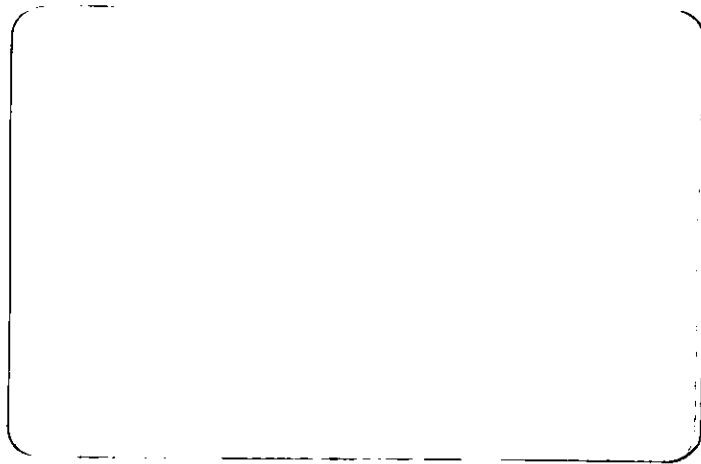


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T H E A R K L E T O N T R U S T

SMALL IS BEAUTIFUL IN
EDUCATION TOO

by
John G. Morris

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INTRODUCTION

The Arkleton Lecture was given on 10 June 1980 by John G. Morris Her Majesty's Chief Inspector of Schools, Scottish Education Department.

The occasion was a seminar of the Arkleton Trust held at Arkleton, Langholm, Dumfriesshire, on 'Education, the Farmer and Rural Change'. The purpose of the seminar was to compare experience in the educational elements of rural development programmes in various continents and to examine the similarities and differences. A report of the seminar is published separately.

The author wishes to acknowledge the research and background papers provided by his colleague Mrs Hope Johnston, Senior Research Officer, Scottish Education Department.

Copies of this paper, of the seminar report and of the report of a study group of Third World experts who examined selected rural development programmes in the UK prior to the seminar may be obtained from the Trust at Langholm, Dumfriesshire DG13 OHL, UK.

SMALL IS BEAUTIFUL IN EDUCATION TOO

It is important to remember that the late Dr. Schumacher's book *Small is Beautiful* is subtitled *A Study of Economics as if People Mattered*. A crucial passage in the context of this lecture is the following:

"If 'beauty is the splendour of truth', agriculture cannot fulfil its second task, which is to humanise and ennoble man's wider habitat, unless it clings faithfully and assiduously to the truths revealed by nature's living processes. One of them is the law of return; another is diversification - as against any kind of monoculture; another is decentralisation, so that some use can be found for even quite inferior resources which it would never be rational to transport over long distances. Here again, both the trend of things and the advice of the experts is in the exactly opposite direction - towards the industrialisation and depersonalisation of agriculture, towards concentration, specialisation, and any kind of material waste that promises to save labour. As a result, the wider human habitat, far from being humanised and ennobled by man's agricultural activities, becomes standardised to dreariness or even degraded to ugliness".

(1)

The perceived wisdom of the tribe varies regarding rural education as in other areas. We can read Hansard (House of Lords) of 19 March 1980 on the subject. The Marquess of Salisbury on that evening spoke on 'Village Schools: Government Policy' and confessed that his initial interest came from personal experience of one school. His speech, like the quotation from Schumacher, divides naturally into three parts - Englishmen, whether of the aristocracy like Salisbury or naturalised Germans like Schumacher, have never recovered from their early exposure to a classical education and an *affaire* with Gaul which, as every school boy knows, was divided into three parts. For Schumacher the parts were:- return, diversification and decentralisation. For Salisbury they were educational grounds, social matters and financial effects.

Salisbury on educational grounds quotes the Plowden Report of 1967 (2). (This was a purely English Report on Primary Education entitled *Children and Their Primary Schools* which followed the earlier 1965 Report on Primary

Education in Scotland (3) called just that. The Plowden Report recommended that "Schools with an age range of 5-11 should usually have at least three classes, each covering two age ranges", but by 1976 Lady Plowden, the chairman of the Committee producing the report, appeared to have altered her views, stating in a Border Television broadcast: "Since the report I have come round to thinking that small country schools should be kept open because of the social value and because of the continuity of community involvement they provide.") Warming to his theme, Salisbury presents evidence to show that the quality of education, judged by performance, is as good as if not better than that in larger schools. There is the usual dig at statistical forecasts, a plea to avoid school closures and suggestions for grouping or federating schools. On social matters the school is cited as "the hub, pivot or linch pin of village life". It also reinforces social ties and village traditions for the young. The Home Office Research Unit is prayed in aid to show less vandalism in rural communities. On financial grounds, Salisbury instances the very small savings from closures, and the iniquity of *per capita* payments in rural areas and of Rate Support Grant.

Although perhaps the paradigm for the village school was some idyllic haven seen on a summer's day, the report is still a good review of the position and can be related to other parts of Western Europe.

Yet 'rural education' is by no means a uni-dimensional concept. To illustrate this I propose to write of three other areas I have visited, Australia, Pakistan and USA.

I spent last Autumn in Australia travelling through all the States and Northern Territory. The scale of the country defies imagination: there is one District in the southern part of Western Australia, larger than Scotland with 400 teachers in it. There I visited some 10 schools of two to four teacher size. The pupils were all local; some of the teachers had been drafted in. Physical conditions were good. The sun shone. Books and equipment were plentiful. Space was available for play and exercise. Educational opportunity abounded. In so far as a stranger, on a brief visit supported by senior officials from the area, could judge the pupils were happy, receiving a balanced education and in most cases planning to follow in the family footsteps. A few of the high fliers would leave because of university locations. Some teachers were unhappy and would seek transfer to 'civilisation' after doing a two year stint.

One thousand miles north, still in Western Australia, in the Pilbara I saw other, rural schools. They had four to six teachers and were creations of the large multinational mining companies. When the iron ore was worked out the township including the school would pack up and move on. The population had been drawn from many countries with as many as 20 different nationalities in a school. The mining company appeared to own or supply everything. Parental motivation came from high earnings. The villages or townships were artificial and the atmosphere mildly frenetic at times. These were organic transplants which had been rejected yet the patient lived.

In Northern Territory there was the special case of the Aborigines - Australia as a whole has 1% Aborigines but Northern Territory has 28%. They are essentially a rural and nomadic people. It ill-becomes a foreigner to look in and pontificate on a short visit but it seemed to me that Australia as a rich country had given them only material goods, which merely sapped their self-sufficiency and their self-respect. In the schools there was concerned doubt about what to do for best, whether to integrate or segregate, and in some quarters the hesitant activity seemed to be salvation through Art and Crafts.

In the first of these three cases, education formed the main variable. It reinforced existing values, satisfied needs, but was at times a potential source of conflict in that it forced the ablest educatees away and drafted in some unwilling educators. In the second case money was the prime factor, both its getting and spending; it created an artificial environment. In the third case guilt from the sins of the fathers led to giving money and material provision which failed because the Aboriginal community was not involved in choosing how to help itself. Thus these three areas of small schools, all rural, had different atmospheres, purposes and products.

Earlier last year I was in Pakistan. An arrangement had been made in association with the World Bank for Scottish advice to be made available for primary education in Pakistan. Sadly the plan is in abeyance now as Pakistan has more urgent problems on its doorstep. There, contrary to expectation, primary schools are of the two to three teacher type even in the heavily populated Punjab province, partly because of the village concept of life and partly because the community structure makes this the best and perhaps the only acceptable form of organisation. Equipment and supplies are scarce, physical conditions are basic, but objectives are clear, expectations are limited and there is a slow but positive expansion of opportunity. They can cope with small units and for the present will keep it that way.

As Jonathan Sher has provided a wide-ranging account of education in rural America it may be sufficient to have two quotations from him - if only as counterpoint to our stereotype from imported films where the lovely young school mistress with an impeccable value system gets the rootin' tootin' cowboy and makes a man of him! More than 14 million children in USA attend rural schools and Sher opens his book with, "Indifference has not always characterised American attitudes towards rural children". Later on when defending pupils and teachers in rural schools against the charge of being "limited cosmopolites" he writes:

"However, rural schools provide a kind of heterogeneity rarely found in urban or suburban settings - heterogeneity of social class. Most central city schools serve primarily poor, working class and minority students. If remnants of the white middle class remain in them, they are generally tracked separately and have little contact with their poorer peers. Suburbs are almost universally middle or upper-middle class; their homogeneity is even more monolithic than urban schools. But in the country, low population density compels everyone to go to school together. The middle-class parent who is dissatisfied with the quality of school rarely has access to a parochial or private school option. The principal faced with a troubled or disruptive child cannot simply send him someplace else. The child of the doctor shares a classroom and a playground with the children of farmers or loggers. Differences in educational aims thus must be worked out in the context of a common school". (4)

While the Australian and Pakistan examples quoted above serve to illustrate the variety of provisions and problems which may emerge under the rubric of 'rural education', Sher's thinking leads us to an awareness of the uniqueness of the situation in a country school whatever its location. It will be of value to itemise those aspects peculiar to that situation, and for convenience I divide them into 'helps' and 'hindrances':

ADVANTAGES

- 1 Proportionately greater contribution to the cultural life around them.
- 2 Community work easier, and relevance more obvious.
- 3 Easier to mount educational experiments.
- 4 Learning individually becomes a necessity.
- 5 Group work is genuine, not an artificial pattern of work.
- 6 Flexibility of timetable easier.
- 7 Learning through activity easier - environmental resources on the doorstep (sand, water, weather).
- 8 Flexibility of movement within school easier.
- 9 Wide age and ability range means younger children may learn from older.
- 10 Dependent on size of school, 'whole-school' visits (in teacher's car, school van) may be more feasible.
- 11 Low pupil/teacher ratio to pupils' advantage; more individual attention.

DISADVANTAGES

- 1 Effects of uninspired teacher disproportionately greater on pupils and community.
- 2 External stimulation harder to obtain, to offset dull teaching.
- 3 Environmental resources, though close and conveniently available, have a narrower range of benefits than urban life.
- 4 Social stimulation from peer groups lacking.
- 5 Dislocation from wide age and ability range.
- 6 Poor preparation for secondary school, far less urban adulthood.
- 7 Difficult to provide suitable range of activities (eg in music, and environmental studies) for such a wide age range.
- 8 Costly to provide educational aids (eg TV, tape recorders) to a large number of small schools.

- 9 Radio and television reception poor in remote areas.
- 10 Age range makes their use more problematic (a programme suitable for one age group will be unsuitable for another).
- 11 Linguistic situation (Gaelic/English: dialect/English) can be complex. Within one small school, a wide variation is possible in language (background and aptitude). Small changes in numbers may radically alter the balance and change the medium of play and instruction.
- 12 Children at the 'extremes' (mentally handicapped and gifted) are probably more at risk - special services less accessible.
- 13 Teacher suffers social and professional isolation. There is a tendency therefore for young teachers to be unwilling to go to a rural school; and for over a third of head-teachers to live in the nearest large town.
- 14 Many small rural schools have old and unsatisfactory buildings and sites, unsuited to modern methods. The dilemma of whether to improve (or not) an old building which may not be needed in a few years' time can last for decades.
- 15 Diseconomies: more staff per head required; heavy initial outlay on equipment disproportionate per capita; no economies of scale possible.

As my thesis is broadly supportive of small rural schools, I shall attempt to offer possible solutions to the disadvantages, despite the fact that they must be related to implicit value judgements. I am attracted by Sher's classification in an article in Forum (5) of inherent and of circumstantial problems; given the will both types can be eased.

In Scotland local authorities have recognised the need for specialised resources and services which they are providing through visiting advisory services. This lessens professional isolation and becomes more possible with better roads and private transport. Colleges of Education, especially Aberdeen and Craigie in Scotland, offer school-based in-service training under the tutelage of college staff who live in the area for several weeks at a time. Jordanhill also gives priority to students from sparsely

populated areas in its hostels, offers a Gaelic option in its Primary Diploma course and is associated with the Western Isles Bilingual Project. Distance learning is emerging as a feasible means of in-service training. The Open University offers several educational post-experience options leading to a Diploma in Educational Studies, and Dundee College of Education has pioneered a correspondence course in teaching geography to suit local need.

With diseconomies of scale there are experiments in Wales and Cambridgeshire. Wales reviewed developments in the decade post-Gittins in *Primary Education in Rural Wales* (6) and found some development of 'area' schools by closing a few small ones and building a new larger one with three teachers, 60 pupils and an age range of 4½-11 years. Where appropriate the new school may be an existing extended and refurbished school. In these days of restrictions on capital investment it makes good sense to adapt to current and probable future needs when incurring capital expenditure. Cambridgeshire has adopted in the Chevely area a federal solution by technically 'closing' (say) three schools and enlarging a fourth to operate as a single administrative unit for the four school populations on their own sites.

Within Scotland information on the impact of the school on its community, on the significance of school closure and of hostelisation of older pupils comes from research studies and from written personal experience of teachers remembering their own education.

The rural school child is unlike his urban peer in having to face possible separation from home and family before the end of his schooling. This may lay extra stress upon him, and should give rise to considerations of how much stress may be alleviated.

Jackson and Robinson in a research project *Pupils and Staff in Residence* (7) published in 1979 (although the work was done between 1971 and 1974) found a gap between pupil-expectation of hostels and subsequent reality; students complained of lack of family atmosphere and opportunity for involvement in decision-making. Hostel staff, poorly paid and untrained, were under pressure from the sub-committee, the school and the local community, so that they erred on the side of caution in everything, thus frustrating the pupils. Hostel pupils felt ostracised by the locals (including fellow pupils) and were considered as expensive liabilities and potential trouble-makers. (8) Dislike of the hostel could lead to rejection of

school. The Scottish pattern compared unfavourably with the Norwegian one where schools and hostels are organised separately with pupils actively engaged in formulating rules and running the hostel.

In addition to emotional upset, educational ill-effects may ensue from hostelisation. Finlayson and Weir (9), (10) found that in comprehensive education the academically bright pupil was constrained to conform to the anti-intellectual norm in the hostel community, a very different position from that obtaining in the days of Dr. Farquhar Macintosh, now rector of Royal High School, Edinburgh who remembers his hostel days on the mainland from a Hebridean background where the hostels housed an academic elite of Certificate pupils. Jackson and Robinson found that the hoped for reduction in social divisiveness and the wider range of educational opportunity following the introduction of comprehensive education did not materialise because of sub-group norms and emotional upset at being away from home.

The scale of the problem may not be so great as to cause widespread concern for the rural child, however. David Raffe (11) of Edinburgh University found that more than three-quarters of school leavers from sparsely populated areas were able to live at home. Nevertheless, in these days of economic stringency and looming closures, the matter of separation at a young age is one which we should not neglect. The effects of distant secondary schooling on adolescents and their families have already been noted; it should not be ignored, equally, that the wholesale absence of over-12 year-olds from small communities must have a profound influence, particularly on younger children. The school also makes an impact on teachers, parents and the community at large. Mary Douglas of Ulva in a closed circulation document states: "They (teachers) may be required to arrange all the usual functions such as whist drives, jumble sales, Hallowe'en and Christmas parties, run the public meeting, act as polling officer, sign pension and unemployment forms, give references and even witness wills." (Ulva Primary School). Murdo Grant, Rector of Kingussie High School, identifies the opportunities and failures open to teachers: as they are expected to play a leading part in community life, so professional and personal shortcomings are less easy to conceal. They can, however, profoundly affect the community through their position of trust and authority. (Interskola Golspie: Presented Paper 1974).

The loss of such personnel through closure of the local school will be correspondingly profound. Nisbet and Sadler (12) further point out that school closure may

bring loss of employment, loss of rates through migration out of the district and loss of resources due to disinclination to develop together with decline of existing services such as transport. Their study in Aberdeen University into *The Planning and Organisation of Primary Education in Rural Areas of the North of Scotland* will report in 1981 on the role of the primary school in sustaining communities, its impact in the community and on possible policy developments and strategies in education towards maintaining viable rural environments.

Sewel's study (13) into the economic and social effects of centralised education in the rural areas of the Highlands and Islands found that (a) the structure of secondary school provision was not a crucial factor in migration, although the types of organisation most favoured by parents were the local two-year comprehensive school and the all-through comprehensive, located in the West, and (b) expectations and aspirations of both parents and pupils tended to be influenced by general social and economic conditions rather than specifically educational considerations.

Another study of parent's attitudes, this time to the closure of small rural primary schools, was conducted by Archbold and Nisbet in 1977 (14). They found that most parents opposed closure and gave educational reasons for their attitudes. Opposition was likely to be stronger where children were transferred to another small school rather than to a larger school. Of those parents who favoured closure, most had children at schools where the quality of education was suspect. The chief reason given for closure (by 78%) was that there was not enough competition in the school; that against closure, that pupils received more individual attention (67%). After closure, the majority of parents expressed preference for the larger schools now attended by their children, though their links with the school had diminished.

While the impact on the rural environment of the school and of its closure may be considerable, it is debated, both by Sewel above, and by the Gittins Committee, whether it is fundamental to the decline of rural areas:

"It is sometimes suggested that the closure of rural schools will accelerate depopulation. The evidence is to the contrary. The schools close because of depopulation, and people move away, if they can, if they feel the existing educational provision to be unsatisfactory. For example, in at least one rural area, we have heard of a tendency for

professional people to send their children to the nearby town or another village school if they feel their own village school is unsatisfactory."

"We have made various recommendations for strengthening the rural school, but it is evident that effective re-organisation will demand the closure of schools which are ceasing to meet the needs of the community, and the creation of larger schools in the right locations."

"There is a strong tide of change in the rural areas. We believe that the re-organisation of the rural school can assist community development. Community development means helping people to lead satisfactory lives in changed circumstances, and the development of new activities, relationships and attitudes which will provide satisfaction in new roles and situations. Those who see any change in the traditional way of life as a disaster will fear that meeting the challenge of change in this way will only speed the decay of the rural way of life. But it seems unlikely that decline will be halted without change. Otherwise there is a danger of continuing a situation which will become increasingly less satisfactory and will lead only to the desire to leave the rural areas for social and educational as well as economic reasons. We view the re-organisation of the rural school, and the development of a strong connection between the area school and community services and the community centre, as an aspect of community development which can improve social life in the rural areas, meeting the needs of the rural population in its own way." (15)

There is currently a move towards Community Education in the Urban and Burgh schools; rural schools have been involved in this, informally for a long time. The Western Isles Community Education Project is a prime example in Scotland of community development which involves education, both at pre-school and primary levels. It began in 1976 when a team of three educationists was appointed. The main aim of the project was to forge new links between education and everyday community life and to seek to develop new ways of encouraging people of different ages to become more aware of and more actively engaged in the

issues and problems of their community. The first phase, a one-year feasibility study, was funded by the Van Leer Foundation. The second phase, a three year Community Education Project, is similarly funded and has as its prime aims:

- 1 Fostering links between school and community, after strengthening the communities by enabling them to develop their own organisations to meet existing needs whether in the social, cultural or economic fields.
- 2 Promoting community development by making pupils aware of their own community, developing relevant curricular materials and encouraging interaction between the schools and adults in the community.
- 3 Improving the morale of the area and finding out how best, in areas of marginal economics, to encourage young people to remain and work in the area after completing their education.

To a considerable extent these aims are being achieved. Local mothers have formed and are now administering Scotland's first Gaelic-speaking pre-school playgroups. Playgroup mothers in Ness and Barra have been asked to contribute to a series of Gaelic broadcasts on the significance of playgroup experience for mothers and young children. A newspaper feature to be published simultaneously with the broadcast has been discussed with the local newspaper. This format of radio and newspaper features has also been considered for Gaelic Literacy and for a horticulture course, with the materials to be printed by offset-litho. Local youngsters have formed themselves into an action group in Ness and have repaired and redecorated the community hall, sponsored a Job Creation project for further improvements to the kitchen facilities and environs, formed a local band, organised a sponsored clean up, established representation within the Community Association and plan to develop a workshop attached to the hall.

The Ness Co-operative have moved, in nine months, from an attitude of, 'They should do it' to a conviction of, 'We must do it ourselves', and have established a vegetable co-operative, bought a combine harvester, leased an unused schoolhouse garden which they will sponsor as a Job Creation Scheme to be prepared for use as a nursery and demonstration area for horticulture, and intend leasing an entire croft belonging to a member of the Community Association. This has led to a recognition of the need for education among the adults of the community, in the

form of horticultural skills, which they will obtain from College of Agriculture advisers and the Highlands and Islands Development Board. The Ness Historical Society has focussed on a small group of six unemployed young people who have gone round the villages collecting tape recordings and photographs relating specifically to past modes of employment and to emigration. An exhibition of their work was presented with an attendance of 1500 people. Further developments planned include the formation of a drama group which will present aspects of Ness history based on their collection of data.

Within the schools, the Bilingual Education Project has created curricular materials such as Gaelic nursery rhymes and songs, cards, picture books with Gaelic tests, photographic sequences reflecting the communities in which the children are growing up and materials for young mothers aimed at informing and guiding them on issues related to the quality of playgroup experience, including books on children's play, book-making materials and equipment and films on playgroup organisation and on the way young children learn. A training programme with relevant literature was provided by the project team for all playgroup mothers, in co-operation with the Social Work Department and the Scottish Playgroups Association.

The relationship of the project team with the local schools is of special interest. Scottish schools are renowned for their isolation from the community; in the Western Isles, where culture and language have tended to further that isolation, the task of linking school and community has been considerable. The aim of the project in relation to schools is to regard them as one kind of community group among others. The Project's approach has been to build up the confidence and self-awareness of different groups to a stage where contact and co-operation among them will be facilitated. This has taken place in the case of the playgroup mothers who have developed a link with one of the schools, in that their materials are ordered through one school and the mothers' group are developing links with the infant teachers in preparing playgroup children for entry to school. Another significant contact is developing between the Historical Group and the local primary schools; the young workers are being invited into the schools to talk to the older primary children about the materials they have collected.

The work of the Community Education Project indicates how a new pattern of education could emerge in sparsely populated areas. The following elements in the project are of note:

- 1 It attempts, in some measure, to meet the learning needs of people of different ages and interests.
- 2 It attempts to heighten local awareness of cultural heritage.
- 3 It is concerned with local social and economic problems.
- 4 It uses existing buildings and facilities.
- 5 It uses outside expertise, but more especially numerous local individuals' skills.
- 6 It attempts to generate, through press articles and radio and TV programmes a sense of purpose, pride, activity and self-help. (16)

The project continues in Ness and similar activities are being developed in Harris and South Uist.

In a paper read at the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development Conference on Education and Local Development at Kusamo, Finland in September 1979, Duncan Kirkpatrick had the following points to make concerning these developments in the Western Isles:

- 1 Existing institutions and organisations are of importance. In this case, help was enlisted from the Scottish Education Department (SED), Social Work Department, Highlands and Islands Development Board and the newly-formed Regional Council.
- 2 Outcomes are of importance: eg resurgence of interest in local history and traditions (Ness Historical Society); self-help (youth group, horticultural group); revival of ancient skills (weaving); use by schools of community organisations' productions; political awareness stimulated by local video-tape production in Gaelic on the subject of a local Army installation; economic developments; publications; pre-school developments (educational and social, and now linked with the pilot development of Open University materials for parents); linguistic awareness; social awareness, via merging of established roles, eg parent/teacher, community worker/fellow horticulturalist, informal/vocational education.
- 3 In addition to such preconditions mentioned in 1 above, balance matters, that between local and overall strategies; and between economic and social issues.

- 4 The impact of modern technology is probably of profound importance, providing as it has relatively cheap information storage on film and communication equipment (video and newspapers). Such developments could "very soon overturn the economic arguments for large centralised education institutions", education in this sense stretching, of course, from pre-school to adult.

Developments such as this one will be of considerable importance in the context of Scottish participation in the survey of activities and policies relevant to the topic of education and local development which the OECD is currently studying. In the context of this paper it is very significant that of OECD's 24 member states no less than 18 expressed strong interest in their proposal to identify educational policies which effectively support rural economic development. Scotland is making a strong contribution to this study and the final conference on the theme is to be held here next year. Given what has been said so far it will not appear surprising that the conference sponsors include the Western Isles Islands Council - it is to be held in Stornoway - as well as the SED and OECD. The general topic of education and rural development has been divided into four main themes:

- 1 School-based strategies for rural development;
- 2 Non formal (adult and community) education initiatives in rural areas;
- 3 Strengthening education's role in rural economic development efforts;
- 4 Educational/economic measures for minority and indigenous population in rural areas.

At the same time it should be pointed out that other initiatives along similar lines have not had the same degree of success, and that the question of initial input must be crucial. Further afield, the Lofoten Project in Northern Norway was an innovation action research programme in seven comprehensive schools which had as its basic assumption the notion that rural communities can be strengthened by means of an educational system which reflects the local and regional situation socially, culturally and economically. The researchers found that a change of curriculum from traditional academic subjects to topics of local relevance forced a change of roles for teachers and pupils (the latter becoming knowledge-holders) and a change of methods and time-tabling which in the end proved non-acceptable, least of all to parents

who favoured the traditional approach as a gateway to success, and resisted innovation (17).

Similarly, the National Council of Educational Research and Training pilot project at Bhumiadhat (India) which aimed at the expansion of non formal education found that any success noted was felt primarily to lie in such atypical factors as the extensive community development programmes which accompanied the project and, as in the Lofoten study, in the exceptional talents of some of the staff. A high degree of autonomy in the non formal centres was needed, and the opportunity to choose which options to offer - in this case, between a general education, coaching for formal education entry or useful skills and crafts programmes. A single comprehensive programme was seen as inappropriate (18).

Such examples (and they are legion in Scotland and throughout the rest of the world) serve to reaffirm the points made by Kirkpatrick: that existing local institutions and personnel matter crucially, and that the outcomes of projects and their relationship with planning in the broader sense may either establish their continuation or sound a death-knell for their future existence. It should be possible, however, to outline paradigms for community education and development which will ensure that the former outcome is achieved every time.

One such paradigm is presented by Jonathan Sher in *Education in Rural America* while the mythical "little red schoolhouse" does not transpose readily to the grey stone schoolhouse of rural Scotland, the problems of education in rural America are similar though on a grander scale. Consolidation and centralisation have been effected to a much greater degree than here, and so a reaction to their effects may be expected to be stronger. In his notion of a 'school-based community development corporation', he is able to build upon a situation which is politically, financially and organisationally more community-directed than we have here; school boards in the States offer parents and local people considerable power over educational provision, a power in the real sense which is not available to us in Britain, even at community council level. This potential for power makes it possible to consider a situation in which decision-making with reference to local development can be backed by cash, and ultimately can become a closed and self-supporting system. The community development corporation is legally incorporated and financed from various sources and runs an economic development programme.

Such a reliance on free capital enterprise is foreign to the present British scene; but it could be suggested that without it, any community development is likely to fail. A large amount of capital (£200,000) was available to the Western Isles Project from the Van Leer Foundation; it is doubtful whether individuals, however dedicated, could have raised sufficient enthusiasm for action without it.

We have, therefore, two crucial input requirements: firstly, people with vision, enthusiasm, imagination, drive and expertise, and secondly, a sufficiency of capital to put their ideas into effect. Kirkpatrick would replace, to some extent, Sher's power of raw money with the power of existing institutions, which is perhaps a more appropriate viewpoint in the Scottish cultural context. Bureaucratic co-operation is probably more likely to be available than money in the next few years!

One Arkleton Paper *Education, The Small Farmer and the Rural Poor* (19) identifies certain aspects of Third World economies which have their equivalent in this country. They and we have common problems which vary in degree rather than in kind:

- 1 Alienation by education with the emphasis on escape rather than reform. Economic factors and unemployment for the educated and uneducated, the urban and the rural dweller, the young and the old(ish), are lessening this type of escape alienation. Wales found out-migration diminishing in the last decade; Sewel concluded that education was not a strong factor in migration; Jackson and Robinson found local cultural reinforcement by the sub-group in hostels.
- 2 Structural problems of land tenure and credit finance. Mark Twain's advice was "Buy land; they have stopped making it". Few other people have found land ownership on a world-wide scale a subject for humour. In Scotland, particularly, the bitterness of tenants' loss of land and subsequently identity is still felt keenly (20). Land gives power, hence Sher's identification of the need for credit, mainly to purchase land for the community.
- 3 Distortion of small farm economy and marginalisation of other groups. Rural groups have been vulnerable for a long time. Both Halsey and Goldthorpe (21), (22), separately have found that the privileged continue to be so over the years when we have claimed that educational opportunity was available to the able child. Marginalisation will encompass more people in

future - the old, the unemployed, the inarticulate and the struggling middle - middle class.

- 4 Institutional structures and political realities militate against the poor, especially the rural poor. Kirkpatrick identifies the need to change existing institutions as being vital in helping the poor, the disadvantaged and the dispirited. Sher on the other hand relies on fundamental political assumptions, acceptable in USA, about the rights of groups in his proposals for Community Development Corporations.
- 5 Education is imposed in disregard of the pattern of life for the rural poor. It is suited to town dwellers. Recurrent and continuing education is unplanned and only spasmodically available.

In Scotland the day of the whole family out hoeing the turnips has gone. Here, as in Lofoten, the perceived benefits of education may still be marketable qualifications for jobs. Even if the micro-processor forces us back (or forward) to education-of-the-whole-man, the power of education will persist.

Yet, though schools may participate in social change, they are more likely to echo it than initiate it. Extension training in the form of distance learning may become more important and have more influence than conventional teacher-training. Faculties of agriculture may be less important than faculties of planning and community development and the facility to suspend disbelief. Existing cadres are fundamentally important.

What is interesting is that, while in the Third World education is still seen as (and still is) a pathway to a new economic existence, here in the Western World we have passed along that pathway and are fast approaching a crossroads without any identifying markers. Has our education prepared us for such perplexing indecision?

The last word, to return to my title, must be with Isaiah:

"Woe unto them that join house to house, that lay field to field, till there be no place, that they may be placed alone in the midst of the earth".

Isaiah V-8.

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