to which either of these things occurred since questionnaires could be returned anonymously. However, after one reminder, I received completed questionnaires from twenty-seven Tutors, other written or telephoned information from a further seven, and notification from four schools that their Tutor had left with no forwarding address (effectively a response rate of 76%).

Analysis of Responses

The main questions with which I was concerned in undertaking the survey were: what were the main tasks that Tutors had undertaken; which two or three of these did they consider the most successful; what had given them the most - and least - personal satisfaction; what had been their greatest practical difficulty; and what

aspects of their work did they feel had had the most impact on their schools and local communities?

The questions were open-ended and replies ranged from single-word answers to several paragraphs. Although my major interest was in what Tutors had to say and how they said it, I chose to undertake a statistical analysis of responses in the twenty-seven completed questionnaires in order to better identify themes which may have been common to several Tutors. The exact manner of coding these responses was decided after the questionnaires had been returned since I had no way of knowing in advance into what 'categories' the replies might fall. Responses to each question across the total number of questionnaires were recorded in turn and subsequently listed under what seemed to be reasonably discrete categories (further comment will be made on this in a moment). An individual response was then coded under one heading when, regardless of its length or detail, it related to a single theme or issue. However, up to three themes/ issues could be recorded for each respondent where necessary.

A major problem in 'quantifying' qualitative data in this way is, of course, that information which one person, using her/ his own internal logic, might legitimately place in category 'A', a second might place in category 'B' - while the person who gave the information might wish to categorize it under 'C'. I am thus well aware of the subjective nature of attempting to create apparently 'objective' categories - and of the fact that I could have skewed the results both by my choice of headings and by my subsequent allocation of Tutors' responses to them.

In an attempt to overcome this I focused on key words and ideas. Thus, in categorizing Tutors' main tasks, a response such as 'Enhancing the school curriculum with skills and other input from community members' which clearly places community members in school was listed under 'establishing school-community links'; so, for the same reason, was 'Encouraging the Parent & Toddler Group and Senior Citizens' Lunch Club to use school premises'.

By contrast, 'Working with community members to set up self-help and special interest groups' - where there was no mention of using a school base - was listed under 'initiating/ supporting community groups'. Where specific groups/ sections of the local population were mentioned and, again, the school was not, the response was categorized as 'working with targeted groups'. Such responses included 'Developing services for the Under-5s', 'Setting up a Junior Fun Club' and 'Organizing return-to-learn groups for women'.

It is arguable that the latter two categories are not discrete enough. However, I felt that where Tutors had chosen to mention specific groups this possibly indicated a particular bias in their work and interests that should not be lost sight of by placing the response in a more 'diffuse' category. Clearly, a substantial proportion (41%) of the twenty-seven Tutors who returned questionnaires did quite deliberately target at least some of their work in the community at specific groups of people: women were mentioned more often than any other 'group'.

Almost one-third (30%) of the respondents noted that they had set up/ maintained adult education classes or programmes. Such responses were also placed in a separate category since they, too, seemed to reflect a different work-style and focus of interest.

The analysis itself was undertaken with the assistance of the GENSTAT Statistical Package (Alvey *et al*, 1982).

See Appendix A for a copy of the questionnaire, raw data, coding sheet and summary of results, plus copies of the covering and follow-up letters sent to Tutors.

Results of the Survey

Respondents

I felt totally committed to the County's philosophy and policy ...

The following discussion is based primarily on the information received *via* the twenty-seven completed questionnaires plus, where appropriate, telephoned and/or other written information supplied by a further seven Tutors who did not return questionnaires. Although the information received has, of necessity, been 'filtered' through my own understanding, it constitutes a record of the collective views and recollections of a substantial number of Tutors during the last few months that their posts were in existence in Derbyshire.

It was not in the nature of the research to discover whether these views and recollections were representative of those of all the Tutors who worked in Derbyshire, nor would I wish to suggest that this might be the case. Nevertheless, it is interesting to note that the respondents to the survey were remarkably evenly matched in relation to several criteria upon which, had I intended to do so, I might have actually attempted to select a representative sample of Community Tutors. For example:

- 52% were female and 48% male (by comparison, of the first 90 Tutors to be appointed and who took part in the staff development programme, 48% were female, 52% male);
- 59% had previously worked in either an adult/youth/community or other non-school sector, 41% had come from school backgrounds;
- 52% were currently working in secondary schools, 48% in primary schools (by comparison, of the first 90 Tutors to be appointed and who took part in the staff development programme, 49% worked in secondary schools, 51% in primaries);
- 52% were serving more than one school (30% were serving 3 or more), 48% were working in one school only;
- 59% were graduates, 41% did not have a first degree but had teaching, youth/community work or other professional qualifications.
- 52% had moved to Derbyshire on being appointed to the Community Tutor post, 48% had already been working in the county prior to this appointment;

Not surprisingly, 70% of the respondents to the survey had taken up their posts during the 'main wave' of appointments in late 1987/ 1988; 7% were 'old hands', having been appointed to pilot projects before 1987; and 22% had been appointed since 1989. 60% were aged between 35-44; 26% between 25-34; and 15% between 45-54. None was younger than 25 nor older than 54.

Respondents who had moved to Derbyshire to take up their posts as Tutors had come from as far north and south as Scotland and Sussex, and from points east to west which included Newcastle, Barnsley, Birmingham and Bristol.

Drawing on Tutors' descriptions of the 'employment route' they had taken before moving to their present posts, I included and counted the following as discrete categories: primary school teaching; secondary school teaching; youth work; adult education; community work; social work; special education; voluntary work where this had been over a sustained period; and 'time out' to bring up a family. Work in some of these areas may have been carried out simultaneously. For example, several Tutors mentioned combining bringing up small children with working in voluntary organizations. Indeed, it was because most of these respondents also

indicated that this had been an especially formative period in their lives (as, indeed, it was in my own) that I felt it appropriate to include both categories in a summary of previous experience.

On this basis it is evident that more than half of the respondents had previously been engaged in work that fell into three or more categories. Only three respondents mentioned having worked in just one sector before taking up their present post. Clearly, Community Tutors not only brought a tremendous range of experience with them but the vast majority seemed to enjoy variety in their working lives. One, commenting on the possibility of having a clear 'career progression route' in community education wrote:

I'm not sure I'd want to see a well-defined career path - the diversity of people's background and experience is vital to CE [community education].

Notably, however, when asked about the expectations they had had on appointment about the kind of work they would be doing five years on, 70% of respondents said they simply envisaged co-ordinating a more developed community education programme (63% said they had subsequently embarked on a detailed and regularly updated plan of work to this end) and only three indicated that they saw themselves in another (more senior) post. Thus, the vast majority of respondents appear to have taken up their posts expecting to remain in, and to develop, them over a fairly lengthy period.

The reasons given by all respondents for applying for a Community Education Tutor post ranged from the pragmatic, such as:

'The salary was attractive and house prices were cheaper than where I was living'; 'I wasn't working at the time and the job was near where I live'; 'I thought it would be a change from my previous stressful career. (social work)';

to the political and philosophical, such as:

'I saw it as a means of redressing the balance between school and community resources.'; 'I thought it would allow me to address issues that are politically important.'; 'I felt totally committed to the county's philosophy and policy'.

Political/ philosophical reasons of this nature were cited by more than half (56%) of the respondents as the main reason for their application, indicating a strong ideological dimension to their work.

A few Tutors acknowledged a desire for 'excitement' and 'challenge'. However, a substantial proportion (41%) felt that the post would provide an opportunity for 'self-development': of this latter group, the majority were aged between 40-44 which suggests that a fair number of applicants may have been particularly attracted to the Tutor posts because of the opportunity they provided for a mid-career change of direction within the education service.

Significantly, almost half of the respondents said they were attracted by the prospect of working in both school *and* community, rather than in one or the other as was, and remains, much more usual. Because this aspect of the Derbyshire Community Education Tutor posts was their unique feature, the intention of the survey was to explore some of the consequences for schools and communities that Tutors felt their work had had, as well as some of the personal satisfactions and tensions that they experienced in working on the delicate interface between school and community.

Before considering this it is perhaps worth speculating whether there was such a person as a 'typical' Derbyshire Community Education Tutor. The information above summarizes much of the background information about Tutors who responded to the survey. Aggregating the information, the following shape begins to emerge.

1. *Located in secondary schools were:*

- 58% of respondents who were over 40 years old;
- 64% of respondents who had come primarily from a school background; (*i.e.* from teaching in primary or secondary schools)
- 69% of male respondents.

2. *Located in primary schools were:*

- 53% of respondents who were aged under 40;
- 56% of respondents who had come from a 'non-school' background (*e.g.* youth/ community/ adult education/ social work *etc.*)
- 64% of female respondents.

In essence, therefore, there would seem to have been two 'types' of Tutors. The first, most likely to be found based in a secondary school, was male, aged over 40, and an ex-teacher. Perhaps, on the basis of other information discussed earlier, one might also conjecture that he was likely to be looking for a mid-career change that would contribute to his own self development and provide him with new experiences. The second, most likely to be found based in a primary school, was female, aged under 40, whose previous experience had been gained in the non-statutory parts of the education service (or elsewhere) and who was probably working in a school for the first time.

Interesting though these composite pictures may be, it is, of course, important not lose sight of the fact that each Tutor was unique and brought to the job her/ his own set of personal constructs, expectations and aspirations. Nevertheless, such pictures do cast an interesting light on selection procedures and the expectations that others may have had of Tutors from the outset. Additionally, they give 'flesh' to cold data and, as a result perhaps, contribute to a better understanding of the range of responses supplied to individual questions.

Although the factors giving rise to the greatest differences in response throughout the questionnaire were, indeed, Tutors' 'professional background' (*i.e.* whether or not they had previously worked in schools) and their gender, later discussion of the responses will show that the assumption of a male/ school background *v.* female/ non-school background dimension is merely a device. And devices should not be allowed to mask the reality of the many personal stories - and the collective one - that Derbyshire's erstwhile Community Tutors have to tell. Tutors' own words are therefore used extensively in the rest of this analysis.

Main Tasks

It was frightening - but I loved it ...

Initiatives which set out to make direct links between school and community were most frequently cited as the Tutors' 'main' task, followed by 'initiating/ supporting community groups' and 'working with targeted groups'.

There were no obvious gender differences here but an analysis of responses in terms of the Tutors' 'professional origins' shows that 'establishing school-community links' was cited as one of their main tasks by slightly more of those from school backgrounds than from others. Conversely, 'initiating/ supporting community groups' was seen as a main task by more of the 'non-school origin' respondents than of those who had come from schools. In addition, 'working with targeted groups' was cited by half of the former and only just over a quarter of the latter. I shall return to this issue in the next section.

Significantly, a quarter of all respondents felt 'management/ administration' had been a major task. Some had clearly enjoyed this experience: for example, one commented in a telephone conversation:

I had never had the freedom to organize, develop and generally manage something in my own way before. It was frightening - but I loved it. I don't think I could go back to a job that didn't have that kind of 'managing, giving direction function' in it now.

A few seemed to be slightly resentful of the disproportionate amount of time they felt they had had to give to it compared with the 'returns' on that investment. They cited administration as a 'main task' but with riders attached such as:

I know it was necessary but it sometimes assumed an importance that kept me away from the 'real' work.' and 'I still find it difficult to come to terms with all the paperwork and processes that have had to be gone through - often to achieve something that seems really trivial within the whole programme - like a swimming bath attendant for a couple of weeks.

Perhaps not unexpectedly, since some were responsible for major adult education programmes and/ or the administration of a separate centre, a much greater proportion of Tutors based in secondary schools than of those in primaries listed 'management/ administration' as a main task.

A small proportion listed 'staff development in community education' as one of their main tasks. Each of these respondents had undertaken short 'formal' training sessions with school staff and/ or governors. They clearly felt that the task, though constituting only a relatively small part of their work load, had been particularly important - and all claimed it as one of their most successful. In retrospect, given, as I shall note later, that a major problem for many Tutors stemmed from confusion amongst school colleagues about the nature of community education in general and the Tutor's role in particular, it is tempting to suggest that the provision of more 'in-house' training sessions of this kind in the early days of the Tutors' appointments might have proved extremely valuable, not least in contributing to their own self esteem.

Most Successful Tasks and those giving Most Personal Satisfaction

You can keep all sorts of plates spinning and really feel you've achieved something.

'Initiating/ supporting community groups' was included among their most successful tasks by all but two of the respondents - many more, in fact, than had listed this activity as a main task. By contrast, 'establishing school-community links' was seen as particularly successful by slightly fewer respondents than had listed it as a main task. Involvement with a 'formal adult education programme' and 'management/ administration' were also listed as 'most successful tasks' by considerably fewer Tutors than those claiming that these were 'main tasks'.

'Management/ administration', as already noted, was regarded by several Tutors as a main task primarily because of the amount of time it took them. In other key areas too, the time taken up by a task may have been an important criterion in determining whether or not it was classified as a 'main' one - but may have had little to do with whether or not a task was perceived as successful.

In retrospect, in view especially of the small number of Tutors who rated the success of staff development work very highly although they spent a relatively small amount of their time on it, it would have been helpful to have included a 'time taken' scale in relation to the free choices respondents made about what had been their main and most successful tasks. It would, if nothing else, have provided a

useful pointer to the relationship between the actual demands of the job and job satisfaction.

Some evidence of a correlation between time spent on certain elements of Tutors' work and satisfaction gained from them is evident in Figure 4.1. This is based on a list of specific tasks which respondents were asked to place in rank order (see questions 14 and 15). Based on the highest ranking scores (6 and 7), Figure 4.1 indicates that, on average, 'outreach work' was ranked most highly in terms of both time spent on it and satisfaction gained. 'Working with specific groups' and 'Developing and maintaining an adult education programme' ranked equally highly with 'outreach' in terms of time spent on them and second and third highest, respectively, in terms of satisfaction. Other tasks listed were also ranked more or less equally in relation to time and satisfaction, with the exception of Youth Work which was ranked higher for satisfaction than time. This latter relationship could be slightly skewed since the rankings are averages and only a relatively small number of Tutors were involved specifically in Youth Work.

There are, predictably, quite evident links between the tasks Tutors regarded as successful and those which gave them most personal satisfaction. Respondents were not actually asked to list the criteria they used to rate success but were told 'a few words of explanation would be helpful'. Almost all supplied these and an analysis of replies suggests that the most obvious measure of success (cited by over 80% of respondents), as well as being most highly placed in terms of providing personal satisfaction, was 'visible evidence of an activity continuing to take place'.

For example, one Tutor noted, *'The success is evident - we've gone from zero adult ed. to 400 students who make use of the place in a single week'*. Another wrote, *'Now there's a range of provision in an area where there was very little'*. A third pointed out: *'the playgroup and crèche I finally got set up is now attracting many more parents in to school'*.

Another important criterion for success seems to have been, not merely the 'visibility' of an activity, but evidence of its 'going it alone' without the continued support of a Tutor. One respondent noted, with undisguised pleasure, *'The jazz workshop for hesitant players I initiated is now a real bit around the local pubs'*. Others commented on their satisfaction that groups and activities they had helped to initiate were 'now self-programming', or 'running without me'. (One added, perhaps rather wistfully, *'... although I know I'm always welcome back there'*.)

Interestingly, the 'visibility' of community education activities as well as evidence of their 'going it alone' were cited as criteria for success by all of the male and less than half of the female respondents. In addition, 'external validation' (such as an award for a particular scheme, having a local history book published, community education being given a high profile in the school prospectus, and a favourable report in a local newspaper) was pointed to as a measurement of success by a small number of men but not by any women. Conversely, more than twice as many women as men regarded 'evidence of personal development of individual group members' as a criterion of success: indeed, this was the highest scoring criterion for female respondents. No gender differences were discernible in relation to any of the other criteria used to judge success.

What may be in evidence here is a male preference for measuring their own abilities on the basis of quantifiable evidence in the world 'out there', compared with an assumption more common amongst females that their abilities are definable in terms of the success of their interactions with, and the consequent outcomes for, other people. However, well over half of all respondents said they had gained particular personal satisfaction from 'seeing positive outcomes for others' as a result of participation in community education and - rather surprisingly in view of that noted above in connection with measures of success - no gender difference was evident in

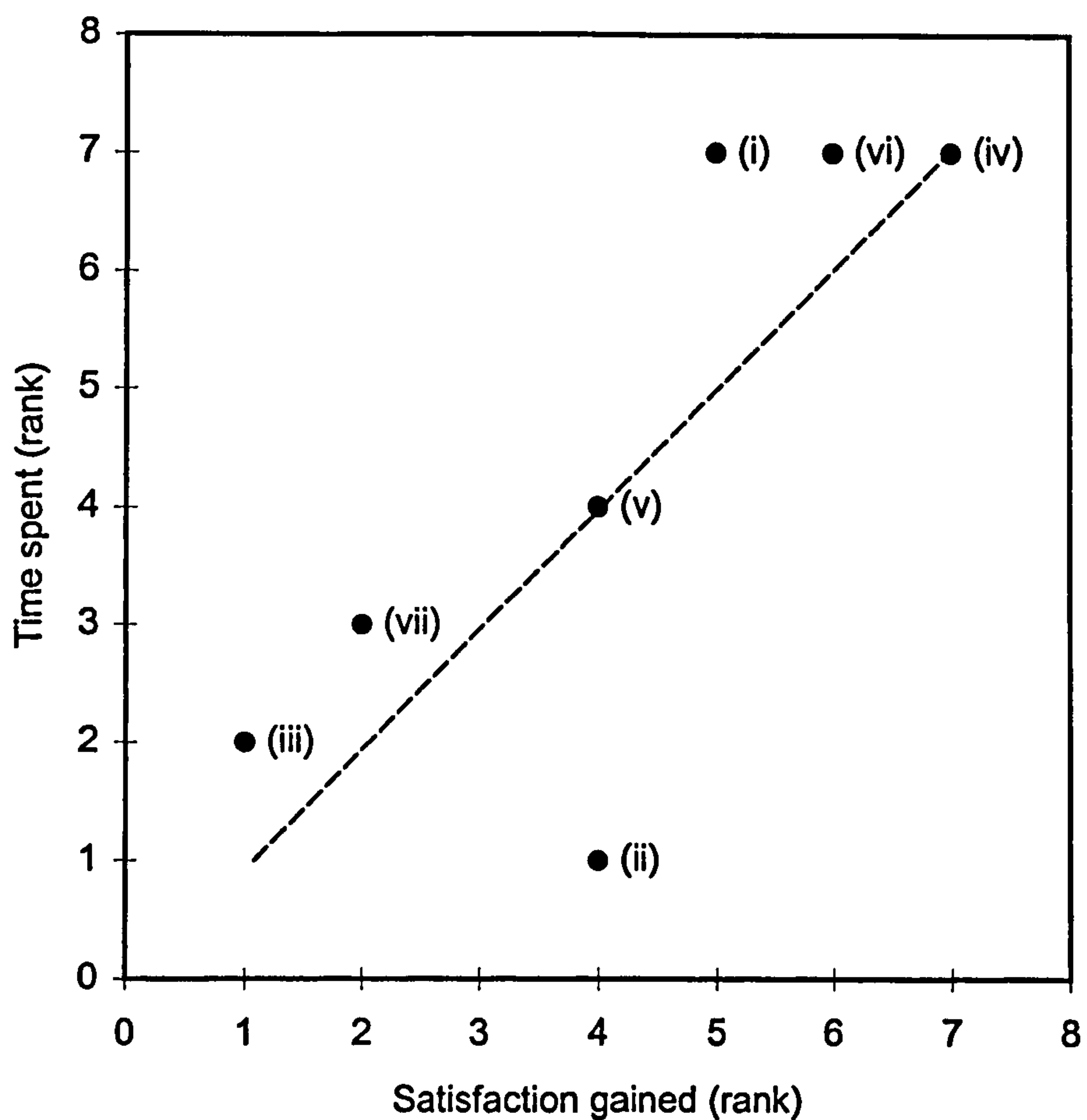


Figure 4.1. Time spent on different specified tasks by Tutors in relation to satisfaction gained from the same tasks.

The broken line shows the 1:1 trend.

7 = *most* time spent / satisfaction gained.

- (i) Developing / maintaining Adult Education programme
- (ii) Youth work
- (iii) Influencing the school curriculum
- (iv) Outreach work / developing & supporting community groups
- (v) Developing professional inter-agency links
- (vi) Working with specific groups
- (vii) Other tasks

relation to this apparently similar criterion when used to measure personal satisfaction.

When analyzed in relation to the 'professional origins' of Tutors, though, 'seeing positive outcomes for others' was the only category of response relating to personal satisfaction for which there was a marked difference between the replies of those who had come from a school background and those who had not. Indeed, it was the lowest-scoring category for people from school backgrounds and the highest for those from other backgrounds: 18% of the former compared with 75% of the latter gave responses in this category.

Interestingly, too, 'visible evidence of an activity continuing to take place' as a criterion for measuring success was mentioned by all the respondents from non-school backgrounds compared with only just over one-half of those who had come from schools: no other differences in relation to measurements of success were evident between these two groups.

What seems to be emerging from these comparisons is the possibility that Tutors from non-school backgrounds, perhaps less sure of themselves and their interactions and influence in a school environment than their counterparts who had previously been teachers, felt a greater need to have the success of their work 'validated' by the continuing existence of a group/ activity that they had been instrumental in creating - and to which they could point as evidence of having spent their time out of school productively.

The considerable personal satisfaction these Tutors derived from seeing positive personal outcomes for community group members could also be attributable to a sense that their own identity, and recognition of their 'worth', was more strongly located in the groups with which they had worked than in the schools where their posts had been based. Positive feedback from group members endorsing the role the Tutor had played in their development would be affirmation not only of time properly spent but of a relationship that had worked - and which might therefore compensate for those with some school-based colleagues that continued to be confused and unsatisfactory.

Perhaps Tutors from non-school backgrounds were more inclined to see their job from the outset in terms of working in the community from a school base rather than as an opportunity to blur the boundary between school and community by creating a variety of non-traditional links between the two; the reverse being true for those who had been teachers.

Support for this hypothesis can be found in the much greater number of 'non-school origin' Tutors who, as noted in the previous section, actually cited 'working with groups' of one sort or another as their main tasks than did Tutors who had previously worked in schools. The latter more frequently mentioned more nebulous tasks involving 'making links' - such as *'developing community service opportunities for school pupils'*; *'encouraging parental involvement in school'*; *'enhancing the school curriculum with skills and other input from the community'*; *'creating links between local study groups and the school, looking at all aspects of the locality'*; *'bringing a Youth Work ethos to the curriculum'*; and *'working with teachers to develop a community dimension to the structured tutorial programme'*. Considerably more of this group also listed having created links through 'better cross boundary relationships' with people in other services and occupations as measures of both success and personal satisfaction than did non-school origin Tutors.

Noticeably, though, slightly more of the non-school origin group saw 'making links' as their most successful task while more of the school origin group cited 'initiating/ supporting specific groups' in this category! The numbers are far too small to be significant but it is possible that when Tutors worked in what, for them, was new

territory, they saw a satisfactory outcome as being particularly successful. Thus what may be at play in this 'crossover' between the 'main' and 'most successful' tasks for these two groups is an indication of the direction of Tutors' own personal/professional development.

In concluding this section I shall briefly comment again on the issue of personal/professional development. Meanwhile, it is important not to lose sight of one other aspect of their work from which Tutors from all backgrounds clearly not only derived great satisfaction but which they also regarded as a measure of its success: the quality of their personal relationships with community members and colleagues.

Several said simply that it *'felt good'* to be working with particular groups and in circumstances where they were welcomed and where they could recognize that real educational progress was being made. Sometimes this progress was deemed to be measurable simply *because* the Tutor was welcomed. One who, like many others, clearly lived the job commented that it was a pleasure not only to be *'invited to a number of family events in the community'* but also to accept such invitations in the knowledge that many of the families now had a *'much more positive view of what education and educators might offer them'*.

Another Tutor drew attention to the *'cross-fertilization'* which she felt had been particularly valuable as a result of her deliberate attempts to make links between education, social and health service workers in her area. A third, also pleased with the *'cross-boundary'* work she had initiated, said *'It gives me a real buzz to act as a "communications centre" and be able to help people because of my knowledge and contacts in the area'*. She added, rather sadly, *'I can't see how that can easily all be passed on - or who to - when I have to leave'*.

Just over half of the Tutors based in primary schools said they had derived particular personal satisfaction from *'cross-boundary work'*. Less than a quarter of those in secondary schools listed it. (Since more of the Tutors from school backgrounds than from others had also mentioned this as a measure of personal satisfaction there may be a timely reminder here that the models of *'typical'* Tutors - male/ over 40/ school background/ secondary school based or female/ under 40/ non-school background/ primary school based - *are* only models and that they can mask not only individual differences but differences which may be more closely associated with one aspect of the model than another.)

Inevitably, Tutors were conscious not only of what they would leave behind when their posts were disestablished but also of what they would take with them. Thus, personal achievement/ development was pointed to as a source of satisfaction by almost half of the respondents. There were no noticeable differences here in relation to either gender or *'professional origins'* but again just over half of the Tutors based in primary schools listed this as a particular source of satisfaction compared with just under a quarter of those in secondary schools.

One Tutor, describing a sense of personal achievement derived from undertaking something new, said:

I'd never organized anything on quite the scale of our summer scheme before. It was really satisfying not only to see everything gelling together but to have people telling me how well I'd organized everything. I don't think I'll ever have quite the same qualms again about my own organizing abilities.

Another said:

When I look back, it surprises me how many things I actually managed to keep going at once. Some of them were things I'd never tried before but it shows that if you set things up in the right way you can keep all sorts of plates spinning and really feel you've achieved something. I think the people I worked with in the

community feel the same way too. Hopefully they'll keep the impetus going when I'm gone. I know I've learned a lot from working with them.

These twin themes of 'It was the first time I'd done anything like it - and it worked' and 'It was really satisfying to find that I was capable of keeping a number of things running simultaneously and successfully' figured large in the responses of many Tutors.

Linking this to the number of Tutors who specifically mentioned deriving particular satisfaction not only from the flexibility inherent in their work but from the opportunities it afforded them to develop relationships and activities across traditional boundaries, it seems that shape was being given to the hitherto ill-defined role of Community Tutor as a direct consequence of the personal skills and development of the people who had been appointed to these posts.

Perhaps it is in the nature of the dynamic relationship which exists between a catalyst, its environment and its consequences that those who are destined (or appointed!) to play catalytic roles in human communities should be most productive when they use their own latent talents most effectively in response to challenges that themselves arise as a response to the presence of those talents.

Greatest Difficulties and Least Satisfying Aspects of Tutors' Work

And all the time there was a sense of the rain getting closer ...

Not unexpectedly, as with their measures of success and personal satisfaction, there were strong links - although not an exact correspondence - between what Tutors perceived to be their greatest practical difficulties and those things which they found least satisfying about their work.

Inevitably, in view of the ill-defined nature of the role when their posts were created, almost all of the respondents pointed either to a lack of appropriate material support for their work or to confusion about the role of a Community Education Tutor (in some cases perceived as personal antagonism) on the part of colleagues as the greatest practical difficulty they had encountered. For some, at least in part, these difficulties were eventually resolved (or come to terms with) during the course of their work. For others they seem to have remained to the end and, in the view of many Tutors, may ultimately have been a major contributory factor to the final disestablishment of their posts.

Significantly, over one half of the respondents who had come from non-school backgrounds commented on the '*entrenched attitudes*' or general incomprehension of school staff in relation to the work they tried to develop. Similar comments were made by barely a quarter of the Tutors who had originally worked in schools. It is tempting to suggest, therefore, that incomprehension about each others' work on the part of teachers and some Tutors was a major stumbling block to the development of community education from a school base. It might most appropriately have been addressed *via* a 'whole-school' approach to training (particularly in view of the success and personal satisfaction that, as discussed earlier, some Tutors had experienced in providing in-house training). However, as one Tutor carefully noted:

To be fair, school colleagues have had their own problems trying to take on board all the changes that recent legislation has thrust at them - but all the pressure on all of us has made it difficult to innovate and to strike up new working partnerships.

Over twice as many men as women felt colleagues' attitudes had constituted their greatest practical difficulty. It is not at all clear why this should be although it could

be connected with the fact that more of the male than female respondents were based in secondary schools. The greater number of staff in such schools - and therefore less frequent opportunities for informal communication, coupled with traditional subject barriers and concerns with examination outcomes may lie at the root of the problem. Alternatively, male Tutors may have been less willing to take time to explain what they were about than were their female counterparts.

A large number of respondents commented on the '*management support*' (or lack of it) that they had received for their work. Significantly, perhaps, in view of the comments above concerning the mutual incomprehension between some teachers and Tutors about the nature of each others' work, more of the Tutors from non-school backgrounds felt insufficient or ineffective management support had been their greatest practical difficulty than did those who had previously worked in schools. There were no significant differences here in relation to the type of school in which Tutors were currently based.

In several cases, Tutors' comments were linked to others which indicated that they often held the people with whom they were actually encountering difficulties less responsible for them than the circumstances from which the difficulties had apparently arisen - most notably County Council policies and a lack of direction about how these should be implemented. As one Tutor succinctly put it:

Despite the Pink Book, community education existed in name only. The Youth Service, schools and adult ed. each resisted the total approach of a whole service and retained disparate working practices and bureaucracy. How could I, walking blindly into that situation, hope to make any significant difference simply through my own contacts and relationships?

Although another Tutor was anxious to point out that '*Compared with what I've encountered in previous jobs, Derbyshire have done much to facilitate this work*', it does appear that the lack of adequate material resources - or of specific awareness-raising amongst existing staff in schools and the community about what might be expected of Tutors (or of a remodelled community education service) - before the 'main wave' of appointments were made, may have contributed significantly to many Tutors' problems. In effect, a large proportion seem not only to have had to create their own jobs with minimal resources but, before they could start on it, to have done a considerable amount of 'spadework' in order to convince colleagues that there was a need for the job at all.

The resources problem was highlighted most graphically by the Tutor who said:

In retrospect, I suppose it was a bit like being told to build Noah's Ark and find all the animals - and having to start by finding out where the trees for the wood were, how to make the tools to build it with - and all the time there was a sense of the rain getting closer!

Several others also commented on '*constant hunting for resources*'. One added, somewhat stoically, '*It was a bit of a problem not having an office or my own desk or phone for 15 months*'. Although the difference was small, more women than men seemed to have found a lack of material resources a problem.

The tensions created for Tutors by the confusion which appeared to exist amongst colleagues over the direction of the community education service in general were illustrated not just by what they wrote but in what seemed to be the slightly bitter overtones of some of their comments in the questionnaires and over the telephone. (The bitterness is not altogether surprising since the Tutors had only recently become aware of the proposed disestablishment of their posts when they responded to the survey.) For example, two noted:

There was a lack of understanding of schools and how they function by CE [Community Education] Officers. Lack of understanding of CE by Head and Governors and staff. I was expected to do a job in the middle of it all and no-one could agree on what the job was ;

I had to work with so-called community education professionals who held far too narrow a brief, inexperienced yet senior CE staff who lacked vision and only wanted to toe the party line. Sometimes I got really angry with them all, other times I started to question whether the CE I believe in is a pipe dream.

Similar kinds of comments were also made by a number of Tutors in relation to their own line management. One was in the unfortunate position of having:

... a Head who was in community for 10 years 15 years ago and who hasn't moved with the times and who speaks a different language from the DCEO [District Community Education Officer].

Others wrote of the 'uncertainty about where you 'belong' in the admin. structure in school or out of school'; 'working with a Head (or rather without him) who didn't want to miss out on having a CT [Community Tutor] but doesn't know what one is'; and 'trying to please too many masters/ mistresses'.

Even where line managers appear to have been supportive, the lack of understanding of other close colleagues evidently posed its own problems. One Tutor noted, for example, *The 2 HTs [Headteachers] have been good support from a practical day-to-day running point of view but I needed support from other staff when I disagreed on issues with the HTs'.*

Such difficulties seem to have been compounded for a number of Tutors by a feeling that time was pressing. Almost all of those who made particular mention of this were based in primary schools where it is perhaps less easy to separate one person's responsibilities from another's. Several Tutors commented specifically on the way they had felt they had to apportion their time. For a few this was because they held a part-time or split post: as one wrote, *I really had to work at preventing myself from turning a half post into a FT [full-time] one';* and another *'It was like juggling with 2 whole jobs - teaching with class responsibility and the CE [community education] work'.*

Nevertheless, one Tutor, who had served four schools, clearly felt something positive had come out of her early struggles to cope with this. She noted, *'The greatest practical difficulty at first - spread too thinly between 4 schools - has changed. Split loyalties have become more commitment to the AREA. I think that's good for everyone concerned'.*

What a number of Tutors evidently did not feel was good was the number of meetings they had to attend. Almost a quarter listed attending meetings and the associated administrative work as the least personally satisfying aspect of their job: their views are best summarized by the person who wrote, *'It was FRUSTRATING spending too much time in wasteful meetings - sometimes called, I'm convinced, for meeting's sake'.*

Other Tutors variously referred to the frustration of meetings *'with poor time management'; 'that were long and unproductive, especially on winter nights'; 'which were not only tedious and took up too much of my time but then gave rise to endless Report-writing and form-filling'.* One noted specifically, *'In my view programme planning and CEC [Community Education Council] meetings should be for the discussion/ co-ordination of the CE programme - but rarely get off boring routine admin. matters'.*

Although the requirement to attend meetings is obviously not peculiar to the job of Community Tutor, the frequent reference by respondents, in a number of contexts,

to the frustration of attending meetings could be an indication that the majority of Tutors are 'Activists' - preferring to 'do' rather than to plan. On the other hand, it may be further evidence of the tension, referred to earlier, between having to do the 'spadework' in order to make the notion of the job acceptable to others - and actually getting on with the job to the Tutor's own satisfaction.

The following comments encapsulate not only the tension in, but the extent of, the Tutors' workloads: *'The biggest difficulty is shutting the job off when it's time to go home'; 'fitting in time off's always been a problem'; '...all in all the job has taken a great deal of time and emotional energy and I've probably not been that successful. I had such high hopes for it'.*

Ironically, the Tutor who made the last comment had also listed six major tasks that s/he had undertaken and which appear to have been successfully completed - and s/he had just been promoted to a senior post. Perhaps it is in the nature of a job which has so many facets and which is, at its most basic, concerned with the intangibles of individual development and societal relationships that it should never appear to be either complete or successful enough.

Several Tutors (including slightly more of those based in secondary schools than in primaries) openly expressed the dissatisfaction - and disappointment - implicit in many of the responses which pointed out that the County Council had never properly implemented the full community education plan as originally envisaged. They clearly felt, now their own jobs were to be cut, that they would never know what they could have achieved in more favourable circumstances or, especially, over a longer period of time. As one wrote:

It's not just that I get minus personal satisfaction from it, it makes me really angry and it's positively dysfunctional for everyone concerned - sets our work back years - to have to dismantle initiatives that have been started because there's no way I can see of anyone maintaining them through this round of cuts.

Apart from the impending abrupt end to their work as Tutors, many noted that, like their greatest difficulties, the least personally satisfying aspects of their work from its inception had stemmed from the uncertain nature of the Community Education Tutor role and others' perceptions of it. Echoing those associated with practical difficulties, comments ranged from *'I found it difficult to compare my delivery of CE with the nebulous concept of the Derbyshire approach'* through *'a lack of clearly defined expectations of me agreed by the HT [Headteacher] and DCEO [District Community Education Officer]. I often felt like a rope in their private tug-of-war (am now decidedly frayed at the edges!)'* to *'some staff expectations that I've never managed to dispel that I am a teacher's aide or run-around'.*

There were several such references to tense relationships with colleagues in school. Tutors variously noted, *'My position's still not accepted'; 'I'm engaged in a constant battle to explain and defend my role to staff'; 'I'm seen as a PSE [Personal and Social Education] teacher';* and *'..they treat me like a part-timer because I'm not always working in the building'.* Although the difference was small, it is interesting that slightly more of the Tutors who had come from school backgrounds saw relationships with school colleagues as the least satisfying aspect of their work: perhaps school colleagues themselves had more difficulty in relating to someone who had changed roles than to someone known to come from a different background - and who might therefore be expected to have different values and expectations about what could go on in a school.

In terms of the schools in which they were then based, marginally more of the Tutors in secondary schools than in primaries mentioned difficulties in relationships with school colleagues. This lends some support to the last statement since I understand from earlier conversations with several Tutors that a number of those in

secondaries had actually taken up their posts after being teachers in the same school. Considerably more of the Tutors in primary schools than in secondaries mentioned role related problems - perhaps because, as already suggested, it is less easy to disentangle who does what in a small school.

Not the least of many Tutors' problems were clearly with caretakers: several mentioned difficult relationships with caretakers who *'hate mess'* and/ or who had *'never been convinced that opening a school in the evening is a Good Thing'*. There was obvious frustration that, even when Tutors felt they had, as one put it, *'got everything else pretty well right'*, the success of community education activities should hinge on the co-operation of a caretaker.

Other factors resulting in dissatisfaction were primarily concerned with resources and policy: mention was made by two respondents of what had been a constant source of irritation - *'the lower status and pay of Primary school tutors compared with those in secondaries'*; two others spoke, respectively, of *'the CE [community education] "team" that's not a team because we really have different approaches that haven't been properly resolved'* and *'ABE [Adult Basic Education] and Youth colleagues who attempt to shape my work while theirs remains untouchable'*; several commented on their frustration at seeing *'the service messed about for financial not educational reasons'*, *'increasing emphasis on bums on seats not development'*, and *'a retraction of the service and school-based provision - so we'll never know how good it could have been'*.

Impact on Schools and Local Communities

With luck I've set up networks that will survive me ...

It is particularly interesting in view of the small number of high scores given (in response to Questions 14 and 15 - see Figure 4.1) to 'time given to/ satisfaction gained from ... influencing the school curriculum' that as many as 63% of respondents should list 'influence on the school curriculum' as the aspect of their work having most impact on their schools. (This was well over twice as many as listed any other factor.) Perhaps it is because the process of 'influencing' is a subtle one: it is not necessarily engaged in in obvious 'blocks' of time nor is it easy to point to specific outcomes that can either be divorced from other processes or the success of which can be 'claimed' as primarily the result of an individual's own work.

Respondents were quite clear, however, about the kind of impact they felt they had made on the curriculum. Some felt that this had been right across the board; several said it had been possible because of their position on the senior management team. Others believed their impact had been on specific aspects of the curriculum, especially - as a number indicated - as a result of *'influencing and shaping the curriculum in and through the PSE [Personal and Social Education] Department'* or *'working with various year groups to establish community service projects'*. Such projects seemed to relate primarily to work in PSE, Geography and Environmental Sciences. One Tutor stated quite bluntly that the greatest impact on the curriculum had been *'My own teaching!'* - implying, as another actually stated, that *'introducing CE [community education] to the curriculum is a way of working rather than introducing specific knowledge or programmes (though it's through these that the former can also be established)'*.

Just over three-quarters of the secondary school Tutors felt their greatest impact on the school had been in respect of the curriculum compared with just under one-half of those from primary schools. Also, not only did twice as many men as women feel that this was where their greatest impact had been but rather more of the Tutors from non-school than school backgrounds did too.

Quite why the latter should be so is unclear. The gender difference may stem from the greater number of men working in secondary schools where not only does the curriculum as a whole tend to have less of a community orientation (thus making its introduction more evident) but community service projects and PSE which have a very specific community content are more likely to have their own place on the timetable. Additionally, since more men than women were members of senior management teams, they were likely to have had a greater influence on decision-making in respect of the curriculum.

In terms of the impact Tutors felt they had had on local communities 'improved links between the community and school' were mentioned most often, closely followed by activities which could best be classified as 'awareness raising/empowerment in local groups'. No gender differences were evident here but Tutors from school backgrounds mentioned '...links' more often than did those from non-school backgrounds - and the reverse was true for '...groups'. This reflects what Tutors had said about their main tasks: as discussed earlier, those from school backgrounds had been most concerned to 'establish school-community links' while those from other than school backgrounds had more often mentioned working from a school base with different kinds of groups in the community.

According to Tutors the impact of 'improved links' could be measured in terms of *'greater use by the community of school facilities'; 'more user-friendly school site now approached by local people'; 'local people beginning to use the school as a centre for their own learning as well'; 'increased availability of school premises and resources for local groups'; and 'pupils helping in many local schemes and groups'.*

Similar indications of improved school-community links were also given in relation to what some Tutors felt would be the most lasting results of their work for both school and community. However, there was less agreement over what kind of long-term results there would be than there had been about assessing existing impact. Overall, though, Tutors seemed to place a slightly greater emphasis than on anything else on the probable long-term benefits of the 'awareness-raising' in which they had been engaged. This was a particularly important measure of what they would leave behind them for Tutors from non-school backgrounds.

Thus, while many of those from school backgrounds (and, noticeably, those who were based in secondary schools) mentioned the adult education classes and existing groups they felt would continue to function, 'non-school' Tutors more frequently commented on 'intangibles' such as *'more people have taken advantage of opportunities and gained confidence to continue their education and leisure activities'; 'there's more of a "community spirit" and a belief in community members of their own capabilities'; and 'community groups are now realizing the importance of keeping in touch and supporting each other. Many people now know that skills and education are derived from "being involved"'. Over three-quarters of the respondents based in primary schools made particular mention of the greater awareness in the community, especially amongst parents, of the educational opportunities open to them through the school link.*

Several Tutors saw hope for the future in changes in the ways 'their' schools now operated and/ or in the changed understanding of community education on the part of school staff. For example, two noted, respectively: *'I think I've brought my schools more together. There are more joint projects and the cluster structure has been enhanced'* and *'There's now a partnership between all the staff of the schools - they now have a better overview of education, at least from birth to 11!'*. Another commented, rather poignantly in the circumstances, *'The staff in all my schools now realize the value of a community worker to link them - especially now the post's going!'*.

Inevitably, given the timing of the survey, a number of the responses were somewhat pessimistic and of the 'Don't know' variety. Even here, though,

respondents generally added a rider beginning '*but I hope...*' before going on to describe those activities they hoped would survive their own departure. One Tutor seemed to echo the thoughts of many when s/he wrote:

...who can ever say what the results of one's actions will be - intangible/ possibly not what I'd expect - but probably the best thing I'll leave behind are the RELATIONSHIPS. With luck I've set up networks that will survive me.

Tutors' Estimation of Changes in Aspects of their Working Environment

Once people have had a taste of community education can things ever go back to the way they were ...?

Question 13 in the survey listed a number of features which, from earlier discussions with Tutors, seemed to be either measures of the success of their work or instrumental in making success possible. Respondents were asked to demonstrate on a five-point scale the extent (if at all) to which they felt various aspects of their working environment had changed between the time when they took up their post to the time of the survey (or when they had left their post if that had occurred earlier). The results are represented in the form of histograms in Figures 4.2 - 4.9.

Each histogram shows the degree of response to the selected criteria expressed in terms of percentages of all respondents.

Each column represents the combined scores of either 1 and 2, 2 and 3, 3 and 4, or 4 and 5, as indicated.

Columns are shown in pairs. The first column of the first pair, left white and described on the histogram as 'Before', shows the combined scores of 1 and 2 given by all respondents (and expressed as a percentage of the total number of respondents) in relation to the stated criterion when Tutors took up their appointment. The second column of the first pair, which is shaded and described on the histogram as 'After', shows the combined scores of 1 and 2 given by all respondents (and expressed as a percentage of the total number of respondents) in relation to the same stated criterion at the time of the survey.

This format of paired columns is repeated for each set of combined scores. (This device serves to smooth the 'curve', thereby making any underlying trends more evident.) Comparison of the first and last sets of columns (showing lowest [1 and 2] and highest [4 and 5] scores) gives an indication of the extent to which Tutors felt change had occurred in relation to each of the stated criteria.

Tutors' perceptions were that considerable change *had* occurred during the period of their appointment. Although there could be an element of wish fulfilment here, respondents do seem to have been quite carefully selective in the scores they gave: not only does the extent and range of the change in some areas appear to have been much greater than in others but a number of individual differences were also discernible in this respect.

There was, in addition, a marked difference in some of the scores linked, as with other measures within the survey, either to gender or to 'professional origins'. The presence of such individual and 'group' differences, coupled with the fact that Tutors' responses elsewhere in the survey did not suggest that they were taking other than an honest and reflective look at what had been achieved, indicates very strongly that real changes did take place during the time when Community Tutors were based in Derbyshire's schools. The apparent range and extent of these changes are discussed below:

1. Opportunities to Communicate with Other Members of the School Staff (see Figure 4.2)

Thirty per cent of respondents indicated (by giving the highest scores of 4 and 5 to this statement) that they had had frequent opportunities to communicate with other members of the school staff when they took up their posts as Community Tutors. By the time of the survey another 50% felt able to give such scores, bringing the total to 82%. It would have been surprising had such a marked change not taken place: simply by working in the same buildings as other people over a number of years the opportunities to communicate naturally increase.

A slightly disturbing feature, therefore, is the small number of Tutors still indicating at the time of the survey that they did not have frequent opportunities to communicate with other colleagues in school. Perhaps these Tutors were more recently appointed and/ or differing perceptions of the term 'frequent' distorted the data. Nevertheless, there do seem to have been some management implications here, particularly since a number of respondents also indicated in other contexts that relationships with school staff had been problematic.

In the light of the earlier observation about some Tutors from non-school backgrounds perhaps feeling less sure of their interactions and influence in a school environment, it is significant that a much smaller number of this group (13%) than of those from school backgrounds (55%) appear to have felt from the outset that they had frequent opportunities to communicate with other members of the school staff. By the time of the survey the number of 'non-school origin' Tutors giving scores of 4 and 5 had risen to 75% - but this compares with 90% of those who had previously worked in schools. A similar (but reversed) pattern is also evident in relation to the low scores: nearly twice as many 'non-school' as 'school background' Tutors gave scores of 1 and 2 - indicating that they were, overall, much less comfortable in their relationships with school colleagues.

More males than females (69% compared with 43%) gave low scores to their opportunities to communicate with other staff at the outset - but there was a negligible difference in the high scores. By the time of the survey this position had also reversed - there was a negligible difference in the low scores but more women than men were allocating scores of 4 and 5. The differences are too small to be significant but there is an indication here of females being more comfortable in their relationships with school colleagues throughout the period of their appointment than their male counterparts - a factor which goes some way to support the previous suggestion that the success of their interactions may constitute an important internal measure of ability for more women than men.

Alternatively, of course, this may simply be a reflection of the slightly greater numbers of female Tutors who worked in primary schools where, because of the smaller size of the school and the nature of the work, general staff relationships are often closer than in secondaries. There is some evidence for this in the fact that there was a greater percentage increase from the time when they took up their posts to the time of the survey in the number of all Tutors working in primary schools giving scores of 4 and 5 than there was amongst those working in the secondary sector. The percentage of Tutors in primary schools allocating high scores at the time of the survey was also higher than of those in secondaries although, interestingly, the reverse was true in relation to the time when they took up their posts - perhaps, again, no more than an indication of some secondary Tutors having previously worked in their schools as teachers. Of those Tutors continuing to give low scores at the end of the survey, all were based in secondary schools suggesting that it was in this sector that Tutors were most likely to feel isolated.

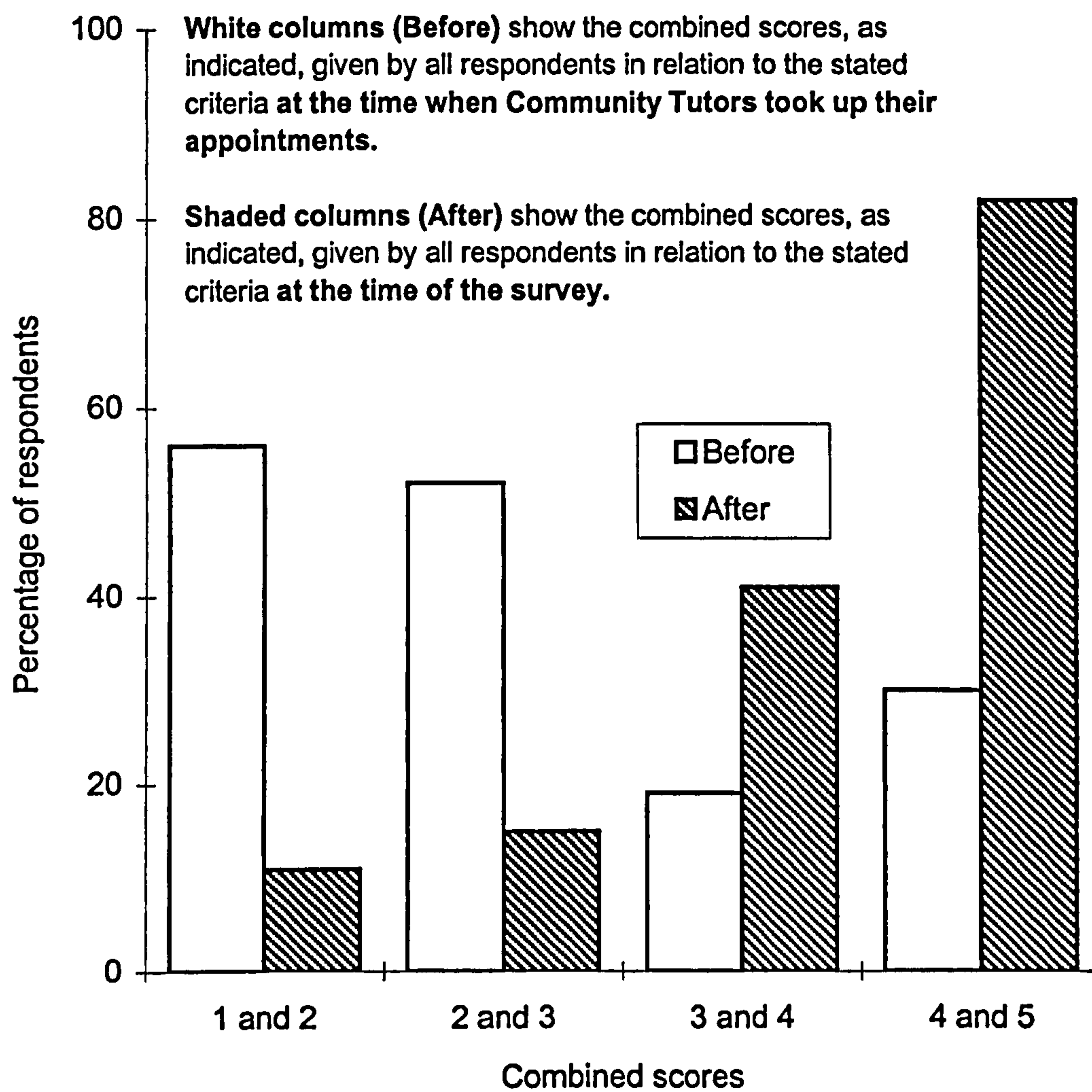


Figure 4.2. Frequent opportunities to communicate with other members of the school staff

2a. Understanding of/ Sympathy towards Community Education and Tutors' Work shown by Headteachers (see Figure 4.3a)

Forty-one per cent of respondents allocated scores of 1 and 2 to this criterion in relation to the time when they took up their appointment - and exactly the same proportion allocated scores of 4 and 5. By the time of the survey, 74% of respondents felt able to give scores of 4 and 5 and the proportion of those giving scores of 1 and 2 had fallen to 11%. I may have muddled the issue slightly by asking respondents to think about the attitude of their Headteacher not just to their work as a Community Tutor but to community education in general. Despite this, the change in attitude indicated by the increase in scores is generally positive - although it must be borne in mind that these scores indicate Tutors' perceptions of Heads' attitudes and those of the Heads themselves could have been different.

It is interesting in the light of the observations above about the possible uncertainties surrounding the in-school relationships of Tutors who had not come from school backgrounds that slightly more of this group gave high scores to the 'understanding/ sympathy' of their Headteacher when they took up the Community Tutor appointment than did the 'school background' group. Perhaps the former had a less realistic view of what the Head's perceptions were. On the other hand, it is possible that those Heads who were most familiar with community education were most active in appointing Tutors who had had previous experience of working in the community rather than in schools - and, therefore, that more of the Heads with 'non-school' Tutors on their staff actually were more understanding.

However, by the time of the survey more of the 'school origin' Tutors gave high scores to Heads' 'understanding/ sympathy' than did those who had previously worked elsewhere. It is tempting to suggest, therefore, that whether they had a less realistic view of Heads' perceptions of community education from the outset or whether Heads had different expectations of what such a Tutor might do, those from non-school backgrounds had slightly less rapport with Heads than did those who had previously worked in schools. The figures are too small to be significant but, as already noted, there are indications elsewhere that Tutors from non-school backgrounds tended to have greater difficulties in establishing their own niche within the school structure.

There were actually slightly greater differences between the scores of male and female respondents than there were between those from 'school' and 'non-school' backgrounds. Males consistently gave fewer low scores and more high scores to the 'understanding/ sympathy' of their Headteacher than did females. This may be less a gender difference *per se* than a difference attributable to status and/ or perceptions on the part of Tutors of Heads' accessibility and willingness to partake in informal discussion. The greater number of males than females who were members of senior management teams may have been significant in this respect, providing them with both formal and informal communication channels to the Headteacher.

I do not know what the ratio of male : female Headteachers was in the schools served by respondents but experience suggests that there would have been more men, particularly in the secondary schools. Perhaps, therefore, the greater proportion of higher scores given by male Tutors to Headteachers' 'understanding/ sympathy' towards community education and their work provides some measure of 'gender congruence' between Tutors and Headteachers. Had I been able to engage in follow-up interviews this possibility would have warranted further exploration.

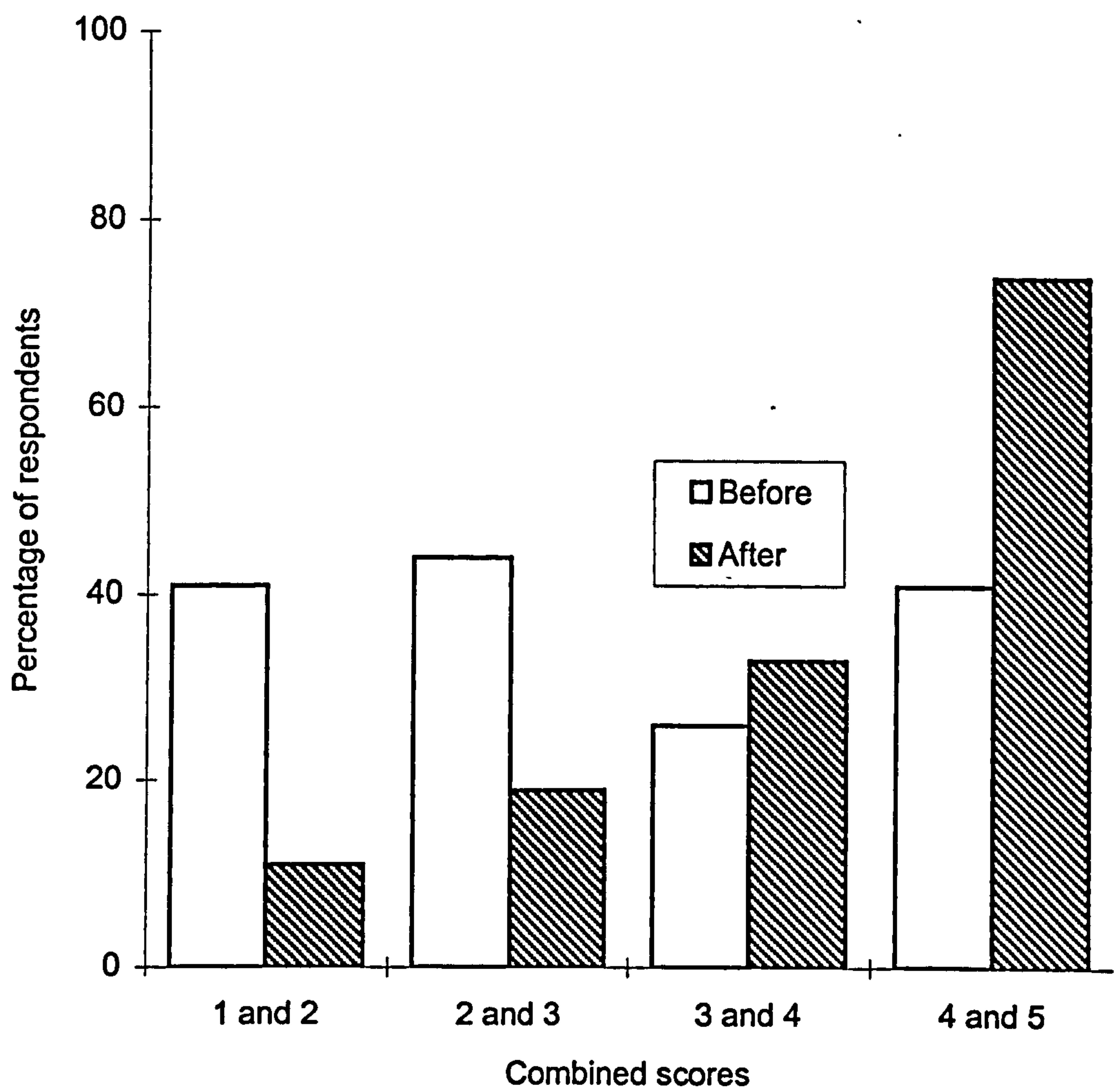


Figure 4.3a. Understanding of / sympathy towards community education and Tutors' work shown by Headteachers (for explanation of columns see Figure 4.2.).

2b. Understanding of/ Sympathy towards Community Education and Tutors' Work shown by Most Other Members of School Staff (see Figure 4.3b) and

2c. Understanding of/ Sympathy towards Community Education and Tutors' Work shown by Most School Governors (see Figure 4.3c)

Comparison of Figures 4.3b and 4.3c with Figure 4.3a is interesting for two reasons. First, not only was the percentage of Tutors giving scores of 1 and 2 (*i.e.* low scores) to the 'understanding/ sympathy' of Headteachers and governors almost identical, particularly at the beginning of the Tutors' term of appointment, but governors and Headteachers were clearly seen by more Tutors as being understanding from the outset than were school staff. This may have stemmed partly from the involvement of governors and Headteachers in the appointment of Tutors - so Tutors' first meetings with them may well have been in encouraging circumstances. Or perhaps Tutors' initial perceptions of governors were that they were 'of the community' and, in consequence, more likely to be sympathetic to the idea of community education.

Second, by the time of the survey, the percentage of Tutors giving high scores to the 'understanding/ sympathy' of school staff was slightly greater than of those giving such scores to the understanding of school governors - but less than of those rating highly the understanding of their Headteacher. In other words, more Tutors perceived a change in the attitude of school staff towards community education than in that of either Headteachers or school governors - but more perceived the 'understanding/ sympathy' of Headteachers to be greater than that of the other groups. That more Tutors should have given higher scores to the understanding of staff than of governors is probably attributable simply to the amount of contact they are likely to have had with the two groups.

There were no obvious differences in terms of Tutors' 'professional origins' or gender in any of the scores concerning the understanding/ sympathy of school staff but, as in relation to Headteachers, slightly more of the 'non-school origin' respondents than of those originally from school backgrounds gave scores of 4 and 5 to the understanding received from school governors at the outset. And, again as with Headteachers, this position was reversed by the time of the survey with marginally more 'school background' Tutors allocating 4/5 scores at this time.

The same trend was also discernible in terms of gender: marginally more females than males gave 4/5 scores to the understanding shown by governors initially and the reverse was true at the time of the survey. This may, as I noted in relation to the scores given to Headteachers, be connected less to gender *per se* than to status and, in this case, to the extent to which Tutors actually came into regular contact with governors: I am aware from earlier conversations with them that, while some Tutors were invited to make a full contribution to all governors' meetings, others were merely requested to submit a report and to attend 'when necessary'. It seems reasonable to assume that more of the Tutors who were involved in senior management teams may have been more actively involved with governing bodies.

3. Extent of Encouragement given to Community Tutors to Participate in Senior Management Decision-Making relating to Community Education (see Figure 4.4)

Although less than half of the respondents indicated that they were given much encouragement of this kind - and a quarter, by allocating scores of 1/2, clearly felt even at the end of the survey that very little encouragement had been forthcoming - these 'global' figures mask some significant gender and background differences.

As already noted, a much greater proportion of men than of women felt they had been actively encouraged to operate at senior management level in their schools:

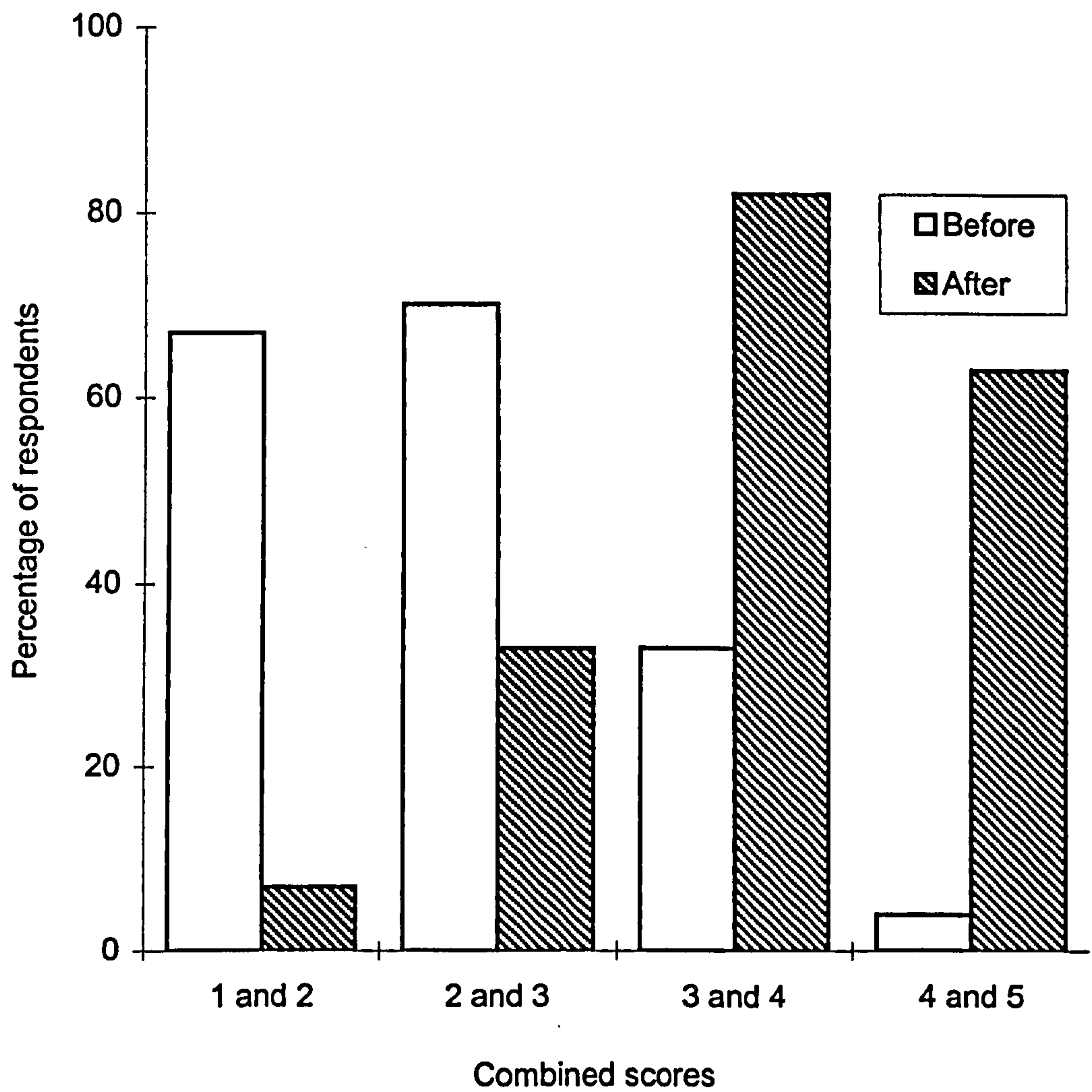


Figure 4.3b. Understanding of / sympathy towards community education and Tutors' work shown by most other members of school staff (for explanation of columns see Figure 4.2.).

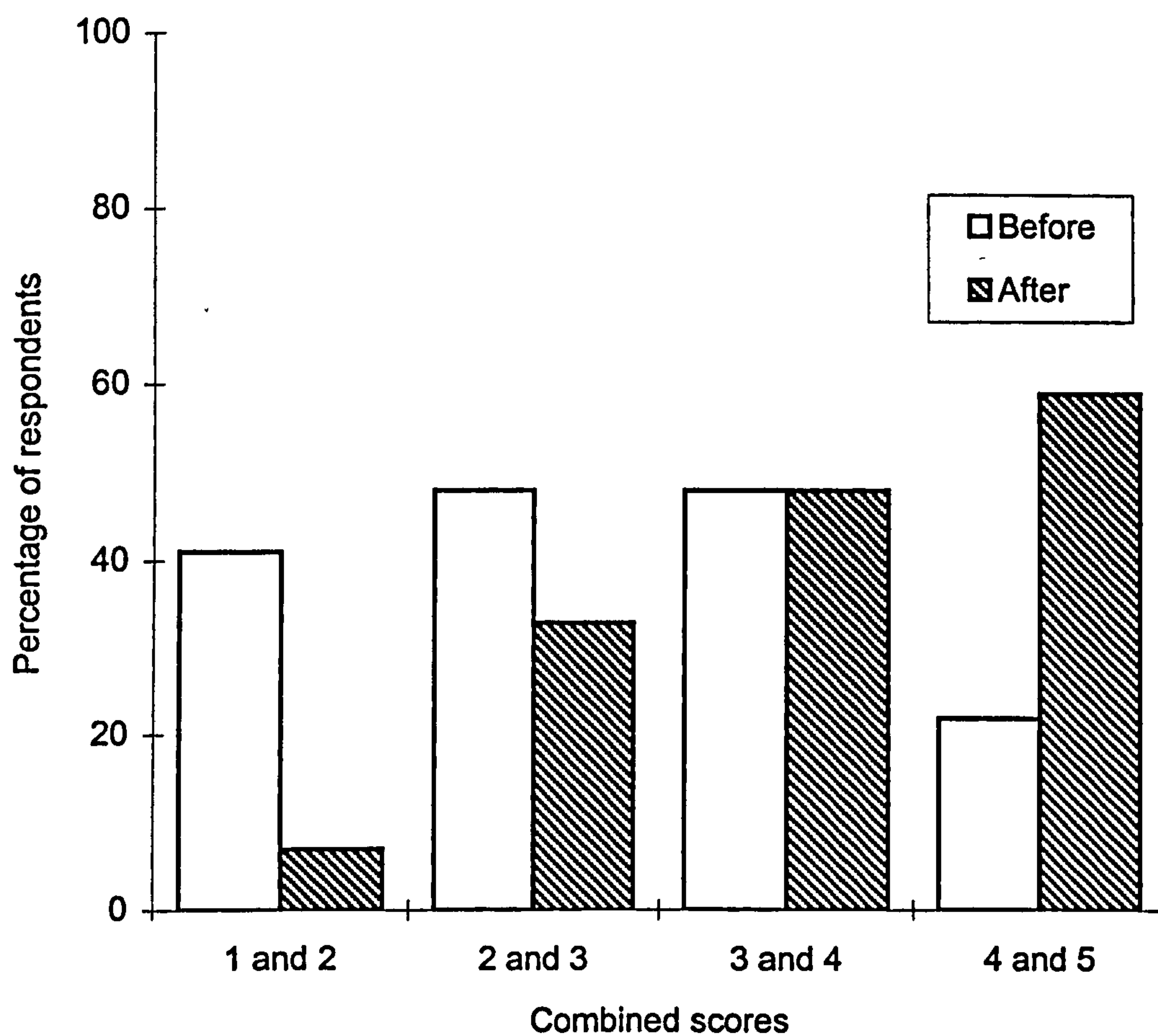


Figure 4.3c. Understanding of / sympathy towards community education and Tutors' work shown by most school governors (for explanation of columns see Figure 4.2.).

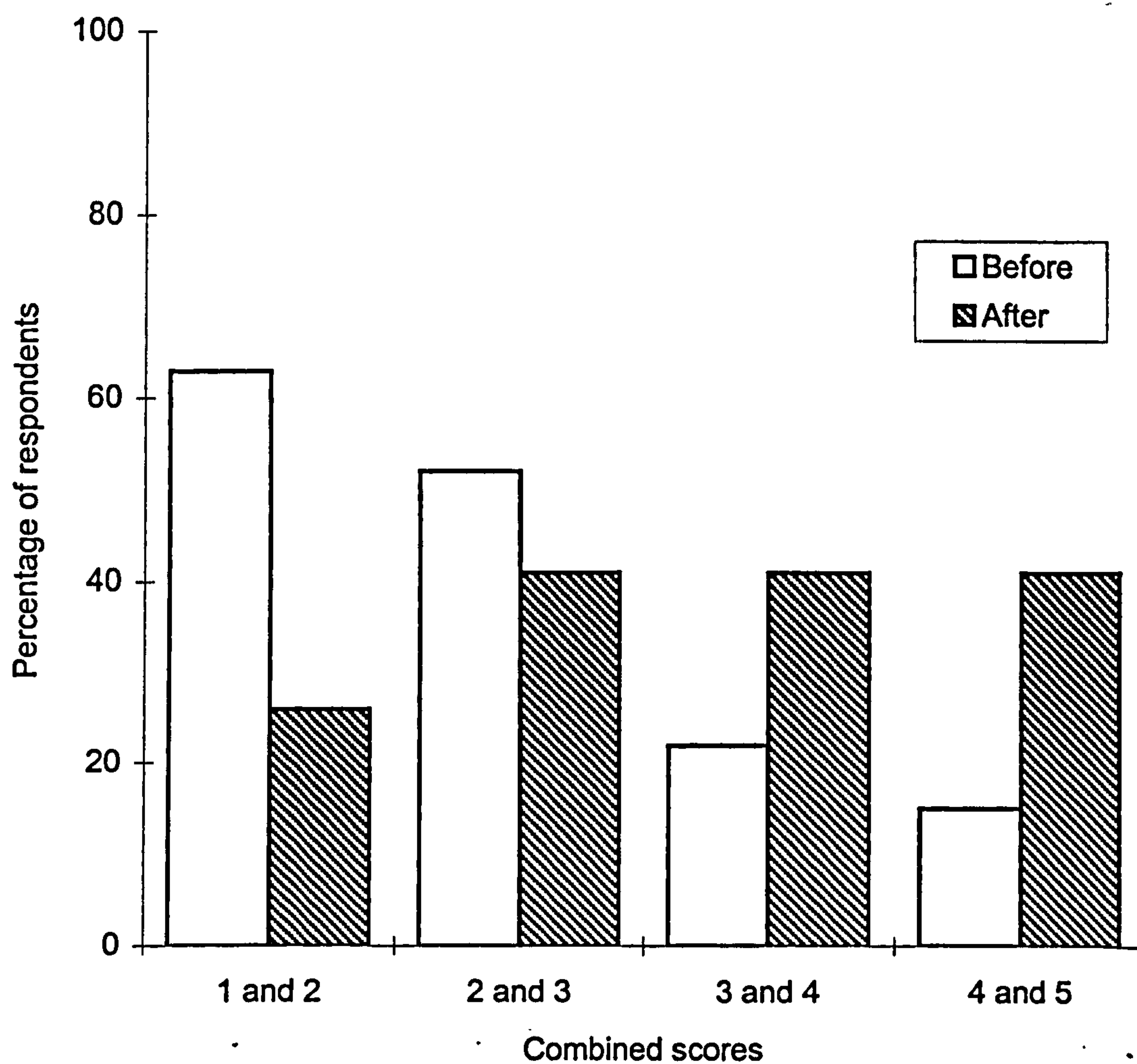


Figure 4.4. Extent of encouragement given to Tutors to participate in senior management decision-making relating to community education (for explanation of columns see Figure 4.2.).

none of the female respondents compared with 31% of the males indicated (by giving high - 4/5 - scores) that they had been encouraged to do this when they took up their posts; by the time of the survey 21% of female respondents were able to give a 4/5 score - but this then compared with the same score given by 62% of male respondents.

The differences between Tutors from school or non-school backgrounds were also marked although not quite as strongly as those associated with gender: 19% of 'non-school origin' respondents compared with 9% of those from schools allocated 4/5 scores to this criterion for the time when they took up their posts; these figures rose to 50% and 27% respectively for the time of the survey.

The gender differences perhaps require no comment. However, it is interesting to speculate why, if Tutors' perceptions of the encouragement they were given to operate at a senior level within the school do equate with what encouragement they were actually given (and there is no real reason to assume that this was not the case), there should be such a difference in the treatment of Tutors from different backgrounds. One explanation could be that those who had not previously worked in schools were assumed by colleagues, including Headteachers, to have 'different knowledge' from people who were known to come from school backgrounds but who were now 'doing' community - and therefore to be a particularly useful addition to the existing team.

There will obviously have been differences in the way in which respondents interpreted this question - with some perhaps giving a high score if, for example, they were regularly asked to submit a report to the senior management team, and others giving high scores only if they were full members of such a team and invited to attend meetings relating to all aspects of school life.

However, even with that caveat in mind, there seems to be no clear explanation for the fact that the group of Tutors previously identified as having had more difficulty in locating themselves and their work within the school should also be the group most likely to have been participating in giving direction to the school's approach to community education. Except, of course, that there is no measure here of the success of such participation nor of the extent to which Tutors in such a position may have had to fight lonely battles - perhaps partaking in senior management decisions may have served only to separate Tutors further from other colleagues but did little to advance the cause of community education amongst more senior members of staff. If so there would seem to have been a strong case for the Local Authority and/ or Headteachers to have encouraged the kind of in-house training discussed earlier.

4a. Practical Support given to Community Tutors and their Work by Headteachers (see Figure 4.5a)

Almost three-quarters of the respondents felt they were getting considerable practical support from their Headteachers by the time of the survey. However, as was the case in relation to Tutors' perceptions of Headteachers' 'understanding/ sympathy', a substantial proportion were equally convinced they were getting very little. Indeed, a comparison of Figures 4.5a and 4.3a shows that twice as many Tutors were giving low scores at the end of the survey to 'practical support' from Headteachers as were giving these scores to the Headteachers' 'understanding/ sympathy'.

A comparison of Figures 4.5a and 4.3a also indicates that the proportion of Tutors giving scores of 4 and 5 is almost identical for both the criteria in question. However, this again masks a number of differences that appear to be associated

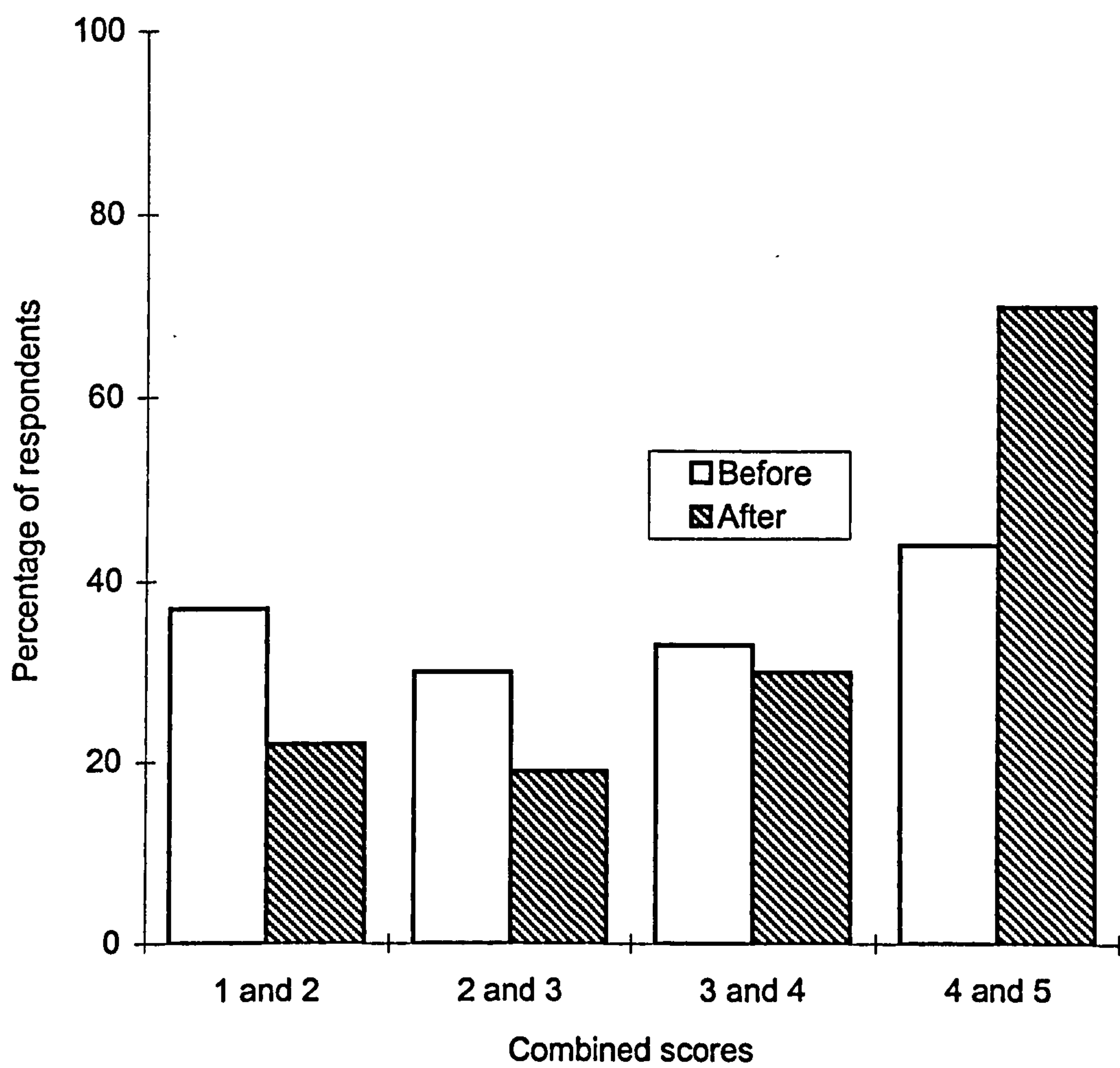


Figure 4.5a. Practical support given to Tutors and their work by Headteachers (for explanation of columns see Figure 4.2.).

with gender and professional background. I have already commented on these in relation to Tutors' perceptions of Headteachers' 'understanding/ sympathy'.

Further analysis of responses in relation to the practical support they felt they had received from Heads shows little difference between the scores given by Tutors from 'school' and 'non-school' backgrounds. Noticeably, though, considerably fewer women than men allocated 4/5 scores to this for the time either when they took up their appointment or of the survey. Only a quarter of female Tutors allocated high scores to the Headteachers' support at the outset; over 60% of the male Tutors did so. By the time of the survey the proportion of both groups giving high scores had risen markedly and the difference in the proportion of each group giving these scores was smaller. Nevertheless, the number of female Tutors feeling that they were receiving considerable practical support from their Headteachers at the end was almost identical to that of male Tutors who felt this way initially, and nearly 80% of males were by then giving high scores.

Although the differences were very small, it is interesting that not only were 4/5 scores allocated to Heads' 'understanding/ sympathy' and 'practical support' by a slightly greater proportion of male Tutors and of those from school backgrounds than of females or of those from non-school backgrounds - but more of both the first two groups, and to a lesser extent of 'non-school' Tutors, gave high scores to the Headteachers' understanding than to their practical support; exactly the same number of female Tutors gave 4/5 scores to both criteria. Perhaps there is some measure here of the regard Tutors felt the Heads had for community education compared with what they knew Heads were actually able to do in order to support it. There may also be an indication that women are more inclined to measure attitudes in terms of actions!

4b. Practical Support given to Community Tutors and their Work by Most Other Members of School Staff (see Figure 4.5b)

A comparison of Figures 4.5b and 4.3b shows a nearly identical pattern. Indeed, almost the same proportion of respondents overall as well as within each of the categories I have used for further analysis gave the same scores in relation to both the 'understanding/ sympathy' and the practical support provided by school staff. The only slight exception was that marginally more of the Tutors from school backgrounds than of any other grouping gave 4/5 scores to the practical support they received from other school staff. This may be because, as noted earlier, a few Tutors had actually worked in their schools as teachers prior to taking up their Community Tutor appointment: they may thus have been drawing on already established personal relationships and encouragement.

Unfortunately, there is no indication of the kind of support Tutors were thinking of when they responded to this question. (Very few gave additional comments in this section of the questionnaire.) Nor is it known whether support did, in fact, come from 'most' other staff - or whether a lot was provided by a few! Comments elsewhere about Tutors' relationships with school staff suggest the latter is more likely to be the case. Clearly, however, a substantial proportion of all respondents felt they were given a fair degree of support for their work by at least some school staff.

4c. Practical Support given to Community Tutors and their Work by Most School Governors (see Figure 4.5c)

Comparing Figures 4.5c and 4.3c, it is clear that considerably more respondents gave 4/5 scores to governors' 'understanding/ sympathy' than to the practical

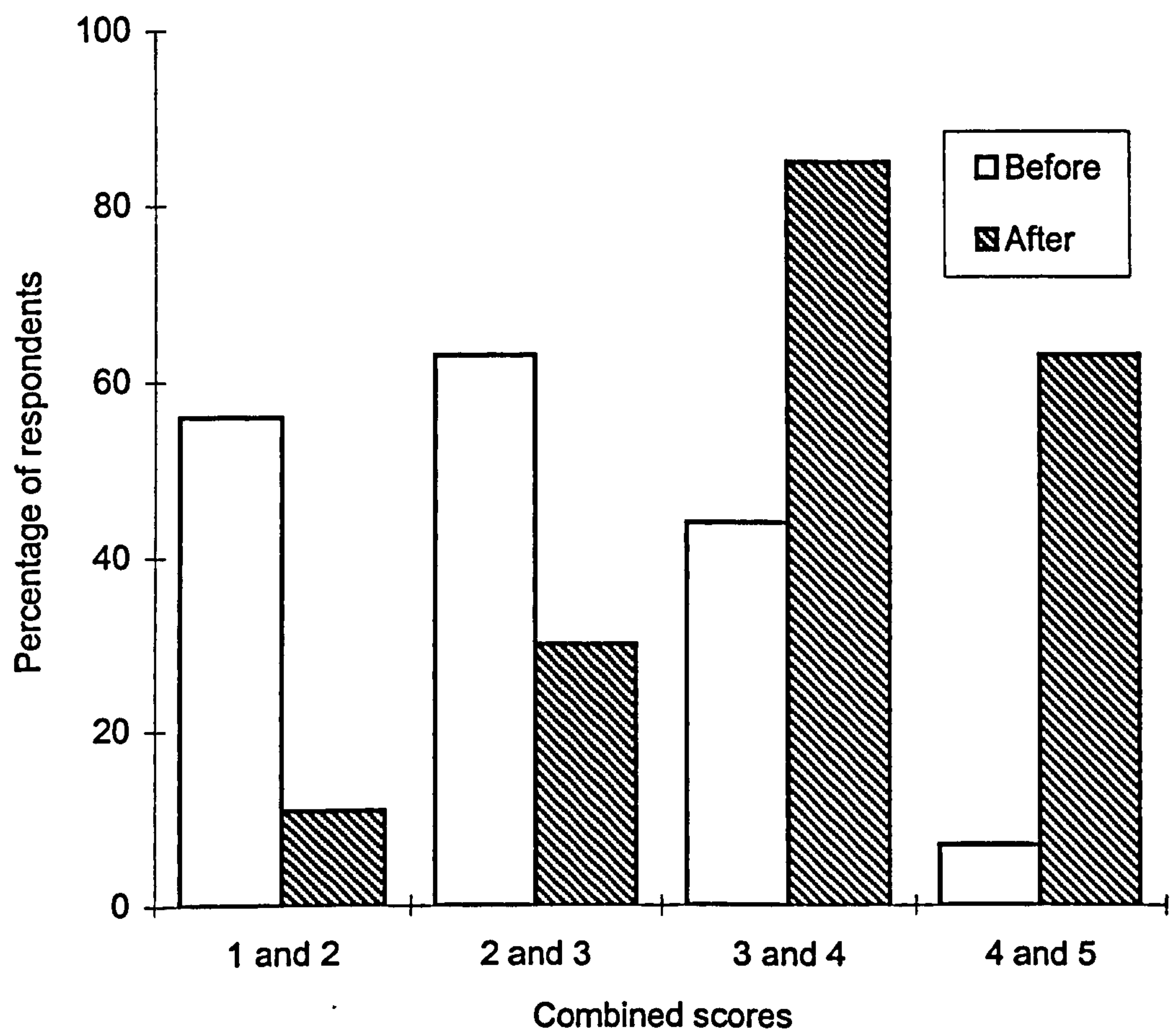


Figure 4.5b. Practical support given to Tutors and their work by most other members of school staff (for explanation of columns see Figure 4.2.).

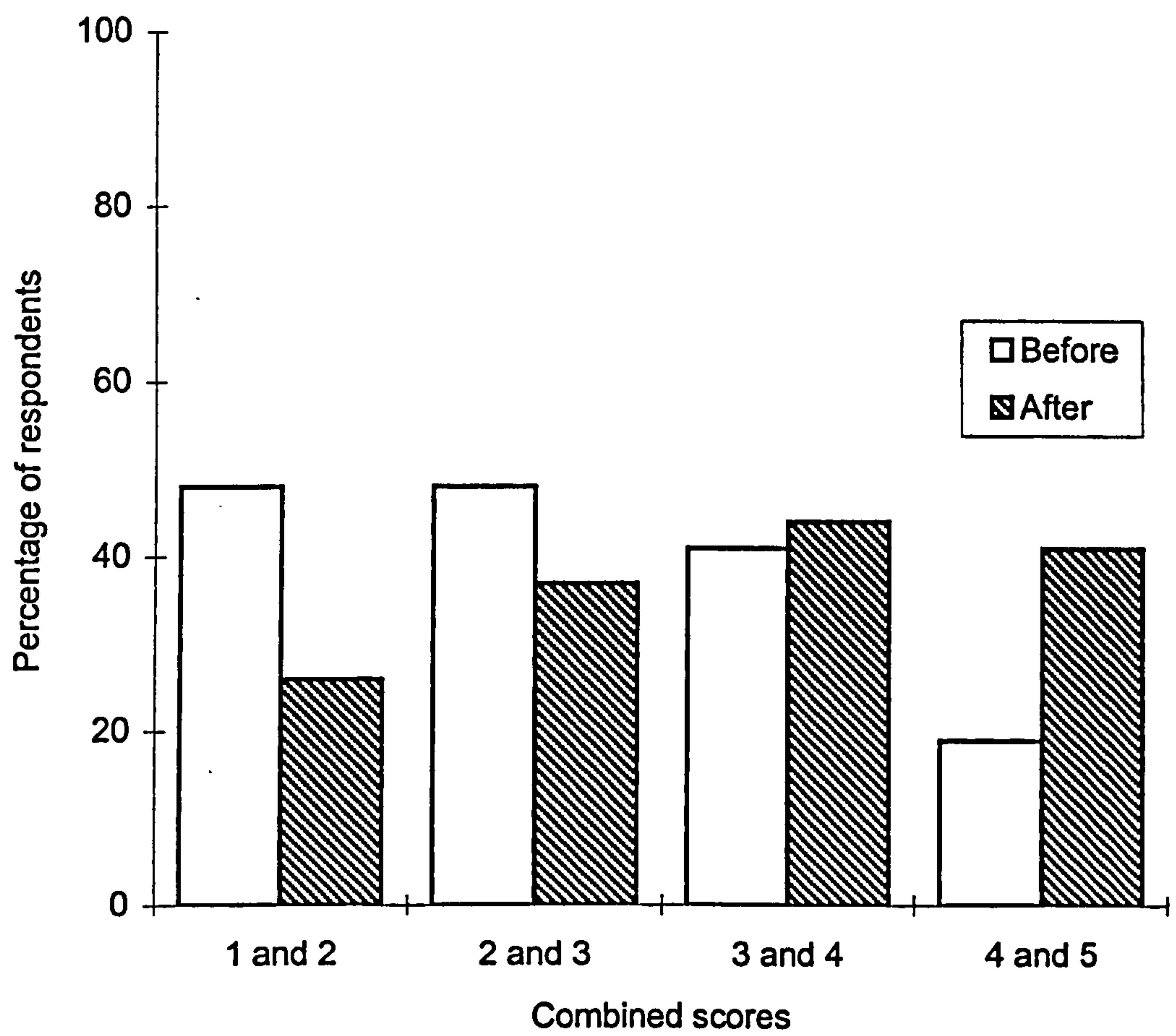


Figure 4.5c. Practical support given to Tutors and their work by most school governors (for explanation of columns see Figure 4.2.).

support they were able to offer. Reference to Figures 4.5a and 4.5b also shows that 4/5 scores were allocated to the practical support that was forthcoming from governors by a much smaller number of respondents than allocated these scores to the practical support given either by Headteachers or by school staff. These results are not surprising in view both of the relative infrequency with which most governors and Tutors are likely to have come into contact and of the relatively small amount of practical help it would actually have been possible for most governors to offer.

Only 8% of male respondents allocated 4/5 scores to practical help from governors when they took up their Community Tutor posts; this compared with 21% of female respondents. By the time of the survey the proportion of males giving high scores had risen to 54%; the proportion of females giving the same scores had risen only marginally - to 29%. This may be yet another reflection of the extent to which male and female Tutors were encouraged to interact with the governing body, and on what basis.

5. Impact of Community Education on the School Curriculum (see Figure 4.6)

According to 85% of respondents, community education had made little or no impact on the curriculum prior to their own arrival. By the time of the survey only 22% indicated (by allocating scores of 1 and 2) that they felt this was still the case. By this time also, well over 70% of respondents believed community education had made sufficient impact on the curriculum to warrant a score of 3 or more (and 40% gave scores of 4 or 5).

Tutors' perceptions of the impact of community education on the curriculum as illustrated in response to this question seem to be broadly similar to those described elsewhere - indicating, as already suggested, that responses to the questionnaire were predominantly honest and unbiased.

For example, 63% of respondents had earlier suggested the greatest impact of their work on schools had been on the school curriculum; almost twice as many men as women had subscribed to this view, as had more of those from non-school than from school backgrounds. Even if only the 4/5 scores are examined in the present context, a similar pattern emerges: these high scores were allocated by just over half of the male respondents and of those from non-school backgrounds compared with 25% and 30% respectively of female respondents and of those from school backgrounds. I have already commented on these differences in a previous section

6. Involvement of Most Other Members of School Staff in Community Education (see Figure 4.7)

Not surprisingly, far fewer Tutors gave a high score to the involvement of school staff in community education than gave such a score to staff 'understanding' or 'practical support'. However, not a single respondent had given a score of 4 or 5 to staff involvement for the time when Tutors took up their appointment and almost a quarter did so for the time of the survey. In addition, examination of the columns showing scores of 3 and 4 in Figures 4.3b, 4.5b and 4.7 shows well over 80% of Tutors rating understanding, practical support and involvement at this level. There was, in fact, an increase of considerably more than 70% from the time when they took up their appointments to the time of the survey in the number of Tutors who were prepared to give medium-high scores in relation to the actual involvement of school staff in community education.

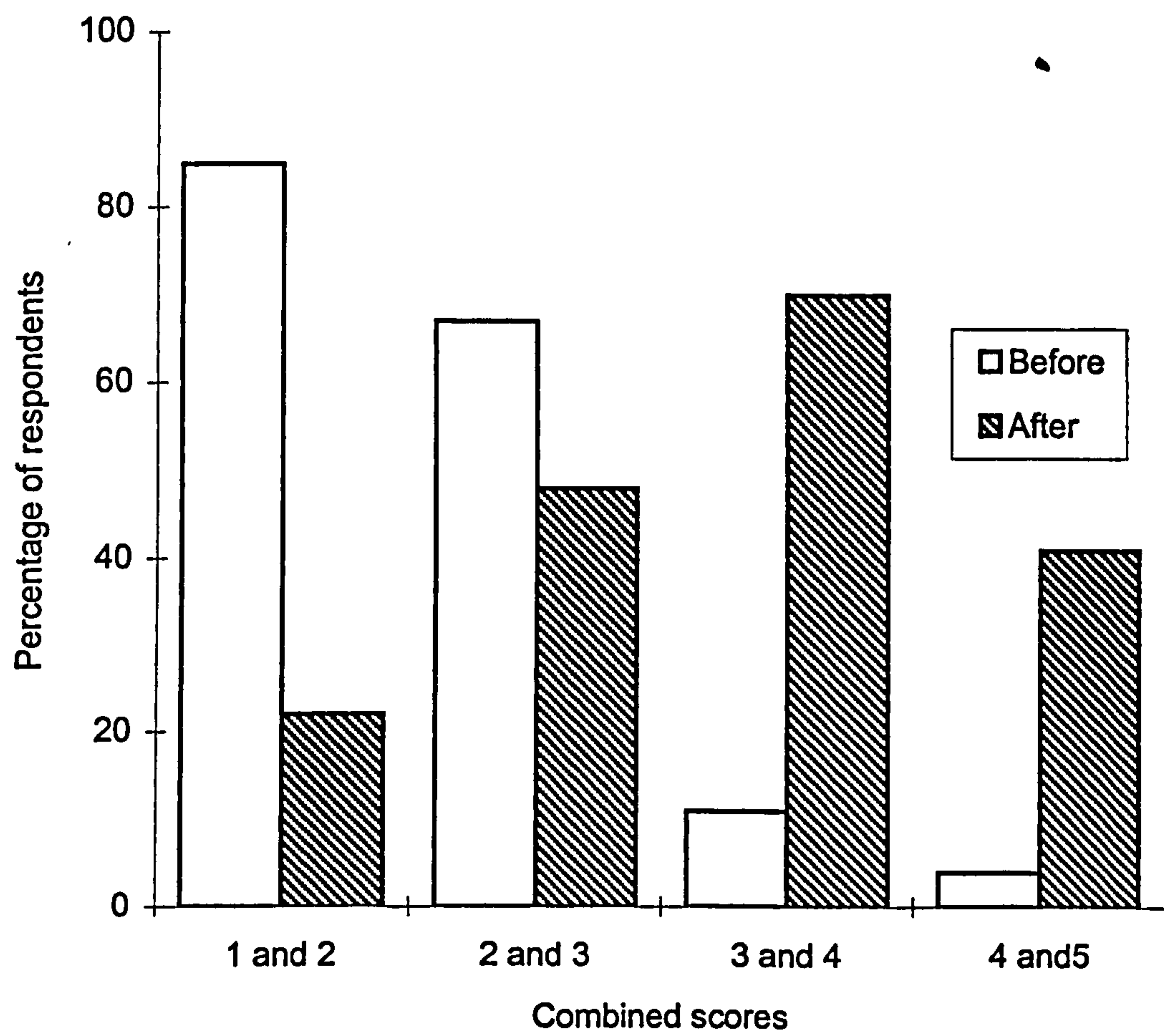


Figure 4.6. Impact of community education on the school curriculum (for explanation of columns see Figure 4.2.).

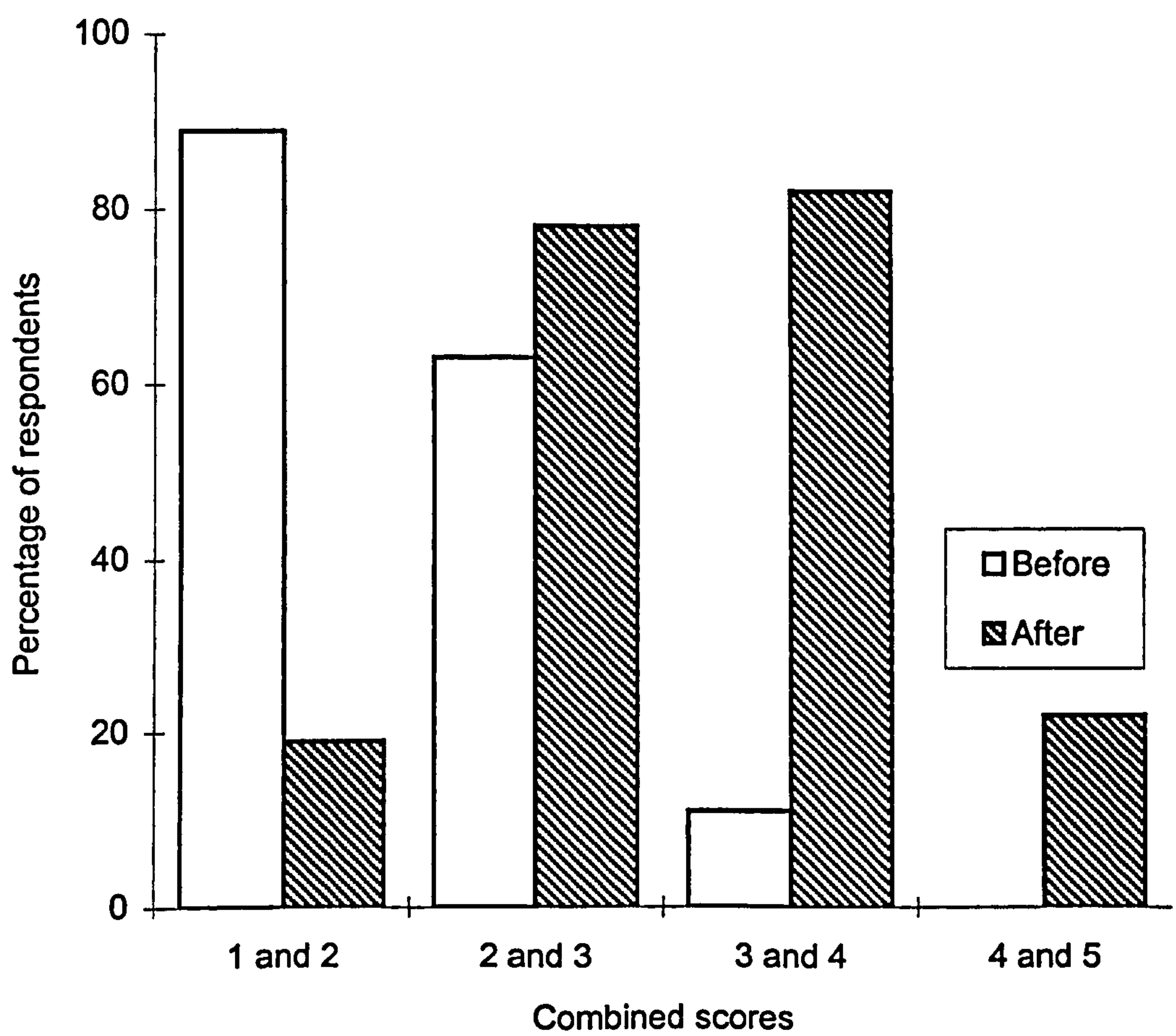


Figure 4.7. Involvement of most other members of school staff in community education (for explanation of columns see Figure 4.2.)

Some differences were again evident in terms of both gender and 'professional origins': more women and more respondents from school backgrounds gave higher scores to staff involvement in community education than did men or 'non-school' respondents. I have already commented on the fact that a few Tutors were operating in schools in which they had previously been teachers: they might more easily have been able to encourage their colleagues to 'have a go', as might others who had come from a school base and who could more readily be seen as role models for what other staff might do.

The greater number of women than men giving higher scores to the involvement of school colleagues could be associated with a tendency among women, to which I drew attention earlier, to define their own abilities in terms of their interactions with, and consequent outcomes for, other people. Alternatively, it may simply be attributable to the slightly greater proportion of women based in primary schools where staff may be more easily encouraged and supported to take 'first steps' in community education by developing initiatives to increase parental involvement. (Evidence included in the next section suggests that many such initiatives did take place.)

Unfortunately, there is no means of knowing the real extent of the involvement of school staff in community education either in terms of participant numbers or of the types of activities they undertook. Nevertheless, there does seem to be a strong indication both in response to this question and in Tutors' perceptions of what was happening to the curriculum that their presence in schools *was* having a marked effect on the ethos of the schools concerned. It is open to conjecture whether the same effect would have been possible had Tutors not actually been based in the schools. My feeling is that many Tutors had successfully set in motion a long-term process of change which, had it not been for some undoubtedly difficult situations that eventually took on an almost legendary quality and allowed considerable 'fiction' about Tutors' activities, professional relationships and successes to get in the way of the real facts, might ultimately have led to a change in the working practices of many of their school-based colleagues.

7a. Involvement of Parents in the Life of the School (see Figure 4.8a),

7b. Involvement of Other Community Members in the Life of the School (see Figure 4.8b) and

7c. Use Made by the Local Community of Community Education Facilities and Resources associated with the School (see Figure 4.9)

These criteria have been grouped together since they all deal with Tutors' perceptions of the extent to which various members of the community related to the school. As with all the other criteria in this section, there is a marked decrease in the percentage of respondents giving low scores in respect of the time when they took up their posts compared with that at the time of the survey - and a corresponding increase in the percentage giving medium to high scores. If Tutors' perceptions were even part way accurate, therefore, it seems reasonable to assume that there had been a considerable increase in the number of adults entering school buildings for a variety of purposes during the years that Community Education Tutors were in post.

Approximately half the respondents obviously felt many parents had been successfully encouraged to involve themselves in school activities. The majority of these will probably have been in primary schools: when asked to assess what they felt had had most impact on their schools, half of the respondents based in these schools - and none of those in secondaries - had, in fact, pointed to parental

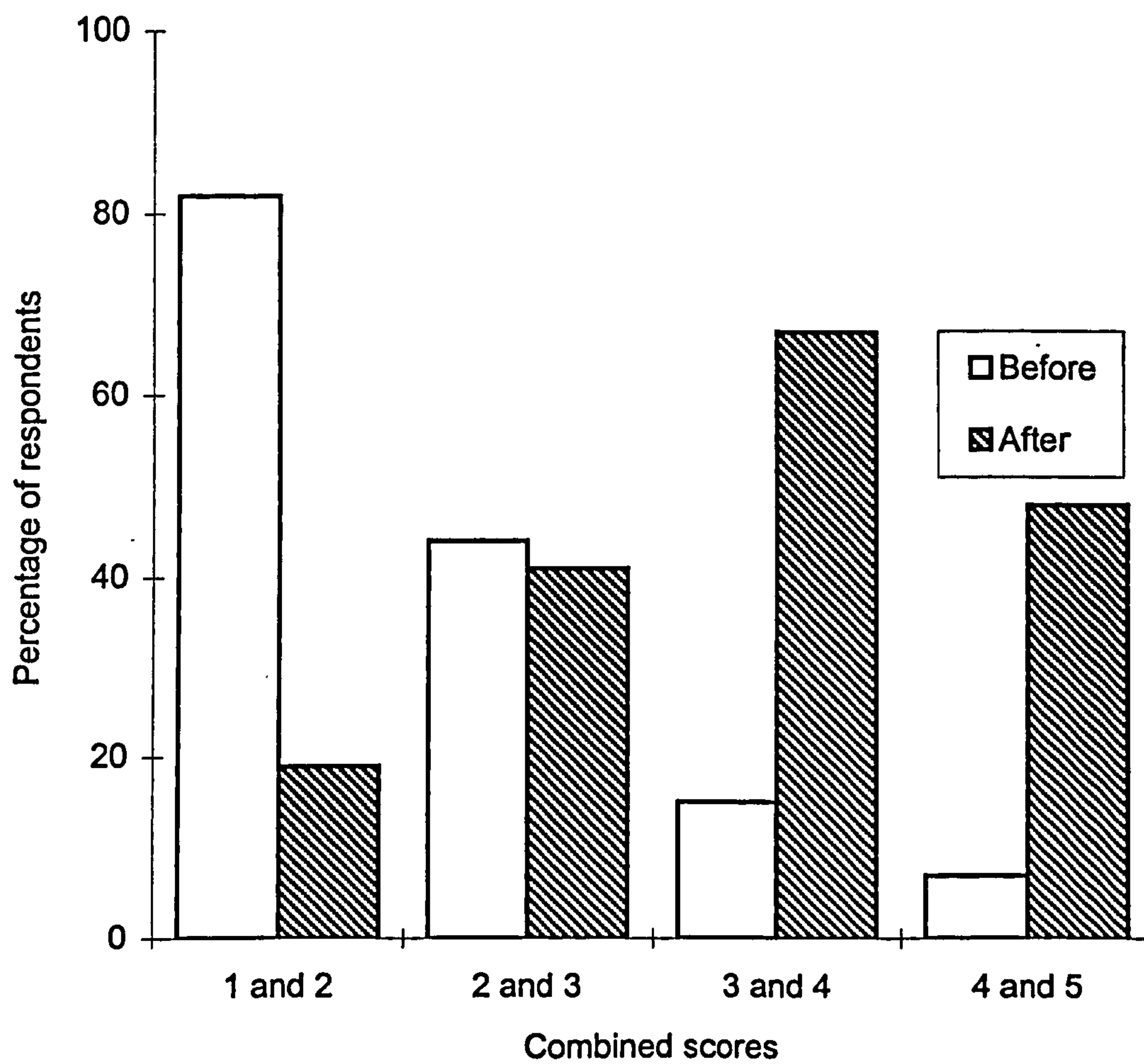


Figure 4.8a. Involvement of parents in the life of the school (for explanation of columns see Figure 4.2.).

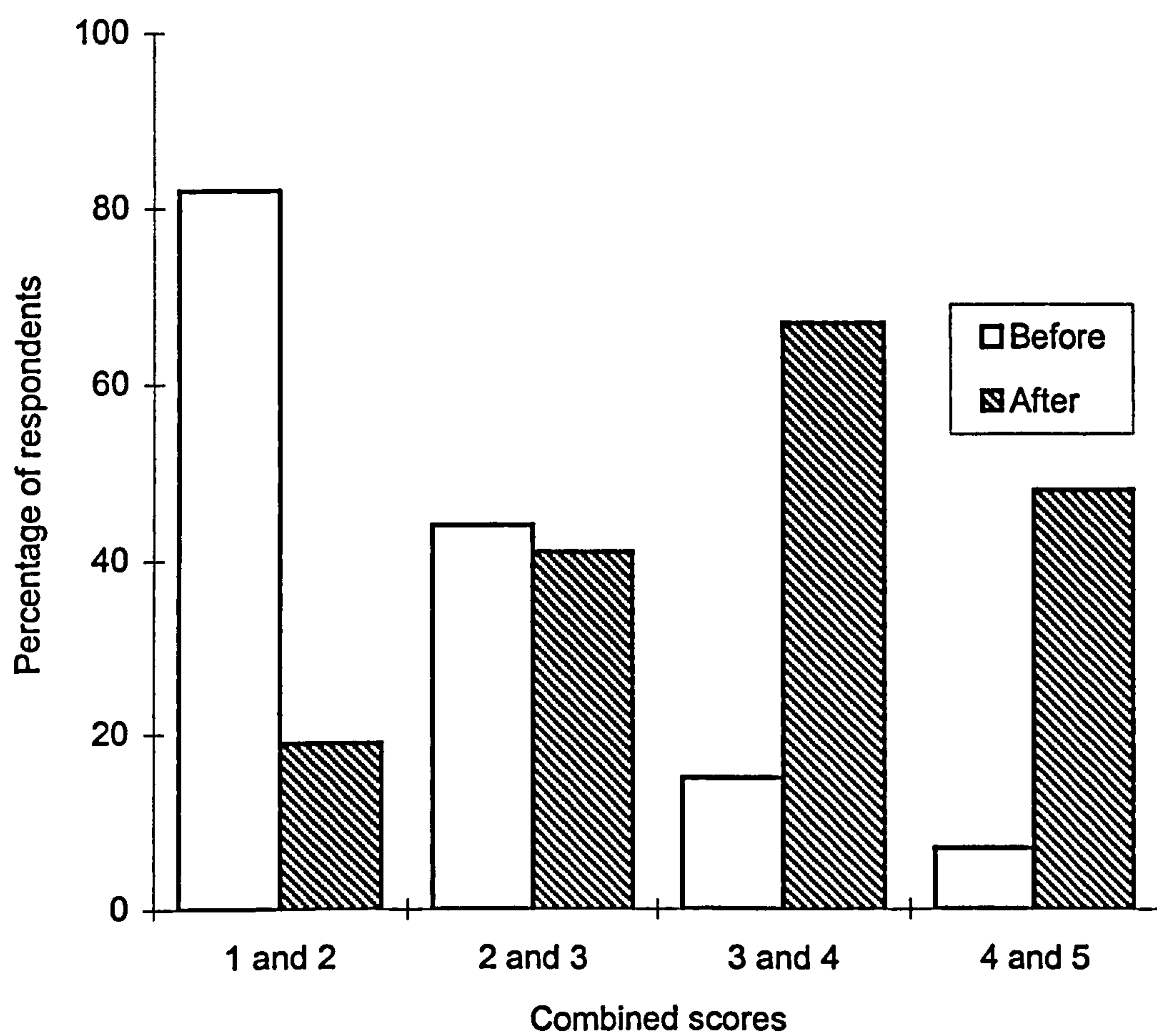


Figure 4.8b. Involvement of other community members in the life of the school (for explanation of columns see Figure 4.2.).

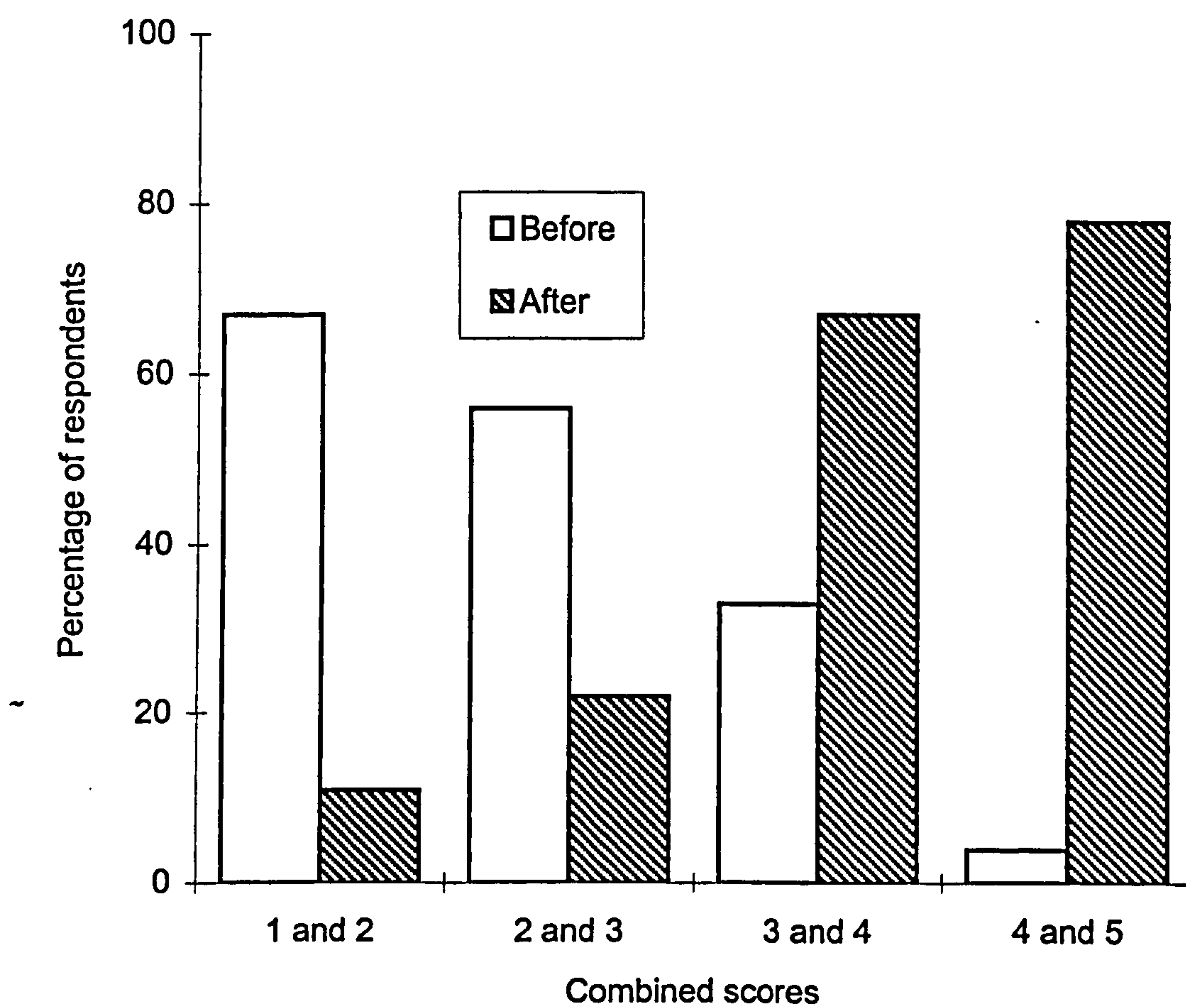


Figure 4.9. Use made by the local community of community education facilities and resources associated with the school (for explanation of columns see Figure 4.2.).

involvement. Predictably, given the slightly greater proportion of them who were based in primary schools, nearly twice as many female and 'non-school background' as male and 'school origin' Tutors gave high scores to this criterion.

Nearly half of the respondents also gave high scores to the involvement of other community members in the life of the school. Since over 80% clearly felt there had been little or no involvement of this kind at the time when they took up their posts, this would seem to represent a not inconsiderable step forward. In retrospect it would, again, have been useful to have asked for some indication of the ways in which respondents were assessing this involvement since it could clearly cover a range of activities, some of which may have been well integrated into the 'daytime life' of the school while others were on its periphery.

The last point is significant since nearly 80% of respondents clearly thought at the time of the survey that community members were making good use of the schools' facilities and resources, much of which undoubtedly occurred out of school hours. Many more male and 'non-school background' than female and 'school origin' Tutors gave high scores to community use of facilities. Indeed, it seems to have been an important feature of the work of both of the former 'groups' since 4/5 scores were allocated by all but one of the Tutors in each.

Tutors' Relationships with Community Education Councils

I hope they're gaining more insight into our work as they develop ...

As discussed in chapter three, the relationship between the school-based Community Education Tutors and the Community Education Councils (CECs) was somewhat problematic from the outset. In many cases Tutors were instrumental in helping to set up their local CEC in the early stages of their job; they had to establish working relationships with them as well as with governing bodies; and, finally, the CECs were involved in the Community Education Review which culminated in the disestablishment of the Tutors' posts.

For the purposes of this survey I was interested not in exploring Tutors' relationships with the CECs in depth but in establishing 'pointers' for further research involving the CECs themselves. For this reason the question on this topic was left open-ended.

In the event, almost all the respondents commented on the regularity with which they attended CEC meetings and the kind of role that was expected of them. Many said they usually gave a report on their work - either verbal or written (and sometimes submitted in advance). A few seemed to have rather *ad hoc* arrangements for keeping the CEC informed but would have welcomed something more formal. A quarter noted that they attended as 'observers' only. However, interpretation of this role seemed to vary from, literally, observing proceedings and contributing only when invited - to participating fully in meetings although without voting rights.

The variety of approaches to participation in CEC meetings can perhaps be summarized best in CTs' own descriptions:

'I'm 'classified' as an observer but otherwise participate fully'; 'I attend as an active participant - though initially staff sat out of the "circle" in a separate row'; 'I see my role as clarifying where possible, keeping a low profile, and supporting bids'; 'I try to just listen - but usually end up talking too much!'; 'It's frowned upon if workers talk too much - especially women!'

As the last comment indicates, there were some tensions. Some of these were associated with what one Tutor described as *'too much politicizing by the chair'*, and

another as *'too many vociferous members steeped in Trade Union speak and with out-dated attitudes'*. Some seemed to stem from what a few Tutors perceived as a lack of understanding about community education in general on the part of CEC members or their lack of support for the Tutors' work in particular. For example, one respondent wrote:

I have a feeling that the CEC represents individual aspects of the service i.e. Youth/ AE [adult education]/ voluntary provision and has never fully taken on board the totality of an interdependent, inter-related service for the benefit of all.

Another told me over the phone, *'I don't feel they understand the work. They are too easily swayed by a 'sob story' - resulting in an imbalance in the use of funds'*.

However, nearly half of the respondents indicated that their relationship with the CEC was good or very good. One summed up what others had also indicated like this: *'They have provided much funding and encouragement to me as a worker. An excellent body of people'*.

There was an awareness, though, that CEC members also had their own problems. As one Tutor noted, *'Members are informed and supportive but overwhelmed with changes in their responsibilities'*.

Part of this was to do with legislative changes following the Education Reform Act (1988) which had affected how, and the funding through which, community groups were able to make use of school premises. Complicated arrangements were entered into over reimbursement of the governing bodies of schools which had become responsible for their own finances. No doubt the respondent was right who wrote, with hindsight:

As schools were the principal resource for CE [community education] far more involvement should have been sought from the governors. This aspect of the Pink Book should have been much more closely assessed.

Many Tutors recognized that, as one succinctly put it, *'I think we're all on a learning curve together and have to suss out between us how we're all best at working together'*.

One aspect of this 'working together' included working not only with governing bodies but, as over half the respondents noted, with the local Community Education Co-ordinator. A few Tutors clearly felt these relationships were strained. One pointed to a certain amount of role tension with the comment: *'I believe Co-ordinators can set the CECs against Tutors and warn them not to let 'schools' have money. I think CECs are manipulated'*. For many, however, the relationship was good and, in a number of instances, the Co-ordinator was regarded as a close colleague.

Tutors' Perceptions of their Future Career and Development

As 'boundary workers' we come with different kit-bags/ maps/ pressures and move into many different areas ...

Tutors were asked to comment on what they thought their own 'next step' might be after leaving their present posts; whether they felt there was a clear enough 'career progression' in England for community educators - and, if not, how it might be changed; and what, if any, additional qualifications they thought might be useful for community educators.

Inevitably, given the timing of the survey, there was much pessimism about future prospects. Only three respondents had had new positions confirmed; a few said they would *'go back to teaching'* or that it would be nice *'just to have a job'*; and nearly 50% of respondents simply wrote *'Don't know'* against this question.

Not surprisingly, therefore, over 90% of respondents indicated that they thought there was not a clear enough career progression for community educators! Many felt the establishment of a clear 'career track' in community education would only be possible following an improvement in the status of community education - which might itself be dependent upon the introduction of a 'country-wide system'. And, in the words of one Tutor, but as several also pointed out: *'What hope is there? CE's already in a perilous position - look what's happened to us!'*

There remained a strong feeling, though, that someone, somewhere where it could make a difference nationally would, as one Tutor hoped, *'wake up one day and realize that community education is not a dispensable luxury but an essential to the future of the country'*. Were that to happen and, as another Tutor suggested, *'the Government recognized life-long education as a right' - if provision of CE is a firm commitment - a career structure would have to evolve'*.

Three other Tutors noted, respectively: *'We need to create a number of grades within the service. A lack of movement = frustration and a feeling of no where to go but out'; 'the calibre of staff in CE is high but people leave because they need to progress. Many tend to go back into schools as Deputy Heads etc. which means in many cases that they have to abandon community work'; 'practitioners have the option of becoming pen pushers (Officers) or staying put - we need promotion that still enables people to practice what they're good at'*. Several Tutors commented on the need, as one put it, to *'... do what we can now without hoping for divine (or Government) intervention'*. One suggested *'A lot more people need to be made aware of the skills and types of work done by CE workers'*. Others pointed to how this might be done: *'More 50-50 posts attached to schools to help develop greater understanding/ value of CE philosophy and practice'; or 'an exchange system of roles would give a more broad based and open minded service to the community and be good for us'*.

Most agreed that the 'high profiling' of community education and the prospects of developing an appropriate career structure within the service were linked. Two suggested more emphasis should be placed on community education in BEd and in-service courses for teachers to enable them to develop a greater understanding of the subject. The implicit assumption was that if community education were to become less 'marginal' an activity it had first to become more central to the thoughts of those who worked in the statutory sectors.

Asked about possible further qualifications for community educators themselves, nearly 90% of respondents felt that these would be valuable, the majority favouring a Diploma at advanced/ post-graduate level. They thought this would provide both a broader outlook and additional status. In particular, Tutors who had come from teaching backgrounds believed such a qualification would, as two noted, respectively: *'... provide an understanding of the different models of CE [community education] and differences in methods and practice'* and assist those who had been *'trained for working with children in a specific age-range and lacking in education and training for working in all age groups'*. Several also made the point that training should be on-going throughout an individual's career and that it would *'... be welcome if credits towards qualifications could be obtained for practical on-the-job experiences'*. The latter, it was felt, would be particularly useful since *'... different LEAs have very different models/ attitudes/ policies about where CE fits'*.

Tutors' Reflections

A complicated but worthwhile jigsaw to work on - but will it ever be complete ...

At the end of the survey Tutors were asked to reflect on three things: first, whether schools had been the right place in which to locate their posts; second, to list the three or four 'key words' that, for them, encapsulated what community education is

about; and, third, to complete in relation to their work as a Community Tutor in Derbyshire the sentence 'On the whole it has been ... '.

An overwhelming 89% felt that schools *had* been the right place in which to locate their posts: 22% of these added a qualifying statement, usually in terms of a particular problem in their own school - but with an underlying assumption that if that problem could be resolved then the school would be the best location. Only 11% believed the Tutor posts should not have been in schools.

A list of the key words given by Tutors is included in the summary of results in Appendix A. The 'Top Two' are '*Empowerment*' and '*Co-operation*' - echoing, significantly, what Tutors had felt their main tasks to be: initiating and supporting community groups and 'making links' between community and school.

In completing the sentence, some respondents, understandably, displayed some of the mixture of anger and disappointment they were feeling at the enforced and abrupt conclusion to their work as Community Tutors. One wrote on the bottom of the page: '*It is a shame that it has ended with such pain*'. Others added: '*It hasn't been long enough...*'; '*Pity we didn't have another 2-3 years*'.

Nevertheless, the majority of statements reflected the enthusiasm with which Tutors seemed to have tackled their sometimes unenviably difficult tasks, and the benefits they felt had accrued both for themselves and the schools and communities in which they had worked. Several simply used the word '*... rewarding*' to complete the sentence. Some expanded on the same sentiment with comments like '*... a rewarding and valuable experience for myself and, I think, for the people with whom I have made contact*'.

Others noted that being a Community Tutor had been: '*... the kind of job that trains you in so many skills*'; '*... horizon widening*'; and '*very worth while and has resulted in a high level of job satisfaction despite a few horrendous problems*'.

A number of Tutors commented on the '*stressful*' and/ or '*challenging*' nature of the job; on the '*odd heartaches and frustrations*'; and, in various terms, on the fact that, as one put it, it had often been '*a bumpy ride*'.

Conclusion

My original report concluded as follows:

In this survey, I have sought to analyze the intricacies of the 'bumpy ride' on which some of the people who were appointed to Community Education Tutor posts in Derbyshire travelled. Although, over a number of years, I intermittently watched the ride and listened to individual Tutors' personal experiences of it, as a spectator I can only make informed guesses at what gave rise to, and what it was like to live with, the 'odd heartaches and frustrations' as well as the excitement and rewards Tutors encountered along the way. Nevertheless, I hope both that I have done justice to the information Tutors shared with me and that, within my interpretation, they will recognize their own stories (Hunt, 1993c, 55).

The limited feedback I received following a preliminary circulation of the report in Derbyshire, and the later national publication of part of it, suggested that Tutors did regard it as a fair interpretation of the work they had undertaken.

Before setting this work in the broader context of an analysis of the development of community education in Derbyshire generally, it seems fitting to end this chapter, as I have begun each section of it, with Tutors' own words. The following comments are drawn from the final pages of two questionnaires. They are particularly pertinent to the analysis which constitutes chapter five.

I feel cheated that my hard work has been cut short - there were faults in the system but I think it needed refining not restructuring.

We have to ensure that our beliefs in the principles we hold dear are carried on in some way

¹ Supported by a grant from the University of Sheffield Research Fund

² Although, as I have discussed elsewhere (Hunt, 1999a), the present Government does now appear to have 'recognised' lifelong learning, this seems to be entirely in the context of vocational education and training rather than in the realm of citizenship and community-consciousness from which it emerged in the 1970s. Ironically, therefore, though the rhetoric of lifelong learning is currently linked to employment prospects, an associated career structure for community educators seems less than likely to evolve.



Chapter Five

An Analysis of Derbyshire's Approach to Community Education between 1986-1993

This chapter draws on the investigation, detailed in chapter three, into the development and implementation of Derbyshire's community education policy, and the survey, presented in chapter four, of the perceptions of a number of Community Tutors of the work they had undertaken in attempting to translate this policy into practice. The purpose of the present chapter is to relate these findings to those contained in three other independent reports, and to draw on them all in order to provide an analysis of the development of community education in Derbyshire in the context of a theoretical model.



We'll never know how good it could have been.
(Derbyshire Community Tutor's response to survey, 1991)

Introduction

In chapter three I discussed the model of community education that Derbyshire County Council proposed to implement following the publication of its *Programme for Development* (the 'Pink Book') in December 1986. I noted that there were two unusual aspects to the Derbyshire model: the establishment of a large number of school-based Community Education Tutor posts and the creation of Community Education Councils (CECs). In chapter four, I have documented something of the movement from policy into practice, primarily as seen through the eyes of a number of Tutors. Chapter six focuses on the CECs: it is placed after the present chapter because, chronologically, the survey which underpins it was conducted after I had written the report from which chapter five is drawn.

So far, I have attempted to indicate some of the contradictions that were inherent in Derbyshire's *Programme for Development*, plus some of the difficulties that were encountered in the early stages of implementation. I have also discussed a number of issues relating to the recruitment, selection and management of Community Tutors as well as to Tutors' own satisfactions, difficulties and accomplishments. It is not my intention to reiterate all these points in this chapter, but rather to attempt to set what appear to be some of the key issues into a more theoretical context.

This chapter takes as its starting point the comments of the two Tutors with which chapter four concluded. They will be considered, together with some of the points made elsewhere in chapters three and four, in the context of Hope and Timmel's (1988) project life-cycle model. Material from three independent reports will also inform the discussion: the Report by Her Majesty's Inspectorate (HMI) (1992), *Aspects of Community Education in Derbyshire*; and the *Annual Reports for 1991-1992* of Dronfield CEC and of Eckington and Killamarsh CEC.

These two CECs, located in North-East Derbyshire, were the first to be established in the county. Their 1991/92 Annual Reports (published in September 1992) followed a period of evaluation of the CECs' work over the four years since their inception. The HMI Report was undertaken in two stages during 1991: in May while the Community Tutor posts were still in existence, and in November after the posts had finally been disestablished.

A Parabola Model: Vision to Reality

The Model and its Relevance to Community Education in Derbyshire

Figure 5.1 (see following page) is based on a model described by Hope and Timmel (1988: 71) and gives an indication of the steps that are required to turn vision into reality. By highlighting the need for evaluation at key 'doubt points' where, if reflection does not take place there is a danger of continuing with practices that are incompatible with the vision, it provides a useful means of determining whether - and when - a system needs, as one Community Education Tutor claimed would have been appropriate in Derbyshire, '*refining not restructuring*'. It can also help to pinpoint the 'level' at which the need occurs and, therefore, whether something as fundamental as '*beliefs in the principles we hold dear*' are at risk - or whether it is simply the organizational mechanisms through which certain beliefs have hitherto been expressed that are under threat.

Hope and Timmel (*ibid*) believe that a vision of how things *might be* will become the reality of how things *are* only to the extent, first, that the 'visionaries' are able to share what they see with others; second, that values are clarified and agreed (they point out that assumptions are often made about the depth of agreement and that the same words frequently disguise different meanings); and, finally, that goals - and the dates by and manner in which they are to be achieved - are clear. It is only when all this has been done that a project is ready for implementation.

Unfortunately, regardless of how well all the preliminary steps have been taken, it seems to be inevitable from the moment of implementation that doubts about the project will begin to creep in. According to Hope and Timmel (*op.cit.*: 74), if the original vision is ever to be given substance - and not lost in the daily practicalities of actually trying to create it - 'It is essential to stop from time to time to reflect ... checking on *goals, roles and relationships*' (original emphasis). Since I have repeatedly drawn attention to the often problematic nature for Community Education Tutors of all three of these factors, it seems particularly appropriate to consider the journey from the early vision to the subsequent reality of community education in Derbyshire in the context of this model.

This chapter is concerned only with events between 1986 and 1993 since these dates effectively mark the beginning and ending of Derbyshire's 'Great Experiment' in community education. Reference to some of the developments which affected community education within the county after 1993 is made in the epilogue. Figure 10.1 summarizes key moments in the development of community education in Derbyshire. It sets these in the context of national events which impacted upon them, and of academic texts which have a particular resonance with the Derbyshire story. My own links with the story are also illustrated.

In chapter three, I discussed the background to, and the nature of, the 'vision' of community education that was encapsulated in Derbyshire's 'Pink Book'. From the establishment of the first Working Party on Community Education in October 1981, through the creation and evaluation of small pilot projects and an extensive consultation process, to the publication of a draft *Programme for Development* in April 1986 (the 'Grey Book') and the final version contained in the Pink Book in December 1986, it is evident that preliminary processes were undertaken in an almost exemplary fashion.

However, 'almost' is a significant qualification. Although formal consultation and informal discussions were widespread and had a clear impact on the final policy document, not only does the issue of the same words disguising different meanings never seem to have been resolved (as I have already noted, and will demonstrate in

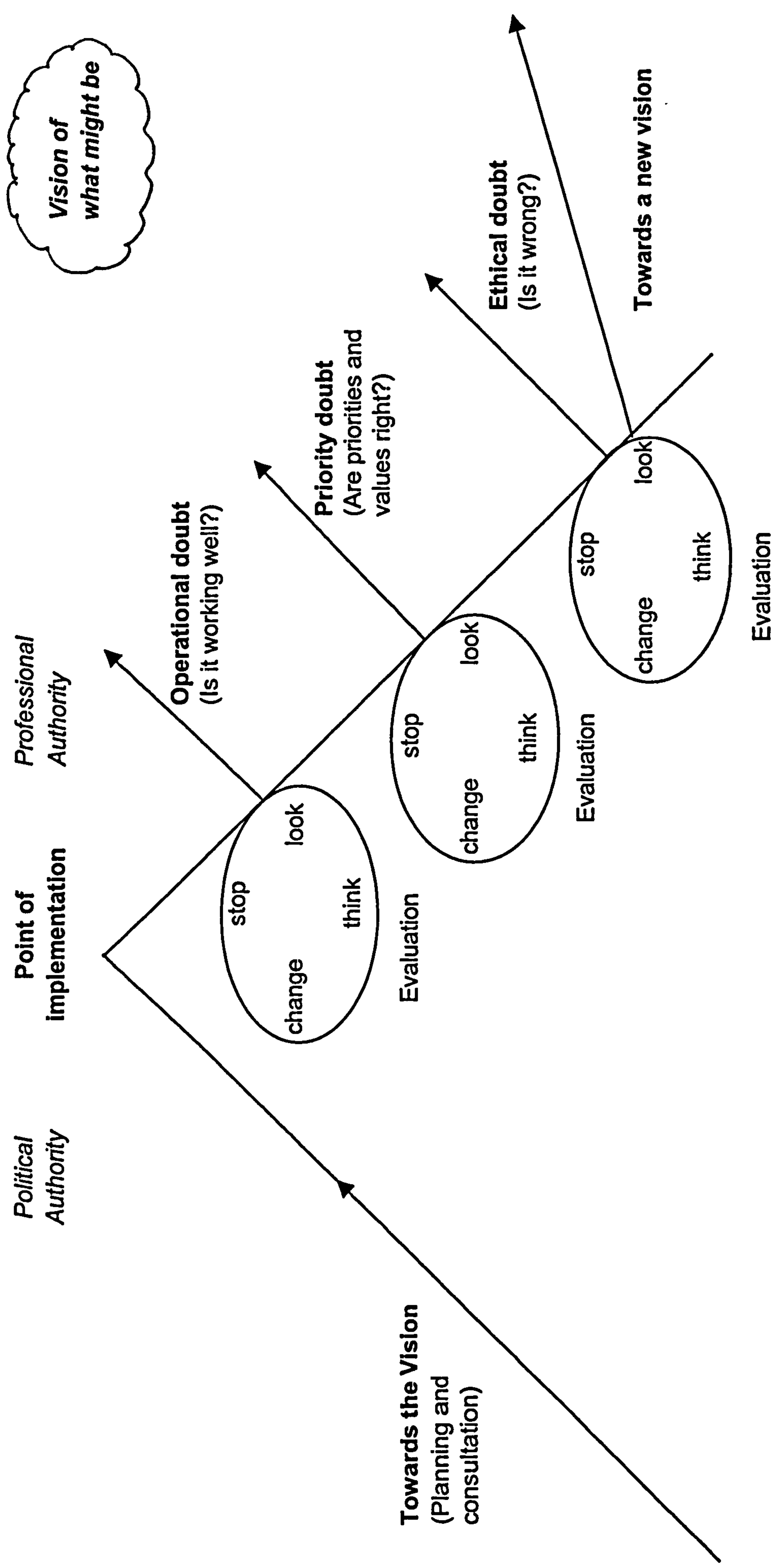


Figure 5.1. The Parabola: a model showing the 'life cycle' and critical 'doubt points' of project development (after Hope and Timmel, 1988: 71).

more detail in chapter eight, this is a perennial problem relating to community/education in general) but decisions about the financial underpinning for the proposed *Programme* seem to have been taken in another arena and driven by different forces.

I shall consider the latter issue first. In doing so, it may be helpful to examine the 'forces' which have helped to shape community education generally - and which are reflected in what has taken place in Derbyshire - in the light of the distinction which Hope and Timmel (*op. cit.*: 125-6) draw between political and professional authority. In terms of the parabola model, political authority is likely to be most in evidence up to the point of implementation, after which professional authority becomes important (see Figure 5.1).

Community Education and the Relationship between Political and Professional Authority

As was clearly the case in drawing up Derbyshire's community education policy, some professionals such as education officers and key practitioners may be called upon to contribute substantially, and so give direction, to political processes which result in decisions to implement particular policies. Conversely, and as demonstrated particularly during the Thatcher years of government in Britain, professional authority can be circumscribed by the political will. However, the point at issue in this discussion is that, broadly speaking, political authority is granted by the wider community (in a representative democracy *via* the elected members of local and central government); professional authority (which derives from particular knowledge, skills and expertise) is evaluated and accepted (or not) by that community.

As already noted, one of the primary functions of community education is to enhance the quality of life in local communities through the personal development and improved understanding of societal issues on the part of individuals. In a very real sense, therefore, it is about making manifest the nature of the authority that moulds peoples' lives. As Friere (1972) has so cogently demonstrated, in this process of making manifest what has generally been taken for granted lie the seeds of social change. Therein, too, lies both the paradox of community education and a vital thread in the unfolding story of community education in Derbyshire. This warrants closer examination.

In England, formal community education provision has usually been given 'permission to exist' by local politicians who are in a position, through the allocation of funding to it, to determine its shape and focus. They are themselves constrained, of course, by the policies of national government where, although community education may be affected by other educational legislation, it rarely figures on its own account. Broadly speaking, politicians at both local and national levels operate within hierarchical structures and formalized procedures, and in a culture in which roles are clearly defined. Essentially, they are embedded in a 'crystallized' structure that was given its form in another time. By funding community education they can, through the agency of skilled practitioners, effectively 'give permission' to local communities to examine that structure in the here-and-now and ultimately, if those communities see fit, to seek to change it.

Local communities, by their very nature, tend to be 'fluid' rather than crystallized; non-hierarchical; given shape by informal and not necessarily properly-articulated processes; and to have boundaries that are internalized by individuals rather than defined by external means. Whether they accept the permission that is given to them in the guise of community education - or use it - to attempt to bring about any kind of social change will obviously be dependent upon a variety of inter-related

factors, not least of which will be the earlier life-experiences, including education, of the individuals who make up the community. However, a key determinant of the rate (or even the possibility) of social change is the strength of the hegemonic structures which bound peoples' lives - and of which education can be a particularly potent ingredient.

Thus, as Friere (1972) and others have illustrated, education can be both an instrument of change and a mechanism for control and the maintenance of the *status quo*. When education is provided through institutions it is not only more 'controllable' in itself (through examinations and related rewards and sanctions) but it is generally mediated through the same kind of hierarchical, role-related mechanisms as those it could be instrumental in changing. Its consequences can thus be better contained by, and made less potentially challenging to, existing political and social structures. By contrast, education in, and of, 'the community' has to take account not only of a very different milieu but often of value systems that are at odds with the dominant political and social system.

When plans for any form of community education that is funded through the public purse reach their point of implementation, those who have the political authority to draw up and approve them have to entrust the actual execution of the plans to the professional authority of educators/ community workers. And, in so doing, they run the risk of having unleashed a force that could threaten the existence of the very structures that legitimate their own personal power and political authority, and which they are tacitly charged with upholding by an electorate which grants them authority through the operation of those structures.

To make such a statement is not to suggest that all those who have professional authority in the context of community education are potential revolutionaries. The intention is simply to highlight the real, but not always articulated, tensions that can exist in community education between those who have authority that derives from either a political or a professional source.

In England, political authority tends most often to be granted to individuals by virtue of their prior acceptance by, and on-going allegiance to, a named political party which embodies and delineates particular values, expectations and behaviours. Such authority is granted for a fixed term between elections. By contrast, individuals are usually deemed to have professional authority on the basis of their own personal skills and expertise. In an educational context, particularly in the non-statutory sector, such authority is likely to be subjected to close daily scrutiny and matched against expected outcomes by people who, in the absence of those outcomes, may well choose to spend their time on other than educational activities. Professional authority of this kind has no 'fixed term'; it exists only as long as other people believe in and accept it.

It is probably no coincidence, therefore, that so many of Derbyshire's Community Tutors were concerned about the difficulties they encountered in 'establishing their credibility': for many, the *modus operandi* expected of them in a school setting, and which would have confirmed their professional authority in the eyes of teacher colleagues, would have been at odds with that which would have ensured their acceptance by local communities - and so confirmed their authority to operate in those communities.

Stumbling Blocks in the Way of Derbyshire's Original Vision of Community Education

Identification

The issue of political/ professional authority is crucial to what seem to have been the two greatest stumbling blocks in Derbyshire on the way to creating the vision of community education described in its Pink Book. First, decisions affecting the financial base of the entire operation, and which had far-reaching implications for the professionals operating in the field, continued to be taken in the political arena - often in response to factors unrelated to community education itself. Second, there was never any real mechanism to ensure that all the professionals whose work could be touched by community education had adequate opportunity to clarify and agree what might be meant by, and the values and practices that would have to underpin, a total 'whole-county' community education service.

Finance and Control

As I noted in chapter three, after an extensive five-year consultation, piloting and planning period, Derbyshire County Council was forced to make substantial cuts in the proposed budget for community education just as the first professional appointments were being made. This resulted in a reduction in the number of appointments that could be made in total and a delay in making some key ones, most notably those of the Community Education Co-ordinators. In consequence, school-based Community Education Tutors had to undertake more work in the community in the early days of their appointments than might otherwise have been expected of them.

This was a crucial phase in the development of the new Tutor posts during which expectations and working patterns for the future needed to be established. With hindsight, it was a time when Tutors might have been better advised to focus on those aspects of their job description which required them to develop 'a co-ordinated team approach to community education in the school' and to take 'a direct role in the planning and development of an overall community education policy at the school'. I shall say more about this in the next section.

In addition to the overall financial difficulties in Derbyshire there were some differences of opinion over the extent to which financial and other control should be maintained centrally or devolved to more local levels. Reflected in the contrasting approaches of the radical 'New Left' and of the paternalistic 'old' Labour Party, these differences were exacerbated by national developments which Martin (1992: 3) has described as intervention by 'the New Right in the guise of Thatcherism ... to pursue its project of hegemonic and institutional reconstruction'. Elaborating on this theme, Martin (*ibid*) goes on to say that the thrust of much government policy at that time was:

... to change the way we think about ourselves and each other, essentially by seeking to legitimize self interest as the basis for moral action. At the same time, it initiated a radical restructuring of social, economic and political institutions.

Not only was much of this inimical to the broad philosophy of community education in general terms but, in the shape of the Education Reform Act (1988), it had a very specific impact on the delivery of community education, and especially on its relationship with schools. In particular, the management of school budgets became the responsibility of the Boards of Governors of most schools. Of concern in the present context was the fact that governors became empowered to make decisions about staffing matters and the letting of school premises and also gained oversight of the school curriculum, including the implementation of the National Curriculum.

As I noted in the conclusion to chapter three in referring to the letter to Headteachers dated 4.4.1990, one of the factors which initiated the review of the Community Tutor resource in Derbyshire was 'the approach of the vesting day of the local management of schools' and the arrangements being made 'to transfer the budget for the employment of Community Tutors from schools to community education' (*i.e.* to the part of the general schools' budget to be retained within the control of the LEA). Although other events subsequently overtook these arrangements, it is significant that a political decision, made at national level, had already begun to loosen the contractual connection between Community Tutors and the schools to which, through the agency of the governors, they had originally been appointed.

In addition, the in-school implications of the introduction of the National Curriculum and new forms of testing, together with the financial responsibilities with which governors were required to become familiar in a relatively short time, inevitably meant that, in many schools where attempts had not yet been made to develop community education on a 'whole-school' basis, community education assumed low priority for both staff and governors. It was a position endorsed by the low (not to say absent) profile of community education in government policy nationally.

The combined effects of the introduction of local management of schools (LMS) and the disestablishment of the school-based Community Tutor posts in Derbyshire illustrate only too well the consequences for community education of financial decisions taken as part of other agendas. The 1992 HMI Report *Aspects of Community Education in Derbyshire* pointed out:

Since LMS was introduced each CEC has received money for hiring those schools which it uses for its programmes. *Community use of schools has already reduced, with some programmes being compressed into fewer evenings in an attempt to stay within a revised budget.* Rural areas are particularly badly affected if their local primary school, often the focal point of the community, is not open in the evenings. The management of this budget for hiring accommodation is delegated by each CEC to its community education co-ordinator. In one area the co-ordinator, with responsibility for two CECs, spends considerable time siting community education activities according to the central heating costs in schools, thus *favouring those where costs are lowest rather than those best suited to community use* (p.11, para.68, my emphasis).

The time-consuming aspect of administration, often for insubstantial returns, was noted by many of the Community Tutors in my survey. The problem seems to have been exacerbated by LMS, with Co-ordinators bearing the brunt of it. The HMI Report remarked:

Too often the role of CEC co-ordinator is little more than administrative. ... The large amount of time they spend on managing the budget for hiring schools for community use is an inappropriate use of their skills (p.13, para.83).

Referring to community use of school premises, the 1992 *Annual Report* of Eckington and Killamarsh CEC said much the same thing:

This has taken over the bulk of the workload of the Co-ordinator, Clerk and typist with bookings, billings and problems to sort out. Many schools have not understood the process and although the Area Education Office is nominally the source of information, in reality it is the Community Education office which has been the place where school heads and governors have come for advice (p.6, para.7).

The Eckington and Killamarsh Report also highlighted the effects of the loss of Community Tutors in the area:

The demise of the Community Tutors and the establishment of Adult Community Education teams has meant a deterioration in the provision in Primary schools. Parent and Toddler groups which are mainly self running have survived but unfortunately most of the others have petered out. The group was the last to continue but that will not continue in the new year. The discussion sessions that led to the compilation of the submission to the Community Education Review, regularly returned to the C.E.C.'s disappointment over the loss of Community Tutors (p.4, para.3.3).

The Report added:

It was very unfortunate that subsequent to the submission being made to the County Offices, it was learned that *the Review had been shelved because of the Community Education cuts process taking priority*. At the time of writing it is not clear when the Review process will start again. *This has had a disheartening effect on CEC Members and staff* (p.6, para.5, my emphasis).

The 1992 *Annual Report* of Dronfield CEC also drew attention to the loss of Community Tutors:

... [the loss] has led to a sharp decline in Community Education in schools. The establishment of the Adult Community Education team meant that *no team member in particular has responsibility for schools*. Adult classes and Community groups have continued to use school premises but nothing new has been developed (p.6, para.4.3, my emphasis).

It concluded on an even bleaker note:

Major staff re-organization for the second successive year has brought further instability and with the possibility of further budget savings to be made in this financial year and the Government Standard Spending Assessment for Derbyshire likely to be further reduced, the outlook caused concern. Local Government Reorganization and the Higher and Further Education Bill are additional factors which will also affect the future of Community Education.

... 1992-93 promises to be an exceptionally difficult year with the aforementioned staff reorganizations meaning that the human resources will be more stretched than in the past. *The abolition of the Co-ordinator's post removes the original lynchpin of the Community Education Councils* although the A.C.E.O. [Area Community Education Officer] and professional staff will continue to support the C.E.C. and its sub groups as far as possible (pp.7-8, paras.7-8, my emphasis).

Taking a county-wide view, however, the 1992 HMI Report indicated that the outlook might not be entirely bleak. It observed that:

Attitudes to the loss of the community tutor post varied. Some groups which had learned to work autonomously were continuing their activities in a purposeful way. A contrasting reaction was evident in two secondary schools ... One was reluctant to co-operate further with the CEC. In the other a full-time teacher on the school staff had been allocated time to continue the work within the school and to liaise with the ACE [Adult Community Education] team ... (p.8, para.52).

It also pointed out that:

... the authority's scheme of delegation to the colleges has provided an incentive to their development of community education programmes. A weighting of 2.5 for each adult continuing education student has encouraged colleges to promote and expand this work, with tangible benefits to the communities served (p.10, para.67).

The HMI Report concluded with the statement:

General benefit would also derive from staff development activities based on identifying and disseminating the examples of good fieldwork practice that exist (p.14, para.90).

Despite the existence of such examples, however, by December 1992 the reality of community education in Derbyshire included, as just illustrated, a marked reduction in community use of schools 'in an attempt to stay within a revised budget'; activities sited in places where 'costs are lowest rather than in those best suited to community use'; at least one school 'reluctant to co-operate further' with its local CEC; and the shelving of a consultative review because of 'the cuts process taking priority'. It was a reality very far removed from the vision promised by the Pink Book in December 1986.

A vital thread in the unfolding story of community education in Derbyshire always concerned who was (or should be) empowered to control what. It is interesting to note, therefore, that the crucial years between 1986 and 1993 saw a number of changes at both Member and Officer level in the personnel ostensibly responsible for the control and direction of education in the county, including the Chair of the Education Committee, the Director of Education and several senior education officers.

As the 1992 HMI Report (p.14, para.89) commented, not only did such changes affect 'the management relationship between community education and other branches of education at both area and county level' but, because of the re-organization of the education department itself, most senior area education officers found themselves 'unable to devote much attention to the development of CECs and to the organizational changes in community education'. Perhaps it should not have been too surprising to learn that the cumulative effect of all these processes upon CEC members and community education staff was 'disheartening'!

Goals, Roles, Relationships and the Development of a 'Whole-County' Approach to Community Education

Besides the difficulties associated with finance, control and political decision-making, there was another major 'stumbling block' which got in the way of the creation of Derbyshire's original vision of community education: it was what might be called 'a confusion of tongues'.

I have already drawn attention to two issues having a bearing on this. The first concerns the on-going problem both in community education itself and in project implementation generally - of the same words disguising different meanings. The second arises from the fact that, although the consultative period preceding the publication of the Pink Book was lengthy, there seems to have been little attempt, either before or after Derbyshire's community education policy was adopted, to set up a mechanism which, as I noted earlier, would 'ensure that all professionals to be touched by community education have an opportunity to clarify and agree what might be meant by the values and practices that would have to underpin a total "whole-county" community education service'. The two issues are obviously related.

In working on a training programme with people in only two different professional roles, I very quickly became aware of the conceptual confusion surrounding the term 'Community Education' - and of some of the damaging consequences for daily working relationships of not articulating and coming to terms with this confusion.

In preliminary discussions with staff of the University of Sheffield who were eventually to be instrumental in delivering the staff development programme in

community education for the new Community Education Tutors and their Headteachers in Derbyshire, the then Adviser for Community Education in the county confirmed my own view that it would be necessary to 'find the common ground'. He pointed out that not only would Tutors be arriving with different perceptions of what community education 'was about' but Headteachers were 'at very different places on the CE road'. Several of the early sessions in the programme were therefore designed to enable Tutors to explore the theoretical underpinning of the concept and to share experiences of practice; the parallel programme for Headteachers was intended to provide them with an opportunity to consider issues raised by Community Tutors as their work developed.

In the event, however, there was a mismatch of expectations which caused considerable aggravation at the start of the programme. Having just been appointed, Tutors were understandably anxious to make an impression on the job and felt that, as a priority, they needed to get to grips with the details of the county policies and procedures that bounded their work. They wanted, literally, an 'induction programme' which told them what they were expected to do and how they should go about it. With hindsight, it was the kind of programme that might have been better delivered by Derbyshire personnel who were familiar with 'the county line' rather than by an 'outside' body. As I have indicated in previous chapters, however, no-one actually seemed to be in a position to tell Tutors exactly what they were expected to do - other than to develop their work in whatever way seemed most appropriate within the framework laid down by the Pink Book.

It was, in fact, precisely the time when a collective 'pause for reflection' by the newly-appointed Community Education Tutors should have paid most dividends. In the first months of their appointment there was, in the terms of the parabola model, considerable 'operational doubt'. In many instances things were not working as well as they should have done because Tutors were overstretching themselves in their work in the community in an attempt to 'cover' for the delayed Co-ordinator appointments. In consequence, they were not able to spend as much time as might have been useful in establishing their 'goals, roles and relationships' - and what they meant by 'Community Education' - with Headteachers and other colleagues in school.

As I pointed out in chapter four, there may have been mutual incomprehension about each other's work between a number of Community Tutors and teachers. It is possible that it could have been dealt with before it became, as it clearly did for some, a real barrier to future understanding had Tutors been encouraged to concentrate on the aspect of their job description that was concerned with co-ordinating 'a team approach to community education in school' and 'taking a direct role in the planning and development of an overall community education policy at school'.

Alongside the day-to-day difficulties experienced by some Tutors in establishing 'credibility', there was, as I also noted in chapter four, tremendous pressure on Headteachers over the same period to develop and consolidate a range of different initiatives in response to government policies and directives. For them, the development of community education from a school base was simply one concern among many. The fact, noted in the 1992 HMI Report (p.13, para.84), that, 'In one area, for example, a Headteacher refused to engage in termly appraisal interviews with his community tutor' may have had much less to do with outright refusal than straightforward lack of time.

As illustrated, however, the difficulties faced by Headteachers in deciding on the kind of priority that should be given to, and in, community education was exacerbated for some by unresolved ideological differences between them and the District Community Education Officers (DCEOs) with whom they shared a

somewhat fuzzy area of responsibility in respect of community education. The HMI Report says of it:

Strategic planning for community education was the responsibility of district officers who also had management responsibility across a defined geographical area for youth workers, for ABE [Adult Basic Education] tutors and for tutors running free-standing adult education centres. School-based tutors were however managed by the Headteachers of the schools in which they worked. *This parallel management structure led in some cases to conflicting objectives ...* (p.2, para.16, my emphasis).

In terms of the parabola model, some of the key players who could have been instrumental in creating the vision seem to have been driven fairly quickly by a combination of factors to the point of 'priority doubt'. Fuel must have been added to such doubt when, as one erstwhile Community Tutor put it, *'The Youth Service, schools and Adult Ed. all resisted the total approach'*.

The 1992 HMI Report confirms this view that, notwithstanding the intentions of the Pink Book, in practice Derbyshire never really came close to creating a fully integrated community education service. Echoing what so many Community Tutors clearly felt, it noted:

Despite the community education policy of the authority there was little evidence, even when community tutors were working in schools, of a collaborative approach to meeting the educational needs of an area. Workers often saw themselves as working in separate sectors youth, adult and community school (p.13, para.85).

In times of financial stringency, as I have argued elsewhere (Hunt, 1988b: 24), there appears to be a tendency for organizations and services to 'retrench', to withdraw inside their traditional boundaries. So, even had the intended review of community education not been 'shelved because of the cuts process taking priority' alongside the new arrangements for LMS, its result might not have put Derbyshire back on track towards its original vision. In any case, the 'process of hegemonic and institutional reconstruction' to which Martin (1992: 3) refers may by then have altered enough thought patterns to create ethical doubts about the original vision and its place in an evolving society.

The totality of the vision was of such a scale that, in my own view, there was little hope of creating it in its entirety in the short term in a county as large and diverse as Derbyshire. Perhaps, as I have indicated, it might have been achieved in some areas where goals, roles and relationships - and definitions - could have been agreed on a local basis. Indeed, I am aware that, to some extent, this had already happened. For those who did come close to creating an integrated approach to community education locally, it must have been more than 'disheartening' to see the service - and the county's commitment to it - begin to fragment.

At the end of the report that I produced in January 1993, and upon which this chapter has been based, I added the following concluding paragraphs:

The recent county-wide restructuring of community education seems to have been undertaken pragmatically in reaction to various events and with no sense of its being inspired by any real vision. As the CEC Reports from which I have quoted have shown, 'the abolition of the Co-ordinator's post removes the original lynchpin of the CECs', and the vital link between community education and schools has been broken since 'no team member in particular has responsibility for schools'. What made Derbyshire's 'Great Experiment' in community education unique is almost lost.

But, as I noted in another context at the beginning of this analysis, 'almost' is a significant qualification. Much that is good has happened under the aegis of community education in Derbyshire. Much continues to be developed, in individual schools and through the agency of the area teams and the CECs. Most importantly, awareness has been raised amongst education professionals and the community alike not only about the potential of community education but about the pitfalls.

The 1992 HMI Report makes many references to the need now to define clear objectives and monitoring procedures (see paras.8, 28, 32, 81, 85, 87, 89) and for the further training and development of CEC members and professionals (see paras.7, 9, 43, 69, 70, 73, 74, 75, 80, 90). Maybe a new vision, inspired by the changed attitudes to which the vision enshrined in the Pink Book so clearly gave impetus, will arise out of these processes.

Meanwhile, I hope that the 'principles held dear' by so many of the people who have worked in community education in Derbyshire will 'be carried on in some way'. One particular statement in the HMI Report (p.3, para.19) endorses what I have observed throughout the research that I have undertaken in Derbyshire: despite 'unsettling circumstances, the continued commitment of the staff encountered to a philosophy of community education was notable'. It provides not only a fitting epitaph for a closed chapter in the unfolding story of community education in Derbyshire - but perhaps the promise of a new beginning.

I felt it necessary to include an upbeat ending to the report since it was to be circulated in Derbyshire at a time when many community education staff were adapting to new team structures and roles. Because so much energy and enthusiasm had gone into community education in the years leading up to, and following, the publication of the 'Pink Book', and because I had been so closely involved in the excitement and frustrations of the initial staff development programme, I did not want to endorse publicly what so many people were saying privately at that time: that the 'Great Experiment' had reached an end. It was, nevertheless, as chapter six illustrates, clearly in its final stages.



Chapter Six

Derbyshire's Community Education Councils: A Survey

This chapter is based primarily on research undertaken in Derbyshire in 1994 when a major re-structuring of Community Education Councils was planned. The research sought to examine the views and perceptions of members of the Councils about the work that they had done, and to present this information in a form which could itself help to inform the proposed reconstitution of the Councils.



I think, actually, we were all just beginning to get the hang of it when it all started to fall apart.

(Community Education Council Member in discussion group, 1994)

Background

Personal Interest

During 1991, I embarked on a small-scale research project in Derbyshire, supported by the University of Sheffield Research Fund, in an attempt to document the workings of Community Education Councils (CECs) and, particularly, something of the backgrounds, perceptions, attitudes and training needs of lay members. The project stemmed from my having had a simultaneous involvement in directing a staff development programme for newly-appointed Community Education Tutors and their respective Headteachers in Derbyshire and, on a long-standing basis, in co-ordinating a large training programme for school governors in Sheffield, North East Derbyshire and Rotherham.

While working on the governors' programme, I had become particularly interested in the influence that involvement in the governing bodies of primary schools appeared to have on the educational aspirations of young mothers. A substantial number seemed initially to look upon the task as a way of supporting their children's education but, as they themselves grew in confidence through participation in governor training courses, to use this involvement as a springboard from which to extend their own education.

In order to provide some recognition and progression for people who did not already have qualifications in education but who wished, out of interest rather than for career purposes, to learn more about the processes of education (even now few courses of this kind exist), I had taken the governor training programme through the Open College Network validation process so that it could furnish credits at that level; and had helped to set up and run a Certificate course in Community Educational Studies which provided credits at undergraduate level (see Hunt 1990 and 1984b, respectively). As part of an MEd course which I had completed in 1984, I had written a dissertation on young mothers' attitudes towards education, arguing that these could provide a key to future developments in lifelong learning (Hunt 1984a).

The Community Education Councils project in Derbyshire built on all these interests. I wanted to see for myself how the CECs were working since there had been considerable discussion about them during the staff development programme: I was

particularly interested in the nature of the relationship which was played out in the arena of the CEC between lay people, community education professionals, and local politicians. For entirely pragmatic reasons, I also wanted to know whether there were any specific training needs which might be met through the provision of courses or workshops offered by the University Continuing Education Department in which I worked as a part-time tutor/ co-ordinator. Because I still saw myself primarily as a mother who worked part-time and for whom study (like that for my MEd) was essentially a leisure pursuit, I did not really regard the project as 'research'.

As well as 'finding out' (not researching!) what I could about the background to Derbyshire's community education policy, I had been attending occasional meetings and other functions of a number of CECs across the county for several months when I heard the news about the disestablishment of the Community Tutor posts. I decided to switch the small amount of funding I still had available into conducting the survey of Tutors' perceptions which is reported in chapter four.

While writing-up the report of that survey, I applied for, and was subsequently offered, a new full-time lectureship in the Department where I had been working (the creation of the new post meant that much of the part-time work in which I had previously been engaged would no longer be available). Once I had accepted the post, I had to come to terms fairly rapidly with becoming 'an academic' who was expected to do 'proper' research.

I subsequently obtained a small grant from the Nuffield Foundation in order to pick up the threads of the CEC work again but, as I did so, I began to wonder whether this investigation might be jinxed! While I was collating the material I had already acquired, and setting up preliminary focus groups and interviews for the new phase of the project, a county-wide consultation and review exercise with CECs was instigated. Once again, I was going to be talking to people involved in community education in Derbyshire whose jobs, albeit this time voluntary ones, were under threat.

What I then engaged in was, I suppose, a form of action research, though I did not identify it as such at the time. My intention was primarily to present what information I already had about the workings of the CECs, combined with that which emerged from the new survey, in the form of a SWOT Analysis (of Strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities, and Threats) which I hoped might inform the proposed re-constitution of the CECs.

The report of that analysis forms the basis of most of this chapter. In order to set the report in its own time and context, the remainder of this introduction reiterates some of the points made in earlier chapters, drawing attention to contemporary political concerns that impacted upon the survey and its participants.

Community Education Councils and the Timing of the Survey

In 1988, thirty-seven Community Education Councils (CECs) were established, each comprising up to fifty members. As a result of changes in legislation and the necessity for substantial cuts in the education budget, the CECs virtually ceased to function in 1995.

The research on which most of this chapter is based was conducted after some of the key professional community education posts in Derbyshire had been disestablished but at a time when the county was reviewing the work of the CECs and considering their reconstitution. It draws heavily on the views and voices of over sixty people who had an active interest in the management of community education in Derbyshire: the majority were CEC members, a few were officers or

professional community education workers. The research was intended both to enable CEC members to reflect on their experiences and to inform the work that CECs continued to undertake. It is presented in the form of a 'SWOT Analysis', focusing mainly on the threats to, and strengths and weaknesses of, the CECs; it also draws attention to some of the educational and social implications of participation in such work.

To recapitulate: Derbyshire County Council's community education policy was published in December 1986 after a five-year period of piloting and consultation; it was expressly intended to 'put Derbyshire into the forefront of community education development nationally' (DCC, 1986, p. v). Implementation began in late 1987 with the establishment of approximately one hundred new Community Education Tutor posts in local schools, and of thirty seven Community Education Councils whose members were to be drawn from the communities that they would subsequently serve. The task of these CECs was to be to oversee the management of community education in their own area and to administer a substantial part of the county's community education budget.

Derbyshire's approach to community education is of interest not only because of its original vision and scale but because it represented the coming together of the two key 'strands' in community education (through schools and through local communities) in a way which had not really been attempted before. Additionally, its philosophical roots lie in two significant places: first, in the twin concepts of continuing education and of participation and accountability at a local level in local services (both of which formed the basis of much educational and political debate during the 1970s, see Houghton and Richardson, 1974, and Boaden *et al*, 1982); and, second, in the concerns of national and local government to foster a new sense of 'community' in the wake of the urban disturbances of the early 1980s (Scarman, 1981). However, almost before Derbyshire's community education policy had been fully implemented, the national political climate had changed and the powers of local education authorities (LEAs) had begun to be eroded.

In particular, the Education Reform Act (1988) significantly altered the balance of power between LEAs, schools and their local communities, most notably through the introduction of local financial management of schools (LMS), while the new financial controls exerted by central government on local authorities posed a threat to the provision of non-statutory services generally. By September 1991, a combination of factors associated with LMS and so-called 'poll tax capping' had led to the disestablishment of all the school-based Community Tutor posts in Derbyshire, a restructuring of the entire community education service, and a substantial reduction in the budget administered by the CECs.

In a Report to Derbyshire County Council (DCC) in July 1994, the Acting Chief Education Officer recommended a major restructuring of the CECs themselves. He listed a number of national changes which had had significant implications for the work of CECs. These included delegation of formulae funded budgets to schools; the 1989 Local Government Act which removed the authority of LEAs to delegate to bodies such as CECs; removal of responsibility for Further and Higher Education from local government control; the establishment of Grant Maintained schools, of the Training and Enterprise Councils and of the National Youth Agency; and the creation of OFSTED and new criteria for inspection, including of community education.

Thus, when much of the research which underpins this chapter was undertaken, many CEC members were demoralized and pessimistic about the future of the CECs. Sadly, their fears seem to have been borne out. Further budget cuts during 1995 resulted in the virtual demise of the CECs, although a few continued to try to operate on a voluntary basis with virtually no funding.

There seem, nevertheless, to be a number of interesting lessons to be learned from Derbyshire's ambitious attempt to involve local people in the management of their community education service. For CEC members themselves, involvement was clearly a formative educational and developmental experience which, despite attendant frustrations, most found invaluable. Such issues are highlighted in what follows.

Methodology

Rationale and Background

As with my earlier survey of Community Tutors' perceptions of the work they had undertaken in Derbyshire (but more consciously this time as I had since been introduced to Van Manen's work and other texts on research methodology), I proposed to take to this investigation an 'inductive' approach which suggests that theory can emerge from collected data rather than that theory is a necessary pre-requisite for the gathering of data. However, my intention was, again, not so much to theorize as to become, in Van Manen's (1990: 8) terms, 'thoughtfully aware of the consequential in the inconsequential, the significant in the taken for granted', this time in respect of the work done by CEC members.

I also wanted to approach the investigation from an ethical stand-point which suggests that research should be undertaken 'with' rather than 'on' people, and from an adult education perspective founded in the work of Friere (1972) which uses examination of local issues with local people as a means of enhancing both their and the teacher's/ researcher's understanding of social processes.

I had previously attended a number of CEC meetings in different parts of the county and discussed issues arising from them with participants. I had also arranged to be placed on the mailing lists of two CECs and had received the minutes from one fairly regularly, and from the other sporadically, for almost two years. I used a substantial part of a small grant obtained from the Nuffield Foundation to buy in the services of a freelance researcher (chosen because she was already familiar with the work of one local CEC on which she had served for a few months as a university representative). Her initial task was to provide assistance in summarizing the series of minutes I had obtained from two CECs: I wanted to reduce these to manageable proportions for ease of identification of any key issues which had arisen over the previous two years. The researcher subsequently also helped to facilitate two focus groups and transcribed taped interview material.

(Appendix C provides a summary of the issues discussed by one CEC between December 1990 and March 1994; and examples of funding allocated by two CECs at a sample of meetings between 1991 and 1993.)

Chronology of Research

1. Informal individual interviews were held with three long-serving CEC members (one had been a chairperson for several years), each from a different CEC, to explore current issues and obtain background material to inform subsequent focus group discussions.
2. A letter was sent to the Chief Education Officer (CEO) informing him of the proposed research and providing an opportunity to discuss any concerns he may have had about it.
3. Letters were sent, for distribution to members, to Chairs of two different CECs, inviting members to participate in the research by taking part in an informal

'focus group' discussion on the work of, and their own involvement in, the CECs. The stated intention was subsequently to prepare a questionnaire for circulation to all other CECs based on ideas and information generated by this discussion. Unfortunately, both meetings at which the Chairs introduced the letter were poorly attended (one was inquorate) but some letters were distributed informally afterwards. Several people later indicated their willingness to join a discussion group.

4. Two focus group discussions (comprising six and five people respectively) were held and notes were also taken following several telephone conversations with people wishing to share information but unable to participate in either group meeting.
5. An interview with a senior education officer took place during which I discovered that a county-wide consultation and review exercise with CECs had just been instigated. Since the most recent budget cuts had resulted in the disestablishment of the posts of Clerks to the CECs, questionnaires to initiate the consultation had been distributed to CEC members *via* their Chairs. The officer felt that, as I also to send a questionnaire to all Chairs for distribution at this time, it might 'muddy the waters' of communication with the result that neither set of questionnaires would be returned. I therefore decided to concentrate on only four CECs where I had contacts who could distribute my questionnaires to individual members using the CEC mailing lists. I agreed not to do this for another two months and to make it clear in a covering letter that my research was entirely separate from the county review and its recommendations.
6. A draft questionnaire was prepared in the light of the preliminary focus group discussions with CEC members. This was sent to the participants for comments on the perceived relevance of the questions, the extent to which they reflected the 'flavour' of the focus group work, and the likely ease of response by people who would receive the questionnaire 'cold'. The questionnaire was amended in the light of these comments. (The final version, together with the preliminary and covering letters are included in Appendix B).
7. After the requisite two months the final version of the questionnaire was sent, with a covering letter and reply-paid envelope, *via* mailing lists to members of the four selected CECs. These served between them a small and a medium sized town, a rural/ village area generally regarded as fairly 'affluent' and a rural/ village area with a high level of unemployment. However, I had no way of knowing, unless respondents chose to indicate, from which districts questionnaires were subsequently returned. Neither could I assess what percentage of questionnaires distributed were returned. The CEC mailing lists had not been updated for several years. Each contained between 30-50 names but many of these belonged to people who were no longer actively involved with the CEC or who were notified of meetings for information only (the latter included contacts in local libraries, schools, universities *etc.*). The early analysis of minutes of meetings, together with the difficulties encountered in setting up the initial focus groups, suggested that recent meetings of at least two CECs had been attended by fewer than a dozen people: distribution of approximately 170 questionnaires may therefore have reached no more than about 50 active CEC members. To compound this difficulty the delayed timing of the mailing was not ideal since it coincided with the start of school holidays.
8. After six weeks, 32 completed questionnaires had been returned and seven telephone calls received from people who did not want to send a written response but who had information they wished to share.
9. Analysis of the questionnaires was undertaken and a report of the findings prepared and circulated to participants who had asked to receive a copy.

Comments were invited with a view to amending the report if participants felt that anything had been misrepresented. No amendments were subsequently suggested; all the feedback received endorsed the issues raised in the report and was very positive although the future of the CECs themselves remained uncertain.

10. The report was circulated to officers and local councillors in Derbyshire.

Use of Data

The final report was based on information derived from two initial focus group discussions (one with six participants, the other with five); other small-group discussions, interviews and telephone conversations, between them involving approximately twenty people, held both before and after the main survey; and thirty-two completed questionnaires. The report made no claim to represent the views or actions of CEC members throughout the county - and it was inevitably filtered through my own perceptions. Nevertheless, as noted above, it drew heavily on the views and voices of more than sixty people who had an active interest in the management of community education in Derbyshire and, in consequence, constituted at least a rough sketch of the task in which they were involved and of some of its educational and social implications.

The questionnaire was not designed with the primary intention of yielding statistical data. Several of the preliminary focus group participants and interviewees had commented on the usefulness of reflecting on their own experiences on the CEC in a way which had encouraged their own individual description and evaluation of the activities in which they had been involved. Although the medium of the questionnaire is obviously much more limited, most of the questions were deliberately open-ended to enable other CEC members to engage in a similar process; the opportunity to participate in a follow-up discussion was also offered and several people took this up.

For the general purposes of the research itself, I was more interested in the ways in which members chose to describe their personal experiences on the CECs, and what implications this might have for the future, than in how many people made a particular response. However, I employed such analysis where it seemed appropriate to categorize responses in order to illustrate the proportion of participants making certain kinds of comments. The research findings were presented in the form of a 'SWOT analysis' since I felt this would be of most practical use to participants whilst still being of academic interest.

Analysis of Findings

[An abridged version of these findings is now contained in an article suggesting that the emphasis of the present government on vocationalism in lifelong learning overlooks the learning opportunities provided by bodies such as the CECs (Hunt, 1999a)]

(NB: Where percentages are given they are derived from a total of 32 completed questionnaires)

Threats to the CECs

Analysis of the minutes of meetings of two CECs showed that the tone of the meetings changed considerably in April/ May 1992 when Derbyshire County

Council (DCC) announced major budget cuts. Discussions appeared to have become less relaxed and wide-ranging and much shorter after this date. They also began to include constant references both to the low morale of professional community education staff and their difficult working conditions and to the implications of local and central government policies for community education. Typically, in the terms of motivation theory, the philosophies and the associated infrastructures sustaining the everyday, 'practical', work of the CECs seemed to have been taken for granted until they began to impede this work, at which time they became major 'dis-satisfiers' and the focus of much unproductive attention (Herzberg, 1966).

Specifically, CEC members seemed to feel that they were losing the power to determine the nature of the provision in their area, noting in particular the lack of financial and human resources to sustain a range of informal community education activities and the likely detrimental effect on organized adult education classes of the new requirement to accredit courses. Referring, during the course of a conversation, to activities in a community centre which local residents had fought hard to establish and retain, two CEC members commented on such issues in this way:

Person 1: *"If we lose our powers and the finance this is what will happen, we won't be able to put on the non-vocational courses, it will be purely O-level English, GCSE English, that type of thing with an exam and qualification at the end of it. There's nothing wrong in that but it's got to be balanced by a bit of fun and I think that is equally important, particularly for people who might feel isolated in the day-time, people who are disabled or single mothers or stuck in a flat on their own who need some kind of outlet".*

Person 2: *"One of the activities that goes on there in the day-time is a group of visually handicapped people ... and it has been very successful. Now if we lose that centre where are they going to go? That's just one. I mean there's also the mentally handicapped young adults that go there, that's another group you see - where will they go? And yet we can see we're fighting all the time to retain that place, to retain something for them, often for people who can't fight for themselves. Sometimes you do wonder if it's really worth all the effort."*

Person 1: *"Well, we know it is really but if the county is capped, or has its spending assessment reduced or whatever, much more, I don't see how they can afford to keep it on. And I think it's a brilliant centre and a lot of people would miss the opportunities they have there".*

The growing sense of impotence CEC members felt in managing their own affairs was clearly tinged with anger and frustration, more of it seemingly directed towards central rather than local government. Indeed, in several discussions there was clear evidence of support from CEC members for DCC and annoyance that not enough people seemed to be aware either of the constraints under which it was attempting to operate or of its achievements. One person couched the problem in these terms:

You try telling someone who's trying to book a room to hold a meeting that the cost has doubled and they'll not have it that it's Government policy that you can't subsidize anything. Whatever you say it all comes back to it's all County Council's fault, they've been wasting money for so long, and you get that again and again. But it isn't, it's because of capping and central Government thinking they know better than people who live here. ... I agree the Council's [DCC] made plenty of mistakes in its time but it did believe in getting local people involved in education - and that was working.

Another said:

I'm talking about ordinary members of the public and if it [community education] all comes to an end I think they will be very angry and it might make them see what's going on. They'll probably still blame Derbyshire County Council and it's not fair because it isn't their fault. Derbyshire was one of the pioneers of community education and so it is a kind of flagship. A lot of money was put into it at the start and I believe it was one of the best ones in the country with the diverse things that they did and it would be a real shame to see that go.

A major consequence of the 1992 budget cuts was the disestablishment in June of that year of the posts of Co-ordinators to the CECs. This seemed to have had a major impact on the morale of CEC members and on the operation of the CECs in general, resulting in a loss of purpose and direction and a considerable drop in attendance at meetings. Asked to describe the effect of the loss of Co-ordinators on their CEC, 16% of those who completed the questionnaire said simply that it had been 'a major loss' while a further 19% said it had effectively 'killed off' the CEC or put it seriously at risk; 53% were somewhat more analytical, generally identifying it as the loss of a local contact point which had resulted in the weakening of relationships with community groups and schools and put a virtual end to development work.

Of the main issues then facing CECs, almost 60% of respondents to the questionnaire pointed to the continued lack of staff, funding and resources as the most crucial. In discussion, one person put it in these terms:

There's no security. We never know from one month to the next how much longer we can hold on. There are so many rumours flying about all the time. For example our main centre's going to be sold for building land, for Tesco's supermarkets, all sorts. You can't work like that. We work from one budget to another and every time we get a new budget it's less than the money we had before. We can't make any long term plans because we're constantly reacting to the shortage in money that's being hoisted on us.

Forty per cent of respondents to the questionnaires commented on the effects of such constraints on the CECs themselves, mentioning 'disillusionment', 'lack of purpose' or 'threatened existence'. Seventy-two per cent saw the future as 'non-existent', 'bleak/ dismal' or 'difficult/ problematic/ pressured'. Two people were more optimistic, stating, respectively, that 'We'll keep going' and 'A new structure will evolve'. Only one person declared that the future for CECs looked 'good'. A particular concern expressed by several people in discussion was, as one person described it:

Most of the politicians and officers who got community education going and knew what it was about have gone now. I'm not sure some of the others either understand it, or care, and I really worry that they might just let it go. I think, actually, we were all just beginning to get the hang of it when it all started to fall apart.

Key Threats

Lack of political clarity about the purpose and direction of community education stemming from the different espoused value systems of the Government and Derbyshire County Council (DCC); reduction in local authority spending, resulting in reduction of professional support for community education, low morale of professional workers and the virtual cessation of development work; continued lack of understanding locally about the function of the CECs, their relationship with DCC and the real constraints under which both operate; frustration and resentment about all these issues among CEC members, resulting in a lack of direction, disillusionment and apathy.

Strengths of the CECs

Despite the difficulties they continued to experience, it was clear that many CECs still had life left in them at the time of the survey. An officer commented after the official DCC review which preceded this survey:

I was genuinely surprised at the response ... I expected more CECs to just admit defeat and not make any response whatsoever. I mean there was one ... which hasn't met for eighteen months and I thought 'Forget it. We'll merge it with the one next door'. On the other hand, I knew there was a sort of network of CEC members who still kept in touch, who were still involved in CE [community education]. When we wrote about the consultation the Chair convened a meeting which was quorate. I couldn't believe it, all of a sudden all these people came out of the woodwork to receive the document - and they said they wanted to continue. It happened in several places.

Further investigation suggested that CECs which appeared to be the strongest, as well as those where contacts had survived without formal meetings, were those where members were drawn from community groups which continued to exist in their own right and/ or where a proportion of the membership had been involved in the CEC since its early days. Interestingly, of those members who returned questionnaires, 34% had joined their CEC in its first couple of years while only 6% had joined since 1992. It is difficult to tell whether such long-standing membership with its overtones of 'cliquey-ness' had had a detrimental effect on subsequent recruitment because, as several people pointed out, little real attempt had been made to recruit members since the Co-ordinators had been forced to leave.

What does seem clear is that, where CECs appeared to be weakest or to have ceased to exist altogether, members' and officers' perceptions were that they were "very political" and generally dominated by, as two different people put it, "folks with a political axe to grind" or "people who just liked being 'on' things and who got a buzz out of their own status - never mind what they were supposed to be there doing". An elderly male ex-member of one such CEC said:

I got sick of all the political correctness thing. You went to try and have a say about things you were interested in and everything got turned round by the Chair into a lecture about what you were allowed to say and think. To be honest, the whole thing seemed to be dominated by political nominees of one sort or another who didn't really seem to have a lot of interest in everyday events in [area]. All they wanted was to score points. If I'd wanted that I'd have put up for the local elections. In the end I told [community group] we were better off doing our own thing and I stopped going. I think a lot of other people did too.

Nevertheless, the same gentleman indicated that, "If they restart the CEC without the political meddlers", he and his group would probably join again because "It's a way of finding out what's going on in the area and telling other people what your group does - and if there's a bit of money in it, all the better". Similar sentiments were expressed by several other CEC members who resented the fact that, as one wrote, 'party politics were played out unnecessarily on the CEC' or, as another put it, 'influential people (i.e. the chair and his sidekicks) took strong positions on so-called political correctness'.

Despite their evident resentment at being subjected to what was referred to in one discussion as 'heavy-handed politics' and a general feeling that too much emphasis on party politics had been detrimental to the smooth running of the CEC (a point which will be taken up again in discussion of the weaknesses of the CECs), several members had clearly developed their own political awareness as a result of participation in the CEC.

For example, in one discussion a young single mother observed: *"I'll tell you one thing I've learned and that's that all decisions, even what we make, are really political ones"*. This lady had recently enrolled on a sociology course as a direct result, she said, of getting involved with the CEC. Her observation occasioned some argument before several other participants agreed with her (some with apparent surprise). In another discussion a local councillor was mentioned and praised for what he had done for the CEC by *"putting a lot of pressure on county"*. The following exchange then took place:

Person 1: *"I don't know what would have happened if we hadn't had that kind of political representation on the CEC, if we were all non-political people"*.

Person 2: *"Oh we couldn't all be non-political because we wouldn't know where to go to fight. It's all right sitting in an ivory tower and saying 'I'm non-political' - but at the end of the day, you don't know where to go to fight and you don't have sufficient clout, that's why we need political representatives. It's just that I feel that from a point of view of public relations we ought to be seen to be non-political"*.

Person 1: *"But that's very difficult if the other political reps from other parties don't bother coming to the meeting"*.

Person 2: *"Perhaps that's something to do with the fact that people with, shall we say leftish tendencies, are more inclined to favour the education of the masses"*.

Person 1: *"Of course, yes. That to me is the whole point of it now. That's why I'm still on it because I want to see everyone in the community getting an equal opportunity for education, particularly people who might have missed out when they were at school, first time round"*.

This exchange has been reproduced in full since it provides a useful illustration of two things: first, the difficulties which many people alluded to in recognizing/ using political awareness while not becoming involved (or as one person said *"tainted"*) with party politics (or political doctrine); and, second, of the political education which CECs were able to provide simply through their own operation.

Many Co-ordinators had seen it as part of their remit to identify and build on opportunities for developing understanding about 'political' issues which arose in discussion. One ex Co-ordinator described meetings to approve bids for funding in which questions were asked such as *"Why do they need extra provision because they're black?"* or *"When I was young we didn't have women's groups, we didn't need a crèche, and got on - so why do they have to have it?"*. She argued that at this point it was the Co-ordinator's job as a professional community education worker to *"refer back to county policy ... to intercede on behalf of projects which fitted in with it ... to react and respond to things that crop up"*. As an example of the latter she noted:

At the last CEC meeting I was at ... that very debate [about whether or not a playgroup specifically for children from an ethnic minority should be funded] began to happen. We had representatives there from the group plus a black youth worker and he said something like 'I want you all to understand, when I walk in a room, I've got a cross on my back'. And you know it was a very emotional thing to say, and the conversation suddenly went down, you know, to some depth, and the conversation started between a white woman who was saying 'One of my son's best friends is Indian and he comes to our house and I don't treat him any differently.

And she's not wrong - that's her experience so far - but I would see it as the Co-ordinator's job to think 'OK, what's clear here is people actually beginning to discuss it, they're ready to have an input here with some training, they're interested in the topic, there was a buzz about it'. That was like the next stage, to prepare for [CEC] and all the other CECs in [area] some training which was about race issues - while it was a real debate for them and people were genuinely

interested in knowing more. But of course it never happened because once the Co-ordinator's not there who's going to do that?

The same Co-ordinator firmly endorsed the view that, even without the benefit of specific training sessions, simply as a result of serving on the CEC:

... many individuals and groups had their social and political awareness increased. Others didn't necessarily change their views but did at least acknowledge that not everybody agreed with them - and that's quite a step for some people to acknowledge that comfortably.

People did not, of course, necessarily join the CEC expecting it to provide an educational experience in its own right. Asked to give their main reason for joining, two-thirds of those responding to questionnaires said it had been to represent a local group or section of the community (26 different groups/ sections were specifically mentioned by 32 respondents, 4 members had joined as representatives of the local Labour party, 4 as representatives from schools); only 3 people claimed to have joined primarily to have access to finances. This seemed to be contrary to the opinion of some officers and politicians, voiced by one as *"most people were mainly interested in what money they could get out of the CEC"*.

However, given a multiple choice general question about the purpose of the CECs in which the statement 'to make sure finances were properly allocated' was included as one of three suggestions about how an individual might have perceived her/ his role on joining, 66% of respondents indicated that they had seen this as at least a part of the job. This compared with 75% indicating that the job involved representing a group and 53% noting the need to *'inform neighbours and friends'*; 31% gave other suggestions, such as offering advice, support or experience to the CEC itself.

Interestingly, when asked about their role at the time of the survey, only 2 people mentioned the representation of a particular group. Although 31% said things like *'None of us are really doing much at present'* or *'I'm still really committed to it but the CEC's virtually dormant at the moment'*, 25% said they still wanted *'to see funds allocated properly'* (several added a rider like *'it's even more important now there's so little to go round'*). Thirty-one per cent saw *'networking'* or *'letting people know we're still here and what we do'* as their major current role and 19% commented variously on the personal influence they felt they had had on, and for, the CEC as, for example, *'a stabilizing influence at a time of great disillusionment'* or *'helping to hold it together while we get people to fight for its future'*. It seems that personal interests and those of particular groups may to some extent have been subsumed by the needs and purpose of the CEC itself to create, sustain, and act as a focal point for, local networks.

Many responses in discussion and through questionnaires indicated that people had themselves gained a great deal from serving on the CEC. Just over half of the questionnaire respondents said they had had some involvement in community education before becoming a member of the CEC and saw membership as a way of strengthening/ enhancing this. Thirty-eight per cent commented specifically on the new information or ideas they had gained as a result of participation in the CEC; 34% drew attention to their increased self-esteem or to personal development. Only one person suggested that the frustration suffered had outweighed any personal benefits. One person was delighted to have *'gained a life partner!'*. Asked, in relation to their experience on the CEC, to complete the sentence 'On the whole it has been ...', more than half of the respondents put words like *'rewarding'*, *'stimulating'* or *'worthwhile'*. (A quarter did not respond and the remainder all said *'frustrating'* and/ or mentioned the spoiling effect of financial constraints.)

Many respondents expressed a genuine desire not only to create and maintain local information networks associated with their own interests but to reinvest in their communities in a variety of ways the skills and confidence they had gained from being on the CEC. One person, who had lost a partner shortly before joining the CEC, remarked, for example, that membership was:

... a completely new venture. It was something where I had to find my own way about, stand on my own feet, become my own person instead of half a couple and I found that very useful. I'm much more confident about a lot of things now and it's given me a new interest which I didn't have before, and at the same time it is linked with other interests that I have because I'm able to represent them on the CEC and then take information back and encourage all sorts of people and groups to make use of it.

The majority of respondents to the questionnaire had had long-standing links with the area served by their CEC. Seventy-eight per cent lived in the CEC area, a few had connections through their work. Only 16% had lived at their present address for under 5 years, 38% had been there for over 15 years (16% for over 25). Seventy-two per cent had always lived in Derbyshire; of those who had moved from elsewhere in the country 13% had come from Sheffield, one person had come from Nottingham, Yorkshire and Staffordshire respectively (all neighbouring counties), and three had come from London.

CECs seemed to comprise people from a wide range of backgrounds and age groups (although ethnic minorities appeared to be under-represented even in urban areas where greater participation might have been anticipated). Two thirds of CEC members who returned questionnaires were women, a third male; their ages ranged from under 25 to 65+, with just under half aged between 41-50. Just over half were in full-time employment, the remainder were fairly evenly split between those who were retired or unwaged. Two respondents were not working because of a physical disability. None of the respondents indicated that they belonged an ethnic minority; two people did not reply to this question.

Just under half of the respondents had no academic qualifications at all, the others had qualifications ranging from 'O'-levels (20%) to first and higher degrees (25% and 13% respectively) and professional certificates/diplomas (38%). As well as being members of the CEC, 41% were currently also school governors, 41% belonged to voluntary organizations and 25% were active members of a political party.

Key Strengths

A genuine commitment by many local people (generally with long-established roots in the area) to work together not only for the good of their own community group(s) but in an attempt to make contact with, and disseminate information to, other groups and individuals, and to see that scarce financial resources were allocated fairly on the basis of local knowledge of need; a growing political awareness among CEC members but a desire to operate independently of party politics (too much emphasis on the latter being construed as one of the weaknesses of the CECs); representation of a variety of backgrounds/ interests; a will to survive.

Weaknesses of the CECs

Recruitment to the CECs seemed to have been uncoordinated, as was the provision of any kind of preparation for the task or subsequent training. Just over half of the questionnaire respondents said they had had no worries about joining the CEC but 47% voiced concerns about meetings procedures, what might have been expected

of them, or relationships with professional workers/ local politicians. Given that two-thirds of the respondents claimed there were more than 30 people at the first meeting they attended (a quarter claimed more than 50) such anxieties seem not to have been without foundation.

Not surprisingly in the circumstances, more than half of the respondents had found the first meeting '*confusing*' and the same percentage felt the meeting had been '*dominated by a few people*'. Forty-four per cent said too much jargon had been used. More positively, 44% also said the meeting had been '*welcoming*'. The latter may have some correspondence with the number of people who joined the CECs later when membership had stabilized at rather more manageable numbers. Indeed, asked about the present conduct of meetings, compared with when they had first joined, 47% of all respondents mentioned the reduction in size and nearly all said that, in consequence, the meetings were more friendly and informal. Despite this, however, the continued conduct of meetings was the subject of the following discussion:

Person 1 *"You do have to pay attention. I sometimes find my mind wandering. I sometimes find the meetings a bit difficult because its such a kind of bureaucratic structure."*

Person 2 *"And I don't know who people are talking about. You see all sorts of names get mentioned of paid employees of the Council [DCC] that you have to see, the Treasurer's Office or the Planning Office of the Technical Services, and I haven't a clue who they're talking about and then when they start to give letters and acronyms and things like that for organizations or ideas, well I'm totally lost."*

Person 1 *"I sometimes feel a little bit guilty. I think I ought to have followed this up more and learnt more about it, but I never seem to get the time."*

Person 2 *"Well, that's it isn't it. But do you remember when we had [Co-ordinator's name], he used to make sure all the names and abbreviations got explained when they came up".*

Asked about attempts to involve them in their first meeting, nearly half of the respondents felt that none had been made. A few recalled general introductions, such as '*everyone was asked to say their name at the beginning of the meeting*'; others noted simply that '*the workers were friendly and welcoming*', '*some members came up to chat at the break*' or '*the chair tried to involve people*' (one adding '*but not very well!*'). Two-thirds said specifically that they had received no induction or preparation materials. Four people had had a '*proper induction session*', the remainder had been sent '*a letter*' '*minutes*' and/or '*the Pink Book*' (i.e. DCC's policy statement, *Community Education in Derbyshire: A Programme for Development*).

In supplying a word/ phrase to describe their feelings after their first meeting, however, nearly 60% gave something positive such as '*enthusiastic*' or '*hopeful*'; those comments which were negative were associated either with perceived treatment ('*manipulated*', '*put down*'), perceived personal inadequacies ('*out of depth*', '*what am I doing here?*') or, in two cases, observation on the meetings process itself ('*amazed at the inefficiency and incompetence of the Chair*', '*what a missed opportunity*').

Little or no attempt seems to have been made to identify either individual or group training needs after the establishment of the CECs. Respondents were very diffident about identifying what contribution they had personally made to the CEC. The most common response was something like '*probably not much*' or '*others can judge better*'. However, following further probing in preliminary discussions, several people acknowledged, often with some surprise, significant contributions they had made to discussions, to particular actions being taken, or simply by "*being there*". It

seems to have been a major weakness of the CECs that they were so engaged in 'doing' from their inception that little time or opportunity was available to consider either the individual and collective needs of members or to identify particular strengths and enthusiasms upon which to draw and build. Where this had been done, little further action appeared to have been taken.

In one case where a 'pause for thought' was arranged, the timing seemed to have been most unfortunate. Initiated by one of the Co-ordinators who was working with two different CECs, it comprised a short series of meetings between these CECs, facilitated by a representative from the Community Education Development Centre (CEDC, a training organization and network centre based in Coventry). By what seemed to have been a particularly cruel stroke of fate, publication of the resulting 14-page document, produced in the form of a summary of achievements, recommendations and pointers to future developments, coincided with DCC's decision to disestablish the Co-ordinator's posts.

Interestingly, this document highlighted the major weaknesses of the two participating CECs as:

- not all [CEC members] are fully aware of the commitment required from them;
 - there is a difficult period of adjustment for representatives of special interest groups moving from a parochial interest towards an appreciation of their strategic role in serving the whole community;
 - occasionally, monetary gain to individuals or groups prevails over community benefit;
 - the full complement of local authority seats are not filled so that decisions are often difficult to enact;
 - the flow of information within the CEC out to members is not as smooth as needed and this has been made much worse with the demise of the Community Tutor system;
 - ensuring full take-up of membership is difficult, the lack of youth representation of a particular concern. A major problem is helping inexperienced and often unconfident individuals cope with the formality of council meetings
- (CEDC, undated, c.1992).

Most of these weaknesses could clearly have been addressed through induction and further training; one of them touches once again on the thorny issue of the effect of party politics on the CECs.

Nearly three-quarters of those responding to questionnaires indicated that party politics had adversely affected the operation of the CEC in some way - either because of representatives who did not come to meetings, particular people who did come, or, as one person put it, because of '*DCC directives that were really about Labour Party banner-carrying*'.

Nineteen per cent made statements like '*DCC policy sometimes got in the way of local decisions*'. Well over a third of all the respondents commented on the fact that the various influences of '*a local councillor*', '*some LEA reps*' or '*left wing activists*' had often been strong; a few added comments to the effect that this had been '*a turn off for themselves and other 'ordinary people*'. One person said in discussion, "*I did feel that it would have served the reputation of the CEC within [area] better if we'd had a better division of political representation*". Another spoke of "*suspensions*" people had had about "*caucus meetings where things were decided before they even got to the CEC meeting*". However, several people noted that the political influence now seemed to be diminished. One wrote '*Now CE's [community education] not the flavour of the month and there's no money in it I suppose its not a sexy thing for the politicians to bother with any more - thank goodness*'.

One professional community education worker said of an inaugural CEC meeting:

It was littered with Labour Party people, so the only people who were getting into positions on executive were Labour Party members. Now I was a member of the Labour Party myself so it's not the politics I disagree with, it's the power seeking. ... It's like a snake biting its own tail somehow, it's fighting itself. They've set up this thing, they're frightened to let go of the power. So the only way they thought it would work is if they put right-thinking people in all the positions of power within it. And of course it nearly fell in on itself as a result of that because the community members were saying "Well, why did we get invited along to this? This is nothing to do with us any more".

This issue of relationships between various groups/ individuals/ interests in the context of Derbyshire's community education policy will be examined in more detail later in this section. First, though, it is worth noting that the decision about where the original boundaries of each CEC should be drawn raises fundamental questions about the communities to which people feel they belong.

Not unexpectedly, the designated boundaries did not meet with universal approval. Asked to describe where the boundary of their 'local community' was, compared with the boundary of their CEC area, barely 20% of respondents felt that these coincided. (Most of those suggesting there was an overlap appeared to live in the one small town in the survey - a finding which confirmed that of a national survey in 1969 into community attitudes [for discussion of what constitutes a 'home area', and its implications, see Hampton, 1970: ch.5].)

The majority of respondents felt that the CEC covered a significantly larger area than what they regarded as their local community. Several expressed concern at the possibility, still under discussion at the time of the survey, of the creation of 'super-CECs' by amalgamation of two or three of the smaller and/or less active ones. The clear sense that many people had of what constituted their own community is perhaps exemplified in the following exchange:

Person 1: *"There's only a couple of miles in it but there's a big difference between us and [X village] - we're really totally different."*

Person 2: *"Yes, all this combining jobs because of the cutbacks means they want to put us in an area with [X village and Y town] and they've decided to call us [Y town North] and even the name is really annoying. I have nothing against [Y town], I just do not wish to be called it and I expect the people in [X village] feel exactly the same. I know it's to save on secretarial time and that but we feel as if we're not careful we shall lose the particular character that is [own town]."*

Two people commented on the difficulties of living on the edge of two CEC areas, feeling that they 'often missed out' / 'were somewhat rejected' as a result.

Once CEC areas had been established, little formal contact seemed to have been made between members of different CECs until around the time of the survey when 'crisis meetings' about possible mergers began to take place. Previous contact appeared to have been informal and irregular, generally between chairs/ vice-chairs or for an occasional joint conference or workshop organized by Co-ordinators who had responsibility for adjoining CECs. This situation contained enormous potential for misunderstanding and mistrust, especially in a financial climate where it appeared that resources had to be jealously guarded. One person noted, for example:

Everybody thinks that [town] is an affluent area without problems, and therefore we can afford to subsidize other places and they forget that, yes, we do have problems, they may be of a different kind but nevertheless there are problems. ... There is no cross-town bus service in the evening and therefore we really should be

doing something to help elderly and disabled people take part in community education, that's just one problem.

... We don't get, what do they call it, social deprivation grant, but I would say the majority of people who use our centre are on benefits of some kind ... and those are the people who need this kind of service, I should imagine some of the things there are an absolute lifeline and I would like to see us be able to do more work like that. Now we find we're probably even going to have to return affiliation fees to the Council [DCC] and we'll only get a certain amount back and the rest'll be shared out by people who haven't worked as hard as we do. I feel sometimes I'm just totally wasting my time.

Relationships between CECs and schools in their area did not seem to have been particularly close since the Community Tutor posts were disestablished. Just over a quarter of those returning questionnaires made this point in assessing the impact of the loss of Tutors and Co-ordinators and, in response to a question about current relationships with schools, about the same number wrote things like 'OK till recently', 'strained' or 'not much contact'. Although about half the respondents felt relationships with schools were 'OK' / 'reasonably good', this may have represented the views of those members who were also school governors - so the number of people mentioning 'strained' relationships, apparently because of 'suspicion', 'mistrust' or being 'messed up since LMS' [local management of schools], was slightly disturbing. One person said:

Unfortunately, schools are now being forced to look for money for lets and instead of us working together there seems to be a constant battle over paltry sums of money and how many or which community groups can go in on a particular night. Our Co-ordinator used to deal with a lot of that kind of flak - it makes you wonder if it's worth it any more.

Conversations with Co-ordinators before their posts were disestablished, together with examination of the minutes of meetings, suggested that an inordinate amount of the Co-ordinators' time as well as in CEC meetings went into the preparation for, and subsequent administration of, arrangements relating to LMS. Several people indicated in discussions that, as one put it, 'I think LMS sounded the early death knell for community education in Derbyshire'. One Co-ordinator said it had turned him into 'a complete office-bound administrator with no time for actually doing anything in the community any more'.

CECs were established just before local authorities were required by the Education Reform Act (1988) to implement LMS. At a conference for Community Tutors, Headteachers and other interested parties in April 1989, delegates expressed concern that 'many governors appeared not to understand the work of the CECs and many CEC members had little knowledge about the function of school governors' (Hunt and Clarke, 1989: 57-60). They defined a number of practical strategies that 'might help to overcome this mutual lack of understanding', including 'Ensure that the terms/ conditions for Community Education are properly negotiated between CEC and all the Governing Bodies in its area'. They also urged clarification of responsibilities to 'enable CECs and Governing Bodies to negotiate individual contracts (using professional input where necessary) to do X, at cost Y with outcome Z', noting that 'the complications are seen to be: Who instigates?; Which personnel?; The relationship between CEC and LEA' (Hunt and Clarke, *ibid.*).

One of the greatest weaknesses of the CECs was undoubtedly in the nature of the relationship between CECs, LEA and Governing Bodies: their mutual obligations and responsibilities to local communities never seemed to have been either properly spelled out to, or understood by, the people required to make them operational. This was scarcely surprising given the many legislative changes imposed on education services at that time, and the associated requirements made on those who

managed them, particularly those giving their services in a voluntary capacity. Nevertheless, there was a clear need, which was never adequately met, for a county-wide approach to consultation between these bodies, implemented at a local level and supplemented, as necessary, by training.

This, in itself, highlights another problem which bedevilled CECs and which reflects a similar, on-going, tension between national and local government: the extent to which broad political decisions taken at a higher government level should be allowed to influence specific responses to needs at a local community level. This was touched on in one discussion, as follows:

I think the thing that I haven't enjoyed has been a feeling that some of the decisions have been taken elsewhere and we have had to go along with those decisions, which I suppose is fair enough in a democracy because obviously the County Council is the real democratically appointed body and has to take the decisions and we have to implement them but I have found that from time to time irksome, not to say downright infuriating when we really felt something else should be done in this area

One of the generally unspoken problems in respect of the powers of CECs seemed to have been associated with what, exactly, the CECs were charged with managing and what the actual limits of their powers were. Decisions about how to spend relatively small amounts of money had clearly taken up a great deal of the CECs' time. In several CECs the pattern had been to hold a monthly or bi-monthly executive committee meeting to discuss the detail and priority of bids for funding in order to make recommendations for further discussion and ratification at the full CEC meeting the following week. Some professional workers had privately expressed concern about the nature of some of the budget allocation, asking to what extent, for example, the purchase of teacups had an educational function.

There are two issues here. One is associated with the value base which was used to determine which bids were and were not successful: it was not clear how, or whether, CEC members ever discussed or reached a consensus on such 'philosophical' as opposed to practical matters, or to what extent professional community education workers were actually empowered to draw attention to/ do anything about this or to direct/ over-ride members' decisions. This last also begs the question of the nature of the relationship between CECs and professional community education workers.

As with many of the relationships created in the implementation of Derbyshire's community education policy, the triangular one between professional worker, DCC and the CEC was problematic. Workers were instrumental in setting up the CECs and they were then required to 'report to' or 'work in association/ liaise with' CECs although they also had their own already established professional management structures.

When the review of school-based Community Tutors took place, CECs were specifically asked by DCC to comment on how they wished the 'CT resource' to be redeployed. This created some tension since, given the opportunity, CECs indicated that they wished to have a much greater 'say' in how and where Tutors should operate. The tension was never properly played out since the posts were disestablished before the call for greater accountability of Tutors to the CECs had any real effect.

The incident highlights DCC's original intention that CECs should 'provide a nexus where ... community education strategy can be decided for particular localities and priority decisions made as near to the community as is reasonably practical' (DCC, 1986: para. 3.6): in other words, that CECs should be involved in giving direction to professional workers as well as in allocating programme funds. In effect, this

amounted to the difference between CECs being responsible for the operation of the gross total community education budget of around £12m, or simply for the programme monies which, as a county officer pointed out, *"never amounted to more than about £900,000 - but that's what CECs focused on and felt that when that money was reduced they no longer had anything to do"*.

In chapter five, I drew attention to the distinction between political and professional authority: the distinction is significant here since, in discussion, one professional worker openly admitted that:

... although in theory CECs had the power from DCC to say 'We want this to happen in this area, do it', it hardly ever was put in place because everybody, officers, professional workers downwards, would try to stop that from happening. And that happened, you know, but it's very difficult to say how that happened. It wasn't a direct challenge, it's almost like they were never really given the power in the first place. It wasn't taken away from them, it was just never made clear. But it was a difficult situation anyway because, with the best will in the world, the worker was having to go to the CEC and say 'Look, you can tell us what you want, but please bear in mind that we're working to a policy and we've been employed to do these things - and they [the workers] had at the back of them all the time the thought that the Council [DCC] would drop on them if they got it wrong.

The whole issue of who was responsible to whom and for what was largely left unspoken and unchallenged. This perhaps reflects once again the lack of adequate preparation and training in the early days of the CECs. It also highlights a perennial problem in community education generally of whether people can be empowered to make decisions without also receiving adequate education/ training not only in the process and politics of decision-making itself but in the context of the wider issues to which such decisions relate. In this particular instance, given that the people best able to identify and fulfil these kinds of educational/ training needs were those professionals who might ultimately be most affected by the resulting decision-making, it was scarcely surprising that the problem was 'just never made clear'.

For many CEC members, in any case, 'giving direction' to professionals whom most seemed to regard as allies, informants, supporters and, often, personal friends, could not only have been extremely uncomfortable but perhaps beyond their immediate expectations or capabilities. One worker put it like this:

To me, one of the things the Pink Book didn't address, and I don't think the people who made the decisions in the first place fully understood, is the length of time it takes a group of people from an inaugural meeting to being able to discuss policy, or professional issues, social factors, and what the implications are within their communities. You can't launch straight into those things, it's a long process.

... [CEC] members could get into decisions about programme money with great gusto and really feel they were doing something because they could see the beginning, the process, and the end of that, and they knew they were benefiting individuals. To have a complicated and much more difficult decision-making process about what the balance of provision should be - well it's more philosophical, for some it would be a complete turn-off, and, well let's face it, it's what professionals are actually trained and paid for.

Clearly, CECs never really exercised the kind of power that was potentially open to them.

Key Weaknesses

Uncoordinated recruitment and excessively large numbers of people at early meetings which were often dominated by political nominees; little initial or subsequent training for members (or Chairs), resulting in poor conduct of some meetings, an over-use of 'jargon' and 'insider knowledge' and insufficient opportunity to discuss wider educational issues or policy in relation to the allocation of bids; 'doing' at the expense of reflection and the identification of the individual and collective needs of members or of the community as a whole; sense of the CEC area being too wide; little contact between CECs; lack of clarity about relationships between, and real powers of, CECs, governing bodies and Headteachers of schools, professional CE workers and DCC, resulting in an apparently increasing separation of interests.

Opportunities for the CECs

When this research was undertaken it was difficult to be specific about opportunities for the future of the CECs since they were undergoing re-organization and re-structuring. However, this, in itself, seemed to provide an opportunity to reassess - and, most importantly, to affirm and celebrate work already done; to build on strengths as well as to learn from past weaknesses and missed opportunities.

It was expected that CEC Liaison Panels would be established at district level with the power, as a senior officer put it, 'to allocate appropriate budgets, income targets and staff allocations to CECs'. The same officer hoped that these panels would create an opportunity for disseminating information and help to develop understanding locally of a range of issues and procedures arising out of changes in national legislation and funding. Much of this had, of necessity, been dealt with by officers because an appropriate mechanism had not hitherto been in place through which to pass information, even less to devolve decision-making, to representatives of local communities.

For example, in presenting external funding bids to the Further Education Funding Council (FEFC), income targets had been allocated across perhaps nine CECs in a given area with no discussion, simply because of the time that would have been involved in attempting to secure their informed agreement. An officer engaged in this process said:

Basically all I did was work out a logical way of doing it and the CECs had to lump it. Now I don't think that's actually a particularly empowering way of working, so what we hope is to try and create a structure which allows for some decisions on these issues to be taken through representatives of the CECs.

There seemed to be a real opportunity for members of liaison panels both to ensure that negotiations with the FEFC, the Training and Enterprise Councils (TECs) and others, such as the European Social Fund, involved in the control and provision of funding were informed by direct knowledge of local issues, and to make such negotiations more public by having a direct report-back and discussion system with the CECs. It seemed to be an opportunity, too, for CECs to get away from the mind-set that they were simply grant-giving bodies and to think about the nature of the educational needs across their area and the way in which these could best be represented to funding bodies and others.

This is not the place to enter the debate about the ethics of placing education 'in the market place'. However, it is interesting to note the view of one officer who believed that the process of obtaining external funding might have made the future of community education more secure. He said:

If you'd told me four years ago we might be getting close to 50% external funding - shock, horror, I wouldn't have liked that at all. But now I think it secures LEA funding because if they cut us to the extent that we can't get that external money, they may well say 'cut £3 million' but it's actually going to cost them £6 million so they may think twice about it.

An elderly lady who had been a CEC member since the original inaugural meeting pointed out in similar vein that, although change often appeared to be threatening, it could also have a positive outcome. She put it like this:

I know things have been - are - pretty grim but in difficult times you often find that people come together more and have to be more clear about what it is they really want. I think to some extent that could be happening now. CE [community education] in Derbyshire hasn't completely gone to the wall and, with this new flurry about the re-constitution, I think this could be where people come together to say, 'Right, now what does this all really mean for us in our area? What have we done so far and where are we going now?'. A lot of people did begin to benefit from community education and so we have actually got a base to build on this time that perhaps wasn't there when we started and none of us really knew what we were doing.

The point was reiterated by a professional community education worker who had been employed in the county since Derbyshire's 'Pink Book', the original *Framework for Community Education* (1986), was produced. His analysis was as follows:

There's an irony in this but I think our biggest success in community education in Derbyshire is the fact that we have reached out into so many different communities in so many different ways. I think one of the failures is that we've done that with so many people that they don't realize it was community education they were in. When there was a lot of money about and the Pink Book was everything to the County Council it didn't matter - but it does now there are so many other players in the field. If we are having to argue with county councillors to continue us, and all these other people who say 'What does this money get?', we've got to be much more accurate and perhaps clearer with people that it's community ed. and how/ where it comes from.

In an attempt, as with the final report on the role of the Community Tutors, to conclude this report on the CECs on an upbeat note, I included the following paragraphs and summary of opportunities which could still be perceived at that time:

It is another of the ironies of community education generally that those involved in it are often, as already noted in respect of the CECs, so busy 'doing' that they have little time or inclination for reflection and even less for recording what they do. In consequence, when required to show evidence of their work, there may be little that is tangible to justify the continuation of the work. Examples, if any are needed, can be found in the time given by professional workers to support CECs and management committees; to assist individuals who need advice and then, as a result of it, 'buy' their education from a college or other provider; or to community development work that does not lead to direct provision.

In a sense, perhaps, community education can be likened to the cement between the bricks represented by individual projects, numbers in classes, examinations passed and so on. In a climate where it has become increasingly necessary to count the bricks already in place before any more can be paid for, the further re-organization of community education in Derbyshire perhaps represents an opportunity not only to change the 'grant-giving' mind-set of the

CECs but to highlight and make more people more aware of the composition of the community education 'cement'.

In an internal discussion document circulated to CECs several years ago, Briggs (1991) posed the question 'How Are We Doing?' and suggested ways in which community education could make use of performance indicators and of a simple model of evaluation. The time may now be right to embrace such methods. The formality of evaluation and inspection processes may sit uneasily with the beliefs and working practices of many who have carried community education forward so far - but it may also, to return to the metaphor used in the early days of the 'Pink Book', provide a much needed framework and structure in which to nurture so many of the seeds that have been sown by those who have contributed to the continuing processes of community education in Derbyshire.

Key Opportunities

A new beginning with a chance to celebrate and build on strengths while recognizing and attempting to overcome the weaknesses of past structures and processes; a changed social and political climate which, although not overtly supportive of community education, allows the possibility of linking the community education process into, and having it recognized by, other organizations and agencies; raised awareness among more local people and a commitment on the part of many to community education and all that it stands for.

Postscript

[My final SWOT analysis/ report was completed and circulated to officers and local councillors in Derbyshire in late November 1994, after which I began to lose touch with events in the county since work on MEd courses, particularly on issues around the incorporation of a module on reflective practice, was claiming most of my time.

However, a student on one of these courses had been a Community Education Tutor and subsequently continued to work in the county in one of the re-formed ACE (area community education) teams.

In our occasional lunch-time conversations she told me about what appeared to be a gradual deterioration in the working conditions for herself and other team members in terms of what they were now expected to do, and the levels of funding available: frustration seemed to be high over the amount of paperwork required, particularly to secure relatively small amounts of money, and the consequent lack of time for 'actually doing anything worthwhile in the community', an issue which one of the ex-Co-ordinators (then also a member of a 'post-Community Tutor' area team) had raised during my CEC investigation. My student's local CEC apparently continued to meet but in a rather half-hearted fashion with much reduced numbers and a sense of there being little 'real' to do now funding for activities was so scarce.

One morning in the early Spring of 1995 she greeted me with the news that the CECs were finally to be abandoned. Her concern, coupled with an earlier encounter to which I shall refer in a moment, gave rise to some reflections of my own, culminating in a paper which I presented that summer at the 25th annual conference of the Standing Conference on University Teaching and Research in the Education of Adults (SCUTREA). The conference theme was 'Vision, Invention, Intervention: Celebrating Adult Education'.

My paper drew on Hope and Timmel's (1988: 71) parabola model and the discussion which I had built around it in analyzing the process of translation of Derbyshire's

community education policy into practice (as presented here in chapter five). Extracts from the paper are reproduced below for two reasons. First, they help to bring the Derbyshire story, as related in this thesis, a little further up to date. Second, they illustrate some of the linkages which I had begun to see between my own autobiography, my professional practice (in both community education and, much more recently, in developing reflective practice from an academic base), and research/publication: I began to explore these links explicitly in the 'research arena' for the first time at this conference. The full title of the paper was 'Journey through the looking glass: some reflections on crossing the community/ higher education divide' (Hunt 1995b)).

A Traveller's Tale

A part-time student who works in community education in Derbyshire recently greeted me with: "The new cuts have been announced and the CECs are going now". A few days before, I had taken a telephone call from a local councillor anticipating this announcement. He had said, "I know you can't do anything about it but you do know what's been going on here. Can you tell people about what we tried to do?"

What had been 'going on' was a unique attempt by Derbyshire County Council (DCC) to implement a policy which combined the two key strands of community education (CE) ... *[a potted version of the 'vision' was given here]*. ... The main architects of the CE policy - those who created the vision which never quite became reality - have long since moved on.

The CECs were the last remaining link with the original vision. If, as my councillor friend asked, I 'tell people' - you - a little of 'what's been going on' in Derbyshire and how the vision seems to have been lost, what value will that have, and for whom? The question is up for debate but my own answer is the product of a personal journey which has taken much the same length of time as Derbyshire's apparently ill-fated voyage into community education, and during which our travels became linked. Along the way I have metamorphosed from a community educator into an academic. This paper presents, in part, an attempt to come to terms with what that means for my own 'sense of self'. Underpinning it is the question of who really benefits from the recording and analysis in an academic arena of the ways in which politicians and practitioners try to turn vision into policy and practice.

Through the Looking Glass

Metaphorically, my journey from community education to academe seems to have taken me, like Alice, through a looking glass into another world where priorities are different. Most notably, the written word tends to be more highly valued than the activity it describes and I have not found that entirely comfortable. However, from this side of the looking glass there appears to be a possibility of encapsulating the practices and processes of education in the community within a broader, theoretical context, and of reflecting this back into the 'real' world in a form which has the potential both to celebrate and to change practice. Or is that simply to try to justify my present position in a world I might not now inhabit had Derbyshire's vision of community education not temporarily dominated my own professional life?

In December 1986, when DCC published its community education *Programme For Development* (commonly known as 'The Pink Book'), I had long been involved in community education, in various guises, and was then working part-time in a new Centre for Continuing Vocational Education at the University of Sheffield. Having prepared a bid to run a staff development programme for the newly-appointed

Community Tutors in Derbyshire, I was subsequently invited to co-ordinate it. The task felt daunting. In my personal notes, I wrote:

Panic!!! Just finished chairing the first meeting of the Advisory Group. They seem happy with the outline proposals for the programme and even offered congratulations on the up-to-date academic references! *[especially Ian Martin's typology and its location in the still to be published Allen et al, 1987]* But I can't believe I'm doing this! I've done some CE, I've even done a Master's course about CE but all these people have donkey's years of experience in doing and managing it. Do I know enough to be of any use to them? To even be credible???

Whatever their answer might be, I certainly learned a lot from the fifteen months of the programme! It culminated in a conference (at which Tim Brighouse was a keynote speaker) to examine the emerging implications for community education of the ERA (Education Reform Act). The introduction to the Conference Proceedings records:

... the programme has provided a learning experience for all of us. And perhaps that is as it should be: if education is indeed, as Archbishop Temple wrote before the 1944 Education Act came into being, about the difference between abilities that are actual and those that are potential, then, as educators recognize and actualize their own potential abilities, the greater the potential of the education system itself must become.

In arguing that the education system must not lose sight of its fundamental duty to develop the individual as it struggles to come to terms with the market forces of modern society, Tim Brighouse reminded the conference of Temple's vision and suggested that "the image of what 'is' and what 'might be' runs right through education". That image gave rise to Derbyshire's Pink Book. The commitment, enthusiasm - and good humour, of practitioners in Community Education in Derbyshire, as they respond to it, suggest that what 'might be' in the county will be well worth watching (Hunt and Clarke, 1989, p.iii).

Those who have been watching have now witnessed the virtual demise of community education in Derbyshire as it has fought a losing battle against the new political imperatives of the ERA and subsequent legislation. Because I experienced at first hand the heady excitement of the early days of attempting to translate policy into practice, I have felt a personal sense of loss as the jobs of many of the people whose ideas, enthusiasm, concerns and frustrations I briefly shared have been devalued or lost. Opportunities for practitioners and participants in community education in Derbyshire to recognize and develop their potential have diminished and my community educator's heart grieves with them. Nevertheless, my head tells me that to write about these issues constitutes research which has already played a part in my own personal and career development as an academic. I have become a proper resident in the world of the written word.

I shall draw on it in the next section, making reference to a model which provides a useful tool for analysis of the rise and disappearance of 'vision, values and optimism', before returning in conclusion to the notion of the academic looking glass.

Research: Reflecting a Broader Picture?

[This section drew on the analysis, included here in chapter five, of the implementation of Derbyshire's community education policy in the context of the parabola model. The section concluded as follows:]

The vestiges of a community education service remain in Derbyshire, but outwardly it is barely distinguishable from the separate adult education and youth service provision which the vision encapsulated by the Pink Book attempted to replace. CECs still exist in name but the membership is greatly reduced and disillusioned, they have no real direction, little left to administer, and the latest cuts have now removed the services of the Clerks who represented the last formal link with DCC.

Is this an appropriate tale to tell you at a conference dedicated to 'celebrating' adult education? Drawing on the metaphors of journeying and reflection I think it is. Derbyshire's original vision of community education may have faded - but for a time it acted as a beacon which encouraged hundreds of practitioners and participants alike to set out on new educational pathways. Along the way, many have discovered new images of 'what might be' - for themselves and for their communities. There is frustration and anger that some of the pathways now seem blocked, to be less well sign-posted - or to have become toll-roads, but few would argue that the journey thus far has been without pleasure or personal gain.

My own journey brought me into contact with the images and processes of reflective practice. As a result I worry less about my 'credibility' in terms of *what* I know. I am more concerned with *how* I know and what the effects are of *what I do* with that knowledge. Such concerns inform the choices I now make about what I research and write, who it is 'for', and how I can make some return to those from whom it is derived. In both teaching and writing I am mindful of a student who said of her MEd course, "I need you to provide a context in which I can challenge - and validate - my work, my beliefs and my professional practices". I now 'justify' being an academic in terms of providing a framework to reflect back to individuals and communities what already exists in a form in which it can be challenged, changed - or celebrated. I try to provide a suitable looking glass where, as T.S.Eliot (1942) suggested:

... the end of all our exploring
Will be to arrive where we started
And know the place for the first time.

[I am somewhat surprised - and not a little gleeful because it is one of my favourites - to have returned to this quotation here! When I began to write this 'Postscript' it was with the intention of briefly 'rounding off' the CEC report. What I was going to note was that the report underpins an article to which I referred in the first section of chapter one. I said then that the article was 'still awaiting adaptation in the light of a referee's comments but I have been unable to create time or enthusiasm for the task, largely, I think, because it now seems too firmly located in the past: I do not 'do' community education any more'. (As a result of revisiting the present chapter, I have now, as I noted earlier, successfully revamped the article in another guise; see Hunt, 1999a.)

I had entitled the original article 'Pointing the brickwork: the work of CECs in Derbyshire', picking up on the metaphor in the penultimate paragraph of the report which suggested that 'perhaps community education can be likened to the cement between the bricks' (of projects, numbers in classes, exams passed etc.). In the conclusion, I had referred to the latest round of budget cuts which had sounded the death knell of the CECs by removing their official Clerks, and queried whether community education now had any real future in the county. Whether it did or not, I argued, 'the lives of those who became involved in what Harry Rée once called

Derbyshire's 'Great Experiment in Community Education' will never be quite the same again: cement always leaves its mark'.

I have attempted to make clear thus far in this thesis how Derbyshire's 'Experiment' became cemented into my own life. I had forgotten until I embarked on this 'Postscript' that I had already begun to explore the relationship in the 1995 SCUTREA paper. I am surprised to find in my own words of that time what I sense I have been engaged in in piecing the thesis together: the construction of 'a framework to reflect back ... what already exists in a form in which it can be challenged, changed - or celebrated'.

I have been using the framework of the thesis to re-present in one place, and thereby to try to make collective sense for myself of, what already existed in other places and guises: some in the solid form of my reports, written for a different purpose and different audiences; some in the context of my own and other peoples' published works; and some in the more ephemeral garb of passing thoughts and personal experiences. In chapter four, I said of the 'hitherto ill-defined role of Community Tutor', that it seemed to have been given shape 'as a direct consequence of the personal skills and development of the people who had been appointed to these posts'. I now recognize how the 'hitherto ill-defined' shape of the thesis began to feel more coherent when I undertook the writing exercise (which introduces chapter one) and deliberately placed the thesis in the context of my own personal skills and development.

I am not confident that it yet represents, or ever will, a solid enough framework to sustain a great deal of challenge, change or celebration - but it does seem to be providing the kind of context that my erstwhile student requested: one in which to place at least some key aspects of 'my work, my beliefs and my professional practices'. In chapter one I explored many of the changing personal and social circumstances, ideas and beliefs which have brought me here, now, to this task. In subsequent chapters, I have metaphorically 'broken the ice' around what I called the 'frozen core' of the thesis. As a result, my earlier accounts and analyses of practical work in community education undertaken in Derbyshire not only have a new, physical location, here in this text, but they figure again in the now-ness of my present thoughts.

I have, in a sense, therefore, arrived where I started a decade ago when, with the newly-appointed Community Education Tutors, I began seriously to grapple with the 'is' and 'might be' of community education and, in another domain, to be 'bugged' both by what I was discovering of 'New Age' texts and by the then almost imperceptible knocking on my door of 'the spiritual question'. Today, though, I have a different understanding of what can and might be done in the name of community education, and of myself because of my involvement in it. I now know this place, if not exactly for the first time then certainly differently. As Carr (1995: 19) noted in the passage with which I concluded chapter one: 'in the course of the passage of time, both the meaning of our concepts and our understanding of ourselves may change and become something other than they once were'.

I shall turn now from the effects of the passage of time on the realities of policy, practice and self-perception to explore meaning in the concept of community education, and whether this might be better understood in the context of 'spirit' J



Chapter Seven

Images

Chronologically, this chapter was written some time after the reports upon which chapters three to six are based, but before chapters one and two. In an earlier version, it constituted the 'world-picture chapter' to which I referred in part three of chapter one but it has subsequently been amended in the light of the 'cannibal episode' which is described in the same place.

The foundations of the chapter lie in the philosophical and speculative rather than, as with the four that immediately precede it, in the practical or political. It makes liberal use of metaphor: first, to indicate what I sense of the nature of community education, and of the chapter itself and its purpose within the evolving shape of the thesis; and then, especially, to try to identify broad historical and social trends in Western society as a context in which to consider the concepts of, and relationship between, community, community education and 'spirit'.



[The] image of what 'is' and what 'might be' runs right through education.
(Brighouse [after Temple], in Hunt and Clarke, 1989: 18)

Metaphors

In the last of her three 1996 Reith Lectures, Jean Aitchison¹ discussed the way in which 'Powerful mental images may be preserved or even created by metaphors'. Morgan (1997) endorses this and explores the implications of a wide range of metaphors relating to organizational life. He notes:

Metaphor is often regarded as just a device for embellishing discourse but its significance is much greater than this. The use of metaphor implies a way of thinking and a way of seeing that pervade how we understand our world generally (Morgan, *op.cit.*: 4).

I have chosen to draw heavily on the use of metaphor throughout this chapter precisely because I want to bring attention to different 'ways of seeing'. I am aware, nevertheless, of the limitations of this approach. Borrowing Morgan's terms, I acknowledge that 'Metaphor is inherently paradoxical. It can create powerful insights that also become distortions, as the way of seeing created through a metaphor becomes a way of *not* seeing' (*op.cit.*: 5, original emphasis). (The point has a certain resonance with that made in relation to the visual data in Figure 1.1)

However, even with that large caveat in mind, I have to admit to a long-standing enjoyment of metaphor, probably because my own thinking processes are heavily influenced by the use of visual imagery - and I cannot think of a better way to present the debates which underpin this chapter in particular, as well as the thesis in general.

In thinking about the concepts of community and of education, for example, I have an image of each concept containing a number of threads - practical, political, ideological and philosophical - which intertwine to create the fabric of community education. Although I was not aware of the fact when I first used this 'fabric' analogy, Scherer also uses it to draw attention to the way in which early studies of community tended to focus on poverty, pointing out that:

... poverty is a thread woven into the fabric of human life, worn differently, by some stitched finely or boldly, openly or covertly. The analogy is practical: Just as clothes do not literally make the man, but do exert powerful influences over his development, so poverty defines collectivities in many subtle ways. Yet a man is more than his clothes! Community is more than a common life-style based upon poverty (Scherer, 1972: 60).

The fabric of community education has equally powerful and subtle properties. Like the 'stitching' in Scherer's image, its form changes as it is seen through different eyes, shaped by different hands, and applied in different contexts. Indeed, community education might be regarded as a magic carpet with hues that range from softly liberal through overtly economic to angrily radical: it has been variously fashioned as a stair carpet to lead those who tread it on to something else; as a fitted carpet designed to underpin the lives of whole communities; as a splash mat to soak up those who have fallen by the educational wayside; and, latterly perhaps, as a doormat to be trodden on and sacrificed to the greater good when times are hard. In all its many guises, however, the importance of the fabric of community education probably lies not so much in itself as a finished product but more in the processes by which it is continually created and renewed, in the perpetual weaving and re-weaving of its assorted threads and their potentially transformative effects in people's lives.

Addressing the final conference associated with the Derbyshire community education staff development programme, Tim Brighouse (Hunt and Clarke, 1989: 15-26) touched on the implications of such effects, quoting the words of Archbishop Temple who, in 1942, said:

... there will always be a strain between what is due to a man in view of his humanity, with all his powers and capabilities, and what is due to him at the moment, as a member of society, with all his faculties still undeveloped, with many of his tastes warped, with his powers largely crushed. Are you going to treat people as what they might become, or as what they are? (Hunt and Clarke, *op.cit.*: 18).

Brighouse (*ibid*) added "that image of what 'is' and what 'might be' runs right through education".

The image is also implicit in this thesis. Following the analyses in previous chapters of what community education 'is' (or, more appropriately perhaps at the present time, 'has been') in practice in Derbyshire, this chapter sets out to explore the 'might be' of alternative world-pictures; of different ways of interpreting and living with social processes. It is intended to provide what I have already called the 'backdrop' to the thesis. I had not thought about the metaphorical implications in detail when I initially used the term but the backdrop is an interesting theatrical device which does seem to have particular relevance here. It is a large screen, situated at the back of a stage, upon which different projections can be made in order to contribute, through the creation of new dimensions, colours or atmosphere, to the audience's interpretation and understanding of the play on stage.

This chapter contains a series of such 'projections' in order to discover the extent to which they might ultimately make a useful contribution to existing interpretations and understanding of community education. Their sequence is as follows:

- **Ways of seeing:** the debate about what is 'out there' or 'within us' and its relevance to the issues considered in this thesis.
- **World-pictures:** what they are, and evidence to suggest that a new world-picture may be emerging; the *Gaia hypothesis* and its association with the emerging picture.

- **A hieroglyph:** a 'compressed story' which attempts to capture the essence of centuries of historical and social changes, particularly in industrialized Western societies, in the borrowed imagery of waves (from Toffler, 1981); *Gaia* as representative of a 'Third Wave' of development.
- **The 'spiritual dimension of life':** a digression to explore what this concept might mean; difficulties of definition; relevance within the emerging world-picture.
- **Characteristics of the 'Waves':** the patterns of thinking apparently associated with differing world-pictures.
- **The concept of unity:** a further exploratory digression to determine whether the term 'unity' provides appropriate description for a key characteristic of the Third Wave/ Gaian world-picture.
- **Precursors of Third Wave/ Gaian thinking:** philosophical foundations of the different world-pictures.
- **Connections and reflections:** the concept of unity in the context of recent history; emerging thoughts about the concept of 'movement' as applied to social/ historical trends and as used in the Wave metaphor.

Ways of Seeing

It may be helpful to restate here a point I made in chapter one: I spent many years 'doing' community education without being able, or, indeed, for much of the time, being aware of the need, to articulate my own spiritual values. In beginning to try to put them, and their relationship with my work practices, into words, it is only in the last few years that I have come across the theological elements of Clark's work (Clark, 1989; 1992). Although my personal search for meaning has not taken a specifically Christian route, I find a resonance with much of what Clark has to say within many of my own experiences and developing beliefs.

Particularly relevant to this thesis are the parallels which he draws between the 'search for community' and the Christian 'search for the kingdom of God'. Noting that Christ likened this kingdom to a treasure so precious that a man would cash in all his worldly pearls in order to purchase this pearl of greatest value, Clark (1992: 121) provides encouragement for what I am attempting here, using these terms: 'Seek first the kingdom, Christ declared, and all else will follow; seek community first and all else falls into place'. He adds:

It is important to note that Christ talks about the kingdom having to be discovered. It is there but it is 'hidden', in part because the kingdom is experienced through very ordinary things like mustard seed, or leaven in bread; but also, in part, because its delivery is not so much 'out there' as within us. We find it when we can say: 'I was blind; now I see' (Clark, *ibid.*).

The notion of what is 'out there' or 'within us' is a recurring theme in this thesis, in relation to both my developing methodological stance and my attempts to grapple with the concept of community/ education.

Scherer (1972), incidentally, also feels that this is an important strand in the understanding of community. She argues that 'when a member is in, he looks out on others ... it is imperative, therefore, to begin identifying community from the inside first' (*op.cit.*: 46), particularly since 'in talking about any community we are dealing with the symbolic images held by persons' (*op.cit.*: 39) so 'the ultimate test of membership is in the mind of the member' (*op.cit.*: 43).

Clark (1992: 121) believes that the meaning and nature of community have to be 'discovered', and directly experienced, through an active process of personal learning. His suggestion that this may require 'a breakthrough (or break-out)' from our own past, from 'our cultural home', or from 'our native land, without devaluing what they have offered us' - in other words from much that has hitherto been used to define our selves and individual communities - is reflected in the collective 'time of breakdown or breakthrough' which, as I shall discuss later, Myers (1990: 180) and others regard as the precursor of a New Age in human affairs.

The concept of such a New Age is itself inextricably bound up with challenges to the scientific world view and its associated methodologies which have come to dominate the thinking of those living in Western cultures. The opening sentence of a book written in the early 1990s, by a well-established and respected scientist, in a deliberate attempt, as he described it, to combat 'dissatisfaction ... with the public image of science ... lack of understanding, ... fear of and even hostility to science' (Wolpert, 1992: preface) states quite categorically: 'Science is arguably the defining feature of our age; it characterizes Western civilization. Science has never been more successful nor its impact on our lives greater ...'.

In tracing the background of modern science, Wolpert (*op.cit.*: 47) makes the point that:

... it is almost universal among belief systems not influenced by the Greeks that man and nature are inextricably linked, and such philosophies provide the basis for human behaviour rather than explanations about the external world. These philosophies confine their curiosity to what affects man.

Wolpert (*op.cit.*: 36) also notes: 'it is with the Greeks that man and nature are for the first time no longer perceived as inextricably linked and there begins a distanced curiosity about the world itself'. However, as Capra (1979: 31) points out, the empiricism so important in modern science was 'foreign to the Greek mind': models were obtained deductively from fundamental axioms or principles rather than inductively from what had been observed.

Although, of course, deductive reasoning remains an essential element of modelling in modern scientific research, the validity of 'distanced curiosity' about the world 'out there' has been brought into question by recent advances in science itself, particularly in quantum physics (Capra, *op.cit.*; Zohar, 1990), as well as by alternative approaches developed in the social sciences (Reason and Rowan, 1981; Heron, 1996). Writing from his own perspective as a biologist, Sattler (1986: *uti*) gives voice to many recent concerns in these terms: 'Life is a phenomenon so vast and profound that strict adherence to one way of thinking, such as the analytical philosophy of science, cannot do it justice'. Sattler (*op.cit.*: 50) later notes: 'In Western culture, which has led us to considerable scientific knowledge and technological control, great emphasis is placed on law and order'. In consequence:

Many scientists equate understanding with explanation. Whatever is explained is also understood There are, however, other meanings of understanding ... some of which are rather broad and transcend the limits of scientific explanation (Sattler, *op.cit.*: 57).

As Sattler argues, as well as through the rational element of the mind which seeks to find and identify the 'orderly' aspects of the world, understanding may also be gained through the intuitive element of mind. Capra (*op.cit.*: 26-45) discusses at length the defining features of these different kinds of 'knowledge', stressing that:

Throughout history, it has been recognized that the human mind is capable of two kinds of knowledge, or two modes of consciousness, which have often been termed the rational and the intuitive, and have traditionally been associated with science and religion, respectively. In the West, the intuitive,

religious type of knowledge is often devalued in favour of rational, scientific knowledge, whereas the traditional Eastern attitude is in general just the opposite. ...

Rational knowledge ... belongs to the realm of the intellect whose function it is to discriminate, divide, compare, measure, categorize. In this way, a world of intellectual distinctions is created; of opposites which can only exist in relation to each other ...

Rajneesh (1975: 232) similarly differentiates these 'two modes of consciousness'. He speaks of them in terms of 'knowledge' and 'understanding', noting: 'Knowledge is always either this or that. Understanding is neither ... [it] transcends both'. Castaneda (1972; and in subsequent works) also draws a distinction between different ways of relating to the world, contrasting what he calls 'looking' and 'seeing': 'looking' describes 'ordinary' experience of the world and all its categories; 'seeing' results from a transformative experience in which there is no sense of separation between 'seer' and 'seen'. Castaneda's distinction is a product of his experiences among the Yacui Indians and of largely drug-induced altered states of consciousness. Nevertheless, it does not seem to be very far removed from Clark's 'kingdom' whose constant existence, though hidden in 'ordinary things like mustard seed' can be discovered through a new way of 'seeing'.

The sometimes dramatic effects of seeing a physical object in a different way, without any kind of 'transcendental' experience, are easily demonstrated with Figure-Ground pictures ranging from the classic candlestick/ two faces to the more complex Indian/ Eskimo and old woman/ young woman reversals. The implications of suddenly 'making sense' out of apparent confusion are evident in the use of random-blot tests and the ubiquitous 'Hidden Man' picture which is 'really' an aerial photograph of snow (Figure 1.1). Recently, a new dimension has literally been brought to the field of visual illusion in the form of three-dimensional images hidden within complex computer-generated coloured patterns: the '3-D' image becomes visible to the naked eye only when the natural focal point is mentally allowed to shift beyond the printed page (N.E.Thing Enterprises, 1994).

However, while new ways of interpreting data - whether these are specific lines, dots, blobs or colours on a sheet of paper, or less tangible social and educational processes and trends or personal experiences - can provide a changed and often enriched perspective, there is also a form of 'seeing' which has little to do with either the eye or cognitive processes. This may, in a very real sense, be rooted in an experience which is beyond words. In chapter nine, I shall take up Peck's (1990b) view that the 'spirit' of community is often experienced only after habitual ways of seeing and communicating have been abandoned. For the moment, however, I want to consider the implications of seeing and communicating in the context of different world-pictures.

World-Pictures

In order to obtain a new perspective on familiar scenery and practices, it is sometimes necessary to 're-frame' them. The term is borrowed from the therapeutic aspect of Neuro-Linguistic Programming (NLP) which seeks to facilitate in the individual the creation of new behaviour patterns to replace those which have become uncomfortable and/ or a hindrance to future development. Part of the process involves setting a picture of the new against one of the old and effecting a 'mind swish' between the two (Bandler, 1985: 131-152).

In this section, I shall, first, draw attention to the work of four authors whose thinking has been instrumental in shaping my own, and then I shall attempt to set a

picture of a 'Gaian' future against one in which some of the present behaviour patterns of society itself are highlighted. In doing so, I hope to indicate why many people are beginning to sense the need for a different way of seeing, and of being in, the world; and where 'spirit' features in this process.

The '*Gaia hypothesis*' was formulated in the late 1970s by an independent research scientist, James Lovelock. Briefly, it states that the planet Earth is a self-regulating entity with the capacity to keep itself healthy by controlling the biosphere in interaction with the chemical and physical environment.

The hypothesis is unusual in resting upon data drawn from a very wide range of scientific disciplines. Not only do the boundaries of all these, as Lovelock (1979: vii-ix) acknowledges, tend to be 'jealously guarded by their Professors' and preserved by 'a different arcane language' but, on environmental matters in particular, 'the scientific community seems to be divided into collectivized warring groups and there are strong pressures to conform to the dogma of whatever tribe one happens to be with'. For these reasons, Lovelock's work remains scientifically controversial.

It has, nevertheless, caught the popular imagination to such an extent that a huge number of books sporting the name *Gaia* in the title is now available (see, for example, Joseph, 1990; Myers, 1990; Pedlar, 1991; Thompson, 1987); many of these pay scant attention to the scientific aspects of Lovelock's hypothesis but emphasize instead its more 'mystical' implications. Lovelock was surprised by this broader field of interest. He notes:

When I wrote the first book on Gaia I had no inkling that it would be taken as a religious book. Although I thought the subject was mainly science, there was no doubt that many of its readers found otherwise. Two-thirds of the letters received, and still coming in, are about the meaning of Gaia in the context of religious faith (Lovelock, 1991: 203).

However, in the preface to his original book, Lovelock does seem to anticipate this interest. He writes:

The concept of Mother Earth or, as the Greeks called her long ago, *Gaia*, has been widely held throughout history and has been the basis of a belief which still co-exists with the great religions. As a result of the accumulation of evidence about the natural environment and the growth of the science of ecology, there have recently been speculations that the biosphere may be more than just the complete range of all living things within their natural habitat of soil, sea and air. Ancient beliefs and modern knowledge have fused emotionally in the awe with which astronauts with their own eyes and we by indirect vision have seen the Earth revealed in all its shining beauty against the deep darkness of space (Lovelock, 1979: vii).

Interestingly, Russell (1984: 3) prefaces his discussion of the possible evolutionary future of mankind with a quotation from the scientist and science fiction writer, Fred Hoyle, who, as long ago as 1948, prophesied, "Once a photograph of the Earth, taken from outside, is available ... a new idea as powerful as any in history will be let loose".

Whether or not it was the impetus of the space programmes which gave rise to it, a new idea does now seem to be loose in society and is being expressed in a variety of ways from, for example, the formation of meditation groups, through the setting up of local economic trading systems², to the establishment of national and international organizations such as the 'Human Scale Education Network'³ and 'The Foundation for Community Encouragement'⁴. In attempting to provide an overview of these kinds of developments, Toffler (1981) has suggested they are indicative of the development of a 'Third Wave' of civilization emerging from the shadows of the industrial 'Second Wave'. He says:

A new civilization is emerging in our lives, and blind men everywhere are trying to suppress it. ... Millions are already attuning their lives to the rhythms of tomorrow. Others, terrified of the future, are engaged in a desperate futile flight into the past and are trying to restore the dying world that gave them birth.

The dawn of this new civilization is the single most explosive fact of our lifetimes.

It is the central event - the key to understanding the years immediately ahead. It is an event as profound as the first wave of change unleashed ten thousand years ago by the invention of agriculture, or the earthshaking Second Wave of change touched off by the industrial revolution. We are the children of the next transformation, the Third Wave (Toffler, 1981: 23; first published 1980).

Clearly aware of the same kinds of events which had attracted Toffler's attention, Ferguson (1988; first published 1980) also speaks of an emerging 'movement' - although there is some debate about the use of this term. For, example, Toffler (*op.cit.*: 449) considers whether it may be misleading:

... partly because it implies a higher level of shared consciousness than so far exists, partly because Third Wave people properly mistrust all the mass movements of the past.

Apparently deciding the terminology was less important than what he sought to describe, he adds:

... whether they ['Third Wave people'] comprise a class, a movement, or simply a changing configuration of individuals and transient groups, all of them share a radical disillusionment with the old institutions - a common recognition that the old system is now broken beyond repair.

Toffler (*ibid.*) foresaw a struggle between 'Second and Third Wave forces' which would cut 'like a jagged line across class and party, across age and ethnic groups, sexual preferences and subcultures. It reorganizes and realigns our political life'.

Speaking at a meeting of the Socialist Society in London shortly before the general election of 1983, Williams (1989: 161-174) identified the beginnings of just such a process in British society and argued, as Kenny (1991: 18) subsequently put it, that old senses of community were 'being increasingly invaded and broken up by new ways of being'. Williams (*op.cit.*: 173) saw in this the possibility of creating a new kind of socialism based on 'an authentic rather than an inherited sense of what a society is and should be ... which will have to come from some different roots'.

As Williams hinted, however, this was not to stem in the short term from the return to an 'old-style' Labour government: a Conservative government was re-elected in 1983 - and for more than a decade its successors continued to assert traditional 'Second Wave values' (I shall comment on such values in more detail later), perhaps because, to borrow a phrase from Williams (*op.cit.*: 170), it exerted 'a control on people based not so much on positive assent as upon the absence of immediate alternatives'.

Ferguson (1988) is much less concerned with the vagaries of politics or the likelihood of any realignments of class or party. She focuses on the possibility of transformation in personal consciousness and only secondarily on its potential socio-political implications. Her preferred imagery is of 'The Aquarian Conspiracy', a name chosen partly to represent the 'conspiring' (which means literally 'breathing together') of those who hold in their hearts and minds a view of a future which is radically different from the past, and partly to link this conspiracy to the concept of a 'new age' - the Age of Aquarius. Ferguson (1988: 18-19) notes that, 'although unacquainted with astrological lore', she was:

... drawn to the symbolic power of the pervasive dream in our popular culture: [that] ... a different age seems to be upon us; and Aquarius, the waterbearer in the ancient zodiac, symbolizing flow and the quenching of an ancient thirst, is an appropriate symbol.

Lemesurier (1990) cautions against letting this dream take too firm a hold. He says the projection into the future of the fulfilment of what is needed or desired now seems to have obsessed almost every civilization, and such projection may actually prevent the creation of the hoped-for 'New Age' whose properties could otherwise be realizable in the 'here and now'. However, the need for such 'visioning' is endorsed by many other writers, including Russell (1984: x) who argues:

... the image a society has of itself can play a crucial role in the shaping of its future. ... A positive vision is like the light at the end of a tunnel which, even though dimly glimpsed, encourages us to step on in that direction.

Russell identifies four recurring themes which contribute to the current 'New Age' vision and are presently attracting the attention not only of self-styled New Age writers and therapists but of 'mainstream' psychologists and other scientists. They are:

1. We all have potentials beyond those we are now using, and perhaps beyond those we even dream of;
2. Humanity and the environment form a single system;
3. We are mistreating and often abusing both ourselves and our surroundings;
4. Humanity can change for the better.

Russell (*op.cit.*: 156)

These themes seem to be fundamental to the vision of the future which underpins the thinking of 'those who are attuning their lives to the rhythms of tomorrow', who, whether or not they use such terminology, feel themselves to be part of a 'Third Wave' of civilization, of the 'Age of Aquarius', and/ or closely linked to *Gaia*. Ferguson (*ibid.*) believes such themes have emerged from:

The social activism of the 1960s and the 'consciousness revolution' of the early 1970s [which seem] to be moving towards an historic synthesis: social transformation resulting from personal transformation - change from the inside out.

I shall return to this point because the transformative nature of the changes which have taken place not just since the 1960s but since the Second World War, culminating in the so-called 'new consciousness movement' of the 1990s, seem to me to mirror, in the short term, events which have taken place over a vastly longer period. First, though, drawing together the ideas of Toffler, Ferguson, Russell and Lovelock that I have just outlined, I want again to make use of imagery, this time to suggest why so many of the ideas of the 1990s appear to be contradictory.

A Hieroglyph

As Thompson (1987: 9) claims 'An image is not an illusion; it is a hieroglyph, a compressed story'. The 'story' I want to tell compresses the events of several centuries into an image, like Toffler's, of waves - but the 'Third Wave' here represents not simply the possibility of a changed technological, economic or political future but one in which ideas and activities associated with the concept of *Gaia* are prevalent; already evident within this emerging wave is affirmation of the four themes identified by Russell.

When Toffler (1981: 19-20) chose to use colliding waves as what he called 'the grand metaphor' of his work he drew on several much earlier texts which, each in

different analytical contexts, also employ wave imagery. The further application of this imagery 'to today's civilizational shift' across the entire globe might, he felt, enable people more easily 'to see beneath the raging surface of change'. Aware of the limited scope of 'Even the most powerful metaphor', Toffler (*ibid.*) notes:

The recognition that no knowledge can be complete, no metaphor entire, is itself humanizing. ... It grants even to adversaries the possibility of partial truth, and to oneself the possibility of error. This possibility is especially present in large-scale synthesis. Yet, as the critic George Steiner has written, 'To ask larger questions is to risk getting things wrong. Not to ask them at all is to constrain the life of understanding'.

I have George Steiner's admonition very much in mind both in borrowing and embellishing Toffler's metaphor and in undertaking this thesis. Indeed, between writing the articles on which this section was first based and redrafting the completed chapter, I have begun to question the 'possibility of error' in using a metaphor which clearly has its origins in the industrialized West and which may imply the inevitability of progress in human affairs, and thus of stages where each is deemed to be more advanced, and therefore 'better', than the last.

This sense of linearity - of logical progression and inevitable forward movement - seems to be present in all Western evolutionary theories, whether Hegelian or more Darwinian in outlook. The associated concepts of space and time which bind most Western thinking make it extremely difficult to find appropriate words and images in which to describe human activities which do not imply either beginning and ending or a movement from one position to another.

In education, for example, much theory derives from the view that people should be 'got ready' for the next stage of their lives. Whether such preparation is couched in vocational terms of preparation for work or in the more liberal notion of 'becoming all that one can be', it implies the necessity to move towards something beyond one's present position (from 'is' to 'might be'). Perhaps it is associated with the perception that effort equals movement. At a personal level, as exemplified by my use in chapter one of Clark's (1992: 120) 'towards education' model (Figure 1.4), in grappling with what, to me, have been new ideas, I have certainly had a sense of 'moving towards' a new perspective, and this has undoubtedly influenced how I have subsequently described it and its relationship with other perspectives.

However, in thinking of this now in terms of the cognitive processes involved in selecting the image which is 'seen' in the Figure-Ground pictures and other visual stimuli to which I have already referred, I recognize the illusory nature of this movement: I have merely acquired enough data about the possibility of the presence of a different picture to enable me to become aware of it; and, even though I can now 'see', and perhaps attempt to live in accordance with, a Gaian world-picture, this does not negate the presence, influence or value of other pictures which others, whose data sets are different from mine, undoubtedly see and live within.

Whilst I had acknowledged this 'both/ and' viewpoint intellectually (though, in those actual terms, only in the process of editing), I first 'felt the reality' of the multi-layering rather than the linearity of world-pictures when I saw a photograph taken by the Hubble Space Telescope of a jet of gas emitted by a young star which was 'half a light year long'⁵. The compression of space and time in this one image provided powerful emotional reinforcement of Wittgenstein's statement in the *Tractatus* (1955: statement 6.4311): '... If by eternity is understood not endless temporal duration but timelessness, then he lives eternally who lives in the present'.

This statement is transmuted into New Age writings in the injunction 'Be Here Now'. I had often encountered it but had not properly understood it before in terms of

simply recognizing that all possibilities are present at all times. The sense of 'seeing time' in the Hubble photograph brought home to me the importance of Wittgenstein's advice in his later *Philosophical Investigations*: '... don't think, but look' (Anscombe, 1953: 31). This perhaps finds its echoes in the contemporary writings of Sattler and others whose distinction between knowledge and understanding I drew attention to earlier - although Wittgenstein was much more specific about the need to cut through the contexts and rules of language in order to begin to appreciate the metaphysical (*i.e.* that which cannot be contained by language).

In attempting to put my own 'felt-reality' into words here, I am constantly reminded of the limits of language. As Needleman notes in his commentary on Wittgenstein's work:

When we speak about ourselves or anything beyond immediate, pragmatic activities, our language deceives us, takes us in without our knowing it. We imagine it is performing the same sort of function it performs when we speak about elementary, physical activities - because the grammar is the same. In fact it does nothing of the kind. When we speak about God, or our inner life, or questions of an abstract nature, we are only living in a dream of meaning (Needleman, 1984: 216).

The metaphors I have chosen in which to try to represent the 'reality' of living within differing world-pictures and of the relationship of these pictures to one another have undoubtedly emerged from just such a 'dream of meaning'. However, despite all the caveats about built-in assumptions of past/ future, progress, stages, better/ worse and so on that I have just indicated, I cannot, at present, think of a better 'shorthand' through which to highlight what seem to me to be essential differences in ways of being in those worlds. Thus, whilst I acknowledge their limitations, I shall continue to use the metaphors that I have drawn on in earlier texts.

Briefly, to return to Thompson's notion of 'a hieroglyph, a compressed story', the 'story' I want to tell is this: out of the vast ocean of eternity each new generation is cast on to a shore which contains the pebbles and perspectives of accumulated knowledge and understanding of the human race and its planetary home. Humankind has reached its present vantage point on the crest of the 'Second Wave' of human understanding. A 'Third (Gaian) Wave' is now rising from the ocean. This Wave has the capacity to carry people to a shoreline where different possibilities wait to be explored. However, the arrival of this Third Wave is partially impeded by ideas and actions linked to the enormous undertow of the Second Wave. Those who sense the emergence of the new Wave are currently 'breathing together', not always consciously but perhaps in large enough numbers, to create sufficient energy to enable them to reach the new shoreline. This can be seen but not yet properly attained since the noise and confusion created by the crashing pebbles caught in the undertow of Second Wave existence continue, almost literally, to 'muddy the waters' of social policy and progress.

It is perhaps in the nature of a 'compressed story' that defining features should be somewhat stereotypical. Nevertheless, in very broad terms, if the 'First Wave' was characterized by an intuitive acknowledgement of unity by its peoples who felt the inseparability of their own lives from those of their surroundings and of their god(s) (see, Myers *et al*, 1990, for a discussion of the belief systems of contemporary indigenous peoples), the Second Wave represented a complete antithesis of this. Born of the thinking which culminated in the Industrial Revolution, its primary characteristics have been the authority of impersonal science, the notion of progress, and separateness.

When the Second Wave began its journey in the Western world, progress in science was limited by what was acceptable to the church: both Copernicus and Galileo, for example, were vilified for their suggestion that the sun and not the Earth lay at the centre of the Universe. The suggestion had overtones of blasphemy since the position of the Vatican within the Catholic church was felt to mirror the centrality of the Earth to the rest of the Universe. In consequence, Copernicus refused to publish his theory until 1543, the year of his death, and his work was subsequently placed on the papal index of forbidden books - where it remained until 1835; Galileo was eventually forced by the Inquisition to retract his proposition. (It was barely twenty years ago, in 1979, when Pope John Paul II 'cautiously proposed' reversing the Inquisition's condemnation of Galileo [Sagan, 1981: 142]).

However, Galileo's work had been founded in the metaphysics of Descartes which attempted to separate the three 'Substances' of the Universe - God, Mind and Matter - and, ultimately, the idea that the things of the mind were separate from the things of matter, and both were separate from God, took a firm enough hold to provide the basis for later scientific progress. This was then not only unfettered from religious doctrine but founded in 'objectivity' which placed the scientist and (usually) his observations outside the experiment and its findings (whether these were derived in the short term in a laboratory or over a long period of observation and analysis of practices in another culture).

Such a summary of huge issues is inevitably simplistic. Nevertheless, it is included since it not only gives some indication of the origins of much 'Second Wave thinking' but provides a pointer towards the rationale for the 'new consciousness movement' of the 1990s which seeks to reunite matter with mind and 'spirit'.

It would take much more space than is available here to consider whether 'spirit' and Descartes's 'God' are the same thing or, indeed, to debate the possible nature or existence of 'God'. However, since I have already stated that I believe an important element in the 'Third (Gaian) Wave' - and, perhaps, in the future of community education - to be the concept of 'human spiritual development', a slight digression may be helpful to try to clarify the way in which I am interpreting this concept. I shall then return to the characteristics of 'Second and Third Wave thinking'.

The 'Spiritual Dimension of Life'

Discussion of the philosophy of community education tends to be couched within a narrow, predominantly practical, framework and, while there are well-established discourses linking community education to disciplines such as psychology, sociology, economics and politics, little attempt has been made to consider it within what might be termed a more 'spiritual' framework. Robert Muller's keynote address to the Sixth World Conference of the International Community Education Association in Trinidad (1991) provided an opportunity to do this. As I noted in part two of chapter one, referring to his work as former Assistant Secretary-General to the United Nations, Muller said:

"When you work for the United Nations for some time, you wake up one day and ask yourself - 'What are we trying to do? What is the purpose of it all? What is the meaning of our temporary lives on this planet?' Once you ask yourself this question, you encounter the spiritual dimension of life, higher than the physical, the mental and the moral."

He went on to argue that:

"... We must rediscover our roots pertaining to a deeper vision of life in relation to society, nature and the universe ... we must recognize the

importance of the revival of spirituality in human beings and society and that any educational programme must have a deep spiritual approach" (Muller, 1991: 7-10).

I indicated that to endorse such a view, as I do, is not to advocate the inclusion of a religious content in educational programmes; nor is it to presuppose that people assume, seek or find 'meaning' in their lives by asking the same questions as Muller - or that there is any consensus about the answers to his questions. It is, instead, to consider whether more attention might usefully be given, both by educators personally and within the educational process generally, to a crucial philosophical question: 'Who am I?'

As I argued earlier, this question tends to be obscured by the immediacy of having, and making sense of, mental and physical experiences. However, many Eastern philosophical traditions are based on the premise that the 'reality' of mental and physical experiences is permeated, and ultimately given shape by, another kind of 'reality' which is both intangible and beyond definition: the Wittgensteinian reality 'Whereof one cannot speak'; a world of silence which neither logic, language nor intellect can enter - but which itself may enter and sustain 'everyday' life. The *Isha Upanishad*, one of the sacred texts of Ancient India, says of it:

The One never moves, yet is too swift for the mind.
The senses cannot reach It, It is ever beyond their grasp.
Remaining still, It outstrips all activity,
Yet in It rests the breath of all that moves.
It moves, yet moves not.
It is far, yet It is near.
It is within all this, and yet without all this.
(Shearer and Russell, 1978: 15)

Though 'It' defies adequate description (a problem I shall address again in a moment), I equate this subtle 'world' with the 'spiritual dimension of life'. Whether it is 'higher' than the physical, mental and moral dimensions or whether it requires one to have a 'deeper' vision is, quite literally, immaterial. Nevertheless, the 'human spiritual development' to which I refer is predicated upon a sustained attempt to become consciously open to this silent world from which individuals seem to derive the 'I-ness' that is subsequently given unique shape by their own personal mental and physical processes.

Many accounts exist of what the experience of openness and connection to this world of silence is like (see, for example, C.S. Lewis's *Surprised by Joy* (1955) and a compilation and discussion of similar shorter accounts by Coxhead, 1985). In the late nineteenth-century, Edward Carpenter, a writer, poet (and, coincidentally, adult educator in Sheffield) described it thus:

... [to] find that the 'I', one's real, most intimate self, pervades the universe and all other beings. So great, so splendid is this experience, that it may be said that all minor questions and doubts fall away in the face of it; and it is certain that in thousands and thousands of cases, the fact of its having come even once to an individual has completely revolutionized his subsequent life and outlook on the world (Ferguson, 1988: 31-32).

To some extent, Carpenter's writings were typical of the 'mystical philosophy' of his time; elements of his personal lifestyle and espoused political value system seem to have been questionable; and he undoubtedly has his detractors because of such factors. [The erstwhile colleague, whose 'cannibalistic' feedback I discussed in chapter one, added as a parenthesis to one of his 'nine points': '(And you want to read Carpenter's patronizing rubbish about 'country rustics?')']. Nevertheless, the experience Carpenter describes here does not seem to be peculiar to a particular

time, place, personality or patronizing attitude. Also, whether their 'splendid experience' was momentary or of considerable duration, there is remarkable agreement in the way many people besides Carpenter have attempted to put this into words. Johnson (in Coxhead, *op.cit.*: 3-4) offers the following summary:

The sense of separateness vanished in an all-embracing unity, there is a certain knowledge of immortality, there is an enormously enhanced appreciation of values, and there is knowledge that at the heart of the universe is Joy and Beauty. ... Those who have known such an experience are always profoundly impressed by its significance as a revelation of truth. There is from then onwards, not the satisfaction of an intellectual answer to life's questions, but a serenity born of the knowledge that all is well, and that the secret purpose of the universe is good beyond all telling.

Characteristics of the 'Waves'

The sense of an 'all-embracing unity' seems to underpin 'Third Wave (Gaian) thinking'; it is not, however, the same as the sense of unity associated with the 'First Wave' of human civilization. Alluding to the latter in *The Bushmen of the Kalahari*, Laurens van der Post noted:

The whole of the cosmos was a family. They had an extraordinary feeling of kinship that burned like a flame and kept them on course, that kept them warm and full of meaning (Myers, 1990: 47).

He added: 'In the modern world, we have become so engaged in doing that we have become divorced from the aspect of ourselves which gives us meaning' (*ibid.*).

In contrast to this view, as I indicated earlier, Wolpert (1992: 36) identifies and welcomes the separation of man and nature during the Classical Greek period as the foundation of Western scientific thought: there can certainly be little doubt that it both allowed individuality to flourish and enormous leaps to be made in the rational understanding of the physical world. However, it is worth noting in this context, Sapir's observation that:

Human beings do not live in the objective world alone ... but are very much at the mercy of their particular language ... the worlds in which different societies live are distinct worlds, not merely the same world with different labels attached (Jean Aitchison, 1996 Reith Lectures⁶)

Even on a much smaller scale in terms of both time and space, as Scherer (1972: 124) argues, when 'we redefine our social arrangements, we redefine ourselves'.

Several philosophical traditions regard the changing ideas and behaviour patterns of whole civilizations as evidence of the 'movement' of humanity through various life-stages, each one of which requires a different kind of engagement with the physical world. The concept is also familiar in the psychology of the individual where the central, mid-life, life-stage is usually characterized by involvement and 'progression' in the world, and the last stage necessitates a period of what Erikson (1982) calls 'integration'.

Kubler-Ross (see Kimmel, 1990) has vastly expanded this idea to develop appropriate practices in the care of elderly people and of those who are dying. She and Erikson both stress the importance of the integration period in allowing a movement out of the 'busy work' - work which may do little more than fill time, often a legacy of the pressures to earn a living - and into a more observational state where the process of giving meaning to what may otherwise appear to be a 'fragmented' existence can take place. I shall come back to the importance of the process of integration in discussing the concept of community in the next chapter.

I shall also say more, later in the present chapter, about the similarities which I have begun to sense between the characteristics of Toffler's 'Waves' of civilization and Hegel's view of the 'life stages' of human history. In general terms, though, 'First Wave thinking' is perhaps similar to that of a baby who has yet to learn about and to articulate its apparent separateness from the world around it. 'Second Wave thinking' seems closer to that of the adolescent and adult who becomes almost totally engrossed in exploring the limits and diversity of the physical and mental worlds, defining her/ himself in terms of what s/ he is not. 'Third Wave thinking' appears to be more integrative, acknowledging the unity within this diversity and re-admitting the process of intuition/ emotion as a way of knowing and understanding the world.

It is because of this that I have chosen to use *Gaia* as a metaphor to do two things. First, to provide an image of a 'spiritual being' which contains and sustains the diversity of all planetary existence within itself and yet is itself part of, and sustained by, another, greater, 'being'. And, second, to superimpose this image on that of Toffler's more technocratic 'Third Wave' in order to emphasize the critical nature of 'spiritual development' which leads to 'transcendence' of the physical and mental barriers which appear to preclude the experience of 'all-embracing unity'.

Although he does not employ the same imagery, Muller (1992: 4) describes what seems to me to be a transition from Second to Third Wave thinking, thus:

We have come to the point when the prediction of Leibnitz is coming true. He had forecast that scientific enquiry would be so thrilling for humanity that for centuries we would be busy discovering, analyzing, and piercing the surrounding reality, but that the time would come when we would have to look at the totality and become again what we were always meant to be: universal, total beings. The time for this vast synthesis ... has struck.

Leibnitz was heavily influenced by the thinking of Descartes who might be claimed as the 'founding father' of the science-orientated 'Second Wave'. Although in Descartes's own philosophy everything that happens in either the material or the mental realm is completely dependent upon the will of God which orders and controls these realms, it was his conception of the physical world as a vast machine, operating entirely by mechanical principles, which gave impetus not only to the development of the physical sciences - themselves subsequently underpinned for more than two hundred years by Newton's *Principia* (written in 1687) in which was 'proved' the mechanical, linear, predictable and controllable nature of the Universe - but to a particular world-picture grounded in such principles. Thus, pantheistic First Wave thinking almost completely gave way to that in which Man (specifically, white man) had a central role to play in controlling and 'improving' the environment and God was 'reconstructed' as male, judgmental and separate.

The dominance of this picture on the collective mind-set of Western societies has had two major consequences. First, as I have already noted, science and religion have largely gone their separate ways with the result that material rather than spiritual values have tended to become a driving force in many people's lives. Second, people themselves have effectively been reduced to the status of cogs in a vast 'Society Machine'.

The latter phenomenon is evidenced by the way in which people speak of themselves in terms of the work they do within the Machine. They say "I am a teacher" or "I am a miner" or even "I used to be a ..." (whatever the occupation might have been). Value judgements about positions in the Machine hierarchy are made too, as in "I'm *just* a housewife" or "I'm *only* part-time". It is as if they regard their 'I-ness' not, using Carpenter's words, as something 'splendid' which 'pervades the universe' but as something purely mechanical - and therefore expendable.

Similar 'Machine-think' has also dominated organizational structures from the government of nations to the provision of education: classificatory systems and hierarchical ordering remain endemic, for example, in immigration laws; in economics and taxation; in the concept of social class; in industrial and business administration where 'blue-collar' and 'white-collar' distinctions are made and 'pyramid' management structures persist; in classrooms where students are separated on the basis of their age, ability, vocational orientation or medical label; and in knowledge itself where not only have the boundaries of traditional subject disciplines been reinforced and made exclusive, but the philosophy of the market place has combined with the notion of exclusivity to redefine knowledge as both an instrument of power and a commodity to be bought, sold, rationed or withheld.

In general, state-funded education systems have been designed to service the Society Machine: the 'input' of children is processed through different parts of the scholastic/ formative machinery, tested on exit, and assigned to appropriate tasks within the economically active parts of the greater Machine - until such time as these people-cogs are no longer useful to it. As I noted in chapter two, debate about education during, and following, the Industrial Revolution was actually couched in terms of factory techniques. The education of adults has always been somewhat anomalous in this respect since education-as-leisure does not readily translate into Machine-think. It is perhaps no accident, therefore, that such state-funded education of adults as currently exists is now being reconstituted in terms of the way in which it, too, can be tested and subsequently shown to contribute either to the economic operation of the Machine or to the maintenance of social cohesion/ control within it.

The picture perhaps requires no further elaboration. It is overly simple but I have painted it in order to highlight the nature of certain behaviour patterns that seem prevalent in society, and their origins in 'Second Wave thinking'. If the world-picture on which a society is founded assumes the 'real world' to be 'out there', to be measurable and predictable, and to operate according to strict mechanical laws, then it is scarcely surprising if the result is as Myers (1990: 46) outlines in these terms:

The assembly line and the corporate structure have taught us to distance ourselves from ourselves. Our bodies have become machine extensions, our minds functions of management, our lives ciphers of society. As a result we have grown alienated from what we believe should be our real selves.

Delivering a popular lecture series in London in the 1930s and 1940s, Plotter Ouspensky attempted to introduce what he called the 'New Knowledge', largely based on the work of the philosopher G.I. Gurdjieff, which embodied techniques intended to 'raise consciousness about the state of mankind'. He, too, employed the metaphor of the machine, declaring quite categorically:

Man is a Machine, but a very peculiar machine. He is a machine which, in right circumstances, and with right treatment, *can know that he is a Machine*, and having fully realized this, he may find the ways to cease to be a Machine (Ouspensky, 1968: 9, original emphases).

As Ouspensky was clearly aware, at the level of the individual work can be done to change even the most entrenched ideas. Kuhn (1970) has subsequently shown how paradigm shifts in collective thought-patterns occur over time as anomalous findings which do not fit an established world-picture increasingly pose a challenge to it until it is no longer sustainable and must give way to a new one.

Such changes occur unevenly, and often over several generations, so that a number of world-pictures may exist simultaneously. However, as Gramsci showed, the force of political hegemony is such that the picture which gives shape to the lives of the most powerful world leaders tends also to give shape to the lives of those whom

they govern, determining not only the values which are internalized but also those issues which become, literally, 'unthinkable' (Joll, 1977). Williams provides a personal view of this process in these terms:

Can I put it this way? ... I learned the experience of hegemony, I learned the saturating power of the structures of feeling of a given society, as much from my own mind and my own experience as from observing the lives of others. All through our lives, if we make the effort, we uncover layers of this kind of alien information in ourselves, and deep in ourselves. So then the recognition of it is a recognition of large elements in *our own* experience, which have to be - shall we say it? - defeated. But to defeat something like that in yourself, in your families, in your neighbours, in your friends, to defeat it involves something very different, it seems to me from most political strategies (Williams, 1989: 75; original emphasis).

Foucault has similarly demonstrated how, though the discourses of power and knowledge are mediated through political and professional bodies, they are made operational at all levels of society because they are generally accepted as 'the truth' or 'reality' rather than as the social constructs they are (Gordon, 1980).

Thus, what I have been attempting to suggest is that the dominant world-picture in many Western industrialized societies has been of the 'Society Machine'. It has given shape to both capitalist and communist regimes and, through international trading links, has exercised its influence even in those parts of the globe where other 'pictures' continue to exist.

To lay image upon image, the 'Society Machine' and the 'Second Wave' are one: it is the Machine which can be heard crashing onto the metaphorical shore in my earlier story. But its force is clearly not yet spent. Just as a powerful wave creates an almost equally powerful undertow, so the 'Second Wave Machinery' seems to be most strongly asserting itself at the very moment when its successor, the 'Gaian Third Wave', is beginning to gather its own strength: this force/ counter-force pattern is a common one in nature; its clearest illustration is in the classical Yin/ Yang symbol (☯) - which also shows how the 'new' arises not in spite, but because, of what precedes it.

The Yin and the Yang are the primary elements of ancient Chinese philosophy, signifying the two fundamental forces of nature. The Yin embodies all that is female, negative and dark; the Yang, the male, positive and light. But they are not opposites in the sense that one is preferable to the other: each is not only a necessary precursor to the existence of the other but always contains a small part of the other within itself. As Needham (1977: 72) explains:

Yin and Yang succeeded one another in endless repetition ... at the very moment when one of the two forces reached its apogee, the other one would begin to arise to overcome it and replace it ... [they] are not opponents locked in struggle, but forces complementary to each other, locked in an eternal embrace, and each equally necessary for the function of the world and the Universe.

Thompson (1987: 18) likens the effects of such transitions to a star going supernova: 'an intensification of a phenomenon that does not lead to its continuation, but to its vanishing'. He adds, 'one often sees in history that a radical shift is preceded by an intensification of the old'. Using warfare in the fifteenth century as an example, he says 'the moment when armour becomes most elaborate, with the knight lifted on to his horse by levers and pulleys' is also 'the moment when the most heavily armoured knight is made irrelevant through ... the crossbow and firearms'.

I concluded my 'Wave story' by suggesting that social policy and progress are currently being formulated in the muddy waters created by the undertow of the Second Wave. Using Thompson's terms, the trends towards greater compartmentalization and tighter control of knowledge within the National Curriculum in schools and towards increased vocationalism throughout the education system, for instance, represent little more than an 'intensification of the old'. They are a further elaboration of 'armour', a hardened pattern of thinking, which is already obsolete because it does not recognize either that knowledge of, and on, a global scale is so much more readily accessible than ever before (through television, the Internet and other technologies) that it is no longer appropriate to attempt to circumscribe and pre-package it, or that many traditional 'Machine tasks' are either irrelevant or no longer require a large human workforce to perform them.

The 'crossbow and firearms' of the emerging Third Wave seem already evident in political movements which attempt to promote a more global consciousness (including, for example, Green parties in national politics, and international organizations like Amnesty International and the Women's Environmental Network) as well as in increasing numbers of activities designed to facilitate the kind of personal and spiritual development that has little to do with pre-packaged knowledge or economic efficiency.

The 'personal growth movement' has blossomed since Maslow (1954) postulated the existence of a 'needs hierarchy' in which 'self-actualization' is a high-level human need which can be satisfied by progressing beyond satisfaction of the needs for self-esteem and status. Both of these apparently 'lower' needs, as Russell (1991: 185-186) argues, have a tendency to capture the attention of many who live, in particular, in Western societies - diverting them from further development by requiring effort to be put into the acquisition of more and more material goods and positional power rather than into other ways of 'being'. However, large numbers of people have now been sensitized to the possibility of further personal growth and understanding through Maslow's work as well as that of other psychologists and therapists such as Rogers (1969) and Peck (1990a, 1990b); and, in particular, through participation in the various 'consciousness-raising' activities which characterized the 1960s and 1970s.

Interestingly, though many of the group-based methods designed to assist in the process of personal growth have been developed in America, their origins can often be traced to the more 'mechanical' work of Bion and his contemporaries and successors at the Tavistock Institute in England. Following Bion's successful group therapy with military patients during the Second World War, the Institute became a focal point for the study of 'working groups', concentrating mainly on their efficiency and effectiveness (see Rioch, 1970, for a summary). Though initially 'Second Wave' in orientation, therefore, the Tavistock Institute gave impetus to what now seems to be a peculiarly 'Third Wave/ Galan' phenomenon. Indeed, as Peck (1990b: 109) notes:

Bion's foremost ground-breaking contribution was his recognition of a group not simply as a collection of individuals but as an organism with a life of its own.

Whether there is a difference between 'personal' and 'spiritual' growth is debatable. Neither Ferguson (1988) nor Russell (1984) appears to find the distinction really necessary and Annett (1976: 7) prefers the term 'field of human development' to cover the range of ideas and activities associated with 'struggling for self-knowledge'. Annett makes startlingly evident the wide range of groups associated with this 'field'. In the late 1970s, his book, *The Many Ways of Being*, ran to nearly three hundred pages of listings and descriptions of groups which contributed to 'the non-establishment spiritual state of Britain' at that time (Annett, *op.cit.*: 8). The

personal/ spiritual development movement has since assumed an even higher profile, as evidenced by the number of popular books now available in this area and the enormous expansion of 'growth therapies'.

I said earlier that a sense of 'all-embracing unity' - which Johnson (in Coxhead, *op.cit.*) had identified in descriptions of what appeared to be connection with the 'spiritual dimension of life' - seems to underpin 'Third Wave thinking'. As I have also noted, it is a sense of duality - born of the separation of science and religion and compounded by a scientific approach which had the scientist separate from and thus able to observe the world around (generally) him 'objectively' - which underpins the 'Second Wave'. However, unity is a slippery concept so it is necessary to consider whether it may be simpler to refer to a sense of 'interconnectedness' and of 'separateness' as the respective distinguishing features of the Third and Second Waves.

The Concept of Unity

In thinking about this it is important to bear a point in mind which I made earlier: if there is any relevance at all in juxtaposing the pictures of Second and Third Waves, consideration of 'Third Wave/ Gaian thinking' at the present stage in its progress will inevitably be tempered by the thought patterns and vocabularies of the Second Wave.

Lemesurier (1990: *passim*) is highly sceptical of the 'I believe in unity' school of thought precisely because of its inability to express itself in other than a dualistic vocabulary. Taking the word 'love' as an example, he notes that this represents a pivotal concept for those who anticipate the coming of the 'New Age' (a concept which can be used almost interchangeably with what I have been referring to as reaching the shoreline of the Third Wave). As Lemesurier (*op.cit.*: 198) says, 'love' refers to a 'total will-to-union':

Yet that very will-to-union implies an initial separateness. The very basis of the concept, in other words, lies in a duality-consciousness which denies the total oneness of the whole of the universe. Consequently, any attempt to put 'love' into practice must also imply the presence of its opposite - a hatred which, presumably has to be concealed or suppressed, or possibly diverted into other channels. ... if the lover and the beloved are truly one, then the injunction to love is irrelevant: if they are seen as separate, then no attempt at love can hope to bridge the gap. Indeed, the very attempt itself is a denial of the fact that ought to make it unnecessary - namely that there is no separation in the first place.

Lemesurier's argument might itself be regarded as 'typically' Second Wave: he analyses, through language and with logic, a quality which can perhaps be fully comprehended only through the experience of it. To use Rajneesh's (1975: 232-233) terms again: 'Knowledge [in this case about love] is always either this or that; Understanding [*i.e.* being in love] is neither - it transcends' difference. Unfortunately, although Rajneesh's distinction is useful in illustrating that the difference here is one of kind and not of degree, the terms 'knowledge' and 'understanding' are themselves not unproblematic. Pirsig (1989: 85-86), for example, discusses two kinds of 'Understandings': 'classical' and 'romantic'. He notes first that:

All the time we are aware of millions of things around us ... From all this awareness we must select, and what we select and call consciousness is never the same as the awareness because the process of selection mutates it. We take a handful of sand from the endless landscape of awareness around us and call that handful of sand the world.

Pirsig (*ibid.*) then goes on to describe how 'classical understanding' involves sorting the grains of sand into different piles based on size, colour, grades of opacity, and so on, *ad infinitum*. Understanding the world in this 'classical' fashion:

... is concerned with the piles and the basis for sorting and interrelating them. Romantic understanding is directed towards the handful of sand before the sorting begins. Both are valid ways of looking at the world though irreconcilable with one another.

What has become an urgent necessity is a way of looking at the world that does violence to neither of these two kinds of understanding and unites them into one.

Similar critiques and counter-critiques can be made of the use of other concepts associated with the 'New Age' or 'Third Wave' - and do, indeed, appear to be irreconcilable with one another. Nevertheless, it is undoubtedly 'that very will-to-union' to which Lemesurier refers, the wish to make explicit the 'romantic understanding' of already being *in* union with others, which underpins much New Age thinking.

Thus, it does not seem appropriate, simply in order to acknowledge the primacy of present dualistic thinking and vocabulary, to use the somewhat clumsy word 'interconnectedness' instead of 'unity' to point to the distinguishing feature of the 'Third Wave'. In any case, 'interconnectedness' derives primarily from ecological studies and tends to be more readily associated with relationships between species and planet than with anything of a more subtle nature.

The semantic difficulties here remind me of the problems so beautifully illustrated in Edwin Abbott's (1987) Victorian fantasy story *Flatland* in which the characters are geometric shapes who live in a world of two dimensions.

The narrator, Square, dreams of a visit to Lineland where the inhabitants can move only in one dimension, from point to point. The dream turns into a nightmare as Square attempts to explain to the inhabitants the potential for movement also from side to side, and the uncomprehending and frightened Linelanders prepare to attack his alien form and ideas. Later, prompted by a discussion with a grandchild who wonders about the possibility of a world in which there might be three dimensions, where there might be up and down as well as side to side - a notion which Square finds foolish and unimaginable, Square has an encounter with an inhabitant of Spaceland where there are, indeed, three dimensions.

To Square, this character seems to be a peculiar Circle with the ability to change size and disappear at will. This character is actually a Sphere who, finally exasperated at not being able to make Square understand the dynamics of the third dimension, gives him an actual experience of depth. It makes Square feel ill. Convinced that the experience is of hell or madness, Square shrieks in agony. Sphere quietly observes: "It is neither ... it is Knowledge. It is three dimensions. ... open your eye once again and try to look steadily!" Square subsequently becomes an evangelist and is locked up for the public good.

Square's difficulty in convincing other Linelanders and Flatlanders of the existence of a different dimension is not unusual. As Ferguson (*op.cit.*: 69) points out, 'The common wisdom about transcendent moments is that they can never be properly communicated, only experienced'.

Herein, then, lies the crux of the problem with which I have been grappling - of attempting to define a movement underpinned by something 'Whereof one cannot speak' but which many claim, nevertheless, to have experienced. Despite the semantic difficulties, therefore, I prefer to use 'duality' and 'unity' as the respective distinguishing features of the Second and Third Waves. In concluding this section I

propose to look briefly at what seem to be the philosophical underpinnings of the concept of unity which has emerged in the context of the Third Wave/ Gaian debate.

Earlier, in trying to clarify my use of the term 'spiritual', I quoted from the *Isba Upanishad*, one of the sacred texts of Ancient India. As such texts illustrate, within the Eastern philosophical traditions diversity is felt both to arise from, and at the same time to remain, unity. In other words, the 'concrete' world of thought and action stems directly from, and is sustained by, a more abstract one.

In Indian tradition, the combination of these two 'worlds' is known as *Brahman*. The relative (or 'solid') world is regarded as the manifest aspect of *Brahman*; the 'Absolute' is its unmanifest aspect. Everything contains an unmanifest aspect, which is also known as essential nature or pure consciousness (*Atman*). In the stillness of mind (*samadhi*) achieved through meditation and similar practices, a bridge may be created between these two aspects of the individual. However, true 'enlightenment' is held to be the state in which *samadhi* is maintained along with all activity, where the relative and absolute are both separately recognized but experienced as wholeness.

An appreciation of 'wholeness' is essential to an understanding of the ancient Vedic philosophy of which the *Upanishads* are a part. This has sound (*shakti*) as the creative energy of the Absolute. The primordial sound through which manifest creation emerges is *OM*: it creates and sustains the universe which, at the end of each cosmic cycle, returns to *OM*. Thus, the beginning and ending of everything is in *OM*, of which is said:

OM

That is the Whole.

This is the Whole.

From wholeness emerges wholeness.

Wholeness coming from wholeness, wholeness still remains.

(Shearer and Russell, 1978: 12)

The world-picture which gave rise to such texts was clearly an holistic one in which the concept of unity in diversity was unproblematic. This is also evident in the structure of ancient languages such as Sanskrit (in which the *Upanishads* were written):

An analysis of a Sanskrit word or idea draws us from the expressed world of multiplicity to a more elemental and causal level ... manifestations [in the physical world are] the play of polarities, and this dual nature of life is reflected in certain abstract nouns which contain both the meaning of their root and its opposite. For example, the concepts of *advaita* (unity), *aditi* (unboundedness) and *amrita* (immortality), ... are clearly shown to embrace the ideas of *dvaita* (duality), *dita* (the bound) and *mriti* (death). Both aspects of life are seen to be inextricably linked and we are reminded that the Infinite contains within it the finite (Shearer and Russell, *op.cit.*: 8).

The idea of unity within diversity is also expressed in the ancient Chinese text *Tao Te Ching* (which, literally translated, means 'The Way Things Work'). In a modern (and somewhat loose) American translation entitled *The Tao of Leadership*, Heider (1991: 35) interprets part of the chapter 'This versus That' as:

When a person forgets that all creation is a unity, allegiance goes to lesser wholes such as the family, the home team, or the company. Nationalism, racism, classism, sexism: all arise as consciousness of unity is lost. People take sides and favour this versus that.

Inevitably, too, in this circumstance people also begin to seek the power which will give advantage to 'their side' and, ultimately, to themselves as individuals. It is interesting to note in this context, therefore, that the traditional concept of power as an 'entity' which can be withheld from some because it is held by others is increasingly being challenged by new approaches to leadership in business which also seem to be seeking to articulate the concept of unity. As Evans and Russell (1989: 168) point out:

One of the captains of industry in Francis Kinsman's *The New Agenda* on the future of business said:

... The revolution in communication means that there will be a block between the older generation managers and a new generation with these new skills ... This is not only a matter of pure communication but actually something much closer to consultation and togetherness - *the feeling of oneness* (my emphasis).

It could be argued, of course, that such 'captains of industry' may merely be 'bandwagoning' - using the developing language of unity to mask the perpetuation of old divisions. However, the same argument has been applied to the use of non-sexist and non-racist language. It is now self-evident in these contexts that, while changed language patterns may still continue to provide a mask for old thought patterns, raising awareness of the former renders the latter more open to challenge and to change.

Thus, while the original author of the *Tao Te Ching*, Lao Tzu, writing in the fifth century BC, might not have been able to recognize his work in the language of modern management nor even in Heider's translation, both do seem to provide a useful example of a move from 'Second Wave' to 'Third Wave' thinking.

Much 'Third Wave' thinking appears to derive from the importation and translation of Eastern philosophies into Western ideas as transport improved and travel to the East became easier from the mid-nineteenth century onwards. Schopenhauer, for example, a younger contemporary of Hegel, appears to have been heavily influenced by a translation of the *Upanishads* by Anquetil-Duperron in 1804 (Lemesurier, 1990: 161-162). It led him to propound the idea of a 'life-force' which causes the universe to evolve towards the highest possible form of existence. The idea was later enthusiastically taken up by various spiritual movements, most notably the Theosophical Society which had subsequent links with the teachings of both Krishnamurti (Lutyens, 1982) and Rudolf Steiner. The founder of the Society, Madame Blavatsky, saw evolution, much as within the Vedic tradition, as a cyclic descent of spirit into matter and its struggle back out again (Blavatsky, 1967).

Similar ideas are to be found in the work of the Greek philosopher George Gurdjieff, (Waldberg, 1981) and his Russian contemporary and admirer, Pyotr Ouspensky (1968), to whom I have already made reference; in the writings of Paul Brunton (1982) whose early travel books bear clear testimony to the 'Easternising' of his ideas as he journeyed through what subsequently gave title to his books, *Secret Egypt* and *Secret India*; and in the works of Alice Bailey (substantially represented by Alder, 1986).

In the introduction to an English translation of the *Bhagavad-Gita* (Song of God), the major exposition of Vedic philosophy and gospel of Hinduism, Aldous Huxley (whose own book, *The Perennial Philosophy* [1946] to which I have already made reference, explores the teachings of the major philosophies and religions of the world) suggests there are 'four fundamental doctrines' to be found in such teachings:

First: the phenomenal world of matter and of individualized consciousness ... is the manifestation of a Divine Ground within which all partial realities have their being, and apart from which they would be non-existent.

Second: human beings are capable not merely of knowing *about* the Divine ground by inference; they can also realize its existence by a direct intuition, superior to discursive reasoning. This immediate knowledge unites the knower with that which is known.

Third: man possesses a double nature, a phenomenal ego and an eternal Self, which is ... the spirit ... It is possible ... to identify ... with the spirit and therefore with the Divine Ground, which is of the same or like nature with the spirit.

Fourth: man's life on earth has only one end and purpose: to identify himself with his eternal Self and so to come to unitive knowledge of the Divine Ground (Prabhavananda and Isherwood, 1953: 13, original emphasis).

The spread of such ideas has accelerated dramatically as international travel and communication has become the norm for large numbers of people - although the traffic of ideas has not been entirely from East to West. Mahatma Gandhi, for example, met Madame Blavatsky and other Theosophists when he was a law student in London in the 1890s and freely acknowledged the influence they and their ideas had on him. In particular, he said, they 'stimulated me to read books on Hinduism, and disabused me of the notion fostered by the missionaries that Hinduism was rife with superstition' (Cupitt, 1984: 174).

One event which contributed significantly to the 'popularizing' of Eastern teachings in the West was the meeting between the 1960s 'pop' group *The Beatles*, who had an enormous world-wide following of young people, and the Indian spiritual teacher, Maharishi Mahesh Yogi, who introduced them and, in consequence, thousands of their followers to the process of Transcendental Meditation. The introduction of the Maharishi's teachings was coincidental with the 'discovery' and widespread use, again largely amongst young people, of hallucinogenic drugs which can simulate, often more quickly and apparently more effortlessly, the sense of unity which can be experienced through meditation (not for nothing did such drug taking become known as 'taking the gates of heaven by storm').

As Lemesurier (*op.cit.*: 227-228) points out, both meditation and hallucinogens can:

... reintroduce the seeker for the first time since infancy to a full-blooded experience of the universe's total oneness and wholeness in all its power and glory' [see Watts, 1962, for a first-hand account]. That one 'trip' is generally enough. Once experienced in adulthood, the vision remains, never again to be lost.

For many reasons, not least the outrage caused to established political and moral values by the introduction of these practices, the taking of such 'trips' seemed to peak in the late 1960s and subsequently to decrease, at least in terms of its news value. For health-related as well as legal reasons, the (ab)use of hallucinogens now seems much less prevalent.

However, membership of groups offering a variety of meditation techniques has become commonplace, occasions little question, and is often promoted as an acceptable form of stress release. A range of popular literature exists to support this view (see, for example, LeShan, 1974; and Russell, 1979). Given that a significant number of people have thus experienced at least 'That one "trip"', their 'never again to be lost' vision of unity now constitutes a shared reality which, in its attempted articulation, seems both to have created and to continue to give shape to the Third Wave/ Gaian debate.

Precursors of Third Wave/ Gaian Thinking

If the Second Wave had Descartes as its 'founding father' then a similar position might be afforded to Hegel in relation to the Third Wave. Two aspects of his work seem to be linked particularly closely to features of the Third Wave to which I have already drawn attention. First, Hegel borrowed from Plato the concept of the dialectic - a logical process of argument based on the 'method of the contrary case'. He developed the idea of 'thesis' and 'antithesis' whose differences could ultimately be resolved in 'synthesis'. This represented a higher level of 'truth' since it encompassed both thesis and antithesis. In its turn this synthesis would become the new thesis which would subsequently generate its own antithesis, thereby beginning the sequence again.

It is essentially this process which I have described in terms of the thesis and antithesis of First and Second Wave thinking. Their synthesis lies in the rationale of the Third Wave's 'new consciousness movement' which seeks to reunite matter with mind and spirit. Although the semantics of the proposition are difficult, as I have already illustrated, this 'reunion', or re-creation of unity, represents a 'higher level' of unity than that associated with the First Wave since it contains within itself knowledge and understanding, gleaned from Second Wave separation and science, of the diversity of physical and mental processes.

Hegel himself argued that history could best be understood by observing the development of nations in the light of the dialectic; each new civilization representing a synthesis of what was of most value in those which preceded it. Through this process, and this is the second point relating to the Third Wave debate, he believed that the State progresses towards the realization of its 'Spirit'. For Hegel, therefore, the dialectical process of history is a process of ever higher syntheses whereby 'Spirit' will ultimately come to 'know itself' as a fully realized Being.

The idea finds its echoes in those of Teilhard de Chardin, a Jesuit priest who, in the 1930s was involved with the discovery of the skull of 'Peking Man'. Though the skull itself is now presumed to be a clever forgery, the interest provoked at the time prompted Teilhard de Chardin to study the evolutionary process and the relationship between religious experience and natural science. He subsequently developed a theory of evolution based on the premise that humanity would become unified in a single 'interthinking' group. The word '*noosphere*' (derived from the Greek *noos*, meaning mind) was coined to refer to the cumulative effects of human minds across the planet.

The biosphere, with which Lovelock was concerned in advancing the *Gaia* hypothesis, represents the system comprising all life and its planetary environment; Teilhard de Chardin's *noosphere* denotes a similar system comprising human consciousness. He believed the stage of 'noogenesis' (the genesis of mind) was the third stage of evolution following 'geogenesis' (of the Earth) and 'biogenesis' (of life). The fulfilment of the process would be the 'Omega Point' at which there would be an integrated planetary consciousness. Teilhard de Chardin (1955: 57) observes in a footnote in his own *The Phenomenon of Man* that his sense of this is close to that of J.B.S. Haldane whose 'Essay on Science and Ethics', in *The Inequality of Man* (1932: 113, Chatto), Teilhard de Chardin had read only after formulating his own ideas. Haldane had suggested 'that the co-operation of humanity ... may determine what Comte calls a Great Being'.

The Indian mystic Sri Aurobindo, a contemporary of Teilhard de Chardin, had a similar view which was expressed in terms even closer to Hegel's. He spoke of evolution as a process whereby the 'Divine Reality' could express itself in ever

higher forms of existence. Having passed from energy through matter and life to consciousness, evolution in Sri Aurobindo's view is now passing through the transformation from consciousness to what he calls 'Supermind' - the ultimate evolution of 'Spirit' (see Aurobindo, 1970; or an introduction to Aurobindo's ideas in McDermott, 1971).

Russell (1984: 85 *et passim*) has drawn heavily on such ideas and combined them with those of Lovelock to propose the emergence of a level of consciousness which he terms the 'Gaiafield'. This, he says:

... will not be the property of individual human beings, any more than consciousness is the property of individual cells. The Gaiafield will occur at the *planetary* level, emerging from the interactions of all the minds within the social super-organism (original emphasis).

Although Russell makes no mention of Hegel, his notion of the Gaiafield seems remarkably close to Hegel's view of spirit as 'a plurality of self-conscious beings, that he calls ... the "I which is a We, and the We which is an I"' (Plamenatz, 1972: 35).

The time-scale envisaged by Teilhard de Chardin for humanity to reach the 'Omega Point' appears to have been thousands of years; Sri Aurobindo's time-scale was shorter - of perhaps only a few generations. By contrast, Russell talks in terms of decades, primarily because of the rapidly accelerating pace of change in technology and hence in human affairs. The message from their ideas which underpins the Third Wave/ Gaian debate is that a future radically different from the past is almost upon us. Myers (1990: 180) puts it as strongly as this:

No doubt about it, we stand at a hiatus in the human enterprise. The present is so different from the past, and the present so different from the future, that it is as if we are at a hiatus in the course of human affairs. It is a unique time: a time of breakdown or breakthrough.

The stark choice Myers presents between 'breakdown or breakthrough' probably has its origins in Prigogine's (1989) influential ideas on 'dissipative structures' which are highly complex and unstable. Wilson (1990: 236) specifically relates the concept to modern society, noting:

All dissipative structures are teetering perpetually between self-destruction and re-organization on a higher level of information (coherence) ... our human world is so information-rich (coherent) that it is almost certain to 'collapse' into even higher coherence, not into chaos and self-destruction.

Echoing Myers but without reference to him, he adds (*ibid.*; original emphasis), 'many seeming symptoms of *breakdown* are actually harbingers of *breakthrough*'.

I have attempted to present a similar view in suggesting that there is evidence of a breakdown in 'Second Wave/ Machine-thinking' rooted in the dualism of 'I' and 'You', of 'man' and 'the environment', and of 'matter' and 'spirit'; and at the same time, of a breakthrough in 'Third Wave/ *Gaia*-thinking'. Within the latter the concept of unity - the experience of which has now not only been shared but stumblingly articulated by so many people - provides a vision of a different future on an as yet untrodden shore where a collective human consciousness will transcend the physical and mental barriers that it has itself been instrumental in creating.

Though still the subject of much intellectual debate, Hegel's philosophy envisaged a similar process in the perfecting of the 'World Spirit' as it came to know itself through the blossoming of human consciousness across the epochs of historical time. In Hegel's view 'philosophy is its own time apprehended in thoughts' (Knox, 1942: preface) and he inevitably saw his own 'Germanic World' as the site for the

near-perfection of Spirit. But he also believed that 'America is clearly the land of the future, where, in the ages that lie before us, the burden of world's history shall reveal itself' (Knox, *op.cit.*: 86-87). He may have been right: much of the impetus to Third Wave thinking has come from that continent and the great store it has set by the processes of personal/ spiritual development.

Like Teilhard de Chardin with Haldane's essay, I have come into contact with Hegel's work only after considering the process of such development in other philosophies and terms. However, in concluding this chapter, I want to consider the similarities between Hegel's idea of the 'becoming' of Spirit through the various historical 'Worlds' and two other ideas, that I touched on earlier and to which I wished to return. The first is the view that the history of humanity is mirrored in the 'life-stages' which each individual has the potential to pass through, and that these are somewhat analogous with the three 'Waves' with which this chapter has been concerned; the second is that 'transformative' events which have taken place in the West between the second world war and the 1990s have followed a similar pattern.

Hegel (1956, last revised translation published in 1899) describes the progress of Spirit through four different 'Worlds' representing different historical epochs. In the first, the 'Oriental World', individual human consciousness, as a self-reflecting entity, has not yet differentiated itself from the consciousness of the collective which is expressed through the Head of the State; Spirit is therefore immersed in 'Substantiality', the 'thesis' to which it is not yet able to become 'antithesis': the stage is analogous with that of babyhood. In the second 'World', the 'Greek', individualities begin to form themselves but are not able to express the individuality other than as part of the State: it is a period of adolescence. (I am not sure how far this view is reconcilable with Wolpert's (1992), discussed earlier, of Classical Greece as the cradle of modern science but let us leave that model aside for now.)

Hegel (*op.cit.*: 107) equates the third 'World', the 'Roman', with the 'Manhood' of history in which there is 'harsh and rigorous toil' but individuals 'become persons with definite rights as such'; Spirit in a sense becomes fragmented within individuals who thus have the opportunity to become self-reflective, to 'know' their own consciousness and to differentiate it from that of others. In the 'Germanic World', which Hegel equates with the 'old age' of human life, Spirit achieves through the human mind an inner consciousness of itself but must yet struggle to come into harmony with the secular.

It is tempting to see in Hegel's much-disputed 'World picture' not only the parallels which he himself suggests with the development of the individual but with much of the 'Wave' imagery contained in this chapter; to equate the Oriental World with the First Wave, the Greek with a transitional period into the 'Roman' Second Wave, and the 'Germanic' with a transitional period into the Third Wave which is being formulated under the influence of the 'American World' which Hegel could only anticipate.

Connections and Reflections

Given the accelerated pace of change in human affairs, it does not, perhaps, seem too far-fetched to suggest that this vast history can also be seen loosely reflected in events which have taken place in the West during the last half century and which appear to be associated with human spiritual development. As I noted earlier, Ferguson saw the 'social activism of the 1960s' coming together with the 'consciousness revolution of the 1970s' to create an 'historic synthesis'. I said then that the time-scale might be expanded to encompass the 1940s to the 1990s.

During this period there seem to me to have been key points when large numbers of people have experienced 'unity' - a connection with a 'spiritual dimension' greater than their individual selves.

The first of these was occasioned by the second world war during which, despite its horrors, many clearly felt a sense of 'belonging'. This may not have been experienced in quite the same way since, nor articulated in other than nationalistic sentiment at the time, - and there is clearly a debate, which there is not the space to enter into here, about the extent to which the popular remembrance (as manifested during the fiftieth anniversary commemorations of 'D-Day', 'VE-Day' and other significant war-time events) of this sense of 'belonging' and 'togetherness' masks divisions that were once deeply felt - but it evidently remains for many as an intimation of something beyond 'everyday' existence. To some degree it might be equated with the experience of Hegel's 'Oriental World'.

The 'counter-culture' of the 1960s seems not dissimilar to the 'Greek World' with its emphasis on what Hegel (1956: 106) called 'Beautiful Freedom' and where 'the Sensuous bears the stamp and expression of the Spiritual'. It was a time when, as I have already indicated, large numbers of young people experienced a 'never again to be lost' sense of unity through an introduction to meditation and/ or hallucinogens; it led directly to the 'consciousness movement' of the 1970s in which many other means, primarily involving participation in groups, were explored in which to recreate the experience.

In the British context, it is more than tempting to equate the heyday of 'Thatcherism' during the 1980s with the 'harsh and rigorous toil' of a materialistic and highly individualistic 'Roman World' which became so uncomfortable for many that they have sought its antithesis in the 'Germanic/ American' 'new consciousness movement' of the 1990s.

Perhaps 'movement' is really too grand a name with which to credit a range of vastly different writings and activities appearing in many parts of the world, loosely connected only in their apparent attempt to engage with a new world-picture. Nevertheless, their impetus appears to come from recognition that the processes of materialism and individualism which have powered so much discovery and development have also had irreversible detrimental effects on the planet and its peoples.

For example, the creation of totally destructive weapons has led to fears for any kind of future for humankind; increasing reports of environmental damage have queried a range of previously accepted methods of farming and manufacturing; millions have become aware, through high-profile television campaigns and celebrity concerts, of the plight of indigenous peoples throughout the world, and of some of the long-term consequences of colonialism; and increasing numbers of 'single-issue campaigns' have drawn attention to the wider implications of local environmental concerns, the 'rights' of animals, and so on.

Recognition of all of these issues in the world 'out there' has brought into question the relationship between the various peoples of the world, and between humankind and the planet itself. In particular, questions have been asked about rights, inequalities and power in a global context. Advances in communications have allowed such global issues to be raised simultaneously in many parts of the world and amongst large numbers of people who have hitherto had little knowledge of them.

There have been many consequences. At one end of the spectrum there has been a tendency to blame science and technology for many of the current ills of the world; at the other to idealize the ways of indigenous peoples; in the middle, solutions have been sought in the politics of equality and diversity. Alongside all this has

been the issue of whether social change is best brought about by political means or through what Ferguson (1988) refers to as 'personal transformation'. This latter possibility stems from a search which, though centuries-old, seems to have entered into the popular imagination of the West during the 1960s.

Ralf Dahrendorf (1975) once noted that all major changes in education and social policy in Britain in the post-war years had been linked to the life-stage and needs of the 'baby boom' generation. It is perhaps no coincidence, therefore, that the origins of the 1960s' quest for personal transformation, and its effects, appear to have similar links. During the 1960s there were unprecedented numbers of relatively well-off young people, cushioned by the new Welfare State, from whom many of the pressures of previous generations had been lifted and who were reaping the benefits of an extended education. In terms of Maslow's (1954) 'needs hierarchy', the next level of need which many were driven to fulfil was for 'self-actualization'.

Whether or not they, or their contemporaries in other industrialized countries of the West, achieved this, or in a way that Maslow would recognize, is less important than the fact that a substantial proportion of a single generation developed an understanding and a vocabulary which allowed them at least partially to express and share the processes of their 'inner worlds'.

Thus, while many of this generation, and of those which have followed, clearly owe much in their thinking and material circumstances to science, technology, and the traditions of objectivity and rationality, they are also more able to articulate openly, in a way which was less familiar in preceding generations, that which is subjective and rooted in intuition and emotion. The women and men of this generation are now at a life-stage where their experiences and ideas have most potential to make themselves felt in both local communities and in a global context.

Perhaps, on reflection, the concept of 'movement' applied to what appear to be different ways of thinking and prioritizing, or implied in the imagery of waves, is too closely associated to be fully effective in the present context with that of progress, of inevitable *forward* motion. In the last of the 1996 Reith Lectures, Jean Aitchison⁷ noted that 'Metaphors are "high-tech" devices for changing people's minds' and drew attention to Benjamin Lee Whorf's observation that "'standard average European" cultures are in a mental strait-jacket' because of the constricting images in which they envisage time.

I have already discussed the fact that, because images of time and movement seem to be inextricably linked in Western thought, it is difficult not to interpret the contradictory patterns visible in modern society as evidence of movement 'from' the dominance of one world-picture 'to' that of another. However, I am mindful of the fact that Toffler's (1981: 19-20) wave imagery was initially chosen to enable people to see more easily 'beneath the raging surface of change' and it may be that an ocean does remain an appropriate metaphor for much that I have been attempting to describe - but the picture needs to be three-dimensional.

Although from a view-point on the beach, waves do appear to 'come in', when seen from the air, an ocean's 'raging surface of change' has neither movement nor direction, only a momentary pattern. In addition, the depths of the ocean, though made of the same 'stuff' as the noisy waves on the surface and, in effect, giving rise to and continuously sustaining them, remain silent and generally unseen, a still point which underpins all superficial appearance of change or pattern.

At the end of chapter one, I took from Carr (1995: 19) the notion that an individual's biography and the genealogy of a concept are stories about 'unity through diversity, continuity through change'. In the 'three-dimensional' ocean image, the silent, unseen depths represent the unity/ continuity of a 'spiritual dimension' which, as I have been trying to illustrate, seems to be that which contains and sustains all

apparent pattern and change in the world which is known through our physical and mental processes. It may be no less 'real' than the ocean's depths simply because it, like them, does not always seem accessible.

I also suggested earlier that to experience 'unity' is to connect with 'spirit', and that to experience 'community' is similarly to gain a sense of something much larger than oneself: in terms of the imagery I have just used, both experiences represent an awesome glimpse of the depth and scale of the ocean. In searching for the 'abstract quality' of community, therefore, perhaps it is necessary to consider the possibility that it is located somewhere beyond the boundaries of existing maps, models and meanings.

¹ Reported in full in *The Independent*, Section Two, 6.3.1996: 4

² Local Economic Trading Systems (LETS) are non-profit-making bartering systems which allow members to exchange goods and services with other people in the community without using money. An 'invented' currency is often used instead - in Sheffield, for example, this is called the 'Stone'. One of the primary purposes of the Sheffield system, as with most other LETS is 'to help participants realise that they do have things to offer and that they are a valuable resource to their community'. LETS are intended to create a 'social network' which 'Builds the community; Increases prosperity; Enables greater personal fulfilment'. (All quotations drawn from local publicity material.)

³ As noted in chapter two, the Human Scale Education Network is a loose collection of individuals and schools with a broad interest in the 'Small is Beautiful' teachings of E.F.Schumacher.

⁴ The Mission Statement of the Foundation for Community Encouragement (FCE; based on the ideas described by M.Scott Peck in his books *The Different Drum* and *A World Waiting to be Born*) is to empower people 'in a fragmented world, to discover new ways of being together'. It states:

Living, learning and teaching the principles of community, we serve as a catalyst for individuals, groups and organisations to:

- communicate with authenticity;
- deal with difficult issues;
- bridge differences with integrity;
- relate with love and respect.

FCE's approach encourages tolerance of ambiguity, the experience of discovery, and the tension between holding on and letting go.

As we empower others, so we are empowered by a Spirit within and beyond ourselves.

⁵ *The Independent Magazine*, 2.3.96: 13.

⁶ See note 1

⁷ See note 1.



Chapter Eight

In Search of Meanings: Complexities of Community

This chapter focuses on the concept of 'community' and explores some of the explicit and implicit ideas with which it has become associated. The purpose of the chapter is to try to determine the extent to which there is an 'abstract quality' in community that, like the 'wholeness' of the Sufi elephant, generally eludes description; and to consider whether this quality could be articulated in terms of 'spirit'.



*... And so each venture
Is a new beginning, a raid on the inarticulate
With shabby equipment always deteriorating
In the general mess of imprecision of feeling, ...*
(Eliot, 1940)

A Problem

In thus describing the difficulties inherent in 'Trying to learn to use words', Eliot highlights a perennial problem associated with 'community' - that of definition. The problem is not peculiar to community or, by extension, to community education, of course. Discussing definition in relation to sanity and madness in his book *Psychiatry in Dissent*, Clare (1980) writes:

The definitions of madness remain, as a certain Doctor Good remarked over a century ago, 'so narrow as to set at liberty half the patients at Bedlam ... or so loose and capacious as to give a strait waistcoat to half the world ...' (Herman and Green, 1991: 2).

The potential social repercussions of inappropriate or inadequate definitions of community/ education may be less dramatic - but the approach to the problem of definition taken by Herman and Green in their summary of the ways in which ideas about madness have constantly shifted provides a useful model which I propose to adopt in the present context. To do so is not to imply any relationship between the concepts or manifestations of madness and community/ education, but is merely to acknowledge that both have been described and constituted by many different discourses, including politics, economics, psychology, sociology, geography and morality; and by different generations and cultures. Thus, as Herman and Green (*ibid.*) concede:

... a search for a single fixed definition ... will inevitably be in vain. We should, perhaps, start out, not in search of meaning but of *meanings* (original emphasis).

Mindful of this advice, I shall not try to find a singular definition of 'community' but focus initially on issues surrounding the use of the term and then, very broadly, on what might be identified as constituent elements of the 'community debate'. My main consideration will be whether, like the life in the Sufi elephant, there remains an additional 'abstract quality' associated with the notion of 'community' which

escapes immediate description; and, if so, to what extent it is possible, or useful, to articulate this by reference to a 'spiritual dimension' of human existence.

'Community' as a Prefix

One of the greatest difficulties in attempting to define community education has always been the complexity of the term 'community' itself. As Martin (1987: 12) points out, 'Community' is a notoriously slippery and contested concept - so much so that some commentators have advocated abandoning it once and for all.

Stacey (1969: 134), for example, declared that 'as a concept "community" is not useful for serious sociological analysis' and, largely in consequence as Crow and Allan (1994: 15) illustrate, in the decade which followed 'little empirical community research was undertaken as community studies became "something of a lost art" (Eldridge, 1984, p. xi)'. A contributory factor in all this was undoubtedly the existence in the early tradition of community studies of what Crow and Allan (*op.cit.*: 14) describe as 'a fundamental mismatch between the researchers' theoretical expectations and the findings which their investigations produced'.

As Abrams (1978: 12) had already commented, 'the paradox of community is the co-existence of a body of theory which constantly predicts the collapse of community and a body of empirical studies which finds community alive and well'. Scherer (1972: *i*) also described similar problems in researching the sociology of contemporary communities in the 1970s, noting that:

In spite of constant usage, community remains an untidy, confusing, and difficult term. This is no wonder when it has become a cliché and a rallying cry; an analytic concept and a sociological sample; a geographic location and an emotional state. ... The host of definitions provided more often confuse than clarify.

Nevertheless, a quarter of a century later, it remains evident that "community" is a concept that just will not lie down' (Day and Murdoch, 1993: 85). The continued and widespread use of the term itself is probably due in no small measure to the 'happiness factor' that is generally associated with it. Scherer (*op.cit.*: *xii*) endorses this view in observing that:

... the word "community" is emotionally tinged. It is usually equated with a condition of happiness. At its best, community provides meaning and purpose to life - but, at its worst, community can be a source of tyranny and inhumanity.

There can be little doubt that modern British politicians have frequently exploited the term for its happiness factor and, if mercifully not often for the purposes of 'tyranny', then at least to serve their own ends. As Wilmott (1989: 21-31) illustrates, during the 1980s especially, many policy developments had the word placed in front of them in order to smooth their path towards acceptance by the general public: community care, community charge and community policing are but three instances of its use in British politics, interestingly at a time when the then Prime Minister had openly declared her belief that 'There is no such thing as Society'.

More recently, albeit employing a rather more cynical style in a newspaper article, David Starkey¹ has reaffirmed Wilmott's view, declaring: 'Oh, community, what verbal crimes are committed in thy name! Community is ... intended to produce a glow in the parts other slogans can't reach. The reality is colder'. Having attacked the notion of 'Care in the community' and the function of the 'community worker', and suggested that it was mere political expediency which created the 'gay community', Starkey concludes 'Community, in short, is a word corrupted by usage'. Nearly twenty years earlier, Stewart (1976: 69) had similarly despaired that

'community' could be found, 'consorting to an almost abandoned degree with a host of other words'.

'Community' does, indeed, seem to have a long history of use as a prefix to bestow an aura of respectability/ acceptability on policy initiatives and what Martin (1987: 13) describes as:

... a dubious assortment of localized, relatively cheap and expediently ad hoc responses to fundamentally structural problems. ... Too often the 'community' label is exploited as a smokescreen to fudge some of the key issues both about power, accountability and resource allocations at national, regional and local levels and about the critical distinction between 'personal troubles of milieu' and 'public issues of social structure' (Wright Mills, 1970: 14).

However, while Martin sees the community label being used 'to fudge' the distinction between the personal and the public, Scherer (1972: 100) regarded the early stages of the movement towards community control in schools, community care and so on as a well-founded attempt 'to make institutions more "community-like"' by altering the basis of the relationships, behaviour patterns and associated expectations which become literally and often counter-productively enshrined in the operation of institutions. In Mackenzie's (1967: 194-5) terms, to which Scherer draws attention, institutions are 'social facts which change relatively slowly' and, in consequence, they force people into specific kinds of role-determined relationships which, in a rapidly changing society, may no longer be either appropriate or useful. Thus, to make institutions more 'community-like' from this perspective would be to make them more responsive to immediate need.

Scherer's view of the distinction between institutional and community relationships was clearly linked to contemporary work being undertaken in the 1960s and early 1970s by both Goffman and Illich on the limiting nature of institutions although, as she notes (*op.cit.*: 99), this simply 'led many to adopt community as a form of "back to nature"' (an image which I shall explore in more detail later in the context of Tonnies's work). In the late 1990s, after nearly two decades of government in Britain under the direction of a Conservative party apparently intent on the destabilization of many established institutional structures - whilst at the same time reclaiming central control over key interests such as the school curriculum - it is not always easy to separate policies likely to lead towards genuine community involvement and patterns of operation from those involving the 'smokescreen' tactics to which Martin refers. The election of a 'New Labour' government in 1997 as yet shows little sign of bringing about such enlightenment.

Although, to borrow Newby's (1994: *xii*) terms, the concept of community has clearly provided a long-running '*leitmotif* of our present discontents' over at least a quarter of a century, recent research by Crow and Allan (1994) indicates that 'community' continues to provide both a practical 'intermediary structure' and a useful 'term of social organization which mediates between the personal and the institutional' (Crow and Allan, *op.cit.*: 18). Having explored the application of the concept of community in a number of areas of British social policy (not including education) and considered the use of alternative terms such as 'local social system' and 'locality', Crow and Allan, (*op.cit.*: 193) conclude 'if it did not exist it would surely need to be invented. How else can one explain the continued use of a term which has received so much conceptual abuse?'

The 'conceptual abuse' seems to have almost as long a history as the use of the term. Martin's 'smokescreen' argument had already been foreshadowed by Benington (1974: 206), then Director of a Community Development Project in Coventry, who, using a different metaphor, wryly observed that:

Sociologists in search of the meaning of 'community' have so far come up with ninety-four different definitions. Their diffidence has not prevented politicians and professionals from using it as a kind of 'aerosol' word to be sprayed on to deteriorating institutions to deodorize and humanize them.

The 'ninety-four different definitions' so often quoted in discussions about community were tracked down by Hillery (1955) more than forty years ago. Less than a quarter of them produced anything approaching a common formula and about one fifth contained mutually exclusive elements. As the number of definitions is likely only to have increased since the 1950s, it is clear that to debate the notion of community at all is to enter a semantic minefield wherein will inevitably lie both survivors and casualties of numerous ideas and political ideologies.

While I was writing the previous sentence, it occurred to me that to enter such a field in search of an 'abstract quality' or a 'spiritual dimension' may be like pursuing a will-o-the-wisp. As I had not given a thought to these ephemeral 'creatures' for many years, I checked the origin of their name and was intrigued to find that it can be traced back to the same root which gives rise to both 'welfare' and 'commonwealth': to 'wishing someone well' and to 'uniting for the common good' (Partridge, 1982: 788-789). Since both processes have echoes in the etymology of community itself (to which I drew attention in chapter one) perhaps this particular piece of imagery was unintentionally well-chosen; perhaps the pursuit of this wisp can indeed shed additional light on the ideas already in the field.

Beneath the Surface: An Abstract Quality?

Minar and Greer (cited in Scherer, 1972: 127) and Kirkwood (1978) provide strikingly similar accounts of community which draw implicitly on the notion of 'uniting for the common good' and also hint at the depth of feeling associated with the concept of community. Minar and Greer (*op.cit.*) believe that:

Community is indivisible from humane actions, purposes and values. It expresses our vague yearnings for a commonality of desire, a communion with those around us, an extension of bonds of kin and friendship to all those who share a common fate with us.

Kirkwood not only employs virtually the same terms as Minar and Greer but also effectively provides a bridge between early sociological analyses of community and current 'New Age' thinking:

There is a profound spontaneous desire for what we might call organic community among people of all classes in Britain. The word community is popular because through it, people can express this yearning for communion with each other.

It is a yearning for social wholeness, mutuality and inter-relatedness as opposed to the alienated, fragmented, antagonistic social world of daily experience. Linked with this desire for warm relatedness is a desire for stability (Kirkwood, 1978: 148-149).

The empirical basis for Kirkwood's claim is not entirely clear, particularly given the first of four elections in the following year (1979) of a government which appeared determined to dismantle any vestige of a post-war consensus. Nevertheless, as I shall discuss in the next section, the distinction made here between the desired state of 'organic community' and the 'antagonistic social world of daily experience' reflects that made by Tonnies (1887) nearly a century before between 'community' and 'society'.

The phrases 'yearning for communion' and 'yearning for social wholeness' seem, too, to have close links with the concept of unity as the driving force of 'New Age/ Gaian' thinking. Such thinking, as I attempted to demonstrate in chapter seven, is heavily influenced by the notion of 'spontaneous', 'organic', systems-related change in human/ worldly affairs but assumes this to be underpinned by a deeper, unchanging, continuity (as represented, perhaps, by Kirkwood's 'stability') where refuge may be found from the sometimes distressing world of outward appearances.

In concluding chapter seven, I likened such underpinning to the silent, unseen, depths of an ocean, on the surface of which one might experience great turbulence. I also suggested that to experience unity is to connect with these peaceful depths which represent a spiritual dimension that contains and sustains all the apparent pattern and change of the 'everyday' world; and that to experience community might be to make a similar connection. In the conclusion to chapter one, I included a comment on community from Williams which seems especially significant in this context.

Initially, Williams (1976: 66) echoed the concern, noted above, of Stewart and others about the 'abandon' with which the term 'community' is used. As he put it, 'Community can be the warmly persuasive word to describe an existing set of relationships, or the warmly persuasive word to describe an alternative set of relationships'. Though his comment is slightly whimsical, it clearly represents a real problem; such a serious one, in fact, that it ultimately led Williams to relinquish the concept of community as unworkable (Mulhearn, 1979). Significantly, however, Williams's 'warmly persuasive' comment also carries the rider:

What is most important, perhaps, is that unlike all other terms of social organization (state, nation, society *etc.*) it [community] *never seems to be used unfavourably, and never to be given any positive opposing or distinguishing term* (Williams: *ibid.*, my emphasis).

An argument might be advanced, of course, that 'community' is never used unfavourably simply *because* the term has never been comprehensively defined and so is open to whatever positive glow it can be used to bestow. An alternative, and perhaps less tautological argument might be that 'community' does not have any 'opposing' term precisely because, unlike most Western concepts, it does not represent a polarity: it is not distinguished, or made separate, from other terms simply because the term itself is derived from acknowledgement, at a deep level in the human psyche, of the oneness - unity - of all things. (A factor which might also explain the apparent unceasing motivation to graft the concept back on to so many others despite the lack of adequate verbal clarification of its meaning.)

Simpson (1937: 97, 71) agrees with this argument to the extent that 'It is to human beings and their feelings, sentiments, reactions, that all look for the fundamental roots of community', but comes to a different conclusion in assuming that community derives from 'a complex of *conditioned* emotions which the individual feels towards the surrounding world and his fellows' (my emphasis). Nevertheless, since the nature *v.* nurture debate - which has dogged psychologists almost from the birth of their discipline - has never adequately explained the complexity of emotion, it seems no less plausible to look to the deeper level of the psyche for explanation than to the social world of nurture and 'conditioning'.

Acknowledgement of an underlying unity seems implicit in the attempt made by MacIver and Page (1961: 293) to define the 'sentiment' of community. In terms reminiscent of Hegel's depiction of the 'World Spirit' as the 'I which is a We, and the We which is an I' (Plamenantz, 1972: 35), they speak of 'we-feeling' and define it as 'the feeling that leads men to identify themselves with others so that when they say "we" there is no thought of distinction and when they say "ours" there is no thought of division'.

(Interestingly, reporting on Etzioni's influence on current political thinking, Melanie Phillips² uses similar terminology. She summarizes Etzioni's 'message' as 'We have to move from "me" to "we"'. I shall comment briefly on Etzioni's work later.)

Clark (1987: 56) draws on MacIver and Page's depiction of 'we-feeling' to describe what he calls simply a 'sense of solidarity' as an essential component of community. However, it could equally well be used to support the view that to experience community is to experience a connection with an unchanging world of 'spirit' where all difference is transcended. Indeed, in a later text, Clark (1992: 126) draws parallels between what he sees as the three essential elements of community - satisfaction of the senses of security, significance and solidarity - and the Christian image of the Trinity; he identifies the search for solidarity with the position of the Holy Spirit, the Trinity's 'unifying' aspect.

It is important to note that Clark (*ibid.*) sees the latter as being 'about the business of reconciliation and justice', and quite specifically *not* about the mere outward show of solidarity and community by such means as subjugating the weak to the strong. Similarly, the idea I have in mind in referring to the 'transcendence' of difference is not about simply ignoring outward differences but of being in a state in which an underlying unity - a lack of any difference of kind - is experienced. Peck (1990b: 62-63) describes something of what this means:

'Transcend' does not mean 'obliterate' or 'demolish'. It literally means 'to climb over'. ... Perhaps the most necessary key to this transcendence is the appreciation of differences. In community, instead of being ignored, denied, hidden, or changed, human differences are celebrated as gifts. ... transcendence has a good deal to do with love.

Whether or not he would find it acceptable, viewing the experience of community in this way would seem to provide an answer to Plant's (1973) question: 'Is there some way of understanding community which will enable the freedom of the individual and the co-operation and fraternity of the community ... to be meaningfully held together?'. As I noted in the previous chapter, while love is a pivotal concept in 'New Age/ Gaian' thinking, it is not a term often used in academic texts or formal institutions - perhaps because, as I have tried to suggest and Myers (1990: 48-49) also illustrates, most are founded in the objective/ rational ideals of the 'Second Wave'. In consequence, as Peck (*op.cit.*: 63-64) goes on to argue:

We are so unfamiliar with genuine community that we have never developed an adequate vocabulary for the politics of this transcendence ... How do we transcend differences in such a way as to include a minority? It seems like a conundrum. How and where do you go beyond democracy? ... In the vocabulary of this transcendence we have thus far only one word: consensus. ... Still, how on earth can a group in which individuality is encouraged, in which individual differences flourish, routinely arrive at consensus? Even when we develop a richer language for community operations, I doubt we will ever have a formula for the consensual process. The process itself is an adventure. And again there is something inherently almost mystical, magical about it. But it works.

Naming the Beast

I shall say more later about Peck's view of what constitutes 'genuine community'. What I want to draw attention to here are two issues. First, as I have attempted to show, there is no ready, non-dualistic, vocabulary with which to transcend difference or to think about and discuss community in this way. It might not be

unduly cynical to suggest that its 'mystical, magical' properties have already been acknowledged in the enormous political capital which has been made of the concept of community. Nevertheless, without resource to such adjectives, it is not always easy to articulate exactly what changes are actually made to, or might be expected of, other concepts or processes to which the term 'community' is added.

Second, there is widespread acknowledgement of the way in which community membership seems to define and shape the individual (though whether this is for good or ill remains open for debate). For example, Maslow's (1954) 'needs hierarchy' has the self-esteem which comes from social approval as a necessary prerequisite for 'self-actualization'; Sandel (1982: 150) argues that 'community describes ... what [people] *are*, not a relationship they choose ... but an attachment they discover, not merely an attribute but a constituent of their identity' (original emphasis); Williams (1989: 75), as noted in more detail in the previous chapter, refers to 'alien information in ourselves, and deep in ourselves', similarly to describe how prevailing ideas and social behaviours become part of the individual's own 'identity'; and Douglas (1987) demonstrates how the structure and mores of whole societies can be shaped by the deeply-absorbed and usually unconscious ideas that their members think not *about* but *with*.

All of this latter could, of course, be taken as a basis for the argument that human individuals are entirely socially determined creatures in a world where the intangibles (the 'mystical, magical') of 'spirit' have no part - but it need not be.

In the manner of the simple Figure-Ground pattern reversals on which I have already made comment, and of the contrasting 'ways of seeing' to which Sattler (1986: 57-58) draws attention, such as Rajneesh's (1975) 'knowledge/ understanding' and Castenada's (1972) 'looking/ seeing', plus Capra's (1975) 'knowing/ seeing' and Pirsig's (1989) 'classical/ romantic' understandings, it is possible to explain human interaction in two different ways. In the first, individual human identities are determined by their interactions and have no other frame of reference or 'substance'; in the second, while social interaction may still determine individual *beliefs* about identity, the human's 'being' remains constant in the unchanging unity of the realm of 'spirit'.

It is this constancy which seems to me to bestow the sense of 'continuity through change' to which Carr (1995) referred; it is the constancy of the *atman*, the essential nature which, though itself unchanging, gives rise to all possibilities within the material world. In attempting to describe it without an appropriate vocabulary, I feel like Square, in the Abbot story, summarized in the last chapter, who attempted to convince fellow Flatlanders of the existence of the third dimension! However, to attempt to convince - or even to suggest - purely through the verbal and rational process of argument seems somewhat inappropriate since it is to use tools which belong to, and have been developed within, one particular 'way of seeing' within another in which they have little part.

The problem remains, then, of dealing in written form with a 'felt experience' (albeit one which, as I have tried to demonstrate, seems to be shared by many people from a wide range of social and cultural backgrounds and times) that, by its very nature defies adequate verbal description. To use Pirsig's (1990: 86) terms again, the two ways of understanding human interaction and, therefore, of appreciating the nature of community, currently appear both to be, like the Figure-Ground pattern of faces and candlestick, 'valid ways of looking at the world although irreconcilable with each other'.

I have frequently considered abandoning any attempt at reconciliation within this thesis! To do so, however, would be to succumb to the supremacy of the prevailing dualistic world-picture and, if I have learned anything through association with the Women's Movement, it is that dominant paradigms can be challenged, and that

examination of language does have a part to play in this: in drawing attention to, and questioning the assumptions built into the use of sexist language, feminist writers have also demonstrated how women's voices and experiences, though present in practice, have been excluded from most public arenas of debate and decision-making and from much that is accepted as knowledge (see Belenky *et al*, 1986).

For reasons which I explained in a note to chapter one, I have chosen not to bring attention throughout this thesis to sexist language appearing in extracts from works which pre-date the feminist challenge. Nevertheless, because of the 'consciousness-raising' efforts of the Women's Movement, I am acutely aware each time I draw on such works of a whole dimension of experience - and the understanding and perspective derived from it - that these earlier texts have largely ignored.

Although much less consideration has been given to it in contemporary writing, and it is clearly of a different order, there do seem to be some parallels with the way in which, as I have been seeking to illustrate, the dimension of spiritual experience is also largely ignored in what is accepted as valid, and especially as academic, knowledge of the world and, in consequence, as relevant to the concept of community.

Clearly, it is possible to interpret the world and 'community' without reference to spiritual experience - just as it was once possible to interpret the social world without reference to women's experience. However, it would also seem possible that a combination of insights gained through what has been understood, spoken and written about the 'felt experience' of 'spirit' with those derived from the more 'rational' processes of academic interpretation and analysis could bring about a changed and, if the parallel with women's experience holds, a much broader perspective. As Varela (1976) puts it:

To understand the whole of us and the world, we have to participate with the whole of us. Specifically, the bringing together of verbal and non-verbal forms of knowledge, rational and intuitive, is necessary (Sattler, 1986: 241).

Exploration thus far of the complexities associated with the meanings of 'community' does seem to indicate the presence of an 'abstract quality' in the experience itself that is not entirely captured by existing verbal definitions but which could be 'located' in terms of 'spiritual' experience. Whether the inclusion of such terms might change or enhance understanding of the traditional debates about community/ education is not yet certain. It may thus be helpful to turn now to some of the key elements of the 'community debate' to determine how they relate to one another, and to what extent they encompass the 'wholeness' of community.

The 'Community Debate'

Origins

The debate about what constitutes and delimits 'community' and, therefore, about how specific 'communities' can be identified, has been in existence for over a century. Its initiation is generally attributed to the work of Tonnies who, in 1887, published a book entitled *Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft*, generally translated as *Community and Society* (though the more proper translation of *Gesellschaft* is probably *Association*). Kirkwood's (1978: 148-149) choice of words, upon which I commented earlier, to describe 'community' (wholeness, mutuality, inter-relatedness) as opposed to those for what he called the 'social world' (alienated, fragmented, antagonistic) reflect the nature of the distinction usually made between the two terms selected by Tonnies.

Essentially, the notion of *Gemeinschaft* (community) seems to be linked to the social solidarity, characterized by the importance of family, local identity, stability and tradition, presumed to have been in existence in pre-industrial times. By contrast, *Gesellschaft* (society) represents the wider, more 'distant' and impersonal aspects of modern society where contractual (role-determined) rather than familial relationships are emphasized. Implicit in the distinction is a desire to reach back into the past to what appears as a more romantic and idealized community of close relationships where hardship and desperation either had no place or were heroically shared. This sentiment, with its overtones of the 'rural idyll', has undoubtedly contributed to the subsequent emotional appeal of the term 'community'.

Scherer (1972: 2) notes, with some relevance to the present exploration, that this kind of 'affective and psychological aura' associated with the *idea* of community means that 'speculations about the loss of community may leave us with an emptiness of spirit and a feeling of malaise'. However, that it is the idyllic form rather than the modern substance or potential spiritual dimension of the 'rural community' which appeals to many of today's city dwellers is endorsed by Crow and Allan (1994: *xvii*) who observe:

The discrepancy between idealized, romantic representations of community and the more prosaic reality is readily apparent in the case of the middle-class commuters who move to the countryside in pursuit of 'the cosy community' (Strathern, 1981, p. 221) in which they believe everyone knows everyone else, only to find it necessary to adjust their model of how village life operates.

In Britain, the association of 'community' with a rural rather than an urban location, and its continued emotional appeal, may owe something to the expansion of the leisure 'industry' in the last decade or so which has made tourist attractions of sanitized and smiling working models and tableaux purporting to encapsulate, for example, the 'Viking Experience', the 'Robin Hood Experience', or the more recent cottage-based activities of the Victorian Industrial Hamlet, often on the sites of what were once real villages. Although these 'Experiences' may currently contribute to the popular romantic view of life in pre-industrial communities, the idea that the past was somehow better than the present does not seem to be an entirely recent phenomenon, nor peculiarly British. As Lemesurier (1990: 9) points out:

Now is never a good time. The past, if we are to believe our elders, was always better. Their own elders traditionally said the same things to them, and so on far back into antiquity. The logic is therefore obvious. ... The story of humanity comes to be seen as the tragedy of a fall from grace, a long descent from a former Golden Age of supreme harmony, happiness and perfection.

The notion that there was once, and therefore could be again, just such an harmonious, happy and perfect age, but this time tempered by knowledge hard-gained during the period of the 'fall', is a popular one: it can be recognized in the work of Hegel, Teilhard de Chardin and others whom I identified earlier as influential in 'New Age' thinking. The view of human history as 'a cycle of fall and redemption ... a symphonic movement in A-B-A form, a trio section designed to lead on to an ultimate, triumphant finale' (Lemesurier, *ibid.*), if not necessarily factual is, nevertheless, a recurring theme not only in legends and religious traditions but sometimes, too, in sociological analyses; it does, of course, help to perpetuate the idea of movement in human affairs and of the possibility of 'progressing' from one state to another as a result of taking (or not taking) particular courses of action.

Let us just stay with these ideas for a moment: attempting to invoke the 'New Age' injunction 'Be Here Now' provides an interesting perspective on them since they are all couched in contrasts. It is only from one's position here and now that the world

has any real meaning yet, because of the nature of human perception, this position is rarely appreciated except in terms of contrasts - of differences created by the perceived separation of 'here' from 'there', 'now' from 'past' and 'future' and, of course, of 'I' from 'you' and the 'external world'. The use of such contrasts seems to be rampant in attempts to describe and analyze 'community'.

Associations

One of the first sociological analyses of community in Britain, undertaken by Frankenberg (1971, first published 1966), drew extensively on Tonnies's work as well as on newly-developing survey methods and the writing of early sociologists such as Merton (1957, on roles), Barnes (1954, on the concept of networks) and Bott (1957, on family and social networks) and concluded that the perceived differences between *Gemeinschaft* and *Gesellschaft* were, indeed, linked to the contrast between 'rural' and 'urban' (see especially, Frankenberg [*op.cit.*: 286-292] for a model which places twenty-five different 'themes' on a rural-urban [or 'less rural'] continuum of change).

Not only does Frankenberg write from a very clear historical and situated personal perspective (stating categorically, for example, 'I would rather enough cubic feet of housing space and an efficient milkman than three acres of land and a cow', *op.cit.*: 285) but the notion of movement and progress is explicitly incorporated into both his rural-urban model and his work in general. Thus, he notes that in discussing the then key concepts of sociology he had:

... in each case been led by their classical exponents into a theory of social change, a progressive and historical development from rural to urban, mediated by industrialization, division of labour, and role differentiation.

In each case this is said to lead to an unsatisfactory state of life for the urban dweller (Frankenberg, *op.cit.*: 275).

Although at pains, nevertheless, to point out 'I am not arguing that village life is "better" than that of the town', Frankenberg (*op.cit.*: 285) seems to respond to echoes of Lemesurier's 'symphonic movement' in stating 'I do not think there is any possibility of returning to village life even if we wanted to' - but that 'the life of modern English towns or cities' could most certainly be 'improved'. Frankenberg's view of progress is self-evidently founded on Trotsky's (1957) assertion that:

The present-day city is transient. But it will not be dissolved back again into the old village. On the contrary, the village will rise in fundamentals to the plane of the city. Here lies the principal task. The city is transient, but it points to the future, and indicates the road. The present village is entirely of the past.

As Frankenberg goes on to acknowledge, Marx (1957: 156) interpreted this movement as a means through which the proletariat would come to recognize the deprived nature of their lives and thus 'take arms against a sea of troubles, and by opposing end them', ultimately creating the hoped-for 'Golden Age' of a classless society.

Other writers who have made use of the concept of community have been less concerned with rural/urban contrasts than with how differences are perceived between 'Us' and 'Them' - though it might be argued that a 'yearning' for all that is associated with the 'rural idyll' continues to underpin ideas of what life for 'Us' might really be like if only the distant and uncaring 'Them' had nothing to do with it. In a classic cameo, Hoggart (1957: 53-4) shows how the latter generally exhibit all the undesirable aspects of *Gesellschaft*.

They are ‘the people at the top’, ‘the higher ups’, the people who give you your dole, call you up, tell you to go to war, make you split the family in the Thirties to avoid a reduction in the Means Test allowance, ‘get yer in the end’, ‘aren’t really to be trusted’, ‘talk posh’, ‘are all twisters really’, ‘never tell yer out’ ... ‘clap yer in clink’, ‘will do y’down if they can’, ‘summons yer’ ... ‘treat y’like muck’.

Although, as Bernard illustrates from an American perspective, ‘They’ may be differently defined by different groups and cultures and may even be regarded as benign, their real importance is perhaps that:

... belief in ‘them’ imposes order on an otherwise chaotic, hit-or-miss, disorderly, unstructured, chancy world. It supplies a ‘them’ to blame things on. There was a time when human beings, like Job, could finally rest assured that no matter how little sense the world made to them, it made sense to God. That comfortable conviction is no longer possible to many, but a belief in masterminds is a satisfactory, if not a satisfying, substitute. Even a hostile organization is better than mindless chaos (Bernard, 1973: 80).

Whatever the view, or purpose, of ‘Them’, Hoggart’s not uncommon placing of the ‘working class’ in the ‘Us’ position is interesting in the light of Douglas’s (1987: 48-49) anthropological work on how political hierarchies come to be built on simple complementarities and contrasts. Taking Douglas’s approach to the elements of the community debate considered so far and listing each of its ‘contrasts’ in the way they are generally linked to one another (*i.e.* rural-urban rather than urban-rural) provides the following ‘sets’ of attributes:

<i>Gemeinschaft</i>	<i>Gesellschaft</i>
familiarity	alienation
close relationships	formal, impersonal relationships
rural	urban
then	now
proletariat	bourgeoisie
Us	Them

Since, following Tonnies’s work, ‘community’ remains strongly identified with the left-hand side of the equation, it is easy to see how it has not only become conceptually linked to a particular set of attributes but also associated with ideas about, and analyses of, working class traditions and life-style.

Bernard (*op.cit.*: 28-30) adds to the kinds of attributes listed above others which are associated, particularly in America, with specific kinds of economic and political activity and concludes that the problem is of ‘two overarching paradigms that have supplied the matrix in which thinking and research on “the community” and “community” have taken place, and which have also guided policy’. Quoting Boulding (1968), she notes that although ‘almost any political system is some sort of uneasy compromise between the two...’:

The synthesis and reconciliation in both structure and philosophy of the two political “modes”, as they might be called, of individualism and collectivism perhaps represent the greatest single long-run problem of the human race at its present state of development (cited in Bernard, 1973: 28).

This state of development, at least in Western society, is, as I have tried to show, profoundly influenced by dualistic thinking.

Community and the New Left

In Britain, Kenny (1991: 14) suggests that the dualistic class-based 'Us and Them' dynamic - which appears to have underpinned so much of the social and political life of the country - was particularly evident in the 1950s and early 1960s when an understanding of the relationship became embodied in the use of the term 'community' by the 'New Left'. Kenny (*ibid.*) sees this 'first New Left which rose and fell between 1956 and 1962' as 'one of the more original and historically important groups that have emerged outside of the Labour Party on the British Left'. There is not the space here to examine the influence of this group in detail but two factors associated with it have particular relevance in the present context.

First, the New Left emerged at a time of great change on the British social and political scene; indeed, to a not inconsiderable extent, the group's *raison d'être* was to identify and mediate such change. In the late 1950s many of the old orthodoxies were collapsing. The emergence of the so-called affluent society had already led to greater diversification of work and leisure experiences, and, to use a modern colloquialism, the resultant 'feel-good factor' had, as Kenny (*op.cit.*: 16) puts it, thrown 'into doubt the idea that there existed an imminent socialist working class majority, waiting to be mobilized at the next crisis'. In other words, the Marxist 'Us and Them' division was no longer so clear cut. Additionally, it was becoming evident that the concept of a community of 'Us', with common values and goals, itself masked a number of different and often conflicting interests, not least in relation to gender, race and education.

Second, key thinkers within the group, including Williams and Hoggart, were not only respected literary figures but had a strong interest in, and influence on, the processes of adult education. As Finger (1995) illustrates, the development of adult education can be traced back to the ideas of the Enlightenment and, at least until the 1970s, it remained very much a part of this tradition. It assumed that collective emancipation and the creation of a just and rational modern society would be achieved through the learning and development of the individual.

To some degree, this sits rather uneasily with a left-wing politics which essentially derives from the possibility of replacing (or, perhaps more properly in a Marxist/Hegelian sense, creating a synthesis of) 'Them' with the 'Us' represented by the interests of the collective 'working class': learning and development, as Williams (1989: 32-33) recognized in his own life, can lead the individual to a position where shared meanings and values become questionable and, therefore, potentially *not* shared. This paradox has shaped much of the controversy about the nature and purpose of community education.

The greater opportunities for individual learning and development created through the introduction of secondary education for all in the post-war years and, in the 1960s, by the expansion of higher education, undoubtedly played their part in the collapse of the old orthodoxies, including bringing into question the nature of the 'Us and Them' dynamic. Although the 1944 tripartite system of education had been designed to plug neatly into an ordered, hierarchical society, the consequential 'rise of the meritocracy' and an increasingly mobile population actually created ever more complex social relationships, often uncoupled from traditions associated with particular locations. These new patterns laid wide open to challenge and reinterpretation notions of class and community which, on the whole, had hitherto seemed unproblematic. The New Left, and the work of Williams in particular, was highly instrumental in this reinterpretation.

One of the greatest problems, however, was that in the process of developing a critique of established notions of class and community, the traditional *sense* of both as essential components of the Labour Movement might also be threatened. This

ambivalence remains in debates about community and community education where, although class and physical location continue to be important issues, recognition has also to be given to other senses of belonging and meaning emerging in response to changing social relationships and interests (in contexts as wide-ranging as, for example the Women's Movement, Green politics or local-issue groups). Williams was acutely aware of the political need for a bridge between the traditional Labour Movement and the newly-emerging social groupings and movements with their somewhat different interests and expectations. As early as 1961, he noted:

... the men and women of the newer communities are living out, explicitly, a pattern of learning and response which is also involving the society as a whole. I am not greatly surprised that contemporary Conservatism, in part directing just this complex, makes sense as an interpretation of it to very many people (Williams, 1961: 333).

Writing about the American experience of community a decade later, Bernard (1973: 180) linked the development of similar new groupings and movements to the fact that 'The concept of "consciousness" seems to be in the process of revival'. She drew attention to the way in which attempts 'to create "class consciousness" in workers and, in effect, to create a kind of class-based community that would transcend locale' had recently been adopted by the Women's Movement which was also trying to create a 'consciousness of kind'. Referring to Kuhn's use of the concept of a 'community of scientists' as an example of a similar 'non-spatial concept of community', Bernard coined the phrase 'community *sans locale*' to describe the ways in which individuals increasingly seemed to be identifying with other affiliations than their immediate geographical communities.

Although this shift in 'community consciousness' from its association with place to the 'unplace' of a 'community *sans locale*' is significant, the attachment to place which many people continue strongly to experience should not be overlooked. Hagget, (1990: 90-91) points out that the American geographer J.K. Wright coined the term 'geopiety' to describe this feeling, which has been explored further by Yi-Fu Tan. Tan 'finds it recurring in all ranges of peoples and at all spatial scales from local to global' and attempts to describe it in terms of 'the emotionally-charged word *Heimat*', drawing on Dorb's work in the South Tyrol which explained it thus:

When we say the word 'Heimat' then a warm wave passes over our hearts; in all our loneliness we are not completely alone ... Heimat is Mother Earth ... Our Heimat is the land which has become fruitful through the sweat of our ancestors (Hagget, *ibid.*)

Two elements of this description seem to be particularly pertinent to the present debate. First, it contains echoes of Kirkwood's depiction of community as 'a yearning for social wholeness' expanded here to encompass not just members of the immediate social group but those who have historically given it shape through their interactions in a particular place with the Earth itself. Second, it reiterates the Gaian principle that it is impossible to separate past from present or humankind from the planet. Both act as a reminder, perhaps, that we should not be too eager to detach the concept of what community is now from images of the past, nor, in looking at how ideas and relationships change, should we lose sight of how a sense of continuity is maintained - or of how this can be expressed.

Within the changing perspectives, highlighted by both Williams and Bernard, on how to engage with the concept of community, it is possible to find elements which correspond to a Hegelian pattern to which I drew attention in the previous chapter. Discussing Hegel's (1899/ 1956) notion of the progress of 'Spirit' through the four 'Worlds', represented by different historical epochs, I suggested that modern, smaller-scale, parallels could be traced through the post-war years in Britain in terms of the way in which large numbers of people seemed to have experienced

'unity' - a connection with a 'spiritual dimension' greater than their individual selves. Thus, the period between 1939 and the beginning of the 1960s had its parallel in the 'Oriental World' in which Hegel regarded individual human consciousness as undifferentiated from the consciousness of the collective. In the 'Greek World', which perhaps finds its counterpart in the 1960s, Hegel believed that individualities began to form but were not able to express themselves other than as part of the State.

Since I have been suggesting that to experience a real sense of community is to experience a sense of connection with something greater than oneself - with the 'unity' of 'spirit' - it is interesting to find the changing perspectives on what community is, as represented particularly through Williams's influential writings, apparently mirroring the Hegelian pattern of the way in which 'Spirit' 'comes to know itself'. In these terms, the transition from the experience of community through the collective of class consciousness to its experience through the smaller, more differentiated 'newer communities' which found expression 'involving the society as a whole' could perhaps also be said to mark an 'Oriental-Greek' transition in the evolution of spiritual consciousness.

From Communism to Post-Modernism

In his attempt to establish the principles of a participatory democracy, Williams (1989: 32-38), certainly acknowledged the need to develop a shared and broader social consciousness than had hitherto prevailed. He acknowledged that the society of the future 'will be complex: that people will not and cannot share it in an even and uniform way', but he hoped that there could be:

... a common determination of meanings by all the people, acting sometimes as individuals, sometimes as groups, in a process which has no particular end, and which can never be supposed at any time to have finally realized itself, to have become complete (Williams, *ibid.*: 37).

Williams's own evolutionary view of the way in which the society might develop seems to contain shadows of both Darwin's and Hegel's work (although Hegel clearly did anticipate a final 'completeness'). Its political significance lies in its recognition of the part to be played in this evolution by individuals and what might be termed 'self-selected' communities. In its contrast with a view of the future shaped by the revolution of one particular kind of community attempting to overcome and replace, or at least redefine, another, it would appear to have more in common with post-modernism than with post-Marxist interpretations of communism.

Interestingly, in a period that has seen the driving force of revolutionary communism wane, and ideas about the nature of post-modernism take hold, there is, perhaps, another Hegelian parallel to be found. I noted in the previous chapter that it was more than tempting to equate the heyday of 'Thatcherism' in Britain with Hegel's (1899/ 1956: 107) 'Roman World' of 'harsh and rigorous toil'. The visual imagery alone is appealing - but the key feature of this 'World' in Hegel's view (*ibid.*) is that 'Spirit' seems to fragment within individuals who 'become persons with definite rights as such' and who also have the opportunity to become self-reflective - to know their own consciousness and to differentiate it from that of others.

There can be little doubt that the concept of post-modernism has allowed free rein to the idea that the rights and views of any one individual or collection of individuals are as valid as those of another, subject only, to borrow Foucault's terms, to the power of discourse. It may seem incongruous to bring Foucault into the present discussion since not only does he attack the progressive view of history but

at the root of his work lies an assumption that there is no 'constant' in human existence (least of all, presumably, identifiable in a 'spiritual dimension'). As Philp (1994: 78) argues, in Foucault's eyes:

There is and can be no end to struggle; individuals remain caught in webs of contingency from which there is no escape because there is no constant human nature, no essential 'being' that can stand outside this web and act to counterpoise this flux and impose a narrative order.

However, within such a typically post-modern view, it is not impossible to discern an Hegelian 'Roman World' since a world in which humans are determined solely by their interactions with one another would seem to represent the ultimate fragmentation of 'Spirit' (if it were not impossible to refer to it in a such a context!); of 'Spirit' so dispersed and 'enclosed' in so many separate individuals that it becomes unidentifiable - and the potential strength of 'we-feeling' becomes lost in the rivalry of a myriad of 'me-consciousnesses'.

Might not the roots of the materialism, the competitive thrust and, above all, the extreme emphasis on the rights of the individual of the so-called 'Thatcher years' be found in such a 'World' where, as Thatcher herself would have it, 'There is no such thing as Society'? If so, then, in Hegelian terms, within it there should also be evidence of its own antithesis, of 'Spirit' as it were 'reassembling' - but now containing within itself the knowledge gained through its fragmentation and subsequent direct and individualized experience of the material world.

Pointers to the Future

Whether or not it can be placed in a spiritual context, there certainly does seem to be some evidence of a review and reassemblage of political and social concepts in Britain at present. Perhaps it is significant that much of it seems influenced by a recognition, if not yet full acceptance of, in Foucault's terms, hitherto 'subjugated knowledge'.

Such knowledge includes that derived from the activities of the Women's and Black Movements and of 'interest groups' in various areas like, for example, complementary medicine and the environment. Within the professions, especially education and the social and health services, and in the theory which now informs the social sciences, there is also acknowledgement of the importance of the process of reflective practice which encourages individuals to 'know' their own practice and to join co-operatively in examining its personal and social implications (see, for example, Schön, 1983, 1987; Brookfield, 1995; Heron, 1996).

Whilst all this surfacing of apparently hitherto buried knowledge might simply be taken as evidence of the flux of a post-modern society, of little more than the inconsequential forming and re-forming of 'webs of contingency', it is possible to detect within it some indication of 'narrative order' in the expressed need for a more ethical approach to living together; for a society in which differences are acknowledged, valued and respected rather than ignored or overlooked, and where greater emphasis is placed on personal responsibilities to oneself and others rather than on individual rights and freedoms.

As Skinner (1994) demonstrates, this theme of responsibility and commitment has constituted a vital element in the thinking which has helped to re-shape the social sciences in recent years. He also claims that the philosophical uncertainties created by post-modernist critiques of society have actually helped to clear a space for:

... a return to Grand Theory in the most traditional and architectonic style, ...
Moral and political philosophers have ceased to be in the least shy of telling us

that their task is that of helping us to understand how best to live our lives. Throwing off their purely linguistic pre-occupations, they have gone on to revive a heady and recognizably Platonic view of their discipline as essentially concerned with elucidating the character of the good life and the boundaries of a free and just society (Skinner, 1994: 14)

A particularly noticeable trend within this new morality has been a reaction to the 'No such thing as Society' stance and its associated promise that individual freedom could be expanded without limit or side effects. Habermas (1975) had already drawn attention to what he called the 'Legitimation Crisis' which might be expected in times of economic difficulty when a state operating on such a basis would be unable to call on citizens' traditionally wider loyalties. In Skinner's (*op.cit.*: 9) view:

It is a striking fact that, although Habermas presents this diagnosis from a Marxist perspective, a number of political writers from the so-called New Right have lately developed a remarkably similar attack on the moral limitations of *laissez-faire* capitalism, defending a form of conservatism founded not on free markets and the minimalist state, but rather on an almost Hegelian sense that the values of community, loyalty and deference must be prized and cultivated above all.

In what seems now to be a real climatic political shift of emphasis from the impersonality of 'large solutions' - whether of the free market or of the left - and back to a consideration (in the manner which Williams clearly anticipated) of the particularities of people's lives, the influence of 'communitarian' thinkers has been strong. If an Hegelian sense is alive and well in current thinking, then perhaps it is not inappropriate to find in their ideas about the values associated with community a reflection of Hegel's 'Germanic World' in which 'Spirit' achieves an inner consciousness of itself.

There is not the space here to examine the development of communitarian thought in any detail but it owes much to Amitai Etzioni. His work, which assumed a fairly high political profile in the early 1990s, has its roots in the need to redress what he saw as the chronic imbalance in most Western societies, and particularly in America, between rights and responsibilities. Commenting on his influence on a number of politicians in different countries and parties, Melanie Phillips³ described how his interest was initially fuelled by the discovery that 'while most Americans wanted to be tried in court by a jury of their peers, most did not want to serve on a jury themselves'. Etzioni (1993) subsequently focused his attention on the 'intermediate institutions', such as the family and neighbourhood, that stand between the individual and the state; and on the value of self-help and voluntary associations, supported by an appropriate education. It thus had clear links with the earlier work of the New Left.

The re-emergence of the concept of community in its Etzionian guise has not been unproblematic. At a personal and political level, its spokesperson was not greeted with completely unalloyed enthusiasm, despite endorsement of his ideas on both sides of the Atlantic and of the political divide. As Phillips (*ibid.*) noted, 'Etzioni attracts flak. He is accused of representing the white male backlash, of peddling unoriginal ideas and pious exhortations, of trying to impose moral values and trampling down civil rights'.

At a philosophical level, however, 'communitarianism' seems to be the most recent manifestation of an aspect of a debate about the relationship between the individual and the state, and the means to mediate between them, that has a long and illustrious history. As Ryan (1994) illustrates in a discussion of the contribution of Rawls to the concept of the social contract, the framework of the debate was constructed on the one hand by Hobbes, Locke, Rousseau and Kant and on the other by Hume and Bentham.

This debate is also too extensive to enter into here but Rawls's (1971) position within it is particularly interesting in the present context. His work strikes at the heart of the utilitarian approach to social welfare which has underpinned much Western social policy: deriving largely from the work of Bentham, this regards the proper function of the state as the maximization of the welfare of its inhabitants. Rawls believes this approach to be flawed and unjust and uses as illustration the fact that there could be occasions when the welfare of the society as a whole might be increased - but at the expense of one person being sacrificed for the good of the rest. In Ryan's terms, Rawls's stance is that:

... nobody is merely a means to the ends of society at large; to put it differently, he insists on the *separateness* of persons, on the fact that we are not simply units of account in working out the total welfare (Ryan, 1994: 109, original emphasis).

However, Rawls also stresses the importance of *relationships* between persons. He argues specifically that:

... persons need one another since it is only in active co-operation with others that one's powers reach fruition. *Only in the social union is the individual complete* (Rawls, 1971: 525, my emphasis).

As I shall detail in a moment, there seems to be a sense here not only of the real strength of community but of an Hegelian picture of 'Spirit' in its 'Germanic' stage. This is the stage in which, having fragmented and become all but lost in individualities, 'Spirit' begins to reassemble - not in its original undifferentiated state but now containing within itself knowledge of the secular derived from the variety of experience gained in the material world by its individual parts.

Knowing Spirit?

In chapter seven, I drew parallels between Hegel's concept of the development of the 'World Spirit' and what could be interpreted as a cycle of three 'Waves' of human development. I suggested that, in life-cycle terms, the 'First Wave' might be likened to a babyhood in which separateness from the 'external' world is not yet recognized or articulated and the spiritual and secular therefore also remain undifferentiated. The 'Second Wave' might be compared to an adolescence and early adulthood in which exploration and understanding of the limits and diversity of the 'external' world is paramount and the affairs of this world generally regarded as separate from those of the spirit (if any attention at all is paid to the latter). The 'Third Wave' represents a more integrative adult stage in which recognition is given to unity within diversity and there is no longer a need to label knowledge as a product of either the secular or the spiritual since both are acknowledged as inseparable parts of a whole.

As I have sought to demonstrate, there is currently some evidence of a transition from 'Second' to 'Third Wave' thinking taking place within Western industrialized societies. In addition, there would appear to be evidence, too, of a similar kind of transition in the way in which the concept of 'community' has been considered and operationalized, and, indeed, of parallels between this process and that through which Hegel envisaged that the 'World Spirit' would come to know itself. I have also sought to suggest that to 'experience community' may be to connect with 'spirit' as consciousness of an underlying unity which sustains and contains all things.

In Rawls's view of the essential nature of social union in bringing about 'completeness' for individuals, whose separateness is also to be acknowledged and valued, perhaps these ideas come together.

Within the processes associated with the 'Third Wave' in general, and in the debate about what constitutes 'community' in particular, there seems to be some agreement on the following issues:

1. Each person has a right, and should be encouraged, to develop her/ his own self-knowledge of who and what s/ he is, and to be treated as an individual, regardless of circumstances.
2. This right does not also bestow the right to act selfishly without regard for others.
3. The development of each individual's self-knowledge can be best achieved, indeed may only be properly possible, in the company of others.
4. Within such company, each member has a responsibility to the others to nourish their development; in this way their own is also likely to be extended.
5. In this process of collaborative working there is often evidence of a quality which is almost impossible to capture in words other than 'mystical, magical', but which seems to be linked to a sense of sharing with others in a 'whole' which is greater and more powerful than the sum of its constituent parts. (This sense is often particularly acute in collaborative work which takes place at a time of crisis or of external threat or in what Scherer [1972: 121-122] calls 'temporary intimate communities'. The latter are based on deep and intense interaction, best exemplified perhaps in T-groups and in Peck's subsequent work.)

The first three of these at least might well pass as reiteration simply of the liberal, 'Enlightenment approach' to education. What is different, I think, is the value now placed not so much on what the individual will *get out of* the process (notwithstanding the fact that the development of personal knowledge might subsequently contribute to the greater good of society as a whole) but on what s/ he *brings to it* as an individual with a unique perspective, and on what can become known in the blending of such perspectives.

Although, in examining the threads of both liberal and communitarian political thought which run through the 1980s, Caney (1992) finds that they have much in common, it is the way in which the group can assist the individual, rather than *vice versa*, which seems to me to be the particular hallmark of community and the communitarian approach. It also distinguishes this approach from a Marxist one in which the individual is both defined by, and acts for, the group (or class). Caney draws on a comment by Selznick (1989: 507) which illustrates particularly clearly both what the communitarian approach aims for and what, in the light of the foregoing discussion, would seem to me to be the most vital elements of 'community' itself:

... what we prize in community is not unity of any sort, but unity that preserves the integrity of persons, groups and institutions. Thus understood community is profoundly federalist in spirit and structure (Caney, 1992: 284).

Throughout this text I have used the concept of unity in a very specific way in order to try to describe a state of consciousness in which connection is experienced with that which contains and sustains all things - with what I have been referring to as 'spirit'. It is a state which many feel can be entered into through meditation and similar practices which, as I indicated in referring to the *Upanishads* in the previous chapter, can be instrumental in creating a bridge between the 'worlds' of the 'manifest' ('everyday reality') and the 'unmanifest' (the *Atman*, the 'essential nature' of things). To experience unity, in this sense, is to 'know connection' with the spirit or *Atman* but, at the same time, to recognize and value the individuality and diversity which is, literally, manifest in the 'real world'.

Whatever conception of unity Selznick may have, with the incorporation of my specific use of the term his statement can be read as summary of much that I have tried to argue and demonstrate: in essence, that the experience of community is a profoundly spiritual one. It holds enormous potential for personal development since it is founded in unconditional acceptance of the self and others, and of all the apparent difference and diversity this may appear to represent: affirmation, perhaps, of Clark's (1992: 121) injunction, to which I referred earlier, to 'seek community first and all else falls into place'.

The potential of community may be pursued for personal or political ends and, to borrow Peck's (1990b: 86-90) image, what might be termed 'pseudo-communities' may be established and engaged with (often pleasurably and profitably), drawing strength from their physical location and/ or the interests, backgrounds or intentions of the participants. Genuine community, however, as Peck describes in detail, cannot exist without integrity. I mentioned earlier that Erikson (1982) labelled the final life-stage in individual development 'Integrity'. In discussing stages in the development of groups, Peck (*op.cit.*: 234) also draws attention to Erikson's use of the term and notes, 'Just as it characterizes the highest mystical, wholistic form of individual functioning, so the integrity of community characterizes the highest form of group functioning'. Pointing out that the word 'integrity' comes from the verb 'to integrate', Peck (*ibid.*) has this to say about community:

Community is integrative. It includes people of different sexes, ages, religions, cultures, viewpoints, life styles, and stages of development by integrating them into a whole that is greater - better - than the sum of its parts. Integration is not a melting process; it does not result in a bland average. ... Community does not solve the problem of pluralism by obliterating diversity. Instead it seeks out diversity, welcomes other points of view, embraces opposites, desires to see the other side of every issue. It is 'wholistic'. It integrates us human beings into a functioning mystical body.

I know from my own experience that to be in such a 'body' is to be in a totally accepting and supporting environment in which it is possible to be oneself, with all one's inadequacies, and feel cherished not in spite of them, but because of them; it is to feel 'at home'. Perhaps, when, at the end of chapter one, I borrowed Csikszentmihalyi's (1990: 239-240) terms and suggested that to seek the reassurance of community is simply to seek 'the relief of an exile who is finally returning home' it was not too wide of the mark. Perhaps, using Peck's (*op.cit.*: 67) terms to summarize much that has clearly been said in so many different ways, 'community' is simply a 'safe place' where it is possible not only to be, but to come to know the wholeness of, oneself.

¹ *The Independent*, 8.7.1994: 17.

² *The Observer*, 24.7.1994: 27

³ *The Observer*, 24.7.1994: 27



Chapter Nine

Forms and Shapes

This chapter brings together the three strands of the thesis: community education, spirituality and personal reflection. It also draws parallels between the content of the thesis and the process of writing it. On the basis of information contained in preceding chapters, it suggests how one existing typology of community education could be extended to include a spiritual model. It then illustrates how traditional typologies of community education appear to be underpinned by three specific discourses. The primary focus of the chapter is on the extent to which the properties of these discourses relate to those associated with spirituality in various Western and Eastern philosophies and mythologies. It concludes with the suggestion that the 'abstract quality' in community/ education may be articulated in terms of a spirituality understood as 'deep knowing'.



*And as imagination bodies forth
The forms of things unknown, the poet's pen
Turns them into shapes, and gives to airy nothing
A local habitation and a name.
(A Midsummer Night's Dream, Shakespeare, 1623)*

The Story So Far

This thesis contains three strands. The first concerns the nature of community education. Drawing on an analysis of policy and practice in Derbyshire, I have sought to demonstrate how the concept of community education has been influenced by national events, translated into local policy, and made manifest in the lived experience, in schools and local communities, of a number of professional community educators and laypeople. As well as trying to capture something of what it feels like in the reality of everyday practice, and what can be achieved through it, I have also attempted to illustrate how community education has generally been described, modelled and theorized.

The second strand is comprised of a struggle to articulate the concept of 'spirit' and, especially, the ways in which it may be related to the concepts of 'unity' and 'community'. I have suggested various reasons why the time may now be right to consider the implications of setting a spiritual discourse alongside those traditionally associated with community/ education.

The third strand is an autobiographical/ reflective narrative which seeks to explain how professional and personal interests underpinning the other strands became interwoven in their present form. For reasons, which I explained earlier, concerning the timing of the 'knocking on my door' of the spiritual question, exploration of the first two strands has largely been conducted within separate chapters. The third strand has appeared intermittently, but especially where external events - ranging from changes in national policy to a telephone call from a local councillor or comments from a colleague - clearly had an impact upon, or became intertwined with, my professional development and/ or my personal 'meaning-making'. Some of the reflection included in this text has been 'in action' in the sense of having been stimulated by the very act of writing.

In arriving at the final chapters, I feel rather as I did as a child when learning how to make a plait. Plaits also contain three strands, each often comprising many smaller threads. Depending on both the nature of the material being plaited and the expertise of the artist, these may be evenly woven or appear as oddly-shaped knots, sometimes held precariously together by a single thread. No matter how expert the threading, the final test of a plait is whether it can be tied off sufficiently well to prevent the three strands from springing apart and reverting to their single undifferentiated state.

I was about to note that this chapter represents an attempt at such 'tying off' and that the three-stranded plait comprising chapters one to eight feels very much of the uneven knot variety. Before I say anything more about this, I want to record, for future reference, two 'in action' reflections which occurred to me while writing the last paragraph.

First, the notion of an undifferentiated state from which discernible shapes emerge, in which they retain their roots, and to which they subsequently return, is unintentionally reminiscent of the notion of unity within diversity which I explored in chapter seven, mainly in the context of Eastern philosophical traditions. The same picture encapsulates my own understanding of spirit as an intangible 'substance' which contains and sustains all things. Second, my choice of plaiting as a metaphor also has its echoes elsewhere - in the fabric analogies which I used in chapter seven to highlight some of the properties of community education.

In relation to the 'oddly-shaped knot' structure of the thesis, I make no apology: I have already indicated how it reflects the unevenness with which professional and personal interests in community education and spiritual issues came together in 'real time'. My purpose in combining these interests within this thesis has been to explore hitherto ill-formulated personal questions about what constitutes the 'wholeness' of community and whether this might usefully be articulated in spiritual terms.

In part three of chapter one, I said that I was (and I remain) under no illusion that to attempt to conceptualize community education within a spiritual context would be to arrive at THE truth of what this creature is. I hoped, nevertheless, to make a contribution to the continuing debate about the purpose and practice of education by putting into words, and its own historical setting, what Pirsig (1989: 15) calls the truth of the 'hereness and nowness' of my present understanding of issues associated with community/ education and spirituality. I have presented some justification in chapters one, seven and eight for the rationale and timing of this contribution, personally as well as within a global context.

I intend to build in the present chapter on matters discussed in chapter two. I summarized there my understanding of community education and its place within the history of education in England, at the time when I set up the staff development programme for Community Tutors and Headteachers in Derbyshire, from which the empirical sections of this thesis derive. I shall now look specifically at the models and typologies of community education described in part three of chapter two and consider the extent to which, in the light of the discussions in chapters one, seven and eight, a spiritual dimension might usefully be modelled and attached. At various points, I shall also attempt to re-evaluate my own meaning-making. In the epilogue, I shall revisit Derbyshire to determine what happened to some of the practitioners after our stories went their separate ways, and how community education fares there in 1999.

Modelling a Spiritual Dimension to Community Education

Background: A Reprise

In concluding and summarizing the first part of chapter two, which looked very broadly at the history of education in England, I wrote:

... it would appear that the provision of education in general, and the nature of schools in particular, have been moulded by the twin politics of religion and class; and that such historical antecedents have created an education system which continues to be utilitarian in both outlook and scope, geared much more strongly to the economic needs of the state than to the personal developmental needs of the individual. Except in relation to specific kinds of religious instruction, broader 'spiritual' matters rarely seem to have entered the educational debate.

I noted, however, that spiritual matters do have a place in the debate about community schooling. The existence of Steiner schools and others similarly rooted in very particular approaches to spirituality serves to highlight, though not necessarily to resolve, questions about the nature, needs, expectations, demands and, ultimately, the rights of communities that are linked to any kind of school. Apropos of that discussion, I noted:

Because the intention of Steiner schools is primarily to reinforce a belief system to which pupils' parents generally already subscribe, boundaries between home and school inevitably become blurred.

I had already made reference to such boundaries, indicating at the beginning of part two of chapter one that:

One of the most fundamental precepts of community education has always been about the importance of removing barriers between home and school; 'provider' and 'client'; age groups; races; professional bodies and so on. Much of the theoretical underpinning of community education is thus concerned with the need to effect structural change of a practical or political nature. However, while the focus of community education is thus largely on activities in the socio-political arena, it intrigues me that the same concept of development through the removal of barriers, albeit of a more personal or esoteric kind, is also fundamental not only to many therapeutic processes but to most of the world's great philosophical traditions.

In chapter seven, I drew attention to some of the latter as well as to closely allied aspects of so-called 'New Age' thinking. I then presented a case for considering the concept of community/ education in a 'New Age' context, particularly in relation to a Gaian philosophy. This is based on Lovelock's (1979) '*Gaia* hypothesis' which argues that the Earth is a living organism in its own right. The concept of *Gaia* as a unifier of scientific and mystery traditions has provided a focal point for debate about 'new ways of knowing' in fields as diverse as biology and politics (Thompson, 1987), and also about the possibility of a 'spiritual renaissance' in Western thought (Russell, 1984; Ferguson, 1988).

Gaia has also provided the major prompt for this thesis. First, I relate strongly to the 'unifying' nature of the concept. Second, it was as a result of discussions on this topic, with a number of community educators in Derbyshire and Sheffield, with whom I worked closely over many months, that I found the confidence to link what I knew of *Gaia* and related issues from my 'leisure' reading to my professional and academic interests. In 1993, invited to contribute to a special edition of the journal *Adults Learning* on 'Community Education in New Times', I 'went public' on how I saw the connection between *Gaia* and community education, in these terms:

Colin Fletcher [in the same edition] argues that community education is not a metaphor in its own right, merely a meeting point between those associated with 'education' and with 'community'. But consider the possibility that it *could* be a metaphor - for 'transformation'. Most of us would acknowledge that education is concerned with the personal transformation of individuals; a 'community' represents a transformation of level, being dependent upon the purposeful coming together of a number of individuals; *Gaia* beckons us towards a society that requires a radical transformation of cultural and spiritual values. Perhaps the function of community educators is now to encourage these transformations (Hunt, 1993: 153).

I shall now re-engage with my earlier summary of existing models of community education. I shall comment on the justification for modelling at all and then explore what the addition of a 'spiritual dimension' to existing models would look like, and to what extent it might imply a 'transformation' in theory or practice.

Existing Models

In introducing his own models, Martin (1987: 14) claimed that his approach was 'theoretical for a very practical reason': it resulted from his need to present community education to in-service students, from a wide range of backgrounds, as 'common property ... a unique opportunity for inter-disciplinary initiatives in both fieldwork and in-service provision' (*ibid.*). The success of such initiatives, Martin argued, is likely to be:

... largely predicated upon the development of theoretical perspectives that can help not only to define common ground by transcending the specifics of practice but also to explain significant differences of definition and application' (*ibid.*).

Martin's theoretical perspective was grounded in an historical analysis of community education which sought to define how 'distinct philosophies about the relationship between education and community' were played out in practice. He postulated the existence of three different 'types' of community education which he called 'Universal', 'Reformist' and 'Radical' (based, respectively, on the notion of society being consensual, pluralist, or essentially in conflict). The educational strategies associated with each of these range from non-selective provision, through emphasis on education for 'the disadvantaged', to social action.

Contemporaneously, and creating something of a *leitmotif*, Fletcher (1987) and O'Hagan (1987) also produced three-stranded typologies. Fletcher based his on the way in which community educators' day-to-day relationships with local people were shaped by, and gave definition to, their ideas about community. Calling these relationships simply 'Type A, B or C', Fletcher (1987: 45) described them, respectively, as 'Looking at social conditions'; 'Sharing people's meanings'; and 'Learning through social movements'.

O'Hagan took the purpose envisaged for community education as the basis for his three models. The names he chose for them are self-explanatory: 'Efficiency', 'Enrichment' and 'Empowerment'.

Lovett, Clarke and Kilmurray (1983) and Clark (1985) had earlier produced different typologies containing four and five strands respectively. Lovett *et al* based theirs on specific initiatives in adult education and community development which took place in the late 1960s and early 1970s. Clark's was concerned with interpretations of community education practice as it existed in the mid-1980s. In his analysis, such practice encompassed a full spectrum of activities from the purely pragmatic, cost-

effective, use of educational 'plant' to intentionally political awareness-raising and action.

In terms of the *Network* debate (to which I referred in chapter two) about the 'models period of the '80s' (Fletcher, 1992: 3), these models and typologies may represent nothing more than 'actionless thought' (Johnston, 1992: 3). It is arguable, however, that they did help to create, as Fletcher (*ibid.*) suggested, a 'framework for discussions'. Fletcher saw this being useful in a local context, enabling 'local politicians and liaising professionals' to engage in a mutually comprehensible dialogue. In hoping to encourage productive discussion about practice amongst his in-service students, Martin had a similarly local market in mind.

Beyond the immediacy of facilitating local dialogues and developments in community education, however, there would also seem to be justification for model-building in the opportunity it provides for giving voice to personal lived-experience and placing discussion of this in a public/ academic arena.

For example, although Martin's typology purported to encapsulate 'key historical currents in the development of community education' (Martin, 1987: 23), it was challenged by some of his students for silencing women's interests, achievements and oppression, and for the absence of a black perspective. In consequence, two groups of students attempted to fill those gaps by drawing on their own, and others', direct experience and understanding of a world from which, in the context of Martin's models and, often, in their personal and professional lives, they appeared to be excluded. Dodds *et al* (1985) and Falken (1988) subsequently published, respectively, a radical feminist and a black model within the same format as, and as an extension to, Martin's (1985) original typology.

In Martin's (1987: 29) view, this retention of the original framework 'helps to ensure a degree of equivalence and thus to facilitate comparison'. Whether it does or not is a moot point. Martin (*ibid.*) claims, however, that:

Community education must be responsive to this process of continual extension and reconstruction if it is to remain relevant to change in society and changing definitions of 'community'. Perhaps the acid test of this relevance is the extent to which we regard the development of alternative interpretations as legitimate contributions to the debate about definitions.

It is not clear who is included in the 'we', nor whether 'extension and reconstruction' can ever acquire the legitimacy of an original construction, particularly when the proposed extension constitutes a challenge to the dominant hegemony from a 'minority' perspective. In terms of my discussion about the Hidden Man picture in chapter one (Figure 1.1), such challenges can easily be dismissed as 'rabbits': interesting in their own right but with no significance in the 'real' picture.

Despite these caveats, but certainly mindful of them, I want to propose another extension. Since this thesis has focused expressly upon 'change in society and changing definitions of "community"', and the extent to which these may be placed within a discourse of spirituality, it seems appropriate to try to add, literally, a spiritual dimension to Martin's typology.

Extension: A Spiritual Model

Using the framework provided by Martin (1985), and extended by Dodds *et al* (1985) and Falken (1988) (see Figures 2.2 and 2.3), and drawing on material that has been discussed elsewhere in this thesis, it is possible to construct the model shown as Figure 9.1.

<i>Implicit model of society / community</i>	Unity within diversity
<i>Premise</i>	Interconnectedness at a subtle (spiritual) level
<i>Strategy</i>	Awareness / consciousness-raising groups and techniques; encouraging articulation of 'felt-realities' Honouring full spectrum of human experience and consciousness Holistic approaches, with celebration of difference Acknowledgement and understanding of inter-relationships between group processes and individual learning
<i>Initial focus</i>	Personal development groups (including T-groups, Encounter groups, etc.)
<i>Key influences</i>	Aldous Huxley (perennial philosophy) Marilyn Ferguson (personal and social transformation) James Lovelock (<i>Gaia</i>) M. Scott Peck (community building) John Heron (research into the human condition)
<i>Twentieth-century origins</i>	World War II: sense of 'unity' Ecology movement: interdependence of living systems Popularising of Eastern philosophical traditions and practices, especially meditation 1960s: 'youth culture', including experimentation with hallucinogens; especially, development of shared language to describe associated inner experiences
<i>Dominant themes</i>	'Whole-person' growth ('Know Thyself') Global village ('Think global, Act local') Recognition of personal and group responsibility ('As within, so without') Inclusivity and commitment (community as a 'safe place')

Figure 9.1. A spiritual model of community education (in the style of Martin, 1987)

As I was sketching it, I began to wonder whether this model depicts a separate and distinct approach - or whether a sense of it might, for some people, underpin working practices which are more specifically informed by one of the premises represented in the columns of Martin's typology and its extensions.

The notion of spirituality as underpinning, rather than providing an alternative to, other approaches in community education clearly fits neatly into my own preferred world-picture in which the separateness and diversity represented by individual 'columns', or ways of working, are rooted in a single and subtle unified ground. It would be satisfying, therefore, to claim that this model, and its key premise, is not simply (to borrow from Pirsig's [1989] imagery of 'romantic *v.* classical understanding') one 'column of sand' alongside several others - but the very ground from which they, *and* the column builders, obtain definition.

To make any such claim, however, would be to return to my earlier discussions about the apparent incompatibility between different types of understanding and, especially, about unity and its expression in a language shaped by dualism. It would also be to try to present as THE truth about community education what many will regard simply as another 'rabbit' alongside the 'real' picture.

In Figure 9.1, nevertheless, there would seem to be a rationale for an approach to community education which, in the words of Dodds *et al* (1985: 23), though it 'may not win many converts', may 'provoke a constructive response'. Perhaps, in any case, the exact location of this spiritual model and its relationship with others is less important than its articulation, especially if this invites further discussion about the implications of incorporating a spiritual discourse within community education theory and practice.

In later sections, I shall illustrate how certain similarities between the various typologies revisited above appear to be underpinned by three specific discourses; how these seem to relate to one another; and how they could all be connected, diagrammatically at least, to a spiritual discourse. First, I need to take hold again of the reflective strand of my plait to work through a concern that has been at the back of my mind since I embarked on this chapter.

Reflection

Analogies

I noted at the beginning of the chapter that two 'in action' reflections had occurred to me as I introduced the metaphor of the thesis as a plait. One concerned my reference to a need for separate strands to be adequately tied off to prevent their return to a single undifferentiated state. Although I was not conscious of it as I began to formulate the plait analogy, it seems likely that this reference was influenced by the 'unity within diversity' world-picture to which I have just returned - and which continues to represent a personal truth that informs my professional practice.

The second reflection was about the similarity between my choice of plaiting as a metaphor for the shape of this thesis and the 'fabric analogies' which I used, in introducing chapter seven, to highlight some of the properties of community education. I suggested then that:

In all its many guises ... the importance of the fabric of community education probably lies not so much in itself as a finished product but more in the processes by which it is continually created and renewed, in the perpetual weaving and re-weaving of its assorted threads and their potentially transformative effects in people's lives.

Within my plait, I have sought to identify spiritual threads in various debates about community and, by extension, community education; and to show how the notion of spirituality may be linked to a further debate about the transformative nature of different ways of seeing. I have argued, in essence, that the fabric of community may be shot through with transformative properties that can best be articulated in spiritual terms - in terms of a 'connection' beyond the physical and mental. Often sensed simply as an 'abstract quality' of community, perhaps these spiritual/transformative threads have a prosaic parallel in the fine threads of Lycra that are generally unseen but which, nevertheless, give permanent shape to certain garments.

Whether or not this argument, or imagery, is convincing, I am in no doubt that these threads have given shape to the fabric of my own thinking! I want to explore this statement further before I discuss a possible re-conceptualization of existing typologies of community education since it has some bearing upon that task. The exploration centres around a single question:

Do You Have An Idea or Does It Have You?

The occurrence and juxtaposition of the plait/ 'undifferentiated state'/ fabric ideas with which I opened this chapter were coincidental, at least in the sense of being unconscious and unplanned. However, they provide further illustration, if any is needed, of the power of the ideas one thinks *with*. In chapter one, I quoted the mountaineer, Peter Boardman (1983: 141), on his experience of climbing in the Himalayas. He felt that 'Through the efforts and the weeks the mountain is seeping into us'. Through the efforts of constructing this thesis over several years, I am not sure whether, like the mountain, it has seeped into me and forced all my thought patterns into its own image, or whether constructing it has simply helped me to release and formulate ideas which, at the outset, were in an undifferentiated state; or both.

It is much the same point that I made in part three of chapter one when I noted that the thesis has not developed in a linear fashion but rather from the inside out, and that it has worked on me from the outside in. I am certainly aware now of the extent to which my thinking in general, and the articulation of my professional practice, has become steeped in a discourse of spirituality as I have read various texts of this kind and considered the nature of the 'abstract quality' of community in relation to them.

Interestingly, discussing the notion of reflective teaching as an alternative to 'the mechanical, technical conception of professional expertise that is characteristic of positivism', Parker (1997: 50) makes reference both to the non-linearity of such an enterprise and to the need for 'an image of expertise as constantly undergoing a process of negotiation, renewal, reconceptualization and revision'. He notes also that:

... the expert's understanding of the meanings inherent in her context of practice cannot be derived through the application of a general law but must instead grow out of her immersion within that context and its manifold interactions and exchanges (*ibid.*).

Parker is primarily concerned in this discussion with the 'expert'/ 'client' relationship. However, his imagery of arriving at an understanding of meanings through a process of reconceptualization and revision which requires 'immersion' within a particular context seems to mirror my personal experience in writing this thesis and simultaneously reflecting upon the content and process.

As I have thus become increasingly immersed in literature relating to spirituality and to community, and in discovering what this means in personal and professional terms, so these processes have helped to create new thought-patterns and meanings. In the struggle to put these into words, my conceptualization of community/ education and also, to some extent, of myself, has been constantly undergoing revision.

The 'truth of the "hereness and nowness" of my present understanding' has become an expanding truth as the 'present' of every period of writing has been superseded by another, different, present, each one of which has been informed by the experiences, readings and reflections of the intervening days and months. I recognize this process in McAdams's (1993: 266) description of, as he puts it: 'defining myself as I write this book'. In retrospect, I also recognize in the different 'presents' the different positions I have assumed in relation to the 'spiral of knowledge' which Belenky *et al* (1986: 15) use to conceptualize 'women's ways of knowing'. (I shall comment on this latter point again in the concluding section.)

The business of reconceptualizing myself and my relationship with academic texts and professional practice has largely been accomplished through the agency of internal dialogue and reflective writing, with occasional forays into the 'outside world' for verification. Otherwise, it finds many parallels in West's (1996) study of adult students in higher education and how they came ultimately to tell their own stories.

West (*op.cit.*: 209) sees some connections between therapeutic processes and the way in which he enabled the participants in his study, through dialogue, shared stories, time and reflection, to 'create a narrative truth, with its unifying and psychologically integrative implications'. He adds: 'Individuals need a coherent, meaningful, vibrant and personally empathic narrative to manage and transcend incoherent, scattered and potentially disabling experiences' (*ibid.*).

In chapter one, I pointed to links between certain therapeutic processes and my own interests and meaning-making. I discussed the possibility that my attempt to conceptualize community/ education within a spiritual context may have been driven by a personal need for coherence: an imperative that tells me, in Bernstein's (1977) terms, 'Things must be put together', and which finds such resonance in the unifying concept of *Gaia*. The principles underpinning the 'transpersonal' orientation, with which I appear to be identified in Wellington and Austin's (1996) classificatory system, also suggest a certain inevitability in my efforts to 'put together' important personal and professional interests within a single story, and to make it coherent and meaningful in spiritual terms.

This begs some interesting questions. If I have been thus 'driven' to create, in West's phrase, a 'personally empathic narrative' that allows me to combine my personal history and professional interests in an apparently meaningful way, has that same drive also helped me to find a world-picture in which unity is a central concept? Have I, in other words, created what seems itself to be a 'unifying and psychologically integrative' world-picture merely as an extension of my own need? And is this, indeed, the same drive to which I referred in general terms in part three of chapter one when I was discussing Maslow's (1954) 'needs hierarchy' and the possibility that a drive to 'seek the experience of "at one-ness"' might find 'expression in the search for community'?

Through the unexpected full circle that these questions bring me, I am reminded of a reference in my initial writing exercise to Skolimowski's (1994) work on the 'participatory mind'. In what is almost an answer to my questions, he notes:

The organism receives from reality as much as it puts into it.

This point is of great significance. For it simply informs us that the process of eliciting is one of *co-creating*. We do not receive from out there that which we are unable to behold. *In beholding we are articulating. In articulating we are co-creating. In the act of articulation mind and reality merge; reality becomes an aspect of mind* (Skolimowski, *op.cit.*: 31, original emphases).

Drives and world pictures are, in his view, clearly all of a piece.

Skolimowski (*op.cit.*: 79-80) depicts the boundaries of the known universe - 'be it the universe of the individual or the species' - as a cone opening upwards. The walls of the cone represent 'the sum total of all our knowledge' (*ibid.*). This latter is represented by a spiral inside, and sustaining, the walls of the cone (see Figure 9.2). In Skolimowski's (*ibid.*) terms, though the cone and the spiral 'can be analyzed out as separate entities, they are not independent of each other. They cannot exist apart from each other'. It would appear that the question of 'having an idea or being had by it' cannot even be formulated within such a model.

In rigid cultures and closed societies, Skolimowski argues, the top of the cone can be closed off - as it can for individuals even within more open societies. However, the walls of an open cone grow as the spiral of knowledge expands. Or, rather, as Skolimowski (*op.cit.*: 82) points out: 'To be more precise, the walls do not grow as such. They become adjusted, reassembled, rebuilt, reconstructed'.

Set within a global perspective, the argument is not dissimilar to Kuhn's (1970) on the nature of paradigm shifts. At the level of the individual, the notion of separate cones/ spirals existing within a wider co-created universe, is reminiscent of Wilson's (1990) 'reality-tunnels'. The significance of all this within the present text is to illustrate, yet again, the problematical nature of attempting to articulate a personal reality that wishes both to acknowledge others' reality-constructs and, at the same time, to embrace spirituality as a single, unifying state.

A (Post-) Post-modern Dilemma?

Acknowledging the possibility of separately constructed realities while seeking also to identify an 'ultimate' reality is, perhaps, a peculiarly post-post-modern difficulty! West (1996: 208-211) touches on this issue in his discussion of cultural and historical selves and post-modernity - though his concern here is more, I think, with the struggle for selfhood across the changing circumstances of an individual's lifetime than with anything on a more universal scale. His notion of a 'cohesive self beyond as well as within discursive relationships' (*ibid.*: 211) resembles Carr's (1995: 19) claim, with which I concluded chapter one, that 'The biography of an individual, like the genealogy of a concept, is always a story about unity through diversity, continuity through change'.

However, both images, located as they are within the individual lifespan, are essentially time-specific. They cannot help, therefore, to resolve a question that seems to be implicit in Skolimowski's and Wilson's models, and which has become increasingly important for me as I approach the end of this thesis: whether the concepts of spirituality and unity provide a means by which to understand an ultimate 'environment' beyond the bounds of space and time, or whether they are merely by-products of a search for meaning and coherence within a physical world that has no meaning beyond itself.

Offering what he calls 'a lifespan developmental theory of how modern people create identities through narrative', McAdams (1993: 5), like West and Carr, takes a time-bounded approach to the study of self but also specifically examines faith and

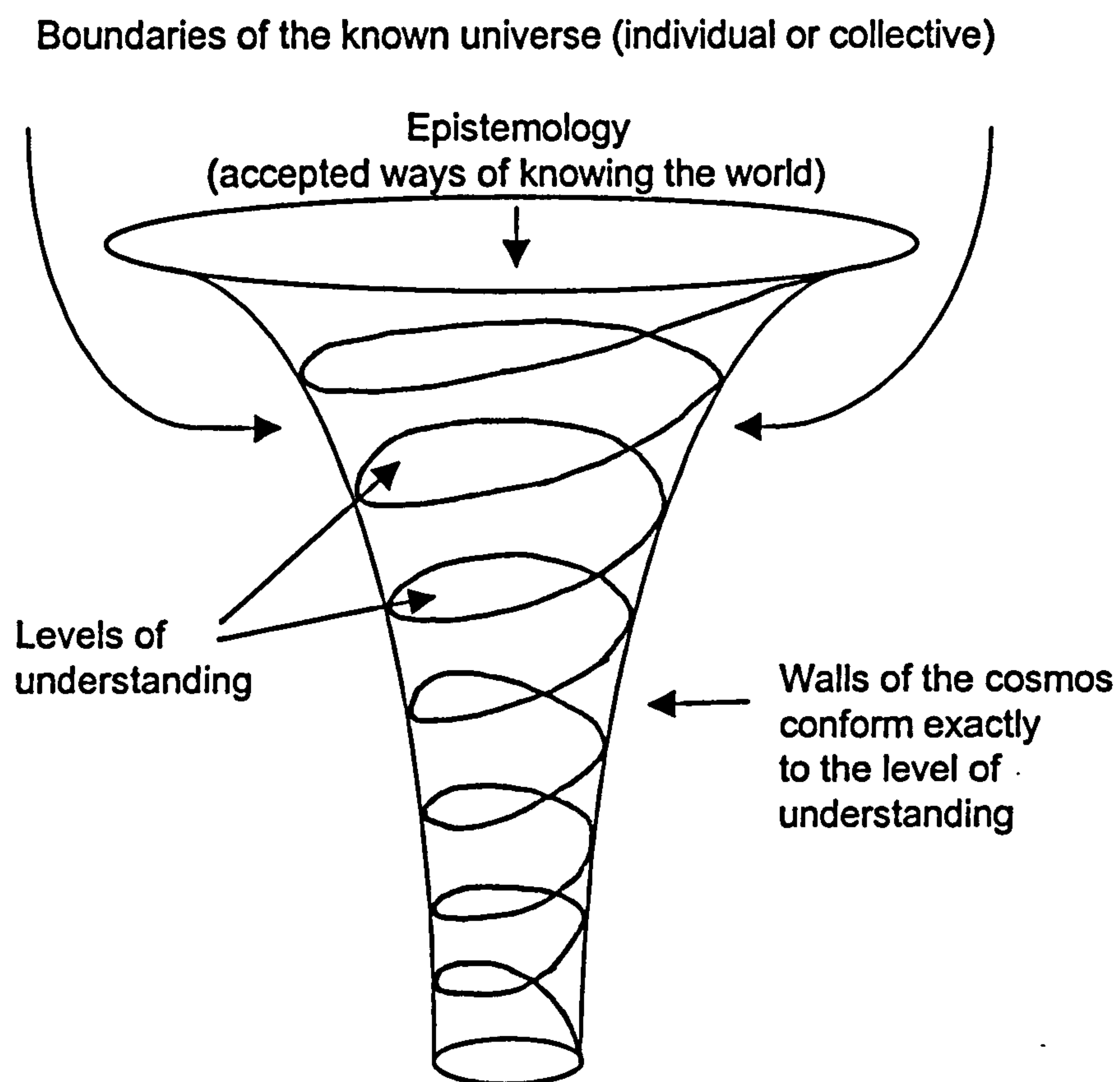


Figure 9.2. The spiral of understanding (after Skolimowski, 1994: 80)

religious ideology as elements of individual narratives. He draws attention to Fowler's (1981) interpretation of 'faith', which suggests that:

... though all human beings are not religious, all live by faith. It is part of human nature, says Fowler, to ascribe some sort of order or pattern to the universe and to live according to the ascription. Faith involves a relation to and an understanding of an ultimate environment ... (McAdams, *op.cit.*: 179).

An ultimate environment would seem, almost by definition, to be located beyond the self and its mental and physical state but McAdams later tempers this view with his own acknowledgement of the essential post-modern problem:

Today we are faced with a rich assortment of alternative and competing ideological frameworks, and a pervasive attitude of skepticism about the power of any traditional or institutional belief system to address all of our ideological concerns (McAdams, *op.cit.*: 187).

I am faced with the question, therefore, of whether the arguments presented in this thesis for locating community/ education within a spiritual framework 'ascribe some sort of order' to the universe, and to a way of being, that has no meaning beyond my own evolving 'spiral of understanding'. I have already discussed how the compilation of this thesis has been driven by my need to bring together aspects of my personal and professional lives and to try to articulate underpinning values. In a post-modernist context, however, how can I know whether the debates thus constructed have any substance outside my own imagination?

I am rather alarmed to have arrived at a question which obviously hovers on the brink of a major existential debate! It would probably not be productive to enter it at this point - although I shall need to come back to the question itself later.

Coincidentally, however, the question contains echoes of the keynote quotation that I chose to introduce this chapter. It seems appropriate to comment on this choice before I conclude this reflective section and bring what feels like the less-slippery community education strand of my plait back into view again.

Taken from the beginning of Act V of Shakespeare's *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, the quotation is part of a speech by Theseus. He is musing on the nature of fables and the fact that lovers, madmen and poets appear to be able to 'apprehend more than cool reason ever comprehends'. Speaking of poets, he says:

And as imagination bodies forth
The forms of things unknown, the poet's pen
Turns them into shapes, and gives to airy nothing
A local habitation and a name.

I was reminded of the speech when I came across a longer extract from it in a book about madness (Herman and Green, 1991). Giving 'to airy nothing a local habitation and a name' seemed to capture the essence of what I wanted to suggest within this thesis - that the concept of 'community' may give name to, and embody in practice, something of the intangibility, the 'airiness', of spirituality.

It seemed significant, too, that, at its most basic, 'community' is often associated with 'a local habitation', usually imbued with a sense of belonging. Fletcher encapsulates this idea in what he says was his immediate response to charges about the ill-definition and misuse of the term community: "Yes I *can* define community!" It is a sense of "us" combined with a specification of "place" (Fletcher, 1987: 34, original emphasis). As the discussion in chapter eight illustrated, further definition is not easy.

My initial sense that, like the life in the Sufi elephant, there is an aspect of community that can perhaps only be properly defined in 'wholistic', and ultimately

spiritual terms subsequently led me to explore a discourse which has often seemed far removed from those which are comprehended and acceptable within academic and professional debates, where 'cool reason', rather than feeling, tends to be paramount. In trying to give voice to the felt-reality of a domain that I apprehend in ways 'Whereof one cannot speak', I have sometimes felt as if I was doing personal battle with 'airy nothing'.

Nevertheless, I have believed throughout that it is possible to discern a shape within the 'airiness' of spirituality where the abstract quality of community - the quality which seems to reach beyond the physicality of 'us and place' - might be located. As I near the end of my struggle, at least within these pages, it is somewhat disturbing to have begun to question the basis of this belief. It now seems rather ironic, given the feelings currently being generated by this state of uncertainty, that I should have introduced this chapter with an extract from a speech used in another context to illustrate a discussion on 'What is madness?' (Herman and Green, 1991: 2-8).

I referred to Herman and Green in introducing chapter eight. They approach the problem of finding adequate definition for the term 'madness' by starting out 'not in search of meaning but of *meanings*' (*op.cit.* 2, original emphasis). I took a similar approach to 'community' and noted that both concepts have been 'described and constituted by many different discourses, including politics, economics, psychology, sociology and morality'.

It is perhaps timely to return now to some of these established discourses, insofar as they are manifest in the models of community education discussed in chapter two and summarized earlier in the present chapter. Through the use of diagrams, I shall explore different aspects of these discourses, and in what ways the discourses may be linked. In the light of my discussion in chapter eight about interpretations of 'community', I shall also consider how a relationship between the local habitation of physical place and the 'unplace' of spirituality might be illustrated.

Combining Models

I intend to stay with the three-stranded *leitmotif* that coincidentally characterizes this thesis and also underpins three of the five classic typologies of community education discussed above. When all five typologies are placed alongside one another it is possible to discern three key discourses within them. I have termed these Economic-Political, Psychological-Sociological, and Geographical-Ecological. Figure 9.3 illustrates how the typologies, the models of which they are comprised, and different dimensions of the key discourses seem to be related.

The typologies are not directly comparable since they each start from a different premise. Nevertheless, they do seem to illustrate some consensus about the ways in which, to borrow the imagery from O'Hagan, community education may be used as a 'tool' for shaping society; and about how and to what the tool should be applied.

Column 1 Underpinning the models in column 1, there is clearly a concern with *economic issues*; the focus is often on the *individual* rather than on communities as a whole; and any implied action is usually located within a *specific place*. The key influence here, in Martin's view, is Henry Morris.

The prompt for Morris's work was to stem the destabilizing flow of people towards the cities from the rural communities of Cambridgeshire in the 1920s and 30s. As Mitchell (1987: 87) notes:

This initiative to preserve or regenerate community in the face of rapid socio-economic change has continued. It was a feature of pre- and post-World War

TYOLOGY	MODEL 1	MODEL 2	MODEL 3
MARTIN (1987) <i>origin:</i>	Universal Morris, focus on rural communities to counteract economic pull of cities (1920s / 1930s)	Reformist 'compensatory education' (1960s)	Radical political empowerment (1970s)
O'HAGAN (1987) <i>sees education as:</i>	Efficiency economic tool	Enrichment social tool	Empowerment political tool
FLETCHER (1987) <i>concerned with:</i>	Type A - looking at social conditions economic activity	Type B - sharing people's meanings deprivation / deficiency / mutual care	Type C - learning through social movements political pressure
CLARK (1985) <i>practice involves:</i>	Dual use cost-effective use of plant	Community service / networking meeting local needs / sharing resources	Awareness raising / Ideological approach analysis of key issues / political education, social action
LOVETT et al. (1983) <i>primary focus:</i>	Community organization effective co-ordination and delivery of educational resources	Community development addressing local problems	Community action / Social action social and political awareness and action
DISCOURSE	DIMENSION		
ECONOMIC - POLITICAL	Economics	Social justice	Political challenge
PSYCHOLOGICAL - SOCIOLOGICAL	Individual (provision <u>for</u>)	Individuals-in-communities	Communities
GEOGRAPHICAL - ECOLOGICAL	Specific place	Place linked to Lifestyle	'Unplace'

Figure 9.3. A possible relationship between existing typologies and models of community education and key discourses.

Two urban renewal programmes and it has remained so right up to the present, as for example, in the 'planned environment' of Milton Keynes.

It is perpetuated in the late 1990s through the economic regeneration programmes, funded primarily through the European Community (EC) in, amongst other places, the former coalfields and steel-manufacturing areas of Derbyshire and Sheffield. Their focus is generally on ways in which individuals can be encouraged to acquire the necessary skills to rejoin a workforce within their own locality, itself often undergoing 'enhancement' through the commercial (and sometimes EC-subsidized) development of new social buildings containing sports and other leisure and shopping facilities.

Morris's own vision similarly focused upon the individual but was much less vocationally-orientated. He viewed education as a 'cradle to grave' affair 'relevant to all aspects of communal life [which] can be promoted through open-access and integrated local provision' (Martin, 1987: 25). He, too, saw new buildings as important in motivating individuals to remain within a particular locality. However, his emphasis in encouraging the development of new communal facilities for educational and recreational purposes was on the economies of scale which might be achieved for the potential benefit of the region, rather than on the commercial profits which might subsequently be obtained.

The notion of integrated local provision of buildings and services is an important ingredient of the column 1 models of O'Hagan, Clark and Lovett *et al.* They regard such provision as both economically efficient and locally desirable. O'Hagan and Lovett *et al.*, as well as Martin, also specifically refer to the personal development of individuals as integral to these models.

Fletcher's column 1 model derives from the way in which practitioners make sense of community by examining socio-economic conditions. Interestingly, the individual enters Fletcher's model in the guise of the practitioner-researcher who remains separate from the community s/ he is 'surveying' in order to conduct the research with a 'dispassionate scientific eye' (Fletcher 1987: 38, 44).

Column 2 The models here tend to be concerned with *social justice*, with *individuals located in particular communities*, and with a geography linked not just to a particular *location* (though that often remains the case) but also to a *perceived lifestyle*.

In brief, underpinning these models is a view of education as a means of redressing imbalances in society by 'compensating' groups of individuals who have been forced to adopt particular lifestyles because of an apparent lack of earlier or current opportunities. Community education is seen as a way of addressing the perceived needs of deprived or alienated groups and helping them to adjust better to life in the wider society. The possibility that the wider society might itself need 'adjustment' is not addressed.

Column 3 By contrast, the possibility (and often deliberate encouragement) of *political challenge* is a key feature of the column 3 models. In the other models, the emphasis is clearly on the kind of provision that should be made *for* individuals, or particular groupings of individuals. In the column 3 models, the locus of control shifts to the individuals themselves who, acting collectively, are expected to be able to effect change in the conditions of their own *communities*.

These communities are not necessarily (though they could be) located in a specific place (like a village or urban estate) but may be representative of shared interests,

orientations or cultures within a single country, or even across the world. In Figure 9.3, I have used the term *'Unplace'* to indicate the non-specific location of some of the communities that have featured in the literature of political challenge, such as 'working class', gay, and black communities. As I noted in chapter eight, Bernard (1973) coined the phrase *'community sans locale'* to refer to this non-spatial dimension of community.

Relating Discourses

Dimensions

In his classic text, *Culture and Society*, Raymond Williams (1958):

... constructs the community tradition. This, he argues is made up by a succession of radical English authors who ... attempted to offer a communal alternative to individualism and economism (Kenny, 1991: 17).

A similar trend - from a concern with individualism/ economism to that with more communal action - is evident within the discourses underpinning the models of community education listed above. Indeed, as each discourse encompasses the models in consecutive columns, there is a sense in which it not only 'widens' from a social perspective but also becomes progressively more dynamic.

Economic-Political The dimension of the economic-political discourse implicit in the column 1 models, for example, is primarily about the cost-effectiveness of educational provision within a society where the *status quo* is predominantly unchallenged and, to use O'Hagan's (1987: 2) terms, 'the central value system is considered to be homogenous'.

The dimension incorporating the values and associated activities represented in column 2 is wider in terms of the possibilities it recognizes. It is concerned with 'enriching' an already plural society. Through the notion of social justice, complexities and inequalities within society are acknowledged and ways found to address perceived needs through the provision of different kinds of educational services. The discourse underpinning column 3, by contrast, is overtly political and finds in community education a means not of stabilizing or improving the *status quo* but of challenging and changing it.

These three dimensions signal the involvement of an increasing number and range of people in more challenging ways. They seem to embody transitions from reactive to proactive ways of working, and from a preference for stability to acknowledgement of the creative potential of instability.

Psychological-Sociological This discourse, almost by definition, incorporates similarly expansive dimensions. At the column 1 end is an interest in the perceived needs of the individual and how these might be provided for. For community education, this interest is primarily in personal development, especially through the intellect: it follows closely in the Enlightenment tradition of encouraging good citizenship through rational thought and individual action.

The next dimension, represented by the column 2 models, includes the notion of 'individuals-in-communities' and assumes some overlap between the needs of individuals who are members of certain groups or sections of society. These groups are identified as 'deficient' in some way and, therefore, as requiring particular kinds of educational and other provision to be made for them so that they can 'better' themselves.

Finally, in the column 3 models, the needs of the community are assumed to take precedence over those of the individual. The extreme view associated with this discourse is that individuals are 'constructed' by social processes within communities and, if necessary, can be sacrificed for the greater good of the community as a whole. Whether or not practitioners fully subscribe to this particular view, community education shaped by this dimension of the discourse eschews provision 'for' individuals and groups and favours participation and collective action by, and within, communities themselves.

With the shift in emphasis from individual to community development, it is clear that the 'unit' of consideration within this discourse becomes progressively wider. There is also acknowledgement that individuals' involvement in education includes a range of behaviours from passive/ receptive to dynamic and challenging, and that the latter is increasingly likely when community interests and actions are involved.

Geographical-Ecological I chose the descriptor for this discourse because debates about community/ education range from those which associate communities with very specific geographical locations to those which deal with inter-relationships in the 'unplace' of what Kenny (1991: 16) calls 'the symbolic dimensions of community - the national community, the law-abiding community etc.'. The discourse is concerned partly, therefore, with the ways in which human communities choose to define and bound themselves and how these boundaries are recognized and respected, or not, by other communities.

The 'ecological' nature of the discourse, as it relates to the column 3 models of community education, also concerns, like plant and animal ecology, the impact on the meta-community of the complex inter-relationships, including power struggles, between smaller communities. Though it does not figure in the models under review here, it is clear that such a discourse must eventually concern itself with the effects of the full spectrum of these inter-relationships on the social and physical environment of the planet: that, ultimately, it must encompass Gaian principles (Lovelock, 1979; Capra, 1997).

Community education influenced primarily by the geographical 'place' aspect of this discourse may focus simply upon the optimum use of a single building or cluster of buildings (usually in order to ensure, in Clark's (1985) terms, 'cost-effective use of plant'). More widely, it may be concerned with the educational opportunities that can be made available within a village or estate or, as in Morris's case, across a whole county. In all these cases, represented within the column 1 models, the geographical boundaries within which the work is to be undertaken are evident.

The column 2 models *may* be associated with single, clearly-bounded, locations but the kind of community education envisaged here overlays the specifics of place with the more abstract notion of lifestyle. It concerns itself with redressing a perceived imbalance of opportunities between individuals and groups who have been 'disadvantaged' by their location within a social/ cultural framework.

The focus of this discourse moves from events in, and their impact on, a single physical location to relationships that exist across space and time. The transition embodies a sense of movement from things being fixed and physical to their becoming fluid and conceptual.

An Expanding Cone

It is possible to superimpose Skolimowski's cone imagery on the expansion and increasing dynamism apparently associated with the transitions within these three discourses. Figure 9.4 lists the transitions noted above: the 'cone effect' is evident in reading from left to right.

This Figure is, of course, a product of my personal constructs (Kelly, 1955): other authors and/ or community educators would almost certainly supply different pairings. The expanding cone effect may, therefore, be simply coincidental. Or, possibly in the manner I discussed earlier in relation to my preferred world-pictures, I may have unconsciously created it to mirror an expansion in my own understanding of community education and related issues, as well as to lend support to my view of community education as expansive and, ultimately, transformative. Alternatively, the expanding cone may actually represent the potential of community education to effect change in levels of understanding and, subsequently, in the 'reality' of the social world and its structures.

Belief in the latter possibility provides at least partial explanation for the way community education, especially in its most radical forms, has often been held in check by governments and local authorities. As Skolimowski (1994) argues in a general context, rapid expansion of understanding, activity and complexity, wherever and however this arises, may require the creation of a new 'reality'. Since those in political authority usually prefer new realities to be of their own making, they tend to do what they can to minimize potential discontinuities in existing social structures.

Discussing this issue on a much broader scale in chapter seven, I outlined why many authors feel that humanity may presently be on the verge of a major discontinuity of approach to its collective affairs (a 'time of breakdown or breakthrough' [Myers, 1990: 180]). I presented an argument which suggests that, within Western societies, there are signs that Newtonian 'Machine-think' is giving way to a world-picture that is more holistic and 'spiritual', and which is encapsulated in the notion of '*Gaia*'.

In chapter eight, I indicated how spirituality might find expression in the experience of community. I have wanted to determine whether, by extension, community education might provide a vehicle for a new spiritual approach to human relationships, and what, exactly, that approach might look like.

The picture I have in mind of a Gaian society is not dissimilar to what Skolimowski (*op.cit.*: 106) describes as:

... a new spiral of understanding for the whole culture so that our *reality*-making can become more compassionate, gentle, co-operative, creative and based on the ideals of solidarity - with all living creatures - rather than on the ideals of selfish exploitation (original emphasis).

The potential for a new spiral of some kind, certainly with a value-base different from that of a Newtonian world of separation and compartmentalization, would seem to be implicit in several of the ideas illustrated at the 'expanding' end of the diagram in Figure 9.4. As already indicated, for example, by stressing the importance of inter-relationships between and within living systems, including the planet, the 'geographical-ecological' discourse alone extends way beyond the considerations of local and national politics and associated systems of education encompassed by the 'column 3' models in Figure 9.3.

However, perhaps this merely implies the need for a 'column 4' form of community education that is rooted in global politics. Perhaps, after all, community education

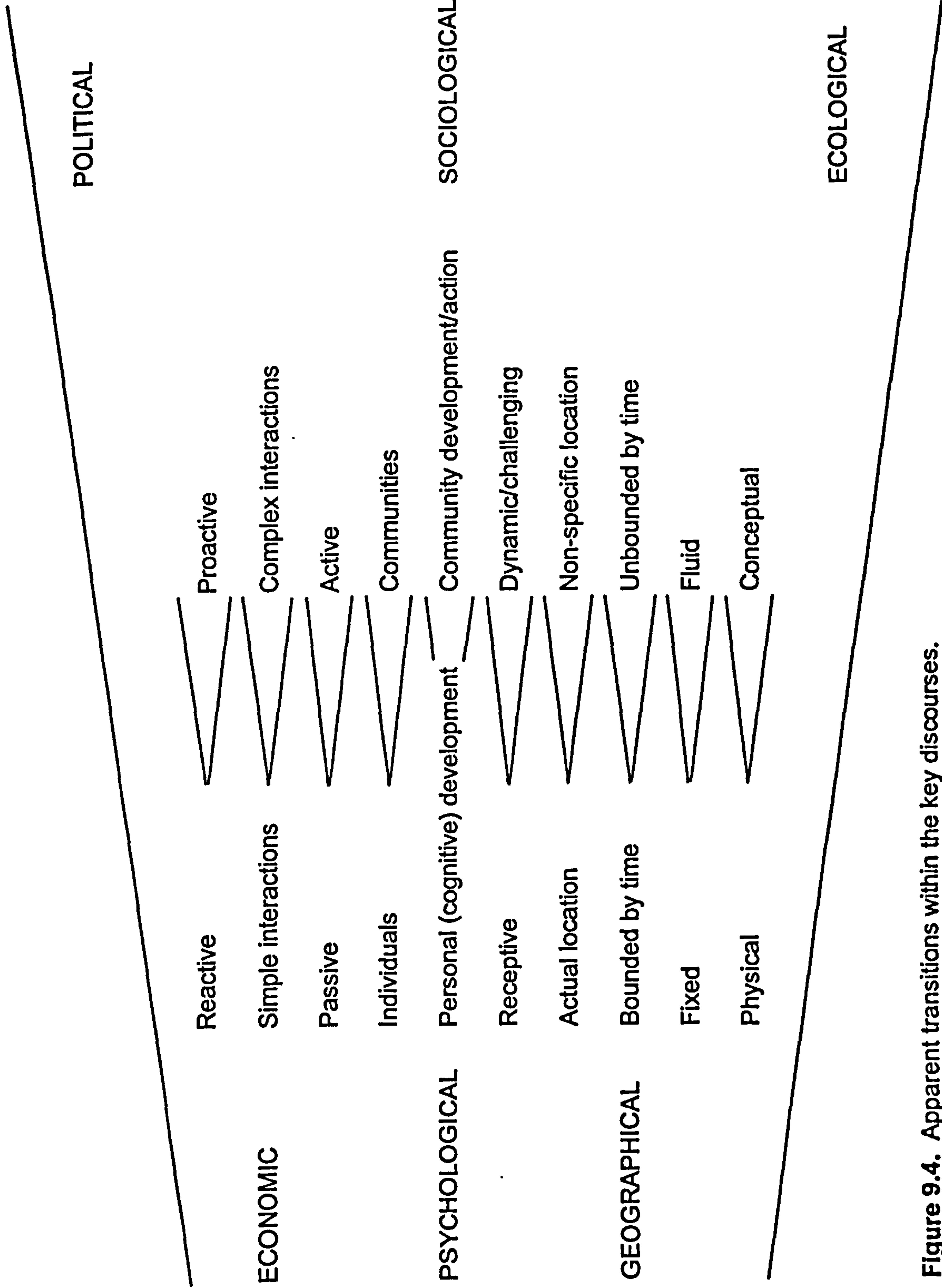


Figure 9.4. Apparent transitions within the key discourses.

has no need of the concept of spirituality, but merely of effective champions on the world stage?

In order to keep faith with the world-picture which, as I noted in chapter seven, has formed the backdrop to this thesis, I am inclined to see in the 'cone' in Figure 9.4 a transition from Second to Third Wave thinking. Nevertheless, while it is clear that taking the ideas associated with the 'column 3' dimension of the discourses embedded in community education to their logical conclusion would result in a very different kind of society, it is by no means certain that this would be a Gaian society, especially one in which spirituality was fully re-admitted to worldly affairs.

Indeed, in none of the models of community education on which I have drawn is there any evidence of ideas which grant spirituality a place in community education practice. As I have already noted, although Clark's (1992) analysis sets community education within a specifically Christian perspective, other analyses are essentially sociological in orientation, concerning themselves with histories, existing practices or policy issues.

Squaring a Circle

This thesis has largely been created out of my sense that there is an intangible, abstract, quality in community, and by extension in community education, which can only be properly defined in spiritual terms. I have regarded 'spirit' as distinct from mental and physical processes and have been referring to it as that which 'contains and sustains' all such processes and manifestations. In the light of the preceding discussion and of concerns expressed in earlier sections of this chapter, should I now mistrust that sense and dispense with the belief system that gives it meaning?

To try to answer the question, together with the associated one that I posed previously about the meaning or relevance of *any* world-picture in a post-modern period of apparently infinite variety, it may be helpful to return to two tasks I mentioned earlier. The first is to discover whether and how, diagrammatically at least, the discourses that I have suggested underpin existing models of community education may relate to one another, and with what effect. The second is to determine whether it is possible to model a relationship between what I called 'the local habitation of place and the "unplace" of spirituality'. Figure 9.5 tackles the former and raises some further questions about the latter.

I would have felt more comfortable had it been technically possible to make this diagram circular: my personal constructs cause squares to feel static while circles imply movement! Nevertheless, what I am trying to portray here is a relationship between the three discourses - Economic-Political, Psychological-Sociological and Geographical-Ecological - that seems to have a number of important properties. I shall discuss these properties in general terms rather than within the specific context of community education.

First, the discourses are in a dynamic relationship with one another such that what is understood and spoken of in one has an impact on what can be known and said within another. (Hence, the arrows indicate movement within and between the discourses.) Second, as the discourses are played out in practice, they are concerned with different 'levels of organization': systems, individuals/ groups, and planetary locations/ relationships. Economic-political and geographical-ecological issues are mediated through the psychological-sociological discourse in terms of what is identified as most needed/ wanted at that level.

In this respect, the links between the discourses are probably more complex than the symmetrical placing of the arrows on the diagram suggests. For example, taking

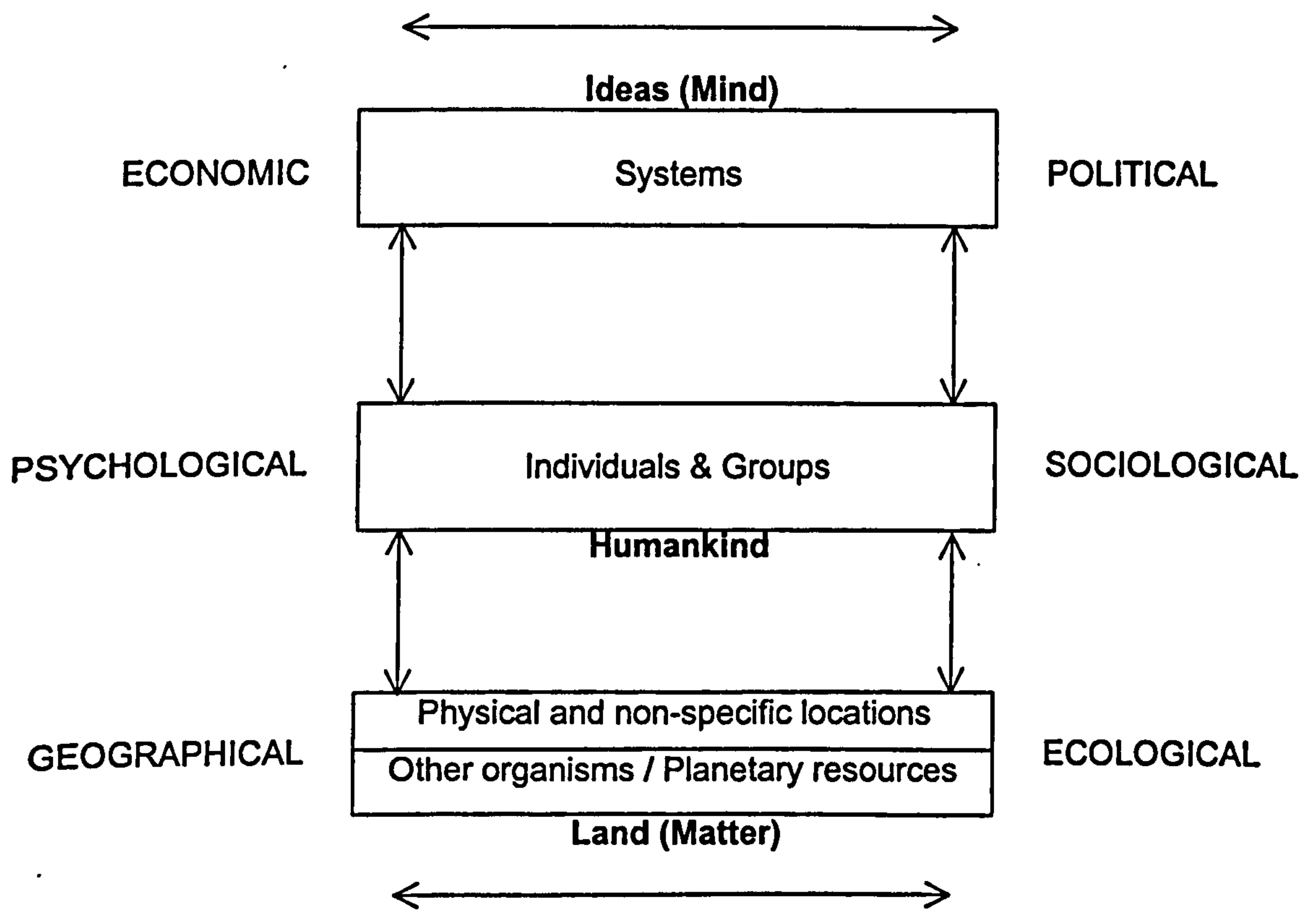


Figure 9.5. Dynamic relationships between the key discourses.

the singular relationship between person and planet (including all its resources) as the starting point (*i.e.* the arrow between 'psychological' and 'geographical' on the diagram), it is arguable that this will be affected by the individual's own ideas about the relationship, shaped by a need for survival. These ideas will be intricately bound up with those both of the primary group to which the individual relates and of other groups with which that group interacts. The interactions and ideas will eventually be translated into economic and political systems with varying degrees of rigidity and global influence. The systems will then further regulate the relationships between individual, groups and planet, and be open to challenge and change in the light of these relationships.

There is an implied hierarchy within the diagram with the physicality of 'land' - matter - at its base, and the insubstantiality of 'ideas' - mind - at the top. Humankind appears at the centre as, literally, a combination of these two elements as well as mediator between them. Since the conceptual framework for the diagram is derived from classic models of community education which make no mention of it, 'spirit' does not feature anywhere in this Figure. Significantly, perhaps, the diagram, and therefore the 'reality' represented by it, would seem to work perfectly well without this addition.

I introduced Figure 9.5 in the context of some doubt about whether it is appropriate to continue my quest to locate the 'abstract quality' of community within the realm of spirituality. Through a written process of reflection on my own meaning-making, I have begun to question my belief in a world-picture, painted in detail in chapter seven, which has provided the backcloth to this thesis. I am almost inclined to abandon it to the view that spirituality is, as I noted earlier, perhaps 'no more than the by-product of a search for meaning and coherence within a physical world that has no meaning beyond itself'.

In these terms, the concept of 'spirit' could be represented in Figure 9.5 simply as one idea among many at the level of mind. This does suggest a relationship, of sorts, between 'the local habitation of place and the "unplace" of spirituality'. However, this is not what I envisaged when I concluded chapter seven with my faith intact that a spiritual dimension 'contains and sustains all apparent pattern and change in the world which we "know" through our mental and physical processes'.

Had I created Figure 9.5 at that time, I might have extended the hierarchy to include spirit, placing it 'above' the level of mind to indicate its more subtle nature: I saw it as an influence *on and within* mind, not as an aspect *of* mind. I might even have attempted to draw a three-dimensional model in which the existing diagram became the 'top' and spirit was shown to be an unacknowledged 'container' for all the action in and on the world implied by the movement of the arrows. The image is close to that at the end of chapter seven where I suggested that the Wave imagery required an aerial perspective which would change all apparent movement and direction into a pattern on the surface of an ocean, the depths of which represent the stillness, and sustaining nature, of a spiritual dimension.

Such amendments to the diagram obviously remain possible if it is freed from its roots in existing typologies and models of community education and opened up to new possibilities. I have already indicated, in Figure 9.1, how at least one of the classic typologies might be extended to include a spiritual dimension. Interestingly, looking again at that Figure now, I realize that, at several points during the writing of this chapter, I have overlooked the personal implications of an educational strategy that is included there.

In previous chapters I have related my own experiences and understandings to those described and debated in a variety of other texts. I had begun to feel that many of the texts provided reasonable justification for my attempt to introduce a spiritual discourse to community education. However, towards the end of the

reflective section of this chapter, I began to flounder in a miasma of post-modern uncertainty about the validity of my own 'reality' and of subscribing to any kind of world-picture, least of all one underpinned by my particular view of spirituality.

In effect, I pursued a narrow train of thought that had become uncoupled from an often experienced felt-reality. In doing so, I began to privilege *thinking itself* over what I 'know' through different means - through states of consciousness in which thinking actually has no part. Heron (1996: 182) describes the situation in which I found myself as the negative side of 'being in a *conceptual world*' (original emphasis). He notes:

Its negative side is its reduction of primary to conceptual meaning, that is, its reduction of the territory to the map; and hence its limited account, which is also a denial, of its base in empathic-imaginal reality, and its repression of the deeper and wider potential of integral lived experience (Heron: *ibid.*).

Certainly, I forgot for a while the importance of finding, as Wilber (1998: 12) puts it (and as is summarized in Figure 9.1), 'a way to honour the entire spectrum of human experience and consciousness'.

These words are taken from an interview Ken Wilber gave recently about his most recent book, *The Marriage of Sense and Soul*, which is an attempt to reconcile science and religion. During the interview, Wilber made a number of comments which not only cut to the heart of what I have struggled with in this thesis - the reconciliation of academic debate with a felt-experience of spirituality - but also shed some light on key issues raised in the present chapter. One concerns the coercive power of post-modernism, to which I clearly succumbed in my earlier reflection.

In post-modernism's creed that 'no real truth is out there, only shifting, relative, constructed, different interpretations, none of which is better than the others', Wilber (*ibid.*) finds:

... a massive self-contradiction. It claims that there are no universal truths; but it presents that claim itself as a universal truth. It says that all truths are culturally constructed, except its own truth that this is so. Post-modernism, in short, claims that its stance is superior in a world where nothing is supposed to be superior.

He notes that science and religion at least admit to their respective claims to offer universal truths! Wilber argues for a modified form of epistemological pluralism as the best way to reconcile ancient beliefs about the relationship between spirit and matter with modern understandings about constructed knowledge and the physical environment. His argument bears tangentially on the foregoing discussion about the representation of community education through its main discourses and the validity of including a spiritual discourse, as I shall try to illustrate.

The Great Chain of Being

Epistemological Pluralism

For Wilber (1998: 11), 'traditional' epistemological pluralism is linked to the notion of what is often called the 'Great Chain [or Nest] of Being'. This is:

... the general stance of the perennial philosophy, or the nearly universal core of the world's great wisdom traditions - namely that reality is a hierarchy of being and knowing, reaching from matter to body to mind to soul to spirit. And, therefore, each level or dimension of reality has an appropriate mode of knowing [e.g. matter/ body by sensory empiricism; mind by rationalism; soul/

spirit by *gnosis*]. ... This likewise gives us a spectrum of human disciplines [*e.g.* matter - physics; bodies - biology; mind - psychology; soul - theology; spirit - mysticism].

Ultimately, Wilber believes, traditional epistemological pluralism fails because it cannot 'stand up to much of modern knowledge' which holds, for example, that consciousness is not something which 'hovers over' the physical matter of the brain but is intricately interconnected with it. If all the so-called 'higher realms' can be similarly explained in terms of brain states, then the Great Chain collapses into matter and there is no need for other 'ways of knowing' than empirical science.

In Wilber's view, the ancient traditions, and the epistemological pluralism to which they gave rise, 'have never really recovered from that devastating blow' delivered by modern science. He argues, nevertheless, that epistemological pluralism can be reconstructed in the light of modern scientific knowledge, and in particular of how science defines 'genuine knowledge'.

This is not the place to enter that debate, which occupies a large part of Wilber's book. What is important here is what lies at the root of his endeavour - finding a way to 'honour the entire spectrum of human experience and consciousness', coupled with the imagery of the Great Chain which suggests that this 'spectrum' encompasses much more than mere physical matter. Wilber (*op.cit.*: 12) notes:

The core idea of epistemological pluralism is that each person has available the eye of flesh, the eye of mind and the eye of contemplation, which is simply a short version of the Great Chain, matter to mind to spirit. But the crucial point about each of those eyes is that they are experiential. You can have sensory experiences, mental experiences, and spiritual experiences. These can be investigated with direct empirical and phenomenological techniques, in a very grounded and this-worldly fashion.

Heron's (1996) work is also concerned with the investigation of such experiences: I shall comment on it briefly in the concluding section. For now, I want to revisit Figure 9.5 since aspects of it bear an inescapable resemblance to the lower layers of the Great Chain. The 'discourses diagram' (Figure 9.5) has in place a hierarchy reaching from matter at level 1, to the 'body' of humankind at level 2, to 'mind' at level 3. It would take only the addition of 'soul' at a level 4 and 'spirit' at a level 5 to introduce spirit to this diagram in the traditional format of the Great Chain.

My understanding of 'soul' in this hierarchy is that it is a differentiated aspect of the subtle ground of spirit which is unique to each individual. For present purposes, it is not really necessary to consider this as a separate level - merely to acknowledge that the place of spirit in a diagram illustrating the key discourses of community education could perhaps be 'legitimized' through the superimposition of the Great Chain of Being on the levels already implicit in that diagram (see Figure 9.6).

There are, of course, two different models here: one deriving from the inter-relationship between certain contemporary discourses and the other from an ancient view of 'levels of being'. To try to draw parallels between the two, therefore, is a bit like trying to draw parallels between apples and aardvarks: the conclusion may be that they simply cannot be compared because they are so different in kind.

That *maybe* so - but let us look at this a little more closely. It is evident in the practice - the 'territory' of community education from which the discourses 'map' derives, that full attention is already paid to the presence, and importance, of levels 1-3 of the Chain. This is evident, too, in key definitions of community which were explored in chapter eight.

For example, in the acknowledgement of the attachment many people feel for a particular place, and of the implications of this for learning, is recognition of

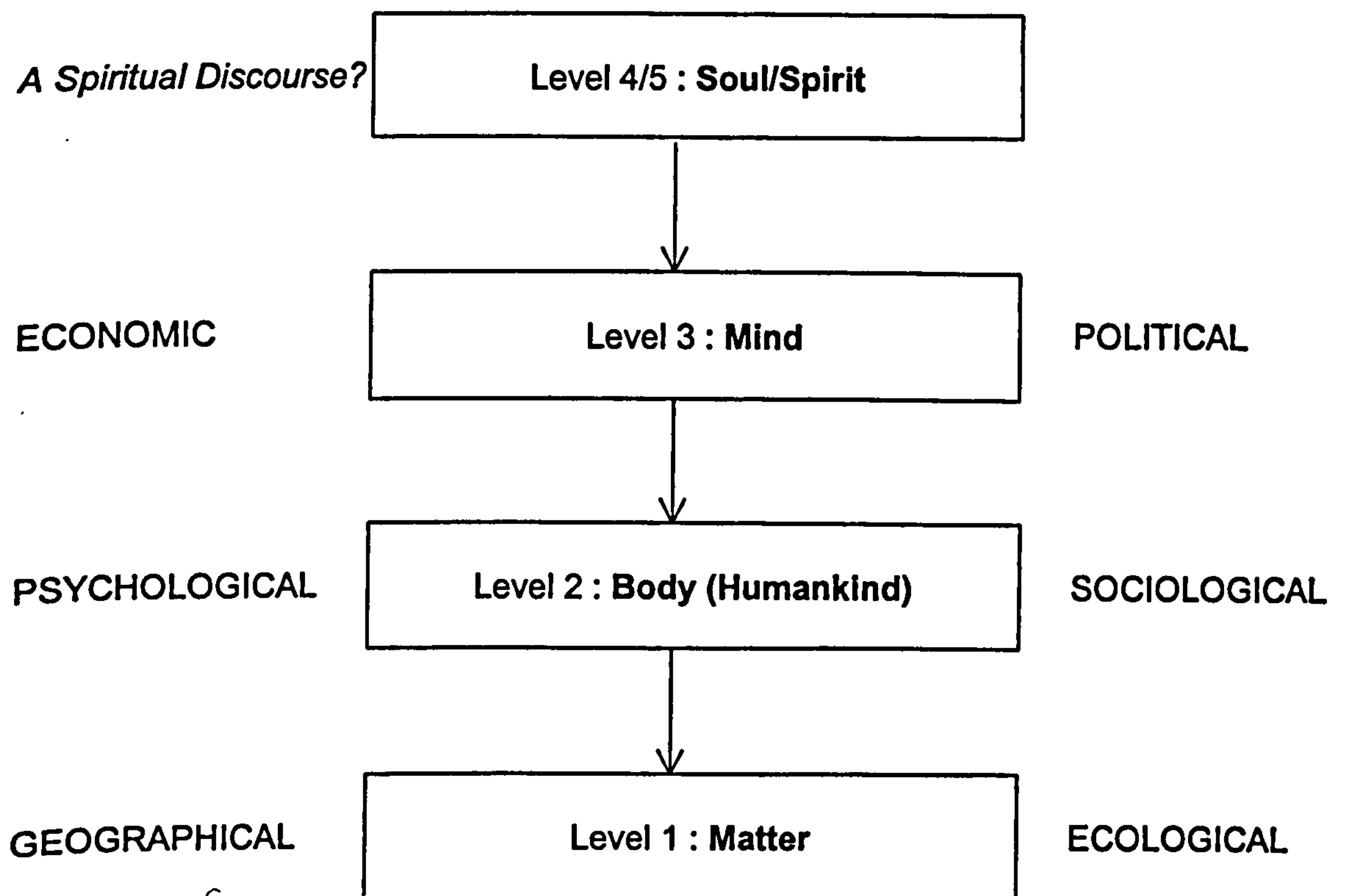


Figure 9.6. The 'Great Chain of Being' superimposed upon the 'levels' implicit in the key community education discourses (shown in Figure 9.5).

'Matter'. Conceptually, the importance of physical place in creating a sense of community is acknowledged in Tonnies's notion of '*Gemeinschaft*', as well as in that of 'geopieté' and '*Heimat*' [Mother Earth] (Hagget, 1990: 90-91). 'Body', in terms of individual selves, their relationships with other selves, and their identities, motivations and development, is the very stuff with which community educators work; as, indeed, is 'Mind' and the ideas and systems, and all their implications for the way people live, to which Mind gives rise.

The 'realities' represented by the discourses model and the Great Chain, respectively, would seem to be different, therefore, only in terms of the contexts in which they have traditionally been debated. It is thus *not* necessary to conclude that they are different in kind. But, if they are not, then it *is* necessary to ask why the reality of community education has never properly embraced that of the Great Chain and its additional, subtle, 'levels' of soul/ spirit.

The most obvious answer is that community education is defined by (even when it poses a challenge to) an educational system which, as I illustrated in chapter two, is heavily influenced by Newtonian 'machine' imagery. It has been shaped in the image of modern science which has deliberately excluded consideration of 'spiritual' matters from its remit.

Presently, however, modern science itself is struggling to accommodate many changing understandings, and particularly the insights of quantum physics which challenge the mechanistic, Newtonian, view of the universe and its application to human life (see Zohar, 1990; Capra, 1997). It is perhaps a propitious time, therefore, to reconsider the remit of community education, and what it might mean to incorporate within it the understandings associated with the Great Chain in its entirety.

Models and Worlds

Since models of various kinds have provided the main focus for the present chapter, it seems appropriate to continue to use models as the basis for this exploration. First, though, it may be worth making a slight detour to look at what can be learned from new models of the 'unplace' of cyberspace, before returning, *via* additional brief comment on Hegel's 'Worlds', to consider further the modelling of the relationship between the Great Chain and community education.

As Heron (1996: 182) notes, it is important not to let the drawing of a 'map' (or, by the same token, the creation of a model) obscure the 'territory' from which it derives. Nevertheless, if, in Skolimowski's (1994: 90) terms, 'The dimensions of the world correspond to the spiral of our understanding', it is arguable that modelling new understandings (like, for example, the feminist and black understandings of community education discussed earlier) may actually help to extend the dimensions of existing territories - whether of the particular world of community education practice, or of others.

A recent report by Andrew Brown¹ on the 'mapping' of cyberspace helps to illustrate this point and, coincidentally, is especially relevant in the present context because of the imagery it employs. Brown introduces his article with a phrase peculiarly reminiscent of the keynote quotation for this chapter. He writes:

Cyberspace was a place in the imagination long before it existed in the real world, wherever that may be. The science fiction writer William Gibson made the first pictures of it, as a 'consensual hallucination' in the early Eighties, but he used only words. Ever since then, geographers have been trying to catch up with the vivid yet indistinct pictures that Gibson gave us.

Martin Dodge, a geographer at University College, London, has a collection of maps of the Internet² that have been developed since Gibson penned his word pictures.

In an interview with Brown (*ibid.*), Dodge pointed out that: "People have a real desire to find out where they are and to make a space real by mapping it ... We're trying to make things tangible". Brown (*ibid.*) comments:

This is a curious remark. You suddenly understand that maps are necessary when the world gets too large to walk around or to see all from one vantage point. ... A map on a screen is no more and no less tangible than anything else depicted there. Yet it feels more solid, and this feeling seems to be built into the ways we understand the world. In the end, all maps of cyberspace are not depictions of anywhere in the world: they show us our own understandings.

In the world of community education, the 'models period' of the 1980s was an attempt to theorize practice - to 'make tangible' a world of increasing complexity that had become too large to be seen in its entirety from within the immediacy of everyday practice. Cybermaps currently serve the same function in relation to the Internet. I have mentioned them, and Brown's article, here for two reasons.

First, to indicate that maps/ models can incorporate, like Gibson's word pictures, 'places' that have not yet been properly 'made real' in practice; second, because I now recognize that the process of creating maps/ models which 'show us our own understandings' is essentially what I have been engaged in throughout this thesis. I have been trying to make 'real' and 'tangible' the 'space' of spirituality which, though it may have a place in the professional practice of some individuals, has not yet claimed a proper place in the discourses through which practice is generally mediated.

In the early stages of my endeavour, I relied heavily on word pictures to give shape to world-pictures that seemed to be present almost as sub-texts in a range of literature, as well as in my own lived-experience. As they took shape, the pictures opened themselves up to further investigation and comparisons with other world-pictures and thus acquired sharper definition, at least in my own mind. In different circumstances it would undoubtedly have been useful to have subjected them to something like the cycles of co-operative inquiry described by Heron (1996).

In the present chapter I have been attempting, in a more literal sense, to map a space for spirituality on to existing models of community education. As I have noted, these were designed to clarify understandings of the purpose and practice of community education at a particular time. That time may have its own significance.

In the context of my word pictures in chapter seven, I suggested that echoes of Hegel's 'World's' are discernible in events which have taken place during the present century. I likened the 1980s - the community education 'models period' - to the 'Roman World'. In Hegel's (1956: 107) view, this 'World' is characterized by the apparent loss of the 'World Spirit' because of its fragmentation into individuals: individuals who thus have the opportunity to become self-reflexive, to 'know' their own consciousness and to differentiate it from that of others.

It occurs to me now that there may be no coincidence in the publication in the 1980s of Schön's (1983) seminal text, *The Reflective Practitioner*, and all the work that has flowed from it. Perhaps Schon really did tap into the (hidden) spirit of the time!

Be that as it may, if there are parallels between Hegel's conception of the Roman World and the events of the 1980s, then it is probably also no coincidence that 'spirit' should have been overlooked in the models of community education developed during that period.

As already discussed, Hegel envisaged the antithesis of the Roman World as a 'Germanic' one. Here, 'Spirit' would achieve an inner consciousness of itself through the agency of the human mind but would continue to struggle to come into harmony with the secular. At the present time, there is clear evidence of the articulation of 'inner consciousness' and its relationship with mind and the 'real world' in increasing numbers of texts (including those of Capra, 1997; Heron, 1996; Skolimowski, 1994; and Wilber, 1998b and 1998c; and many articles published in the *Journal of the Medical and Scientific Network*³).

Figure 9.7 provides a comparison of Hegel's 'Worlds' with the 'Wave' analogy that I have also used to try to encapsulate changing world-pictures, and with developments in community/ education in Britain in the late twentieth century.

If the understandings derived from work on inner consciousness, together with those from the field of reflective practice, can be mapped on to existing models of community education, then it may be possible to establish a new framework for the articulation of community education practice. In that articulation may lie the possibility of developing new forms of educational practice in which, as Hegel hoped for future 'Worlds', the secular and the spiritual will be in harmony.

Hopeful though these speculations are, I am aware that they appear within a detour taken while determining whether the spiritual framework of the 'Great Chain of Being' could usefully be superimposed on the framework of a model derived from earlier, very secular, models of community education practice. This is illustrated diagrammatically in Figure 9.6, to which we should now return.

Although it served a useful purpose in relation to my earlier discussion about the 'realities' underpinning both the Chain and discourses in community education, I suspect that further consideration of Figure 9.6 may not be productive. The downward flow of the arrows is based on the notion associated with the Great Chain that everything flows from the subtle to the gross (from spirit to matter). That may be true, and it would certainly help to endorse the 'As within, so without' 'theme' in Figure 9.1. - which recognizes that the way in which people conceive of the world and their relationship with it determines how they impact upon it.

However, while this is a useful axiom, little else can probably be derived from this particular Figure, either conceptually or practically. As I indicated earlier, when I was writing chapter seven it is a diagram I *might* have drawn in order to 'locate' spirit in relation to mind (as an influence *on and within* mind, not as an aspect of mind). Here, though, it adds little to an understanding of how the development of a spiritual discourse might be related to the key discourses already identified as implicit in community education - other than to suggest that they should be dominated by it! It is time to move on.

The 'Three S's': Components of Community

Comparisons

A more complementary way of representing a discourse about spirit as 'that which contains and sustains all things' might be to embed it within, rather than place it as an alternative to, other discourses. This is effectively what Clark (1992) does.

He identifies the essential components of 'community' in terms of what he calls 'the three S's: a sense of security, a sense of significance and a sense of solidarity' (*op.cit.*: 125), describing these as follows:

The *sense of security* is the most earthy of the communal components. It is that sentiment which enables people to feel they are safe from threat of physical

harm or social violence. It is about feeling 'at home' in a strange and dangerous world, ...

Significance is about a sense of identity and dignity, personally as well as culturally. It exists where people feel they are valued by others, have a role to play and a destiny to fulfil. ...

Solidarity is concerned with a sense of belonging, of togetherness, of being one with others (*ibid.*).

These components bear a remarkable resemblance to the focal points of the discourses illustrated in Figure 9.5. The 'earthy' component that Clark calls 'security' lies at the core of debates about community and 'place' (the geographical-ecological discourse). Issues surrounding 'significance', often articulated through discussion about 'identity' and 'roles', are deeply embedded in the psychological-sociological discourse. 'Solidarity' finds expression practically through social movements and unions: radical forms of community education are usually predicated on this notion and its potential. It is an essential element of the economic-political discourse.

Figure 9.8 shows the relationship between Clark's '3 S's' and the three discourses. Endorsing the hierarchical infrastructure that also reinforces the connection with the Great Chain, Clark (1992: 126) notes:

The three communal components are intimately related; none can survive or develop without the others being present. Yet they have a kind of Maslovian relationship, security being the most basic and solidarity the most 'advanced'.

None of the '3 S's' stands for 'spirit', and this word, again, does not appear anywhere on the diagram. Nevertheless, the concept of spirituality is *integral to the relationship* that Clark envisages between the '3 S's'. In these three components of community, he sees a reflection of the Christian image of the Holy Trinity.

The Trinity symbolizes a dynamic relationship between creation, liberation and unification. Clark (*ibid.*) links 'security' to creation (seeing God as both Father and Mother); 'significance' to Christ as 'the Liberator' who 'meets our human yearning for freedom and autonomy'; and 'solidarity' to the Holy Spirit which represents 'the hope of a universal solidarity' (see Figure 9.9).

Clark (*ibid.*) regards this kind of dynamic relationship as the basis for creating the 'kingdom of God' on earth: a community in which all members are recognized as unique persons but inseparably linked through 'the mutual exchange of life and love'. He cautions, however, as I noted in chapter one:

It is important to note that Christ talks about the kingdom having to be discovered. It is there but it is 'hidden', in part because the kingdom is experienced through very ordinary things like mustard seed, or leaven in bread; but also, in part, because its delivery is not so much 'out there' as within us. We find it when we can say: 'I was blind; now I see' (Clark, 1992: 121).

In essence, his argument is that, to experience community in its fullest sense, it is necessary to appreciate, at a deep level in one's own being, the interconnectedness of all life. Clark's personal view, as a committed Christian, is that this interconnectedness is not just *represented* by the Trinity but *sustained* by the reality of that eternal relationship.

Clark also believes that there is a symbiotic relationship between education and community whereby education provides the catalyst, and community the means, for discovering both what is 'within us' and how best to live in the world 'out there'. He suggests that, if it is not allied to a sense of community - to an understanding of the dynamics of the 3 S's, 'real' education - the processes of *educere*, of 'leading out' what is already within, can become subverted by the processes of *educare*, of

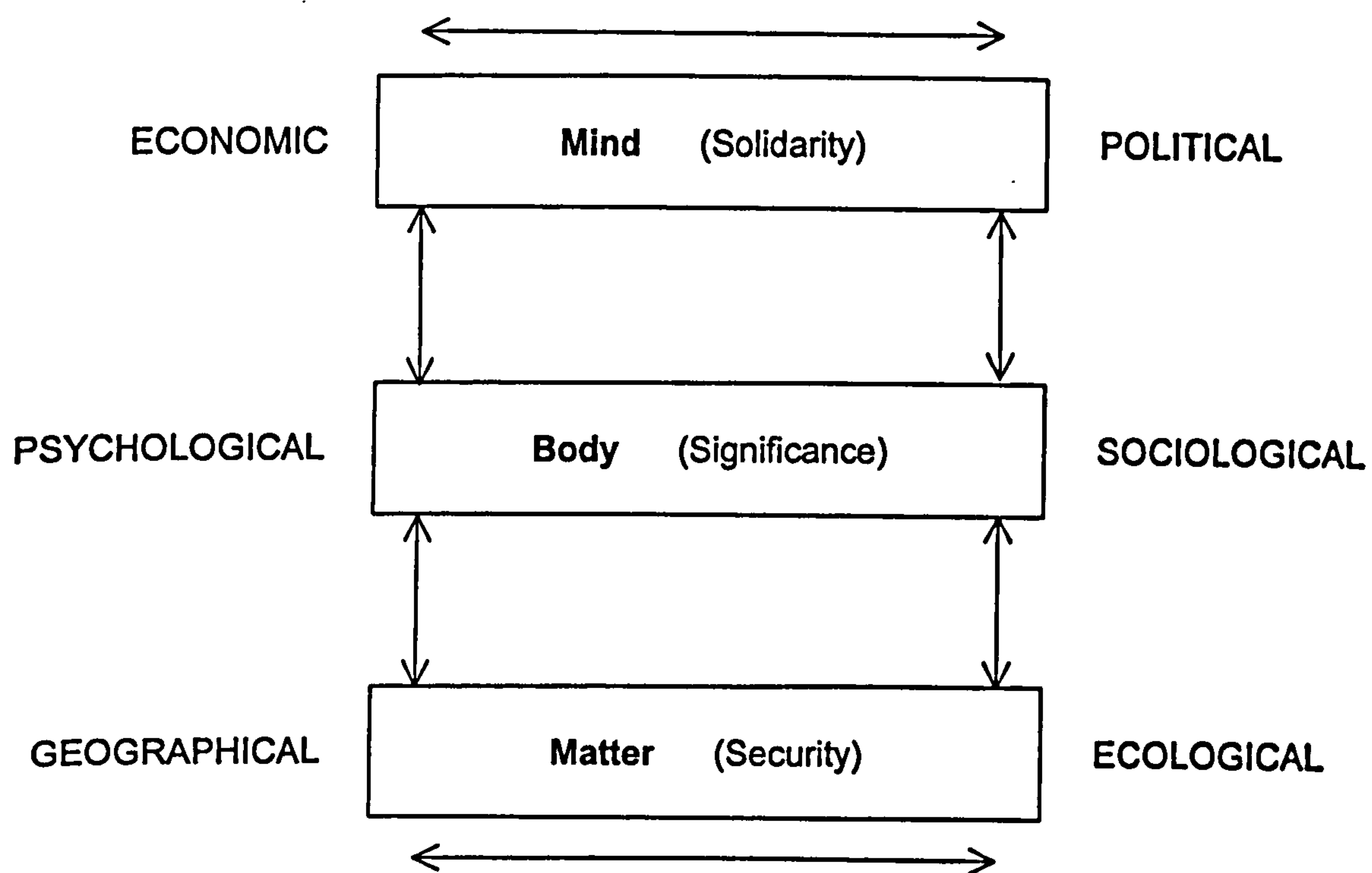


Figure 9.8. Relationship between the key community education discourses and Clark's (1992) 'Three S's'.

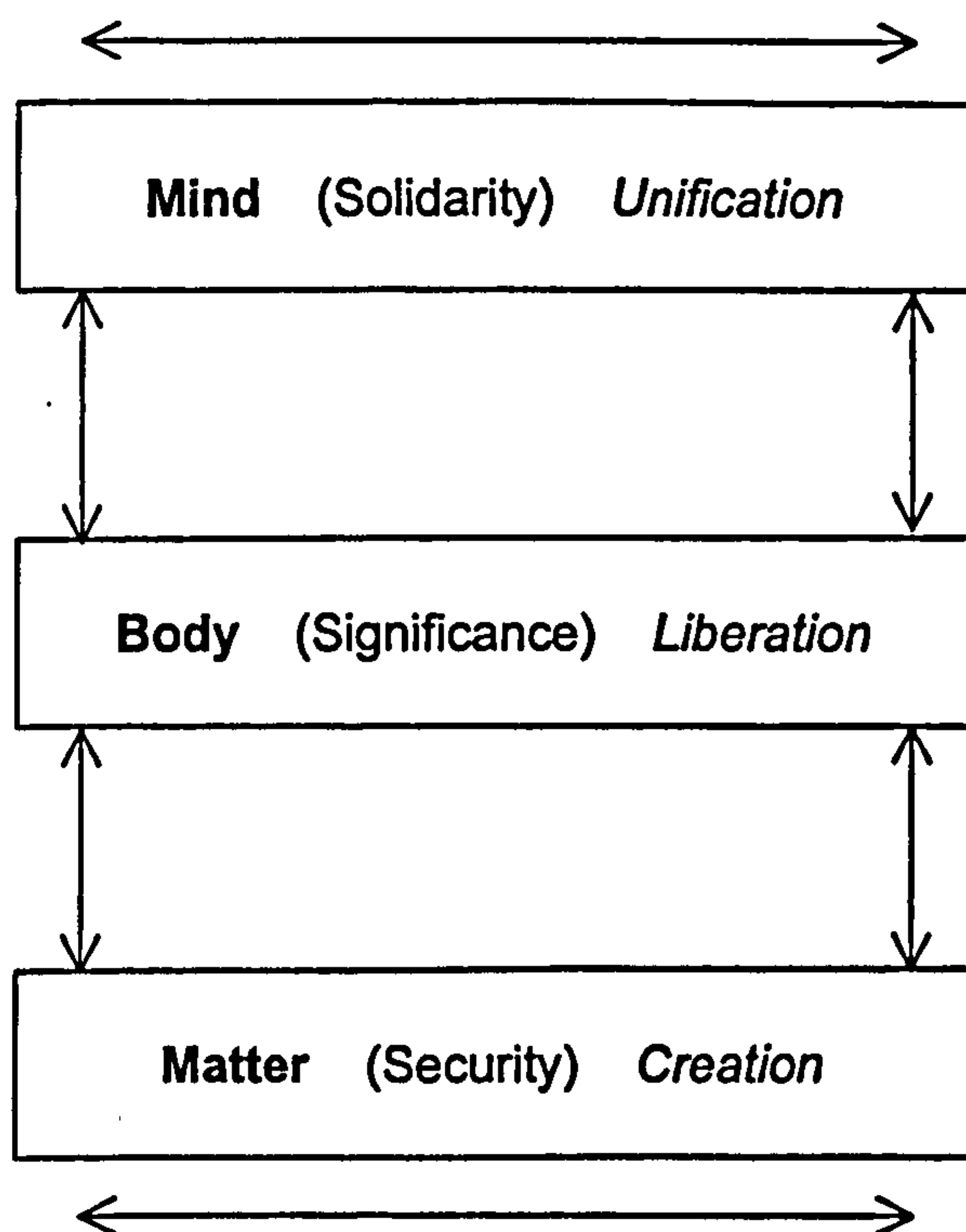


Figure 9.9. Components of community with 'matching' aspects of the Holy Trinity shown in italics.
(Terminology from Clark, 1992.)

moulding and training. Equally, because the nature and meaning of 'community' is often hidden within its own 'ordinariness':

... we can only own it if we have discovered it for ourselves. No years of socialization, no programme of instruction or training, can substitute for that educational process through which we ourselves encounter new experiences and discover new dimensions of what community can mean (Clark, 1992: 121).
(NB: Oblique reference is being made here to the diagram included in the present text as Figure 1.4.)

There would seem to be three final lines of enquiry to be pursued in the light of the foregoing discussion. One concerns the nature of educational provision that is not consciously linked to the dynamics of community, of which the Education Reform Act (1988) is an interesting example. The second is about the relevance of an 'embedded' spiritual discourse in contemporary theory and educational practice. The third is a final reflection on the 'educational process' represented by this thesis and, through it, my personal exploration of 'what community can mean'. I shall pursue them in that order.

The ERA

Clark's (1992) work on the '3 S's' and their links with Christianity was produced at a time when the full impact of the Education Reform Act (1988) (ERA) could not yet be judged. However, he posed a number of questions about how 'genuinely educational' it appeared to be. There is not the space here to discuss these matters in detail but it is worth mentioning some parallels Clark draws between the ERA and the dynamics of community, particularly since, as illustrated in the Derbyshire context, it was the ERA which effectively brought an end to many local community education initiatives.

In an analysis of the intentions of the ERA, Clark (1992: 122-123; 127-129) finds acknowledgement of only two of the '3 S's'. The ERA undoubtedly instigated wide-reaching changes. However, Clark argues that, because of its failure to recognize the nature of the '3 S's' - the nature of community and all that it signifies and can contribute to the processes of education, especially through the missing 'S', the 'unification' component - the Act could never succeed in its promise to 'reform' the education system or a future society.

Part of the problem was probably the much-publicized view, as already noted, of Margaret Thatcher, the Prime Minister at the time, that 'There is no such thing as Society'. In consequence, the ERA offered, as Clark (*op.cit.*: 129, original emphasis) notes, no '*collective* vision for the future'.

It did acknowledge the need for 'security' in terms of creating an economically safe place in which to live, but this was to be accomplished through personal rather than collective enterprise. 'Significance' was also to be achieved by individuals and individual institutions meeting objective attainment targets which provided a comparative measurement of status. However, in its over-emphasis on individual enterprise and initiative and their inherently competitive nature, the ERA overlooked the notion of social justice. It also singularly failed to recognize the importance of the third 'S', 'solidarity', or, as Clark (*op.cit.* 128) puts it, to recognize that: 'interdependence is a *sine qua non* of survival, in all ways, in the world of the twenty-first century'.

In relation to the 'cone of understanding' associated with community education (represented in Figure 9.4), it seems that the ERA was primarily concerned with issues associated with the 'narrow' end - individualism, economics, and particularities. It failed to take proper account of the dynamic inter-relationships

between individuals, schools, communities, and other institutions and agencies and, at a more conceptual level, between discourses and ideologies.

In trying to create a nation in the image of its own ideology (to 'buy heaven' as the HMI colleague to whom I referred in chapter two would have put it) through the medium of education, governments concern themselves primarily with *educare*, with 'moulding'. This effectively leaves up to individuals the possibility of encountering, serendipitously, other individuals, agencies or institutions capable of creating the dynamics of community (by means of *all* of the '3 S's') through which the processes of *educere* may be facilitated.

It also leaves educational and political systems prey to constant 're-moulding'. It was probably no accident, in these terms, that what Martin (1996: 140) calls an 'ideological recycling of community in the form of the debate about "communitarianism"' should have occurred even before the implications of the ERA and its essentially individualistic and competitive ideology had been fully played out.

In the juxtaposition of these two developments in the late 1980s/ early 1990s I was tempted to see evidence of the clashing of Second and Third Wave thinking. The ERA could be interpreted as a classic attempt to preserve a mechanistic, compartmentalized, and materialistic Second Wave society while, by comparison, communitarianism seemed to hold promise of a more holistic, Third Wave, way of life.

In the 'Wave' world-pictures I was developing in the early 1990s, I associated the 'Third Wave' with an increasing public interest in spiritual development. Subsequently, I suggested that the concept of communitarianism might be an intimation of Hegel's 'German World', where spirit 'reassembles' after its fragmentation within individual selves. To date, however, there is little practical evidence either of communitarianism catching the public interest in England, or of it anywhere being associated with spirituality. So far, it remains simply an ideology, albeit one ostensibly associated with concepts towards the 'wide end' of community education's 'cone of understanding' (Figure 9.4).

In other arenas, though, spirituality has not only become an acceptable discourse but one which underpins much current thinking. In the next, and final, section of this chapter, I shall refer to Capra's (1997) discussion of spirituality in relation to ecology. I shall comment, in particular, on parallels between some of the imagery I have utilized within these pages and that used by Capra and others, and in much Western mythology. In conclusion, I shall return to the question of locating the abstract quality of community within the realm of spirituality, and what the consequences might be of embedding a spiritual discourse within community education theory and practice.

Locating the Abstract Quality

The Ecological Link: Finding a Home in a Web

Figure 9.4 illustrates how the discourses of community education seem to 'open out', in the style of Skolimowski's 'cones/ spirals of understanding', to accommodate greater complexity and increasing dynamism both conceptually and in the reality of how communities work, and how educators can best work with them. I noted in relation to the 'geographical-ecological' discourse, in particular, that its logical conclusion seems to require acknowledgement of Gaian principles.

I have previously explained my use of *Gaia* as a metaphor. I have used it not simply, as Lovelock (1979) initially intended, to illustrate the physical

interconnectedness of species and systems at a planetary level, but to imply a spiritual 'presence' that contains and sustains the diversity of all planetary existence - and which is itself part of, and sustained by, a similar, but universal, presence.

I first introduced *Gaia* to this thesis, many years ago now, when I was groping towards an acceptable definition of 'spirituality'. I sensed that both had something to do with 'feeling interconnectedness', a 'one-ness' in all things. I sensed, too, that this feeling also had something to do with the 'abstract quality' of community: the quality that is never fully captured in definitions but which seems to result in the term never being 'used unfavourably, and never to be given any positive opposing or distinguishing term' (Williams, 1976: 66).

Recently, I attended the Annual Liverpool Schumacher Lectures⁴ at which Fritjof Capra was the key speaker. In consequence, I bought his most recent publication, *The Web of Life*, partly because I found many resonances in his lecture with my own thinking about spirituality, partly because the title of the book not only provided another 'fabric' analogy but, in offering 'a new synthesis of mind and matter', appealed to my 'Things must be put together' imperative.

I warmed instantly to one particular comment in Capra's list of acknowledgements. He notes that 'The synthesis of concepts and ideas presented in this book took over ten years to mature' (1997: *xiii*). My personal struggle to come to terms with what 'spirituality' means and how it can be understood in relation to my professional practice in community education, and in the facilitation of reflective practice, has taken me just as long! I was intrigued to find that it has also brushed up against many of the concepts and ideas that Capra explores in detail. Most significant of these is that there is currently taking place 'a profound change in our worldview; from the mechanistic worldview of Descartes and Newton to a holistic, ecological view' (Capra, *op.cit.*: 5).

In chapter seven, I debated the relative merits of using the terms 'interconnectedness' or 'unity'. I felt that the former spoke of connections within and between physical systems and species; the latter conveyed a sense of these connections also being underpinned at a spiritual level. Capra engages in similar debate about the use of the terms 'holistic' and 'ecological'. He suggests that an 'holistic' view can be taken of, say, a bicycle as a functional whole - but that an 'ecological' view of it would also acknowledge the bicycle's embeddedness in its natural and social environment. Capra subsequently draws heavily on the distinction made by Arne Naess between 'shallow' and 'deep' ecology. He explains:

Shallow ecology is anthropocentric, or human-centred. ... Deep ecology does not separate humans - or anything else - from the natural environment. It does not see the world as a collection of isolated objects but as a network of phenomena that are fundamentally interconnected and interdependent. Deep ecology recognizes the intrinsic value of all living beings and views humans as just one particular strand in the web of life.

Ultimately, deep ecological awareness is spiritual or religious awareness. When the concept of the human spirit is understood as the mode of consciousness in which the individual feels a sense of belonging, of connectedness, to the cosmos as a whole, it becomes clear that ecological awareness is spiritual in its deepest essence. It is, therefore, not surprising that the emerging new vision of reality based on deep ecological awareness is consistent with the so-called 'perennial philosophy' of spiritual traditions, whether we talk about the spirituality of Christian mystics, that of Buddhists, or the philosophy and cosmology underlying the Native American traditions (Capra, 1997: 7).

I do not know whether to feel elated or deflated to find encapsulated, so succinctly, a view that I have worked my own way towards *via* several encounters with the

perennial philosophy and a lengthy exploration of 'community' as an understanding 'of belonging, of connectedness' and as 'spiritual in its deepest essence'!

Though it is not part of Capra's bibliography, Bates's description of the *Way of Wyrð*, a path to spiritual knowledge implicit in ancient Anglo-Saxon sorcery and mysticism, is also remarkably consistent with Capra's 'emerging new vision of reality'. Bates writes:

Following from the concept of *wyrð*, was a vision of the universe, from the gods to the underworld, as being connected by an enormous all-reaching system of fibres ... Everything was connected by strands of fibre to the all-encompassing web. Any event, anywhere, resulted in reverberations and repercussions throughout the web. This image far surpasses in ambition our present views of ecology ... The web of fibres of the Anglo-Saxon sorcerer offers an ecological model which encompasses individual life events as well as general physical and biological phenomena ... The Anglo-Saxon sorcerer dealt directly with *life-force*, a vital energy [which] connected individual human functioning with the pulse of earth rhythm, a psychological and spiritual dimension of life which has been excluded by our technological cocoon (Bates, 1996: 12, original emphasis).

In chapter one, I recorded Csikszentmihalyi's (1990) view which, though approached from a very different perspective, is similar to both Capra's and Bates's. It also encompasses a picture of the 're-assembly' inherent in Hegel's 'German World' after the lessons learned through the individualism of the 'Roman' period, in these terms:

Just as we have learned to separate ourselves from each other and from the environment, we now need to learn how to reunite ourselves with other entities around us without losing our hard-won individuality. The most promising faith for the future might be based on the realization that the entire universe is a system related by common laws ... accepting a co-operative rather than a ruling role in the universe, we should feel the relief of an exile who is finally returning home. The problem of meaning will then be resolved as the individual's purpose merges with the universal flow (Fullan, 1994: 146).

I have incorporated quite lengthy quotations from these three texts, partly to draw attention to their similarities, despite their diverse origins, but mainly because, in reading these and other texts (for example, Heron, 1996), I personally feel something of the 'relief of an exile who is finally returning home'. It has been a salutary experience to discover in books that I have encountered, in three significant cases only in the last few months, a welcoming 'home' for many of the ideas that I have grappled with over a decade or more: ideas that I have struggled to put together, and to turn into a shape for which I might not only find a name but a habitation on the academic stage.

Thus, after exploring a range of literature to determine what support it might give to my proposition that the abstract quality of community lies in the realm of spirituality, I now have a sense of my 'individual purpose' coinciding with that of many others who are seeking answers through spirituality to a variety of questions about the place, purpose and relationships of humankind within the totality of a 'Web of Life'. Whether or not it is yet deemed acceptable by the traditional standards of academia, there is undoubtedly an increasing flow of literature which, in a wide range of contexts, is deliberately seeking to 're-assemble', and synthesize, an understanding of spirituality derived from both ancient mysteries and modern scientific principles.

In this reassembly it is possible to discern the shape not only of an Hegelian synthesis arising from the thesis and antithesis of different 'Worlds' but of Toffler's

Third 'Wave', in specifically Gaian form, developing out of an understanding of the First and Second Waves of human consciousness and civilization; of Kuhn's 'paradigm shift'; and of the constant expansion and refiguring of Skolimowski's collective 'spiral of understanding'.

Separation, Emptiness and a Need for Re-Connection

Inherent in the imagery of the 'Worlds' and 'Waves', in particular, is the notion of a 'spiritual unity' that was once merely apprehended but which can be properly articulated, and therefore better comprehended, only as a result of a period of separation or loss. The same imagery is also implicit in the relationship between the three aspects of the Holy Trinity and, to some extent, in much Western mythology.

The symbolism of the Trinity is worth further exploration since spirituality *as an understanding of a particular kind of dynamic relationship between universal forces* clearly underpins Clark's (1992) work, as we saw earlier, including his view of community/ education. This interpretation of spirituality also finds echoes in the writings of Capra, Bates, and Csikszentmihalyi, quoted above.

The Holy Trinity Using the terms derived from Clark and represented in Figure 9.9, the Trinity can be illustrated as shown in Figure 9.10.

Moore (1973: 102) acknowledges the essential 'one-ness' of the three aspects of the Trinity, somewhat poetically, as follows:

The One Nothing is the Father,
the Same;

The Nothing as One is the Son, the Second,
the Same;

And the Third, the Realising of the One, is the Holy Ghost,
the Spirit of Knowledge,
arising from the Father and the Son.

Within the 'one-ness', however, the ordering of the three aspects is important for they have a story to tell. They denote how Christ, as the 'Son/ Liberator' was first made manifest in the physical world. During the period of the so-called Temptation he became all but lost within this world but, through the agency of the Holy Spirit (Ghost), he was eventually enabled to realize - literally, to make real - within himself the connection between manifest and unmanifest 'realities'; to know, deep within himself as an agent in the physical world, the connection between the diverting busy-ness of that world and the stillness of the all-pervading, ever-present, world of spirit.

The concept of the Holy Spirit is a difficult one that I do not profess to understand fully. Peck (1990b: 76) suggests that it 'is particularly identified with wisdom ... envisioned as a kind of revelation'. He points out that, while wisdom is usually associated with the end-product of study and experience in the physical world, the Christian view is that real wisdom comes, as it did for Christ himself, only when personal connection is made between these 'worldly' processes and the Holy Spirit which illuminates the eternal, but frequently unnoticed, connection between the material and the spiritual.

Attempting to describe the 'wisdom of a true community', Peck notes that, although this can perhaps be explained in purely secular terms, he personally senses it as a 'feeling of joy' which arises out of a connection being made simultaneously by all the group members with the Holy Spirit. At such a time, he says:

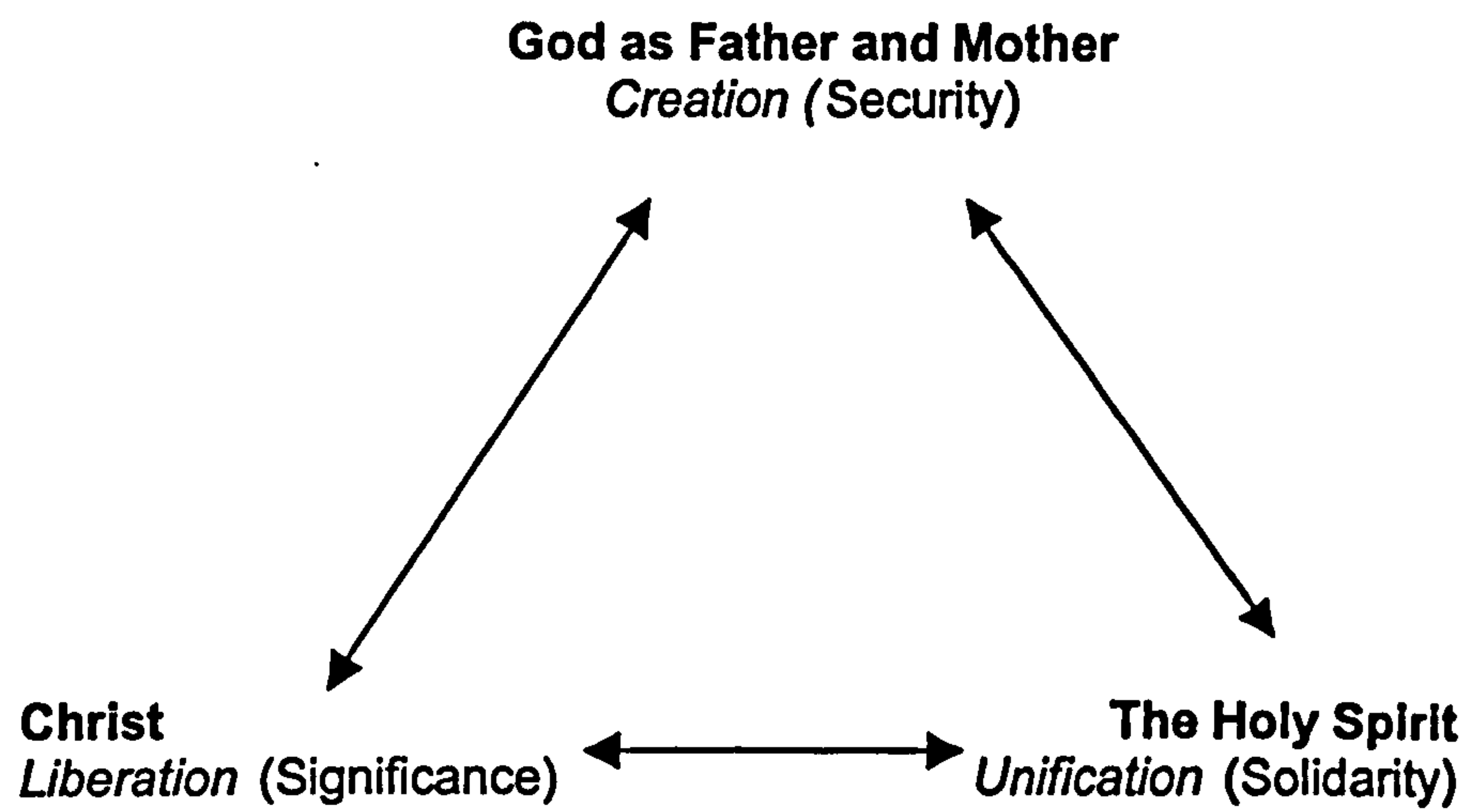


Figure 9.10. The Holy Trinity (using terminology from Clark, 1992).

The members feel that they have been temporarily - at least partially - transported out of the mundane world of ordinary preoccupations. For the moment it is as if heaven and earth had somehow met (Peck: *ibid.*).

Peck is at pains to point out that, though he describes it using Christian terminology, Christian beliefs are not a prerequisite for such an experience. In Eastern traditions, as I noted in chapter seven, it is acknowledged that the 'joy' of connecting the manifest and unmanifest (the Vedic equivalent of a meeting between 'earth and heaven') may be experienced through *samadhi* (stillness of mind), when:

The relative and the absolute aspects of *Brahman* [the 'Infinite' or 'Godhead'] are both experienced in their completeness yet are simultaneously appreciated as one wholeness (Shearer and Russell, 1978: 14).

Interestingly, Peck (1990: 94-103) calls the penultimate stage of 'community building', 'Emptiness'. It follows what he refers to as a period of 'Chaos' in which factionalism is often rife. Entering 'Emptiness' requires people to confront, and let go of, all the barriers to communication that they traditionally create, including expectations, preconceptions, prejudices, ideologies and solutions. Symbolically, it would seem to be a letting-go of the chaotic, mind-churning, busy-ness of the everyday world in order to allow the mind to fall still - in much the same way as it can through meditation - so that it can recognize within itself that which is greater than itself.

Peck likens such an experience of Emptiness to a kind of death. He notes that people are usually afraid to enter this state, even though they anticipate that it may allow them to be 'reborn' into a different state (one founded upon a qualitatively different sense of connection between themselves and the world). However, for both Peck and Clark, the message of the Trinity is this: given the right conditions, it is possible to sense the unity of an ultimate, 'spiritual' reality *within* the 'everyday', physical world of apparent separateness

Lost in the World Much of the imagery contained in Western and Eastern philosophies and mythologies endorses this message. It suggests, too, that the initial separation of the 'self' from an underpinning, unconscious, unarticulated, sense of unity is an essential precursor to knowing that unity in a conscious way. The realization of separateness is often accompanied by anxiety or despair. It is the purpose of humankind to reconnect with and realize (to 'make real' again) the underpinning unity.

However, there is also an abundance of stories and myths to intimate that, once in the world of everyday 'reality', the separated self, rather like Christ in the Wilderness, can become so beguiled by this world that it forgets where it came from. Throughout much of the lifespan of its physical manifestation, the separated self then neglects its true purpose which is to make conscious reconnection both with its unmanifest aspects and those which are manifest in different forms.

Discussing the nature of myths in *The Origins and History of Consciousness*, the Jungian writer, Erich Neumann (1970), notes that the first myths are those of creation in which the common symbols are water or the egg, implying a unitary consciousness in which there is no differentiation. The first manifestation of human consciousness seems likely to have been in similar form, as discussed earlier in terms of Hegel's 'Oriental World' and the 'First Wave' belief systems of indigenous peoples.

The next set of myths record a process of differentiation and employ both the sun and the 'hero' as key symbols: these myths are about light entering darkness and tell of journeys and conquests. What makes Odysseus a hero, for example, is that he

constantly fights against the 'dark' (and female) energy that beckons him back to merge once again with the 'unconscious' from which he has so far successfully separated himself. The pursuit of much 'Second Wave' Western science seems to have been cast in this image.

A third kind of myth, according to Berman (1990: 330), is that which combines the first two - the myth of the twin brothers, such as Set and Osiris, or Cain and Abel, where 'a defiant ego has emerged but is fearful of complete separation': one 'brother', or aspect of the self, constantly seeks separation while the other seeks unity. Berman (*ibid.*) represents this as shown in Figure 9.11.

I am tempted to see in 'the brothers' shadows of the 'Things must be kept apart/ put together' battle with my erstwhile colleague, described in chapter one as 'the cannibal episode'! Certainly, even though the brothers are both apparently male, they would seem to represent many gender-related differences of approach and, on a broader scale, the eternal interplay of the forces of Yin and Yang. They also bear a marked resemblance to the way in which I have described Second v Third Wave differences - and suggest that one will ultimately 'triumph', at least temporarily, over the other.

Basing his discussion on Michael Balint's (1968) work on *The Basic Fault*, which sees many of the problems of the human condition emanating from the first anxious realization that there is not just 'Self' but also 'Other', Berman (1990) offers an interesting perspective on this, and especially on the Western 'Hero' approach to dealing with the problem of apparent separateness. He argues that the religions and social systems of whole civilizations have been built upon ways of returning to heaven - to a state of 'just self' that is dimly remembered as comforting and all-encompassing.

Berman (1990: 50) refers to Winnicott's (1951) classic study of the 'Transitional Object' as a means of enabling young children to cope with the anxieties of their first realization of separateness: transitional objects are those things 'that are not part of the infant's body yet are not fully recognized as belonging to external reality'. (A teddy bear is the classic example.) The nub of Berman's argument is that religious paths and social systems effectively fulfil the function of transitional objects as a means of dealing with the anxiety of separation and, in addition, they promulgate ways in which 'heaven' can be reached. Each religious/ social paradigm 'holds the culture together for the next few hundred years' and 'prevents us from coming face to face with the immense yearning that underlies the need for the paradigm itself' (Berman, *op.cit.*: 307).

There is, in Berman's view, no need to try to 'reach heaven', or have it delivered to us *via* the arduous journeys, trials, or searches for Holy Grails so often undertaken by 'Heroes' as embodiments of a collective social identity (whether Odysseus, Parsifal, Superman or even, presumably, politicians and 'Reform Acts'!). Instead, we need to confront the 'yearning' and 'explore what we fear most, viz., the empty space or silence that exists *between* concepts and paradigms, never *in* them' (*ibid.*, original emphases).

Back into the Silence

The notion of 'yearning', especially for 'communion' and 'wholeness', figured large in my earlier discussions of 'New Age' thinking and of definitions of community. However, from Berman's perspective, to anticipate a 'New Age' would be to avoid, again, the 'empty space or silence'. Indeed, he notes:

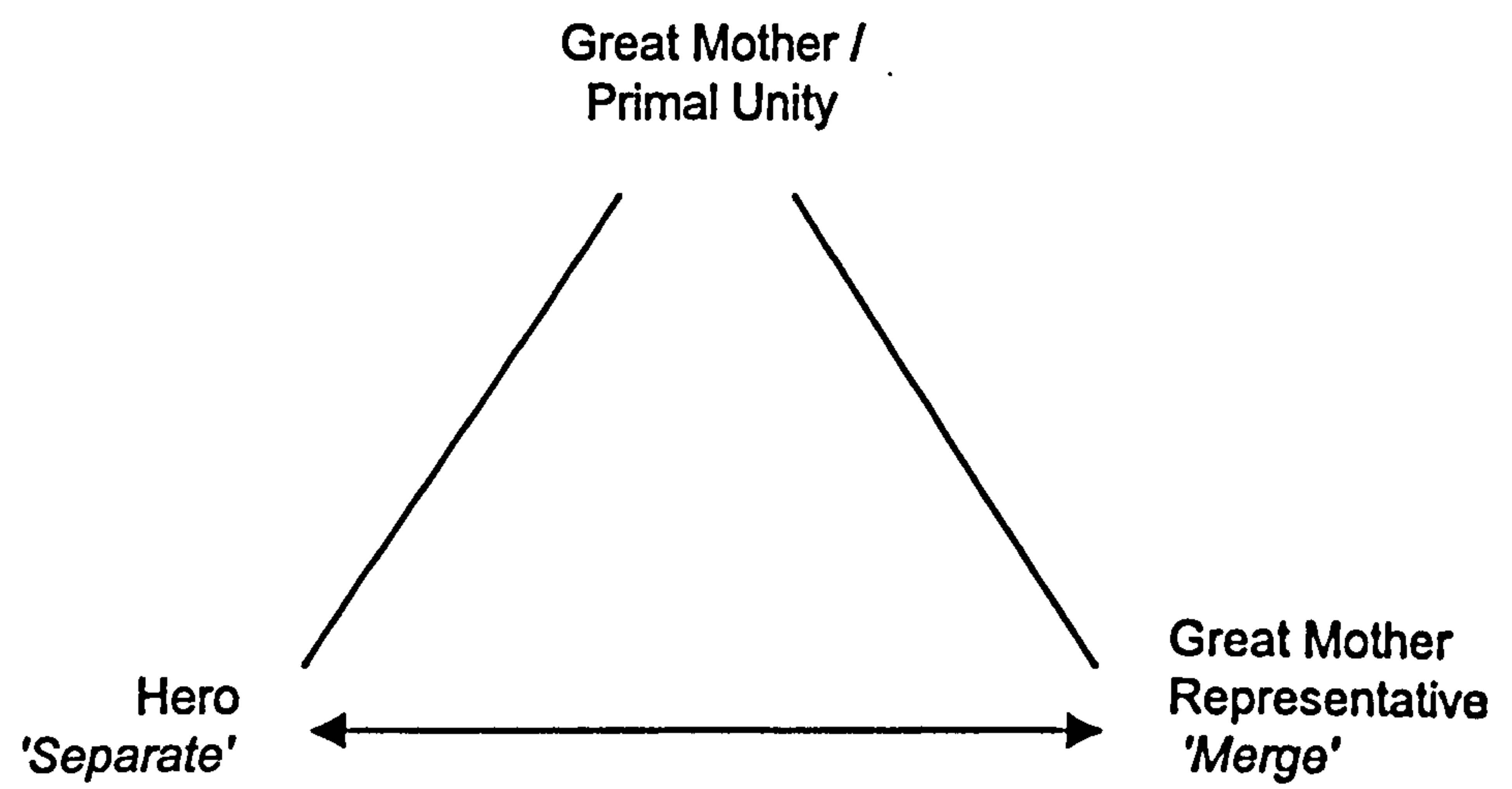


Figure 9.11. 'The war of the twin brothers' (from Berman, 1989: 330).

Paradigm-shift is still part of the salvation mentality, a patriarchal mind-set that tells the hero to persevere, find a new form of consciousness that will give him redemption' (Berman, *op.cit.*: 312).

Berman (*op.cit.*: 313) argues that the goal of humankind is perhaps 'to learn what it means to live without paradigm', but adds:

I also sense a much more complex possibility, viz., developing a radical new code that is itself about coding, and is not merely a shift in coding. This is where reflexivity - the awareness of coding as coding, or Gurdjieff's 'self-remembering' on a cultural scale - becomes so important (*ibid.*).

Self-Remembering I referred briefly, in chapter seven, to Gurdjieff's work in the context of that of Ouspensky (1968). The intention of both was to create a form of practical philosophy which would enable people to recognize, and rid themselves of, their 'mechanical' nature. Gurdjieff, a Russian who had travelled extensively in the East, devised a series of exercises to facilitate what, in Eastern philosophies, is known as the 'Way of the Householder'. This is a Yogic path which does not require monastic withdrawal and/ or the pursuit of esoteric practices in order to appreciate *Brahman*, the Ultimate Reality, but, instead, requires constant 'remembering' of that Reality in the midst of everyday life.

This 'Way' is predicated on the notion that an Ultimate Reality/ Supreme Being/ The One/ The Godhead, or whatever name is culturally attributed to it, is essentially unknowable because 'It' cannot be properly conceived of by the human mind since the latter is an *aspect of 'It'*. As Corlett and Moore (1978: 133) note, 'If the One was 'knowable', there would be two - the knower and the known - man *and* God, which is total contradiction of God's Omnipotence and Omniscience'.

Many of Gurdjieff's 'exercises' are based on observation of everyday actions - such as becoming deliberately conscious of one's hands while washing dishes, for example - and recognizing that 'I cannot be what I can observe'. This leads inexorably to recognition that 'I am not my body/ mind/ emotions' and, if not these things, then 'I' must be something greater than what seems to be my 'self'. Such recognition, arising as it does out of practical work, seems to be different from admitting of this 'truth' at a purely intellectual level.

Though he makes no detailed reference to Gurdjieff's work, Berman (1990: 314) appears to acknowledge its purpose and consequences, in the following observation:

... reflexivity does not mean making everything conscious; it should include the notion that the code, of which you are aware, is fed by sources that lend themselves only to indirect awareness. ... one's worldview, in effect, becomes Mystery: there is some sort of larger process operating that we cannot directly apprehend, but that permeates our bodies, and moves towards healing.

Berman advocates, in effect, that humankind should stop pursuing the ideologies, or new paradigms, that it hopes will ultimately overcome the 'Basic Fault', the fear of separation and aloneness which seems to have driven civilizations in so many different directions for so long. Instead, he argues, individuals should look within themselves to find reconciliation, and an understanding of who and what they are, by asking the question (ironically, a favourite 'New Age' one), 'What does it mean to be alive right - *now?*' (Berman, *op.cit.*: 317, original emphasis). He adds:

There is only one hope for our situation and that is ... that Self and Other be seen as interrelated aspects of something larger, rather than as opponents. ... just possibly there is an evolutionary trend here, literally in terms of our own

survival, with more and more of us opting for ... some form of reflexivity, rather than for the safety of rote or revealed knowledge and familiar formulas (*ibid.*).

I take Berman's message to be that the physical world is that of the 'twin brothers' - a world of an infinity of 'either-or' which demands constant attention and never-ending choices. To cease from this 'busy-ness', however, is to confront a silence - the 'space between the paradigms' and choices - where the everyday, mechanical, self may be forced to ask what it is when it is not engaged in physical, mental or emotional activity. A similar question perhaps also arises in respect of paradigms themselves: what is it that is neither 'Second Wave' nor 'Third Wave'; neither 'Roman' nor 'Germanic'; neither 'Yin' nor 'Yang'; or, for that matter, neither this discourse nor that?

Ultimate Connections The world of the 'brothers', in which there seems to be only 'this' or 'that' is essentially a world of duality: they exist as separate 'entities' in a state of constant tension (as shown by the direction of the arrows in Figure 9.11). Berman (1990: 319-340) uses the concept of the brothers, as exemplified in this diagram, as the basis for a discussion about the nature of creativity. In the present context, however, it is interesting to compare it with a representation of the Trinity (see Figure 9.10). Here, as Clark (1992: 126) stresses, it is the *three-way* relationship that is of paramount importance. Each aspect of the Trinity has its own significance but each is also a dynamic aspect of a greater whole.

In Hinduism, a similar concept is embodied in the story of how *Brahman*, the Supreme Being, desirous of knowing Itself in manifest form, divides into a triad of forces. These are called *Brahma* - the Creator, *Vishnu* - the Preserver, and *Shiva* - the Destroyer (see Figure 9.12).

Corlett and Moore (1978: 133) note that 'This trinity is in constant interplay whilst there is manifest creation. And we experience and see them as the three-fold force in operation in any event'.

These aspects of *Brahman* do not map exactly on to the three aspects of the Holy Trinity but there are clear similarities. *Brahma* performs much the same function as the creative force of 'God as Father and Mother'; *Vishnu*, whose function it is to preserve continuity of all created form, finds parallels in Christ embodied in human form, and in the apparent permanence of the physical world, including of humankind for whom the embodied Christ offers 'salvation'; *Shiva*, like the Holy Spirit, 'mediates' between the manifest and unmanifest worlds by illustrating that 'in creating new forms there has to be the complementary dissolution or destruction of old forms, because in the sum total of everything existing, nothing can be added and nothing subtracted' (Corlett and Moore, *ibid.*).

The importance of both concepts is that they are predicated on a view of, for want of a term without particular religious significance, an unmanifest 'Creative Principle' which contains and sustains the interplay of forces that, if we finely tune our observation, can be sensed in operation throughout manifest creation - throughout the physical universe. To focus simply on the visible shape of change within the physical world - whether the change is personal or social, small steps in individual learning, or 'Waves'/'Worlds' that apparently encompass hugely different paradigms of understanding on a cultural scale - is perhaps to ignore the silent space between, and underpinning, these changes where the workings of the Creative Principle might otherwise be perceived.

Peck argues that it is necessary to experience 'Emptiness' before experiencing 'True Community'. The stillness of mind that comes from meditation is seen as a necessary prerequisite in the Vedic tradition for living a 'full life' which acknowledges simultaneously its manifest (physical) and unmanifest (spiritual)

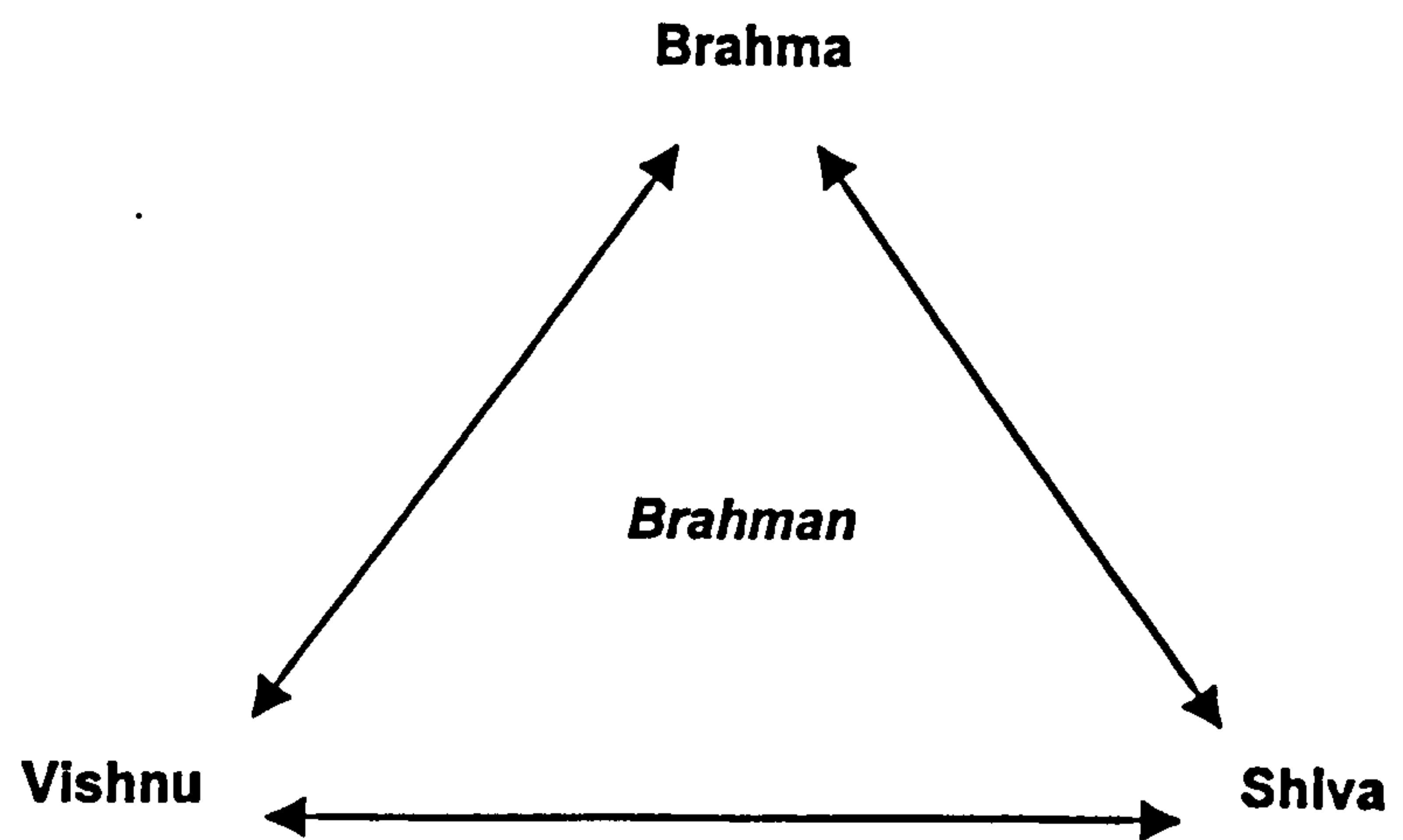


Figure 9.12. Aspects of the Supreme Being (*Brahman*)
(after Corlett and Moore, 1978: 133.)

qualities. Perhaps, therefore, the message of both 'Trinities', and the different traditions they represent, is of a need to fall still and listen: to pay attention not to the noise of competing concepts, paradigms, choices or people, but to the silent spaces between them through which they are all connected by the ever-present interplay of the forces of the Creative Principle. Perhaps, indeed, it is there, in that most fundamental of all connections, that definition can ultimately be found of spirituality, and of community.

If so, then the driving force of community education would, indeed, as I wondered at the end of chapter seven, seem to lie 'beyond the boundaries of existing maps, models and meanings'. What, if anything then, might all this mean for the future theorizing of, and consideration of practice in, community education?

Before I summarize some of the key points of the foregoing discussion and attempt to answer that question, I want to comment on certain parallels between the processes I have engaged in in writing this thesis and its structure and content. This has a bearing, through some of Heron's (1996) work, on a possible re-conceptualization of community education for the twenty-first century.

And So ...?

Reflection: Parallels in Content and Process

It was in a state of some anxiety that I made reference in an earlier section of the present chapter to parallels between the content/ structure and processes of my writing. Questioning whether the world-picture I had been using to frame my thinking could have any validity beyond my own imagination, I drew on the work of both Heron (1996) and Wilber (1998a) in an attempt to resolve the problem. I now realize that, metaphorically, their work represents a ribbon which effectively ties together the three-stranded plait of this thesis. I shall use it first to 'tie off', in diagrammatic form, the last threads of the reflective strand through which I have considered the relationship between the 'what' and the 'how' of my own writing.

Wilber and Heron both give accounts of different 'kinds of knowing', each of which has its own validity. Wilber (*op.cit.*) makes reference, in the context of a discussion about the 'Great Chain of Being' to the 'eyes' of the spirit, of the mind and of the flesh. Heron (1996: 33) builds a methodology for research on a similar hierarchy which he calls 'A multi-dimensional account of knowledge'. Of this, he says:

It rests on systemic logic, which holds that intellectual or propositional knowledge, together with the validating principles internal to it, is interdependent with three other kinds of knowledge: practical knowledge, that is evident in knowing how to exercise a skill; presentational knowledge, evident in intuitive grasp of the significance of imaginal patterns as expressed in graphic, plastic, moving, musical and verbal art-forms; and experiential knowledge, evident only in actually meeting and feeling the presence of some energy, entity, person, place, process or thing. These three other basic kinds of knowledge also have validating principles internal to them.

Valid knowledge, on the multi-dimensional view, means that each of the four kinds of knowledge is validated by its own internal criteria, and also by its interdependence and congruence with all the others within a systemic whole (Heron, *ibid.*).

Heron (1996: 167) envisages the four kinds of knowing as a pyramid grounded in 'experiential knowing' (see Figure 9.13). His 'practical knowing', located at the top of the pyramid as a 'consummation' of all the other forms of knowing, has a direct parallel in Wilber's 'eye of the flesh', (though the Great Chain inverts the hierarchy).

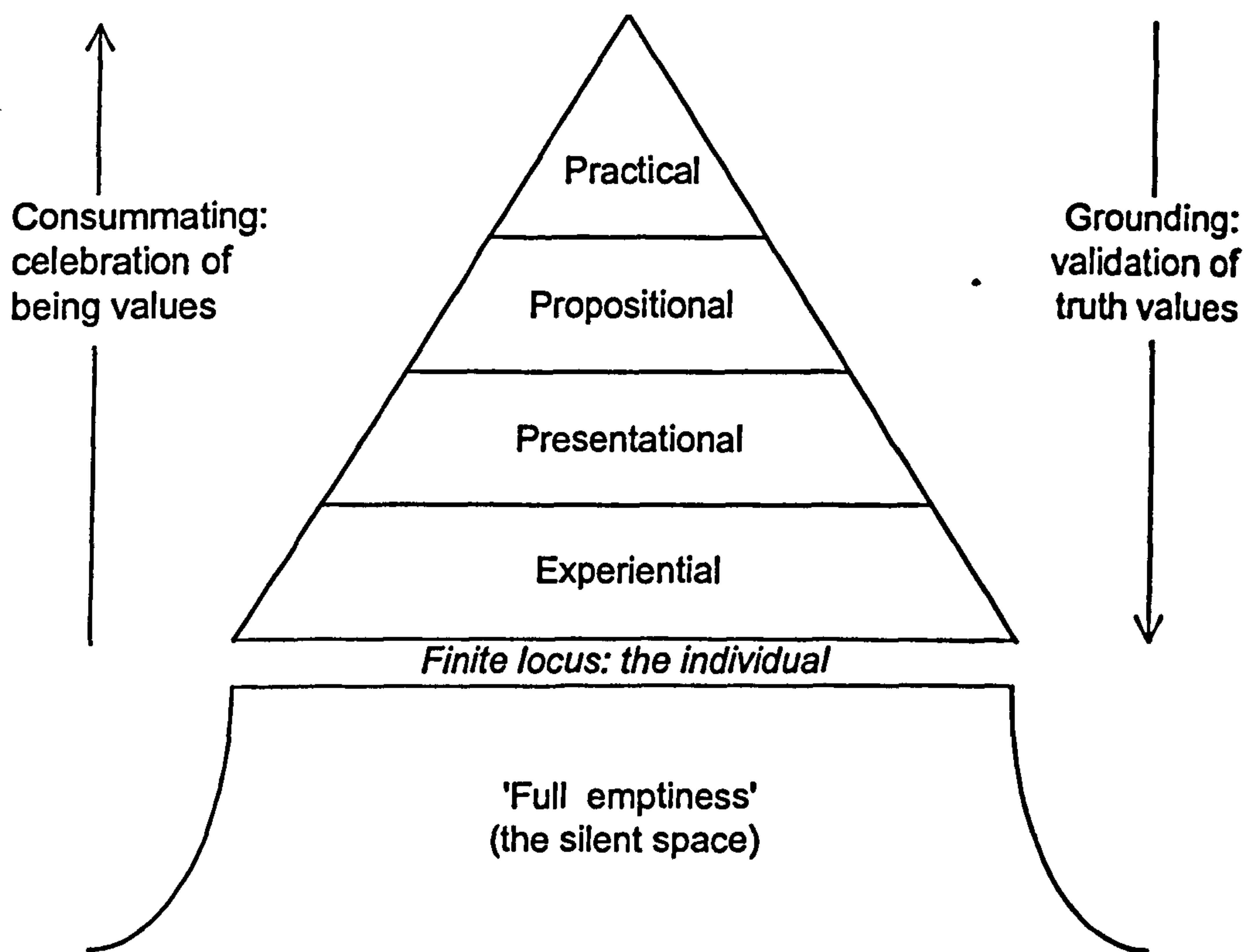


Figure 9.13. 'Pyramid of four-fold knowing', showing location of the individual (based on Heron, 1996: 53,157,188).

'Propositional and presentational knowing' seem to be two different aspects of the 'eye of mind', the first attuned to disseminating and gathering knowledge in the 'outside world', the second to creating knowledge 'internally'. 'Experiential knowledge' and the 'eye of the spirit' would both seem to provide access to the 'silent space' where words and activities have not yet obscured the workings of the 'Creative Principle'.

(If Shakespeare were writing now, instead of noting that poets appear to be able to 'apprehend more than cool reason ever comprehends', he could have located their work at the presentational→propositional level!)

'Sensing community', as opposed to describing it or trying to create it, or utilize its properties, is, in these terms, to have 'experiential knowledge' of community, and to affirm its relationship with a spirituality that provides the 'ground' for all other kinds of knowledge and experience. In this respect, to sense community is, quite clearly, to sense an abstract quality.

Although I have only become aware of it in writing this final chapter, my own journey through this thesis in search of that quality has taken me through all of Heron's 'levels of knowing'. Using Wilber's more archaic terminology, I suppose I should say that it has opened all my 'eyes'!

From 'sensing community', experientially, as somehow connected with spirituality, I tried to grasp its significance through the 'imaginal patterns' of *Gaia*, Waves, Worlds, a 'New Age', and other metaphors and, at times, through a combination of them. The location of *Gaia* at this level of knowing, incidentally, probably accounts for the way in which it has influenced propositional - intellectual - knowing in a much wider range of disciplines than Lovelock could ever have expected.

I feel I have personally experienced propositional knowing in a number of different forms. These relate closely to what Belenky *et al* (1986), in identifying 'women's ways of knowing' call 'received', procedural' and 'constructed' knowledge:

received knowledge, a perspective from which women conceive of themselves as capable of receiving, even reproducing, knowledge from the all-knowing external authorities but not capable of creating knowledge on their own; ...
procedural knowledge, a position in which women are invested in learning and applying objective procedures for obtaining and communicating knowledge;
 and *constructed knowledge*, a position in which women view all knowledge as contextual, experience themselves as creators of knowledge, and value both subjective and objective strategies for knowing (Belenky *et al*, *op.cit.*: 15).

In the early stages of my writing, struggling with what a new identity as 'an academic' might mean, and heavily influenced by the opinions of male colleagues in senior positions, I was much affected by the concept of received knowledge. I felt I needed to find justification in what someone else had written for whatever I wanted to say. I remember empathizing with an MEd student who, in a discussion about the use of referencing systems, said 'I hardly dare say anything now, even "It's raining", without adding "Smith, 1996" in brackets!'.

I still suffer from that affliction. However, I also now know, at first hand, about procedural and constructed knowledge. As I became 'invested' in the work and found myself 'obtaining and communicating' knowledge that grew in the telling - that became at the end of a writing session something other than I had expected, and located in different territory from that which I had started to explore - I gradually began to recognize myself, at least to some extent, as a 'creator of knowledge'. I only really acknowledged this as I discussed Skolimowski's (1994) 'spiral of understanding' and McAdams's (1997: 266) notion of 'defining myself as I write this book', earlier in the present chapter.

Belenky *et al* (*ibid.*) also refer to 'silence' and 'subjective knowledge'. The latter as 'a perspective from which truth and knowledge are conceived of as personal, private and subjectively known or intuited'; the former as 'a position in which women experience themselves as mindless and voiceless and subject to the whims of external authority'. Their 'subjective knowledge' seems not dissimilar to Heron's 'presentational knowledge' but their 'silence' represents a much more deadening and externally-created experience than his 'experiential knowledge'. I suspect I was caught somewhere between the two representations during the 'cannibal episode' when the beginning of my attempt to capture experiential knowing in 'presentational' form was 'silenced' by the whim of an external authority.

The relationship I have described between the foregoing terms and processes is illustrated in Figure 9.14.

Having thus identified stages in my own thinking, and how they are associated with the forms and shapes of the arguments I have presented within this thesis, I shall now suggest how the community education and spirituality 'strands' may also be entwined in the context of 'ways of knowing'. It may be helpful if I first summarize some of the key points of the present chapter.

Community Education and Spirituality: Key Points in the Present Chapter

1. Community education is rarely discussed in terms of spirituality. However, before Dodds *et al* (1985) and Falken (1988) produced extensions to Martin's (1987) classic typology of community education, based, respectively, on feminist and black understandings of social and educational processes, there was little discussion in these terms either. By encapsulating such understandings, the new models brought new dimensions to the typology as a whole, thereby creating a wider framework for the articulation and development of practice. It is possible to construct a 'spiritual model' in a similar format which may serve the same purpose (*Figure 9.1*).
2. When five classic typologies of community education are considered together, it is possible to discern three distinct models, all underpinned by three different discourses (*Figure 9.3*).
3. These discourses have a number of interesting properties in relation to one another:
 - They contain ideas which seem to become increasingly 'expansive'. This can be illustrated in the context of Skolimowski's (1994) 'Spiral of Understanding' (*Figures 9.2 and 9.4*).
 - They can be placed in a 'hierarchical' relationship (*Figure 9.5*) which bears a close resemblance to the lower levels of the 'Great Chain of Being' (Wilber, 1998a) (*Figure 9.6*).
 - The hierarchical relationship is endorsed by Clark (1992). His analysis of the components of community seems to map directly onto the three discourses (*Figure 9.8*).
4. Clark (1992) draws parallels between the three components of community and the three aspects of the Holy Trinity (*Figures 9.9 and 9.10*).
5. Clark implies, and I have argued directly, that to sense community is essentially a spiritual experience in its own right: it is to sense connection with eternal forces that sustain the physical universe, and which are themselves aspects of a single, all-pervasive, 'Creative Principle'.
6. I have illustrated (*by means of Figures 9.8, 9.9 and 9.10, and associated discussions*) how the discourses identified in existing models of community

Wilber (1998)	Heron (1996)	Belenky <i>et al.</i> (1986)	Personal experience of writing thesis
Eye of:	Dimension of knowledge:	Way of knowing: (ostensibly associated with 'Mind')	Stages:
Flesh	Practical (<i>knowing how to exercise a skill</i>)		Taking this knowledge into professional practice
Mind	<pre> graph LR A[Propositional (intellectual)] --- B[Constructed] A --- C[Procedural] A --- D[Received] E[Presentational (intuitive grasp of the significance of imaginal patterns)] --- F["(Subjective)"] E --- G["(Silence)"] </pre>		Experiencing 'creation of knowledge' Own ideas developing from 'obtaining / communicating' knowledge Needing to find justification in other writings Conceptualizing Gaia, Waves, Worlds
Spirit	Experiential (<i>feeling the presence of an energy, entity, etc.</i>)		Sensing connection between spirit and community

Figure 9.14. A comparison of the 'ways of knowing' proposed by Wilber, Heron, and Belenky *et al.*, and as experienced in writing this thesis.

education practice seem to bear at least a superficial relationship to these 'eternal forces'.

7. On the basis of a number of texts, including those based on Eastern and Western philosophies and mythologies, I have suggested that it may be necessary sometimes to 'disengage', at least momentarily, from the 'busy-ness' of everyday life so that the workings of the 'Creative Principle' can be apprehended in the silent space between, and therefore unobscured by, activities or ideas.

On this last point, it is interesting to note that a common practice advocated by followers of Gurdjieff, as well as of a number of spiritual paths, is that of 'pausing' for a few seconds between activities to empty the mind and cast the attention wide. It is a useful practice, in psychological terms, for preventing 'transfer' of the thinking patterns required for one kind of activity to another, which may require a different approach. It also regularly admits the 'silent space' into the pattern of everyday living, thereby maximizing the opportunity to appreciate the 'wholeness' of both activity and stillness - of the physical and the spiritual - so that, ultimately, they may be experienced simultaneously.

Implications for the Further Theorizing of Community Education

In terms of Heron's pyramid model (Figure 9.13), to admit the 'silent space' in this way is to provide access to the 'full emptiness' that gives rise to experiential knowledge. Heron (1996: 188) suggests that:

The fourfold modalities of imaging our being in a world coalesce at an apparent locus where they declare that within that there is full emptiness. It is full because it is like a cornucopia out of which our whole four-modal world pours. And it is empty because it is a world of internal infinitude. ... Where the infinitude within, the void, first breaks into the manifest it appears as a finite locus, the centre of reference that is the distinct person. ... The perceiving process emerges out of the perceiver who emerges out of the void.

The imagery used here is clearly reminiscent of the physical world of matter and mind arising out of a void (*Brahman*/ a Supreme Being) which is 'desirous of knowing Itself'. At the base of Heron's 'pyramid' is thus acknowledgement of processes which, as I have attempted to illustrate, are essentially spiritual.

Indeed, the imagery with which I concluded chapter seven - of spirituality represented by the silent depths of an ocean - is echoed in Heron's description of one of the properties of 'primary meaning'. (He also calls this 'empathic-imaginal meaning': it is associated with experiential knowing in the same way that 'linguistic-conceptual' or 'secondary meaning' is associated with propositional/ intellectual knowing.) He notes:

A fundamental feature of primary meaning is figure-ground hierarchy. ... at some deep subliminal level we are acquainted and engaged with the whole hierarchy of grounds or contexts in which the focal figure is embedded; ... The primary meaning of this particular lived experience here and now entails *a deep grasp of a universal and oceanic meaning* (Heron, *op.cit.*: 179; my emphasis).

Making an implicit link between spirituality, thus conceived, and community, Heron (*op.cit.*: 178) claims 'Because of our basic empathic communion with each other, the lived world of primary meaning is intersubjective, sacred'.

As I have been attempting to illustrate, it is only at the level of the sacred that the 'abstract quality' of community can be properly located. Most theory and practice, however, has traditionally been located in the top two levels of Heron's pyramid. The abstract quality, it would seem, has defied description precisely because it lies

beyond description, in a world, a way of knowing, that can be apprehended but less easily comprehended and articulated.

In the context of Heron's pyramid model (Figure 9.13), it would appear that traditional models of community education, defined by practical knowledge, have generally been located at the 'propositional' level, perhaps with some intimation of the 'presentational'. They have been couched primarily in terms of intentions and actions - of thinking and doing - rather than of simply 'being'.

However, as Berman (1990: 312) notes, '*How* things are held in the mind is infinitely more important than *what* is in the mind' (original emphases). In a sense, the 'what' of community education has been defined by the many shapes it has assumed. *How* the concept, the pre-lingual, abstract, form, of community has been held in mind in order to be given shape at all has attracted much less consideration. Nevertheless, when community education's 'shapes', its key models, are placed alongside one another they would seem to contain their own pointers towards the silent, sacred, space from which, arguably, they have emerged into manifest reality.

In the widening nature and dynamic interplay of the discourses - which, perhaps significantly, becomes evident only when the models are brought together - there are, as we have seen, intimations of Skolimowski's (1994) 'cone of understanding' and its implications of a co-created universe. In their interplay, too, there are strong parallels, as Clark (1992) indicates, with the components of the Holy Trinity. There are also associations with other philosophies and mythologies which, couched in the form of 'presentational' knowing, have long mediated between the unmanifest and manifest aspects of creation.

My computer technology cannot meet the challenge but, if community education's three discourses were to be modelled in three-dimensional form, would they not look uncannily like a cone? The 'spiral' within, connected to the outwardly-expanding walls, themselves shaped by the expanding nature of the discourses, would in this case be constituted by the realities of practice. And, if we were to look down, from the top and through the centre of this cone, what would we see? Figure 9.15 offers a suggestion.

The picture perhaps speaks for itself. However, as in Skolimowski's (1994) view of a co-created universe, this 'cobweb' diagram illustrates the dynamic interdependency of the 'walls' of the cone (now appearing as the key 'spokes' of the 'web') and the spiral connecting them. The interdependency here is specifically between community education's existing discourses (cone/ spokes) and its practices and models.

This kind of imagery has long been familiar to community educators. The notion of an educational network as a 'web of life', both dependent upon, and supportive of, its myriad relationships, is recognizable, for example, in Flynn's (1992: 101) description of networking as 'a survival mechanism and a model of action which goes beyond survival into affirmation, development and growth'. It is no accident that one of the most influential publications for community education practitioners for well over a decade was entitled *Network*.

Less familiar is the placing of spirituality at the very heart of community education theory and practice in the way that Figure 9.15 uncompromisingly does.

Earlier comparison with the hierarchy of the Great Chain of Being suggested that spirituality might be construed as a missing fourth 'level' among the discourses of community education. But, in the light of subsequent discussion and the diagrammatic representation above, it is perhaps inappropriate to consider spirituality simply as an 'alternative' discourse. Its 'experiential' nature suggests that it both underpins, and helps to give shape to, existing discourses - even though it largely escapes articulation itself.

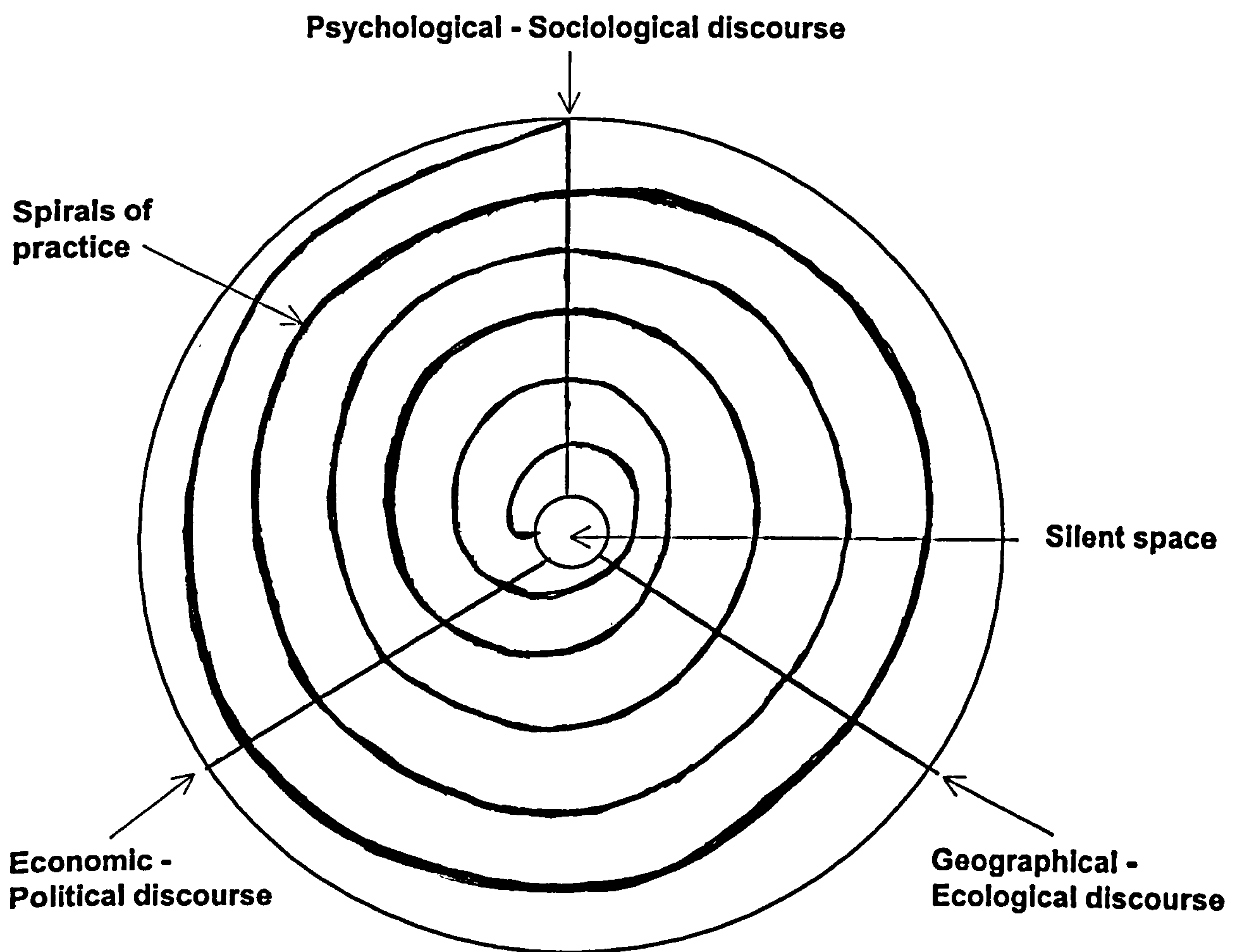


Figure 9.15. Looking into the cone: community education's web of life?
 (Discourses as 'walls' of Skolimowski's cone now become 'spokes' of the web.
 In both cone and web, discourses and practices give shape and meaning to
 each other.)

To date, these existing discourses, and the models and practices from which they derive, have generally ignored the 'silent space' of spirituality at their centre, from which they have all seemingly emerged. This space has been sensed, though, precisely because of its absence of definition, as an 'abstract quality' - always present but never, like the wholeness of the Sufi elephant, properly captured.

If the 'silent space', and all that it represents, is to be granted admission into the theory and practice of community education in the future, it is necessary to find ways that will honour the pre-lingual form of community, and its pervasive influence, with a proper name and 'habitation'.

Capra (1997), as already indicated, favours the name 'deep ecology' to acknowledge how humankind and its activities are intricately bound with other aspects of the creation in a 'web of life'. Heron (1996), taking a more anthropocentric approach but influenced by Skolimowski's (1994) work, refers to the processes of 'participative knowing'. In a fusion of the two terms, perhaps to speak of 'deep knowing' would be to acknowledge the silent space where all things connect - and from where a sense of community begins its journey into human consciousness, language and endeavour.

Putting Spirituality into Practice

Whatever the name attributed to it, Capra, Heron, Skolimowski, and others who, in different contexts, have explored what it means to push the concept of 'interconnectedness' to its ultimate limits, agree that belief in such a concept also requires acknowledgement of certain ethical principles of action. An approach to community education that recognized an underpinning spirituality would need to take account of such principles. It is perhaps the potentially transformative consequences of putting them into practice that Muller (1991) had in mind when he urged that educational programmes should 'have a deep spiritual approach'.

Thus, as Capra (*op.cit.*: 12) argues, if individuals actively experience being part of the web of life, 'then we *will* (as opposed to *should*) be inclined to care for all of living nature. Indeed we can scarcely refrain from responding in this way' (original emphasis). He draws support for this argument from the Norwegian philosopher, Arne Naess, who notes that:

Just as we need no morals to make us breathe ... [so] if your 'self' in the wide sense embraces another being, you need no moral exhortation to show care. ... You care for yourself without feeling any moral pressure to do it' (Capra, *ibid.*).

Heron is a little more prescriptive. He claims that the 'political wing of the participative paradigm', which underpins his approach to collaborative inquiry, is formed by an axiology which holds that:

- Human flourishing is intrinsically worthwhile: it is valuable as an end in itself. It is construed as a process of social participation in which there is a mutually enabling balance, within and between people, of autonomy, co-operation and hierarchy. It is conceived as interdependent with the flourishing of the planetary ecosystem.
- What is valuable as a means to this end is participative decision-making, which enables people to be involved in the making of decisions, in every social context, which affect their flourishing in any way. And through which people speak on behalf of the wider ecosystem of which they are part (Heron, 1996: 11-12).

Except in their very specific reference to the planetary ecosystem, neither Capra's nor Heron's principles are dissimilar to those which have already shaped much

community education practice. Many comments included in this thesis from people who were actively involved in community education in Derbyshire have shown that key indicators of satisfaction and success included:

- the quality of personal relationships;
- the establishment of supportive networks;
- evidence of empowerment and co-operation;
- facilitating the extension of parochial interests to encompass a much wider view;
- working across, or removing, boundaries.

As has also been illustrated, however, such principles, and the practices associated with them, can be constrained by political systems; and their execution seriously affected by political decisions informed by a different set of principles. I discussed earlier how the Education Reform Act (1988) cut across the development of community education in Derbyshire. I subsequently indicated how, in emphasizing individualism and economism, it failed to recognize the vital importance of Clark's third 'S' - 'solidarity', the unifying principle. It did not admit the possibility that, as Clark (1992: 128) put it, 'interdependence is a *sine qua non* of survival, in all ways, in the world of the twenty-first century'.

Capra (1997: 291-293) makes much the same point about interdependence in discussing the planetary ecosystem and the difference between industrial and natural systems. He notes: 'Economics emphasizes competition, expansion, and domination; ecology emphasizes co-operation, conservation and partnership' (p.293).

It would seem that the principles of economics, rather than of ecology, continue to have the stronger influence on British politics, and on associated expectations of education. In consequence, while the key indicators of satisfaction and success, listed above, undoubtedly remain important personal and professional goals for many individual educators, in all parts of the education system, they do not sit easily within the current framework of measurable outcomes.

In wondering how an understanding of interdependence couched in terms of spirituality might be voiced, heard, and acted upon in the current climate, I am reminded again of the Community Tutor, with whose words I concluded chapter four: "We have to ensure that our beliefs in the principles we hold dear are carried on in some way". One way, of course, is to profess those principles openly, even in adverse circumstances.

As I wrote the last paragraph, I was also reminded of Marilyn Ferguson's classic text, *The Aquarian Conspiracy*. I indicated in chapter one how this had impacted upon my own thinking. It encouraged me to speak and write about spirituality in an academic environment that then seemed decidedly inhospitable to such ideas. In the last few years, however, as I have pointed out, my own interest in spirituality has been rapidly overtaken by the many popular texts in which spirituality is an important, and often central, element.

It seems that Ferguson may have been right in her prediction that, if enough people 'conspired' (literally, 'breathed together') they would bring about a change in ways of thinking about, and being in, the world. Even in academia, spirituality now has a foothold, through the use of texts such as those, to which I have already referred, of Heron, Reason, Rowan and others. Indeed, Reason (1988) describes how a postgraduate research group prepared for participative research using techniques which included 'silent attunement' at the start of each session, and incorporated into

their practice the principles of Skolimowski's 'Yoga of Participation'⁵ (Skolimowski, 1994: 163-169).

In addition, the international Scientific and Medical Network, a large informal group of scientists, doctors, psychologists and other professionals, has recently announced the establishment of a new educational initiative to explore 'the relationship between science and experiences that appear to suggest the existence of dimensions beyond the material' (Walton, 1999: 3)⁶. At the same time, The Wrekin Trust⁷ has initiated a consultation process with a view to establishing a 'University of the Spirit', and is also preparing a 'Resource Directory of Spiritual Education'.

Within the professional organization, SCUTREA⁸, which brings together academics and others who are involved in teaching adults and researching the process, especially in university settings, spirituality has also slowly become, if not a popular, at least a legitimate area for discussion and exploration.

In one of those rather nice twists of coincidence that occasionally occur, I have just re-opened my copy of *The Aquarian Conspiracy*. A note inside the cover records something I had forgotten - that I bought it at one of the conferences I ran for Community Tutors, Headteachers and other Derbyshire staff. This took place eleven years ago, on exactly the same dates as the forthcoming SCUTREA conference. I hope to be presenting a paper there (Hunt, 1999b) that summarizes some of the ideas in the present chapter, including the spiritual model based on Martin's typology. The intention of the paper is to place discussion of spirituality firmly in the context of community education in the hope that, in the words of Dodds *et al* (1985: 23) which I used earlier, it may 'provoke a constructive response'.

I know that it is a long way from discussion in a conference room to daily practice in a local community setting. On a wet Wednesday in Wirksworth, concerns about the future prospects of a cash-starved community centre with a leaking roof appears to have little to do with spirituality.

I remain mindful, nevertheless, of the words of the erstwhile student that I quoted at a previous SCUTREA conference, and included here in the postscript to chapter six: "I need you to provide a context in which I can challenge - and validate - my work, my beliefs and my professional practices". All professional practices, as Smyth (1996) illustrates graphically in an Australian setting, are heavily constrained by prevailing discourses. So, too, are personal beliefs. If beliefs and practices are to be challenged - or validated, therefore, alternative discourses have to be made accessible, together with the means to explore them.

My argument has been that a spiritual discourse would allow many of the principles and practices traditionally associated with community education to be set within a framework that gives them additional meaning and coherence. It would also allow the articulation of a 'wholeness' that is often sensed but, in the absence of such a discourse, rarely acknowledged and thus made properly manifest.

This discourse is now voiced and familiar in popular literature; it is increasingly being heard in academic and professional circles. However, if it is to inform action in community groups on wet Wednesdays, help to make sense of funding applications, or otherwise make a difference to professional practice in community education or elsewhere, practitioners need opportunities to explore what spirituality means in their own particular contexts.

They need, too, to feel able to speak openly of what they discover, even, and perhaps especially, in a political climate that favours the material and the measurable. A discourse which conceives of spirituality as a 'deep knowing' of the interconnectedness of all things, would perhaps allow the articulation of principles, and the justification of practices, that many people 'hold dear' - but which can too easily be silenced or overridden by the dominant economic discourse and its

associated 'Metaphors of the factory, of inputs and outputs, and of efficiency, quality and accountability' (Boud and Miller, 1996: 19).

My own exploration was facilitated through 'The Schön Inquiry'⁹. If the restrictions of the prevailing, reductionist, essentially Newtonian world-picture are to be overcome, there would seem to be an urgent need to increase similar opportunities for continuing professional development, especially for those practitioners whose job it is to facilitate developmental processes for other people. Such opportunities might include, for example, engagement in critical reflective practice, co-operative inquiry, and other forms of participatory research which encourage practitioners to define and test the limits, and professional implications, of their personal world-pictures¹⁰.

In my own case, a professional interest in community/ education and a personal interest in spirituality led me to explore the relationship between the two. Along the way, I have reviewed aspects of the theory and practice of community education and its political context, as well as the reality of it in one particular place and time. I have also struggled with personal beliefs and how to express them in an academic context and in my teaching practice. The exploration has been set against a backdrop of world-pictures as metaphors for changing circumstances and ways of knowing. As a result, I now firmly share and endorse Skolimowski's (1994: xi) view that:

The dream of absolute knowledge that Isaac Newton and his followers cherished is shattered. ... We need to reassemble our world-view in a new way. We need to create new perspectives and visions to comprehend afresh this fabulous universe of ours. We need a deeper and better understanding of the subtle expanses of our inner selves, of our complex relationships with all other forms of creation in this cosmos.

This is, in the end, a belief, a truth that, for the moment at least, enables me to think and to work in what West (1996: 209) calls a 'psychologically integrative' way. It can, of course, only ever be recognized as 'A truth' since it acknowledges that humankind's collective understanding, and destiny, is still in creation. 'THE truth' perhaps lies simply in appreciating that process - and all that it signifies for educational practice and living in communities.

¹ 'Outtakes', *The Independent Saturday Magazine*, p.54, copy undated, c.1998

² At the time of writing, the collection can be found at:
www.cybergeography.org/atlas/geographic.html

³ This Network, founded in 1973, now has over 2,000 members in more than 50 countries. 'It questions the assumptions of contemporary scientific and medical thinking, so often limited by exclusively materialistic reasoning. ... Members ... are prepared to ask searching questions about the nature of existence and the nature of the human being' (Medical and Scientific Network 'Statement of Intent', 1999).

⁴ St George's Hall, Liverpool, 20.3.1999

⁵ Skolimowski (1994: 240-241) uses the term 'yoga' 'in a broad sense, as a set of strategies and principles which lead to a new mind set, to a new spiral of understanding'. His 'Yoga of Participation' is intended to facilitate research. His complementary 'Yoga of Transformation' is underpinned by ten principles which could almost be guidelines for critical reflective practice. They include 'Become aware of deep assumptions; Articulate alternative assumptions and values; Deliberately try to bring about the forms of behaviour, thinking and action expressing the new assumptions'.

⁶ In her article outlining the need for the initiative, Walton (*ibid*) also notes: 'In the past few years, the Network has been growing rapidly. There has been an increase in support of the principle that formed the basis of its origins - that is, that a spiritual dimension exists beyond our three dimensional world; and, to quote George Blaker, one of the Network's founders:

'Without a transition from our evolving but materialistically based culture to a broader spiritually inspired understanding of the world and its inhabitants the new, just, fair, sustainable and peaceful world order that should succeed us could not become established'.

⁷ The Wrekin Trust defines itself as 'an educational charity concerned with the spiritual nature of Man and the Universe'. It was founded by Sir George Trevelyan who played a leading role in the adult education movement in the 1920s. The 'University' proposal is intended to provide 'a hub of a network of providers of educational opportunities incorporating a spiritual dimension, promoting collaboration and new programmes as well as co-ordinating information and making it widely available', and to initiate 'a collaborative spiritual inquiry ... in the context of insights from the world's perennial spiritual philosophies, which might include ... exploration of ways of living that lead to inner peace, world peace and the fulfillment of humanity's next steps on the evolutionary journey' (Newsletter, June 1999).

⁸ The Standing Conference on University Teaching and Research in the Education of Adults. I presented one of my first 'Gaia-inspired' papers at the 1993 Annual Conference and was encouraged by the positive response to present the ideas in a wider context. A number of papers/ discussions at recent SCUTREA conferences have focussed specifically on spirituality

⁹ See note in the 'writing exercise' which introduces this thesis.

¹⁰ Arguing a case for developing the processes of synthesis rather than of analysis in Finnish education and society, Williamo (1992: 8) notes that 'A teacher and researcher should always consider the relation of the matter at hand to his personal world-view and values'.



Chapter Ten

Epilogue

This chapter has been included in order to bring up to date some of the events relating to community education in Derbyshire. Based on opportunistic interviews, it discusses what happened when the vision encapsulated in Derbyshire's 'Pink Book' began to fade, and, drawing on their own words, how some of the professional community educators employed in the county felt about subsequent events. It then comments on the events in the light of various analogies, including those of the 'Waves' and 'Worlds', discussed in previous chapters, and of a Grail Quest. In conclusion, it indicates how the political and economic climate has changed - but suggests that the work which was accomplished during the years when the 'Pink Book' shaped the county's education policy has laid a sound foundation for more recent developments. It notes that, though tensions inevitably remain, some practitioners have a sense of a wheel turning full circle to arrive, not where it started, but at a point where local people may be ready to respond to 'initiatives that are now so much wider than education'.



... if education is not life-long in Derbyshire with the input that has been made, and the inputs that will continue to be made, then perhaps we are pursuing a Holy Grail after all.

(Lennox, in Hunt and Clarke, 1989: 47)

In the Vanguard

The quotation which opens this chapter is drawn from a keynote speech, made in April 1989 by the then Chair of Derbyshire's Education Committee, at a conference, for Community Education Tutors, Headteachers, and other personnel involved in facilitating community education in the county. The purpose of the conference was to explore the implications of the 1988 Education Reform Act (ERA) for community education. As I have indicated in earlier chapters, the ERA cut right across the vision of community education which Derbyshire County Council (DCC) had set out in its *Programme for Development*, the so-called 'Pink Book', in December 1986. This stated unequivocally that:

The general aim of community education is to afford opportunities to people of all ages, whether in the statutory system or not, for growth and development as individuals and as members of communities and to encourage local people to take responsibility for their own learning.

... Within it, schools have a dual role, in respect of their pupils of statutory school age, and of the community at large, to which they are expected to respond, in terms of curriculum, resources and expertise. ...

Community education is different from most operations of the County Council in the extent to which it crosses boundaries, not only between different parts of the Education Service but between different services of the County Council. Opportunities may be available through a number of providers, but in all cases four aspects are common.

- (a) The provision is community based, not based on institutions;
- (b) It must be demand or user led and not determined by the professional provider;

- (c) It offers opportunities for people of all ages and at all stages of life;
- (d) The professional's role is that of facilitator through dialogue with the local community (DCC, 1986: paras.1.1, 1.2 and 1.8).

The conference took place barely a year after more than a hundred new community education appointments had been made with the intention of turning Derbyshire's vision into reality. Numerous concerns were expressed over practical aspects of implementing the policy outlined in the Pink Book in the new light of the ERA, and especially of local management of schools (LMS), but the mood at the time was generally buoyant.

As Geoff Lennox reminded the conference participants :

Derbyshire has come a very long way and it has come very quickly in the last eighteen months. We have come, in eight years, from a situation where there were no Community Tutors at all, where there were literally one or two institutions that were developing community education without any lead or input from the Education Authority, to the point where we have got hundreds of schools involved in community education. In 1985, Derbyshire was spending £287,000 on the entire community education budget. We can now point to a little over £5m in that budget. ...

My final statement to you is this: community education in Derbyshire must be structurally created in LMS. If we miss that opportunity, you will be back here in two years or five years or ten years and nothing significant will have happened beyond the confines of the communities that you serve or the people that you reach. I believe that would leave us not meeting a fraction of the educational needs in this county. There will need to be a complete review, inevitably, of how Matlock¹ deals with the new circumstances - but the one thing that is not up for grabs is whether or not community education is part of that new LEA [Local Education Authority]. ...

You are in the vanguard. It has been bumpy so far. It may get worse - but don't worry, you are amongst friends. Remember, it is much more inhospitable outside the vanguard than it is inside (Lennox, in Hunt and Clark, 1989: 46).

Chapters three, four, five and six of this thesis describe and analyze some of the events which subsequently took place. Life in the vanguard clearly did 'get worse' as Thatcherite policies nationally, and the responses they necessitated locally, became increasingly inhospitable to the values and practices of community education.

Within one year of the conference, for example, the Local Government Act had further complicated some of the issues raised for community education by the ERA, especially with regard to delegated funding. By that time, too, key architects and proponents of the Pink Book, including Lennox himself, had left. Within two years [1991], the Community Tutors' posts had been disestablished. Although some schools did take advantage of their new powers under LMS to continue to fund their own Tutors, the strand of community education which had deliberately been set in place to link schools into a county-wide, integrated approach to learning through life was no longer sustainable.

By the following year [1992], the posts of Co-ordinators to the Community Education Councils (CECs) had also been disestablished². This left the CECs - the second key strand in Derbyshire's policy and its signal of a commitment to local participation in decision-making - floundering with little money to spend and, in most cases, fairly tenuous links with the professional community educators still working in the county.

Had the delegates at the 1989 conference reassembled after five years, therefore, in 1994, only the posts of Headteachers, though altered considerably in the context of LMS, would have remained untouched by subsequent reorganizations. By then, too, the Education Department itself would also have been restructured centrally, prompting a third reorganization of community education staff still working in the field. Those of the original delegates who remained in community education in Derbyshire would probably have exhibited signs of battle fatigue from their struggles to maintain not just some of the values inherent in the Pink Book, but their own livelihoods in the county.

During 1994, I recorded opportunistic interviews with four former Co-ordinators whom I had met again during my investigation into the work of the CECs. I had thought that I might subsequently build on this, together with my earlier survey of Community Tutors, to provide a comparison between the perceptions that Tutors and Co-ordinators had had of their respective roles. In the event, I became involved in other things and never drew on the interview material directly.

I intend to do so in this chapter in order to capture something of what happened to professional community educators from Lennox's 'vanguard' after their posts were disestablished - and how they felt about it. I shall also draw on three other interviews that I held during July 1999 with, respectively, two ex-Community Tutors now working in different jobs in Derbyshire, one with new project funding, the other in an established ACE (Adult Community Education) team; and a newly-appointed community economic development worker. I wanted to know how they viewed their present jobs and to what extent they felt the philosophy of the Pink Book remained embedded in current practice in the county.

In order to reorient myself within the Derbyshire context before I undertook the recent interviews, I mapped my recollections of what had happened when. These are reproduced as Figure 10.1 which illustrates, for quick reference purposes, key related events on the national scene, in Derbyshire, in terms of academic literature, and in my own involvement with community education in Derbyshire. For the purposes of this chapter, however, I shall be less concerned with an exact sequence of historical events than with their cumulative influence on some of the people involved, and, especially, on present practice.

In the next section I shall focus on what interviewees had to say about their work in 1994, midway between the 1989 conference and the present time. Finally, a full ten years on from the conference, I shall consider whether anything significant did happen in Derbyshire; what community education means in the county now; and to what extent the vision set out in the Pink Book was, indeed, about 'pursuing a Holy Grail'.

Five Years On

The News in '94

In January 1994, Eric Goacher, the then Chair of Derbyshire's Community Education Members Panel, wrote optimistically on the front page of the county's new *Community Education Newsletter*:

The Community Education Service in Derbyshire provides for nearly 50,000 people each week. In recent years there have been significant changes in the ways in which Community Education is delivered - not least because of new Government legislation or budget cuts. The County Council remains committed to maintaining the quality of service provided through Community Education, and this newsletter aims to keep the 3000+ members of staff and the hundreds of volunteers on Community Education Councils or Management Committees

	National scene	Community ed. developments in Derbyshire	Relevant texts	Personal involvement in community ed./ Derbyshire
1977	Taylor Report. Public participation movement and continuing ed. debate underway.			
1978				
1979	Conservative Govt. elected (Thatcher).			Start PT MEd in Continuing Ed.
1980				First introduced to community ed. as concept. Elected school governor.
1981	Scarman Report. Last 'welfare' Education Act.	First Working Party on com. ed. set up [Oct]. Consultation process starts. A few institutions develop com. ed. independently.		Attend school. govts. training course. Invited to contribute to it, and to Cert. in Com. Ed., as PT tutor.
1982		Working Party reports [Nov]. Pilot projects set up.	Boaden <i>et al</i> [Public participation in local services].	
1983	Second Thatcher Govt. elected.			
1984				Complete MEd.
1985		Second Working Party set up to review devt. of com. ed. to date. £287,000 in com. ed. budget.		
1986		Draft report [April]. Wide consultation. 'Pink Book' published [Dec].		
1987	Third Thatcher Govt. elected.	'A fallow year for navel gazing and angst'. Proposed new com. ed. budget cut by £3m but new Tutor appointments start in early autumn.	Allen <i>et al</i> [Community education: an agenda for educational reform].	Tender for staff development programme for Tutors and Headteachers. Programme starts in late autumn.
1988	Education Reform Act (introduces LMS).	More Tutor appts. CECs set up. First Co-ordinators appointed.		Staff development programme continues.
1989	Local Govt. Act (LEAs unable to delegate to bodies such as CECs).	£5m in community education budget.		Final conference. proceedings published and circulated [May].

Figure 10.1. Chronology of events (*continued overleaf*)

1990	LMS implemented (schools now responsible for own budgets).	'Re-shuffle' of key Officers. Main architects of 'Pink Book' leave.		(Encouraged to develop plans for PhD.)
1991		Review of com. ed. - Budget cut by £1,850,000 - Tutors' posts disestablished [Aug]. Schools connection lost but some fund own Tutor posts. New ACE teams. HMI Report.		Preliminary research on CECs starts (funded by University Research Fund). Focus changed to research Tutors' role [June]. Apply for FT job.
1992	Further and Higher Education Act. Local Government reorganisation.	Further budget cuts, including to CECs [May] - most Co-ordinators' posts disestablished [June]. Colleges have new role in com. ed.		Begin FT academic job [Jan]. Preliminary report on Derbyshire policy and role of Tutors published.
1993		Ed. Dept. restructured into service units, Inc. com. ed. [April]. Reorganisation of com. ed. personnel. Reconstitution of CECs proposed.	Special edition of <i>Adults Learning</i> : 'Community Education in New Times' [Feb.].	Final report on policy/ Tutors published. Research on CECs reactivated (funded by Nuffield Foundation).
1994		First edition of Com. Ed. Newsletter. Remaining Co-ordinators posts withdrawn (in Derbys. Dales area). Increasing emphasis on external funding.		Report on CECs published. Follow-up Interviews with five former Co-ordinators met during CEC research.
1995		More budget cuts - posts of Clerks to CECs no longer funded. Virtual demise of CECs.		Asked to 'tell people what we tried to do' - SCUTREA paper. (PhD stalls.) Lose touch with events in Derbys.
1996		Coalfields Project.		(Participation in Schön Inquiry, from Nov.).
1997	'New Labour' Govt. elected.	Increasing amount of ESF* and SRB+ funding for large-scale projects.		(Participation in Schön Inquiry, to May - prompts reactivation of PhD.)
1998				
1999	White paper: <i>Learning to succeed - a new framework for post-16 learning.</i>			Interviews to discuss recent developments in Derbyshire. PhD submitted.

Figure 10.1. Chronology of events (continued).
[*European Social Fund; +Single Regeneration Budget]

well informed. Everyone involved in Community Education should have a voice and be able to influence what is provided in their community. Community Education News is another step in ensuring that happens.

The newsletter included a few items about forthcoming events but reported primarily on the recent re-shuffle of some of the Community Education Officers' posts, centrally and at area level - though it did not mention that this was the third reorganization of area personnel in less than three years. It also made reference to the CEC consultation exercise (which had taken place while I was carrying out my own survey of the CECs) and to a number of 'External Funding Successes', noting that 'new records' had been hit in gathering external funding. Two million pounds had apparently been attracted and staff were 'already involved in drawing up bids' for further funding, including to the European Social Fund. This is particularly significant in the light of subsequent developments, as I shall indicate later.

The item on the CECs pointed out that 'The health of CECs varies throughout the county - some are still thriving, others are in limbo': Councillors and Officers had met with representatives of the CECs to gather views and opinions on the way forward. Whatever that was to be, the newsletter stressed, 'One of the key aspects of the Community Education Service in Derbyshire is the commitment to involve local people in decisions about provision in their locality'. This, too, is significant in the context of recent developments, as I shall discuss in the final part of the chapter.

If further editions of the newsletter were printed, I never saw any. I was aware from my interviews with former Co-ordinators during 1994, however, that the upbeat messages of the first edition may have been slightly at odds with the way many people were feeling about the future of community education and their own position in relation to it. Writing a SCUTREA conference paper (from which I drew extracts in chapter six) in early 1995, I summed up the situation in Derbyshire, as I then understood it, as follows:

The vestiges of a community education service remain in Derbyshire, but outwardly it is barely distinguishable from the separate adult education and youth service provision which the vision encapsulated by the Pink Book attempted to replace. CECs still exist in name but the membership is greatly reduced and disillusioned, they have no real direction, little left to administer, and the latest cuts have now removed the services of the Clerks who represented the last formal link with DCC (Hunt 1995b: 85).

The proposed reconstitution of the CECs in 1994 had never been properly implemented. As one former Co-ordinator put it, the CECs seemed to have been '*left staggering to a slow and painful death*'. At that time, some Co-ordinators and Tutors evidently felt that they themselves had fared little better. Of the earlier disestablishment of her Co-ordinator post, one said:

I don't know how you describe it in words. I was just completely gutted. I couldn't believe it. I have been made redundant before so the idea of being made redundant perhaps was less - I mean, I'm fortunate, I'm married to a full wage-earner so therefore, for me, redundancy's not the horror that it is to some people. That said, I think I've got a career and I want to work so don't marginalize it - but it made me feel as if everything I'd done was rejected, was valueless. You inevitably, I think, inevitably, certainly, take it personally. I felt as if it was targeted at me. I know perfectly well rationally, now, that it wasn't, but you don't at the time. I just felt I had given my all and my all had been thrown back at me. I still feel that. [pause] I still feel that if I'm honest.

... When -- told us [about the disestablishment of the posts] I dealt with it quite well at the time and I drove all the way back, perfectly rational, walked into here, started to cry and couldn't stop for two and a half hours. You know, I just could

not believe it and I felt totally gutted and angry which I think are the two normal emotions you feel at a time like that. And a sense of despair because, of course, we had to go through the process of re-interview and appointment and at that point nobody had got any idea who would choose to go or anything like that and I didn't know whether I would have a job. There was none of this sort of - we almost go into these reorganizations these days reasonably confident that we'll come out of it with something - but there was none of that sense then. I mean, I must be fair, we haven't had one now for a year and, please God, we won't have another. I hope things will be done differently now even if we have to be reduced in number again. But - just totally gutted and very angry describes it very adequately. When you go back to think about it, as I'm doing now, it comes back. It stays with you.

But actually, the following year, for me, was even worse when they had us again, or they had what they'd left as community development workers the second time round. ... I actually applied for an ACE team member post and was turned down - and I was acting officer for that same ACE team! It was a mess but I'd been put into that position by them and then they kick me in the shins and for a while I didn't know what I was going to do at all and I was really angry then. I wasn't upset then, I was bloody angry, I really was. I mean, the fur and feathers were flying. And for me that is the memory that remains with me. I'll never trust them again, never. But the year before was more an incredible sadness and feeling of rejection.

I have reproduced these comments in full for several reasons. First, because they encapsulate so clearly the raw emotions which arose for at least one person on hearing that her post was to be disestablished: she had held it since its inception during the mass wave of community education appointments in 1988. Second, they show how close to the surface those emotions remained more than two years later. Third, they indicate how the reorganizations, precipitated by national government policy and local financial constraints, continued to rumble on for several years - and at what kind of personal cost for the professionals most affected. Finally, they are a reminder that many of the community education professionals who remained in Derbyshire in ACE teams or other posts in the mid-1990s had little reason to feel particularly well-disposed towards any further restructuring or new initiatives that 'They', in the guise of the local authority, might propose.

Ambivalences about their own treatment at the hands of the local authority and what they felt about the job itself were expressed by all four of the former Co-ordinators whom I interviewed. One spoke of having:

Oh - just so much resentment sometimes at what's happened to us that, if I really stopped to think about it, it would be hard to do this job properly now. It's only the local people, not Matlock² and the way that we just seem to be pawns in a game to them sometimes, that make it worth going on.

Another, who had since 'crossed the divide' to become an officer also reiterated the point about gaining satisfaction from working with local people. The following comment was made amidst much laughter:

... some of them were pig-headed, rude, and infuriating, you know - in any clutch of people you will get a handful like that. But it was working with people that I enjoyed most, and making it happen with them, undoubtedly. I suppose it's really why I've stayed on.

In a response to the question 'How would you sum up your time in Derbyshire?', a third former Co-ordinator said:

Oh great, lovely, wonderful! [laughter] It's easy to be cynical, very easy. I mean there are structural things which piss you off all the time still - and that's after all

the trauma we went through with the reorganizations. I mean we're just about to go into another round of cuts and that uncertainty pisses you off no end because you know what you want to do is just get on with the job ... that would be wonderful, you know, because, I mean, I've still got a commitment to the work and I think the vast majority of people that are still within Derbyshire are committed to delivering community education. The people, you know, in the communities, you look at them, and work with them, and, well - I suppose that's what it's about in the end isn't it?

Despite individual commitment, however, feelings about being in community education in Derbyshire in 1994 were clearly very different from those that had contributed to the buoyancy of the late 'Eighties. As one interviewee recalled:

1988 was for us in Derbyshire, I think, such a positive, such a hopeful time. When I look back on it now, I can remember feeling as though I was being carried along on the impetus of something that was really exciting ... there was a real feeling and impetus all around at that time that carried on, I suppose for two or three more years, before the axe started to hit.

Fragmentation

The 'hitting of the axe', in its twin guises of new legislation and budget cuts, eventually led to the fragmentation of the briefly integrated community education service back into its old cost-centres of adult education, youth work and schools, with schools administering their own budgets. This, coupled with the demise of the CECs, perhaps suggests that the era of the Pink Book might as well never have happened since all that ostensibly remains is a legacy of workers who have been disillusioned by subsequent events. Certainly, Geoff Lennox's rallying cry about being 'amongst friends' might now elicit a certain amount of sardonic laughter from those who have seen their initial high hopes and sustained efforts apparently 'rejected' in an inordinate number of re-organizations⁴.

In a recent interview (July, 1999), one former Community Tutor looked back over the past ten years and visibly shuddered at some of her recollections. She said she remained angry at *'all the hoops they've made me jump through just to stay in a job - and it's actually a worse one than I had to start with even though my salary's still protected till next year when, if I stay, I'll actually lose quite a bit of money'*. She also had a rather sorry tale to tell of the way in which what had originally been *'good working relationships between people with different roles but similar beliefs about community education'* had apparently for several years been *'completely screwed up by the way they [DCC] handled things - setting us against one another, individuals, different groups of professionals, all that sort of thing, well that's what it seemed like'*.

She felt that things had been particularly difficult between 1993 and 1995. Following the disestablishment of the Co-ordinators' posts most had worked for a short time as fairly autonomous community development workers. Eventually, however, they were required to become part of the ACE teams which had been created following the disestablishment of the Tutors' posts. (The comment about being 'had the second time round' in the long quotation towards the end of the section above refers to the absorption of the development worker jobs). In consequence:

... some of the team leaders were narked at having them in their empires - well some of them [former Co-ordinators] had been there for four years, knew the area better than the leaders who had often been drafted in from a Tutor post somewhere else. There was a lot of narkiness and back-stabbing around for quite a while. Most of it's died down now and people are just getting on with things but it comes up sometimes, especially when new jobs get created out of new project money and its sort of like the job some of us used to do and that got taken away

from us. I moved sideways from a job into here and now, in my old area, there's someone actually who used to make my job there very difficult who's moved into a project leader job with the European money - and, you know, they don't have the same kind of restrictions on what they can do, those teams, as we do (Former Community Tutor, interview, 1999).

(I will say more about 'European money' and related projects in the concluding section because it is in this context that there is a sense of a wheel now turning full circle.)

It is perhaps inevitable that working relationships, however good, should come under some strain during periods of retrenchment and reorganization. In Derbyshire, the absorption, into teams, of professionals who had put a great deal of effort into creating their own unique 'patch' seems to have been particularly difficult in certain areas. This almost certainly goes back to the problem identified in chapter five as 'a confusion of tongues'.

Although the ex-Tutor, whose words I have just quoted, spoke about people originally having different roles in, but similar beliefs about, community education, I suspect that, just as many of the former District Community Education Officers and Headteachers had very different ideological perspectives on community education⁵, so, too, did a number of erstwhile Co-ordinators and Tutors. The former, who applied specifically for posts in the community, may well have wished to operate closer to the radical end of the community education spectrum than the latter, who had chosen to work from a school base. This must inevitably have been easier to accomplish, and with less potential for friction, while each retained their own professional identity - and thus more autonomy to act as they pleased - than would have been possible within the constraints of a team structure, itself created out of expediency rather than vision.

One former Co-ordinator, responding in 1994 to the question 'How successful, overall, do you think Derbyshire's community education policy has been?', referred to his own political stance in the following terms:

If you're talking in terms of numbers of people who've been involved, well the statistics are there to show that thousands have been involved in the various aspects of the work - youth, adult and so on. If you talk more politically about what I think is the content of community education - which is about getting people involved, active and seeing themselves as part of a collective, I'm less certain that it's been successful. ... At the end of the day, putting it bluntly, you can't create socialism in a single county. And the community education programme, the Pink Book, the idea of setting up the Councils [CECs] was about socialism in a single county, socialism in a single borough, socialism in a single village - and that can't be successful because socialism's about something else: it's a national and international force. ...

So there are two sides to it: formally community education in Derbyshire brought a lot of people into formal adult ed. activity and into youth work, into the adult basic education - the ABE service, which has been very successful - all those things, brilliant. ... But that thing, that thing about getting people involved, active, moving and saying 'Don't do those things to me because this is what we want', that's been, I think, less successful because it can't be isolated from all the other political activities that people need to be involved in to secure some freedom, liberty, and some rights for themselves. But again, you see, that's me looking at it. I'm a politicized person. I'm involved and committed to this work because I'm a political animal.

In 1994, alongside the struggles to accommodate different ideologies and working practices within the restructured ACE teams, the Youth teams were also trying to forge an identity (or re-forge it since, as some of the Tutors pointed out in my

original survey, many members had never properly adapted to life in an integrated community education service). In addition, as one interviewee put it, *'ABE's also doing its own thing again'* and *'the schools have mostly lost interest, they've got other agendas'*. Another spoke of this fragmentation, and especially the re-establishment of separate cost centres for different types of provision, being *'a retrograde step'* by DCC. He said of an apparently developing rivalry between *'adult and youth'*:

We've lost all joint working that there was before, all joint projects, which I think is not good for the service. I mean, the youth workers are not having any of our money, you know. Who gets more out of the authority? Who gets cut more? Does the Youth Service get more or do we get more? It's really divisive - and some of the Youth people, you know, we were really on the same side with them once.

To compound these issues, the colleges were felt to be becoming, as a former Tutor recently put it, *'predatory and poaching people we'd done all the spadework with for their courses'*. Another also spoke recently about *'the colleges' kleptomania on our territory following the changed funding arrangements after the '92 Act'*. Although, in other circumstances, community educators might have expressed pleasure that their efforts at outreach work were coming to fruition in such an obvious way as people signing up for college courses, the sense of every aspect of the education service fighting for its own preservation was particularly strong in 1994 - and does not yet seem to have been fully dispelled.

As a former Co-ordinator said in an interview in 1994: *'It seems that people can't afford to work co-operatively any more. It does make you wonder sometimes what it's all been about'*. It is a particularly poignant comment since, not only did many of the Tutors who took part in my earlier survey regard 'networking' as an important aspect of their work, but each of the Co-ordinators I interviewed noted that one of the most satisfying aspects of their job had been associated with, in the words of one, *'working with people across the spectrum, including people in other agencies'*. Another put it like this:

What I liked most of all was the contact with people. Having a grasp of the whole community activity rather than a narrow focus of just youth or just adult or whatever. Having something that works on the whole picture and being able to bring things together, you know, that brought various strands of the community together, and professionals as well. You could see progress, however limited that progress, you could actually see progress which is good. It's good.

As some of the other comments above have implied, the sense of fragmentation and in-fighting between various professional groups within the education service seems to have been exacerbated at times by a lack of trust in DCC itself. There was certainly evident and continuing tension between the exercise of professional and political authority⁶.

One of the former Co-ordinators, interviewed in 1994, said quite specifically about the relationship between her colleagues and elected local councillors that *'Some of the Co-ordinators were very outspoken and sometimes made themselves very unpopular working on behalf of their CECs'*. This certainly lends credence to the view that Co-ordinators might have been placed at the radical end of the community education spectrum. Paradoxically, according to another Co-ordinator, one of the main reasons for recurring friction with councillors, seemed to be that:

The policy became too successful. Politicians didn't like it because the CECs began to make demands and want changes and want control and take decisions, and suddenly politicians realized that they couldn't sustain that level of empowerment because it would mean having to give budgetary control. Or decisions taken by Council members [of DCC] would have to be taken by CEC members and the Council members would have to adhere to them - which wasn't within their power to do that because, you know, budgetary pressures being the main one but also

political esteem. They didn't want to, they couldn't, give power that far down the line - which, from my perspective, is a shame because it meant that, to some extent, the policy was a bit of a con.

Not long after these interviews took place, I lost touch with developments in community education in Derbyshire. It was clear that many people still involved in the work had a real commitment to it and felt that much had been achieved. Nevertheless, the overwhelming impression I took from the 1994 interviews, and other informal discussions at the time, was of negative emotions - of anger, disillusionment, frustration and, above all, considerable sadness that the 'Great Experiment' seemed to have been brought artificially to an end before its success or otherwise could be properly determined.

Whether or not it had all been 'a bit of a con' was still open to debate and the answer probably depended upon one's political viewpoint as much as any facts. A significant fact was, though, as the 1994 newsletter indicated, that considerable numbers of people had been involved in community education and local decision-making who might never otherwise have had such an opportunity.

Nevertheless, as a community education officer subsequently noted:

There's an irony in this but I think our biggest success in community education in Derbyshire is the fact that we have reached out into so many different communities in so many different ways. I think one of the failures is that we've done that with so many people that they don't realize it was community education they were in'.

Patterns

Waves and Worlds

Reviewing some of the comments above with the benefit of hindsight, it is possible to discern signs of the 'Waves' and 'Worlds' patterns that I have discussed in earlier chapters (see Figure 9.7). For example, in Derbyshire's attempt to integrate its services into a coherent whole under the aegis of community education, there is evidence of a Gaian approach. In its apparent breakdown, through the fragmentation precipitated by the ERA and other national legislation, there are clear signs of the 'undertow' of the Second Wave.

Similarly, in relation to the approach to community taken by DCC, there would seem to be elements of the stages of thinking that I have loosely associated with Hegel's 'Worlds' - not in terms of the articulation of spirit but certainly in aspects of practice.

For instance, a number of councillors apparently continued to operate within a paternalistic and 'Old Labour' paradigm. In their associated reluctance to 'give power that far down the line' to CEC members there are elements of an 'Oriental/Greek World' orientation to community. This acknowledged the need for local expression of 'individuality' but became uncomfortable at the possibility of bestowing too much freedom, and thus losing central control. In the subsequent responses that had to be made to Thatcherite policies there is clear evidence of 'we-feeling' being lost in the 'me-consciousness' of a 'Roman World' as community education began to fragment back into its constituent parts and separate cost centres, thereby giving rein to inter-service suspicion and rivalry.

The question now, of course, is whether there are any signs of a different kind of consciousness, of 'Re-birth' and a real transition towards *Gata* and what it stands for in recognizing and working with interconnectedness at all levels. I think there are some. Before I comment on them in the concluding section, it may be helpful to

return to a question I posed earlier of whether anything significant happened as a result of the Pink Book.

Significance

First and foremost, Derbyshire's policy brought together a critical mass of professionals who, despite ideological differences of approach, clearly shared a vision of how things might be. The vision was never fully made real because it existed in a wider context that was never properly acknowledged.

At a practical level, for instance, DCC's wish to 'be at the forefront of developments' in community education may have caused it to be too insular; to try to build on its own good practices without looking at other possibilities. Someone who is now working on a European-funded project in Derbyshire, having held a number of previous posts in the county, put it like this:

I don't think when they set the [Pink Book] model up they looked sufficiently at other models that have been used, other models of good practice that have been used nationally and internationally. There are plenty of examples. I mean, they've got them in Sheffield - things like MATREC, the Manor Estate Training Resource Centre. Those kinds of things I don't think were ever employed - so when people start talking about things like credit unions, local exchange trading systems, co-operatives and the role of the adult learner in all those things, well, no, we didn't do that, you know. And, of course, you've got to remember as well that the CEC structure ... was imposed on a structure that had gone before - the old adult ed. centres and so on ... and it was, like, well here's a new structure but we're going to fit it on the top of this - and I don't think it ever really matched together.

From an ideological perspective, too, regard for the wider context was crucial. In the words of one of the former Co-ordinators, quoted above, if the policy was driven by a desire to 'create socialism in a single county' it could never have hoped to be successful not only because 'socialism's about something else: it's a national and international force' but because, nationally, the political climate could not have been more inimical to those wishing to be part of such a force. As the first two columns of Figure 10.1 illustrate, there seems to be a horrible kind of inevitability to the sequence of events in Derbyshire when they are viewed in the context of a national politics shaped by Second Wave/ Roman World values of individualism, competition and the market place.

Nevertheless, if they created nothing else, the professionals brought together by the promise of the Pink Book very clearly helped to build a raft of opportunities for local people, of all political persuasions. Whether or not those opportunities were classified in people's minds as 'being in community education' undoubtedly matters less than that they were there at all. Evidence from both the surveys I undertook, reported here in chapters four and six, suggests that, as a result of contact with, and participation in, such opportunities, a number of changes occurred in people's perceptions of what it was possible for them to do and to achieve, in terms both of their own educational development and of how the local community might relate to a range of educational providers and provision in new and innovative ways.

From their school base, many Tutors helped to raise awareness of school and community as mutually beneficial resources for each other. In many areas this seems to remain and, despite the removal of schools from the original integrated plan, some school staff have worked actively to fulfil one of the aims in the Pink Book by maintaining and developing community links, with or without a designated member of staff to co-ordinate such work. The amalgamation of local knowledge held in the professional networks built up by Co-ordinators and Tutors does not seem to have been entirely lost either, especially since a large number of them

continued to work in Derbyshire through successive reorganizations of personnel. On this last point, one former Tutor noted:

A handful are still here but obviously with different job titles. And I know a few who've been in jobs elsewhere and have now come back. And, actually, a key thing is that -- [a senior officer] has been here, as you know, for a long time, seen through all the reorganizations and still tried to keep the community ed. flag flying - and hold on to jobs for us. That's one of the reasons there's so much matched funding around now⁸.

Community education may never have been 'structurally created in LMS' as Lennox hoped, but, had the conference participants that he addressed returned ten years later, they should undoubtedly have been congratulated on what did happen in the 'confines of the communities' they served and for the people that they reached. However, for some of the Co-ordinators and Tutors, what they achieved often failed to match their own high expectations. A former Co-ordinator said of working with a CEC, for example:

I regret that I didn't bring about a sea change in their lives. ... You would get new people in all the time, you have to remember that. You would do a brilliant training on, say, what is youth work about and then you would have an election in the September and in would come the next person who was expressing disgust because a young woman had been in a youth club with her illegitimate baby, you know. And we're back to square one of, 'Dear God, woman, don't say that', you know, and you're back to that. And that was a frustration - the fact that I guess we all wanted them to progress faster than they ever could have done.

Grail Quest

It is in the context of this concern about continually returning to 'square one' that I suspect some of the work in community education in Derbyshire may, indeed, have been analogous with the pursuit of the 'Holy Grail'.

A Grail Quest is essentially about the pursuit of an ideal; about the possibility of bringing into one's own immediate reality that which symbolizes, and will help to bring about, a different, and better, reality. It is ultimately doomed to failure because the pursuit itself takes attention away from what exists in the here and now. In this sense, such a quest has parallels in the 'creating heaven' syndrome, to which I referred in chapter two, in which politicians seek to make changes in existing educational and other structures in order to create a different kind of society, not now but in the future. In its reliance upon particular structures or symbols to give shape to a particular kind of society, it denies both the endless possibilities of the 'now' and seeks to close the ever-increasing potential of the spiral of understanding that, as Skolimowski (1994) suggests, seems to be in the nature of manifest reality.

To some extent, efforts to create heaven, or bring home the Grail, are about the creation of what I described in chapter five as 'crystallized structures' which, conceived in their own time, may cease to have relevance in another. I also referred to communities as being essentially fluid. This fluidity is quite evidently the cause of the erstwhile Co-ordinator's lament about getting 'new people in all the time'.

Communities not only have the capacity to flow through the structures of institutions, or of 'frameworks for development', but often they have different perceptions of such structures from those whose job it is to build and uphold them. Communities may, indeed, remain quite oblivious to institutional structures and associated values, expectations or timescales. Unless these structures and values achieve visibility - because they become intrinsically interesting, say, or personally obstructive - there is no real reason for communities to take note of them. In these

terms, it should perhaps be no surprise when people 'don't realize it was community education they were in'.

Many politicians and community education professionals in Derbyshire put enormous effort into trying to create clearly defined structures in order to make real the vision outlined in the Pink Book. DCC, in particular, wanted to exhibit that particular Grail nationally as its own. However, the focus upon the proposed structures through which community education was intended to operate was so intense that, when these were forced to change, for some it was almost as though the Grail had slipped beyond reach and any further activity in the name of community education could never be as worthwhile.

To make such a statement is not to belittle the attempts that were made to keep the vision in focus in the light of changing political and financial circumstances. It is simply to acknowledge that, when the focus did begin to go, disillusionment and mutual recriminations seemed, for a while at least, to get in the way of co-operative working and new developments. In essence, the day-to-day reality of community education seemed, for some of those who had been part of the Quest, to become less important than the lost Grail of a highly-structured, idealized, form of it. Meanwhile, the individuals and communities for whom the Grail was intended to be of most benefit probably continued, as the Charles Causley poem I quoted in chapter two observes, to 'go on growing up' - or at least to continue to be absorbed in the everyday flow of their lives - fairly oblivious to changes in the shape and function of professional teams, administrative arrangements or job titles.

There is, perhaps, a reminder in this observation of Berman's (1990: 307) contention, discussed in chapter nine, that attention should be paid to what happens in the spaces between concepts, paradigms and, presumably, visions and educational structures. However, though it is in such spaces that people mostly live their lives, it cannot be denied that lives are usually affected in some way by the concepts, paradigms, visions and structures that touch them.

I have another analogy in mind here that I want to use and then mix with the Grail imagery. It involves a shift almost from the sublime to the ridiculous since it is of people's lives as pieces of iron filings, and of what happens to them when magnets are placed in their vicinity. The magnets in this case are specifically educational structures. Some of them, like the structures to which the Pink Book gave rise, may have a major influence on 'filings' of all shapes and sizes within a wide region - but not be able to exert sufficient power to sustain the pattern thus created over a long period and/ or while resisting a more powerful organizing force in the shape of, say, national government policy. Some magnets are more or less powerful than others and exert influence on different kinds of filings over international boundaries or in small local areas: they appear in the guise of universities, for example, or playgroups.

At different times in their lives filings will fall under the organizing force of different magnets, sometimes alone, mostly in the company of others. Some forces will hold them in particular positions for a long time; at other times the influence of any magnets will be minimal. The nature of the magnets themselves may well be of far less importance than the place in which they ultimately leave the filings, or the direction in which they leave them facing.

Applying this analogy in the context of community education in Derbyshire, it is evident that the 'Pink Book pattern' has been virtually obliterated. Nevertheless, many of the filings - the people - whose lives were significantly touched by that pattern are now in different positions in terms of their personal development, educational qualifications, or career, as a result. Letting go of the vision in the Pink Book was undoubtedly a painful experience that has left its own mark. To have continued to attempt, against all the odds, to hold on to a pattern simply for the

sake of holding on to it, however, would have been as ill-advised and unsuccessful as most other Grail Quests in history have been.

To have once started out with the enthusiasm of a Grail Quest, however, is another matter. In the late Eighties, Derbyshire was itself a magnet for hundreds of professionals, some of whom continue to work in the county. Their combined expertise and experience created a legacy of understanding about the possibilities of education and inter-agency working that provides sound underpinning for future developments. Such underpinning is enormously strengthened by the fact that so many people's lives do seem to have been touched positively by community education during the Quest.

Though he personally abandoned the Quest at a relatively early stage, Geoff Lennox seems to have been speaking prophetically at the end of his conference speech in 1989 when he left delegates with the thought that 'every step we take on the path towards the Holy Grail gets more and more people into the Education Service' (Hunt and Clarke, 1989: 47).

Into the Present

At the beginning of the previous section, I noted that Derbyshire's Pink Book policy could be set in the context of Gaian and Second Wave thinking. A Gaian desire for interconnectedness is evident in the attempt to create a coherent and integrated system of community education that crossed service boundaries and encompassed both the fluidity of communities and the crystallized forms of many institutions. The attempt seems to have fragmented in a Second Wave undertow. This owed its strength not only to national government policy but to local politics that were played out within a long-standing paternalistic ideological framework. Ultimately, too, the pursuit of a particular kind of framework for community education seemed to create a rigidity and resistance to change that itself became inimical to the original Gaian values

In this final section I want to consider where community education in Derbyshire stands now. I hope eventually to research this in more detail in order to re-tell the full story of Derbyshire's 'Great Experiment' in community education in another arena. However, in order to 'tie off' the remaining strand in the plait that constitutes the present story, I recently revisited Derbyshire to speak, on separate occasions, to three practitioners currently working in the county.

One is a member of an ACE team in the middle of the county but has held several posts since first being appointed as a Community Tutor in 1989. Two are recently appointed Community Economic Development Officers employed to work on specific projects in the north of the county, funded by the European Social Fund (ESF). One was originally a Community Tutor but has subsequently been employed outside the county, returning about a year ago. The other has worked in Derbyshire for only three years, the first two in an LEA-funded project with unemployed men.

The two former Community Tutors both felt that what one called '*the political steer*' in Derbyshire has changed in the past decade. The one who has remained in an ACE team elaborated:

DCC's changed a bit since the Pink Book days. It may just be me getting older and not noticing it any more, but I don't think there's the same sort of patronage approach that there was once. At one time it almost seemed like you had to drink in the same pub as particular politicians to get on but I think things are a bit more open now - much less decided in smoke-filled rooms. Also, as I've said, there's also quite a lot of faith in [a senior officer]. People trust him because he's been through all the reorganizations and tried to keep community ed. going.

That's been done in a way, sounds silly, but by farming people out of the com. ed. [community education] budget.

The 'farming out' seems to have been into a number of different projects primarily concerned with economic regeneration. The seeds of such developments were clearly being sown by 1994 when the first *Community Education Newsletter* reported on early 'external funding successes'. Since then, national and European money has been attracted to specific areas of Derbyshire to help to sustain and regenerate areas badly affected by unemployment, most notably in the former mining districts in the north-east of the county where several different initiatives have been developed. Many come under the umbrella of the 'Coalfields Project' which was set up in 1996.

Attracting funding, according to both Development Officers seems to be somewhat opportunistic. As one said:

There's a fair bit of money out there now but you need to know where to look. Some of it's very specific and you could spend ages putting a bid together and then find you didn't quite meet the requirements in the small print. There's a lot of paperwork involved. We've got to know exactly what we want really before the money becomes available.

An important part of their job is to find out what local people want and need, and to help them to set up 'Community Action Partnerships'. Once formed, these are encouraged to operate under a formal constitution which allows them to apply for further funding themselves. Both Development Officers admitted that, like the Coordinators before them, they would almost certainly take a lead role in dealing with the necessary paperwork. Nevertheless, there are clear echoes here, albeit under new nomenclature, of the claim in the 1994 newsletter that 'One of the key aspects of the Community Education Service in Derbyshire is the commitment to involve local people in decisions about provision in their locality'. This time, though, unlike the CECs, the Partnerships are being created on an *ad hoc* basis, when needed, and without the restraint of being grafted on to existing structures.

This time, too, as I was reminded by the newly appointed Development Worker 'Everything that was community education is now subsumed under the lifelong learning banner'. This is an interesting comment on two counts, particularly since she added, after a short pause:

Come to think of it, maybe in a way we're replacing the sort of outreach that used to come under community ed. - but that's not all we are. We're about so much more- capacity building, crime prevention schemes, environmental schemes

First, the benefit of 'life-long education' was one that the vision of the Pink Book hoped to bestow on the people of Derbyshire. The 'lifelong learning banner', under which has been subsumed much that was formerly developed in the county as community education, is essentially that of the present New Labour government. Each of the 'life/long' labels just used encompasses contested concepts that there is not the space to debate here. However, a key difference in the Derbyshire context is that the former was clearly seen in the Lennox era, in his own terms, as getting 'more and more people into the Education Service'. The latter, in the eyes of central government, is strongly associated with getting people into work.

Second, 'everything that was community education' was, as has been illustrated in this and earlier chapters, just as contested in terms of ideologies and practices as life(-)long learning/ education. Differing ideologies 'subsumed under the same banner' gave rise to enormous tensions between different professionals during the era of the Pink Book, as well as in defining particular roles.

There are signs of this pattern being repeated. The same Development Worker went on to say:

Although we're couched within lifelong learning we haven't got an established relationship with them yet and that's one of the stresses of the job. We're not actually, as workers, clear about what our role is in lifelong learning, and what they expect of us - but there is an onus on us to provide training within the action plan that was drawn up to obtain the European money that's paying for our posts, so there is an element of education and training in there.

'They' refers to colleagues in the established ACE teams, many of whom now seem to have fairly traditional adult education roles in the development and provision of courses. The 'action plan' was drawn up by members of the Council's Policy Unit. The Development Worker who had previously been a Community Tutor was aware of the dangers of cutting across different expectations and was particularly concerned that the Policy Unit wanted outcomes in the form of further funding while, for colleagues in education, *'their expectation may be about people we've got involved - that we should be bringing them to their courses'*.

According to the former Tutor who has continued to work in an ACE team, there are additional tensions, similar to those in the early days of the Tutor appointments, because of differing salary scales between some newly-appointed Development Workers and existing ACE personnel. There is also resentment on the ACE side that little attempt seems to have been made to *'make sense of the new funding by dovetailing it into current provision'*, and that the new workers seem to have more flexibility and freedom to work in innovative ways.

The position seems to have been made even more difficult because, when some Development Worker posts were advertised, including those of my interviewees, only personnel who had previously worked in Derbyshire were permitted to apply, presumably as part of the 'farming out' process. In consequence, I was told, several of those who were appointed:

... have an education background and some experienced Community Development Workers see a lost opportunity there - they don't see our past experience as relevant. ... In fact when we go to conferences it's very obvious that not many people there have education backgrounds.

Nevertheless, having an education background is perceived by both workers as advantageous. As one put it:

The more I go into this the more I think education and training needs to underpin economic development. We're working in ex-mining communities and, because of the history, people have very low self esteem so they're not even in a position to take on any form of training because it's just, like, alien. They don't see any relevance, it's 'not for us', you know. So you're talking very much about working with people right where they are so they gain enough confidence, so they can gain some training, so they can compete with other people. What we do is very informal - it may not even enter the scale of some people's versions of education. [pause] Actually I used to think I was a bottom-up worker but now I'm not so sure. My bottom line was usually about getting people into courses but I'm not really thinking like that any more. What I bring though, that I don't think people who aren't aware of educational principles perhaps do, is to know when education - learning - is happening for individuals and that they might be ready to go on further, and be able to talk to them about that.

Both referred to the job as 'amorphous' and expressed concerns about how to bound it. Echoing the same sentiments as many Community Tutors on the staff development programme a decade ago, they spoke in terms of having to create something out of nothing and of not being able to know where they were going until they started to go there. Their enthusiasm, and their commitment to the communities with which they had started to work, however, were palpable.

I suspect that they, too, may be in for a bumpy ride as they try to negotiate their way through local tensions and inter-professional rivalries. But the new developments in Derbyshire seem to have a crucial advantage over those associated with the Pink Book. It was explained to me like this by a former Tutor who has lived, and worked in different capacities, in Derbyshire throughout the changes of the last decade:

I think, in a way, things have come back round to some of the philosophy behind the Pink Book but the structure isn't the same. It's come from almost a government, a national, source rather than a county source - with the 'joined-up thinking' that Tony Blair goes on about, and agencies working together - the White Paper⁹ stuff, you know, and the idea of 'lifelong learning' being in common, national, currency again. The thing that annoys me about that is they've come up with that as if it's something new and we were doing that at one time. So, it's coming under external funding, and we have to find our way round the requirements of all that, and the vocational bit is a pill we have to swallow, but the ethos, I think - the 'get in there and get on with it' - the ethos is similar to what was around with DCC in the 1980s.

Certainly, the majority of the aims of the Pink Book, summarized at the beginning of this chapter, seem to be encompassed by current practice, including as one Development Worker noted, the fact that 'schools are even starting to come to us to link in, you know, with environmental projects and such like'. But, as the recent recruit to Derbyshire stressed:

We're involved in initiatives that are now so much wider than education. We're more linked now with other aspects of people's lives, and can work with them in much more creative and imaginative ways.

It remains to be seen whether or not this will result in a sustained 'joined-up' approach that can be properly construed as a sign of a transition towards *Gaia*, and everything it implies about recognizing and working with interconnectedness.

There will undoubtedly be more tossing between Waves to endure, both locally and on a global scale. However, if that process can be seen and articulated at every level, a future in which we all come to understand our complex relationships with each other, and with the cosmos as a whole, becomes a distinct possibility. To sense the link between Derbyshire, the work of individuals within it, and the cosmos is to begin to create such a future. As the ancient *Tao Te Ching*¹⁰ proclaimed:

If your community works, your community influences the nation.
If your nation works, your nation influences the world.
If your world works, the ripple effect spreads throughout the cosmos.
... All growth spreads outward from a fertile and potent nucleus.
You are a nucleus.

¹ Matlock is the town in which DCC's central administration is located. The name is traditionally used as shorthand to describe the county's decision-making processes.

² A few Co-ordinator posts remained as split posts (combined with a new adult community education [ACE] team member role) in the rural Derbyshire Dales area where there were few other avenues through which to access community education facilities.

³ See note 1

⁴ It is somewhat ironic that the opening speech given at the 1989 conference by Keith Foreman, then Principal of Burleigh Community College and a member of the School Management Task Force, should have begun with the following quotation, attributed to Gaius Petronius, AD66:

We trained hard, they said, but it seemed that every time we were beginning to form up in teams we would be reorganised. I was to learn later in life that we tend to meet any new situation by reorganising - and a wonderful method it is, or can be, for creating the

illusion of progress while producing confusion, inefficiency and demoralisation
(Foreman, in Hunt and Clarke, 1989: 3)

Few of those present, including Geoff Lennox, could have predicted then how many reorganisations the community education service in Derbyshire would undergo in the following decade.

⁵ See chapter three.

⁶ See chapter five

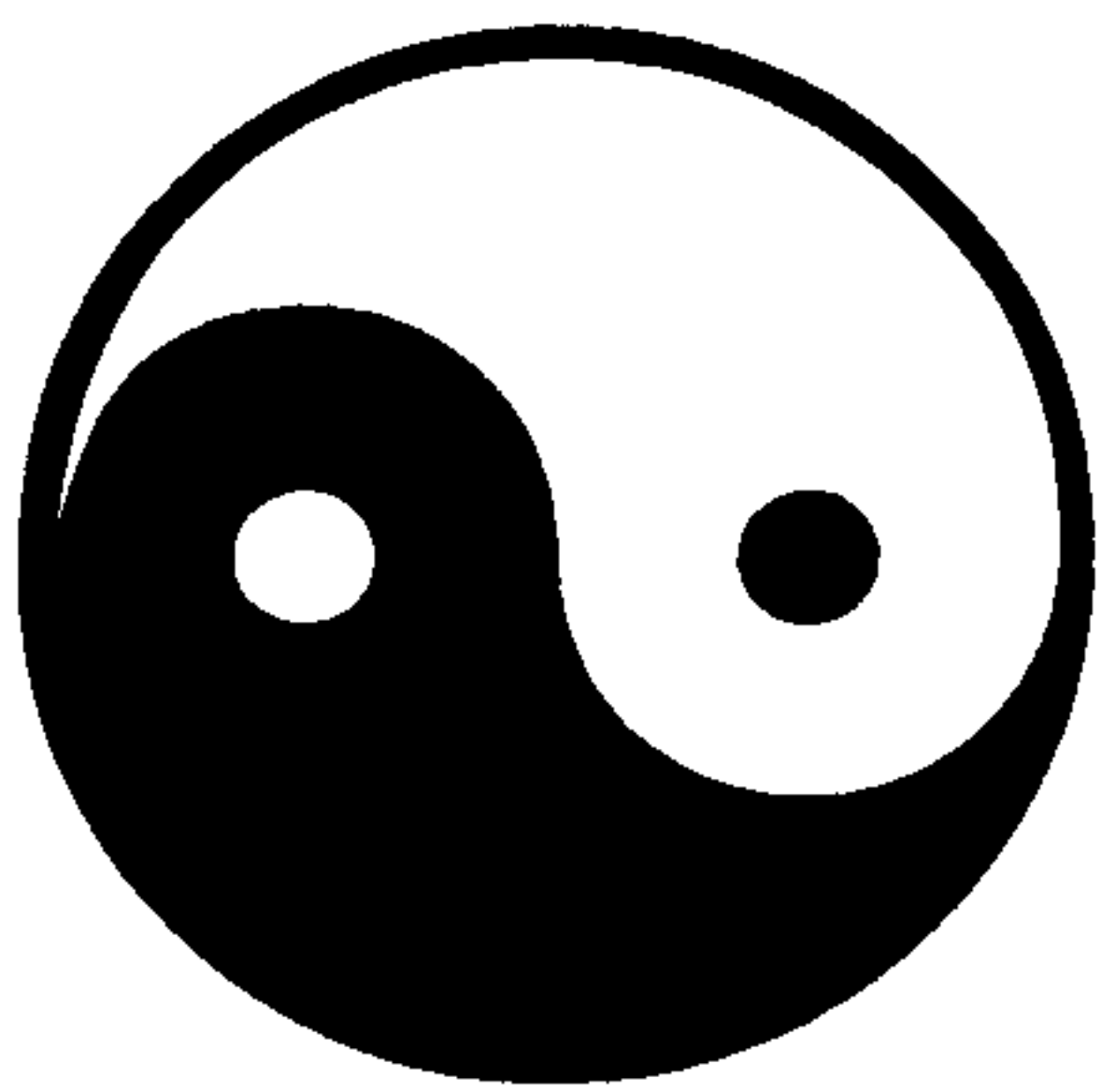
⁷ The full quotation appears in chapter six.

⁸ European funding secured by 'matching' the amount granted with local resources.

⁹ *Learning To Succeed: A new framework for post-16 learning* (Cm4392), London, HMSO. This proposes, amongst other things, the creation of new Learning and Skills Councils; a strengthened role for business, local authorities, providers and users of services in planning and overseeing delivery, and a revitalised role for local government in community-based adult learning. If this comes to fruition it may link in with some of the measures already being taken in Derbyshire in relation to local government structures, such as local forums at borough level to decide on local policy in a number of different arenas.

¹⁰ This roughly translates as 'The Way Things Work'. This ancient Chinese book is attributed to Lao Tzu in the fifth century BC. The quotation here comes from a loose interpretation by Heider (1991: 107) of the themes of the *Tao*.





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Some books are undeservedly forgotten; none are undeservedly remembered.
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Appendix A

Contents

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- A ii Summary of results from questionnaires
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Appendix A i

Questionnaire for Community Tutors in Derbyshire

[NB: Not presented in original format. Shows questions only, without space for written responses.]

If you are no longer a Community Tutor, it would be much appreciated if you could complete the questionnaire in relation to your last Community Tutor post.

Should you be willing to help in this way, please state:

- i** Your current job title
- ii** In what type of school (or other organisation) you now work
- iii** To what extent (if any) your current work involves community education
- iv** Date of appointment to your current post

Please circle the appropriate answer and/ or write your comments in the space available. Any additional comments that you would like to include on a separate sheet of paper would be most welcome.

1 When were you appointed to your Community Tutor post?

Before 1987 / 1987 / 1988 / 1989 / 1990 / 1991

2 Before you were appointed as a Community Tutor in Derbyshire, what was your job?

3 Was that job based in Derbyshire?

Yes/ No

If no, where was it based?

4 In what type of school is (was) your Community Tutor post based?

Primary / Secondary / Other *(please specify)*

5 How many schools do (did) you serve?

6 What was it that particularly attracted you to apply for a post as a Community Tutor in Derbyshire?

7 What is/ are the main task(s)/ project(s) that you have undertaken as a Community Tutor? *(Please limit your choice to no more than three!)*

8 What do you consider to be the 2 or 3 most successful task(s)/ project(s)/ development(s) that you have undertaken as a Community Tutor? *(A few words of explanation about the criteria you are using here to rate 'success' would be helpful.)*

9 What 2 or 3 aspects of your work (or specific tasks undertaken) as a Community Tutor have given you the most personal satisfaction? *(A few words of explanation would be helpful.)*

10 What do you consider to be the greatest practical difficulty that you have encountered in your work as a Community Tutor?

11 What do you consider to be the least personally satisfying aspect(s) of your work as a Community Tutor? *(A few words of explanation would be helpful.)*

12 What aspects of your work (or specific tasks undertaken) as a Community Tutor do you feel have had the most impact on:

- i your school(s)
- ii the local community?

13 How would you rate the following features:

- A - at the time when you took up your Community Tutor post
- B - now (or at the time when you left your Community Tutor post).

(Please circle the appropriate point on the 5-point scale: 5 is 'HIGH'; 1 is 'LOW'. Spaces have been left for any additional comments you might like to make.)

	HIGH				LOW
i Frequent opportunities to communicate with other members of the school staff					
A when started as CT	5	4	3	2	1
B now (or when finished as CT)	5	4	3	2	1
ii Understanding of/ sympathy towards community education and your work shown by:					
a Headteacher					
A when started	5	4	3	2	1
B now/ when finished	5	4	3	2	1
b Most other members of the school staff					
A when started	5	4	3	2	1
B now/ when finished	5	4	3	2	1
c Most school governors					
A when started	5	4	3	2	1
B now/ when finished.	5	4	3	2	1
iii Extent of encouragement given to you to participate in Senior Management decision-making relating to community education					
A when started	5	4	3	2	1
B now/ when finished	5	4	3	2	1
iv Practical support given to you and your work by:					
a Headteacher					
A when started	5	4	3	2	1
B now/ when finished	5	4	3	2	1
b Most other members of the school staff					
A when started	5	4	3	2	1
B now/ when finished	5	4	3	2	1
c Most school governors					
A when started	5	4	3	2	1
B now/ when finished	5	4	3	2	1
v Impact of community education on the school curriculum					
A when started	5	4	3	2	1
B now/ when finished	5	4	3	2	1

vi Involvement of most other members of the school staff in community education

A when started	5	4	3	2	1
B now/ when finished	5	4	3	2	1

vii Involvement of parents in the life of the school

A when started	5	4	3	2	1
B now/ when finished	5	4	3	2	1

viii Involvement of other community members in the life of the school

A when started	5	4	3	2	1
B now/ when finished	5	4	3	2	1

ix Use made by the local community of community education facilities and resources associated with the school

A when started	5	4	3	2	1
B now/ when finished	5	4	3	2	1

14 How much **personal satisfaction** have you gained from the following elements of your work as a Community Tutor? *(Please give a 'score' out of 7 to each item: 7 = MOST satisfying element of the work; 1 = LEAST satisfying. The same score can be given to more than one item if you feel that you have gained about the same amount of personal satisfaction from each.)*

- i Developing/ maintaining an adult education programme
- ii Youth work
- iii Influencing the school curriculum
- iv 'Outreach' work in the community/ developing & supporting community groups
- v Developing professional inter-agency links
- vi Working with specific groups *(please state which)*
- vii Other work *(please specify)*

15 Please rank the following elements of your work in the order in which you have spent **most time** on them as a Community Tutor. (7 = MOST time; 1 = LEAST time.)

- i Developing/ maintaining an adult education programme
- ii Youth work
- iii Influencing the school curriculum
- iv 'Outreach' work in the community/ developing & supporting community groups
- v Developing professional inter-agency links
- vi Working with specific groups *(please state which)*
- vii Other work *(please specify)*

16 Are there any **additional comments** that you would like to make on your responses to questions 14 and 15 above *(for example, in relation to the amount of time spent on the less satisfying aspects of your work as a Community Tutor; who made the decisions about how your time should be spent etc.)*?

17 What do you feel will be the most lasting results of the work you have done there as a Community Tutor

- i in your school(s)
- ii in the local community

18 In your personal opinion, was a school the **right place** in which to locate the Community Tutor post?

Yes/ No

- i Please give reasons for your answer

If not right place,

- ii Where do you feel it would it have been better placed?

19 How would you describe your **relationship with the local CEC(s)**? *(For example, do you feel that they understand the work that you do? Do you regularly attend CEC meetings? If so, is it to give a Report; as a participating member etc.? Are you kept up-to-date with CEC activities and decisions by the DCEO or Co-ordinator?)*

20 When you were first appointed to your Community Tutor post, did you have any clear **expectations** about the kind of work you hoped to be doing (or the position you hoped you might hold) five years on? Yes/ No

If yes, please give details

21 Please describe briefly the '**route**' you took to becoming a Community Tutor. *(For example, primary/secondary teaching/ youth work / adult tutor / voluntary work/ straight from university or college etc.)*

22 What do you see as a next **career step** from a job as a Community Tutor?

23 Do you feel that there is a clear enough '**career progression**' in the UK for people involved in community education? Yes/ No

If no, how might this might be changed?

How important do you consider it to be for the future of community education itself that such changes should be made? *(A few words of explanation would be helpful.)*

24 What are your current academic/ professional **qualifications**?

25 Do you feel that an academic **qualification specifically in community education** is/ would be valuable? Yes/ No

If yes, i at what level?

- a Diploma
- b First degree
- c Higher degree

ii what are/ would be the major benefits?

26 What is your **age group**?

Under 25 / 25-29 / 30-34 / 35-39 / 40-44 / 45-49 / 50-55 / Over 55

27 Are you

female / male

28 Please give 3 or 4 '**key words**' or ideas that, for you, encapsulate what community education is about.

29 Please **complete the following sentence** in relation to your work as a Community Tutor in Derbyshire *(feel free to add as much as you like, on a separate sheet if necessary!)*:

On the whole it has been.....

Thank you for your help.

If you would like to receive a summary of the results of this questionnaire and/ or if you would be willing to supply further information in a brief meeting or telephone conversation, please circle the relevant answers below and add you name, address and contact telephone number(s). PLEASE NOTE that no comments, either verbal or written, will be attributable to any individuals.

Would you like to receive a summary of the questionnaire results? Yes/ No

Would you be willing to discuss some of these issues further? Yes/ No

If yes, would you prefer

a to meet

b to talk on the phone?

Name:

Address

Telephone number(s)

Completed Questionnaires should be returned to:

Cheryl Hunt, Division of Continuing Education, University of Sheffield

65 Wilkinson Street, Sheffield S10 2GJ

(Telephone: 0742-768653 Ext.20)

(A pre-paid envelope is enclosed)

Appendix A ii

Community Tutors In Derbyshire:

Summary of Results From Questionnaires

[All figures shown are percentages. Percentages are derived from questionnaires completed by 27 Community Tutors. For some questions, where more than one response could be given, total percentages may add up to more than 100%.]

	%
1 Date of Appointment	
Before 1987	7
1987 - 1988	70
1989 - 1990	22
2/3 Previous job	
In schools	41
In adult education	22
In youth work	15
In community work	7
Other	15
In Derbyshire	48
Outside Derbyshire	52
4 Type of school in which Tutor post was located	
Primary	48
Secondary	52
(1 Non respondent)	
5 Number of schools served	
1 only	48
2 or more	52
(3 or more)	30)
6 Reasons for application for Tutor post	
Believed in Derbyshire philosophy/ practice	56
Attracted by school and community involvement	41
Saw it as an opportunity for own self-development	41
Attracted by a sense of innovation/excitement	11
Other reasons	19
7 Main Tasks undertaken as Tutor in Derbyshire	
Establishing school-community links	67
Initiating/ supporting specific groups	52
Working with 'targeted' groups	41
Establishing/ running 'formal' adult education programme	30
Management/ administration	26
Staff development in community education	11
Other tasks	15

8a Tasks Tutors considered to be most successful

Initiating/ supporting specific groups	93
Establishing school-community links	52
Working with 'targeted' groups	41
Establishing/ running 'formal' adult education programme	22
Staff development in community education	19
Management/ administration	11
Other tasks	0

8b Criteria Tutors used to measure success

Visible presence in school/ community	82
Evidence of personal development of individual group members	56
Activities now 'going it alone'	44
Cross-boundary work established	30
'Feels good'	26
External validation	15

9 Aspects of work giving Tutors most personal satisfaction

Tangible results	59
Own personal relationships (with colleagues/ community members)	56
Seeing positive outcomes for others	52
Own personal achievement/ development	48
Better cross-boundary relationships	37
Nature of the job (e.g. flexibility)	15
Other (including 'success in spite of major difficulties')	7

10 Greatest practical difficulty encountered by Tutors

Entrenched attitudes	44
Management support	41}
Council policies	26} = 67
Resources (including space)	26
Time	19
Other (including national legislation)	15

11 Least personally satisfying aspects of Tutors' work

Role related	41
Policy/ resources	37
Relationships with school staff	33
Administration	22
Relationships with community education staff	15
Relationships with community groups/ members	4

12 Aspects of work Tutors considered had had most impact

i On the schools in which they were based

Influence on the curriculum	63
Increased parental involvement	26
Establishment of school clubs	22

ii On the local community

Improved links between the community and school	63
Awareness-raising/ empowerment in local groups	59
Establishing/ supporting Adult Education/ Youth Work	19
Establishing/ supporting work with women	15
'High profile events'	15

**13 Tutors' estimation of the extent of various changes
which took place during the course of their work.**

*(These results are displayed in the form of histograms and
appear in the text as Figures 4.2.- 4.9., inclusive.)*

**14 Personal satisfaction Tutors gained from various aspects of work
(Percentage of respondents giving scores of 6 or 7)**

i Developing/ maintaining Adult Education programme	34
ii Youth Work	25
iii Influencing the school curriculum	11
iv 'Outreach' work/ developing & supporting community groups	59
v Developing professional inter-agency links	25
vi Working with specific groups	44
vii Other work	22

**15 Elements of work on which Tutors spent most time
(Percentage of respondents giving scores of 6 or 7)**

i Developing/ maintaining Adult Education programme	30
ii Youth Work	11
iii Influencing the school curriculum	15
iv 'Outreach' work/ developing & supporting community groups	30
v Developing professional inter-agency links	22
vi Working with specific groups	30
vii Other tasks	19

*Questions 14 and 15. Responses shown in rank order (7 high)
[S = Satisfaction; T = Time]*

	S	T
i Developing/ maintaining Adult.ed. programme	5	=7
ii Youth Work	=4	1
iii Influencing the school curriculum	1	2
iv 'Outreach' work/ etc.	7	=7
v Developing professional inter-agency links	=4	4
vi Working with specific groups	6	=7
vii Other tasks	2	3

16 Additional comments relating to Questions 14 and 15 %

*(Such comments do not lend themselves well to, nor were they
intended for, quantitative analysis. However, they can be broken
down into four broad categories, as follows)*

Freedom/ flexibility in Tutor job, source of satisfaction	30
Policy/ management constraints, source of irritation	30
Satisfactions/ time spent on different activities varied according to changing priorities	7
Other comments	7

(7 non-respondents)

17 Aspects of work Tutors felt will have most lasting results

i On the schools in which they were based

Improved Home-School links	33
Greater awareness in school and community of possibilities inherent in community education	26
Involvement of community members in school	22
Improv't. in resources (making school better suited to com.ed.)	22
Active links between school and community groups	15
Improved links between school and other schools/agencies	11

<i>ii On the local community</i>	
Greater awareness of opportunities/ resources in school	59
Adult education classes/ specific groups	41
Greater awareness of opportunities/ resources generally	22
Raised expectations	22
Other	11
18 Was a school the right place in which to locate the Tutor post?	
Yes - definitely	67
Yes - but with some reservations	22
No	11
19 Tutors comments on their relationship with local CECs	
<i>(As with Question 16, such comments were not intended for quantitative analysis. However, the points mentioned can be broadly categorized, as follows)</i>	
<i>i Relationship between Tutor and CEC:</i>	
Very good/ good	48
CEC does not seem to understand fully/ support Tutors' work	22
Some 'procedural' problems	30
<i>ii Tutors' attendance at CEC meetings:</i>	
Regular	74
Most/ as many as possible	11
(Not mentioned	15)
<i>iii CEC's expectations of Tutor:</i>	
Give regular Report to meeting	44
Attend as Observer only	26
(Not mentioned	30)
<i>iv Liaison with CEC Co-ordinator</i>	
Very good/ good	33
Unsatisfactory	19
(Not mentioned	48)
20 Tutors' expectations of work they would be doing 5 years on from date of appointment	
Co-ordinating a developed community education programme	70
Following a detailed and regularly updated plan of work	63
Moved into a specific post	11
21 Number of 'sectors' worked in before becoming a Tutor	
One only	11
Two	37
Three or more	52
(Four or five	22)
22 Next career step from job as Tutor	
Do not know	48
Back to teaching	19
Just to have a job	19
DCEO/ Team Leader	11

23 Clear enough 'career progression' in UK for community educators?		
No		93
Yes		4
<i>(1 non-respondent)</i>		
How might this be changed?		
<i>(Comments in response to this question can be broadly categorized, as follows)</i>		
An improvement in the status afforded to community education/ a coherent country-wide system		48
Greater awareness (better training) amongst other professionals/ appointing committees about range of skills used in com.ed.		45
Change in the policy of national government		30
24 Current academic/ professional qualifications		
First degree + teaching/ other professional qualification <i>(of whom 7% also had a degree at Masters level)</i>		59
Teaching Certificate/ Diploma		22
Certificate in Youth/ community work		11
Other Certificates		7
25 Would an academic qualification specifically in community education be valuable?		
Yes - definitely	67%}	
Yes - possibly	22%}	= 89
No		11
<i>i At what level?</i>		
Advanced/ Post-graduate Diploma		63
Diploma		48
First degree		44
Higher degree		41
<i>ii Major benefits</i>		
Additional status		34
Provide a broader outlook		33
'Accreditation of experience'		15
<i>(5 non-respondents)</i>		
26 Age of respondents		
25-29	4}	
30-34	22}	= 26
35-39	30}	
40-44	30}	= 60
45-49	11}	
50-54	4%}	= 15
27 Sex of respondents		
Female		52
Male		48
28 'Key Words' used by CTs to describe community education		
Empowerment		56
Co-operation		52
Equality of Opportunity		44

Self-development	30
Enjoyment	15
Innovation	15
Stress	15
Participation	11

7% cited each of the following:

community-centred learning, flexibility, lifelong education, process, responding to needs, social change.

4% cited each of the following:

awareness, balance, caring, choice, freedom, justice, open doors, positive steps, people, quality of life, user-friendly.

Appendix A iii

Coding Sheet

Questionnaire For Community Tutors In Derbyshire

All questions coded 1 - N; 0 = no response.
[N] shows position of response on raw data sheet.
95 responses for each of 27 participants used in SPSS analysis

1 When were you appointed to your Community Tutor post?

Before 1987 1987 1988 1989 1990 1991

[1] 1 2 3 4 5 6

2 Before you were appointed as a Community Tutor in Derbyshire, what was your job?

[2] 1 School, 2 Adult Ed. 3 Youth Work 4 Community based
 5 Social work 6 Student 7 Other

3 Was that job based in Derbyshire?

Yes No

[3] 1 2

If no, where was it based?

Coded manually

4 In what type of school is (was) your Community Tutor post based?

Primary Secondary Other (please specify)

[4] 1 2 3

5 How many schools do (did) you serve?

[5] 1 → 7

6 What was it that particularly attracted you to apply for a post as a Community Tutor in Derbyshire?

[6-7] 1 Derbys. philosophy and practice 2 Community involvement
 3 Innovation/excitement 4 Personal devt. 5 Other
(6a)1st Choice 1 → 5 (6b) 2nd choice 1 → 5

7 What is/ are the **main task(s)/ project(s)** that you have undertaken as a Community Tutor? (Please limit your choice to no more than three!)

- [8-10] 1 Sch./com. links 2 Targeted groups 3 AE prog.
 4 Initiate/support specific gps. 5 Managt./admin.
 6 Staff development 7 Other
 (7a) 1st choice 1 → 7 (7b) 2nd choice 1 → 7 (7c) 3rd choice 1 → 7

8 What do you consider to be the 2 or 3 **most successful task(s)/ project(s)/ development(s)** that you have undertaken as a Community Tutor? (A few words of explanation about the criteria you are using here to rate 'success' would be helpful.)

- [11-13] 1 Sch./com. links 2 Targeted groups 3 AE prog
 4 Initiate/support spec. gps. 5 Managt./admin.
 6 Staff devt. 7 Other
 (8a) 1st choice 1 → 7 (8b) 2nd choice 1 → 7 (8c) 3rd choice 1 → 7

Success rated by:

- [14-16] 1 Visible presence in sch./com. 2 Pers. devt. of gp. members
 3 Gp. going it alone 4 Cross-boundary work
 5 'Feels good' 6 Ext. validation 7 Other
 (8d) 1st choice 1 → 7 (8e) 2nd choice 1 → 7 (8f) 3rd choice 1 → 7

9 What 2 or 3 aspects of your work (or specific tasks undertaken) as a Community Tutor have given you the **most personal satisfaction**? (A few words of explanation would be helpful.)

- [17-19] 1 Pers. relationships 2 Pers. achv./devt. 3 Positive outcomes for others
 4 Tangible result 5 Better cross-boundary relationships
 6 Nature of job 7 Other
 (9a) 1st choice 1 → 7 (9b) 2nd choice 1 → 7 (9c) 3rd choice 1 → 7

10 What do you consider to be the **greatest practical difficulty** that you have encountered in your work as a Community Tutor?

- [20-21] 1 Entrenched attitudes 2 Management support 3 Resources (inc. space)
 4 Time 5 Council policy 6 Other
 (10a) 1st choice 1 → 6 (10b) 2nd choice 1 → 6

11 What do you consider to be the **least personally satisfying** aspect(s) of your work as a Community Tutor? (A few words of explanation would be helpful.)

- [22-23] 1 Relatps. - sch. staff 2 Relatps. - community staff
 3 Relatps - community membs 4 Policy/resources
 5 Admin. 6 Role-related
 (11a) 1st choice 1 → 6 (11b) 2nd choice 1 → 6

12 What aspects of your work (or specific tasks undertaken) as a Community Tutor do you feel have had the **most impact** on:

i your school(s)

[24-25] 1 *Impact on curric.* 2 *School clubs* 3 *Parental involvement*
 4 *Ad. learners in daytime classes in school* 5 *Under 5s transition to school*
 6 *Other*
 (12a) 1st choice 1 → 6 (12b) 2nd choice 1 → 6

ii the local community?

[26-27] 1 *Sch./com. links* 2 *Awareness raisg./empowerment*
 3 *On-going gps/progs. - women* 4 *On-going gps/progs. - AE/Youth wk.*
 5 *High profile events* 6 *Other*
 (12c) 1st choice 1 → 6 (12d) 2nd choice 1 → 6

13 How would you **rate the following features**:

A - at the time when you took up your Community Tutor post

B - now (or at the time when you left your Community Tutor post).

[28-53] All the following coded as (a) 1 → 5 and (b) 1 → 5, as circled

(Please circle the appropriate point on the 5-point scale: 5 is 'HIGH'; 1 is 'LOW'. Spaces have been left for any additional comments you might like to make.)

HIGH

LOW

i Frequent opportunities to **communicate** with other members of the school staff

A when started as CT	5	4	3	2	1
B now (or when finished as CT)	5	4	3	2	1

ii **Understanding of/ sympathy towards** community education and your work shown by:

a **Headteacher**

A when started	5	4	3	2	1
B now/ when finished	5	4	3	2	1

b **Most other members of the school staff**

A when started	5	4	3	2	1
B now/ when finished	5	4	3	2	1

c **Most school governors**

A when started	5	4	3	2	1
B now/ when finished.	5	4	3	2	1

iii Extent of **encouragement given to you to participate in Senior Management decision-making** relating to community education

A when started	5	4	3	2	1
B now/ when finished	5	4	3	2	1

iv **Practical support** given to you and your work by:

a Headteacher

A when started	5	4	3	2	1
B now/ when finished	5	4	3	2	1

b Most other members of the school staff

A when started	5	4	3	2	1
B now/ when finished	5	4	3	2	1

c Most school governors

A when started	5	4	3	2	1
B now/ when finished	5	4	3	2	1

v Impact of community education on **the school curriculum**

A when started	5	4	3	2	1
B now/ when finished	5	4	3	2	1

vi Involvement of most other members of **the school staff** in community education

A when started	5	4	3	2	1
B now/ when finished	5	4	3	2	1

vii Involvement of **parents** in the life of the school

A when started	5	4	3	2	1
B now/ when finished	5	4	3	2	1

viii Involvement of other **community members** in the life of the school

A when started	5	4	3	2	1
B now/ when finished	5	4	3	2	1

ix Use made by the local community of community education **facilities and resources** associated with the school

A when started	5	4	3	2	1
B now/ when finished	5	4	3	2	1

14 How much **personal satisfaction** have you gained from the following elements of your work as a Community Tutor? *(Please give a 'score' out of 5 to each item: 5 = MOST satisfying element of the work; 1 = LEAST satisfying. The same score can be given to more than one item if you feel that you have gained about the same amount of personal satisfaction from each.)*

[54-60] Each of the following coded 1 → 7

- i Developing/ maintaining an adult education programme
- ii Youth work
- iii Influencing the school curriculum
- iv 'Outreach' work in the community/ developing & supporting community groups
- v Developing professional inter-agency links
- vi Working with specific groups *(please state which)*
- vii Other work *(please specify)*

15 Please rank the following elements of your work in the order in which you have spent **most time** on them as a Community Tutor. (7 = MOST time; 1 = LEAST time.)

[61-67] Each of the following coded 1 → 7

- i Developing/ maintaining an adult education programme
- ii Youth work
- iii Influencing the school curriculum
- iv 'Outreach' work in the community/ developing & supporting community groups
- v Developing professional inter-agency links
- vi Working with specific groups (*please state which*)
- vii Other work (*please specify*)

16 Are there any **additional comments** that you would like to make on your responses to questions 14 and 15 above (*for example, in relation to the amount of time spent on the less satisfying aspects of your work as a Community Tutor; who made the decisions about how your time should be spent etc.*)?

[68] 1 Freedom/flexibility 2 Policy/managt. implications
3 Changing priorities 4 Personal factor/other comments

17 What do you feel will be the most **lasting results** of the work you have done as a Community Tutor

i in your school(s)

[69-70] 1 Home/school links 2 Community involvt. in schs.
3 Inter sch./agency links 4 Greater awareness 5 Resources
6 Active links with other gps/com. members 7 Other
(17a) 1st choice 1 → 6 (17b) 2nd choice 1 → 6

ii in the local community

[71-72] 1 Awareness of opps./resources in sch. 2 Awareness of opps./res generally
3 Raised expectations 4 AE classes/specific gps continuing
5 CECs 6 Other
(17c) 1st choice 1 → 6 (17d) 2nd choice 1 → 6

18 In your personal opinion, was a school the **right place** in which to locate the Community Tutor post? Yes / No (unsure)

[73] (18a) 1 2 3

i Please give reasons for your answer

[74-75] 1 Resources 2 Heart of community 3 Other
(18b) 1st choice 1 → 3 (18c) 2nd choice 1 → 3

If not right place,

ii Where do you feel it would it have been better placed?

Coded manually

19 How would you describe your **relationship with the local CEC(s)**? (For example, do you feel that they understand the work that you do? Do you regularly attend CEC meetings? If so, is it to give a Report; as a participating member etc.? Are you kept up-to-date with CEC activities and decisions by the DCEO or Co-ordinator?)

[76-79] (19a) Attendance:	1 Regular	2 Most/As many as poss.
(19b) Role:	1 Observer	2 Give report
(19c) Co-ordinator liaison:	1 Good	2 Not good
(19d) Relationship with CEC:	1 Good 2 Don't fully understand/support 3 Procedural problems	

20 When you were first appointed to your Community Tutor post, did you have any clear **expectations** about the kind of work you hoped to be doing (or the position you hoped you might hold) five years on? Yes / No

[80] (20a)	1	2
------------	---	---

If yes, please give details

[81] (20b)	1 More developed prog.	2 Detailed plan
	3 Specific post	4 Other

21 Please describe briefly the '**route**' you took to becoming a Community Tutor. (For example, primary/secondary teaching/ youth work / adult tutor / voluntary work/ straight from university or college etc.)

[82]	Coded 1 → 9 according to number of sectors listed
------	---

22 What do you see as a next **career step** from a job as a Community Tutor?

[83]	1 Have a job	2 Back to teaching	3 DCEO/Team leader	4 Don't know
------	--------------	--------------------	--------------------	--------------

23 Do you feel that there is a clear enough '**career progression**' in the UK for people involved in community education? Yes / No

[84] (23a)	1	2
------------	---	---

If no, how might this might be changed?

[85-86]	1 Change in govt. policy	2 Status (inc. coherent system across country)
	3 Training (inc. credits)	4 Greater awareness of our skills by others
	5 Other	
	(23b) 1st choice 1 → 5 (23c) 2nd choice 1 → 5	

How important do you consider it to be for the future of community education itself that such changes should be made? (A few words of explanation would be helpful.)

Coded manually

24 What are your current academic/ professional **qualifications**?

- | | | |
|------|---------------------------------|-----------------------|
| [87] | 1 Youth/Community Cert | 2 Teaching Cert./Dip. |
| | 3 FE Teaching Cert | 4 First degree |
| | 5 First degree plus other Cert. | 6 Masters degree |
| | 7 Masters plus other Certs | 8 Other |

25 Do you feel that an academic **qualification specifically in community education** is/ would be valuable? Yes / No

[88]	(25a)	1	2
------	-------	---	---

If yes, i at what level?

- a Diploma
- b First degree
- c Higher degree
- d Post-graduate diploma

[89-92]	(25b - 25e)	No response (0) or Yes (1) recorded for each of the above
---------	-------------	---

ii what are/ would be the major benefits?

- | | | | | |
|------|-------|---|----------|---------|
| [93] | (25f) | 1 Broader outlook | 2 Status | 3 Other |
| | | 4 Negative response (e.g. 'Don't think much of paper qualifications') | | |

26 What is your **age group**?

Under 25 / 25-29 / 30-34 / 35-39 / 40-44 / 45-49 / 50-55 / Over 55

[94]	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
------	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---

27 Are you

female / male

[95]	1	2
------	---	---

28 Please give 3 or 4 '**key words**' or ideas that, for you, encapsulate what community education is about.

Coded manually

29 Please **complete the following sentence** in relation to your work as a Community Tutor in Derbyshire (*feel free to add as much as you like, on a separate sheet if necessary!*):

On the whole it has been.....

Coded manually

Appendix A iv

Raw Data : Community Tutors' Questionnaire

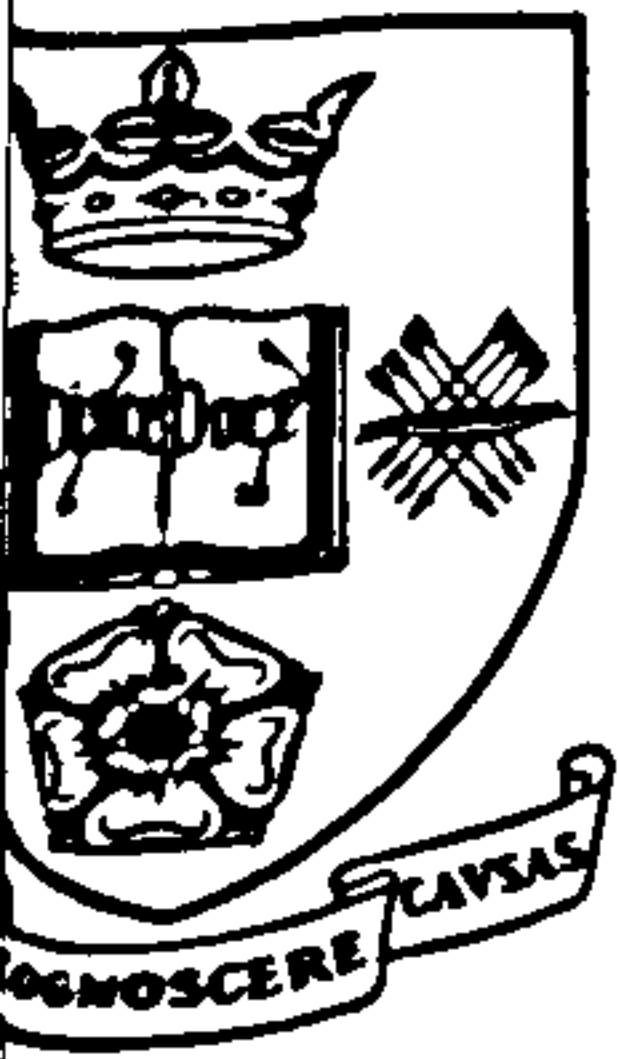
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'EOD'



The University of Sheffield

Division of Continuing Education

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Professor G E Chivers, BSc, PhD, Professor of Continuing Education

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Sheffield S10 2GJ

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CH/MRB

June 1991

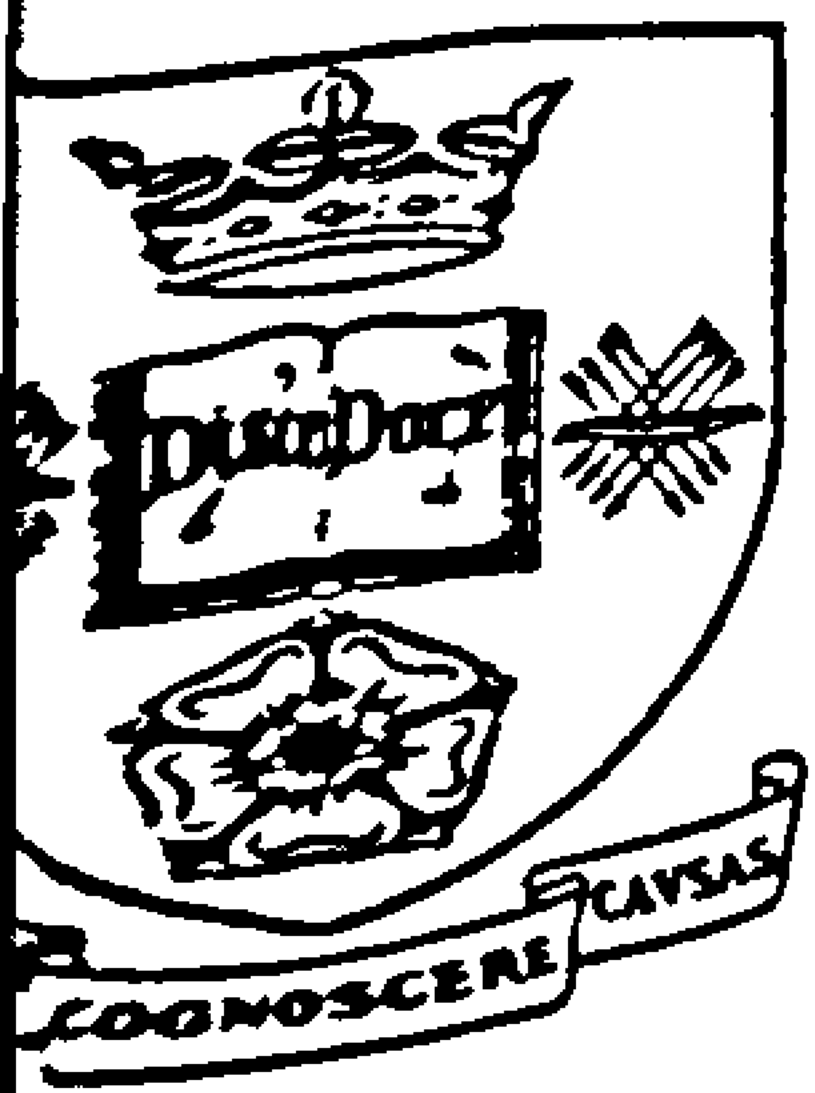
Dear Community Tutor,

I know you are busy - but I am writing to ask whether you would be willing to spend half-an-hour or so to complete and return one of the two questionnaires enclosed with this letter (a pre-paid reply envelope is also enclosed in anticipation!). The purpose of the questionnaire is to help me, and my colleague Bill Hampton, to document some of the 'history' and achievements of school-based Community Tutors in Derbyshire.

You may remember (or even still have a copy of) a book entitled *The Education Reform Act 1988 and Community Education* which was published a couple of years ago by the Division of Continuing Education following a conference of Community Tutors and Headteachers at Sheffield University. One of the contributors referred in it to the importance of 'boasting' about the experiences and achievements that are part of what Harry Ree once called 'The Great Experiment': Derbyshire's Community Education policy and practice.

We hope that one of the things that our current research will enable us to do is to make available to a wide audience a distillation of some of the achievements that you, and your Community Tutor colleagues, may feel you have just cause to 'boast' about as a result of your work over the past few years. We are also interested to know about some of the obstacles that got in your way, and about more general issues such as the career pathways that are open to professionals involved in community education.

I am sending two copies of this letter, plus two questionnaires and reply envelopes, to the school addresses of all the Tutors who took part in the Sheffield conference. I should be most grateful if you would use one questionnaire yourself - and pass the second one on, either to the person who may previously have held the Community Tutor post in your school (if you know her/his present address even if this is no longer in Derbyshire), or to another Tutor colleague who may not have received a copy. (I also have some spare copies if you know of more than one colleague without a questionnaire who might be willing to fill one in!) Your assistance in this matter would be much appreciated as I am hoping to contact as many school-based Community Tutors (and ex-Tutors) as possible in the next few weeks.



The University of Sheffield

Division of Continuing Education

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5 July 1991

Dear Community Tutor

A couple of weeks ago I sent you a questionnaire concerning the role of the Community Tutor which my colleague, Bill Hampton and I hoped to use to help us to document something of the 'history' of school-based Community Tutors in Derbyshire. I understand that the questionnaires unfortunately arrived at a very stressful time in the new appointments schedule: my apologies if it added an additional pressure. I hope that, by now, much of the uncertainty about your own immediate future has been satisfactorily resolved.

As I mentioned in my earlier letter, our research was partly prompted by the wish not to let the 'school-based tutor phase' of community education in Derbyshire come to an end without recording some of the issues associated with it. We are hoping to document satisfactions and successes, as well as what the major frustrations and difficulties have been.

If you are willing to help us, we should be very pleased to receive, as soon as possible,

- your completed questionnaire and/or
- written comments on a separate sheet of paper and/or
- your name and telephone number so that we can contact you for an informal chat.

Please note that this research is funded entirely through the University. Although we hope eventually to publish the results, no comments, either verbal or written, will be attributable to individuals.

Many thanks if you have already returned your questionnaire and/or telephoned us. If you haven't, we look forward to hearing from you very soon! (I have some spare questionnaire forms if you no longer have the original!)

With all good wishes for the future

Yours sincerely

[Redacted signature]

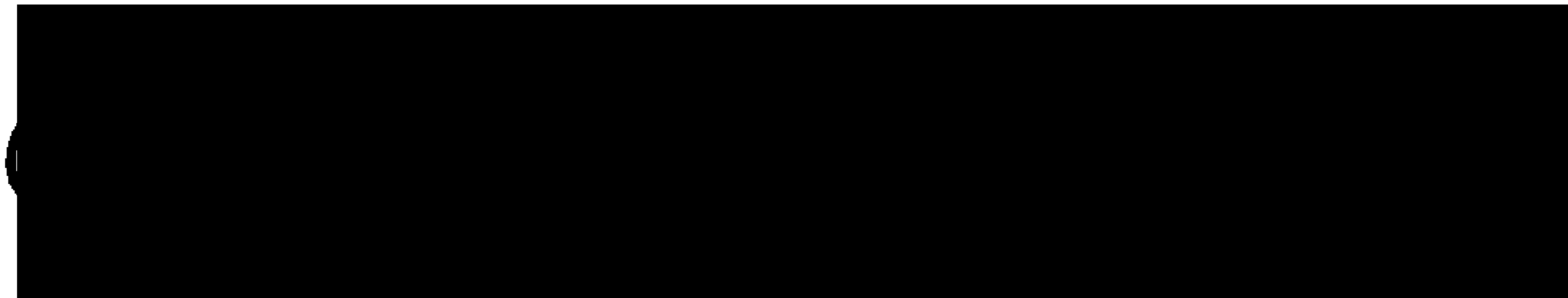
Cheryl Hunt
(Community Education Research Programme)

We feel that it is important to record this particular phase, and face, of community education in Derbyshire, not only to alert a wider audience to what has been done, but also to enable other practitioners (as well as politicians and academics!) to learn from your experiences. I do hope that you will be willing to help us. The questionnaires can be returned anonymously if you wish.

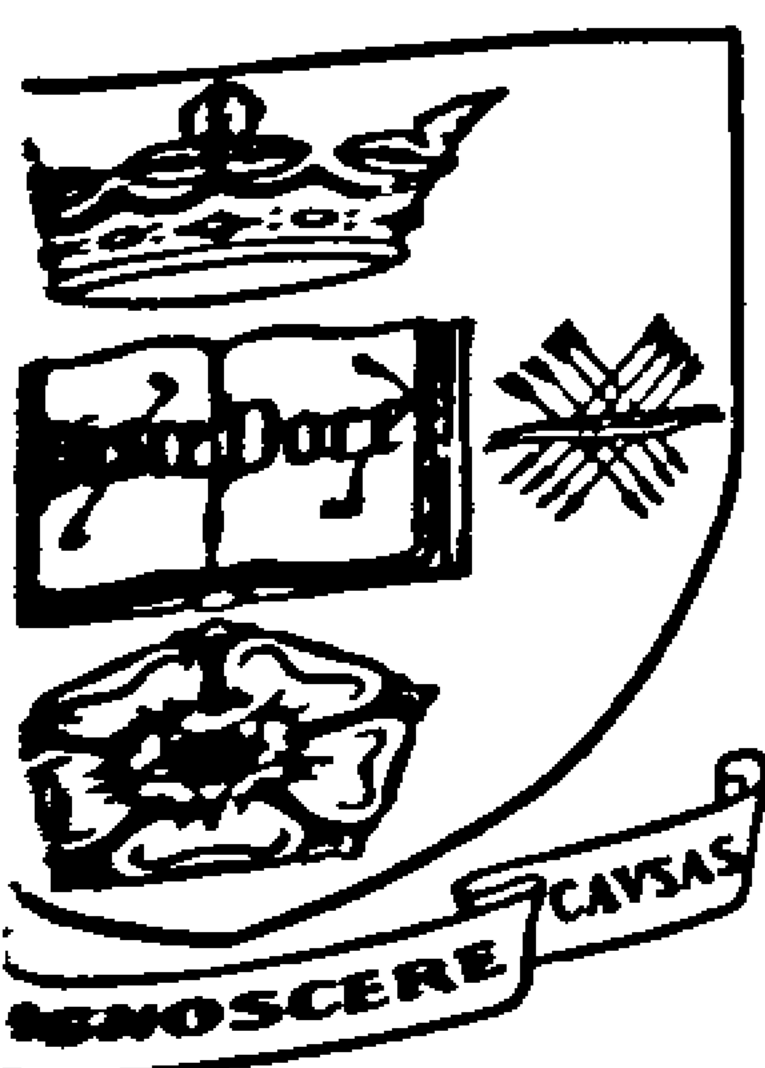
I look forward to receiving your completed questionnaire - by (or before) 28 June, if at all possible! (Please get in touch if you have any queries.) Meanwhile, I hope things are going well for you and that the future will bring you much satisfaction and success.

With best wishes

Yours sincerely

A large black rectangular box redacting the signature of Cheryl Hunt.

Cheryl Hunt
(Community Education Research Programme)



The University of Sheffield

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CH/CE

5 August 1991

Dear Community Tutor

This is, first of all, by way of a 'thank you' to everyone who has returned our questionnaires about the role of the Community Tutor. My colleague, Bill Hampton, and I were delighted to receive them and your various written reports and telephoned comments. We are particularly grateful to you for taking the time to help us with our research during what has clearly been a very stressful period. Thank you, too, to Headteachers and other school staff who have told us about posts that had been frozen: it is very helpful to us to know how many tutors were in post at the time of our survey.

Second, if you have not yet been in contact with us but you would be willing to return a completed questionnaire, to send other comments and/or to talk to one of us on the phone, we should be very pleased to hear from you! All information will be treated in the strictest confidence.

Third, we are sorry not yet to have been in contact with everyone who has already offered to talk to us. We will try to get in touch in September so, if you will have a different phone number, perhaps you could let us know.

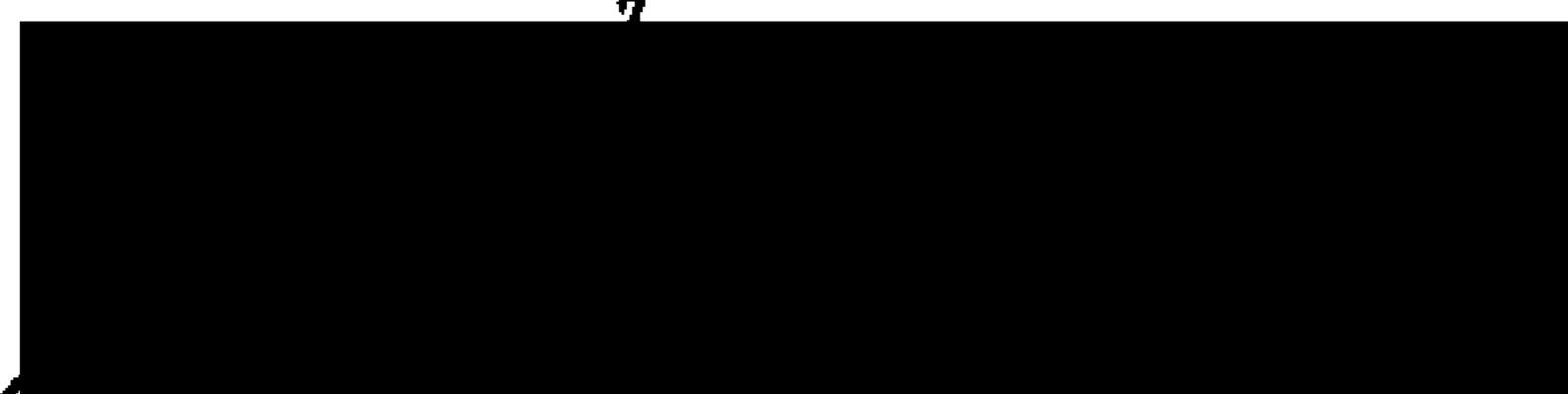
We will send a summary of the research findings in due course to everyone who asked for a copy - but unfortunately we won't be able to do that if you didn't give us an address! However, you know where we are if you want to get in touch at a later date.

I shall be in the office on odd occasions during August and regularly from 2 September. I hope, if we haven't yet heard from you, that you may be able to find the time to send us any information that you think relevant.

Meanwhile thank you once again for your help. I hope that things are now looking good for you and that you will be able to have a peaceful and enjoyable summer.

With very best wishes for the future.

Yours sincerely


Cheryl Hunt
(Community Education Research Programme)

Appendix B

Contents

- B i Questionnaire for members of Community Education Councils
- B ii Covering letters

Appendix B i

Questionnaire for Members of Community Education Councils in Derbyshire

[NB: Not presented in original format. Shows questions only, without space for written responses.]

Your help in completing and returning this questionnaire in the pre-paid envelope as soon as possible would be greatly appreciated. If you prefer not to answer some of the questions, just leave them blank - and return the rest! If you have any queries or would like a further copy of the questionnaire for someone who has not received one, please do not hesitate to contact me.

Cheryl Hunt

**Division of Adult Continuing Education, 196-198 West Street, Sheffield S1 4ET
Tel: 0742 825478**

Section 1: Your First Impressions of the CECs

- 1 When and how did you first hear about the CECs?
- 2 In what year did you first become a member of your local CEC?
- 3 What were your main reasons for becoming a member of the CEC?
- 4 Was there anything which worried you about joining the CEC?
- 5 When you joined, did you do so as a representative of any particular group(s)?
(e.g. a political party, district council, community organisation etc.)
 - i Yes/ No
 - ii if yes, please state which group(s)
 - iii (if applicable) How did this group decide that it should be you who represented it? (e.g. were you elected, did you volunteer, were you already a committee member etc.)
- 6 In your opinion, what was your role when you first joined the CEC? *(Please tick as many boxes as are appropriate.)*
 - To represent a particular group
 - To inform neighbours and friends of CEC activities
 - To make sure resources were allocated properly
 - Other *(please describe)*

How do you see your role on the CEC at the present time?

Section 2: Your First Meeting

- 8 Approximately how many people were present at the first meeting you attended?
- 9 What were your impressions of this first meeting? *(Please tick as many boxes as are appropriate.)*
 - Welcoming
 - Over-formal
 - Too big
 - Unfriendly
 - Confusing

Too much jargon used
Dominated by a few people
Other (*please describe*)

10 Do you feel meetings are conducted any differently now?

Yes/ No

if yes, please give an indication of how they are different

11 What attempts, if any, were made to involve you as a new member in the first meeting you attended?

12 Did you receive any induction or preparation materials for your membership of the CEC?

Yes/ No

if yes, please describe

13 Did you feel that party politics affected CEC decisions in any way?

Yes/ No

if yes, please give an indication of how

14 Please give two or three words which describe how you, personally, felt after you had attended your first CEC meeting

Section 3: Your CEC and its Local Community

15 In your opinion, what is 'community education'?

16 Thinking back to before CECs were established, who, in your opinion, organised community education? (*Please tick as many boxes as appropriate*)

Local Authority

Voluntary organisations

Individual schools

Local societies

Churches

Youth organisations

Nobody

Other (*Please describe*)

17 Were you involved in any form of community education before CECs were established?

Yes/ No

if yes, in what way?

18 How would you define your local community? (*i.e.* roughly, where are its boundaries?)

19 What geographical area is covered by your CEC? If this is different from what you feel is your 'local community', do you have any comments about this?

20 When CECs were established, what, in your opinion, did local people think of CECs?

21 What do you think is the reputation of your CEC at this present time amongst local people?

22 How does the CEC let people know what it is doing?

23 Do you think the method(s) you have just listed is (are) satisfactory? Please give reasons for your answer and, if appropriate, suggest what else the CEC might do to publicise itself

24 In your opinion who does the CEC represent?

25 How do you feel people from other parts of the county view the area covered by your CEC?

Affluent

In need of extra help

Other (please describe)

26 Has your CEC ever had contact with any other CECs?

Yes/ No

if yes, please describe (e.g. occasional joint meetings, regular joint meetings, contact at executive level only, meetings only when there is a crisis etc.)

Section 4: The Way Your CEC Works

27 What, in your opinion, is the main purpose of the CEC?

28 What other roles, in your opinion, does the CEC have?

29 What do you regard as particular successes of your CEC?

30 What, if anything, has your CEC tried to do but which, in your opinion, has not worked very well?

31 What kind of relationship do you feel your CEC has with local schools and head teachers?

32 What impact, if any, has the loss of (i) Community Tutors and (ii) Co-ordinators had on your CEC?

i Community Tutors

ii Co-ordinators

33 What, in your opinion, are the main issues facing the CEC at this present time?

34 How do you see the future of the CECs?

Section 5: Your Personal Involvement in the CEC

35 What contribution do you think you, personally, have made to your CEC?

36 What do you feel you have gained personally from being a member of your CEC?

37 Have there been any major frustrations and disappointments for you as an individual member of the CEC?

Yes/ No

if yes, please describe

38 If you had your time again on the CEC, would you do anything differently?

Yes/ No

if yes, please describe

39 Please think about your time as a CEC member. With this in mind, please complete the following sentence:

On the whole it has been ...

Section 6: Your Personal Profile

(I would like to find out what types of people are members of Community Education Councils. The following information is requested only for this purpose and will remain confidential. However, if you prefer not to fill it in, please just return the rest of the questionnaire.)

40 Gender: Male/ Female

41 Age:

Under 25	41-45	61-65
26-30	46-50	66-70
31-35	51-55	over 70
36-40	56-60	

42 Ethnic Origin

(The following classifications are suggested because they were used in the 1991 Census and will enable comparisons to be made with national data.)

White	Indian
Black - Caribbean	Pakistani
Black - African	Bangladeshi
Black - Other <i>(please describe)</i>	Chinese
Other ethnic group <i>(please describe)</i>	

43 Occupation

Retired
Unwaged
Paid employment *(please state type of work)*
Full-time
Part-time

44 Qualifications

Do you have any 'formal' educational qualifications?

'O' levels (or equivalent)

'A' levels (or equivalent)

First degree

Higher degree

Professional qualification *(please state which)*

45 Other Committee Membership/ Involvement in Local Community Activities

Are you an active member of any of the following?

School governors

Voluntary organisation *(please state which)*

Political party

Other *(please state which)*

46 Where do you live?

Do you live in the geographical area covered by the CEC of which you are a member?

Yes/ No

47 For how many years have you lived at you present address?

_____ years

48 Where did you live before you moved to your present address?

In Derbyshire

Elsewhere *(please state where)*

49 Further Contact

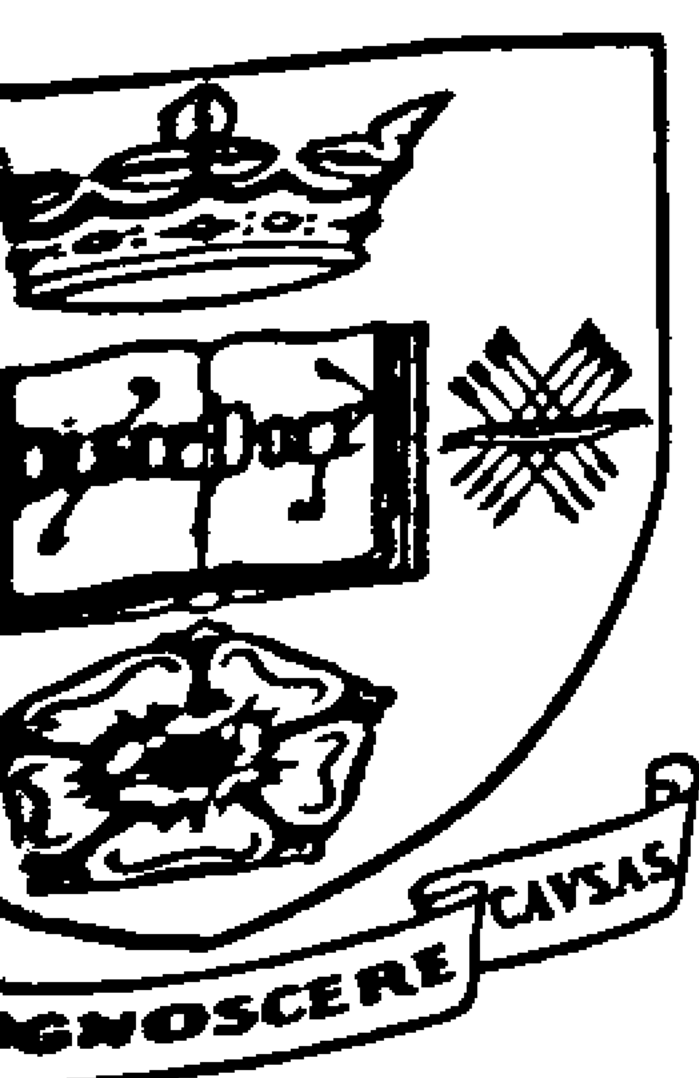
Would you be willing to discuss some of these issues further?

Yes/ No

if yes, would you prefer to:

Meet individually / Meet in a small group / Talk over the phone

Please give your name and an address/ telephone number where I can contact you.



The University of Sheffield

Division of Adult Continuing Education

G Mitchell BA, DipEd, Director
Professor G E Chivers BSc, PhD, Professor of Continuing Education
Professor W A Hampton BSc(Econ), PhD
Professor D G Hey BA, MA, PhD, FRHistS

196-198 West Street
Sheffield S1 4ET
Tel (0742) 825400
Fax (0742) 768653

22 March 1994

Dear CEC Member

I am writing to ask whether you would be willing to help me with a small research project that I am undertaking?

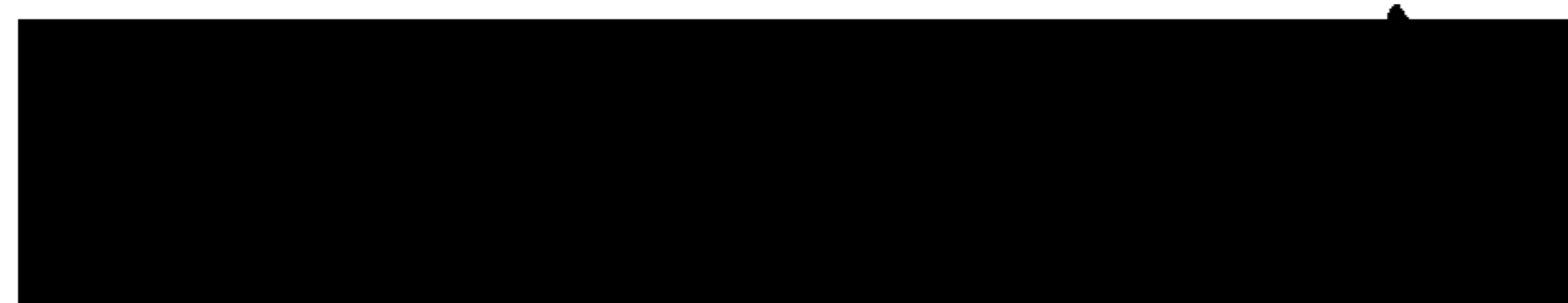
It would involve spending about an hour in a small discussion group with other CEC members talking to my research assistant, Elaine Dawson (whom some of you may already know through her attendance at a number of CEC meetings). The purpose of the discussion would be to get a 'feel' from you of the work that you do on the CEC - what the main satisfactions (and frustrations!) are, what you feel your key achievements have been and so on.

Following the discussion we hope to prepare and circulate a questionnaire to CEC members across the county and then to document in the research report something of the history of the CECs, what membership has meant to people and how people see the future of the CECs.

I conducted a similar survey with Community Tutors a couple of years ago and I hope eventually to be able to bring these two pieces of work together to provide a comprehensive account of some of the successes and set-backs of community education in Derbyshire since the days of the 'Pink Book'.

If you are willing to help, I should be most grateful if you would complete and return the reply slip in the envelope provided by Friday 8 April. If you have any queries please don't hesitate to ring me on 0742 825378. (I shall be in the office during the week beginning 4 April.)

With best wishes



Cheryl Hunt
(Lecturer in Continuing Education)

✂ Please return to Cheryl Hunt, University of Sheffield, Division of Adult Continuing Education, 196-198 West Street, Sheffield, S1 4ET (pre-paid envelope provided), to arrive by Friday 8 April

Name

Address

..... Telephone

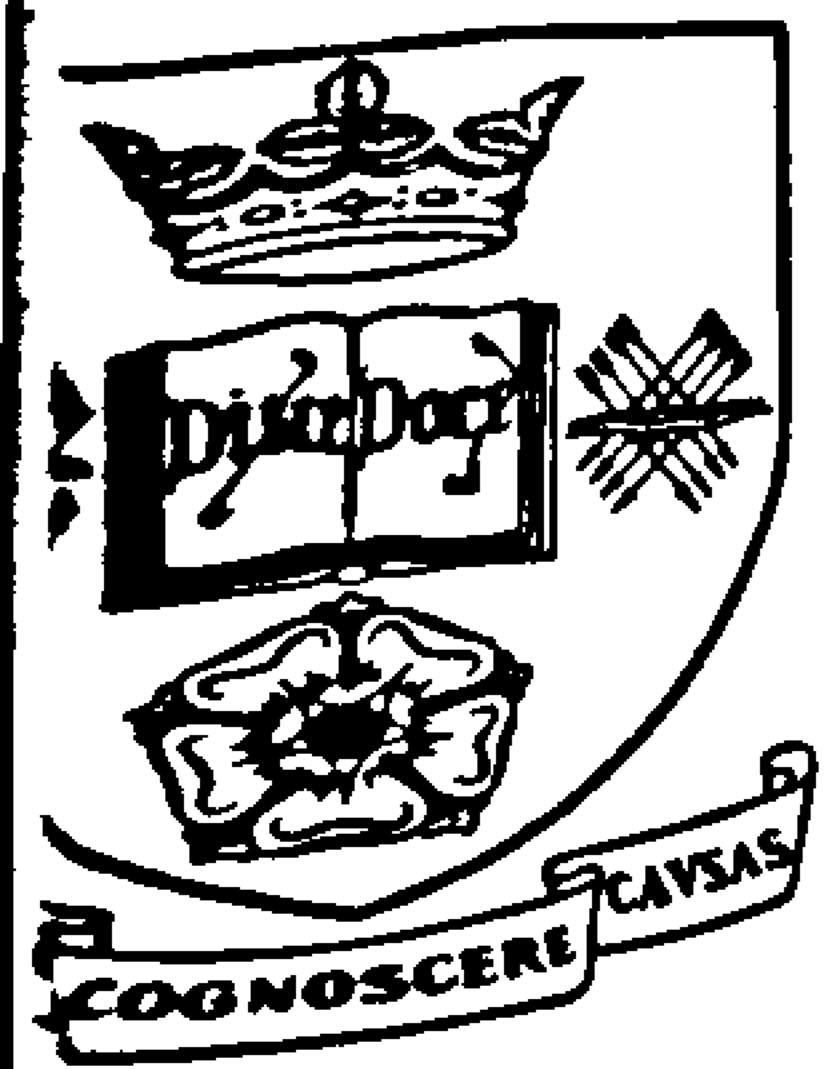
[Please tick the appropriate boxes]

I would be willing to take part in a discussion group about the work of the CEC.

☐

The most convenient day(s) and time(s) for me would be:

	Morning	Afternoon	Evening
Monday	☐	☐	☐
Tuesday	☐	☐	☐
Wednesday	☐	☐	☐
Thursday	☐	☐	☐
Friday	☐	☐	☐
Saturday	☐	☐	☐



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July 1994

Dear CEC Member

I am writing to ask whether you would be willing to help me with a research project by spending about 20 - 30 minutes to fill in the enclosed questionnaire.

I know a review of CECs has recently taken place so you may be tired of answering questions - but your help *would* be greatly appreciated!

I am trying to build up a picture of community education in Derbyshire from the early days of the 'Pink Book' to date. Last year I completed a report on the work of the Community Tutors which documented some of their many successes (as well as frustrations and disappointments). With your assistance, I would like to do the same with the work of CEC members. I hope eventually to produce a book on Derbyshire's 'community education experience'.

If you feel you can help, please fill in the questionnaire and return it to me - by the end of July if at all possible - using the pre-paid envelope. Any questions you prefer not to answer can be left blank. You do not need to give your name but, if you wish to do so, all the information you supply will be treated in confidence.

I look forward to hearing from you and thank you in advance for your time.

With very best wishes,

Yours sincerely,

Cheryl Hunt
Lecturer in Continuing and Community Education

Appendix C

Contents

- C i Examples of funding allocated by two CECs at a sample of meetings
- C ii Summary of issues discussed by one CEC



CEC 1

January 1991

1. [Illegible text]

2. [Illegible text]

3. [Illegible text]

4. [Illegible text]

5. [Illegible text]

6. [Illegible text]

7. [Illegible text]

8. [Illegible text]

9. [Illegible text]

June 1992

10. [Illegible text]

11. [Illegible text]

12. [Illegible text]

13. [Illegible text]

January 1993

14. [Illegible text]

Appendix C i

Examples of Funding Allocated by Two Community Education Councils at a Sample of Meetings between 1991 and 1993

Points to note and points of interest:

- 1 Details extracted from the minutes of meetings. Reasons for bids not always made explicit but, where known, they are noted below.
- 2 Not all bids granted in full; amount requested shown in brackets where different from the amount allocated.
- 3 Range in size of bids and allocations.
- 4 Detail (to last 12p).
- 5 Clear attempt to assist Derbyshire's 'priority groups', and to ensure range of groups and locations receive funding.
- 6 'Educational value' of some bids not entirely clear.
- 7 There appears to be little significant difference between the kinds of activities funded by the two CECs. However, CEC 2 was also making a major contribution to the running costs of a community centre.
- 8 There appears to be no evidence of the number and size of bids from local groups decreasing after the Co-ordinators posts were disestablished in June 1992.
- 9 Minutes, and therefore figures, not available for meetings held after June 1993.

CEC 1

January 1991

	<i>Sum allocated (£)</i>
International Women's Day Planning Group	20
[A village] Girls' and Women's Activity Group	71.50
[A village] Youth Football Teams	44
[A and B villages] Adult Education, for crèche workers' salaries	535.65
[C village] Environment Action group, for tools	50
[C village] Local History Group, for materials	100
Church Hall Playgroup, for consumables	100
[B village] Red Cross Group, for 'Resusci Ann'	536.75
Childminders Group, for materials/ baby transport equipment	325

June 1992

[C village] Youth Activity Centre	100
Adult Education support	175
Self-help group	213.12
[C village] Local History Group	200

January 1993

Unemployed group, to circulate information about activities	64.50
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CEC 2

January 1991

	Sum allocated (£)
Citizen's Advice Bureau	200
[D town] One-parent Group	200
[E village] Disabled Group	50
[E village] Pottery Workshop for Children	150
[D town] Access Group	100
Back to Work Course for Women, for crèche	160
[F village] Women and Toddler Group	100
[G village] Women's Group	132.48
[G village] OAP Club (<i>requested 500</i>)	250
[D town] Over-50s Sub-group (<i>requested 350</i>)	150
[D town] CEC Sub-group (<i>requested 600</i>)	250
[D town school] Adult Education Programme	2012.38
[H village] Junior School Club (<i>requested 125</i>)	75
[I village] Mother and Toddler Playscheme (<i>requested 250</i>)	100

May 1992

[H village] Disabled Group, for tools	100
[H village] Council Hall, for mural	290
X Community Centre, for crèche	285.28
Children's Activity Group	10
X Community Centre, for crèche toys	40
X Community Centre, for table tennis table	250
[J village] Mother and Toddler Group (<i>requested 1105</i>) referred to sub-group	

June 1993

Learning Partnership Scheme	500
X Community Centre, for site development	2400
X Community Centre, for Health and Safety work	800
X Community Centre, for crèche	500

	n	Dec-90	Feb-91	Apr-91	Sep-91	Nov-91	Feb-92	Apr-92	Jun-92	Sep-92	Nov-92	Jan-93	Mar-93	Apr-93	Jan-94	Mar-94
Correspondence	15	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Matters arising	10	*	*		*	*	*	*	*	*					*	*
Bids for funding	10	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*		
ACE Team Report	9				*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Youth Team Report	9				*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
LMS	8	*	*	*	*	*	*	*			*	*				
Any other business	8	*	*	*	*	*	*	*		*	*	*	*	*		*
Co-ordinator's Report	7	*	*	*	*	*	*	*								
Statement of Intent	6	*	*		*	*	*				*	*				
Under-5s sub-group	3				*	*			*	*			*			
CE Review	3				*	*			*	*	*					
AE Programme	3			*	*	*		*		*						
AE sub-group	3	*	*	*	*	*										
Budget Update	2								*					*		
Women's sub-group	2		*	*	*	*										
CE Consultation Document	1										*					
CE Update	1								*	*						
Sports sub-group	1								*							
Integration Document	1				*	*										
Health promotion group	1				*	*										
DO/base re-organization	1				*	*										
CE 'Roadshow'	1				*	*										
Disabled sub-group	1			*	*	*										
Youth sub-group	1			*	*	*										
Environmental group	1		*	*												
Re-organization	1		*	*												
Affiliation	1	*	*													
CT Review	1	*														
Number of items		8	8	9	11	13	8	5	9	7	8	6	4	6	4	5

Co-ordinator leaves

Appendix Cii. Summary of issues discussed by one CEC, December 1990 - March 1994.