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Everyday Learning

Gap filling - A process of adult learning.

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ABSTRACT

FACULTY OF EDUCATIONAL STUDIES

Doctor of Philosophy

EVERYDAY LEARNING

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This study focuses on two questions: 1. How do people learn from their everyday activity? 2. Why do people not see themselves as learners?

Chapters One and Two explore how I came to realise the importance of these questions and puts the project into context by examining certain research into adult learning. I started to understand my interviewees as learners through the comments they made about their personal learning. I also had to create a model to explain how everyday learning takes place.

To facilitate this I borrowed ideas from others. People freely belong to Local Moral Orders (LMOs). Through their membership they come-to-know an activity, as well as how to relate, intersubjectively, to others in the LMO. I invented the notion of "personal equations", defined as statements that offer an explanation of how the respondents approached everyday learning situations.

I propose that people learn by filling gaps in their knowledge. A gap implies that some knowledge already exists. Two types of learning are suggested: quantitative and qualitative. Quantitative learning results in an increase in things known, but not to changes in understanding. Qualitative learning comes from linking things known to form a new awareness of everyday life that leads to permanent change in understanding. Everyday learning is the process of gaining quantitative information and creating qualitative knowledge.

During the research I have come to see that pupils and teachers inhabit separate LMOs and suggest that this can have an adverse effect upon how adults learn

In Chapter Nine I propose a process of learning that is not individualistic but collective, where the responsibility for learning is shared among members of the LMO. The model is based upon integrated activity where all participate and a change in one persons understanding affects all other knowledge in the LMO.

By identifying a way adults gain everyday knowledge I have provided a basis for seeing adult learning as a process of gap filling. I believe this should make it easier to persuade people that they can learn new things by basing their learning upon personal experience of community activity. Past educational history can then be put into a wider context so that previous problems of education can be examined against an understanding of current everyday learning activity.

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Acknowledgements.

At the beginning of this project I would have expected to say this was all my own work, and thank a number of people for their support. In some respects this is still true, but my view of the world is now different.

This thesis could not have been attempted without experience of people and events over a period of about twenty years. The people I worked with in unemployment groups; colleagues in adult education; people I have known as friends; all added to a growing need to understand what is was to learn while living. However, any errors and omissions are my responsibility, even though these are informed by my growing understanding of the people and information that have been important to me during the project.

My family did not know what they were taking on when I embarked on the work. In 1989 my four children lived at home, now they all live somewhere else, I hope they left because they wanted to. My wife Janet, has born my absences to study with great patience, and is looking forward to me catching up on the maintenance around the house.

Robin Usher, my guide and mentor, has also been patient, a fount of information and I have very much appreciated his guidance in the way it fitted the direction of my enquiry.

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is one group of people that cannot be thanked too highly. This work could not have been done at all without the help of the respondents. Their generosity in giving me time to interview them and share something of the way they thought about their learning activity was central to helping me understand their everyday lives. The meshing together of their activity and the theoretical information I was assimilating was only possible because of all the support mentioned.

I thank everybody most sincerely.

Introduction and Summary.

The focus of this research is quite specific: is there learning in everyday activity, what form does it take and why is it that people do not see themselves as learners? In Chapter One I describe the sequence of events that led me to undertake research in this area. However, what is lacking is an analysis of my own pre-understandings and past experience. What evaluative framework did I bring to the research? When I started I was unable to ask these questions because I did not understand what they meant. As the research approaches its end I am now better able to undertake this task.

Throughout my life I have been attracted to science fiction, popular medical history, astronomy and physics for the lay person. I have read popular books on astronomy, Newtonian mechanics, relativity theory, and chaos theory. As a mature student I was very influenced by the uncertainty principle, and the idea of the indeterminacy of translation as proposed by Quine (1960). It seemed to me the lack of quality in human relations was largely an outcome of incomplete understanding between people and that therefore the notion of indeterminacy held the key to better understanding. Chaos theory seemed to me to be related to indeterminacy. From the beginning of this project I was interested to include chaos theory in the research. However, it was four years before I could see a way to do this.

The first part of Chapter One reveals my lack of understanding of the normative structures and practical working environment of Ruskin College and, initially, the adult education centre where I worked. In both cases I became involved in milieux of which I had no knowledge. The academic

work was strange; from a situation where I wrote no essays at all, I moved to writing one a week, with all the reading that this entailed. Learning to learn had many difficulties. The transfer to university was accompanied by similar problems. I had to learn about a regime of work that was unknown to me.

I had not worked in an office environment before getting the job at the adult education centre. It was daunting to be faced with a secretary, notebook in hand waiting to take dictation. I did not know what to do. I knew nothing of adult education, apart from being a night school student. I had to learn administration on the spot by making mistakes and having them pointed out to me, or discover them the hard way for myself. I did learn and as a result of my observations I was able to devise the Incidental Learning Project. Through this I gained enough insight to understand the importance of the Swedish Everyday Learning Project. However, this did not prepare me for research into everyday learning.

In the beginning I did not have a proper frame of reference for evaluating the research. Some extracts from my diary illustrate this. The square brackets are a convention for removing repetitive material from the quotations.

"I have made four attempts at evaluating the interview material. The first attempt, I was looking for responses that fitted in with my initial understanding of what I was looking for. []. I did not understand what was needed as a rigorous approach.

[]. After [] a superficial read on discourse analysis I wanted to let the respondents speak. This resulted in an evaluation of their contributions in my own way and led to large passages of the interview

material being quoted []. There was too much interview and too little understanding.

I went back to Potter & Wetherall's *Discourse Analysis* and reread it about eight times trying to understand what was being said. [] The ethnogenic approach of Rom Harre was not initially attractive to me because my interviews were not 'objective', I was part of the perspective. Potter & Wetherall's notion of discourse analysis, without attribution of motives or morals to the respondents, was most attractive [].

One of Potter & Wetherall's suggestions was to look for contradictions people made and to see how the respondents constructed their world in what they said. This resulted in another evaluation drawing out of the 'contradictory statements' people made. This was not satisfactory either because I was choosing the contradictions and explaining them in my terms. I was not letting the respondents speak. [].

[]. I could not see clearly what I was supposed to be doing. How was I to make sense of the interview material if I did not have a proper grasp of what I was trying to do. One helpful outcome of reading was the notion of having as explicit a theory as possible (Kitwood 1977) but where was I to get one?

Chance is a very useful thing. In a bookshop, [] I found "Social Being" by Rom Harre. As I knew the name I bought the book. It contained the basis of an explicit theory in his description of local moral orders. Before this I had been looking at my respondents as individuals, individually making their own way in the world, interacting with other individuals. The idea of possessive individualism (Macpherson 1962) has always been strong with me []. The importance of the local moral order idea was to show me

that we are what we are not just because of what other people tell us, but because we also tell ourselves what we want to hear.

The fourth evaluation of the material was carried out after first creating my own understanding of what a local moral order is and how my respondents and I fitted into them. 28 May 1993."

It was still not enough. I was concerned throughout my considerations with motivation. What motivated people to act? I debated with myself about the need to learn. Was there such a need? Could learning be accidental? This was rooted in a notion of determinism. How, in a deterministic world, do people cope with the unknown?

"An individual goes through life predicting the outcomes of encounters with others. The more successful the prediction the greater the confidence in interaction because people act as expected. If people do not act as expected people become puzzled and lose confidence. [] We are determined by our expectations to act in a certain way, even though we know our expectations may be false. [] People do not create their social world, they participate in its creation. Reflection helps them participate better. [] Scientific falsification has a parallel in social interaction in what I will term the negative answer. [] It could be said that we have not wanted to apply scientific methods to society (social engineering) because of the primacy of free will, an attribute that was important when determinism ruled. What happens to free will in a non-deterministic society? August 1993".

With hindsight I can now see I had to free myself from the principle of

determinism that needed the fiction of free will, to thinking in terms of free will that led to self imposed determination.

I am predisposed to be excited by some information and not by others. Certain ideas I came across seemed to me important and appropriate to my concerns. There are four distinct parts to the thesis that match four separate areas of reading, each with ideas I found illuminating. Chapter Two, relating to the first phase, was an investigation into work on adult learning projects (Tough 1978) and criticisms and comments from other researchers about the method used. I was attracted to those arguments that supported my view of the weakness of Tough's methodology; especially the notion of the 'organising circumstance' suggested by Spear & Mocker (1984). I did not recognise it at the time but my treatment of the material was leading me to consider the relation of individuals to normative structures. Chapter Two was not put into a fruitful context until the introduction of local moral orders and social episodes at a much later stage. Even then it was not until the fourth phase of reading when I discovered the work of Heidegger and Habermas that I gained an insight into the importance of intersubjective understanding and the influence and significance of the hidden-from-view in everyday life.

After transcribing the interviews the work of reading the books and writing leapfrogged one another. This led to chapters Three and Four being written as one chapter, the ideas gained from the reading being interspersed with the description of the method. In the end this proved untenable and the chapter was rearranged into two separate parts.

Chapter Three is a description of how I decided to carry out the project. I felt that interviews were essential. I started working on them with the confidence of ignorance. I felt I needed to ask questions to elicit the

information I thought I was looking for. I recorded that the questions were, ".....*designed to find out what learning and knowledge a person possesses and where it came from. 1 March 1990*". A questionnaire was formulated in October 1989. The questions were straightforward but there were too many of them. Questions were arranged under five headings, the work situation, the family situation, the social situation, shopping and memory. I initially thought that I would recognise what I was looking for, but this was not to be the case. It was the lack of a coherent framework for what I was seeking that gave me problems. However, I was groping towards a framework for evaluation that is the topic of chapter Four.

The reading of ethnographic material helped me see my respondents in a new context. The local moral order and its tendency to accommodate disruptive activity offered a new way of looking at the interviews. The reading reminded me so much of chaos theory, particularly Harre's suggestion that social activity could not be replicated. The focus of chapter Four is the examination of scientific method and some criticisms of it.

As I have said I was interested in how my respondents were motivated. I felt that the Lorenz equations gave me a basis for examining the interviews in such a way that a justification for motivation could be found. The process of looking for an explicit theory led me to try and synthesise the normative and interpretive methods. In a chaotic world I would argue that normative and interpretive evaluations would be inter-linked and provide patterns of evaluation that illuminated social interaction. The discovery of local moral orders made 'tacit' (Polanyi 1977) rules understandable. From here I first went to phenomenology taking up Luijpen's (1969) suggestion that people

make their own objectivity. This attracted me; if people do make their own objectivity, how do they do it?

This led me to consider "personal equations" which I argue are the basis of people's interaction in the world. Chapter Five explores how personal equations work and distinguishes them from Kelly's Personal Constructs (Kelly 1963). I examined the interview material to seek an understanding of the way the respondents were involved with learning. The respondents' comments were studied under four headings: Personal Equations; Intersubjective Activity; Intersubjective Understanding and Patterns of Interaction. I invented Personal Equations as statements about people's feelings and beliefs which show how they act or react in very similar ways.

The sections on intersubjective activity show which people the respondents engage with in their everyday lives. They bring their feelings and beliefs to relationships with others. The sections on intersubjective understanding bring out what the respondents feel about their various relationships in established and emergent local moral orders.

In patterns of interaction I show how the respondents' personal equations predispose them to act in similar ways in any situation. I argue that in every case, each respondent needs to be 'in charge' of their interactions with others, even when the others are in a superior position. The evidence shows them withdrawing from situations they feel vulnerable in and being constantly on the watch for negative reactions, to the degree that some of them plan for them. Consider John's comments about giving advice and Ruby's frustration at not being treated properly.

In Chapter Six I try to gain deeper understanding of the local moral order. I was still seeing my respondents as self-motivated individuals. I

explore the importance of intersubjectivity and pre-understandings, tradition and community. These ideas were put into context by Heidegger's view that "knowing is a kind of being" (Steiner 1978 1992 p85), and Habermas' notion of "communicative validity". Both seem to me to fit with a unity of being that does not see people as competitive but as cooperative and complementary.

I was struggling towards such a view when I wrote:

"When people tell you of their experience they are not describing a semi-objective world of their acquaintance, they are sharing a view of their world that incorporates their environment as a part of them. When my respondents talk of their workplaces they are not describing them as objective venues but are relating them as subjective, part-of-them, environments. Making sense of the world is allied to description. Giving sense to the world is allied to accounting. Learning modifies the way we account for ourselves. Changes in accounting mirror changes in ourselves 22 June 1993".

These changes can be brought about because the individual belongs to a local moral order that provides the necessities to live a full life. In their interaction in communicative activity the individual becomes part of the social whole that is changed by giving and receiving accounts.

Chapter Six also explores the moral order at the societal level, using musical notation as a model. For the moral order at the community level, and the intimate level, music is a less helpful analogy. 'Absences' are important in these situations, as are the pre-understandings the respondents bring to their activity. I explore how the interviewees are in charge of the interactions of their everyday lives in their normal local moral orders.

In Chapter Seven I look at how the societal moral order affects the lives of the respondents. In the United Kingdom there is a great concern for time and trust. This affects the way people live their lives. What emerges from the respondents' discourse is a great feeling for fairness and freedom. Each wishes to be treated fairly and shows anger if they are not. Each also wishes to be free to do, or choose to do, what they consider to be right for them. They all have similar concerns, even though they come from quite different backgrounds.

Chapter Eight seeks to justify adult learning as "gap filling", or looking for absences in understanding. I look at the distinction between internal and external experience, and how they can be integrated. I explain the difference between quantitative and qualitative learning, and show how learning leads to change in personal consciousness. This is carried out from the understanding that individual experience is integrative and not separated from what happens "in the outside world", because I argue that there is not an outside world to be separated from. There is also a description of what it is to make sense of the world and give sense to the world. I propose that learning is the "filling in of gaps", which can be identified because the individual has some pre-understanding of the topic in question. New pre-understandings are the result of filling in gaps.

Chapter Nine starts with a personal statement about my feelings after seven years working on this thesis. This is followed with a short section on how I see the adult education research milieu and the way I feel other researchers relate to one another. I then argue that I have taken a non-traditional approach to the research that parallels the work of others and, by a different route, confirms some of their findings. My main argument is

that because the work is placed in an everyday situation it is not governed by external assessment nor considerations of efficiency, although that is not to say that assessment and efficiency have no place within the LMO. I then argue for a model of everyday adult learning that is examined with regard to the internal consistency of the groups people belong to and the individual's knowledge of them which, through learning, becomes compatible with the knowledge the local moral order seeks to promote. I finish with some suggestions on how the research can be forwarded.

Chapter One.

THE BACKGROUND TO THE RESEARCH.

Personal experience.

Learning, in the sense of coming-to-know how to do things, is an everyday activity which for many seems as natural and unremarkable as breathing. I believe that learning by being taught is not a 'natural' activity. This research partially arose out of my own experience of learning. I failed the 11+ and left school at sixteen, with no examination successes to my name. One thing I found particularly difficult to do throughout my time at school was write essays. However, during this time I became a leader in the Scouts and coped well with learning all that was necessary to be successful at leadership and did so without having to do much writing.

On leaving school I went to technical college to learn to be a plumber and found that I was more successful at learning practical things. Theory was an integral part of the course and I managed to do this to the satisfaction of the tutors. It was at trade school that I first understood Pythagoras' Theorem, I think largely because it was explained to us by a person who used it in a practical way. I had made three failed attempts to understand it at school. I became adept at picking things up that other people were doing, especially if they were practical. When something went wrong with our car, a mechanic was called to repair it, if I watched what he did we would not have to call one again. I spent six years at night school initially doing City and Guilds in plumbing then transferring to building studies. After getting married I did Maths and English 'O' level, scraping through the English. To leave plumbing I found that I needed more education. I could not get a job outside plumbing

even though I tried for three or four years. After advice from a friend I eventually went to Ruskin College.

Two things happened at Ruskin that have particularly stuck in my mind. On my first essay was the remark "buy yourself a dictionary". My response to this was, if I did not know how to spell a word how would I know how to look it up. A twisted logic told me that if I knew how to spell a word I would not need to look it up. A more startling revelation happened at the end of the first term when a report described me as 'intelligent'. This was so unusual I could not take it in since I had not been called this before. I then spent five years as a mature student, learning that maybe I was intelligent although not understanding in practice what this meant.

On leaving university I got a job running an adult education centre. This was completely new to me so I had to learn how to do the job. It was a few years before I was able to relax and feel I was doing things appropriately. Eventually, as I became more assured, I was able to observe what was happening around me and a number of questions arose. Why were people coming? What were they doing?

Observations at work.

There seemed to be two types of student. The first joined courses of which they already had some knowledge. Such people had pursued a subject at school and came back to evening classes to take it up again. The second type found it necessary to learn a new skill or subject for a particular purpose. Those few I discovered doing new classes each year were 'professional' students who had been attending for years and having done most classes were looking for something new.

My next move forward came as a result of interacting with people in the class room. In 1981 adult educators were trying to cope with the rise in unemployment. They asked themselves what they could do to help the unemployed (Burn Newsletter 1982, Dauncey 1983, Cann 1985). I set up a drop-in centre where a place was provided for people to come and 'do their own thing'. I gave them a room and some money so that they could be independent.

Sitting in with them I found that while they were there to listen to a talk or plan some future activity, they were constantly sharing information. It seemed to me that in this small group there was a whole range of experience and current knowledge that was extremely useful to the participants. They were learning things that were important to them as unemployed people. The knowledge they gained was significant and life enhancing. This form of learning exchange was not provided by an external agency; the participants were in control. I had not considered before what useful knowledge people had. It was a revelation that they could learn from one another without being specialists.

This type of knowledge gathering I called "Incidental Learning", (Cann 1983) and I began to look for it in other contexts. In Retirement Planning courses much incidental learning goes on during the breaks. People share their experience with others who find themselves with the same sort of learning agenda before retirement. I altered my retirement courses to take this phenomenon into account. I lengthened the break periods and encouraged people to talk to one another about the plans they had made. I feel that the information they shared was as useful as that gained from the formal course lectures.

Another example of incidental learning was the Pensioners' Forum. The idea behind this forum was to offer pensioners the opportunity to construct their own class, suggest their own topics for discussion, and lead the discussion themselves. Before the first session prospective students did not know that they were expected to provide their own learning. We had a brainstorming session and a list of topics was compiled. These topics included: new systems of rating, credible government, capabilities of old age, rights of way, old Bristol and new Bristol, the elderly alone, unemployed, The E.E.C., pavements, nursery education and spirituality. The Chairperson asked those who had suggested a topic if they were willing to talk about it and other members to volunteer to chair the group for one of the speakers. They all rose to the challenge magnificently and there was an increase in confidence even among people who already appeared confident. People in the group would exchange asides about things that they were interested in. They were learning things that were useful to them in their everyday life. This led me to believe that people had a hidden agenda of things they wanted to know and they were always on the lookout for information relating to this. By now I had become very interested in the potential for incidental learning.

Incidental learning.

In an article entitled Incidental Learning (Cann 1983), I put forward the view that much significant learning was gleaned from discussion in a classroom situation and involved information that was not specifically to do with the topic of the class. In 1984 I was able to follow this up with funding from REPLAN to further investigate incidental learning. The Incidental Learning Research Project was set up and we were able to employ a part-

time researcher to investigate the phenomena. Bob Mannings' report, "The Incidental Research Project" (Mannings 1986) supported the view that incidental learning was an important aspect of adult learning and the salient points of the project were included in the REPLAN/ NIACE publication, "LEARNING FOR A CHANGE".

The definition of incidental learning given was, "Learning which is incidental to a particular situation, which arises casually and is neither planned, structured nor directed". (Mannings 1986) Mannings found that students who completed a course were more likely to take part in incidental learning exchanges (73% of the completing respondents), while those not completing were less likely to take part (29% of non-completing respondents). It was also found that completing students found incidental learning helpful; it reinforced what they had learnt in the classroom and they were more likely to seek out such learning experiences, whereas non-completing students did not. Mannings' conclusion was that "incidental learning is a very important part of the learning process. It exists in a symbiotic relationship with curricular learning (p55)".

This research took place in a curricular setting, and in a self-programming group. In the first setting the information exchanged was often directly involved with the class the respondents were attending. In the self-programming group the information exchanged was not activity based but ranged widely over health care, politics, local history and everyday topics.

The Incidental Learning Project confirmed for me the ability people had to help others to learn. I first noticed this ability to help and be helped on the retirement planning courses. This willingness to help people was also found in the research project. In the course situation some students preferred to test

out their understanding of the tutor's advice with other students rather than the tutor. This type of learning relationship was not a power relationship since people were free to accept or reject the information they were given.

I did not feel entirely satisfied with the project. It was located in an educational setting with people who were reasonably confident in that setting. The problem, as I saw it, was whether incidental learning extended to everyday activity outside an educational setting. I then became interested in how people learn from their everyday activities and whether an understanding of such learning could be used to persuade people that they were 'naturally' learners when they did not think of themselves in this way.

Everyday Learning in Sweden.

The work that Bob Mannings and I did on "Incidental Learning" was based on wanting to find out how to involve people in adult learning activities when they were not motivated to do so. The aim of the "Everyday Learning Project" (Stockfelt & Sköld, 1981) was the same. "On the basis of interest and attitude surveys, to develop and test new subjects and new methods for reaching groups of not so well educated adults". (p13). The research starts from the premise that people are creative and therefore learn to live. The Swedish definition of everyday learning is, "the pedagogical process that goes on all the time and which takes place in both the positive and negative processes in which human beings are active".(p7) In their everyday lives people occupy the role of "teacher" and "learner" because of a relationship to their immediate environment.

The researchers proposed that people identify with their environment and this makes them curious to question their existence in it. By studying

people in their particular environment the researchers believed it should be possible to see how people learn, why they learn and what prevents them from learning. The research concentrated largely on workbased activity because they felt that a person's job was the central activity in their life. However, a job can only develop knowledge if the worker can use knowledge to develop solutions to problems. If workers cannot have a productive interaction with the work environment, it inhibits their ability to acquire knowledge. The more repetitive and monotonous the job, the less able a worker is to learn new things. This is set out in a diagrammatic form (Fig 1) and includes the following forms of knowledge.

- *Dynamic knowledge allows people to change and develop.
- *Static knowledge allows people only to do as they are told.
- *Submissive knowledge allows people the acceptance of subordination to processes over which they have no control.
- *Oppressive knowledge reacts to change with disapproval and isolation from those who desire change. (p15-17).

The researchers consider dynamic and static knowledge to be positive and submissive knowledge to be negative. Knowledge can also be active and passive and either moves one to do or not to do something. Conscious active knowledge allows one to work knowingly with purpose and forethought. Subconscious active knowledge allows activity that is uncertain and obscure. Passive knowledge is acquired through learning but "has little or no effect on the subject's behaviour". (p16). The research project undertook an extensive series of interviews and from the results of these interviews the researchers concluded that workers have "subconscious actively submissive knowledge,

Chart.

Analysis schedule of knowledge.

KNOWLEDGE		POSITIVE		NEGATIVE	
		DYNAMIC	STATIC	SUBMISSIVE	OPPRESSIVE
ACTIVE	Conscious				
	Subconscious				
PASSIVE	Conscious				
	Subconscious				

(© Brevskolan Sweden)

Fig 1.

with a certain element of static and oppressive knowledge". (p17). This adds up to a view that workers do not actively seek change in the work place and may not only disapprove of change, but encourage others to reject change.

The researchers then make two assumptions. First, in the past workers viewed themselves as having low ambition and low self esteem; second, in a state of full employment and social security workers would have a more optimistic view with less anxiety about the future. This would, in theory, lead them to take a more active part in the workplace. The second assumption was not borne out. The data suggested that workers in full employment have low self esteem, low awareness of hazards at work, and low levels of ambition for the future.

The rest of the report justifies the task of adult educators as people who have "the very important task of trying to shape the everyday learning environment". (p24) As a result the workforce can increasingly take charge of their lives, alter for the better their working environment and generally become involved in the betterment of society. In industry educators and 'outreachers', educators who work in factories, highlight the benefits of everyday learning in the work situation and promote the benefits of improved Study Circles. The purpose of this is to develop work based democracy.

A weakness in the final report is the scant attention given to everyday learning outside of work. Two of the reports highlight "The family as a learning situation", and "A school for adjustment or development, an analysis of the historic development of school". Both were written in Swedish and not translated into English. The concentration on the work environment is unfortunate because much everyday learning takes place outside of work. Everyday learning could be seen as having an integrative function between home and work life. It is not sensible to enhance one activity if no concern is to be paid to the others. The researchers took a pejorative view of workers in their home life. They say that rather than having self satisfaction in work the workers gain self-realization by "cultivating leisure time activities, concentrating on their children's future i.e. self realization through someone else - buying coveted 'contrivances' such as caravans, boats etc"(p21).

The question that arises is whether these activities require active positive knowledge. It may be that workers are passive in the work place, because they want to be active outside of it.

Where workers are concerned, choosing to work is a rational application of dynamic knowledge. I would suggest that keeping a job is also a

manifestation of dynamic knowledge. However the researchers say that if one becomes submissive in the process of keeping a job then dynamic knowledge is damaged. Looked at from the worker's point of view a submissive attitude to management would mean working without the aggravation that accrues from challenging an hierarchical and presumably efficient organisation that delivers what people went to work for in the first place, viz. money. This is rational activity from the worker's viewpoint. Children and family are also means of exercising dynamic knowledge. It is not self realization through others, but self realization **with** others, and here there is a world of difference.

The researchers approach their work with a political perspective. The Swedish Everyday Learning project had an implicit political awareness, but this was not explicitly discussed. The research was concerned with enhancing the usefulness of the study circle. The Everyday Learning model was however individualistic. The logical conclusion of dynamic knowledge is that individuals negotiate for themselves and seek changes in the environment for their own benefit.

Although I have found the everyday learning theory productive, its individualistic and deterministic emphasis is problematic. If it is possible to persuade people to believe that they learn to live, how does one go beyond this to persuade them that a study circle or an evening class is the place for them? I think that the research project is saying that knowledge without action is not enough. I say that knowledge without action is useful because it has potential to create new understanding when the time is appropriate. It is therefore in the area of potential knowledge that we must search to make dynamic knowledge more accessible to those who do not seem to possess it.

Where I part company with my Swedish colleagues is in their assumption that the work place is the prime area of everyday learning. While the workplace is important, I would argue that learning outside of the workplace is necessarily more creative because the individual does not have the discipline of work that inhibits everyday learning occurring.

Choice in learning.

It seems to me that the workplace restricts a person's learning ability. The hierarchical management system, the graded operative system all set barriers to progression that can only be overcome by a few. Not only is there the management system to overcome, the physical environment of many work spaces can inhibit creative activity. It is not surprising that only a few attempt to overcome these barriers. Is the restricted learning environment at work mirrored by some freer area of life where people can try out new options and learn from them at will?

It would be comfortable to say that the home can offer an area of uninterrupted learning opportunities, but again there may be barriers. The strictures of parents, neighbours and society surrounds the growing child, youth and mature adult with barriers to self expression. Learning new things could be seen as a battle against entrenched views and family rules and others wanting to do the same thing in the same space. Even in the formal learning situation where educational theories aid learning activity there are barriers to be overcome. Personal relationships intrude, as they do everywhere, the lecturer may be incoherent, the books are not in the library, poverty, sex, anything can interfere with the learning process.

I assume that the balance between the adult individual and society is ever changing and at any point in an adult's life self-awareness is present. This self-awareness can be hindered by past experience, the way society is arranged or the way certain facts or theories are presented. People's basic needs for food, clothing and shelter remain constant, but the methods for satisfying these needs change according to the method of their provision.

I do not believe that individuals seek to develop themselves to perfection. I would argue that they seek to be 'comfortable'. I mean by this that they will not overstretch themselves in a quest for comfort as this will produce a feeling of discomfort. They become more comfortable if it is not too uncomfortable to do so. People in every generation have to achieve their own understanding of morality and live by its standards. Each age has its own moral and philosophical foundation. These changes are a reaction to earlier mores and are promulgated by fashion, an integral component of human life.

There is a lead time between new discoveries and their implementation in the curriculum; educational material is out of date at the point of delivery, education cannot therefore cope with such change. To overcome this problem, people have to have their own strategy for keeping up to date. Everyday learning is an indispensable part of everyday living and is necessarily idiosyncratic. The sometimes blatant, often subtle ways that society changes from one mode of living to another, offers a continuous learning environment. Most people participate in this game of change, but some cling desperately to old ideas regardless of the current method of doing or thinking about something because they believe the old ideas to be true and the new way of doing something false. The constant changes we have to deal

with and learn about in everyday life cannot be the subject of a sophisticated learning project.

In everyday learning I am assuming that there is an intention to learn but not a discipline, in the way we normally mean it. I would suggest that for learning to take place there has to be a deliberate choice to learn. We live in a society with a wide range of competing learning options. Normally we screen out what we wish to ignore as we do in a noisy bar when listening to a friend's conversation. In this welter of competing information we pick up those things of particular interest to us.

The importance of confidence.

"Confidence - A feeling of assurance or certainty, especially in oneself and one's capabilities."

Readers Digest Universal Dictionary.

Maria may have been right in the Sound of Music when she sang, "I have confidence in confidence alone, in fact you see I have confidence in me." I have a friend who seems to me to be supremely confident. I have seen him quite at home in a variety of situations, in a refugee camp, teaching a language class, playing a guitar in public. Public school, Oxford, speaking five languages, trained as a barrister, he gave it all up to run his own business escorting Americans around Europe. To me it seems there is nothing he cannot do because I have seen him succeed in every situation I have observed him in.

When I assess my own confidence against others I find it wanting, yet I feel that given the time I can do anything. I can learn what I want to

providing I have the confidence to do so. Gaining confidence has a lot to do with plucking up courage. My confidence has been built up incrementally over the years. I can remember several times in my life when the realization that I could do something was a life changing experience and in the process I gained more confidence.

Over the past few years much attention has been given to the educational guidance of adults. This work stems from the knowledge that many adults are not comfortable in the educational milieu. The Russell Report (1973) highlighted the problems of the educational haves and have nots and called for a system where people could benefit from "Remedial education, or the completion of the schools' unfinished tasks. There will be many levels of this from basic literacy upwards." (p18. 58.1.1.).

In the REPLAN publication, "A TIME AND A PLACE", we find,

"Y. The thing is, I've tried going on courses before but I've never had the confidence in myself.

A. Yes, I'm like that. And anyway, people at home put you off. My husband said I wasn't up to it when I gave up the evening class".

These people seem not to be happy in a learning situation and yet they had a job, cared for families, probably balanced a budget with some skill and gave advice to family and friends. In their particular milieu, I am sure they have areas of confidence. In a strange one, they do not.

"LEARNING FOR A CHANGE" (1986) also investigated ways of getting unemployed people into educational activity. A number of the projects stressed the informal relaxed approach to learning that is necessary

for people who lack confidence in the learning situation. The following five quotes come from this publication.

In Liverpool, "one of the most significant outcomes of the REPLAN project is that informal education provision, seen as non-vocational, leads to the people concerned gaining in confidence and making realistic choices about their future" (p7).

The Restormel Adult Centre Cornwall had to deal with lack of confidence and felt that "the key lesson from this project was undoubtedly the value of open and informal-based learning with good counselling and advice" (p41). These relaxed approaches led to many benefits. The project supported by the University of Southampton and Hampshire LEA commented, "RESPOND as a learning exchange was able to use people's talents and skills and helped to enhance confidence and esteem" (p47).

The University of London felt "the most valuable service was in confidence building" (p49). While Northern College colleagues felt that "the unemployed have exploited the new opportunities offered to them and have provided the local adult education services with some idea of the reservoirs of talent, enthusiasm and creativity which could and should be tapped" (p25).

It is interesting that it is not only the under-educated that lack confidence. In the St.Lawrence experiment student teachers were helped to "become human beings in the teaching situation". (Rogers 1983, p163). Many doubts were expressed that are also expressed by non-participant learners. It is evident that at the level of student or teacher there are doubts that go to the depths of their being.

"To respect students as persons, to believe in giving power and control to individuals, to convey an unconditional respect, to

stop and truly listen to another's deeper feelings and to be aware, genuine and sharing of one's own ongoing experience often are met with suspicion and incomprehension". (p 176).

This is not all. The selection of staff is even more important than the recruitment of students because the faculty has to agree the basic ideas of the course. To achieve the goals of the course the faculty members had to infuse a confidence into their students. A student commented, "my goal at the beginning of this semester was to gain self-confidence and after endless years of trying, I have made considerable gains", (p174); another, "I developed confidence in myself which I was definitely lacking before this experience" (p176); yet another, "my confidence soared from being in the classroom" (p176).

These positive affirmations of the teaching process at St. Lawrence and the struggles of the faculty to keep faith with the method were all experienced within the supportive environment of the University. They were all responses of 'educated' people who had jumped certain hurdles to get on the course or into the teaching staff. What hope is there for people who consider themselves outside any learning network?

What has been described is teacher led even if the teachers performed as democratically as they were able. Whatever the outcome students and teachers knew that the course would end and they would go their separate ways. In real life, people do not have the luxury of moving from one mode of being to another. In real life you look forward to the same thing day in, day out. This affects people's morale and depresses their learning ability.

I believe confidence can be learned. It cannot be learned directly like learning a language but in the successful learning of a language confidence is boosted by the realisation that competence is increased with the ability to use the language. In other words, confidence increases with competence.

Summary.

In this introductory chapter I have tried to show how my experience led me to question how adults learn. My observations of people in learning situations led me to believe that people had more learning ability than they gave themselves credit for. This observation was helped by contact with the Swedish work and my further involvement in activity for the unemployed and retired. It led me to want to know how people learned from their everyday experiences.

Chapter Two

The Research in Context.

Introduction.

At the Viva Voce this chapter was considered unfinished as it did not include research work done between 1988 and 1996. The reason for this was that I had followed my own path and did not feel the work was necessary to my growing understanding of what I was doing. However the importance of including up-to-date texts has been brought home to me because it has put my research into a new context. It is only in the last four or five months of a seven year project that I have come to see the familial relationships in the adult education community. This is the result of wanting to be an isolated researcher. If I had been waylaid by the various schools of research interest I do not believe I would have answered the questions I was asking. I will comment more on this in the final chapter.

Adult learning projects.

The ubiquity of adult learning has been attested to by many, (Rogers & Groombridge 1976; Kulich 1978; Brookfield 1983). It has also been suggested that adult self education is a rich seam to mine, (Verner 1964). Houle has said,

"we must cultivate a new spirit that accepts the educative value and worth of all experience, not merely that which is devoted to scholarly study or which is guided at every step by professors"
(Houle 1976, quoted Brookfield 1983 p17).

Despite this, investigating how people learn has proved to be difficult.

The 'great leap forward' in this respect came with the work of Allan Tough (Tough 1967; 1971; 1978). Tough studied the area of non institutional adult learning which he called Adult Learning Projects, now subsumed under the generic title of "Self-directed learning" (Knowles 1975).

Tough is clear that his interest is in people who want to change themselves.

"Our focus includes only highly deliberate learning efforts. [] the desire to learn [] is stronger than all other motivations".
[] If the motivation is to be rather than to become a better person [] then it does not meet our criteria" (p2).

He is looking for people to function, "on a higher level or faster" (p51). To this end self-directing learners recognise their own learning needs, find their own resources, seek advice from others, usually friends or people they know well, and evaluate their own learning outcomes. Tough also asserts that to be involved in a "learning project", an individual must spend at least seven hours a year pursuing the project, and a learning episode must last at least ten minutes and may take up to four hours or more. He found that some people spend up to seven hundred hours in a year on their learning project.

There have been several follow up studies that largely confirm Tough's work. Caffarella & O'Donnall (1987) quote thirteen follow up studies including those with, "adults participating in Co-operative Extension programs (Bejot 1981); nurses (Katherine 1981); older adults (Heimstra 1976), and Clergy (Morris 1978)".

Learning I consider important is often discounted by Tough. I can illustrate this with Tough's washing machine example. He argues that learning about which washing machine to buy, "hardly seems to involve fundamental changes in personality or behaviour" (Tough 1971,1979,p3). However, I would argue that this is unnecessarily limiting since learning about a new washing machine before and after purchase is learning. Buying a new washing machine shows a willingness to change because it is going to be of a more advanced design. This leads to more sophisticated learning behaviour, especially if it is a programmed washing machine.

A more useful example is the purchase of a micro-wave oven. Given the method of cooking, it is important that the purchaser should know about the safety aspects of the oven they buy. A person requires a different understanding of how to cook food in a micro-wave. Such learning can be quite sophisticated and every purchaser of such an appliance will need to learn how to use it. The vast majority of adults buy washing machines, and other sophisticated consumer goods, without participating in adult learning projects and to denigrate their learning in this area as inconsequential further marginalises them.

Tough emphasises the preparatory and highly sophisticated nature of the steps that adults go through in setting up a learning project. Many people unfamiliar with such approaches may still carry out such activities without definite planning. Tough argues that picking things up from television, news broadcasts or magazines must be excluded from learning projects because "the knowledge and skill are not clear and definite in the person's mind" (p183). This needs qualification and an explanation of why such learning is inconsequential.

If we consider the television weather forecast, people watch this to find out what the weather will be like tomorrow. Knowing this is not the same as understanding isobars and barometric pressure. Knowledge about the weather is 'thrown away' because it is always changing. However it is possible that in watching the weather forecasts people have learned that close packed isobars mean strong winds, low pressure means rain and high pressure fine weather with frosts in winter.

Tough makes a distinction between the learning project and the preparation for the learning project. Preparation is not included, although the "decision making is complex and may entail a large variety of steps" (p65). How can we understand these steps? The twenty-six steps suggested seem to confuse the preparatory work with the learning project because some steps are performed several times. I take it this means that something is learned once and then replicated. If any of these steps takes less than ten minutes they are not included in the total amount of time put into the project.

In *Intentional Change* Tough says, "I am aware of the powerful effects of newspapers, magazines and TV on my views and values", [] I would never deny the power and significance of unintentional changes" (Tough 1982 p27). Given Tough's paradigm focus, which is deliberate learning, I think we need to consider what 'unintentional' means. Can we assume that all learning that takes place in under ten minutes is unintentional and leads to unintentional change? What status do these shorter learning snapshots have? Surely we cannot exclude such learning as may occur in these snapshots as irrational or invalid because people are not "clear and definite". Does clear and definite mean curriculum driven because of the nature of a learning project? While Tough's work focuses on the amount of work that people put

into learning, it excludes a lot of learning that is carried out which, by definition, is not included in a project. This prevents a lot of people, defined as non-participant learners with low self-esteem from being a part of the learning society.

I think it is clear that Tough does not include the preparation for learning as part of a learning project. This is not specifically stated by him but he says, "institutions may want to experiment [], in order to provide better help for the adult learner, or to develop his competence in making plans and arrangements for learning" (1982 p5). He calls the preliminary work 'Preparatory steps', which people carry out before, "deciding whether to proceed with a given learning project" (Tough p63). It is unclear why he does not accept the preparatory work as part of a learning project because it seems to fit in with his definition of a learning project as a series of related episodes adding up to at least seven hours. What may exclude it is that it does not add up to the ten minutes needed to mark a learning episode.

Much of the work that has been done on self-directed learning has been criticised (Brookfield 1984), as being uncritically, indeed slavishly, followed by subsequent researchers,

"researchers select a problem most amenable to study through survey research, grounded theory, experimental investigations, or what ever happens to be the dominant methodological paradigm in their institutions or in pre-eminent journals" (p63).

Brookfield has also criticised the research for its intellectual ethnocentrism. Most studies have been carried out with middle class Americans. Brockett (1985) has attempted to refute this allegation, but succeeds only partially by pointing out several sources not addressed by Brookfield. Brockett accuses

him of not acknowledging the three distinctive streams of enquiry being followed and suggests that qualitative approaches are now being pursued in research. In the end he concedes that,

"Brookfield has forced those of us concerned with the study of self-directed learning to take a hard look at ourselves. In particular, his discussion of social and political implications of self-directed learning raises questions that should be a vital element in future enquiry in this area" (p58).

However, there are other issues criticised by Brookfield in Tough's research that are more significant in relation to my own investigation; one is the lack of social content in the learning project; another the political dimension that learners find themselves in.

Tough's research seems concerned with seeing if people are learning in a particular sort of way. I would say there is an imposed curricular framework that the learner accepts when pursuing a learning project. I would argue that the people were following a fairly specific subject area that provided them with a programme of work that could be validated with reference to published materials. This curricular approach does not seem to relate to my concern. I wish to find out if there are particular ways people learn from their everyday activity, and what milieu they need to help them be successful.

Part of the problem here is what I would call a quest for excellence. Tough's interest is in deliberate learning efforts where people can grow in intellectual ability. This approach to self improvement is also subscribed to by Brookfield. Adults may learn but if they do not exercise critical reflection they are not engaging in a "fully adult form of self-directed learning"

(Brookfield 1986 p59). What is critical to both writers is that there should be an "internal change in consciousness" (Brookfield 1986 p47), of an improving kind. I think these two writers confuse the **method of learning**, which they see as gathering facts or abilities from an identifiable body of knowledge, in an incremental way, with the **act of learning**, where we seek to understand how people assimilate facts and abilities they have identified.

The Organising Circumstance.

How can disorganised learning be researched when it does not fit a model of excellence? Possible help on this point comes from Spear & Mocker (1984) with their concept of the "Organising Circumstance". The research was carried out with 78 self-directed learners, "with less than high school completion" (p1). There was little evidence of preplanning on the part of the learners but, "their efforts could not be characterised as random or non-rational, indeed, there was evidence of definite order, deliberateness and logic in the process" (p3). The authors state that the notion of planned learning is not a natural activity for the average person. Planning in the educational setting is done by teachers trained in, "curriculum development and instructional planning" (p3). People do not have this training so they do not know how to carry it out, also if people show a definite order, deliberateness and logic in what they do is it natural activity? Brookfield (1982) suggests that the majority felt they had joined in "purposeful, planned, and reasonable productive activity" (p20). Commenting on the work of Tough, Brookfield says that, "there was little suggestion that the learning they had conducted was so chaotic as to be of no real use" (p20).

Spear & Mocker suggest that, "it may be reasonable to look for organising factors external to the learner" (p4), in the environment surrounding the learner. They turn to Kurt Lewin for support with his insistence:

"that the field, or life space, of the individual was the proper unit to study to understand behaviour. He believed that the psychological, social and physical elements, interdependently and as perceived by the person, accounted for action or change or locomotion." (Lewin 1951 quoted p7).

Their concept of the 'organising circumstance' is that,

"self-directed learners, rather than preplanning their learning projects, tend to select a course from limited alternatives which occur fortuitously within their environment, and which structures their learning projects" (p5).

The hypothesis is that "the organising circumstance, rather than preplanning by the individual, is the directing force behind much, perhaps most, self-directed learning for this population" (p4). I take it that 'this population' refers to people engaged in learning projects and therefore linked in with the deliberative mode of learning as defined by Tough.

At this point, I can see no reason why the 'organising circumstance' is not present in any learning episode, however fleeting in duration it is. Spear & Mocker draw four inferences from their research which have implications for my work.

1. The impetus or triggering event for a learning project or episode proceeds from some change in the life circumstances. The change may be positive or negative, may happen to the individual or to someone who affects a person's life, or may be an event that occurs and is observed within the life space of the individual.
2. The changed circumstances tends to provide a single or, at best, very few resources or opportunities for learning that are reasonable or attractive for the learner to pursue.
3. The structure, methods, resources and conditions for learning are provided or dictated most frequently by the circumstances.
4. Learning sequences progress, not necessarily in linear fashion, but rather as the circumstances created during one episode become the circumstances for the next necessary and logical step in the process (p4&5).

The environment not only gives rise to learning it also limits it, e.g. two women, Mary and Betty grow house plants, Mary, "a librarian, selects from a wealth of readily available materials. Betty uses a book that was among a few miscellaneous volumes she acquired when her mother died" (p9). Spear & Mocker describe four environments where people can be influenced by an organising circumstance. The first two are in a normative setting where the person learns to adapt to the setting. The second two happen as the result of experiences of more than one setting.

Type one. Single event/Anticipated learning. This is where a person takes advantage of the environment they find themselves in to learn a job or

skill by watching, asking and practising the skill. The environment provides specific organising circumstances.

Type two/Unanticipated Learning, comes out of the work environment but is not related to the specific job being done.

The other two relate more to my research in the way in which the organising circumstance occurs.

Type three. Series of events/Related Learning. Where a series of happenings seem to be linked, even when they are not, giving the appearance of progression to a desired conclusion. These happenings are usually unanticipated but related in that one is needed for the other to happen.

Type four. Series of events/Unrelated Learning. Refer to titbits of information picked up at random. Such idiosyncratic learning can provide the organising circumstance for a range of learning episodes.

Spear & Mocker suggest some research questions that seem pertinent to my research, including the abilities people need to, "extract or identify learning opportunities and resources from their personal life space" (p9).

Self-directed learning.

There is some debate about the definition of self-directed learning. Brockett (1985) suggests that "self-directed learning is a process where the learner assumes primary responsibility for planning, implementation, and evaluating a learning sequence" (p211). However, to be self-directed may not mean that a person has critical awareness of what they are doing. It may be the case that a person may have technical mastery of looking, learning and evaluating information, but will be unable to, "question the validity or

worthwhileness of one's intellectual pursuit as compared to competing, alternative possibilities" (Brookfield 1986 p57).

Self-directed learning may be recognised within, and bounded by a person's environment rather than their ability. However, Caffarella & O'Donnell (1987) argue that we cannot assume that self-directed learning is good, or that people prefer it, or that adults, 'want or need help', in carrying it out. In analysing self-directed learning several deficiencies were found;

"(a) in furthering our understanding of how adults plan and organise their learning, (b) in investigating the fellowship of collaborativeness among independent learners, (c) in understanding how adults acquire and increase their efficiency and effectiveness in self-directed learning, and (d) an elaboration of what our roles are as adult educators in this process" (p209).

Answering these deficiencies seems to require a better understanding of the learner's ability to organise their own learning so that adult educators can help with more efficient intervention. Interestingly, Caffarella & O'Donnell question the view that self-directed learning leads to changes in internal consciousness. There also seems to be a problem about self-direction. Knowles (1980), says, "the psychological definition of adulthood is the point at which individuals perceive themselves to be essentially self-directing " (p46). However, one could say that the sign of adulthood is when others make people responsible for the choices they make. I think it is quite a journey from people being free to make choices to being consciously self-directing or autonomous. Again Knowles defines self-directed learning as;

"a process in which individuals take the initiative, with or without the help of others, in diagnosing their learning needs, choosing and implementing appropriate learning strategies, and evaluating learning outcomes" (1975 p18).

The term 'directed' implies a set of logical structures of aim, means and outcome. It implies a conscious attitude on the part of the self-directed learner who wishes to attain a goal. I believe that while everyday learning may be self-directed it is a much more gentle and multi-directional activity in line with Kasworm's (1983) idea that it,

"represents a qualitative evolvment of a person's sense of cognitive definition and developmental readiness for ambiguous and non-defined actions in relation to self-directed learning experiences" (p8).

While this is still within the self-directed learning mode it represents a view that is compatible with Spear & Mocker's third type of organising circumstance and hints at the presence of pre-understandings that will be discussed in later chapters.

Most commentators agree that learning should lead to change, but exactly what does change mean? Tough says that it is any, "positive or desired change or improvement in a person's knowledge" (p9), plus twenty-six other indicators of personal performance. However, this in itself does not define what change is or should be. For positive or desired we can read 'goal directed'. Does the sort of learning going on in a prison that makes a felon a better burglar fall under this definition? I would argue that learning

leads to change when the thing learnt leads to a recognition of a new organising circumstance that leads to further learning. The thing that initiated the subsequent learning does not have to be learned again because it becomes a permanent part of knowledge. This is in line with Spear & Mocker's (1984) view that, "learning sequences progress as the circumstances created in one episode become the circumstances for the next logical step" (p5).

I would argue that the amount of time between logical steps can be almost infinite. This means that in everyday life people do not actively seek the resources to carry out the next logical step but they can fill the gap when the step is presented. People may engage in ongoing learning but they are also engaging in a much more relaxed activity of picking things up as they come along that are appropriate to their concern. In examining the interview results later we will see several instances of this more relaxed learning activity, which I regard as everyday learning.

Self directed but not autonomous.

I would like to describe three snapshots of learning outside of Tough's criteria that, to my mind, are crucial learning activities. There are two from my own experience and one from the interviews. The first concerns a three minute snapshot from a television programme I saw some years ago. Some research was being shown on the placing of bird boxes in a wood. Because of territorial considerations, boxes could not be put too close to one another for the same species of bird. However, different species could live in the same area. The point of the research was that the bird boxes had to be placed at different heights for different species in order for nesting to be successful. If friends of mine consider having bird boxes this is information that I can

pass on that is interesting and relevant. It may lead them to doing more research to see if different arrangements will attract different species of bird. I consider this to be a significant piece of learning that does not fit the definition of a learning project. The knowledge informs me, can be passed on to others, or used purely for social conversation.

The second concerns a five minute observation of a person tuning a harpsichord. This person was troubled because the harpsichord had leather pluckers. Humidity affects leather and changes in humidity mean that the harpsichord must be tuned frequently. The traditional harpsichord had quill pluckers that were impervious to humidity and therefore needed less tuning. They also keep in better tune during the concert. This helped me have a better appreciation of harpsichord music.

The third example is about remembering when a bus leaves a stop. In one of the interviews the respondent did not want to call such a thing learning. However, when we discussed it further he admitted that it was learning of a particular sort. Knowing something after not knowing it leads to knowledge which in this case leads to certain outcomes relevant to catching the bus. There is a clear indication here of a learned outcome.

The way that such individual learning is categorised, more often than not, obscures some of the issues we try to make clear. Self-directed learning also comes under the heading of autonomous learning, informal learning and non-formal learning and it is often assumed that these forms of learning are self-initiated and self-understood, without recourse to external agencies. Chene (1983) criticises this, pointing out that for autonomous learning to have any credibility there must be some element of interaction between the learner and their environment, be that another person or some artefact like a

book. Interaction contradicts autonomy. "...learning is socially mediated and requires recognition. Consequently, there is a contradiction in saying that learning is a self-contained and self-regulated process" (p44). The real crux of the problem here seems to be what are the social norms of autonomous learning;

"When learners independently assume responsibility for the development of their learning activity and control its elements, the problem of appropriate norms arises. How can learners know that a resource is adequate or an objective is realistic or an anticipated result is pertinent if they have not yet completed the learning process? How can they insure that everything necessary for success is done without having to confirm their judgements with someone else?" (p42).

As she poses the question, a person cannot insure that they have the right answer to their problem, be immediately successful in their learning, nor know that a resource is appropriate. I would propose the following. They can think about their learning resources logically and extrapolate an answer that seems competent. They will subsequently learn from further experience if what they have learnt is right or wrong. This will need recourse to the wider environment for what is a process of realisation.

The whole discussion of learning in adults seems to revolve around discrete acts, rather than an evolutionary growth of knowledge that may or may not be confirmed by the judgement of others. In the case of the budgerigar hobbyist, considered later, his knowledge that the champion had let him down was an autonomous realisation gained from his experience and

information from others. In the sense that we can never be free of our environment Chene may be right, but we are autonomous in the sense that we choose what we want to know . Autonomy in learning comes from choosing to accept or reject the information we gain whether it is correct or not. There is a time when normative control has to stop for a decision to be made.

I feel that the research into self-directed learning projects originates in an academic background. Researchers have sought to understand the learning of non-academic individuals through academic norms; in other words by trying to fit the learning they observe into their own learning framework. Brookfield (1984,1986) has criticised this, but even his criticisms are against a framework of high level achievement in the individual who for all their social competence are experts in their chosen field. His identification of the importance of the social dimension of self-directed learning is important but most of the cohorts researched for these studies comprise single occupational groups with a strong normative identity. These groups provide the venue for social mediation mentioned by Chene.

It seems that the term 'social' is problematic. Brookfield seems to equate social with,

"The exchange of information and acquisition of skills necessary to developing a high level of expertise [] accomplished within a context of informal, oral educational transactions. Information was shared through spontaneous conversation" (Brookfield 1984 p68).

It would seem therefore that 'social' means involvement in informal learning networks that, "serve as information exchanges, provide evaluative indices in

the form of peer assessment, and establish a setting for the activities of skill models and resource consultants". (Brookfield 1984 p68). This point is taken up again below when considering Jarvis' (1987) use of the term social.

The key here is "high level of expertise". Hobbyist clubs have experts who take the place of knowledgeable lecturers and members learn from them. However they are not schools or colleges and they do not have paid teachers to impart knowledge. I believe Brookfield contrasts these formal learning situations with informal situations and calls the latter social. In one sense, that of not being a formal educational milieu, they are social but this sociability is within the discipline of a developmental hobby that is the vehicle for gaining high level expertise.

I believe I am using the term "social" in a much wider context (See Learning from Experience below). The people I have interviewed interact with family friends and work-mates in a sociable way. Social in this context is not bounded by the discipline of a hobby or pastime, people are sociable with one another, they can meet on an equal footing and exchange information on a neutral basis. This is not the case with hobbyists who do not meet on a neutral basis since if they did there would be no room for the development of expertise that arises from competition.

Three types of learning.

Tough claims there are many short term and long term benefits to intentional learning. The reasons given for such benefits would suggest that the same holds true for unintentional learning episodes. What confusions there are, seem to me, to arise from an imprecise appreciation of learning. If unintentional learning is different from intentional learning, as Tough clearly

seems to imply, and preparation learning is different from project learning, how then are we to understand the difference?

I would suggest that we are talking about three types of learning.

- a) Learning how.
- b) Learning about.
- c) Learning from.

Learning how.

This applies to the preparatory steps. People have an unclear idea of what they are doing even though they have a goal in mind. They have to find out where knowledge is stored and how to access it. At this stage they are seeking, and it is here that Tough (1978) feels more help is needed, so that this preparatory stage can, "be performed more effectively and efficiently", (p111). This is the area where the organising circumstance is most in evidence, one new piece of learning giving rise to another.

Learning about.

This applies to the learning project where, "the person's desire to gain and retain certain definite knowledge and skill is dominant". (p9). I understand this type of learning to be about the learning of facts, aptitudes, theories or ideas that are presented by externally constant sources, books, tapes, published learning material of all sorts. (In later chapters I call this World 3 objects after Popper). It can also come from people's experience that can be checked against external sources. This gives knowledge validity.

Learning from.

This applies to the lessons learned from engaging in life, or less grandly, the preparatory steps and learning projects. I would suggest that 'learning from' can arise both from unintentional and intentional learning. Reflection is

the main activity in learning from.

As I have already indicated there is an issue about the amount of time people spend in learning. We know from the way television is presented that many people are deemed to have a very small attention span. When they are practised at studying, people learn to concentrate on their material for longer periods of time. Non-participant learners do not have such a long attention span. The people that carried out learning projects must be exceptional to be able to spend from ten minutes to four hours on an exclusive piece of work. Much learning that ordinary people do does not take ten minutes. The first thing that must be questioned then is the idea of a learning "project". A project a la Tough takes seven hours; for my interviewees much of their significant learning takes less than seven minutes. A realisation that something is the case may take less than seven seconds and be of seminal importance.

Much "learning how" is looking for information. If we examine the way family history is researched, we can see clearly how the three modes of learning work. Firstly there are procedures for finding out where the information is stored. Record offices work differently from one another. There are several sources of information that work in a complementary manner. The supposedly simple task of looking for information can be surprisingly complex. The process of finding information has its own discipline that needs to be learned.

The purpose of learning about access is to find out specific information that is of interest to individuals; names, places, dates, relationships etc. This is the real purpose of the search process. It is possible to spend longer than ten minutes and up to several hours looking for one piece of information that

is 'learned' in seconds, involving just the time it takes to write it down: "A N Other Born 6/2/1864 Blakenham". This piece of a jigsaw may allow a whole range of previously learned information to fall into place but this process of learning does not fit into Tough's model.

Learning from experience.

The closest approach to everyday learning that I have found is in "Adult Learning in the Social Context" (Jarvis 1987). Jarvis argues that a person is composed of body, mind and self. Mind and self are "constructed" by the influence of other persons in the social world. "Both mind and self emerge in the same social process, both are social constructs" (p55). There are a number of similarities between my work and the work of Jarvis. He argues there is a "disjuncture" (p79) between a person's biography and their experience that leads to learning. This is similar to my use of the word dysfunction in Chapter Four and discontinuity in Chapter Eight. His use of the terms proactive and reactive are similar to my terms 'making sense of the world' and 'giving sense to the world' in Chapter Eight. I also argue that people seek to live comfortably (Jarvis p66). My suggestion for Incidental Learning (Cann 1985) is very similar to preconscious learning where learning occurs in everyday life but "is not really thought about but merely experienced" (p31). I certainly agree that "innovative reflective learning" (p188) might occur where "learners do not feel inhibited by the social environment" and strongly argue that this is the case. I will return to this in the final chapter.

There are two aspects of Jarvis' arguments that I want to examine; the first is to consider his definition of the social context, and the other is the

construction of the person. The social context seems to be drawn very wide. The concept includes several sub-cultures

"[] Culture is not a single undifferentiated phenomenon, it varies by socio-economic class, by ethnic community, by region and even by gender. Each of the differences may be treated as a sub-culture that the individual internalises. Hence, every aspect of the person is social; even the language a person acquires is social" (p13).

I would argue that there are two social contexts that should be taken into account where social or everyday learning is concerned. Many sub-cultures have hierarchical relationships that are imposed upon the participants which severely constrain the individual from acting freely. Jarvis acknowledges this (p187), but I would argue that there are sub-cultures that have a basis in freedom of association and equality of access whatever a person's educational or occupational position may be. A consideration of such a sub-culture is that people can join or leave at will and that they are free to become involved in the 'hierarchy' of the group whatever their social background. Bearing in mind this distinction it is clear that in the sub-cultures mentioned by Jarvis he uses the term social to mean sociable. People can be sociable in work or other situations governed by imposed rules that are not easily avoided. I argue that this is not a 'social' context but a sociable one and affects the method of learning.

Jarvis argues that because people belong to different sub-cultures their language is different (p43) . He seems to believe this because he agrees with the division of language into "elaborate" and "restrictive" (Berstein 1971) and "bourgeois" and "common" (Bourdieu and Passeron 1977). He also seems to

agree with Freire (1978) that people in colonial situations need to change their language to "change their understanding of the world" (p42). This has implications that seem to lead to a pejorative view of the individual because it implies that their view of the world is an incorrect one.

In Chapter Three Jarvis argues that the person is a social construct. This seems to mean that the individual has no 'bloody minded' individuality although they can learn to be critical (p58). Jarvis agrees with Mead in that the individual is not constant but has *consistent* (my italics) experiences in the several sub-cultures to which they belong. I would argue that this leads to a circular argument for the individual in that they are only able to respond to the world in the way they have been socialised in the various sub-cultures; even their proactive activity is constrained by the internalisation of the sub-culture's norms. I will argue in Chapter Nine that things are not so hidden (p58) nor so otherwise constructed as Jarvis proposes. I will seek to show, with the help of the local moral order, that people have individually defined characteristics that are creatively independent of the milieu they find themselves in.

Jarvis based his research upon Kolb's (1984) learning cycle and carried out his field work with "educators of adults" (p20). Jarvis argues that Kolb's work does not address what happens to the learner in the process of learning. How does the learning experience "affect the next time the individual encounters a similar situation" (p18)? Kolb approaches his examination of experiential learning as a teacher. He argues that his job as an educator is "not only to implant new ideas but also to dispose of or modify old ones" (Kolb in Thorpe, M., Edwards, R., and Henson A., 1993 p146). This echoes the work of Argyris and Schön (1974) where they argue that "theories in

use", that is a particular way of doing things, prevent new theories being accepted. When there is a mismatch between "theories in use" and "espoused theories" a "non-routine circumstance" (Marsick and Watkins 1990 p18) requires special attention.

Marsick and Watkins (1992) have used the action science approach of Argyris and Schön to examine informal and incidental learning in the workplace. They suggest that informal learning is non-routine because it happens in an "indeterminate, unsystematic and uncontrolled context" (p295). Such learning can be restricted by "delimiters"; these are considered as "problem framing and work capacity" (p296). Delimitation comes from being unable to consider all things necessary to solve a problem because it is prevented by the time constraints in the workplace. Work can be enhanced through "proactivity, critical reflexivity and creativity" (p277). They argue that those in control of the work situation should be aware of the potential for informal and incidental learning in the workplace by allowing workers to "adequately frame or contextualise their problem, review their experience, invent a solution, or learn what they need to implement a solution" (p298). In other words give them more time.

There are other reasons not considered by Marsick and Watkins that could also inhibit learning in the workplace as well as elsewhere. I am referring here to Brookfield's (1994) suggestions of "impostership" and "cultural suicide". These are two of the themes Brookfield develops in the context of a graduate programme of education where the students are encouraged to "undertake critical reflection" (p203). Impostorship is "the sense that participating in critical thought is an act of bad faith" (p203) because adult educators feel in relation to their teachers that they have

"neither the talent nor the right to become critically reflective" (p205).

Cultural suicide is "the recognition that challenging conventional assumptions risks cutting people off from the cultures that defined and sustained them up to that point in their lives" (p293). Brookfield argues that people engaging in critical processes of self discovery can pose a threat to their colleagues by becoming "subversive troublemakers" (p209). I would argue that the notions of impostorship and cultural suicide are relevant to working and social environments that are both social and sociable.

There is an aspect of the work of Jarvis and Marsick and Watkins that I find interesting as it reminds me of the comment of Swedish colleagues when they blame workers for not becoming critically involved in the workplace. Marsick and Watkins (1992) use the term "fatalistic" (p297) in the context of people not being proactive, they "let circumstance dictate responses" (p297). Jarvis (1987) uses the term conformist, "people with low self-concept [] are more likely to assess their learning in conformist terms" (p120). I would argue that these terms suggest that people are looked upon in a pejorative manner because the authors consider proactivity to be a good thing in all circumstances. I do not see how the authors know if a person is being prudently quiet or quiet as a response to authoritarian pressure.

Conclusion.

I would argue that there are two main reasons why the authors mentioned in this chapter do not fully explore the realm of adult learning. Their work is either guided by the need for efficiency (Argyris and Schön 1974, Kolb 1984, Marsick and Watkins 1990, Evans 1992, Brookfield in Boud, Cohen and Walker 1993), or carried out with respondents who are

dependent upon the work of the researcher as their teacher, (Kolb 1984, Jarvis 1987, Brookfield 1994).

In the first the issue is the assessment of learning against external criteria that are not constructed by the participants but by experts thereby constraining the learner in an authoritarian situation. Secondly the effect of researchers being responsible for the students they teach must have an interesting effect on the students; not only are they helping with the career enhancement of their teacher, they are also involved in the possible improvement of practice which is the result of the research. There is a lot of adult learning that goes on outside these constraints. The authors mentioned may realise this but I do not believe they address it.

Summary.

The discussion of informal, non-formal, and autonomous learning is part of a process of refining the terms of adult education so that more people are helped to learn, either for themselves or in more formal ways. What I find most interesting is the fact that Tough and Brookfield and many other researchers found that people do not see themselves as 'learners'. Surely this is the whole point of the debate. By redefining people as learners rather than, for want of a better word hobbyist, a whole new group of people can be brought within the ambit of the adult educator. I do not quarrel with this but it leaves many people beyond the pale because they do not engage in formal or provided learning activity and this condemns the non-participant learner to oblivion. My interviewees do not see themselves as learners and when it is pointed out to them that they are they are not too happy since it gives them a status they are not looking for. I too want them to see themselves as learners

but in a much more subtle way. I want people to recognise themselves as learners rather than, or prior to, being told they have the ability to become learners if only they tried harder.

What I have tried to demonstrate is that self-directed learning has been studied within particular strictures of social class, shared interest or geographical area from the point of view of the researcher. I would argue that while groups have shared assumptions, shared goals and therefore shared learning interests, a lot of learning is not self-directed. This should be acknowledged when examining how people learn in everyday situations.

Chapter Three.

FORMULATING THE RESEARCH TOPIC.

Introduction.

Bell (1987) argues that the selection of a research topic is difficult without proper preparation. She feels it is useful to read and make enquiries about your area of interest. Can the area of interest be improved upon by a research project? As I have indicated, my wish to investigate everyday learning arose out of reflection on my own experience of learning, the development of the Incidental Learning project and contact with colleagues in Sweden.

This research project is the result of a succession of learning opportunities I was presented with. It could be said to have been started without proper preparation, because I did not know the destination of the trail I was following. The term "Everyday Learning" used by my Swedish colleagues gave me a vision of how people learned who were not involved in formal learning activity. I felt that people in the street were learning things all the time and if such learning could be identified it would help people have a better understanding of their learning behaviour.

I adopted a common sense approach. If I wanted to discover how people learned from their everyday experience I would have to ask them. An interview seemed the appropriate way to do this. I felt that the interviewing and the transcribing of the interviews would be a time consuming job. I was anxious to start and my first activities were directed to this end. I had no thought at this time about how to evaluate the material generated because I felt that the answers to the questions I was going to ask would give me all the information I needed to prove that everyday learning was an important reality. It was some time before I realised that this was not the case.

I did not want to ask people directly about any of their formal learning experiences. My concern was to see how they learned from their everyday lives, so it was to situations of everyday activity that the questionnaire was directed. I felt that dwelling on school experience might bring forth information that was not useful to my area of interest. In the event respondents did accidentally mention their formal education. This proved useful when examining the responses.

It seemed to me there were three main areas of life that offered the opportunity for learning; the family, work and leisure activity. I assumed that learning happened in interaction with other people and as the result of reflection on such interaction. At this time, I felt that people had a list of information they wanted to know about and they waited until it presented itself to them, then it could be learned. I was very much attracted to a cause and effect model of learning at this time .

Two allied elements of learning that the questionnaire tried to address was how people felt about their memories, and whether or not they passed on things they had learned to others. At this stage I did not consider memory as reflection. I was looking for simple memories of things past, not the sort of reminiscence where memories are examined and used to provide reasons for actions. An understanding of the importance of reflection came later. At this time it seemed to me that the more confident respondents were about their memories and passing on information, the better would be their learning from everyday activities. By remembering something they would show it had an impact upon them, and by passing knowledge on to others it showed a level of confidence in their ability to share what they knew.

Originally I constructed a questionnaire of ninety questions. This was far too big and was reduced to fifty-eight. (See appendix A).

Questions one to sixteen are concerned with demographic information. A summary of this information is provided at the head of each personal equation in Chapter Five. Questions fourteen, fifteen and sixteen are concerned with educational attainment and competencies gained from everyday activities like hobbies, home skills, parenting skills, etc.

Questions seventeen to twenty-nine deal with family relationships and other friendships that were not associated with work or leisure activities. In this section there are questions that explore how people learned, what they thought about their learning, what they did with the learning, and how good they thought their memory was. This presented the opportunity to discuss with the respondents how they felt about remembering things. Memory was then related to learning. This section set a pattern for the rest of the questionnaire as in each situation memory and the passing on of information to others was an important part of the research enquiry.

Questions thirty to forty-five concerned the work situation. Much on-the-job training comes from other workers who have been doing the work for longer. The questions in this section sought to explore relationships in the workplace that led to learning, and how such information was used or passed on by the respondents. This section tries to examine in a bit more detail how active the respondents were in seeking advice and why they remembered particular things.

Questions forty-six to fifty-eight are concerned with social activity. This section follows the previous two in structure, but finished with a discussion on how the respondents distinguished between passing on information to others and teaching them.

I would argue that memory is not the same as reflection. I did not ask questions about reflection. This was an important topic that I only became aware of later. The interview responses include a lot of information on the respondent's thinking processes that were largely reflective in character. I consider reflection to differ from memory in that it is an active attempt by the respondents to assess their experience before making decisions. Memory is just the simple recalling of information for the purpose of description.

Choosing the respondents.

Finding people to be involved in face to face research on this topic proved difficult. It is not easy to walk up to a stranger and say "can I interview you for my research". In present society, such an approach can be open to the wrong sort of interpretation. It was necessary therefore to find a safe way to recruit respondents. I was initially looking for male/female, white/black, blue collar/white collar, and employed and unemployed people to secure a diversity of experience.

I put advertisements in some educational and social settings, but this brought no response. I introduced the topic to four students at the local Open Learning Centre. Three said they would be interested in taking part but only one was eventually interviewed in depth. The research material is based upon six interviews. Three were with people I already knew and three were with strangers. Paul is a friend of my sons. John and Jane I already knew; John was a colleague at work and Jane was a Quaker friend. Ted was a member of a Retirement Planning course I was running. On the course I asked him if he would help me and he agreed. Mary came from the Open Learning Centre and Ruby was a member of a Racial Justice Working Party we were both working on at the time.

These six people covered all the categories of person I wished to have as respondents. By the time the processing of the questionnaires was half way through I came to see that the examination of the similarities and differences between a cross section of interviewees was not so relevant. I perceived my respondents as such individual personalities that any cross matching of learning activity did not seem sensible. Because each person was so unique I had to find an original way of giving sense to their responses.

Two other interviews were carried out but not used. One was with a man, recruited from the learning centre, who was registered blind and had extreme learning difficulties. The interview could not proceed because he could not respond to the interview questionnaire. The interview time was spent in explaining how he had come to be at the interview. The other interview was with my wife. This interview was not used because of problems with the interviewing process. This will be mentioned below (p62).

Recruiting the respondents.

All respondents were spoken to personally and asked to participate in the research project. They were told that I was investigating how people learned from their everyday activity. I spent half-an-hour with each respondent explaining the idea of everyday learning. I went through the questionnaire with them to see if there was anything they did not immediately understand. I asked them to take the questionnaire away and think about it for a week.

At the initial meeting respondents were assured of confidentiality. I explained that interview material would only be seen by my supervisor and me. Any published results would use false names so that nobody could be

recognised. They were also asked if they had any objections to having the interviews recorded. Nobody did.

The place of interview was flexible although I thought that having the interview in their own home would make them feel more at ease. Ted, Jane, Mary and Ruby were interviewed in their own homes. Paul was interviewed in my home and John was interviewed in my office.

All respondents were sent typed copies of the interview for comment. John made use of this by typing a response that doubted the validity of the exercise. John was a scientist and did not trust the method of investigation. The only other person who commented was Jane who, as a result of reading the interview, asked if she really came across as she did in the interview. The other four respondents did not reply.

The Interview.

In each interview, the questionnaire was the background to the session with each section being presented in sequence as necessary. Because I had introduced the questionnaire to the respondents I expected them to have thought about their responses. It became apparent that only one interviewee had thought about the questions. This was John and he made a point of mentioning it. Paul and Ted said they had not had time to look at it and the three women did not mention their use of the questionnaire prior to the interview. The process of asking questions followed from the comments the interviewees were making, the questionnaire was not used intrusively.

I was surprised with the ease the six interviews were carried out. Each respondent was more than willing to answer my questions as fully as possible. Ted, Mary and Paul were not always able to expand on some of the questions as they seemed to have a rather narrow approach to some

things. However, I considered this to be an important aspect of their everyday learning activity.

Because memory and the sharing of information with others was pertinent to each section of the interview, I was able to explore different aspects of the interviewees' ability in these areas by referring to responses in each section and eliciting a general response on particular topics. For instance, each respondent's approach to other people seemed similar in each interaction they engaged in. This will be explored in much more detail in later chapters.

How I feel about the interviews.

I did not consider that any respondent would know what everyday learning was, even when given a definition. My feeling is supported by Tuckman (1972) who feels that respondents do not have insight into their behaviour. It was for this reason that I did not use a survey approach because I did not feel the respondents would have enough prior knowledge of the research topic to influence their answers to the questionnaire. There also seems to be a cluster of problems with interviewing that assume the respondents are very self aware, which leads them into anticipating what the interviewer wants to hear, or they respond to the interviewer in a way that puts them in a good light. With my respondents I did not get any feeling that they were manipulating the interview. Their responses seemed to me to be open and not devious.

In describing interview technique Cohen and Manion (1988) indicate that many interviews are carried out by agents of the researcher. In such situations certain constraints are put upon these agents both in the formulation of the interview questions and in the way in which the interviews are carried out. In my case, I felt it necessary to carry out my

own interviews because I felt I had more understanding of what I was investigating than the respondents and I wanted to be there to prompt promising responses. Another reason for carrying out my own interviews was to make sure, as far as possible, that respondents were not intimidated by the interview. The type of interview I aimed for was "an encounter necessarily sharing many of the features of everyday life" (Kitwood 1977 Quoted Cohen & Manion p311).

In the type of open ended interview that I was to participate in there are a number of potential problems. There may be a problem of mutual trust between the interviewer and interviewee, or an avoidance on the part of the respondent if the questioning gets too uncomfortable. The respondent and the interviewer may hold back information they feel relevant. Meanings that are clear to one may not be clear to the other and it is not possible to bring every aspect of the encounter "within rational control" (Cohen & Manion 1989 p312). As a result of this Kitwood believes that it is necessary to have an

"explicit a theory as possible to take various factors into account. For those who hold this view, there are not good interviews and bad in the conventional sense. There are simply social encounters; goodness and badness are predicates applicable, rather, to the theories within which the phenomena are explained" (Cohen & Manion 1980, p312 quoting Kitwood) (See Chapter Four).

The need to reduce the distance between the interviewer and interviewee is addressed by Bourdieu (1996) by arguing that the researcher and the respondent should come from similar backgrounds.

Bourdieu talks of the interviewer doing 'violence' to the interviewee by asking inappropriate questions that destroy the trust between the two.

"We thus chose to leave investigators free to choose their respondents from among or around people *personally known to them*. Social proximity and familiarity in effect provide two of the social conditions of 'non-violent' communication (p20).

However, there is a tendency for such interview to be a problem in that they "produce little more than sociolinguistic data" (p21).

I would argue that there has been a tendency for me to see the respondents in my own image because we have similar educational and life experiences. I therefore identify with some of what they told me. However, I am less willing to admit that I will seek support for preconceived notions or deliberately misunderstand what a respondent is saying. The method of evaluation of the research material must account for this.

An interesting instance of bias came up in my interview with my wife. There were two issues, one to do with her interpretation of the questions, the other with my knowledge of answers she could give but did not. Initially during the interview my wife was questioning the questions. The implication was that the questions were wrong. I found this annoying. What I was listening for were certain instances that, it seemed to me, would be useful to the research question. She did not volunteer these instances but I prolonged the questioning, sometimes pointedly, to try to bring them out. I did not treat her as the other interviewees and she did not treat me as an interviewer. The interview did not work properly, it was stilted and unsatisfying. It was biased yet still revealing.

Evaluation.

One way into an evaluation of the interview material may be to try to discover what the researcher and respondents have in common. I would argue that by living in the same city we would share certain local knowledge. It was helpful to know about the local area when talking to respondents. Recollection of their schooling allowed me to identify with similar experiences in my own. I also found common ground in their memories of their teenage years where music and teenage culture were concerned. As the framework for evaluation became clearer this connection seemed not to be so important because I could not identify the patterns in my life as easily as I could in the text of their lives.

In terms of discourse theory, the interviews could be seen as an attempt by two people to create their world. I do not believe this can be sustained. In a natural exchange within a normative setting each participant meets on an equal footing. This means that they choose to be there and the agenda of their interaction is not imposed. The only difference between them may be that they inhabit a different status. In this situation, it seems sensible to suggest that they do create their world by developing the normative setting they inhabit. I would argue that while the interviewer and the respondent may share local knowledge, they do not inhabit the same world in the interview. The interviewer is "doing a job", looking for particular material in the interviewees' responses. The interviewer is also concentrating on the function of his language, while being unclear about how the respondents see the context of the question. The respondents when replying would be unsure of the function of their responses because the interview is such a contrived situation, it is not a normative setting.. In such a situation I believe the question of bias becomes irrelevant because the respondent does not know how to

influence the interview for good or bad. For an interview to be manipulated the participants have to know the normative rules of engagement, or as much about the subject as the interviewer.

Bourdieu (1996 p27) argues that a respondent can influence the interviewer in other ways by creating an elaborate picture of herself that may overstress her position in society or level of social knowledge etc.. I would argue that this could be a problem not only where there is a closeness between the interviewer and interviewee. I can see that Ruby was very keen for me to know about how she had been treated as a black woman in white society, and John tried to impose on me his view on research both in the interview and in the written follow-up. But what they were showing me was the outcome of learning they had done during their lives which was material to the investigation. I would argue that these were not conscious attempts to influence the research process, but a way of saying 'this is how I think'. It led to my understanding them better. I used this information in the context of the whole project.

The process of the research was idiosyncratic, even with the help of my supervisor. I followed a mode of enquiry that led me from one thing to another in a fairly random way although the knowledge I was gaining prepared me to find new material that was relevant. This way of proceeding led me to use texts that do not have currency in a lot of the adult education research I have considered. I have not found Harré (1979,1993), Luijpen (1960,1969), Heidegger (1979,1992), Popper (1977) nor Gleick (1988) included in the adult education texts I have read. These authors have been crucial in developing my understanding of how people learn from their everyday activity. However, it is also the case that there are a lot of texts I have not read because I did not come across them. My process was based upon the trial and error approach that people take to

everyday learning. I felt I was looking for something which, in everyday language, did not exist. In the language of Heidegger it existed but had to be uncovered.

My own learning led me to select texts that afforded me a method of access to the learning my respondents did in their everyday lives, but I could not see how that could be done without first having a framework for assessing how they learn from their everyday lives. In pondering the respondents' learning activity it seemed to me that they were very isolated in their understanding of what they did even though they did things with others. Where there was personal closeness there was a willingness to take on board what other people said. Where the relationships were hierarchical they were much more nervous and vulnerable. Most adult education research concentrates on the hierarchical or institutional area of learning and teaching. I was looking for a way of recognising learning that was achieved on a "take it or leave it" basis as is much everyday learning.

I would argue that all researchers are looking for something. This imposes upon them a 'duty' to find. The creation of a questionnaire helps them identify where they may look for what they are seeking. The twin problems are how to administer the questions and how to evaluate the interview material. Where the administration of the questions was concerned I would argue that I followed a regime close to Bourdieu in that I felt to be on a level with my respondents, but apart from Jane and John they may not have seen me in this way. I observed Potter and Wetherall's injunction to give opportunities for the topic to be discussed in a number of different ways which I would argue is clearly demonstrated in Chapter Five. I followed my respondents leads abandoning the questionnaire and discussing with them learning activity in the different areas of their lives. In evaluating the results of the interviews I looked for consistency and

diversity by identifying "regular patterns in language use" (Potter & Wetherall, 1987, p164).

The accounts I generated were not naturalistic because I was both interviewer and interpreter. Whilst I was looking for evidence to support the existence of everyday learning, I did not at the time have a clear idea of how it could be recognised. I would argue that I did not categorise my respondents but considered the pattern of their responses from the point of view of learning exchanges in their lives. In this sense the descriptions of learning were not interfered with by my interventions, they were described as the respondents understood my question. I would argue that there was a variation of response to individual questions in the interviews which coalesced in my growing understanding of what they were telling me. This process was helped by the insight I received from the science and physics side of the enquiry as well as the work of Harré and Potter and Wetherall.

I would argue that I have not been examining everyday life for its own sake. I have been seeking a way to understand how people learn from their everyday activity. In this context I have had to construct a framework that could provide an understanding of how learning is generated in everyday experience. I would argue that the framework I have provided is not imposed upon the interview material, but allows the respondents patterns of discourse to be understood as learning behaviour in an everyday context. Such learning is detailed in a five step model in Chapter Nine.

Chapter Four.

METHOD, THEORY AND RESEARCH PROBLEMS.

Underpinning Philosophy.

The pursuit of social psychological research in the last twenty years has veered away from quantitative to qualitative research methods.

Quantitative research can be characterised as positivist insofar as it is based upon a model of scientific method. Cohen & Manion (1989) argue that the main component of this model is, "the systematic and controlled manipulation of variables to see if experiments will provide expected results, thus moving from correlation to causality" (p21). Explanation is therefore based upon the finding of causes. If a cause is found, the effect will be the same in each identical case.

Researchers in this positivist mode generate hypotheses, "statements about the relation between variables", (Kerlinger 1970). In this mode, the variables are constant and have to be objectively identified. This has led to the need for categorisation, which in turn leads to generalised outcomes. People, like inanimate matter, are considered to be governed by rules in their social behaviour. Behaviour is therefore considered "lawful" and based upon their genetic makeup. Social Science has proceeded on the understanding that human interaction can be explained by investigating regularities in people's behaviour that are thought to be rule governed. Research in this area does not operate with a concept of the whole person. The positivist approach therefore fails to "take account of man's unique ability to interpret his experience and represent them to himself", (Cohen & Manion p26).

The anti-positivist approach is united in the belief that human life is not governed by general laws or characterised by underlying regularities. Research under this heading is called "ideographic" in that it seeks to

understand individual cases rather than find general laws. The emphasis is on how individuals create their lives in, and cope with, their world. The 'object' of research is 'subjective' in that it seeks to understand change through sharing the same frame of reference as the people being researched. Such research is called ethnographic.

There are different forms of ethnographic research all concerned with the examination of language, action and communication:

Ethnomethodology; Ethogenic theory; Conversation analysis and Discourse analysis. Each has a subtly different approach.

Ethnomethodology is associated with Harold Garfinkel. He challenged the social order created by sociologists, believing that this order did not bear any relation to real life. Rather than having sense imposed on people, through the discovery of law governed behaviour, Garfinkel believes that the proper concern of sociologists should be to see how people give sense to their lives.

Ethnomethodologists see people's statements and actions as rooted in the social context in which they are produced. Participants in this social world have a shared understanding of their statements and actions,

"Thus for virtually any utterance the listener will 'fill in' its meaning [] who the speaker is, what their status is, what they have said previously, what is likely to happen next and so on". (Potter & Wetherell 1987 p23).

The term for this is indexicality, words alter in meaning according to the context of their use.

A parallel term is reflexivity. This term refers to the ability people have to create their social world and themselves through language and

speech. People use language to "construct versions of the social world" (Potter & Wetherall 1987 p33)

People in a social setting create understanding of that setting which allows them to grow and cope. Garfinkel believes that by asking disruptive questions that are not understood in the setting, because they are not in context, ethnomethodologists can learn how people generate rules and thereby "create their world".

Ethogenic theory is associated with Rom Harré. People involve themselves in goal oriented activity. In the achievement of their goals they may do a number of contradictory things. They account for such behaviour to make it intelligible to themselves, or justify it to others. In this way they seek to neutralise any problems that may occur in the attainment of their goal. In this activity people are limited by their "social competence", which is their ability to account for their actions. Their accounts are associated with social episodes. There is no comprehensive definition of a social episode but it can be seen as a "coherent fragment of social life". (Cohen & Manion p243).

Conversation analysis is associated with Harvey Sacks and his colleagues Emanuel Schlegoff and Gail Jefferson. This approach looks at how people manage speech. Social interaction is mediated through speech, but conversation is managed, so that gaps and overlaps do not happen. Conversation analysts seek to explain the conventions governing conversation as it proceeds in a sequential way "it has become possible to describe the elaborate and detailed architecture of conversation". (Levenson 1983 Quoted Potter & Wetherall 1987 p81).

Discourse Analysis is associated with Johnathon Potter & Margaret Wetherall. These researchers follow Chomsky in the view that speech is unendingly creative. It is impossible to research it by setting boundaries

around it. "The principal tenet of discourse analysis is that function involves construction of versions and is demonstrated by language variation". (Potter & Wetherall 1987 p33) When people use language they are constructing their social world, they are not simply describing it. Variability should not be suppressed as it is an important component of understanding how people construct their world. Discourse should be understood in its own right not as an, "indicator or signpost to some other state of affairs" (Potter & Wetherall 1987 p35).

Choosing a method of evaluation.

Harré (1993) provides a plausible initial framework for an evaluation of the interview material. He maintains that people inhabit a "Local Moral Order" LMO (p107). This order has a normative structure for the joint accomplishment of social acts and is built upon "templates" and "forms" that are the origin of human action. He argues that there are conceptual truths that every one in the "local language community will assent to" (p110). I understand a local language community to be coterminous with a local moral order.

I would argue that a local community consists of people who share a small geographical area, village or neighbourhood, or a subject based activity, for example a hobby or sport. People become competent in these situations by knowing the rules which are not fixed immutable directives but "a metaphor linking the content of individual forms of knowledge to the discursive presentations of that knowledge in an account" (p210). Rules do not cause behaviour, they are used by people "for a variety of purposes" (p182). Harré cites embarrassment as an outcome of breaking social rules; for example, if somebody does something wrong, breaks a normative rule in front of others, they will feel embarrassed. Harré

believes there are standardised responses to everyday situations like introductions or apologies. Each situation is not treated on its own merit but with a ritualised response "learned in a standardised form in each socially distinct locality" (p127).

Within their community people have moral careers. A moral career is the "history of an individual person with respect to the attitudes and beliefs about oneself that are formed on the basis of one's reading of the attitudes and beliefs of others" (p206) Their reputation depends upon how much they are willing to risk in condemnation to achieve affirmation and enhancement in the local moral order.

There are rules that are culturally universal in scope. Within an identifiable geographical area there are people who all subscribe to the same normative understanding. They not only understand the language used in the area, but also the conventions for its use. It is the case that people may not fully know a language. Ethnic minority groups may use English for conversation but may misunderstand one another because they are not aware of the conventions governing the use of the language in each community.

Conventions governing the use of language can be referred to as "tacit" knowledge (Polanyi 1962). The tacit knowledge necessary to understand a conversation or message includes the recipient's knowledge of the context of the communication. A message will be interpreted by the recipient with reference to the understanding they have of the position of the message giver in the local moral order. A message from a respected person will elicit more response from the receiver than from somebody for whom they have little respect.

The basis for ethogenic research is the identification of a "natural" or unstructured local moral community. Such natural groupings as football

fans, or participants in the Crown Courts, allow a semblance of objectivity to the researchers because they are examining a segment of social life with the normative structure intact. With naturalistic records the researchers can look for regular patterns of language use that has almost a "complete absence of researcher influence on the data" (Potter & Wetherall p162).

Whilst both approaches to the evaluation of discourse agree on the primacy of language use, discourse analysts feel there are "dangerous inconsistencies" in the ethogenic approach. They do not feel that people's accounts of their actions always display descriptions of goal oriented behaviour. "People's accounts [] do not come ready labelled with the goal they are designed to achieve". (Potter & Wetherall p61). People can be devious. A more serious criticism is levelled against ethogenists' when they divide accounts into the actual and the rhetorical.

Marsh et al (1978) examined accounts of football fans to elucidate the rule governed behaviour of those involved in violent confrontation with fans from other teams. They found that the "violence" fans indulged in was largely symbolic. Harré characterises this as, "of the same kind as aggressive threats and ritualised territorial defences seen amongst animals" (Harré 1993 p214). Potter & Wetherall consider that whilst participants in football violence will have no difficulty in understanding each other the researchers will have "great problems" in doing so. Potter & Wetherall say that Marsh et al treat accounts of order as the "genuine structure of fans" activities, while the aspect of the accounts that deal with violence is treated as "rhetoric".

They illustrate this with an extract from Marsh et al.

Questioner. What do you do when you put the boot in?

Fan A You kicks ‘em in the head don’t you?.....
 Strong boots with metal toe-caps on and that.

Questioner. What happens then?
 [Quizzical look]

Questioner. Well what happens to the guy you’ve kicked?

Fan A. He’s dead.

Fan B. Nah - he’s all right - usually anyway.

(Potter & Wetherall 1987 p60)

Fan B suggests a picture of ritualised aggression. Fan A signifies actual aggression. Potter & Wetherall take "He’s dead" literally. Marsh et al take it as rhetoric which mirrors newspaper reporting of the fans' violent behaviour. I would suggest another interpretation. In teenage accounting "He’s dead" means he is out of the game. This would be more in keeping with Harré’s territorial defence scenario. Potter & Wetherall are correct in claiming that interpreting such discourse can give the analyst great problems. How do discourse analysts overcome these problems?

Discourse analysis sets out to see how talk is constructed and what it achieves. The construction and function of speech is interesting because it not only states things it does things as well. Discourse analysts feel that when people engage in conversation they are creating their world. It is important to examine language use in the context of its utterance, not to use categorisations as in persuading, accusing or requesting.

Consistency in discourse analysis is gained by identifying "regular patterns in Language use". (Potter & Wetherall p164) An interview should give opportunities for the same topic to be discussed in a number of different areas. By looking for consistency and diversity in the content and

form of accounts it is possible to see what effects the participants in the discourse are having on their world and one another.

Naturalistic records are the preferred subjects of discourse analysis because published accounts are not interfered with by the researcher. Another benefit is that people undermine each other's versions in these accounts which clarifies their relationships. Where an interview format is used both the interviewer and the interviewee are the subjects of the research evaluation. Interviews can be useful both for their deliberate questioning and for the creation of variability which is usually repressed in more formal research methods. The researchers' questions are seen as active and constructive, setting the scene for the "functional context of the answers". (Potter & Wetherall p165)

The Ethogenic context and the Discourse Analysis context.

The difference between Harré and Potter & Wetherall is a question of approach. Both see language as constructive of a person's world. The disagreement between them is about the ascription of particular states of being to people. Ethogenic researchers believe that people do things with language, order, request, apologise, disclaim, disclose, accuse, justify, appeal, blame, excuse, deny, describe, disclose, seek verification etc. Harré uses the term "rhetoric" for, "the way we create meanings by ascribing motives to others". (Harré 1995 p78) He is interested in the structure of discourse asking, "how do we decide what actions to include in discourse?". Harré believes that the researcher must give sense to the material in an active way by identifying the use to which words are put.

Potter & Wetherall feel this is wrong. By creating categories to evaluate the information, some standardisation is introduced and the accounts are not examined in their own right. They argue that we should

concentrate on what is written or said, "not in some general idea that seems to be intended". (p168) How are we to understand the following statement, "It is going to drive me mad doing all these statistics by hand tonight" (Brown & Levenson 1978, quoted in Potter & Wetherall 1987). Harré would probably see this as a complaint, but in the context of its utterance it was a request to borrow a calculator. The approach of Potter & Wetherall does depend upon the context being very clear. This requires an understanding of the development of the discourse.

Much of the research instanced by both researchers takes place with identifiable groups in a local moral order; New Zealanders, Black communities, scientists, football fans, school children. In my research each individual was treated as an individual first and as a member of a family, social or work group second. In their responses to the interview they were not creating their social world but recounting it to the interviewer. The interview took place in a particular context. On the one hand the interviewer was seeking information about how respondents learned from their everyday experience. On the other hand, the respondents were answering questions about how they learnt things and who they learned them from. I have come to see that I could not divorce the respondents from their backgrounds. As the result of learning about discourse analysis I now see the respondents rooted in their background, not as individuals separated from their environment.

Using the context.

In describing certain episodes in their lives the respondents give graphic evidence of place, relationships, problems and problem resolution. These episodes took place in particular contexts about which the respondents had an opinion. A lot of these episodes show adaptive

learning taking place as the outcome is either a realisation that something is the case or a change in behaviour. These episodes do not rely on categorisation as described by Harré, nor do they necessarily look like patterns of responses as described by Potter & Wetherall. If anything they give evidence of the approach of Garfinkel in that it is in the dysfunctional moments of their lives that new coping strategies must be found. Learning in this context can be produced by "keeping face" in the local moral order.

People never say what they mean "in so many words" (Coulter 1985 p30), they have to work at understanding what others say. The possibility of disruption by the presentation of misinformation is ever present. People are often at a loss to make sense of what is being communicated. I believe the inability to make sense of information is made worse by the many choices that become available when new knowledge is gained. Integral to the management of social action is the 'tacit' knowledge people have of their local situation; any activity outside this order will expose the individual to unknown and potentially chaotic situations. How people cope with these breakdowns in communication may show how they learn from their everyday activity.

A theoretical approach to the interviews may be found in using the various suggestions made by Harré (1993), Garfinkel (1967) and Potter & Wetherall (1987). Potter & Wetherall look at these causes of disruption from a different viewpoint. They believe that contradictions in the accounts people give of their lives will throw light on their coping strategies. However, they do not attribute coping skills to people, but see from the passage of time how they resolve such contradictions.

Harré's approaches this through what he terms "agonistic sequences". Harré suggests that there are standard and non-standard solutions to action sequences in a "local ethnography". The non-standard

solution is likely to lead to an agonistic sequence because the individual will not know how to respond and will therefore lose face.

I would suggest that Garfinkel's "disruption", Potter & Wetherall's "contradiction" and Harré's "agonistic sequence" are all similar in that people will seek to minimise their occurrence. All three rely on an individual's understanding of the 'tacit' rules of social interaction in their particular local moral orders. These 'tacit' rules are the implicit normative conventions and constraints that keep a local moral order in being over time even though, as Harré says, "when it is reproduced each day [] it is never perfectly replicated". (p53) For simplicity I will use dysfunction as a generic term for "disruption", "contradiction" and "agonistic sequence".

In the interviews, there are a number of local moral orders the respondents inhabit. I characterise them as 'evolving' and 'emergent'. (These terms will be discussed in more depth in Chapter Eight). The evolving moral orders are family, clubs, religious organisations, work, subject based pastimes like gardening where the person does not belong to a club. People in these activities usually have normative relationships with others. Chaos is on hand because the participant in evolving activity has to make choices between dysfunctional and functional activity. They are "risking hazard" in all they do.

The emergent moral order arises when people come together to form a new group. The people are there either by choice or by force of circumstance. In the emergent order dysfunctional activity is produced because the new order has to be created as it is learned about. Tacit rules have to be put in place. Relationships have to be formed. The individual will feel inadequate when confronting a new situation because the 'tacit'

understandings brought from their known milieux will not be suitable for the new situation.

Dysfunction can also be reflected upon as when a 'tacit' convention has been inappropriately handled, or with foresight when contemplating a coming involvement in an evolving or emergent local moral order. A part of everyday learning is the attempt to learn from, or modify attitudes to both types of moral order.

An explicit theory.

The two schools of social scientific enquiry that I have described fall either into the framework associated with positivist aspirations to understand human interaction based on observation and experimentation, or the interpretive framework that is associated with a more subjectivist approach to social research. The issue is about how a normative model is arrived at. I believe all normative rules are implicit, that is they are not explicitly codified and are learned as the result of being involved with a group. Following Polanyi (1977), these rules are called tacit.

Harré believes that the job of the social psychologist is to discover universal features of interpersonal discourse. This is done by, "making tacit knowledge explicit". (Harré 1979, 1993, p225) Discourse analysts are interested in patterns of personal interaction. The individual is interesting because of their interaction with others.

In much social activity the normative rules of behaviour are paralleled by formal systems of explicit rules. For instance any properly constituted club or association will have a constitution that will set guidelines to formal interaction. In some clubs there will be rules governing the type of activity and the way it is to be carried out. These explicit rules set a framework for the normative interactions of members.

Investigators using the interpretive approach, seek to understand the subjective world of a group without imposing their own rules. It is envisaged that this method will uncover the normative rules at work in the area of study.

An approach to synthesis.

I want to propose that the investigation of social phenomenon by scientific procedures and interpretive social science procedures are much the same. What follows in this chapter seeks to support this view.

1. If language is a 'practical activity' then the use of language for the explication of scientific or social scientific investigation must have parallels.
2. The idea that social science is exclusively a subject-subject investigation accords with research in modern particle physics where the researcher interacts with that which is being researched.
3. Popper's rejection of induction and his suggestion that science proceeds as the result of the falsification of hypotheses can be used to view social relations.
4. Kuhn's suggestion that science has, "A potential scepticism regarding the claims of science in a fundamental sense built into the legitimate order of the social organisation of science". (Giddens 1976 p143)
5. The view that social activity and scientific activity rest upon prior knowledge and intuitive procedures.
6. The working out of uncertainty theory and the current use of chaos theory seem valid in both scientific and social scientific work.

The natural scientist's interaction with the material world seems to me to be similar to the social scientist's interaction with the social world. Each use specialist language. Is there any difference in logical status between cosine and sibling? Each word inhabits a paradigm which defines the meaning of the terms. This leaves two questions:

1. If the use of language is a practical constructive activity, how does it differ in use between the results relayed by a natural scientist and the results relayed by a social scientist. Both use the medium of language. Both are open to the criticism of their peers.
2. Can impersonal forces be seen to work in personal relationships? Can personal forces be seen to work in impersonal science? Certain writers would consider the answer to be yes, (Kuhn, 1970; Potter & Wetherall 1987, Harré, 1992; Bourdieu 1996).

Is social science an examination of impersonal forces in social relationships? People shrug off misfortune as fate, they rarely blame others and if they do they blame themselves as well for not having learnt differently. Is a "tacit rule" personal or impersonal? Heretofore because of the discourse of free will such impersonal forces were not allowed to intrude into the social area therefore restricting social science to subjective appraisal.

Following Popper, it seems sensible to try and discover what falsifies people's expectations. If people create their own world with their discourse, things that affect them must be impersonal. Others can be looked upon as rocks against which people bump. If people involve themselves in particular activities how do they view outcomes which leave them better or worse off? What do they blame?

Social Physics: The application of chaos theory.

Edward Lorenz (1963) used twelve equations to model weather on his computer. His expectation was that the model would be stable. It was not. The weather acted like actual weather; it was never the same twice. He refined his approach by using three non-linear equations to model convection but found the results exactly modelled an electric dynamo - the point being that a dynamo can reverse itself as did Lorenz' equation. These equations resulted in the "Lorenz attractor", a map of infinite complexity "the shape signalled a pure disorder, since no point or pattern of points ever recurred. Yet it also signalled a new kind of order". (Gleick 1987 p30)

To illustrate the difference between a determinate and an indeterminate system consider the following example used by Gleick. If you imagine an ice hockey puck, linear equations will tell you how much energy you need to accelerate the puck to a particular speed. However, if friction is taken into account the energy needs change and prediction becomes more difficult as the speed is influenced by the friction. "Non-linearity means that the act of playing the game has a way of changing the rules" (Gleick p24). In a Wittgensteinian sense, if you change the rules you change the game. Language is determined and determinate. This means that different "games" cannot be translated into other games. Chaotic game playing is much more subtle because local activity is unpredictable while global activity tends to be patterned; "those studying chaotic dynamics discovered that the disorderly behaviour of simple systems acted as a creative process" (Gleick p43). This seems to me to parallel Harré's view that social interaction is never perfectly replicated.

In the deterministic world of Newtonian physics people were thought to be motivated on a cause and effect basis, with the impetus for action being externally applied. This led to a raft of problems with free will and determinism. The other problem for social scientists was the "unruly behaviour" of people who supposedly lived rule-governed lives in a rule-governed universe.

To understand something it is useful to magnify what is being observed until it becomes clearer. If magnification is further increased, the more unintelligible becomes the thing being observed. For an understanding of everything there is an optimum magnification. The discovery of fractals has brought an understanding of relativity of scale in measurement; "fractal means self-similar. Self-similarity is symmetry across scale. It implies recursion, patterns inside patterns" (Gleick p103)

I would argue that by examining patterns of interaction in a person's life it is possible to build up a fractal picture of human interaction. These patterns can only be discovered after life has created them. It is not possible to predict the detail of any subsequent interaction a person may take part in but it can be claimed that the general pattern of past activity will be carried into the future. By this I mean that in certain situations, which can be defined, we can predict within certain limits what a patterned reaction will be, but we cannot predict any particular outcome that will maintain the pattern.

I believe it is more sensible to look at personal interaction under a heading of 'patterned responses'. The term 'frames of meaning' is from a different paradigm. I wish to maintain that social physics is in tune with patterns of responses while 'frames of meaning' is used within the realm of social science. I came to this conclusion by trying to understand the

difference between "making sense" of the world and "giving sense" to the world.

In a social scientific world of determinism things happen to people through no fault of their own. In this situation a person asks, "Why me?" - and seeks to make sense of why it happened. Impersonal forces are at work and people construct 'frames of meaning' to explain such forces. Where "patterned responses" are concerned, people take charge of these "impersonal" forces and create their own scenario which puts them in charge. The patterned response is essentially creative because each person can determine the choice they make. While the two approaches may seem idealised, I will seek to give sense to them with reference to the interview material.

I believe that Lorenz' three non-linear equations can be used as an approach to the examination of human activity. What does one look for to base such a parallel on, and if found how does a social physics model of human activity work? What does it explain?

I hope to show that there are parallels to the three non-linear equations in the lives of my respondents. These parallels show them leading lives that consist of patterns of interactions to stimuli, patterns of reflection on those stimuli and patterns of reaction to both their thoughts and the happenings in their daily lives. I will seek to show that social activity fits the model of chaos theory, then suggest ways that this knowledge can improve people's ability to learn and the ability of organisations to address problems of learning.

Objectivity.

Rule governed activity is also concerned with the 'objective'. Objectivity is an attempt to imbue external phenomena with an

unquestionable status. Such 'objective' values exist; it is wrong to murder and it is right to nurture babies. By elevating ideas like these they become objective statements where rational discussion is not allowed. Values like these may be seen to have the status of facts. To question such statements is to be deviant.

In a chapter entitled "The Phenomenology of Intersubjectivity", (Luijpen 1969) the author suggests that we make our own objectivity. He states that the rights and demands of justice are objective. However, somebody had to create justice. Luijpen calls such a person an "Ethical Genius" in that they originate a just position by "seeing" what justice was in a particular instance. Subsequently others "see" in the same way. Such seeing re-enforces objectivity.

I think an approach to personal objectivity is summed up in the following quote,

"Ethical geniuses are convinced, however, that the demands of humanity which they discern are objective and because they see that these demands are anchored in the essence of existence as coexistence, they know themselves to be 'functionaries of mankind' [Husserl]", (Luijpen 1969 p344).

My respondents do not talk in such terms, but the idea that each individual creates their own objective view of the world is important. They coexist with others and have expectations of such coexistence. The personal equations I describe below seem to me to create an objective world for each respondent, even when they are acting in an intersubjective milieu. The objectivity of the personal equation is evident in the fact that it governs the individual's activities in many if not all spheres of their "existence as coexistence".

I believe this phenomenological approach can be compared with Sir Karl Popper's notion of 'World 3' objectivity. Popper believes that, "World 3 is man made only in its origin, and that once theories exist, they begin to have a life of their own: they produce previously invisible consequences, they produce new problems" (Popper 1977 p40).

Popper differs from Plato in that the latter thought that such "objects" were grasped intellectually. Popper believes that we understand such theories by participation with them. Theories have logical relations and it is in trying to understand how a theory works that we interact with it. "Thus even unembodied World 3 objects may be regarded as real". (Popper p47)

Intersubjectivity and context.

Habermas (1984) considers that Popper's creation of "World 3" is not necessary. It is tied to an empiricist concept of objectification that makes "World 3" objects autonomous and contactable in certain circumstances by the individual who then makes autonomous use of the knowledge. Habermas feels that such knowledge is not objective but resides in a cultural tradition, shared by a community and pre-interpreted by that community and may be 'objective' for that community. "This intersubjectively shared life world forms the background for communication" (Habermas 1984 p82). The idea of communicative action proposed by Habermas has been fruitful in a debate which seeks to discover whether language is instrumental in that people use it to gain advantage, or communicative, as in a commonly understood language used to provide a basis for agreement.

Habermas argues for an ideal position where communicative action leads to rationally agreed decisions between people. These decisions are reached because people understand and agree with the language they use. Such agreement is not tainted by instrumental or strategic considerations. Much of the debate is about which takes precedence, strategic action or communicative action. Communicative action is problematic however. People are often not able to take part in pure communication because, "distorted communication is manifested in the rigid and compulsory repetition of behavioural patterns" (Thompson 1981 p94).

Where everyday communication is concerned people have various levels of communicative competence. Habermas believes there are, "dialogical constitutive universals". These are parts of speech, grammar, forms of address etc. People naively but necessarily use these to communicate. The poorer their understanding of such universals the less well able they are to communicate. These universals are used in varying speech situations, and concern the intersubjectivity of speech between people and of objects of experience about which they can speak.

People participate in intersubjective relations in several different areas of their lives, e.g. family, workplace, social activities etc. These primary aspects of people's lives bring them into contact with other areas they are not generally familiar with, where the use of language is different; a visit to the doctor for instance. A person will find themselves using language in several different parts of their lives with more or less facility. In a strange context systematically distorted communication results from not knowing the appropriate language and communicative procedures need to converse in unfamiliar surroundings.

I would argue that I have treated the interviews in a discursive way looking for patterns of activity as detailed by the respondents in

descriptions of their lives. This material, the bulk of Chapter Five, has been assessed in a framework that was constructed from material suggested by philosophers who provided models of personal life that fitted in with my preconceptions. This approach has overcome the criticisms of Potter and Wetherall (1987) over ascribing motives to my respondents yet uses the ideas of Harré to place the respondents in a normative setting where people had a shared understanding of what was happening.

To recap.

The research problem is to use the interviewees' responses to analyse how they learn from their everyday experiences. A subsidiary problem is to see to what extent they do not see themselves as learners, even when they acknowledge that they pick up information throughout their lives. In pursuance of this aim I would argue that I am not seeking pure knowledge. I am seeking an understanding of how people learn from their everyday experience. An understanding, that because I feel motivated, must address motivation in other people, but it will be an understanding that is always open to revision.

The theoretical approach to the research derives from the literature on discourse analysis, ethogenic theory and the normative structure of groups. I have also adapted some criticisms of the scientific method so that both science and social science inform the positivist and interpretive approaches of the investigation. I have analysed the interview data with the following framework:

1. Using the concept of personal equations to gain insight into the lives of the respondents.

2. Focusing on dysfunctions in the experience of the respondents to see how learning is facilitated.

3. The intersubjective milieu of the respondents is considered in terms of "local moral orders". Their interactions with others are examined in detail.

In the context of this discussion, I believe the local moral order is at least as important for instrumental purposes, that is for people to get something out of a group, as for communicative purposes, that is to put something into the group. The LMO does not exist only to provide a person with information and support, it also exists for personal participation to secure its survival and growth. I argue that in the instrumental people "make sense" of their world and in the communicative they "give sense" to it (See Chapter Eight). It is likely that any decision a person makes has as much concern for the effect it has on the survival of the LMO as for their own needs. I would argue that intersubjective activity is mutually beneficial to the group and its members.

In the next chapter I examine Personal Equations and Patterned Responses. In Chapter Six I look at the respondents as 'selfish' individuals struggling to make sense of the world which appears a hostile place. Chapter Seven looks at how they give sense to the world by looking at their several relationships in the local moral orders they inhabit. I will consider their intersubjective milieu and seek to discover how they are influenced and influence the environment in which they live. In an individual's life both selfish activity and co-operative activity work hand in hand. For an understanding of everyday learning, both these approaches to life need to be examined.

Chapter Five.

PERSONAL EQUATIONS: THE BASIS OF PATTERNED RESPONSES.

Introduction.

I want to argue that people are predisposed to respond to learning activity in a fundamental way. To explain this I argue for the existence of "personal equations". I conceived the existence of personal equations after considering the implications of patterned activity in chaos theory. When reading the interviews I was struck by the way that each respondent approached different situations in similar ways. I call these responses "personal equations" which have an affinity with non-linear equations (Lorenz 1963). *I propose that "personal equations" are used by people to facilitate their engagement in everyday life by providing the basis for patterned activity which can be detected in the individuals' representation of the intersubjective relationships they engaged in.*

For the "**personal equations**" I have picked out three "**I**" statements from each interview. It is important to note that these statements were not always made as the result of a direct question. In answering the questions the respondents were using their knowledge of themselves to put the answers into context for them. They were "giving sense" to the interview by giving evidence for how they approached life in general and their interpersonal relationships in particular. Each statement stands on its own but also interacts with other statements. I consider these statements form the co-ordinates of **patterned activity** in their lives. What were in the beginning spontaneous

experiences become fixed and help to create a determined lifestyle that regulates interaction in everyday life.

I consider that people have procedures for making choices; they take into account their **patterns of interaction** with others, **patterns of reaction** to others, and **patterns of reflection** on their lives. Such patterns can be deduced from studying the respondents' comments about their activities. I suggest that the involvement of the respondents in cultural and social life is defined by their ability to cope with learning what is necessary to live in their world. The choices adults make depend upon a range of different judgements. Selection of the right choice is likely to depend upon previous experience being brought to bear on the options available.

Patterns of activity depend upon **intersubjective communication**; this is described in the following terms:

"The abstract concept of the world is a necessary condition if communicatively acting subjects are to reach understanding among themselves about what takes place in the world or is to be effected in it. Through this *communicative practice* they assure themselves at the same time of their common life-relations, of an intersubjectively shared *lifeworld*" (Habermas 1981 p13).

Each interviewee belongs to a number of groups. Each group involves them in relationships with people who have more or less experience of the group. Their relationship to these people is dependent upon their understanding of the affiliations the group fosters. All that they know related

to the functioning of the groups can be called **intersubjective understanding**. This means that they have a range of detailed or hearsay knowledge that they use when considering the activities they are engaged in. New decisions may be made as the result of assessing all this knowledge against new information. In Chapters Six and Seven I explore these relationships in some detail. In this chapter I attempt to indicate the intersubjective activity each respondent is engaged in; I am listening to the respondents and relaying how they feel about themselves. I am not trying to draw out information explicitly about their intersubjective relationships even though most of what they say results from interaction with others.

Personal Equations may appear the same as Personal Constructs, (Kelly 1963), but I argue that they are markedly different. Kelly suggests that people anticipate events which "present themselves in a dichotomous form (p64.)". He goes on to say that people make choices in such a way as to "provide the best basis for anticipating events (p64)". An example of this can be provided in the context of a first meeting between two people. Person A and person B go to meet one another with the dichotomous construct: I am going to trust this person - I am not going to trust this person. This construct will stay the same until one or both discover that the other cannot be trusted; at this time the construct will change or be discarded if they no longer have anything to do with one another. Person Equations are resistant to such change as they provide a more permanent approach to relationships in everyday life. I argue that even if, after a long period of time, a person's equations are modified slightly, they will revert to the original when engaging in a new activity.

Personal Equations: Mary.

Mary is the youngest but one of fourteen children. When her brothers and sisters visited the family home she used to ask her mother who they were as she thought they were uncles and aunts. She remembers her parents as frightening. Married twice, she has four grown up children. Mary has had several jobs but was unemployed at the time of the interview. She was attending a "Wordpower" course to improve her ability to get a job in an office. Her main hobby is gardening although she is also good at sewing and decorating. She has suffered some depressive illness and has a strong wish to be active.

Equation one.

"I am one of those people that when I start anything I like to finish it properly, and persevere with it".

This comment arose when describing her experience on the "Wordpower" course. The regime on the course was student-centred and participants had to seek out projects that were of interest to them. These projects were all colour coded and listed in subject areas. The teachers gave very little formal input and students were expected to help one another learn. Mary was not happy with this situation.

"I said, I'm not used to this doing it all myself, I've always been told what to do".

She was frustrated that it took so long to find information, but true to her

description of herself she persevered.

The second incidence of perseverance came some time into the course when Mary was being pestered by another class member. This person talked to her constantly and followed Mary around the room as she tried to get on with some uninterrupted study. Mary considered leaving the course.

"I thought I can't bear this any more, I've got to go. []. I was just going to leave and I thought well it's no good, I want to learn, I don't want to leave, why should I have to leave?"

The third example comes from her attempt at learning to drive. Her first husband had been a driving instructor in the army. He had a habit of hitting his pupils on the hand with a stick if they did not do things correctly.

"He tried it on with me and I wasn't putting up with that and I (pause), in no way".

She eventually did learn to drive by going to a driving school.

The last example is in the context of a relationship she has with one of her sisters. She feels this sister is:

"One of those people who could not be bothered to do this, could not be bothered to do that".

She sees herself as the exact opposite:

"I am very curious. I must find out and look into things. []. I like to find out things I am very interested in".

When she becomes interested in something, she tries it and if she likes it she will get deeply involved. These examples all point to her ability to persevere.

Equation two.

"It takes me a little while to get me confidence, you see I haven't got a lot of confidence I must say that".

There are three specific contexts where confidence is mentioned. Mary worked in a sewing workshop making curtains. The woman working with her used to talk about gardening:

"I would say, do you grow such-and-such a thing, and they'd say no, wouldn't know how to do that, and I would tell them".

This happened so much she became known as "Mary the gardener". When she volunteered information she was quite happy, but when asked for information she used to get frightened:

"I used to get a bit worried that I might not tell them the right thing, sort of not confident".

The same response was apparent if friends asked her to do decorating. She considers herself to be a good decorator but if someone asks her:

"I'd make all sorts of excuses, well I wouldn't mind it, but you know, I was not a professional an all that. I'd sort of put yourself down, as my husband is always telling me, you're always putting yourself down".

Yet she knows she can do it but would rather decline if asked by others.

The next episode comes from the Wordpower course and concerns the second item of perseverance mentioned above. Mary did not know how to

deal with the woman who followed her around the room so she went to enlist the help of the teacher:

"I thought well, she just sort of notice she was talking all the time and say look you ought to be getting on with your work, do it in a nice way so that there was no one upset".

The teacher told Mary to be more assertive and tell her herself: "Well I couldn't do it, I just couldn't do it." This lack of confidence in her abilities affected everything that Mary did.

Equation three.

"I've always been afraid. I don't like to be a nuisance, that's the only way I can put it. That's why I don't ask questions, not because I don't want to, sometimes I desperately want to but I think I'm just being a nuisance, they won't bother with me".

In every aspect of life Mary commented upon she made a comment on being a nuisance. Fear also plays a large part in her approach to things. This will become clearer when I examine this aspect of her life below.

I propose these three personal equations affect all Mary's activities described below. In the interview responses there are events that can be accounted for with reference to these three equations.

Areas of Intersubjective activity.

Work: Curtain making workshop and Wordpower course.

Leisure: Gardening, other do-it-yourself activities.
Family: Parental home, first husband, second husband.

Curtain making workshop.

There were a number of women working in this workshop and the owner was a woman. Mary says she was given the material and minimal instruction. She felt she had to work it out for herself although she did ask advice of the other women if she could not get her work to look the way the other women did. When she knows how to do something properly, she does not need telling again. She also helped others who joined the workshop after her by giving them instructions. Often it would not turn out correctly. Mary felt this was because the person instructed would either ask or listen to others in the workplace.

"I say, well you know I told you to do it that way and if you'd done it would be all right".

In the workplace she would take in seeds and plants and tell them how to grow them but there was a downside as well:.

"A lot of bitching [] when you get a lot of women together they can be dreadful. [] If they got any information they don't want you to know because you'll know as much as they do".

Wordpower course.

Mary was unemployed and anxious about being at home with nothing to do. She had a number of different jobs but never worked in an office. She wanted to:

"Try a nice cushy job, [] but I've never had the opportunity, so I thought well now's the chance".

She went to her local job centre and explained what she wanted to do and they arranged for her to go on a "Wordpower" course. The course includes English, typing, maths, health and safety and access to a range of work units covering the whole spectrum of jobs available in the community. Both students and tutors started on the course together and Mary felt it was a bit chaotic, "we didn't know anything about it".

The "Wordpower" course seems to have offered Mary a milieu that brought out all her strengths and weaknesses. She felt she was plunged into a chaotic situation where the teachers did not know what they were doing. Mary may have had this feeling because she was not used to the learning situation. Members of the course were left to their own devices for accessing all the information contained in the learning centre . Instruction was minimal with an expectation that students would find their way around the material. This was not the way Mary liked to work as she liked to be told what to do.

It took Mary four weeks to log on and log off the computer. The procedure was eventually shown to her by other course members. She felt she should have learned this on the first day but there were not enough

teachers to show her. Her reaction to this and to finding things out for herself was initially one of extreme frustration:

"You pick out one page or something and you really wouldn't know what to do with it. [] I used to get so frustrated".

The teachers were no help because after their lessons were over they could not be disturbed. She did ask other people how to do things but felt a lot more comfortable when told how to do things. A lot of the advice she was given was wrong. I asked her how she found out it was wrong she replied:

"Because when I did it I would go, no, no, no, it wasn't meant to be like that, you'd have to do it all over again".

Mary complained about the waste of time this method entailed.

The course ethos was one of sharing information with other members of the course, an ethos handed down by the teachers. Eventually Mary accepted this and interacted with other people on the course. She was pleased that she was able to help others to learn:

"I feel happy about that whereas before I wouldn't dare. I would think I might make a mess of it".

Mary also learnt other things. She came into contact with people from minority ethnic groups and talked with them about family and their feelings about life:

"You hear so much in the newspapers and on the radio about this ethnic minority and that ethnic minority and terrible things are

said about them and I didn't find any of them in amongst this lot that I've got to know".

Leisure. Gardening.

Mary says she has always been interested in gardening. She has lived in several houses but in her early married life she was only keen to make the garden serviceable for her children. She remembers that her father was a good, neat gardener. She gives the main credit for her current gardening expertise to an elderly neighbour called Reg.:

"I didn't know anything about gardening, and um, he spoke to us up the lane and got very friendly and before long I had a garden. I was doing it, had vegetables, fruit, flowers, I've learnt everything from him and books of course".

I have commented in other places about her gardening interest.

Leisure. Other.

Do-it-yourself activities, especially decorating, are enjoyed by Mary to such an extent that she has decorated for her friends. She learns how to do these activities from watching others, reading about the subjects and putting what she has learnt into action.

Family.

Mary says her Mother had one family grown up and away from home, then she had another. She did not know many of the people visiting the house

were her brothers and sisters. She says her mother was a very quiet person who did not teach her a lot:

"Except to be honest and don't tell lies 'cos you'll be found out and all the old sayings that frighten you to death".

Her father was very strict, as soon as he was in the house everything had to be quiet.

She says very little about her first husband, the one she refused to learn to drive with. Although she does not say so specifically, he was also the father of her four children. I think it can also be inferred from what she says that he did not imbue her with much confidence. Mary's second husband seems quite different. He not only gives her confidence he also provides instances where Mary can realise her own ability.

"I always thought my memory wasn't very good but I think in comparison to me husband's it's excellent because I remember so many things and he says, I don't remember that".

Intersubjective understanding.

There are two strands to Mary's life that affect the way she lives. In one strand she lacks confidence, in the other she perseveres to master the things she finds interesting. It is easy to find evidence for both strands but not so easy to find reasons for them.

In her young life Mary felt that she should be seen and not heard. She learnt from watching, trying things and making mistakes. When she watched

somebody she was very quiet, even though she wanted to ask questions she did not do so because of her fear of being a nuisance.

After she had given up learning to drive with her first husband she went to a driving school who told her she was too cautious. However, she persevered and eventually passed her test. Whilst she considers herself to be a good decorator and has done several decorating jobs for friends she makes:

"All sorts of excuses. Well, I wouldn't mind but, you know, I was not a professional an' all that. [] But if they're going to watch me I go to pieces. I can't stand being watched".

There are very few people of whom she asks advice. The main one is Reg. the gardener. Mary and her husband met Reg. and his wife and they have been very good friends ever since. I asked why she felt this person was someone she respected:

"'cos he's very honest, um, [] he doesn't con you, he, um, very, a, kind and understanding and helpful. [] We're very much alike and I think that is why we get on so well. [] He's like a father to me, it don't matter, whatever, you can go over there any time and he makes you welcome. You're never made to feel you're a nuisance and that, you know, you wish you hadn't come. [] I'm very sensitive to atmospheres and undercurrents, um, and I've never felt like this with them. They're so genuine".

Patterns of interaction.

It could be argued that Mary's interactions with others are governed by her lack of confidence and her fear of being a nuisance. Her description of herself as somebody who perseveres is borne out by what she says about the various places where she interacts with others.

There are two areas where she felt she was not a nuisance. One was in her relationship with Reg, whom she likened to her father, yet Reg, and her father seem quite opposite in disposition. In the second, she learned to accept the help of the other people on the "Wordpower" course and was pleased to see that she was not treated as a nuisance. However, there were people on the course that she did not like, and in each case she describes them as bullies.

Support for her lack of confidence can be shown by the way she learns those things she is interested in. She watches people unobtrusively and buys the books so that she can increase her knowledge without being a nuisance to anybody. She feels a need to try out her knowledge before accepting that she knows it. She feels this is the same for others. When she passes on experience she feels that:

"Unless they go and try it for themselves they haven't learnt anything really".

Conclusions.

Mary believes that learning is derived from teaching and she is frustrated by a non-directive method of teaching. Yet she perseveres on the "Wordpower" course and learns to pass information onto others. In her own

private world she learns in a private way, she buys books about her interests and reads, tries out what she has read and perfects the techniques for what she does.

Where she shares information she prefers to do it on a neutral basis. As she does not like being watched, she also does not like being put on the spot when doing work for others. On the "Wordpower" course, she developed a relationship with other students that had some of the characteristics of her relationship with Reg. The students did not treat her as a nuisance and she seems to have shared an equal relationship with them. The relationship with Reg. is not equal in the same sense. Mary seems to look up to his expertise and seems to imbue him with benign parental qualities. Mary's intersubjective milieu is limited because her lack of confidence prevents her from becoming fully involved with others. It shows in her comments that an increase in confidence can only come about where she interacts with people she trusts not to put her down.

Personal Equations. Ted.

Ted is an apprentice trained coppersmith currently working as a tinsmith in a factory making washing machines and tumbledriers. He is married with three grown up daughters. He makes no mention of his mother nor of any brothers or sisters. He is a shop steward at his place of work and pursues a hobby of breeding budgerigars. He did national service in the army after completing his apprenticeship.

Equation one.

"You start as a beginner, then you get, um, novice and intermediate and a champion, so I am intermediate now".

I am struck by the importance of hierarchies in Ted's life. In his job, his hobby and his family there seems to be clear indications of a hierarchical approach to life. The first comment relates to his hobby. As a breeder of budgerigars his ambition is to get to the top and become a champion. He says he started the hobby because his father used to keep canaries. He has been breeding for about ten years.

In his place of work he is at the top of the union's hierarchy. I asked him if he asked people for advice,

"Quite frankly I find people ask me for advice more than I ask people for advice. I don't know if that's because I'm a shop steward or because I'm a skilled person".

His skilled status at work is important to him. There are several different

negotiating groups, each belonging to a different trades union. Much of his shop stewarding work has been directed at maintaining his union at the higher level of earnings. At one time his union received a bonus payment of £15 per week higher than anyone else. The other unions resented this and complained to management but Ted believed they were entitled to this money because they were well qualified.

"We are in the top band and all the rest are factory skilled, but we served an apprenticeship".

This consideration of hierarchy will come out in the other two equations as it seems an all pervasive part of his approach to life. Even his family is not immune.

"When girls get to 15 or 16 you've got to try and look after them, not be too hard on them [] we did have our scrapes [] I had a little chat with them [] you had to be like a chairman I suppose".

Equation two.

"I mean I think a lot of things in life is common sense, more common sense than anything else, it's practical and common sense".

Common sense looms large in Ted's life. He believes parenting is common sense. If his daughters ask him for advice he says:

"Well what you should do is this, 'cos to me it seems like common sense, you say what's common sense, experience I suppose".

What was experience I asked him:

"Look back on things in your own life, what you think is right, that's common sense".

I suggested that common sense and experience could lead to expertise and asked him if he felt there was a distinction between the two. He replied:

"With birds it could be expertise. [] I know a couple of champions and they can go out and look at a bird and [] they know exactly what they want".

I asked him whether he had to learn expertise and he replied:

"Oh yes, [it] comes from a long period of experience".

Ted does not consider experience and common-sense learning. He does say, however, that learning without common sense is not much use. When somebody comes out of university:

"They might come out with all the diplomas in the world [] but perhaps, in the interview for a job, they can see they got all that but they haven't got an ounce of experience or common sense, no practical experience".

He believes his common-sense approach to life is shared by everyone:

"If somebody asks you something you say, well that's a pretty straight forward answer to that, I mean that's common sense, everybody should know that".

Equation three.

"Well I always try. If I give an opinion I always try to do it, not for any reason, that I think it's the right thing. I wouldn't tell them just to be awkward".

It is in this section that the duties of the hierarchy become most important. At the start of his hobby Ted went to a champion breeder for advice. He bought two birds for £50 each from this person and took them home. He acclimatised them in a small aviary:

"I took them out and threw them in the flight, just threw them in, [they] just went straight to the floor".

The birds were no good. He explained his predicament to another breeder who told him why this had happened. The breeder was well known for giving the birds injections and medicines that prevented them from flying. He saw the person who sold him these birds about a year later:

"I've got just the bird for you, and I said that last one you I bought off you was not very good, I said, when I come to you I expect you to help me because I am lower down".

This notion that those higher up in the system should help those lower down manifests itself in a different way but in a similar context. Again he went to a champion as a novice and bought three birds. He showed these birds in a novice class but they did not get in the first three places which was not what he had expected. However his reaction was now different, he did not blame the seller but rather his own inexperience.

Ted has a clear idea of how people should act towards one another.

"I've got this thing with me. It's a bit awkward really, I believe in strength. If I make an agreement or if I do anything and I say this, I mean it. I don't. I got this thing, that I don't joke, when I say something, it's down the line".

He starts a relationship in a trusting way expecting that others will treat him in the same way, he becomes very surprised and hurt when they do not.

Intersubjective activity.

Ted inhabits a world which, at first sight, seems restricted. However, within these three areas there are different intersubjective milieux. In the workplace, he is involved in two distinctive groups. In one, he is a shop-steward and has relationships with management and other trade unions. In the other, he is an approachable person to the generality of shop floor workers. Because of the hierarchical structure of the budgerigar club he also has relationships of different sorts. Two other leisure time activities are the family and snooker. These areas will be examined under five headings.

Shop-steward, and general relationships in the workplace. Budgerigar club, snooker and the family.

Shop-steward.

In Ted's place of work there are a number of groups who are in competition with one another. There is the management with whom he is on Christian name terms. There are the other unions representing the electricians, maintenance workers and members of the tool room, each with their own practices. In a particular dispute he felt his group was an outcast because his union only represents two skilled workers. He feels there should be rewards for training; more training, more money. Management previously recognised this.

As a shop-steward there are procedures and agreements that he works within and carries out. He feels aggrieved when the procedures do not work properly. He is sometimes called to a meeting but not told what the meeting is about. This makes him angry and disinclined to continue negotiations with his employer. He learns from this that people do not honour their agreements. His standing, in his own eyes, as a skilled man, allows him the opportunity to stand above the fray because, "We've got to stand up for ourselves".

In his union activities he proceeds in terms of common sense. He became shop-steward because nobody else would do it, he says he is not an expert and he has not attended any training sessions. He was an apprentice, then joined the union at twenty-one years of age possibly because it was a closed shop. His becoming a shop-steward seems to have been a passive act:

"They all sat around and wanted a shop-steward, and somebody says, how about you, and before you know it you're up front so to become a shop-steward".

He feels somebody has got to do the job the best way they can. This means maintaining position in the union hierarchy. His ability to negotiate has improved over the years, illuminated by his common-sense assumptions about how to maintain his position, plus a good memory for previous negotiations.

In his place of work he found that workers from other unions would seek him out for advice because they did not trust their own stewards. He was worried about this because he knew it got back to management. He thinks that people at the works get a raw deal because the money is poor.

His wife works at the factory on the financial side and while they can have a laugh about work sometimes, he will not discuss her job with her:

"I think that when you at work I don't want to know her job because it can lead, especially being shop-steward, it's the last thing I want to do".

I asked him how he gained information about the other union activities in the factory. He said the union representatives tell their members and "somebody lets it out". But if he wants to know something he will go and ask someone who will know. All the knowledge he gains this way seems to be for the sole purpose of keeping his union's position in the workplace.



The Budgerigar Club.

Ted is a breeder of budgerigars and he hopes one day to become a champion. He has been breeding for about ten years and is now at the intermediate level. Whilst he had a poor experience with the champion breeder early in his career, he still considers their advice:

"I've taken birds to a champion, champion mind you, and I've put my bird and said, what do you think of that bird, and they will tell you where you're going right or wrong".

In the Budgerigar Society he enjoys talking with other breeders and uses this for improving his breeding techniques. He visits other breeders in their aviaries and is amazed at how quickly the time goes by. Conversation and anecdote are the means of exchanging information and 'learning'. Ted wants to be a champion breeder and uses his contacts to that end.

Snooker.

This is the only social activity that involves his wife. They belong to two local community groups and they go to one or another of them most Friday nights. They go with another couple and while the two men play snooker the two women sit and talk. The male friend is a car mechanic who gives Ted advice on his car but Ted is not inclined to take it. This leisure activity seems very restricted in the subjects they talk about.

The family.

Ted and his wife have three daughters. From his responses it seems that Ted provides the discipline in the family. Even when he mentions his wife, he is in charge:

"Many a time Glenda was worried to death about them, I had a little chat to them".

One day one of his daughters arrived home with a van full of furniture having left her husband. Eventually her husband and his father appeared.

"We were talking, he took (inaudible) so we had him and his father. I can remember, father was sat there, and I was sat in the middle. I was, I mean I criticised them both. [] Any way she went back and he went back [] it was a bit hair-raising at first, between the two of them, you had to try and be like a chairperson I suppose".

I take this to mean that Ted sees the family as his responsibility with him firmly at the head.

Intersubjective understanding.

In line with his personal equations, Ted has very firm views about how people should conduct themselves in the various moral orders he inhabits. There were very clear breakdowns in communication that showed breaches of tacit agreements that made communication possible. He also had clear views

on how these breakdowns should be resolved. Basically this is by returning to the normative order that makes communication possible.

The other unions complained to management that Ted's union were, "setting up a construction zone". Ted denies this but they were bought out for a lump sum of £2800 on the stipulation that they would always be in the top group of the wages structure. However, the other unions and management wanted to bring in changed working practices:

"The electricians, maintenance men and the tool room got together with management, and they kicked us out. I thought that was pretty terrible [] I was very upset".

Management and unions wanted to set up a system graded on workers' ability. Ted's union was being assessed against other workers not so well qualified to see if the work was the same so that they could be upgraded to the same level of pay as Ted's group, "the really only skilled men's group". What upset him most was the way the union rules were breached. He got his full time union official to a meeting:

"I said all you got to do is tell the company you want us in the, that top group, this was to the AEU. and the electricians, and they looked at me and they went blank. [] I think it was a put up job [] I said to our bloke we might just as well leave".

The company said the work had changed. Ted disputed this but his only recourse was to walk out of the meeting.

Whilst he feels strongly that his union job is to maintain his position in the workforce he is not unmindful of the other aspects of the job. When he talks to other workers he used to get worried that management would think this was not the right thing for him to do. His comment that he knew this was getting back to management, mentioned more than once, showed that he was uncomfortable about it. Also:

"If the company don't make money then you're out of a job, so in your union business it's no good being too militant. To a certain degree you got to try and give and take because you don't want the company to go bust. On the other hand you want the best deal you can get".

He used to get upset when his daughters flouted the rules which in his eyes were essential to their safety. One of his daughters stayed out all night and he took steps to see that it did not happen again.

The way he describes it he set the rules for family discipline:

"I think a lot of it is common sense, you haven't got to be too hard. I think you've got to let them, when girls get to 15 or 16 you've got to try and look after them, not be too hard on them, hope things work out with a bit of common sense".

But his daughters know that Dad tells you once and that is it.

His approach to status in the workplace also shows itself in the budgerigar world. In the beginning he went to a champion for advice on buying some birds. Now he is more circumspect, when looking for a new

bird Ted takes his best bird to a champion and asks to see a bird as good if not better:

"You value some people's opinions more than others because you look at some people's birds and they tell you this, this and this, you think right, I don't think that's quite right [] so you wouldn't value his opinions as much as somebody else's [] his way of talking is probably more in line with my thinking about it. His advice is good".

He has learnt that relationships in the budgerigar world are not that straight forward:

"I found that showing budgies was perhaps like a lot of other things. People get envious. People think, Christ, I've been doing this for four years, (inaudible) perhaps that [] why when you go to someone they think, you know, we'll keep you down".

This would seem to account for the dishonesty of the original breeder who sold him poor birds. In another anecdote he relates, a breeder was helping a judge and kept drawing his attention to the bird. Because he had paid a lot of money for the bird he wanted it to win but the judge was not interested in it and removed it altogether. If people get beaten they get upset, "I try to win but I'm not going to get upset". He now knows that different judges judge differently, if he does not win in one show he may at another.

Patterns of Interaction.

In each of his relationships Ted shows an appreciation of hierarchy. He looks up to people who have more expertise or power. He feels that such people should not be awkward but should give of themselves freely to others. In his place of work he becomes indignant when management refuses to give reasons for the things they do. When he accused the other unions and management of a 'put up' job he was accusing them of altering the rules to gain advantage. This was a collective form of awkwardness.

It is possible to substantiate this by examining the way he responded to his relationship with people at work. He felt uncomfortable when a member of management watched him giving advice to other workers because he is stepping outside his brief. This runs against his understanding of the web of relationships that exist in the workplace where he felt everyone was out for themselves. In the budgerigar world he feels for others when they try to play the system to get a winner. He can see that it is wrong but understands the pressures. He does not seem to have that understanding in the workplace when other unions are doing him down, as he is clear they should not do it.

He calls upon common sense in every aspect of his life. It is common sense that demands he should help others and not be awkward towards them. He does not mention reciprocity but his approach suggests that people should act equally towards one another.

Conclusions.

Ted learned slowly from experience and seemed not to plan for unexpected outcomes. He had no alternative when things did not happen as

he expected except to withdraw. He remembered most of the information he wanted from previous encounters with management and the other unions.

He learned about budgerigars in the same way. He did not read about them, he talked and looked at what others were doing. Whilst he eventually assesses his experience against others it is usually after the event. His learning was derived from encounters with other breeders. All Ted's learning is practical after the event. I believe that is why he relies on common sense so much because he uses his experience to assess previous experience. There seemed to be no forward planning.

Personal Equations: Jane.

Jane comes from a large family, but there is little contact. She rarely visits her mother and father or brothers and sisters. Jane left school at the minimum age and within two years had achieved 'O' and 'A' level passes. She ran away from home and became involved in the drug culture, ending up in a psychiatric hospital. She gave up this life when the authorities threatened to remove her baby daughter from her care. After a two year Certificate in Qualified Social Work course as a mature student, Jane became the manager of a Cyrenian day centre. She then achieved an M.Sc. and is now employed in her own research project examining how families cope with caring for mentally handicapped relatives.

Equation one.

"What I tend to do is try something out, see how it worked, if it hasn't worked think about why it has not worked and if it has worked think about why it has worked".

There are four similar statements in Jane's responses each subtly different. In the first one she tends to forget something if it does not work, in the second she remembers things if they are of interest to her:

"I do not try to remember things if they are of no interest to me whatsoever".

In the third comment, she says it is easier to understand and remember something if you already know about it. These comments are supported by

two others which put them in a practical context. She feels she is one of those people who learns by doing because she is:

"not very good at thinking about abstract thoughts that are not connected with life that I know about".

Equation two.

"I was regarded as being not very bright, you take that view of yourself on board".

Jane was initially educated in a local school in the east end of London which she enjoyed. Due to the upward mobility of her father she was moved to a girls grammar school in a middle class part of London which upset her. Jane feels she was seen as a problem by the school. She came to feel that,

"schools require a specific type of intelligence, which most of us have not got. I, for instance, have never been able to do rote learning [] if I do not understand something I just do not learn".

This view of herself as a learner came to the fore on the social work course where essays were concerned:

"I got a block because I had been told I was backward at school. I had always thought of myself as not very bright [] so when I went on the course I assumed I would not be up to the written work".

There are other comments she makes which support the above but also show an inability to see herself as "bright" even though it seems evident to observers that she is. In the context of an adult class on literature she says:

"I was actually quite interested that I could know who had written a book just by listening to a passage but [] I remember feeling incredibly inadequate because the class was full of these very intelligent women. I felt very unintellectual".

Subsequently on two separate courses she was told by two different tutors that her work was good. First, on a computer course:

"I was quite surprised [] I actually did not feel I had a proper grasp of it [] because I had not got a lot of understanding I brought to it. [] "I was quite surprised to discover that my tutor thought it was a good piece of work".

This is because she did not feel she had any prior knowledge of the subject as it was new to her. On the social work course she felt she brought a lot of valid information from the practical experience of having a been social worker yet:

"What this tutor [] was saying was that she thought (pause) I was quite bright".

The pause in the interview was significant. She seemed to find it difficult to express herself about her brightness. When she eventually did a Master's

course she also had blocks about essay writing. She has done very well on this course but she finds it strange:

"I produce an essay and I do not know how I produce it. []
What I have not got yet is any conception of how to produce a good essay".

She says that when she gets an A + for an essay:

"I cannot work out what I did. [] I do not know what I am demonstrating".

This seems to worry her.

Equation three.

"I don't usually ask people advice about my personal life, [] I am not very good at taking on board what people tell me. It's not validated".

This equation arose out of a description of how she learns about gardening and relates to equation one. She looks at how people do things, tries it out and if it works she will remember it. She learns from that process, "rather than having people tell me". The parallel motivation is not to give advice. She gives an impression that advice is too final:

"I would not give advice, I might well share something that I'd heard. [] I think is a difference between sharing something that you have found out about and telling people".

When I asked her whether she meant being directive about it she replied?

"Yes. I would not actually be directive about someone".

Within the context of a computer course she makes what seems like a general statement:

"I will ask anybody once, if I am not impressed by the sort of advice they give me I do not actually go back to them again".

She only seems to believe what she can verify for herself through her own activity.

Areas of Intersubjective activity.

At the time of the interview Jane's daughter was eighteen and embarking on a nursing course. Jane was unemployed and working on an M.Sc. at the local university. Because she was unemployed I have taken her time on the social work course as employment. Jane is involved in more activities than any other respondent.

Work. Social work course, Cyrenian Day Centre, Computer appreciation course.

Leisure. Clerk, Religious Society of Friends, Psychiatric survivors group, gardening, Women friends, Family, Other.

University Social Work Course.

Jane felt she had a lot of experience to bring to this course and that her practical experience was information enough to make her successful on the

course. However this knowledge bought Jane into conflict with other students, they were saying that:

"I presented a view that all the lecturers would think all the students were left wing feminists 'cos I spoke too much, [] they did not want to hear students they wanted to hear lecturers".

This led to a debate where she found tutors supportive of her position. It was very difficult for her and she considered leaving the course. She found her personal tutor very helpful because she held the view that Jane could cope.

Cyrenian Day Centre.

After leaving the course Jane became joint manager of the centre. It provided a place for street dwellers to meet, eat and shower. The users could also get advice on benefits. When she first went there she read what files were available, and asked other workers about particular clients although she felt she had to be open minded about the clients.

When she got stressed in the job she would talk to anybody, but in the second year she was able to have an outside consultant to help her cope.

Clerk, Religious Society of Friends, (Quakers).

Jane was brought up in an evangelical church. From the time her daughter was born she was associated with Quakers and soon became a member. During the eighteen years of being a Friend she involved herself in the meeting in her area and became clerk to her monthly meeting after being

assistant for three years. Even though Jane had long experience of being a Friend the first year of her clerkship was difficult, she just concentrated on getting the job done.

The difficulty any Clerk faces is in writing the minute. The minute encapsulates the decision a meeting arrives at after deliberation. Once while she was assistant clerk, she had to write a minute: "I could not even begin to think about how to do the formal minute". She is now confident that she can do it, and has learnt a lot about the Society of Friends, how to deal with difficult situations, especially those situations where she wanted something.

Psychiatric Survivors.

Jane feels passionately about this subject. As a survivor herself she feels strongly that survivors are discriminated against in employment and that this should be challenged. The majority of the work is of a personal support nature. Jane's M.Sc. work arose out of her involvement with this group.

Gardening.

"I suppose you could call gardening a hobby. I mean I do it for pleasure, not because I have got a garden".

Jane has a very small garden and at one time had kept an allotment.

Women friends.

Jane belongs to a women's group, and has had a long association with and interest in feminist issues:

"My interest in feminism over the last twenty years or so has changed and developed, and I would say that it's my own personal development that has gone on".

She has women friends and seeks information from them not because she feels they are knowledgeable but because she knows they are interested. This is the case when she asks her women friends about gardening, they may not be good gardeners, but they are interested in what Jane is saying, as she is interested in the way they do things in their gardens.

Other.

Because of her concern with social issues, Jane wanted to become involved in an organisation for social change. She joined the local Labour Party. She left when she saw the way the branch worked because she was not prepared to put up with what she found.

"The more I have got involved the less I have liked what I have seen. [] It's the in-fighting and the personal attacks and for women particularly, they [] get lots of abuse, [] very personal attacks are disguised as political disagreements".

Intersubjective understanding.

Jane's approach to her activities is informed by the personal equations set out above. Her need to work things out for herself and her understanding of herself as not very bright, all manifest themselves in her activities.

A comment she makes on learning about gardening encapsulates her approach to learning and getting information:

"What I tend to do is ask people how they grow something, or what to do in a particular situation if something does not work, or looks very healthy. I sort of talk to people about it and then try it out, or see if it applies. Then that process of actually talking about it, then applying what people have told me and learning from that process rather than having people tell me. I am not very good at taking on board what people tell me. It's not validated".

The fact that she needed to validate the information people give her was a factor in her problems on the social work course. She felt her experience as a client was validatory enough:

"I wouldn't say I learnt very much connected with social work on the course".

This process of validation is also found on the computer course she attended. If she did not understand something she would ask another member of the course, usually someone who had been doing the work for longer. She discovered that people who had done the basic programming:

"Did not know, because they had done it in a sort of low way, they could not think around it. [] if I am not impressed by the sort of advice they give me, I do not go back to them again".

She has been in situations where people come to her for advice on homelessness or mental health issues and she makes a distinction between advice and information:

"If I was actually giving people advice, I wouldn't give advice that I did not feel fairly confident was correct. I mean advice as in information. I would not give people information unless I was fairly confident it was correct. [] I would not give advice [] if it did not know what I was talking about".

I take this to mean that she can only pass on 'valid' information.

There are areas of her life where getting knowledge is not problematic. In the Society of Friends there were certain people whom she got a lot from:

"I am talking about wavelength rather than experience".

Her learning seems to come from what I would describe as a culture of experience. She feels that information is:

"disseminated at an unconscious level, [] you get information in little trickles from lots of different directions, it all builds up into a whole".

This process happens to other people and they have similar experiences to Jane which she feels is part of a global development in which she is involved.

Patterns of interaction.

In each of her activities Jane wants to make her own way without relying too much on others. Where she does have to rely on others she wishes to test out any knowledge received by validating it in her own terms. Where she does take notice of what people say, the information has to be neutral. People have to be on her 'wavelength'.

Conclusions.

Jane has constructed for herself two types of knowledge. One type is formal. It is passed on in schools and universities and has a form of objective existence which is tied in with the inculcation of rote learning. Jane feels she is not good at learning in that mode. I feel that any formal learning transmitted to her she puts into the category of rote learning. In this context she has difficulty in believing that she is bright, because she cannot validate knowledge gained in this way.

The other type of learning is neutral and subconscious. The knowledge that she picks up is either from personal experience or something she is interested in. Her justification for the validity of such information is supplied by her membership of a wider group of people who she feels have developed in the same way as herself. In cases where it comes from people she knows, they inhabit the same 'wavelength'.

Personal Equations. Ruby.

Ruby is about sixty years old. She was born and brought up in Jamaica where she received her schooling. She was part of a large and stable family and remembers her parents with affection, especially her Mother. She came to this country in 1956 when very few of her compatriots were here. She married and had five children while working first as a cleaner and subsequently as a state enrolled nurse. She is recently retired.

With my other interviewees I felt I understood their background and did not find any difficulty with their responses. In this interview I found that I did not readily understand the way she described her life. There seemed to me many contradictions in what she said. I put these problems down to differences in acculturation. In some of her responses she gave evidence for these differences. The first equation illustrates this.

Equation one.

"What I learnt about, bringing up a family, especially in England, and I was brought up in the West Indies, [] sometimes I was lost [] so I was just, like out in the deep. So I had it very, very, very difficult".

When her children were young she did not have the sort of support from family and friends that there would have been in Jamaica. There were few other black women and none of them knew much about the English way of life. She says she survived all this because of two things,

her educational background (Equation two) and the support of her mother. Her mother, who was ninety-two years old at the time of the interview:

"Don't read or write, but my mother is a remarkable woman, she is just a remarkable woman. With her knowledge and the things she knew, ah, I don't think I could say that my Mum was wrong".

She considers her approach to life was due to her mother's advice and upbringing.

Equation two.

"I know what ability I had 'cos I knew what my educational background was, but I've been marred, trodded on, abused, you know my personality, I was just slashed".

This section concerns two separate sets of experiences that interact with one another somewhat unhappily. It is in this interaction that I find the element of contradiction that I mentioned earlier. The first set of experiences are to do with her education in Jamaica where Ruby feels she did particularly well. The second set of experiences concern the way she was treated in the United Kingdom.

Ruby left school at fifteen with a school leaving certificate. At fifteen plus she took her first Jamaican examination which she says is equivalent to GCSE. At fifteen plus she says she was a pupil teacher where she taught during the day and attended evening classes:

"Then I left after a time and went to a secondary school in Kingston".

Whatever my misunderstandings, Ruby considers her education has stood her in good stead, but even this seems a mixed blessing. She feels she was brought up to:

"Have a lot of respect and a lot of philosophy around education. That is why I find it hard for me to probably talk, as lot of probably black people or white people my age group, because I find that my way of education, the way I was brought up, probably people in Jamaica, that is the same age as me, never had a mother like I had, never had education as their main philosophy".

She feels that every child has an inborn ability and it is the job of education to assist this ability:

"When I hear people say that a child is, you're dumb, you're, you see that, why, I, the whole English, to me is so different, I think most of it is crap".

She feels the system is geared to produce lawyers and doctors. She feels that it is good to be a gardener, basket worker or shoe repairer:

"Because [] you have got something in you that should be developed to make you something that you would love to be proud of".

Equation three.

"Why is it I stand up for myself so much? Why is it I'm so strong ? I said because my parents brought me up in the

majority of cases to realise that I've got worth and I shouldn't let go, and I don't ".

This manifestation of strength is paralleled by an understanding of how, over the years, she has been put down. Ruby relates several instances where she was not treated well. When she was doing her nursing training as a state enrolled nurse she felt the students who were training alongside her to be state registered nurses looked down on her.

"We might meet up at the same lectures but their training was three years and mine was two. [] they was always, you're a pupil and I am a student sort of business. [] They were always like that".

Another was the treatment she received in the winter of 1963, a very cold winter, when a shopkeeper refused to sell her coal: "I've got coal to serve my own people, I'm not about selling you". On another occasion she read a report on her from a previous job:

"it said I could never learn anything and they made out I was so, the things they said about me was that I was negative, and I knew, I knew they were wrong, and did no have to question it. [] I own my intelligence [] to my mother so why should I accept put down".

In a later period she applied to foster children from the local authority. A black social worker was sent around to interview her about her application which was turned down. Ruby was very angry and wanted to go to the office to remonstrate with the decision makers:

"I wanted to go in there to let them know who dare they undermine, not taking me is bad, who dare them probably undermining what a black woman is finding out about me as another black woman. [] What she did say that I was one of the most articulate person that ever come in []. They find it hard to believe that the qualities that the black woman said I possessed, it was, it was not possible".

Whilst she has felt she has been kept down it is the legacy of her parents, especially her mother that has kept her going:

"I was from a very stable parentage, because if you have got parents who don't let you feel proud of yourself then that's not doing you any good".

It is her feeling of having worth that has brought her through. My pre-understanding of the things she says makes the evaluation of her responses different from the evaluation of the other interviews.

Areas of intersubjective activity.

School.

Ruby says she left school at fifteen with a school leaving certificate. The certificate was a record of good conduct and satisfactory attendance. There seems to have been two further periods of education at fifteen plus and sixteen plus. Of the first period Ruby says:

"when I was fifteen plus I took my first examination and that was equivalent to GCSE. Then I took second and advanced then I took the third one that got me into practice teaching fully. I was fifteen plus, I was what you call a pupil teacher"

After a time she went to Kingston to secondary school. Here I got confused. Because I knew she had been a nurse I had opened the interview by asking her if she had done nursing training in Jamaica. She agreed she had, but six questions later she said she had no idea of nursing when in the West Indies.

In answer to the next question, which was checking that Jamaican examinations were governed from Westminster, she said:

"Where I got most of my nursing knowledge was when I was sixteen plus, I took and passed with honours [] I was quite familiar to certain terms when I came into nursing that was what I brought with me from when I was fifteen".

She learned words that were to be useful to her nursing in Jamaica because she did seven examination subjects including English, Geography, History, Science, Human Biology. I asked her if she came from Jamaica to be a nurse? She replied: "Yes, I had my educational background in Jamaica".

Family.

Her father had a plantation and Ruby feels she got a love of gardening from him, but it is her mother that is the bigger influence. Ruby feels that most of the background to the way she is comes from her mother. She says she does not think her mother was ever wrong in the advice she gave her. If her mother's advice did not turn out to be correct it was because Ruby was in England and the advice was not appropriate.

In Britain.

"When I came one of the first things I wanted to do was to go straight back home. I didn't see, I said these are factories, I

thought everything top of the houses. I said where's the verandas, where is all the flower gardens, 'cos of you ever see pictures of Jamaica you'd have an idea of what I am on about, right. When I came here I was disillusioned because I did not know that these were houses that people lived in".

This in itself must have been a hard lesson to learn, but more problems were to follow. She felt the health visitor did not understand the problems of black mothers because she did not tell her about help that was available from the clinic when she had her children.

Her own words are the most eloquent to describe the problems she had bringing up her children. It also highlights the clash of cultures:

"what I learnt about bringing up a family, especially being in England, and I was brought up in the West Indies, I found it very, very, very knowledgeable but very, very difficult, and times was very, very, frustrating. Sometimes I was very, very, trying, lost, because my kids, the way I expected, I was trying to use the way I was brought up to bring my kids up because, [] we did not have a whole of Jamaican women that had already brought up children to give us, to give me any guidelines. So I was just out in the deep".

She also became aware that it was not easy for her children:

"The England system of life was entirely different from the way we was brought up, and my children, I did not expect, even though they were good children, in a way I did not think they found it easy because what I told them at home was when they went to school, their friends, you know, their idea

of life was something different, so it was very difficult for them, so I think I was very lucky to know that we co-operated to the point we did".

Nursing training.

Ruby says she has always worked in the caring field. Her first job seems to have been in a geriatric hospital. When describing her relationship with a sister on a ward she said she was allowed to do something that only a trained nurse should do. This suggests she was not a nurse nor even a student nurse. She did eventually do training as a state enrolled nurse. During this period she was bringing up a family which made it difficult for her to learn what was necessary to become a nurse.

Friends.

Ruby has a wide circle of friends. She is active in her local church and represents them on ecumenical groups. She is also active in the black community and tries to act as a bridge between black and white people. She has a circle of black women friends from many denominations:

"I've got my Jehovah's Witnesses friend who was just here. I've got a friend from the New Testament (Church of God) because when I came here, over the years and I have met friends some of them did not belong to church, so over the years start going to Jehovah's Witnesses or they start going to this church they start going to that church, [] that still keeps us friends. [] I like to have, like the poorer classes, the dropouts is friends as well".

Her mothers advice was to know people from all walks of life, it did not matter who they were they all serve a purpose.

Intersubjective understanding.

Ruby mentions her superior educational background a lot and suggests that it makes it difficult for her to communicate with both black and white people her age. However when she talks about the learning she has done, it is clear that formal learning presents difficulties and that informal learning is more comfortable.

When she was learning to be a state enrolled nurse her family were at home. She had to find ways of remembering diastolic and systolic. She remembers that in Jamaica she used to use suffixes and prefixes and she applied this to the problem. "I used to know what **pre** means before and **D** means down so I said dia means down. Its very hard to work out what suits you so that you learn quicker that makes it easier for you".

Ruby did find another way to help her learning. Her mother could not read or write. On a Sunday morning while she was preparing the meal somebody used to read the newspaper to her. Ruby adapted this. She asked one of her sons who was at grammar school to help her by reading things out to her that she needed to know.

I asked her if discussing these things with other people on the course was helpful:

"Yes. I learn, I learn, I talk a lot. I learn by talking more. If I was to say sit down and read something I don't say I would not retain it but I find it a bit harder because I'm a person that, I've never had much time so the time I take to sit down and read notes and underline things and do that, if we sit

down and discuss it is a group, I remember what you said and it's easier for me to learn".

There are a lot of examples in the interview of learning from talking. In the cold winters, when her children were babies she was not sure how to dress them for warmth. By talking to people at work she learnt what to do. She felt this was a wonderful way of learning.

While she considers personal exchange of knowledge to be very important she is aware of the limitations of such an approach. She does not always pass on information to others:

"It all depends [] I somewhat know peoples personalities, my friends, the people that I associate [] Some people are very quiet and suffer in silence [] I've got to say well you know, what's the matter and feed them gently and after a time they build up trust".

Some people have this trust and confide in her spontaneously. She feels she must know a person's personality before giving information to them. Similarly when she passes on information she makes a distinction between something she knows and something she has been told, this is because she is not so sure about information that has been passed on to her.

The incident with the shopkeeper and the health visitor was related in a matter of fact way. There are other incidents where Ruby is much more emotional, for instance when she was training to be a nurse.

These incidents were potentially damaging to Ruby as they made her question her opinion of herself. It angered her because she felt she was not being allowed to fulfil her potential. This, "makes me more determined to prove what I am and I am very, very strong person in belief

in who you are". I believe the following extracts support this view. She complains about the English education system in comparison to that in Jamaica. They were taught that children had inborn ability that had to be nurtured by the teachers.

Ruby feels she was brought up correctly. This means being proud of yourself:

"when I was a young girl my father, my mother always say, Oh you, you got an answer for everything and my dad always said, you don't touch her, in other words don't stifle what she has got".

In the area where she lives there are second and third generation Afro-Caribbeans. She knows that things are now different:

"I learn a lot from them because some of them were born here and I wasn't, and even the way they live, 'cos I find out that a lot of my age group when we came here we did not have anybody to correct us, right. [] I find out that a lot of young people that I meet, their way of thinking is a bit different and there are things that they do that I agree with".

Patterns of interaction.

The strongest pattern in the interview is the references to Jamaica in comparison to England and her constant reference to her mother. These references seem to be the only thing that supported her in her activities in this country. This is characterised by her saying how very, very hard her life has been:

"I cry sometimes because I look back and think however on earth I came through. My friend was here just now and we were saying how did we come through. What made us come through. I mean why is it we are not in Glenside. (A local psychiatric hospital). [] I went through hell in England".

Conclusions.

While Ruby survived because of the 'strength of her parentage' she is very conscious of how hard life was for her in Britain. This feeling of hardness seems to be absent when she talks about her friends. Her need to know them seems to be the basis for learning from them or for them. She says she learnt from nurses she respected and who treated her as somebody who could be trusted to do things. However, as she pointed out, the way of doing things in England is so different from the way they are done in Jamaica.

Personal Equation. Paul.

Paul is married with three children, two boys and a girl. He describes his wife as a 'domestic engineer'. Paul has had many jobs but usually left after falling out with his manager or supervisor. In his current job he is a lorry driver and largely arranges his own schedule within the confines of the deliveries he has to make. His hobby used to be fishing, but he has given that up in favour of becoming a scouter. He says he is partial to a bit of violence and has been charged with grievous bodily harm and aggravated bodily harm.

Equation One.

"When you can do something [] you try to do something to your best ability".

Doing things to the best of his ability is very important to Paul. The first comment arose when he was telling me he likes to do things tidily. For instance if he chops and loads logs:

"you people might not think it, [] they got to be chopped properly, if you see what I mean. [] I mean sometimes people might not think I am doing it the right way round. I can't abide people who [] chuck everything on. I gotta load it, place it [] people think you're mad but in the end you end up with a tidy load".

When I suggested that he was fussy he became indignant:

"I am definitely not fussy. I like to have things done how I think they should be done, but I am not fussy".

He agreed he was methodical.

Paul is a great reader. He wishes he had paid more attention at school where, he says, he never read a book. He will now sit down and read a book he is interested in from cover to cover and remember some of what he has read:

"what I read in a book I will endeavour to put into practice if it's at all possible".

His great hobby is fishing where reading and practice went hand in hand:

"I can look at a stretch of river and as near as God damn it tell you exactly what's there on the bottom and everything. That's come from reading books and practising it yourself".

Paul has a relationship with a river that he feels other people do not have:

"I can look at a river [] and think to myself there's a damn good swim down there. I could be there, just trotting down to the water. That's in you. That bit of you's in you. I mean people say it's not, but it is. Some people can look at that and all they see is a river. [] "It makes me feel good [] I can be there and set up and not catch a fish while somebody sat the other side thinking what the hell is he up to".

His methodical approach is used in his job when packing his lorry or working out his routes. He describes his farming activities and lorry spring refurbishment job in great detail:

"I take a pride in what I do. [] Or I do try to the best of my ability. Somebody could do it with better ability, but I try to do what I do to the best of MY ability".

Doing things to the best of his ability shows itself in the high level of knowledge he has about his activities.

Equation Two.

"Everybody has a different skill, different knowledge, of something, we are not all the same. We do not all know everything".

Paul knows a number of skilled people. If he wants a job done he knows who to go to for the right advice. If he wants information about roofing or carpentry he asks the people he works with:

"I got a pretty good thing going with all the fixers and that.
[] I've known them for eleven years look, like friends".

Outside of work there are others who have skills he may need:

"if I want the car electrics done I go and ask Bill [] because he was a car electrician. If I wanted something else done I would go and ask P.J. down the bottom because he's a mechanic".

Part of this identification of services is to save time. If his Land Rover was misbehaving he would go to J.D.:

"J.D. could come down, stick his hands in there, two minutes
[] whereas you could be there for two hours".

He is new to scouting and does not know a lot about it. There is another scouter called Jim:

"I don't know what the hell would happen if he left, I don't. I don't know whether I could, a, see, he got so much knowledge up there about scouting which I haven't, I couldn't really hit on really".

'Up there' or 'In the block ' is Paul's way of referring to his head where knowledge is kept.

Equation Three.

"I reckon I'm odd. [] people cannot understand how I like to be on my own so much. [] I'd give my eye teeth for sitting on a river bank [] and catch nothing all day, but I would be content just to be there. People cannot see that sometimes, I can be really aggressive you see".

Two of Paul's attributes seem to oppose each other. On one hand he likes the quiet of fishing yet on the other he is partial to violence. In his job as a lorry driver he makes the opportunity to sit in his lorry on Salisbury Plain watching the tank manoeuvres. On other occasions he would like to be on a river bank on his own. "When I am there, that little bit area is mine, I am well in it ". He complains that when people have a go at fishing they find they catch nothing:

"and get cheesed off with it. To me that is part of it and you've got to accept that and you just got to appreciate that

you are there. I mean if you don't catch nothing all day, you are just there, just being there is there".

For Paul fishing is where he pits his wits against the fish. Trying different tackle, different baits, different methods of fishing.

Paul is very interested in the Viet Nam war and has read lots about it. He wishes he had been there as well as in the Falklands conflict.

"I just wonder if it's the war mongering in me".

"I reckon I would have lasted a long time somehow in my own mind, probably got wasted as soon as I got off the plane".

There does not seem to be a link between the quietude and violence yet he feels that people will not do anything if there is pain in it:

"I mean somebody won't lift something because it hurts
[] grabbing hold a piece of rock or something when you
got it out the ground with your hands [] they won't fight a
bit of pain [] I mean it's fight the pain a bit isn't it".

Paul is impatient with people who will not do something because they are afraid of being hurt, pain produces anger which gets the job done quicker. In fishing this does not seem appropriate yet he does see the fish as a challenge.

Areas of intersubjective activity.

Work . Previous. Current.

Leisure. Fishing. Scouting. War and violence. Family.

Previous Work .

Paul had several semi-skilled jobs after leaving school. He stacked shelves at Gateway. Worked in a spring re-tempering workshop for a few years but fell out with the manager. Worked for a pipeline firm, fell out with manager. Black Diamond Dairy Produce, fell out with manager. Trist Draper, fell out with shift engineer.

His work at Stone's Springs was to make and refurbish lorry springs. He got on very well with the working foreman until he became manager, he changed from being one of the lads, "he turned the other way".

He gives two very detailed examples of the sort of work he used to do where the work culture seems to have been co-operative as nothing was written down. It was necessary to ask other more knowledgeable people what had to be done when a new job arrived. During this time he also had a job as a club bouncer which involved him in violent confrontations.

Work Current.

Paul has been in his present job for thirteen years. He delivers materials to building sites for a roofing firm. He delivers all over the South West of England. He was offered his present job and enjoys it. The job works for him rather than for the firm.

Although he is a lorry driver he is expected to help on site when needed. He is also sent to do repair jobs for the company. The managers who draw up his work schedule leave him to work out his own routes. He feels he knows the delivery routes better than they do. He clearly distinguishes his leisure time from work.

Leisure. Fishing.

At the time of the interview he had given up fishing in favour of scouting. However in a large part of the interview he talked about his fishing ability. He started fishing at fourteen years old. He read newspaper articles on fishing and put into practice what he had read . He went fishing every weekend and was often out three nights in a row. He says his wife did not object because she knew the sort of person she married.

I have already mentioned the detailed description of the lorry spring work and he is just as informative about fishing. In his description of carp fishing he itemises the tackle needed and talks about baits:

"Getting the protein mixes right. Getting hold of somebody who actually worked in a laboratory to, got a bait to try, can you break it down into its different fats, proteins and all the rest of it".

Paul believes that fish can distinguish a good protein bait from a poor one.

Leisure. Scouting.

Paul got into scouting when his two sons were in the cubs. He was asked if he would do some conservation work, which he liked. He was then went on a parents committee but found it very boring and left. Monday night scouts was in danger of closing as there were no scouters. The group needed help so he thought "let's give it a go". At the time of the interview he had completed stage one of his Woodbadge and was just about to embark on stage two.

Leisure. War and violence.

Throughout the interview there are comments from Paul about what he calls the violent side of him. In his younger days when he was a club bouncer and became involved in fights:

"I just happened to be there at the wrong time usually, but mainly I put it down to drink [] but, um, I would not say I was not partial to a bit of violence".

He has read a lot about the Viet Nam war "I wonder if that's just the war mongering in me". Paul would have liked to have been in Vietnam even if he would have ended up in a body bag. He feels he would have lasted a long time but, "probably have got wasted as soon as I got off the plane".

Family.

Paul's father and mother are alive. He has a brother whom he would not contact for anything. If he wants advice the first person he goes to is his father who he expects to know what he needs. He considers him to be a knowledgeable person because, "he's got the knowledge of life really 'cos he's that much older". His father is a carpenter and taught Paul a lot about the building trade by taking him on jobs when he was a boy. He does not mention his mother as someone he goes to for advice.

Paul's wife works part time to help out with money. All three children are at school. Paul only mentions the boys in relation to cubs. The daughter is not mentioned at all and his wife is rarely mentioned.

Intersubjective understanding.

Paul is methodical. He likes to do things to the best of his ability. He is aware of the contradictions he presents to others with regard to his

violence and his need for solitude. As I reported from his third equation when talking about fishing: "People cannot see that sometimes I can be really aggressive".

It is difficult to see where this violence comes from. He left school after a 'fallout' his usual term for leaving a job. He does not sound to have been happy with what he found outside school:

"it's a big nasty world out there. Bit of a shock coming out of school. Although you had careers officers and all that sort of thing. Nothing to do with reality. What is it really like out there?".

His succession of jobs gives the impression that it was very difficult for him to cope and it was during the early period of his life out of school when he became a club bouncer involving himself in violence:

"Pain is nothing really. You get hit, you get hit. First bit of pain there then it's gone, you don't feel any pain till it's all finished. That's when you get the pain, it's after".

He mentions the need for motivation in the context of scouting. He says he has learnt a lot by watching and using his own common sense but one of his colleagues:

"puts a bit of motivation into it you see, gets you motivated. You get wound up to do something, you actually think well I ought to get on to do it. Whereas the others sort of like, they're there but they haven't got the same, whether that's because they're older. I don't know".

In the various milieux in which Paul finds himself there is a tendency for him to identify one male person who he goes to for information, advice and motivation. In the scouts it is the colleague already mentioned, a scouter who helps on two nights a week. When at Stone's Springs there was a man who everybody asked for advice on how to do the jobs. This person could answer every question. Before leaving home he used to live on a farm and helped with the farm work. It was not just that he was doing this work, he was helping a particular man do it. He followed the same pattern of activity with his father who used to take him to work with him. On the other side of this equation all the people he fell out with were men who had a position of power over him. In the roofing firm it is possible to see this type of relationship with managers and foremen although the self-programming aspect of his job seems to have prevented a fallout in this job.

He says he would not go to management for advice. When it comes to them giving him his work schedule he devalues the managers' knowledge and boosts his own:

"He doesn't work out, he would not know but he'd have me going to Exeter then going to Southampton. [] he wouldn't really have a clue what was happening there [] but I just work it out".

Paul also says he fills in for half-a-day on site to help out occasionally, usually working with the ganger but he could stand there all day because, "he probably work better without you when you first start".

I think it is clear that Paul works better on his own. Most of the jobs he had earned his living at were methodical and his leisure time

activities also benefited from this approach. But there is also a depth to Paul which goes beyond the merely methodical.

Two questions asked of him refer to formal qualifications and who respondents would go to for information. Of the former Paul said:

"I got a certain amount of knowledge in here, (points to head), people from school may not have gained from there. I mean it all depends what you turn your hand to. Just because I got none of that does not mean to say I am uneducated does it?"

Question seventeen asked if respondents went to a range of people for information, Paul said he generally asked his father yet in the interview it is clear he identifies people for the knowledge they have got and asks for their advice. There are four people he mentions with specialist knowledge as well as the workers he delivers to.

He also makes interesting comments about advice and information that he passes on. He says that he passes on helpful information to people:

"they'll do it and probably think to themselves, well the way I am doing it is a bit better, till they actually do it then they realise that the way you told them to do it was better. 'cos People have got their little quirks haven't they?"

I asked him if he was confident about what he passed on. He said sometimes:

"'cos you're only picking up from what someone else has told you usually, but mainly I'm pretty confident in what I say".

Conclusions.

I feel Paul chooses learning activities that will lessen the division between his violent and pacific self. Reading is a solitary activity as is fishing. His current job is largely solitary.

He feels learning is putting into practice what you have read about, or trying out what somebody has shown you. Yet he seems to distance himself from others in his way of talking. He even seems to distance himself from the interview:

"I wasn't exactly full of relevant information on that school bit was I? [] Looking at that there you see you probably think, well, all that I've ever learned is all work orientated, well it isn't really".

I feel he has a view of how he wants to be but cannot clearly articulate how he feels. I feel he knows that violence is a problem and seeks to minimise his violent nature.

Personal Equations. John.

John is a senior lecturer at a well thought of university. He is married and has two daughters and one grandson. He engages in a number of voluntary activities in the broad category of educational welfare. At the time of the interview his work load was increasing.

Equation One.

"Having the elements of a fairly arrogant character is that there are not very many people I respect, but that the flip side of that is that the people I do respect are very important to me".

Arrogance and respect are two aspects of John's responses to the interview that loom large. There are six references to each in a twenty page typescript. These two self-statements also have a bearing on the other two equations. The bluntest statement on arrogance is:

"I'm a pretty arrogant person, much more so than most people suppose and one of the things I am very arrogant about is my own ability".

John went through school to university in what he calls the standard progression. In his school career he had little respect for his parents. He felt that due to their inferior educational attainment, they failed to understand his generation. At this time however there was somebody of his father's generation who was influential. This person was the father of his best friend, a headmaster for whom John had an immense respect. John

does not say why he was influential but his responses show somebody who respected learning and had specialist knowledge.

In his work situation he has three levels of relationship. There are the administrative staff who he does not have very much respect for. There are his colleagues in the department who have different specialisms. He considers these his local peer group and he may ask them for advice simply because they work in the same place and interact with the same students and staff.

John belongs to a group which he calls the 'invisible college'. He respects these people very much indeed because they are knowledgeable about his specialism. When he received a critical letter from a colleague in Belgium it upset him because he respected him so much.

When he was new in his job he went to a senior colleague to ask advice about a reference he was asked to write for an adult student in an extra mural class. This superior:

"whom I had an immense respect for [] metaphorically tore it up into little pieces and threw it in the bin and said right this is how you do it. That was immensely influential and salutary, I remember it to this day".

I get the impression that respect is given for a particular level of intellectual expertise yet in a discussion we had about a General Practitioner friend of his he says this person is respected because he has: "intangible aspects of personality". Yet he also respects artisans for the work they can do and for acting in a way that John feels would tax even him. (See interpersonal skills below).

His arrogance seems to be bolstered by outside support. He feels that people do listen to him:

"one has a position where people tend to regard one as fairly authoritative. Um, I am also told I have an authoritative voice, a friend of mine said [] your voice is so authoritative you can talk a whole load of rubbish on the radio and people will believe you".

He was not sure whether this was a compliment or not.

Equation Two.

"I am hopeless with my hands and I don't have a feel for materials. I am very well aware of the fact that most artisans are people who do have this skill that I don't have".

It seems irksome to him that this is the case because he feels that it comes easily to a lot of people. This concern for his lack of manual skills came right at the beginning of the interview and is mentioned four more times. He feels his hobbies are passive, unskilled and not creative.

Why I feel this equation is important is as much to do with his demeanour and voice when telling me about it as to do with the fact that he mentions it at all. He seems genuinely upset at his lack of manual skills. This is one area of his life where his arrogance does not hold sway.

Equation Three.

"I've got a good memory and I tend to remember most things. Of course one is more likely to remember things if they are

important to you, but I remember trivial things like telephone numbers of people who are of no importance to me".

He says he remembers what he is told and is not inhibited about getting information he needs. He feels that as he has lived longer he has picked up a lot of information and experience that he passes on. Also he feels that his involvement with activities outside of work has given him a lot of experience that he can use in his job. However there are two things that help him remember things better:

"first of all having a perception that I need the information [] and secondly having a respect for the person [] who is offering the advice".

People who are his intellectual superiors are respected, those of lesser ability are not, unless they have some special expertise that John lacks. His faith in himself is shaken however when he sees people successfully doing things he cannot do himself, or doing things for which, he feels, they do not have the requisite educational ability.

Intersubjective Activity.

John inhabits several distinct groups. Identified individually these groups are :

1. Work. Departmental Activity. The Invisible College.
2. Leisure time. Jogging Group. The Housing Association.
3. The Family.
4. Other.

The other work and social activities that he attends with his wife are not as central to his responses as the above groups. From his comments it

is possible to say that he finds some of these groups more conducive to be with than others.

The level of John's intersubjective activity seems to depend upon how useful he feels people are to him, how he feels about his relationship to them, and whether his relationship is reciprocated at a level he feels appropriate. I believe his personal equations prevent him from adequately understanding some of the people he interacts with. The sort of question he would be asking himself is, 'are these people and activities worthy of respect and will the knowledge gained be useful'? I will seek to support this view of John with reference to comments he makes about his interaction in the groups I have identified.

Departmental activity.

John describes his work situation in the university along army lines: "there are privates, N.C.O's., Commissioned Officers and so on. [] the grand old men who are toppling off the top [] have got a lot to offer".

John does not define 'band' but in line with his comments about the army I conceive the 'band' to be inhabited by people in the same level of the hierarchy. There is a two way transmission of information between people at a same level. There seems to be very little communication with people outside the band, what is transmitted is called the general coinage of day to day living, "nice day today, tea's a bit weak this morning". This seems a low level of communicative activity for a university department, but this is explained.

"you are certainly on your own in your place of work, um, because you are doing your own thing and you are

surrounded by colleagues, but they are doing their own thing".

There would seem to be an institutional lack of intersubjective activity at this departmental level, yet John says that he finds out an enormous amount of information about a whole range of issues because he has "picked them up". I believe that this is the result of the arrogance he displays in his first equation. For instance John no longer goes to people in the department for advice, he considers that he is the superior class and people go to him.

Relationships are only important as a means of picking up information. He states he does not have much respect for the administrators in the department. He also does not respect his departmental colleagues as highly as those in the Invisible College. However, there is one person in the department that he goes to for specific advice on do-it-yourself jobs. This seems to be a separate relationship outside of the departmental structure.

The Invisible College.

John is an expert in a particular branch of Zoology. He is one of a small number of such experts; four live in the United Kingdom, the rest are spread around the world. They all know one another, correspond and visit. In John's terms this is the most coherent 'band'. They can discuss the precise problems of John's subject because they are all highly developed in that specialism. This is a group of people that John greatly respects. They have a very narrow area of study, involving their own language and techniques that are closed to others. Their pre-understandings have been gained by research and monitoring each other's work.

The Jogging Group.

This is probably the least communicative of John's groups. John is proud of the fact that he got into running, "before the mob did". He characterises the people he runs with as a "diverse group". He states that not much talking is done as it is difficult to run and talk at the same time. There are two people he mentions particularly. The first is an artisan who gives him advice on do-it-yourself jobs. The second is a General Practitioner. The GP he respects, he thinks people listen to his advice. When questioned why the GP should be listened to rather than any other person he said, "largely the fact that he is a GP., plus of course, he has, you know, intangible aspects of personality".

I assume this last phrase means that there are people who transcend the intersubjective characteristics of any group. I suspect that a GP is such a person and a lawyer would be another. In society at large certain people have certain functions that are useful to all. This results in everyone having certain pre-understandings that provide a common intersubjective understanding.

The Housing Association.

John is on the committee of a church based residential home for retired people. He takes the job seriously, reading literature about the subject to keep himself informed about current legislation. He also says he learns an enormous amount from the informal discussions that take place before and after meetings. However he gives evidence of discomfort in this context because the work is, "totally divorced from all the other things I do". He is sensitive about his contribution because of the criticism he received from members about his working methods :

"People have told me they are not appropriate [] people have said to me, look you're not running a university now".

John may be knowledgeable about the technical side of the responsibilities of this committee, but his intersubjective knowledge is lacking. His communicative skills do not make allowance for the different context he finds himself in. In another context he says he could not do his job, as a teacher, if he was not adaptable. This throws up the possibility that it is easier to be adaptable within an intersubjective milieu you are familiar with than in one completely outside normal experience.

The Family.

This is probably the most complex area of John's relationships. There does not seem to be any truly intersubjective communication. His initial comments on the family seem contradictory:

"My parents' generation [] totally failed to understand my generation []. My parents were totally incapable of empathising or even understanding the rationale on which many of the things we did were based".

John believes that as the general level of educational attainment rises the generation gap will become much smaller. His parents' educational ability was far less than his generation and therefore they were not able to comprehend what their children were doing. He feels he empathises with his children's generation even if he disagrees with what they do.

However, at the time he felt most strongly about his parents' lack of empathy he had a mentor of his parents' generation who John had a great respect for. He learnt a great deal from this man.

Given what he relates about his parents, his comments on his relationship with his immediate family are strange to my ears. When I questioned this and suggested that information about his daughters and grandson may be a bit more than gossip he said:

"Yes, but not much more in the sense that I have never discussed it with her and she has never discussed it with me. [] certainly if there was not the sort of communication that you are talking about, um,.....".

When asked what he would see as new developments in the family he said he found it very difficult to relate to the question. Family relationships are based upon the reciprocal communication family members engage in to gain information. In John's case this seems a problem:

"I don't obtain very much information from my family, a (Pause), because, (Pause), I'm in a situation where my educational attainments are higher than all my immediate family".

From his remarks about gossip I would argue that John does not recognise intersubjective communication within the family. This may be because they do not measure up to his high educational attainment. Is his relationship with his immediate family the reverse of his relationship with his parents? His high educational achievement making communication with both generations of his family difficult.

Other.

John considers himself to be a "a bit of a loner". Certainly in some of his other activities he exhibits an aloofness which suggests that he is, or that he finds social chit-chat inconsequential. When he is in a social setting with his wife, where it might be appropriate to offer advice he holds back and allows his wife to do it. He has been a student counsellor and is currently the university's disablement officer, yet whilst he considers his ability to offer advice is good, he is ambivalent about it.

"It is a very complex mix of, um, a sense of responsibility, um, that if people take advice, then, then, you have a responsibility for their actions, [] people very frequently don't take the advice and therefore a sense of wondering whether one is wasting ones time".

John has a great interest in music. He has met people at evening classes who have immeasurably enlarged the area of music he relates to. He is unable to say exactly what he has learnt from these people because what he has learnt is mostly:

"Intangibles like attitudes to things, or modifying my attitude to things".

This is the second reference to "intangibles" and it is used not only in the learning context but in his work as a tutor as well. He defines teaching in a fairly formal way:

"As transmitting either specific information or a much less tangible but nevertheless real, a specific sort of set of attitudes which is very much more difficult to pin down".

This seems to me a mystification of teaching and another attempt to distance himself from other teachers because he considers himself a good teacher. It may be the case that he sees teaching in an intuitive way in that there is more to learning than learning facts, there is an understanding of how facts hang together.

Intersubjective understanding.

In the previous section I have shown how John relates to the people and activities he is involved with. In this section I want to draw out of his responses the reasons he gives that substantiate my feeling that he restricts his communicative activity.

I am suggesting that all John's communicative interaction take place within various power relationships. Power is manifest in the evidence of hierarchical relationships where superiority and deference are found. Some of his relationships take place in the milieux where power is apparent e.g. his work place. Others take place where power relationships would not be thought appropriate yet still exist, e.g. the jogging club and residential home. The family seems to me to be a special area where power relationships are concerned. What characterises the comments in this section is that they are based upon reflection and interpret how he feels about others and in his opinion, how they feel about him.

As we have seen he considers the workplace to be hierarchically organised. He has stated that most communication takes place within a particular 'band'. What he means by this is that communication is between equals. He justifies this by reference to industry, which he believes is:

"much more hierarchically arranged, [] it's significant if you see a job advertisement in commerce and industry for

middle management it says, you will report to, well I don't report to anybody".

He goes on to say that there are people senior to him and others junior, but they do not report to one another.

He does not seek advice from people above him because he says they are very busy people. Where his Professor is concerned he feels he would not want to be concerned with any of his problems. This is John's interpretation of the Professor's supposed attitude to him. It may be correct, but given John's other remarks I wonder if it is an attempt to distance himself from the Professor.

John's relationship with his colleagues is quite different from those with his students. As a teacher he has to communicate in an instrumental way, to impart knowledge. He has not had training to teach. He feels he acquired his teaching skills long before he needed them:

"I can actually identify some of the people [] and I can actually identify some of the events on which my subsequent teaching skills were based and these pre-date my needing those skills, they even, in many cases, pre-date my knowing that I would need them".

He learnt these skills from the headmaster. He sees teaching as a formal activity transmitting specific information or attitudes. This is in contrast to the learning we discussed where he picked things up from his everyday interaction with others.

He also considers he is approachable to students:

"If you are more approachable than me in the context of my job, you're one of those people who are trying so desperately hard that the students despise you".

This comment must be the result of his understanding of how a teacher should do his job and of reflection on people he has seen teaching. However, he is very surprised when students, who he feels should have approached him, have not. He says this is because he is so far above them they are hesitant to do so, yet he feels that giving advice to a student on how to replace a test tube is a totally unconstructive use of his time.

Two things are of interest here. Do the students have the same understanding of the departmental hierarchy as John, in which case they may well hesitate to ask him such a menial question, or does the intersubjective communication within the department convey to students that they do not ask senior tutors for a test tube or other sorts of advice?

Recently in the quest for increased productivity students were paired, in their final year, to do a project. It was expected that this would halve the amount of time tutors would need to support them. In fact it actually:

"Reduced staff time by immensely more than that, because the students are now seeking advice from their partner rather than going to a member of staff".

John thought this was wonderful because it increased the:

"Diffusion of knowledge and information and communication horizontally and decreased the diffusion of information vertically".

John considers this is a good thing if certain safeguards are built in. It is difficult to see if John considers this good teaching or it just mirrors the way he feels about communication within bands.

In his everyday activities outside the university he says he is not afraid to ask for information he wants. In the questionnaire I provided a list of people I felt respondents might go to if they wanted advice. Initially John said he would go to any of them in relation to his perception of what they had to offer.

When we returned to discussing this later in the interview, he said:

"I don't actually seek advice, um, and I don't think I obtain very much information, um, from any of those. [] I do not go to the Vicar [] He's an amiable enough chap [] but not a person I respect".

I have shown what he thinks about his family and he states he does not belong to a social group like a darts team or a drama club. He also says his circle of friends is very small. We talked about how well he remembers things, where advice was concerned. There are two things that help him remember:

"First of all having the perception that I need the information, [] secondly, having a respect for the person who, to whom I consort, who is offering the advice".

John complains that all his activities outside work are passive and unskilled. He is hopeless with his hands and does not have a 'feel' for materials. The following extract seems to me to illustrate the dilemma that is apparent in John's feeling of impotence over mastering practical things:

"I am sometimes surprised to discover, um, how very good the interpersonal skills are, um, of people whose educational and other sorts of attainments and whose social status is comparatively modest [], how instinctively people like that perform extraordinarily well in particular tricky situations. I sometimes think to myself, my golly, you've done that better than I would have done".

This comment seems to me to embody John's attitude to education. His comments on the ability of education to overcome the generation gap has the effect of expecting people of modest educational means not to be able to do certain things. He sees the fact that he has no manual skills as a lack in him which education should be able to overcome but does not. The question is if he lives in the intersubjective world that imparts benefits to him via communicative ability, why cannot he pick up manual dexterity in the same way he picks up verbal information?

One answer could be that John is not intimately involved in intersubjective communication. His description of himself as a 'loner' fits with the way he distances himself from many people. It is as much because he lacks intersubjective skills as it is that he does not see these relationships as important. He seems to live in an idealised world, created by a certain sort of educational expertise that sets him apart. Respect, which means a lot to him, restricts the intersubjective milieu in which he is active.

Patterns of interaction.

John's responses show he has a conception of himself that does not seem to be borne out in his activity. He considers himself forthcoming but

his report on the responses of others to him show that this may not be the case.

John is very clear on two things. One is that he will ask anybody for information, the other is that he does not ask for information, he picks it up. He only asks for information on the topic where he is weakest, do-it-yourself, and then he only asks two people. For all other areas of his life, he just listens to people or reads the relevant literature.

The combination of respect and arrogance seem responsible for his feeling that people seek him out for advice although there is no evidence that this actually happens. In the more formally arranged part of his job, on university committees, he picks up information and passes it on, all at the level of the general coinage of everyday life. He seems quite happy about this neutral exchange of information but as reported he is ambivalent about being put on the spot where giving advice is concerned.

He does say that being a teacher means that advice giving is part of the job. Yet as we have seen he feels very surprised when people who he feels should be able to approach him do not. It seems that John feels that useful information is intangible. This intangible knowledge could be tacit knowledge but it seems difficult to understand how the student should gain it if it is indefinable and not taught.

John was upset at the response from his Belgian colleague. He was not expecting it and it made him alter his opinion of what he had done. His experience when told his reference for a student would not be good enough was unexpected in the vehemence of his senior colleagues condemnation. John calls these salutary experiences. I assume this meant that he felt uncomfortable and learnt from the experience.

Summary.

In this section I have tried to show how John feels about the relationships he has with others. These relationships are dictated by his understanding of what they offer him in his ongoing area of interest. There are a number of comments which seem to me to distance him from many of the people he interacts with. He seems to construct two different worlds and has a different relationship with each.

Summary of Chapter.

I have tried to show in this chapter how the respondents have the same responses to any situation they find themselves in. Ted reacts with dismay if his rule governed world is tampered with. Jane has to validate everything and feels that she is not bright in certain situations. Ruby feels this country did not fully recognise her educational ability and that she was set apart from Jamaican and English people because of this ability. Mary feels she lacks confidence in the company of other people where her abilities are being put to the test. John, in spite of his confidence as an academic, feels unable to tackle manual work and finds the comments of the committee members on the residential home hurtful.

All respondents withdraw from situations that they feel to be wrong for them. I feel that this shows they have an understanding of how the situation works. If there is a dysfunction in the situation they usually know what should be done to put it right. Whilst they get information to make such judgements from the intersubjective milieu they inhabit, their approach to dysfunction is very much based upon a causal framework of understanding. If the respondents do not get what they want out of interaction with others, they withdraw. In the sense that they are seeking

to give sense to their lives they are also seeking to be in charge of their decisions.

However, their very need to be in charge is derived from their experience of interaction with others in previous experiences. In the next chapter I will examine how they come to be like this. The influence of the intersubjective milieu on them is the other side of the personal equation. In this chapter I have showed how they make sense of their world. In the next chapter, I will show how they give sense to normative situations that they seek to influence.

Chapter Six.

THE LOCAL MORAL ORDER & SOCIAL EPISODES.

Seeking Clarification.

A local moral order "is the structured product of the joint actions of intelligent and knowledgeable agents acting to further some end or other" (Harré 1979,1993 p107) and it provides the setting for social episodes. Social episodes, the "coherent fragment of social life" (Cohen & Manion 1980 p 243), take place where individuals can achieve a moral career. Harré defines of a moral career as;

"a history of an individual person with respect to the attitudes and beliefs that others have and the attitudes to and beliefs about oneself that are formed on the basis of one's readings of the attitudes and beliefs of others". (p206.)

One achieves a moral career in a local moral order by,

"coping with occasions of hazard. An occasion of hazard is a social event in which a person can gain respect by risking contempt". (p205.)

An occasion of hazard may also be seen as a deliberate attempt to change intersubjective relationships in a local moral order, for instance by seeking to alter the normative structure of the group.

A social episode takes place within the boundary of a local moral order. What therefore is the minimum number of people needed to facilitate a meaningful social episode? What constitutes a coherent fragment of social life? In seeking to understand this I considered a musical score and the components that make it up. A single note, a

crotchet or a minim exist alone and out of context. A sound can be heard but we need to know a key signature to know where the note is located. This is a bit like knowing where somebody comes in a family.

Two notes can be related, but we can only know their relationship if they are heard/seen in a wider context. Several notes, which make up a phrase, may sound coherent but will only be understood in relation to a whole score. The score represents a local moral order where all notes are related to each other. However, within the score there are movements, and within the movements there are coherent phrases that can be recognised as belonging to the score. Within the score are several distinct, yet related, local moral orders. The score in human terms is the society to which we all belong.

When does an individual note become part of a local moral order? The answer to this question lies in the context of the score. To pose the question another way how many notes are needed to recognise a composer? In a Mahler symphony three notes in a phrase of five may be all that is needed for somebody who is aware of the corpus of his music to recognise the composer.

Single notes are used by different composers. The same note sounds differently when used in different contexts. The famous march crescendo in Shostakovich's Seventh Symphony, the Leningrad, is used by Bartok in his Symphony for Orchestra. While there is a family resemblance between the two pieces, each is significantly different. The composers create different local moral orders which we recognise when we come-to-know a piece of their music. The notes give sense to the score in that they give the music a recognisable order. The notes have a function to be heard in their local milieu.

The musical score can be used as a model for society. The culture within which the total population live is the score, the largest local moral order. Within that there are several other distinct parts that comprise other local moral orders and the smaller moral orders make sense in the larger one. People, who represent the notes, give sense to the various moral orders because they are part of the order's existence.

A local moral order provides goal directed activity for the individual. I take this to mean that individuals can only be goal orientated in a goal achieving moral order. People cannot achieve goals on their own if the goal is to be meaningful. Local moral orders provide for the attainment of goals by providing normative frameworks and tacit understandings that give the achievement of goals meaning.

There are rules of right ordering for the conduct of people who seek to achieve goals. The behaviour of the members create the tacit understandings that facilitate or inhibit the achievement of goals within the local moral order. I would suggest that a 'coherent fragment of social life' can be identified as the goal achievement of an individual, who participates in the goal related activity the local moral order promotes. Their achievement enhances the reputation of the individual in the opinion of the members of the local moral order. This shows that the group is fulfilling its purpose of providing for goal achieving behaviour that it recognises as having value.

These goals are not always achieved as the result of study nor by following rule governed behaviour. Gaining achievement through hazard may mean breaking rules. The growth of the organisation requires a constant improvement in the achievement of goals the group was set up to foster. People will make progress by modifying, adapting, changing or flouting the normative and tacit constraints. The flouting or disruption of

existing norms can be done best where members understand the tacit structure and identify where change can take place. Some people will knowingly set out to do this, others will accidentally upset the normative fabric of the group and learn from censure what they can get away with, and yet still remain a member of the local moral order.

The respondents as part of a score.

The musical analogy is a starting point for assessing my respondents' relationships in the world. Their position in their families and other activities can be examined through the analogy of musical notation. As a human note they will have a function in the local moral order, as a musical note does in a score. In this way it is possible to see them as a single note, part of a phrase, and part of a score.

It is interesting to see how far the analogy can be pressed. A musical score is in one sense, static, notes on paper. However in the hands of a conductor and orchestra the music, comprising several local moral orders, is interpreted so that one rendering will not be the same as another if played by different orchestras with different conductors. It is possible however, to recognise a conductor's style and an orchestra's sound when the ear is properly attuned.

A musical score only has the potential for interpretation by somebody else. In developing an interpretation of a score the conductor and orchestra have to practice, make mistakes, try phrasing. They have to learn the score and the conductor's interpretation. This gives a clue to the individual. Where people are concerned they are both interpreters and interpreted. People have a reflective capacity that a musical score does not possess in its own right.

To pursue the analogy further, a person inhabits several scores/ local moral orders. In many respects this can lead to them being out-of-tune with their environment. This out-of-tuneness arises because of the multiplicity of interpretations that can be put on relationships in the world. Interpretive ability is influenced by intersubjective relationships and a person's confidence in their ability to deal with them. Out-of-tuneness can be the result of opposition that results from conflicting relations in the local moral order. Out-of-tuneness can also result from a lack of competence to adequately reflect and interpret everyday experience.

An individual's relationship with others and with the world, in the sense of describing what they see, is their own. They compose the language they use to bring to light their interpretations. These interpretations are arrived at in a web of relationships that affect the way an individual will think and react to the world around them. The individual is made in the making of such relationships as music is made in the bringing forth of the sound the notes signify.

The (National) moral order at the social level.

Society can be seen as a very big local moral order. Individuals in society will share certain universal opinions which will have common currency. The idea that justice is available to all will be accompanied by a knowing look. A look which says, you know how it is, because it is generally recognised that justice is much less available to the poor.

There are recognisable ways of behaving in certain well defined situations, e.g. a wedding or a funeral. The inhibitions people feel are more likely to arise from the nature of the event than from the relations between the participants. By their nature weddings and funerals are times

when people come together not knowing one another very well, therefore a recognised framework for procedure is supplied, with leaders such as the Vicar or Registrar leading the wedding and Best Man conducting the reception.

Legalistic restraints are also at work on the national scale. The sight of a policeman may evoke guilt. Queue jumping is almost universally frowned on. Opinions about royalty or teachers or football hooligans will be shared among people when they meet. In a sense, these are relationships to the whole of a musical score. The score is only intelligible in relation to an overall conception of society. On the level of a score, the individual note does not have much of an influence. One missing note will not alter the sound of the overall score. So it is in general with individual involvement in the wider society, unless of course a person's behaviour transcends the normal.

Fairness and Freedom.

In my respondents, there are hints of universal expectations in their comments on some aspects of their lives. They all have an expectation of fair treatment. These expectations show themselves in several ways, some open, others more hidden and in need of interpretation, but what they do show is that they have learned that there are 'required' ways of doing things.

Ted gives examples of both the open and the hidden. I have shown his distaste for the way other unions and management used what he felt were underhand methods. The budgerigar club members treated him in a way he felt was wrong. He is clear that he treats people in a straightforward and honest way.

John does not ask his doctor friend about medical matters, not because there is a general prohibition but because in the context of the jogging club it is not an appropriate thing to do. Paul likes to be treated 'right'. Fairness for him is doing a good job and then being treated appropriately. Mary is very careful about not being 'conned'. She chooses friends because they treat her fairly. Jane singles out the school system as being unfair because it advantages people with a certain sort of learning ability. Ruby's life has been one long battle to be treated fairly, in keeping with her conception of her Jamaican education.

I would also argue that each respondent gives evidence of a quest for freedom. This quest for freedom shows itself in their being able to choose to do what they want within the context of their responsibilities. Jane does not take other people's advice uncritically. She has to try it out first, keep her options open and rely on her own ability. John's use of 'respect' is also a mechanism of freedom. He chooses not to listen to people he does not respect, but the people he does respect he listens to very carefully. Mary's quest for freedom revolves around her quiet watchfulness, her fear of not wishing to disturb those she watches, her wish not to be conned. Her reaction to these situations say something about her freedom of choice.

Paul gives many accounts of bust-ups and leavings at work and school. This is his freedom. He left the parent's committee of the scouts because it was totally boring, yet he can remain on a course that made him feel menial because he was going to persevere. Paul shows a need for an unfettered environment. His escape to fishing, and watch tank manoeuvres on Salisbury plain is the measure of his freedom, the need to be able to take off when he wants to.

Ruby was free to choose to emigrate to England. Her stay in England has not given her the opportunity to exercise such freedom again. Being a stranger in a strange land her freedom of expression was curbed by the indigenous population because her skin colour did not afford her equal rights. Her constant reiteration of the fact that she had it, "very, very, very hard", is a manifestation of that loss.

These interviews took place in a country that prides itself on being fair, and on its support for freedom of action and expression. Each respondent would recognise the arguments for both, and see within their lives where they could exercise both. Yet each respondent manifests different aspects of freedom and would support differing interpretations of fairness. There is not something that IS fairness and there is not something that IS freedom. However, the respondents have the ability to interpret what is free and what is fair in the context of their lives.

I believe each respondent has grown in an environment that gives a high level of validity to fairness and freedom. The individual quest for fairness and freedom is given expression in intersubjective relationships; the search for personal freedom is explored in local moral orders.

The local moral order's existence is based upon the individual member's quest for freedom which they work out within the normative framework of the group. People select those relationships they want to have that will enhance their freedom of action. Normative constraints can be interpreted as preservers of freedom. If people find normative controls overburdensome they can exercise their freedom of choice by leaving or by seeking to change the normative constraints. The respondents try to do both.

The community moral order.

The community offers several local moral orders: School, work, clubs, shopping, anywhere where people gather can give rise to the opportunity for achieving acclaim as the result of hazard.

Each respondent inhabits several groups that can be described as separate local moral orders. Each grouping has been recorded in the chapter on Personal Equations. These groups have their own normative rules and tacit understandings which take account of local membership and conditions. Examples of these were the union/management milieu within which Ted worked, Jane's activity in the Religious Society of Friends and John's work with the management committee of the residential home.

On the musical analogy these groupings form coherent sections within a musical score. The tension is between being free within the group to do your own thing, or being conducted by the normative structures of the group. Normative constraints are a form of conducting. Whilst the musical analogy is useful the symphony will not allow full rein to interpretation. Musical notation can be more usefully examined in relation to a string quartet or a musical group that does not have a conductor but creates expressive music from discussion amongst the musicians. Some local moral orders are subject to a method of conducting, others to democratic methods of music making.

Paul belongs to the scout group which clearly delineates the way activities must be carried out. Mary's gardening activity is more quartet like in her discussions with her friend. Ruby seems to fit a different world. Her indigenous Jamaican upbringing provides her with a different score to her adopted English life. Often there is disharmony because English society does not recognise her way of doing things as valid. Ruby's music is full of disparate resonances. These discrepancies arise, in part, from her

misreading of the normative and tacit conventions of indigenous society, while this society has little understanding of her normative background. In terms of this analogy Ted, John and Jane know enough about the community moral order for them to anticipate where dissonance will occur.

The intimate moral order.

This moral order may include family friendships, friends and relationships that arise in the community. The relationships are chosen rather than enforced, as in a work situation. Children fit into this section when they have friendships that are freely entered into. In this section a relationship is self-maintained not sustained by particular activities or hierarchical responsibilities, as in a family.

Jane's relationship with her women friends fit this category. As Jane describes it they inhabit a sort of 'wavelength' of understanding. Mary's relationship with her elder brother seems to me to be the same type of relationship as Jane's. Out of fifteen siblings, Mary only relates to one. John talks about other people as having certain intangible qualities, but these special qualities usually set the person apart from him.

Ruby has a wide circle of friends. When talking about the way they interact she seems to be very active in her relationship with them. She knows all about them and treats them differently as the result of this knowledge. She gives the impression of supporting her friends in a wide variety of ways. However, while she says much about what she does for them she makes no mention of what they do for her.

This is not the case with Paul. He knows exactly what his acquaintances can offer and he knows that he can offer advice to others. While he takes advice he knows that his advice to others is not always

listened to because people "have their little quirks". He seems well aware of these quirks and makes allowances for them even to the point of knowing that people will take his advice in the end.

John's relationship with his family seems strange. He puts a lot of weight on respect, yet he seems not to respect anyone in his family, as he says his educational ability sets him apart from family members. The only time he defers to his wife is in a social situation of advice giving where it seems from his response that the topic on which advice is being given is not worthy of his respect. When questioned specifically about his family he sounds confused and falls back on saying that he would feel a failure if he did not, in future, pick up these questions with relation to his grandson.

Pre-understandings as a ground for action.

Robin Usher presents learning as an activity engaged in by an individual.

"knowledge and understanding are [] an encounter and engagement with the world where pre-understandings constitute a structure of intelligibility" (Usher 1992 p205).

This view originates with Gadamer when he says that meaning and understanding are derived from an existence within a background network of beliefs and practices that are:

"not an act of subjectivity, but proceeds from the communality that binds us to the tradition" (Gadamer 1993 p293).

Gadamer feels that to understand is to engage with the content of what is said; to assume that it has meaning. Content can only be understood in context. People understand each other when they reach agreement and

their understandings are always about something in the world. Reaching agreement is goal related.

The positive approach to this is captured by Usher where he refers to "the activity of the subject's methodical consciousness where [] it thus sees itself and its experience clearly and distinctly" (Usher 1992 p205). What Usher means by this is that people can only give meaning to the world if they have some pre-understanding of tradition and culture. Such pre-understandings are the condition for methodical consciousness. However people do not bring methodical consciousness to all they do. In Usher's terms they do not 'see' clearly because they are not fully aware of the tradition and culture or their situation.

Heidegger makes a distinction between 'intuitive thinking' and 'blind thinking'. Intuitive thinking is carried out with insight into the thing thought about. However as Heidegger remarks, "for the most part we operate in foreshortened and blind thinking" (Heidegger 1992 p41). Blind thinking is accompanied by empty intending, a way of thinking that is not intuitive but unseeing in that no representation of reality is brought to mind.

Gadamer also mentions the problems people have in understanding.

"A person who is trying to understand is exposed to distraction from fore-meanings that are not borne out by the things themselves". (Gadamer 1993 p267)

This means that people do not fully understand the tradition they use. What they already know may be mistaken; and this prevents them from realising the full potential of their learning.

Heidegger considers knowing to be a kind of being. To know the things themselves, for Gadamer, is to be able to verbalise with 'methodical

consciousness' attributes of the things themselves. Again most, if not all people do not have such linguistic ability or understanding.

As people come to know things their understanding is marked by an ability to articulate the changes they find in their enhanced understanding of a topic. Therefore, while pre-understandings may be a necessary condition for methodical consciousness, they are not sufficient on their own. Methodical consciousness can only be demonstrated through the use of language to impart understanding to others who are similarly advanced. It follows from this that the distraction of fore-meanings comes through an inability to articulate clearly the things in themselves with others who may be similarly blind.

The other aspect of 'being' is 'doing'. In everyday activity, which is being and doing, people express themselves in the way they proceed from one activity to the next. Pre-understandings may be a part of a community meaning system and I would argue that they act as a motivational mechanism for individuals who live in an intersubjective tradition.

Gadamer talks about understanding or agreement as each person being "at one with each other" (1993 p385). Where does this agreement or harmony come from? It may be that harmony is an integral part of an intersubjective milieu where pre-understandings of harmony are taken as axiomatic to the continued existence of a group. However, I find this view difficult to sustain as groups contain a lot of conflict. I argue that agreement on group goals is more important for the continuation of the group than harmony in the lives of local moral orders. It is the goals that groups promote that keeps conflict within bounds. Agreement may be harmonious but will also be pragmatic in order to sustain the group.

Motive Power.

I have used the word 'quest ' in relation to the respondents. The central issue about learning is whether it comes from motivation, a desire for the individual to know something and put themselves out to know it, or from growth, a species of 'being-there', which absorbs new information as needed. People do not know they need to know, they know because the milieu presents information as something worth knowing.

Mary says that she could do the gardening unit. Can we say she was motivated to do that unit by her own will, or is it more correct to say she was 'motivated' to do it by her pre-understandings of the work unit, that affected her 'knowing' that she could do it. The idea that people are motivated by free will becomes suspect in an intersubjective milieu, based upon pre-understanding. While it may be understandable to see the gardening unit attracting Mary, it does not follow that the unit and Mary agree in the sense Gadamer puts it. Agreement happens between two or more people, unless she is agreeing with the language of the unit which substitutes for a person because it is language that facilitates communication between people.

Agreement happens between two or more people. What is the motive power for agreement? For Jane it is having something to agree about, as in being on the same 'wavelength'. In a sense Jane is the author of the agreement, because it is she that is agreeing. It is also having something to disagree about as in Ted's relationship with the other unions and management. Pre-understandings embrace agreement and disagreement but in each there is a point when the respondents realise that something is happening that they need to consider. Heidegger describes this as an absence, a change has to be addressed. Changes in the underlying nuances of relationships are likely to trigger the realisation that

all is not well and has to be put right if the normative relationship is to be comfortable. That is the motive power for agreement.

Facticity: "the enveloping wholeness of being". (Steiner 1992)

Up until now I have looked at the respondents as individuals. I have tried to isolate them from the milieu they inhabit to see why they do what they do. It is as if they were suspended in an air ballet, floating in blackness, only concerned with themselves even when coming into contact with others. This is not the way of life. The musical analogy is also misleading because the notes and phrases exist in a very special form. Whilst musical notation could be seen as a form of intersubjectivity, a piece of music stands alone, complete and ready for interpretation. In everyday life there is background interference, a thousand pieces of music playing at one time. This complex environment is what facticity is about.

Heidegger says when we see somebody in a room we do not just see the person, we also see the room, we see them in an environment. Their being-in-the-room is part of the existence of what we see. If we see people in relationships with one another we not only see, we feel and have opinions about these relationships. These relationships have meaning for us because we are concerned about them. Heidegger says that many relations are not at the forefront of our mind, we take them for granted, the relationship is always present but not actually considered.

People live in the familiar. The familiar does not have to be thought about, people do things automatically. What helps people to think with 'methodical consciousness' is absence, a disturbance in familiarity:

"it is really an absence in a distinctive sense which is constitutive for encountering an otherwise inconspicuous world". (Heidegger 1992 p190)

This absence is a specific absence from the familiar world and it concerns us. The absence is a 'presence' and one would expect this to have a profound effect upon the individual.

I want to approach the interviewees' responses from the point of view of familiarity, absence and meaningfulness as proposed by Heidegger. It is possible in every interview to see how absence causes disturbance. Giving sense to the disturbance, leading to the achievement of meaningfulness, can be seen as learning:

"Meaningfulness is first of all a model of presence in virtue of which every entity of the world is discovered" (Heidegger 1992 p210)

Discovery is the uncovering of the unfamiliar. Learning happens when the individual comes-to-know the unfamiliar and makes it familiar. I suggest that there are two types of unfamiliar. The first takes place in a known milieu when expectations caused by pre-understandings are not met. The second takes place when a person enters a new situation and does not know the concerns and relationships of other people. Pre-understandings may not help in these situations. In the first situation the person has to uncover the unfamiliar and come-to-know it. In the second they have to discover the familiar in the unfamiliar.

Ted.

Ted has an understanding of the way he should be treated and the way he should treat others. It is possible to say that Ted has an ordered view of the way things should be. He has pre-understandings of the familiar. This is implied by what he says about the things that he suspects in his place of work; the disturbances that throw the familiar into relief.

His feelings of discomfort come from challenging the familiar normative structure by activity that does not fit the tacit agreements in the workplace. However, at other times he deliberately absents himself from the rule governed behaviour of the work place.

It seems sensible to ask why, if he is so committed to honest behaviour, does he undermine it by embracing the opposite? Ted does not give a direct answer but his response was to try and repair the disruption by reverting to proper negotiating procedure. There was a clash between the normative structures and the formal procedures. We can deduce that he already knew all the mechanisms for their collusion because of his own activities in the workplace. An explanation that fits well with Heidegger's view is that Ted was so familiar with the way things were done, that his approach of straightforwardness led him into expecting 'proper' dealings. It was only when there was a disturbance in the procedure that he concentrated on the matter in hand to save the situation. He risked hazard to reassert his status in the workplace where it would only be appreciated by his other colleagues in the union. All other moral orders in the workplace would not appreciate his dogged defence of his union status except in a very special way where the societal moral order admires perseverance.

On joining the Budgerigar Club Ted did not know how things worked so he had to look out for familiar things in an unfamiliar milieu. The absence he found in the club was that members did not act with honest intent as he interpreted it. He put this down to people wanting to win, and not wanting newcomers to be successful too quickly. From observation and discussion he learnt about the Club, the characteristics of birds, and the eccentricities of judges. Ted used far more intuitive thinking in his hobby than at work. It was necessary to use methodical

consciousness to breed better birds, and understand the way the club worked. There were more opportunities to risk hazard in order to gain respect. He was kept on his toes because the mechanisms of support were more suspect.

The Budgerigar Club was a much more open milieu. The mechanism for keeping people in line was peer pressure working hierarchically, and peer co-operation working horizontally. This was not always successful because people wishing to get to the top used any means to do so. Ted came to understand this and sought to become a champion without surrendering to underhand means. He seemed to show creation of new thinking in the club that did not appear in the workplace.

Mary.

Mary was brought up in a milieu where she was of little worth. This environment of unknowing was further degraded by the quietness of her mother who only had frightening sayings to offer, and the strictures of her father. There are only two things in Mary's remembrances that were positive: the attachment she had to her favourite brother, and the fact that her father was a good gardener. On the whole, the family environment seems to have been a stultifying one. The family remembrances were contrasted with the benign positive relationship she has with her second husband and her friend Reg..

The puzzle in Mary's life is to see where she gets her perseverance from. Why does she want to be so knowledgeable about the things she is interested in? The only clue here is in the quiet watchfulness. In Ted's situation it was possible to see absences clearly and draw conclusions from them. Mary gives very few examples of such absences, and those she gives are reactive in that she is the one who feels affected not the

whole of the intersubjective milieu as is the case with Ted. Mary's absences seems to be in the context of a one-to-one relationship only.

The first 'absence' takes place in the curtain making workshop. Mary instructs a young girl how to make a curtain. The girl makes a mistake because she has asked other people how she should do the job. Mary's response was to tell the girl that if she had done the job as Mary instructed it would not have gone wrong.

If something fails in her garden Mary goes straight to Reg for advice. There seems to be a spontaneous need for a correct outcome to most of Mary's problems. On the 'Wordpower' course this was not always possible. Firstly there was the problem of not understanding what the tutors were saying. Also when relying on other students for advice she found she had been given wrong information. The ostensible reason for her frustration was that these 'absences' wasted a lot of her time. Her need to be told what to do suggests that she would be able to do things quicker. In the context of her responses I take this to mean that she would feel happier with herself if she did not waste time.

On the 'Wordpower' course Mary put herself into a situation where she had to work with other people in a way that she had been able to avoid before. Initially she found it very difficult interacting with others over the presentation of course material. Mary was often at the centre of attention, something she was not happy about. When she became more involved with other people she learnt a lot about them, and about her ability to help others learn. Mary became happy passing on course information. How was this happiness derived? It seems that when she can overcome her fear and nervousness she blossoms.

Mary says she likes to get to the bottom of anything she does. Initially I understood this as meaning she wanted to know as much about

her current subject of interest as possible. In the context of her responses and her nervousness at doing jobs for others it became clear that what she is most anxious about is doing a job correctly. The reason she would not do jobs to order for friends was because she felt she would make mistakes.

The only clue to Mary's apparent inability to take initiatives in public, or to engage in sociable learning, is her comment that she had always been told what to do, the implication being that she was not happy doing things on her own initiative. However, this comment needs qualifying. After rejecting her first husband's teaching of car driving she was adamant that she was going to learn to drive, and was not put off by the adverse comments of the driving school.

It seems appropriate to suggest that each milieu is a hostile space inhabited by people who gave her little worth. While she seems to know she has worth, she would not, or could not, allow her social environments to support this view. The 'Wordpower' course provided a milieu where she had the opportunity to overcome her timidity. This was because of her realisation that people on the course were in similar situations to herself.

For Mary learning was a solitary process. She recognised that she could learn, yet she could not translate this into more social learning without help. The reason for this was that she was not confident in her ability to pass on what she had learnt because other people might not think it valid. This was supported by her insistence that people must do things for themselves.

Jane.

In the previous two respondents' description of various aspects of their lives I have been looking for absences in their intersubjective relationships. When examining Jane's interview it became apparent that

some of the things she says have no background information attached that put them into context. The most blatant 'absence' of this type comes from the only comment she makes about her father. When they meet she talks to him about gardening,

"purely because we do not have anything else to talk about and it is useful to be able to have something that is not dangerous for us to talk about"

It is difficult to see why 'dangerous' is used. Without explanation this seems a strange word to use.

Jane's life seems to be characterised by a number of dramatic, indeed traumatic changes of direction. In her early life when her mother was expecting another baby Jane was sent to a children's home, an experience still having repercussions today. She left school at sixteen in somewhat acrimonious circumstances not related in the interview. After leaving she went to a secretarial college where she was advised to go to evening classes and do 'O' and 'A' levels. She was outstandingly successful at this.

In a careful evaluation of Jane's interview it is possible to identify two types of behaviour. The first is that in which normative considerations and tacit rules are ignored by her; and those areas of her life where normative considerations and tacit rules have an impact on her. There seem to be three clear types of behaviour: the first where she accepts constraints, the second where there is a battle between accepting and rejecting them, and the last where she does reject them. I will start with the first.

The first and possibly most dramatic incident of succumbing to constraints was when she wanted to keep her daughter. She had run away

from home and was heavily into the drug culture. Because of drugs and no fixed abode she was in danger of losing her daughter as unfit to care for her. She did leave hospital with her daughter and brought her up until she went to train as a nurse.

At one time she worked in the Ilford film factory making boxes. She devised different ways of doing her work which resulted in her being able to make more boxes than any other employee. As she was paid by the number of boxes made her money went up. This had implications for the whole work force, the management would expect everybody to be able to make more boxes. This was pointed out to her as not being good.

"just because I got a kick out of devising new ways of doing things is no reason why everybody else should be paid less".

Another of her experiences that led to a withdrawal took place when she joined the local Labour Party branch. She felt she wanted to be politically active in getting social change. She found the way women were treated in this situation intolerable. She feels that all political parties are the same and it is not a way of working that she wanted to be involved with.

These examples show a concern for the lives of other people. They show her wishing to suppress her own wishes so that other's lives may be better. These examples clearly took place in an intersubjective milieu yet in a lot of what she says she feels that people are alone.

Her battle between the rejection of normative constraints and acceptance of them took place on the social work course. All Jane's comments on learning, exemplified by her first and third equation, put a lot of weight on validity. Validity comes from experience, and a lot of problems she found on the social work course were to do with a clash of

opinion on whose knowledge was valid. The problem for Jane was either to succumb to normative control or leave.

In the formal essay course work the tutors were supportive of her but Jane was not always appreciative of their support because she did not believe her work was as good as they said. I would argue the problem was that Jane had no preunderstanding for evaluating other people's good opinion of her. She seems to have succeeded at what she has done in spite of support not because of it.

I believe that what has been shown is that Jane's view of validity is central to everything that she does. The above examples show a concern for the validity of other people's existence. While she withdraws from the Labour Party she does not dispute the way they do business, she just says it is not valid for her. I believe the areas of her life where she rejects normative constraints are to do with her own validity as an individual. In some cases she is showing that some intersubjective milieux are not for her because she does not recognise within herself a basis of belonging.

Feelings of inadequacy also seem to show up in personal relationships. On the computer course she was willing to ask other people on the course for help. If their help was wrong she would not ask them again, yet she says in general she does not seek advice nor give it. She shares her knowledge which seems to be a neutral activity that absolves her of responsibility. Such shared knowledge has to be validated by the recipient before they can accept it as true.

In the context of Jane's remarks it is very easy to suggest that her approach to life is engendered by a lack of trust. The need for validation presupposes the absence of a basis for trusting responses from others. The only thing she appears to trust is experience of a feminist nature that accords with her view of the world. She believes that feminism is a

process of the onward development of thinking, valid for her because she finds that other women have similar thoughts.

It would seem that Jane can only make relationships with people on the same 'wavelength' as her. There seems to be a deep unease about intersubjective relationships where one voluntarily relies on normative constraints. Mary's approach is similar in that she feels she cannot learn anything unless she can do it, doing it is evidence of knowing how to do it. Mary also feels that other people will not accept her advice until they have tried it for themselves. These two women are the two sides of the same coin, even though on the face of it diametrically different. Mary thinks that other people must validate her advice before they know it is good, because she does not trust her ability to give advice. Jane feels she must validate the advice of others because she does not trust the advice that is given. Mary will accept advice from others. When it turns out to be wrong she will still accept advice from the same person. Jane will only accept advice from a person until she finds out it is wrong then she will not go to them again.

Paul.

Paul has had a succession of jobs most of which ended because he had a 'bustup' with somebody in charge. The reasons for these 'bustups' are not readily apparent and it is necessary to examine a number of them. The first to be mentioned is at school. Paul says he did his mock 'O' levels and did quite well. However he left school before taking the final exams because of a 'bustup'. No reason was given for this. Paul has a close relationship with his father but not with his brother. Paul's brother is older than him and well known for his violent behaviour. It seems certain from

some of Paul's responses that he was on the receiving end of his brother's violent outburst and therefore had little to do with him.

When Paul left school it was a great shock to him. He felt school did not prepare him for the real world which he thought was a "big nasty place". Again there is no explanation of what this means. Paul had a succession of jobs where he had a succession of 'bustups'. The only evidence for why these 'bustups' might have happened come from two work experiences that he related. In one workplace he was making brake-linings, "you could not get a more boring job". It seems the supervisor was very intrusive in his supervision so there was a 'bustup' and Paul left. The other was in the spring re-tempering workshop referred to in Chapter Five.

That Paul likes to be his own boss and exercise choice in what he does is borne out by what he says about himself. Paul privileges men over women. All his positive comments are to do with other men. At no time does he mention going to a woman for advice. Paul identifies men who have particular abilities or skills. This identification of men may have started with his father whom he holds in high regard. Paul is very tidy and methodical and says he cannot put up with people who are not. This was demonstrated in the interview by very detailed descriptions of his activities that showed he had a wide knowledge of his areas of interest. He seems to isolate himself from other people. He makes comments like, "you people might not think it", and "people think I am mad". The people he does identify with also seem to be methodical in that he accepts their way of doing things.

Paul has a philosophy about violence that is integrated into what he does. He feels that pain is a motivator. Doing physical work can produce adrenaline that gets the job done quicker. He disapproves of people who

will not tackle a job because it might cause physical pain. There is no pain in fishing, but Paul feels that the fish are clever and a challenge. However, he can sit on a river bank all day and catch nothing yet feel content because he is immersed in the tranquillity of the surroundings.

I mentioned earlier that Paul needs freedom of action. Such freedom comes not just from his being able to do the things he wants to, but from building up his knowledge about his hobbies. He says that reading "is a good learner" and wishes he had done more of it at school. Whatever he reads he endeavours to put into practice.

John.

There are instances in John's intersubjective relationships where absences occur that make him stop and think. Like Ted, it is usually where there are difficulties in what he takes for granted. With Ted it was possible to see quite clearly why absences occurred. Where John is concerned it is not so easy. John's commitment to education seems to give him an approach to all experience which allows him to assess every experience through academic glasses. Where Ted feels angry when he is upset, John withdraws; he seems to put problems down to a lack of education, and therefore understanding on the part of others.

The earliest dysfunction he seems upset about is his attitude to his parents and their lack of understanding of his generation. He says he came from a close family, but I feel his disillusionment arose as a result of him associating with a Headmaster whom he respected very much. This person was the standard against which he compared his parents.

Whilst John's own understanding of his approach to life is based upon educational ability, respect for certain people and a certain sort of expertise, this is not always enough to carry him through the situations he

finds himself in. His educational attainments also provided a vantage point to examine others whose educational attainments were "comparatively modest", yet such people can "perform extraordinarily well in particular tricky situations". The implication was that people of modest attainments were not able to perform as well as those with higher educational ability.

It seems that John's educational framework for his everyday understanding of people works in the same way, or very similar, to Ted's. The dysfunctions that each encounters result in them keeping to the status quo although each gives different reasons. Ted wants to retain the procedures of interaction, while John wishes to maintain his respect for people, respect which demands certain responses.

In describing his attendance at music classes John said that he learnt a lot that modified his appreciation of music and led to a greater enjoyment of it. Intangibles, things that cannot be explained are important to him. He attributes intangibles to teaching and certain friendships. It seems that where intangibles are concerned they go beyond normative relationships and may lead to changed understanding which can be described as learning.

Ruby.

The dysfunctions in Ruby's life stem from her different cultural background. It is significant that she is more at home with black people than with white, yet she can feel diffident in the company of black people because of her religious outlook. This seems to parallel her remark about not being able to talk to black or white people because she felt her educational ability was better than theirs. Even so, she says she talks a lot with her black women friends, and learns a lot from them. She says of these friends that she tries to know their personality.

When she passes information on to other friends she makes a distinction between knowledge that comes from other sources, which is not so certain, and knowledge which comes from her own experience, which she is confident about. It seems to me that the former comes from her intersubjective milieu and she acknowledges its influence upon her.

Summary.

Because local moral orders are goal achieving milieux, people's achievement of a goal improves their competence, and therefore influences the normative relationships in the local moral order. In this chapter I have tried to show how the respondents discover the normative rules through dysfunction, absences in understanding, which highlight where things went wrong. In such circumstances the respondents try to understand the situation they find themselves in and either change their behaviour, seek change in the behaviour of the group or withdraw.

Ted's reaction to the champion who sold him his first bird was to try and get him to see what he had done wrong. In the budgerigar club he felt there was room for negotiation. Ted's experience is developmental and he brings reasons for the way things are. At work there is a different framework and rather than try and change the way things are done Ted asks for a return to the way things were.

Jane's need to validate is modified where she feels herself to be on the same wavelength as others. Also Mary is happy to tell others on the 'Wordpower' course things when she realises that people will accept what she says. John seems to take his academic method everywhere except where it is most appropriate, the Invisible College. Here, amongst equals he is very sensitive to his colleagues, and as a result builds relationships that are important to him in a similar way, I feel, to the way Ted learns

about the budgerigar club's local relationships. In the four respondents mentioned there seem to be similarities in their involvement in local moral orders, to do with change.

For special reasons I find Paul and Ruby to be in need of a different interpretation. The previous four respondents talk about situations that are populated by a large number of people who are all involved with them in the same local moral orders. Where Paul is concerned he only seems to have an interest in one person in any of the local moral orders to which he belongs, even where a number of people are involved. Ruby seems to relate to a wide range of people on a one-to-one basis.

There is only one situation where Paul talks about mates in the plural and that was on the roofing firm where he had known them for many years. It seems as if Paul does not seek to influence the local moral order, indeed he considers himself a 'loner' even in the scouts. He only gives sense to single males where he has identified a certain skill. Ruby considers her friends individually even when she interacts with them in a group, she always talks about them singly not as part of a group. There is a sense in which she wishes to control her relationships. Indeed the main point of all respondents giving sense to their lives is in the form of control which allows them to seek to influence those they interact with.

The last two chapters have tried to disentangle how people make sense of their world and give sense to their world. It is similar in approach to the optical illusion of stairs. These can be looked at in three ways, they either go up, go down or they are a pattern of lines on the paper. This has implications for the way the respondents learn. (See Fig.2).

Each approach seems to me to be about how individuals regulate themselves in an intersubjective milieu, or regulate others through changes they can make to the milieu. I will propose that making sense of the world

is to do with a feeling of insecurity, i.e. feeling insecure in intersubjective activity by not being able to exercise control over it.

Giving sense to the world is developmental. In this mode, people seek to change their own practice in order to improve their abilities. This is shown in the lives of the respondents where they seek change for the better. Where the intersubjective milieu has no effect, i.e. the lines look like a pattern, the activity does not have any material effect upon the individual. Similarly, where an intersubjective milieu does not affect an individual, it does not mean that the individual does not know what is happening. I also feel that where an individual's actions do not make sense in the local moral order, it does not mean they have no sense. The point of development is new understanding, which often has to be won in the face of hostility promoted by the rigidity of the normative rules governing the local moral order.

Optical Illusion.

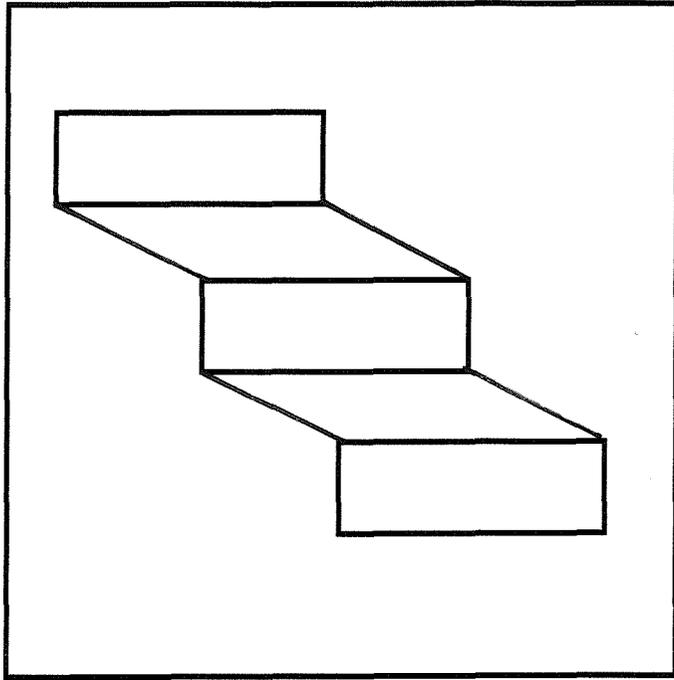


Fig. 2.

Chapter Seven.

EVERYDAY LEARNING IN TRADITIONAL CULTURES.

Introduction.

In the previous chapter I looked at the respondents as they reacted to intersubjective relationships in a local moral order. In this chapter I want to look more closely at how the influence of national and local traditions affect the way the respondents learn as they come to relate to normative rules.

During the research I have moved towards arguing that people gain an understanding of normative activity from local processes. However it seems clear there are social norms that are "beyond a person's control" (Tough 1982 p56). This implies that a person and a society is shaped by them. I present evidence in this chapter for the existence of such normative activity in traditional cultures.

I have found it a concern that I could not link my respondents together because they came from such diverse backgrounds. This is the same as saying that there is no common tradition which they all share. However, we all live in the same town and this might suggest we could all share a certain cultural tradition, political tradition, and community tradition. From their responses it is hard to justify this although I will show evidence for an intersubjective basis for the sharing of time, truth and trust. One way to understand their participation in a shared tradition is in their opposition to it.

One tradition in our society is based upon shared family experience. The respondents all provide evidence of such sharing but it is so different from a "traditional" view of family life, a stable married partnership with two children and few worries, as to suggest that each respondent comes

from an a-typical family. It suggests that our shared view of family life is either a myth or a model not attainable in the real life of the interviewees.

All except Ruby share a particular educational provision, yet only one, John, considers he has progressed through it and that the system has worked in his case. The educational system has not worked in the case of the other four respondents if the achievement of high academic attainment, or good jobs or careers, is taken as the criterion for success. Their responses show that the educational system, which is supposed to give people a grounding in learning skills for life, does not provide what people expect of it. I consider the provision of education in the United Kingdom to be traditional because any child is supposed to be able to benefit from it if they work hard enough. This expectation is the "tradition" that education is based upon.

If the above is regarded as true, Ruby had an expectation of educational attainment that would be accepted by an indigenous member of the United Kingdom, but because of her cross cultural experience her expectations were not borne out. There is evidence to suggest that this was because her ability was not as good as she thought, but that is looking at it from a white perspective. A black perspective would see her treatment as biased against her.

I argue in Chapter Eight that people learn by filling gaps in their understanding. However, these gaps are in the perceived understanding of each respondent. The information on the two Nobel prize winners was intelligible and interesting to John but it is likely that it would be of no interest to the other respondents even as a piece of general knowledge. As a result one has to be very circumspect about tradition. Each respondent has to be seen in terms of their own cultural background

The fact that pre-understandings are prejudiced can be illustrated by Mary's response to her discussions with ethnic minority people on her course. She found out that these people had the same family concerns as all parents yet it could be argued that each ethnic minority person came from a different tradition. What Mary recognised was a universal awareness of the problems parents have in caring for children as they grow up. Mary was affected by these contacts and learnt from them.

Goal directed behaviour.

In the light of the interviews it seems that the respondents' goals give meaning to their lives in the sense that they pursue such goals in the company of others. It is not the case that any goal will do. Pre-understandings are motivational in that they move people to become involved in particular activity. It is possible to identify in each respondent a conjunction of pre-understanding, activity and goal. As a result of this it is possible to say that the individual moves towards those milieux that will provide a setting to develop the positive aspects of their pre-understandings.

Family tradition and adult learning.

"Tradition" as conceived by Gadamer and Heidegger leads people to think and converse in certain ways, families provide ways in which an individual can come to know something as the result of engaging with, or coming to understand, intersubjective situations.

When we speak of family traditions we speak of ways of doing things that are generally acceptable to all family members. Concerning this research there are two areas of family tradition that are significant. One area is to do with family experience that acts as an organising

circumstance for the respondents activity. The second has to do with a culture of family interaction that is carried forward into the second and subsequent generations.

Intergenerational organising circumstance.

In some of the interviews there are clear indications of family tradition carried forward to the next generation. Ted's search for a leisure time activity was triggered in some measure by the fact that his father kept canaries. Ted must have had some pre-understandings of keeping birds. Ted's surprise at how he was treated by members of the budgerigar club was unexpected because he did not have an intimate knowledge of his father's dealings with other canary breeders and therefore was not primed to expect what he found. He had certain pre-understandings about other people based upon his personal equations, but in some cases these turned out to be unfounded.

Mary mentions her father was a very good gardener, his garden was very neat. Her garden means a great deal to her, it gives her a feeling of achievement and worth. She gives credit for her gardening ability to her friend who has won prizes for his expertise. It seems significant that she likens this friend to her father and that she gets on very well with him because, amongst other things, he does not 'con' her. She also says he is a very nice person just like her father. This seems somewhat at odds with her description of her father whom she characterised as very strict. I deduce from this that her father did not 'con' her, but she was frightened of him, and in general seems frightened of men who are aggressive.

Paul's father took him to work and taught him a range of practical skills that he now finds useful. Was his memory of his father's involvement with him instrumental in persuading him to get involved with

the scouts because his two sons were becoming involved? This is one of the reasons given by Paul but another was that he was interested in the outdoor life and he enjoys that aspect of the scouts. Given his knowledge of farming and the outdoors there are three organising circumstances all arising out of his family traditions.

Jane's father was an ardent active socialist who was concerned with the lot of others. He was socially mobile becoming a senior civil servant. Jane's wish to work for social change through her involvement with the local Labour Party may be carrying on a family tradition of political activity. Even her feminist involvement may be the result of her father's concern for others that manifests itself in her commitment to women's issues.

Ruby's church activity and active community life is directly traceable to her mother's teaching. Ruby makes friends with people of all walks and conditions of life. This stems directly from her mother's friendships with street urchins in the market where she worked selling her home-grown produce. As Ruby's mother told her, you never know when you are going to need a friend, and the most unlikely person may turn out to be just such a friend. Some of the ways that Ruby used to learn for herself, and teach her children, were first encountered in watching and listening to her mother.

John seems to be in a different category to the other respondents. On his evidence he does not acknowledge much that his parents stood for. John's organising circumstance for his subsequent activity seems to have come from a respected older friend. One stated connection here is to do with the way John teaches. He considers himself to be a very good teacher as the result of this person's influence upon him. His love of

running seems to have come from his enjoyment of it as an antidote to being bored on holiday with another family.

The culture of family interaction.

The previous section highlighted what the respondents acquired from their parents' generation. The culture of family interaction would also result in them passing on to their children ways of doing things they learnt as children. This way of passing on family traditions would also reinforce some, and enlarge other ways that respondents understand family life in new situations. Because I was not asking questions specifically about their family most of the information needed for this section must be gleaned from what was said.

I have shown that Mary was not sure of herself in her relationships with her father and mother, brothers and sisters, yet she had a strong attachment to her favourite brother. In the only comments she makes about her children, three only contact her if they need something, a fact she related to me with obvious anger. One daughter keeps in touch and this makes Mary feel good. This set of relationships seems to mirror her childhood relationship with her family.

Where Ted is concerned there is no information of previous family relationships, apart from the budgerigar activity already referred to. However, when Ted's daughters overstep the mark, he reasserts family values of moral behaviour by being strongly in favour of norms of correct behaviour, girls do not stay out at night and married couples remain together. It can only be an educated guess but Ted's approach to life seems influenced by his own upbringing, but at sixty years old he does not mention it.

Paul involves himself in activity that he sees as beneficial to his sons, seemingly following his father's example to him. There is no evidence that John's attitude to his parents is carried on by his children to him, but his attitude to family suggests that there is little communication because of his superior education. It is tempting to speculate that his father had a similar speciality that made it difficult to engage with him, there is no evidence for this in the interview. John puts this lack of engagement down to lack of education.

We know that Ruby tried to pass information on to her children but they were not responsive due to the influence of the host population. As Ruby says she is thankful that she was able to co-operate with her children to the extent that she did. It is not possible to see what Jane passed on to her daughter as she says nothing about it.

In these Janus like relationships, aspects of behaviour have been learned but I feel that the development of personal equations has an effect on what is identified as interesting to the person, and therefore worth remembering.

Shared tradition.

In examining the respondents' comments it can be seen that each have things to say about time, trust and truth. What they have to say is so similar it can only come from a shared intersubjective milieu. Also there is evidence to suggest that each respondent puts a high value on personal freedom although this emerges from the interviews, it is not explicitly stated by the respondents. Personal freedom is so all pervasive it is hidden from view.

Time.

All respondents but one make reference to time. More specifically there are explicit references to the wasting of time, and others not so explicit where the response implies that time was being wasted.

The most explicit comments on time wasting come from the respondent who is most uncomfortable in a learning situation. Mary wanted to be taught as this would save time. When shown how to do something by another and it was wrong, she said, "no, no, no, it wasn't meant to be like that". She became very frustrated when she had to do it again because it wasted her time. She gave no evidence of why time wasting was such a problem.

In the 'Wordpower' situation I believe Mary was making a distinction between 'learning how' and 'learning from'. Mary wanted to be told what to do because 'learning how' was not proper learning. I think her comments on knowing that all the exercises were there, but that she did not know how to use them is evidence for this.

She could relate to the unit on gardening because she already had a pre-understanding of gardening. Eventually Mary became comfortable in a situation where people helped one another to access learning in the units, but she had to re-evaluate all her previous pre-understandings about being taught that were to do with the waste of time associated with looking for information. This contrasts with her perseverance where she will seek information from books, seemingly for however long it takes. However, she does not perceive this to be a school room activity, so she is happy to do it.

Paul does not explicitly mention time wasting but from several of his comments he uses the concept. For instance if something went wrong with his car he says he could do it himself but he has a more knowledgeable

friend, " stick his hand in [] two minutes in there had it done, whereas you could be there for two hours". When helping the ganger on a job for the first time he says he probably would not do anything all day, "cos he probably works better without you". I am sure that Paul's methodical approach to his activities is also about time saving. He implies that people who load a lorry haphazardly waste time.

Even in those activities where time is not an obvious factor Paul makes a contrast that is based on time. His involvement in fishing is characterised as "doing nothing all day". He feels that those who observe him on a river bank think he is wasting his time. Paul considers it a 'timeless' pursuit.

John feels his time is wasted when he has to use his abilities for activities that do not utilise his intelligence and expertise in ways that he feels are in accordance with the respect he feels he is due. Telling a student where to get a test tube is a waste of time. In his role as advice giver he wonders if he is wasting his time giving a person advice they will not use and therefore wondering if he should give the advice at all. This implies he considers his time to be very valuable.

I feel John knows the value of "learning about, learning how and learning from". He knows how to access information, evaluate it and use it therefore he is more concerned with using time than gaining it, unlike Mary who is at least as concerned with gaining time as with using it.

Jane also has an attitude to time wasting which is difficult to detect but seems very strong. When she was doing her MA. course she felt it "legitimated" her reading of books on any subject. When she was working in the Cyrenians she felt that she could only read books on homelessness,

" I could not have done that without worrying if I've got time to read this I should be reading about homelessness or whatever ".

This is a time related anxiety.

The other occasion where time wasting arises is where she is asking people for information. Jane's process of validation is important as it requires trying out the advice to see if it is valid. However, if she finds it is not, she will not return to the person who gave her the information. Whilst I consider this to be basically a time problem it could also be a problem of trust; because the information was wrong the person could not be trusted to give correct information in the future.

Jane did waste time on the computer course by trying to validate a computer exercise in BASIC. She got very frustrated because she was making the problem more complicated than it needed to be. When told how to proceed by the tutor she finished the project quickly but, "on the other hand I learnt a lot". Just as she learnt a lot when playing with the time constraints when assembling boxes at Kodak.

Ted seems to have two views of time wasting. In his union activity he expects procedures to be carried out to the letter. In the negotiations over re-grading he felt that management and the other unions were intransigent in their approach to his position, and said to his union official that they were wasting their time until the negotiations returned to their proper form. In this situation he could afford to walk out because he felt right was on his side.

On the shop floor other workers used to come and ask him for information and advice. Ted felt uncomfortable about this for several reasons, but partly because in giving the information asked for he was

wasting the employer's time and management would know this. Reference to time in his budgerigar work is in relation to the time it takes to become a champion and he seems to accept this. Time also goes quickly when discussing birds with fellow hobbyists and is of no consequence.

For Ruby the concept of time seems quite unknown. At no point is there any comment about time wasting. Ruby's activities just happen, they are talked about as discrete episodes. When learning about blood pressure Ruby is more concerned with the mechanics of remembering, time does not come into it. Time does not set boundaries to achievement; in Ruby's world boundaries are set by people who misunderstand her. In the lives of the other respondents time is a boundary against which they are working. Their relationships with others are governed by time, Ruby is concerned with friendliness and engagement. None of the indigenous respondents have a similar approach to their friends; they seem not to want to understand them in the way Ruby does.

Trust.

Ruby's approach to her friends appears to be based upon trust which seems to have been generated by her parents in her childhood . There is evidence of a co-operative learning style in the family with practical demonstrations on the right way to do things by her mother. This practical approach to family upbringing was carried on in this country, but she found it very difficult to cultivate this with her children because she was in a foreign country that did not provide the cultural background to support her way of doing things. She said she supposed her children found their upbringing difficult.

When she talks about her friends she talks about women from the Caribbean or their female descendants. She knows each one individually

so that she can respond to them in an appropriate manner, in a way that would not upset them. This seems to come from her mother's injunction to make friends of all types of people. She seems to have used this approach with some of the supervisory staff in the hospital, and mentions the senior nurses she used to get on with.

As Ruby describes it, her experience of learning in this country is quite the opposite of her learning in Jamaica. The incident with the shopkeeper was divisive, not cooperative. Her attitude to the SRN trainees was one of hostility brought about by the two nurses' superior approach towards her. Finally in the incident with the social work agency she explicitly states, "how dare they exclude". It is this aspect of exclusion that most affects Ruby leading to a lack of trust in certain institutions and people.

When Ruby's experience is compared with the indigenous respondents a lot of significant differences are noticed. The most blatant is Mary's description of the women she worked with in the curtain making workshop.

"when you get a lot of women together they can be dreadful. You know if they got any information they don't want you to know because you'll know as much as they do".

This is about not trusting people because they will gain advantage. Even when Mary tries to give a person advice the response is to ask everybody else. The girl in the curtain making workshop made a mess of her job, when she returns to complain Mary says, " I told you to do it that way and if you'd done it, it would be all right ". I feel she equates making curtains with being on the Wordpower course, there is a right way and a wrong way to do things, and the teacher tells you the right way. Other

students are not reliable because their information may be incorrect. I feel this feeling of unreliability stems from her childhood and her feeling of being a nuisance, and from her uncertainty in the face of authority, be that parent, teacher or any non-benign agent of an unknown authority.

Jane's attitude seems the same as Mary's but more understated. "I will ask somebody once". Jane's idea of "wavelength" seems to protect her from reality in the way that Mary's reliance on the teacher protects her from the unreliability of people. Even in her friendships Jane does not take information at its face value she must test its validity before accepting it on her terms. Neither Mary nor Jane approach their learning in the co-operative mode that Ruby uses or seems to need, in both cases Mary and Jane seem not to have been introduced to learning in a co-operative mode. The early experience of family and school seems to have left them isolated from other people articulated by Jane as being the wrong type of learner and by Mary as having to be told what to do.

There does not seem to be a co-operative approach to learning with the male respondents either. However there does seem to be a greater rapport on the surface between men but it has to be examined closely.

Ted and John work in situations that have potential for co-operative activity. Ted works in a factory that seeks to maximise profit which he believes is necessary for the maximisation of earnings. John works in a university which seeks excellence in its students and staff. He is also part of a small group of people who are experts in a particular branch of zoology.

Ted seeks co-operation through an attachment to hierarchical normative structures that work if everybody sticks to the rules. Ted feels it is common sense to stick to the rules, common sense here seems to be associated with the maintenance of the status quo. However in this system

of rules there are many dysfunctions where people do not comply with Ted's conception of what the rules should do. This causes Ted discomfort, yet Ted does not seem to blame the people, he blames the systems which are not being used properly.

It cannot be deduced from Ted's approach that he does not trust people. He specifically states that most of the workforce do not trust their own stewards, but there is no evidence to show that Ted does not trust others. Even when he is badly treated in the budgerigar club he finds excuses for the actions of those who deceived him. There seems to be a sense of balance in Ted's life which is based upon common sense. At work you get the best deal you can, but you do not put the firm out of business. In the budgerigar club you can strive to be a champion, but not winning at one time does not overturn his endeavour because a different judge on a different occasion may choose your bird. That is common sense, it is a sort of protection against failure.

John also seems to engage in protective activity. The most sensitive area of his life is his lack of manual ability, where he does not trust himself. He feels this greatly and only seems to go to two long term acquaintances for advice. His next most sensitive activity is that in which he is an expert. His relationship with the invisible college is interesting. These are the people he respects enormously and he gets upset if he is criticised by these colleagues, because he respects and trusts them so much. This must have an effect upon this area of work.

In his everyday activity of teaching and administration he seems to keep a certain distance from his colleagues, generated in part because they are each specialists in different aspects of the department's work. Even so he does not have much respect for many of them so he would not see them as worthy of trust, especially in areas where he is weak.

The men do not seem to be as concerned with trust as the women. However, it seems to me that their relationship with others has a trust element to it. I believe their self-protective behaviour is because of being let down at some time. Knowledge of their failures may diminish their stature in the eyes of others. The evidence is not specific as in explicit statements about trust, but their comments about other people point in that direction.

Personal Freedom.

Each respondent exercises choice in their everyday lives. There are choices to engage in an activity; Mary with her gardening and Ted in the Budgerigar Club. They also choose not to engage in activity; Paul leaving the parents' committee and Jane in not taking advice. There is also choice in who to respect; Ruby and certain nursing sisters, and who not to respect; John and many of his acquaintances. I argue that these choices are affected by personal equations that include an understanding of truth, trust and personal freedom in the experience of the respondents

Imposed Tradition.

The issues of truth and trust emerged through an examination of the interview material. However, there are other influences beyond the control of the respondents. Fowler (1996) in her introduction to Pierre Bourdieu mentions " 'intransitive objects' in the natural world, such as forces of gravity" (p7). However, it also seems that Bourdieu considers "linguistic capital" (Collins 1993 p118) to be an intransitive object when it is handed down by authority.

"We learn that the efficacy of a discourse, its power to convince, depends on the authority of the person who utters

it, or, what amounts to the same thing, on his 'accent' functioning as an index of authority. *Thus the whole social structure is present in the interaction (and therefore the discourse): the material conditions of existence determine discourse through the linguistic production relations which they make possible and which they structure*" (Collins 1993 Quoting Bourdieu 1977, emphasis added).

The 'social structure' in this sense is one where language determines the ability of individuals to participate in full or in part. What governs the individuals ability to participate is the Habitus, "a general disposition to action, a scheme of practice and perception, inculcated early and with long term ("trajectory") effects (Collins p123). I would argue that 'Habitus' is a more general form of my personal equations.

In the relationship of state power to official life; school, work, and the burden of the law I would agree with Bourdieu's assessment of the power relationship and its debilitating effect on people because their language debars them from fully participating in the "linguistic markets" (Collins p118) Bourdieu identifies. However in my final chapter I will argue that everyday learning takes place in a different setting where "bourgeois" and "common" parlance give way to a unifying form of speech practised in the local moral order. I will also argue that authority can be challenged in the LMO in a way that it cannot be in civil society and therefore individuals have more control over their lives.

Summary.

It is very hard to disentangle the 'tradition' of a 'normal family' from the idiosyncratic representation of individual families examined in this

research. The common components of a family, mother, father and siblings create multifarious familial situations that do not seem to link up. Yet there must be a common understanding because Mary understood and empathised with the family situations of ethnic minority people. This was not based upon having a pre-understanding of a global family pattern but upon shared experience of the problems of bringing up children that is relating her own understanding of family experience to others bringing up families. It is a personal understanding that can be shared by putting yourself in the shoes of the other person.

Whilst society sets a framework for the 'normal' family each respondent illustrates the idiosyncrasies of family life due to the background and intersubjective activities that each family member engages in. The only "constants", which in themselves are not constant except in function, are normative constraints. I have tried to show that familial normative structures are present in some cases, Ted, John, Paul and Mary, but in other cases family relationships have led to problems for Jane, or cross cultural mis-understanding, for Ruby. This highlights the problems of creating a unified understanding of everyday learning.

I feel I have shown that there are normative practices that permeate society. In the United Kingdom time is a national preoccupation. There are many homilies that we are brought up with. People are not taught to learn, they are forced to repeat facts within time constraints set by the teacher, parents and others. I will say more about the time constraints placed upon learning in the final chapter as I believe it is a problem for people who do not see themselves as learners.

The issue of trust for the indigenous population of the United Kingdom is bound up with the culture of 'possessive individualism', (Macpherson 1962). Because individuals are considered 'sole proprietors'

of their abilities, and each individual is supposed to live in a free market society, their ability is the key to success in bargaining for advantage. Absolute freedom leads to anarchy so law is invoked to curb excess, however, even in a society that has laws some individuals will not be able to bargain efficiently.

Self-directed learning seems to me to be based very much on the idea of individuals in charge of their own destiny. People go into the world to carve out a life that owes everything to individual ability. To get on requires personal knowledge which begets secrecy which provides a situation where lack of trust is endemic because in a free market one cannot rely on others. I believe normative constraints are built upon this understanding of society to provide some stability.

The western method of providing learning is to enhance the individual's ability to be self-directed and owe allegiance to themselves. The way Tough researched his respondents highlighted their quest for improvement. Current research, (Habermas 1987, 1990, Potter & Wetherell 1987) concentrates on the need an individual has for others, not for selfish growth, but for co-operative growth; learning becomes social not selfish.

In such a situation trust becomes important. In the responses of my interviewees I think there is evidence for trust and lack of trust that affects the individual's learning progress. John does not seem to trust the colleagues in his place of work but does trust his colleagues in the 'Invisible College'. Mary trusts her gardening friend and learns to trust some of the people in the 'Wordpower' course. However Mary is wary of others where she has to present herself as knowledgeable, she does not trust their reaction to her, and expects it to be hostile. Paul seems to trust only men who have particular skills and are not in charge of him, but Jane

seems not to be able to trust anyone. Their everyday learning activity is affected by their pre-understandings of trust or the lack of it. Time and trust are key issues in adult learning. They affect what the adult brings to the learning situation in adult life as well as affecting their relationships to those set up as specialists who support learning activity as providers.

This chapter has given evidence to suggest that people do protect themselves from others and provide strategies for coping with the problems others may bring to their relationships. People are affected by intersubjective influences and not by different "codes" of language use although they have to 'learn' the language of the local moral orders they join.

Chapter Eight.

THE PROCESS OF ADULT LEARNING.

Introduction.

In this chapter I discuss the issue of internal and external experience and their relationship with what I describe as quantitative and qualitative learning. I try to make a case for seeing individual experience as integrated with, not separated from, what happens in the outside world. However the notion of 'external' and 'internal' is necessary for describing how this takes place since integration implies an already existing set of relationships that provide material from which to learn. I also comment on the difference between making sense of the world and giving sense to it. Because these relationships are not comprehensive there will be much that is not known. In this situation, I describe the mechanism of learning as gap filling. The person needs some prior basis of understanding for the process to work. I also suggest that the family, and teacher-led learning situations, do not fit the category of local moral order because they do not solely rely on intersubjective understanding.

Local Moral Orders.

People inhabit a variety of local moral orders (LMOs). These provide a settings for everyday learning activity. An LMO can provide a positive venue for growth because an aim is provided by the activity the LMO supports. Motivation is created because people normally want to participate and succeed in their chosen activity. In such an undertaking, there are many absences or gaps in their understanding of the LMO as participants do not know all that there is to know. Identification of absences or gaps leads to the learning necessary to being successful

within the normative structure of the LMO. I am proposing two types of local moral order - the already existing and the emerging.

EXISTING LMO'S. These are the areas of everyday life that are most familiar because people are constantly participating in them. They are aware of the normative structure and can generally fill in the gaps in their understanding. If there are gaps they do not understand they usually know who, or where to go, to find the information they want. This is implied in the work of Tough (1971, 1979) when he discovered that his respondents went to friends and colleagues to seek information about their particular learning project. Brookfield (1983) is more explicit about the independent adult learner and the importance of peer acclaim.

EMERGING LMO'S. This is where people come together for the first time to pursue a new activity and because they are strangers a new normative structure has to be created. This was illustrated by Jane on the computer course and Mary on the 'Wordpower' course. In all cases, people bring their own pre-understandings of how they are likely to interact in a new situation. Such interaction may be moulded by goal related activity that will also involve a learning process. However, people will have to learn how to identify the gaps in the emerging normative structure where handed down, or traditional pre-understandings, are absent.

Filling in the gap.

I argue that where there is an absence in understanding, there is a lack of knowledge. In everyday terms, for example, it can be not knowing that a traffic jam has been caused by an accident. The jam is frustrating until the gap in knowledge, the reason for the jam, is 'filled in'. New behaviour then becomes appropriate. Frustration may still be

present, but that is because it is now caused by some other reason, for example, lateness for an appointment. Learning then consists of filling in gaps. 'Filling in' may lead to more effective personal behaviour in the goal oriented local moral order.

It is proposed that a gap in a person's knowledge has to be recognised in order for learning to take place. The example given by Heidegger (1985) is that of a room where something is missing when the absence is noticed a gap is filled. But, an absence can be occasioned both by absence and by presence, as when something new is put into a room. The game of 'hunt the thimble' is used to teach children to look for things. A management course uses the same technique when adults are put into strange situations; as in the middle of a moor and made to fend for themselves. For an absence to be recognised, the person has to be able to read the context of the situation, in order to do this they must have some relevant pre-understandings that they can bring to the situation. An absence has first to be recognised as significant, if learning is to take place.

Habermas (1984) considers that the purpose of speech is to reach understanding. Habermas believes that all speech contains conditions for 'intersubjective validity'. Communication will be influenced by the normative constraints used by members of a group to improve or maintain standards of achievement. In a goal directed LMO members will explore and achieve success in their chosen interest through using language and watching the activities of others. Achieving status in the group will depend on their understanding of how the group works and their willingness to encounter occasions of hazard. Members will know the truth of statements because they will have validity in the current conditions in the LMO.

Habermas believes sincerity is an important factor in intersubjective validity. However, members of a group may accept information, not because they trust the informant, but because they understand the current context of the utterance. For instance, Ted's experience in the budgerigar club led him to learn that one judge may reject his birds at a show while on another occasion they will be accepted for a prize. He learnt to trust his own experience.

I feel it is incorrect to discuss a person's recognition of absences or knowledge of intersubjective validity in terms of external or internal experience. Reflection, an internal activity of the mind, relies on knowledge gained from the external world. Reflection upon personal experience will influence the way a person thinks about their relationships. I believe that reflection can only be convincing when it is grounded in intersubjectively valid relationships.

When considering their experience, people have to be confident in the judgements they make. Though I feel, for example, that Jane finds it difficult to trust people, she finds validity for her ideas in her link with the feminist 'wavelength'. The validity of experience comes from the language used to communicate, the quality of relationships with other people and physical interaction with external objects, for instance, door lintels where heads are bumped. The more trust a person has in these three relationships, the greater the possibility that intersubjective validity will lead to people managing their lives competently in their various local moral orders. This is an outcome that is not only appropriate for the individual, but also for the milieu in which the outcome occurs.

The pre-condition for an absence to be intelligible is that it appears in a clear and coherent context and has validity because it agrees with information previously understood. It follows from this that the detection

of absences is affected by the individual's past interaction in the world, the competence they feel they have in absorbing new knowledge that in turn affects their confidence in handling new experiences. It seems appropriate to suggest that the recognition of an absence should be an achievement that can be put into language, with more or less facility, and shared with others.

People bring to social interaction basic personality traits that affect the way they access normative information. Relationships with others can be informed, and constrained by their previous experience of interpersonal communication. As I have indicated personal equations are both positive and negative and guide people both towards engaging in certain activities, and not engaging in others. This preference is helped by the knowledge that engaging in normative learning activity differs from engaging in formal learning as the latter is perceived to be different.

Recognition of an absence has to be triggered by something. Where there are gaps in experience, an accidental happening can link information to create new understanding. Much organised learning is the ordered examination of context to identify new information; teachers signpost the gaps. In everyday learning the search is not so orderly. People's internal knowledge has to be linked to the external world. People may not have a conscious knowledge of this linking process. When a need-to-know arises external and internal activity becomes appropriate to learn what is necessary. In a particular context, they weld the internal and external aspects of their lives into a seamless whole.

Internal and external experience.

Interpersonal interaction is mediated by the sensory and intellectual capacities of the individual. I argue that areas of external activity cannot

be separated from internal understanding. There are venues for external activity and contemplation of such activity where reflection informs deeper understanding of a happening, or decisions on future action. I also argue that people know the difference between internal experience and the external world, and respond more or less appropriately according to the way they can use language to express the difference. People speak in ways that show they can distinguish internal thoughts, and their external application. For instance, John doubted people's ability to heed his advice. He was clearly talking about people who were central to his intersubjective understanding, whom he did not respect. He had internalised a range of previous experience of the external world to come to his conclusions which he then kept to himself.

Ruby makes a vehement distinction between her own internal thoughts about herself as not accepting "put-down" against all those who attempt to put her down. These people are seen as an external force holding her back. In another way, the distinction can also be seen when Mary came-to-know the problems of minority ethnic families. Previously her experience had been to see such families as remote and removed from her. In coming-to-know such people she came to know that their lot was much the same as hers.

This relationship between the internal and external in our everyday lives can be seen as the basis of our ability to learn. The connection of external experience with internal understanding both by direct experience and reflection is how learning takes place. (See Boud, Keogh and Walker 1985 p30). We learn from all this activity by filling in gaps in our understanding. I can illustrate this from my own experience as well as with examples from the respondents. My wife planted a Clematis which promptly died. We did not know the reason for it dying and were

disappointed at the turn of events. After some time it put out new shoots, and after battling with slugs thrived. We did not know the reason for it seeming to die. A second Clematis was planted which also died. This time my wife dug it up and put it in a pot, subsequently new shoots appeared.

We planted, in the external world, a Clematis that died, only to come alive again. Internally this course of events left us puzzled and unsure, with unanswered questions. Was our garden soil unsuitable, or was there some other problem? This presented us with a gap in our knowledge, an absence waiting to be filled. While watching television one evening we learnt that Clematis suffer from leaf drop and have to be planted deep because the leaves die back. New growth comes from underground. This piece of information filled the gap made by our experience of die-back, and the subsequent growth. It made a qualitative difference to our gardening knowledge.

Quantitative and qualitative experience.

Whilst there are internal and external attributes to our experience and understanding there is also an internal/external nexus which turns information from external sources into internal understanding. Learning new information gives current knowledge a new dimension. This is explained with reference to a quantitative/qualitative distinction in relation to information that people pick up through every day living.

Using the example of the Clematis I suggest that knowing the plant had died, and knowing the plant had grown again were two quantitative pieces of information which were contingent upon everyday experience. These two pieces of information on their own have limited meaning. When the reason for the happening was known, the two experiences were linked in

a new understanding. What was quantitative became qualitative because it changed the way we saw the experience.

I want to examine some of my respondent's discourse to substantiate this understanding of learning. Ted was put out by the discovery that some birds he had bought from a champion did not fly. This experience created gaps in his understanding. He expected champions to be honest and sell birds that were fit. Ted did not know why the birds were unfit, nor why things turned out as they did until told by a friend. When these gaps were filled he had a new understanding of the world he was joining. John was told his behaviour was inappropriate on the Residential Home committee. This showed him that the university way of doing things was not relevant, and that he would need to change his behaviour. He had a new understanding of how people saw him. Mary did not know who was coming to her house as a child until she asked, and her Mother told her they were her brothers and sisters. Being told this seemed to puzzle Mary even more because they did not act like she expected brothers and sisters to act. These happenings filled gaps in the knowledge of these people that were relevant to their everyday lives.

Making Sense and Giving Sense.

I argue that in the context of an LMO people make sense of information when they have no control over its production. Things happen arbitrarily for unknown reasons. They use what knowledge they have to make sense of the situation, that is to puzzle out why the situation is as it is. They will be reluctant to engage in an occasion of hazard because the outcome of their intervention will be too uncertain. In such a situation they will seek information to make good their lack of understanding in less hazardous ways.

Giving sense to a situation is much more proactive. The level of confidence necessary to make statements to the LMO will result from previous successful interventions and a knowledge of the current situation in the group. With this knowledge people are more likely to risk an occasion of hazard because they consider it beneficial to the LMO or themselves. The basis of giving sense is an understanding of the developmental direction the group is taking. Risking an occasion of hazard is then not so dangerous because the proactive agent will have weighed up the information available and given sense to the issue at hand before an intervention.

Making sense and giving sense to a situation implies a certain self-awareness on the part of the participant. They either know they can or cannot engage in a debate in the LMO. However, I argue that membership of an LMO implies some developmental understanding on the part of the participant. Low self-awareness may limit an individual's activity in the LMO but their reason for being there will mean that they are aware of an interest that they want to foster. There is a lot going on in an LMO to make sense of and give sense to.

Implications for learning.

If people learn by identifying gaps in their knowledge then the better they know the normative structure of their LMO and the subject matter the LMO seeks to promote, the better they are able to determine what they want to know. This is illustrated very well by Ted's remarks about the hidden agendas of members of the budgerigar club. It follows that the more knowledge people have about the intersubjective structure the more material they are able to draw on to learn. In emerging LMOs the normative structure is not formed and people have to identify a way of

learning in order to relate to the new group. The words they bring with them may sound the same, but they will have different meanings in different contexts, and may cause confusion. Also, along with the reason for them being brought together, people will have to learn about the emerging hierarchical structure of the new local moral order. Some means of translation between known and new unknown contexts is necessary if people are to grow in knowledge. The societal moral order will be the starting point for many. Language that has everyday currency in society will be most accessible. Talk may be about families, the weather, or popular television programmes. People will start interacting in a language that is shared in the societal order.

It may be that in such situations, ignorance, uncertainty, and lack of confidence will lead to some people never uncovering gaps in their knowledge because they will not ask the right questions, nor recognise the familiar because it is presented in a different and strange context. Alternatively if people do not ask reflective questions, they may not see any connection to their other activities, in the new context they are in. Although quite knowledgeable about their own everyday affairs they may not be practised at making connections between different intersubjective contexts.

To most people, a formal learning environment is very specific. It is identified as a place where pupils are taught. Speare and Mocker (1984 p3) point out that teachers are taught to plan their approach to teaching, their expertise being used for particular purposes. My respondents' experience of school did not allow them to see learning from a teacher's point of view. Learning activities outside school, in everyday life, are not structured in the same way as learning activities in school, and

therefore are not understood as a teaching or learning activity. In school, teachers mediate the absences.

I would argue that the 'teaching for learning' model is not appropriate to an examination of learning in everyday life. I would further argue that pupils and teachers do not belong to the same LMO even in the classroom. I do not have evidence from the interviews to support this view because my questions were not asked to this end. However, I can bring evidence from secondary sources to support this view of a division between pupil and teacher.

Jonathan Holt (1969) describes how teachers think they are taking their pupils on a 'journey to some glorious destination', yet the pupils knew better as they see themselves in school because they have to be. If they were not in the classroom they could be somewhere else. Jackson & Marsden (1962) give evidence for teachers maintaining the distinction between themselves and their pupils even on Saturdays when supervising the inferior 'Rugby League', by insisting on being called 'Sir'. Lastly Rogers (1969) characterises the teacher as:

"The expert, the information giver, the keeper of order, the evaluator of products, the examination giver, the one who, at the end, formulates that goal of all 'education' the *grade*. She firmly believes that she would be destroyed if she let herself emerge as the human being she really is". (p23)

Rogers also believes the pupil has a facade that must be kept up otherwise it would mean 'letting his feelings show'.

I suggest that it is not credible for teachers and pupils to associate intersubjectively because each group relates to a different intersubjective structure. My main contention for everyday learning is that it is freely

entered into; this is not the case with school education. If there is an intersubjective relationship between pupils and teachers it seems to me to be very superficial. If I were to describe such a relationship I would say that teachers have opinions about pupils that would be supported by the teacher in the teachers' common room, and pupils have feelings about teachers that would be supported by the pupils in the playground, but there can be no intimate intersubjective relationship between them as there would be in a freely chosen activity of like-minded people. Where out of school activity takes place the teachers are still responsible for the pupils so the division between them will remain. I argue that formal learning is not an intersubjective activity.

The family could be considered a local moral order, but when looked at closely I do not think this can be maintained. There is a sense in which the family is neither an existing nor emerging moral order. I argue that some family 'traditions' are handed down, but also that families have to create their own responses to situations that their parents did not have to cope with, for instance how to use a video recorder. Because of this I feel that the family resembles the arrangement of school. The parents are in the role of the teachers, with the children the pupils. Also in childhood many out-of-school activities are of the same type, uniformed organisations, churches, sports clubs, etc. Most children's activities are under the direction of some agency. Relationships between the adult and the adult group are of greater equality because adults are expected to be responsible for themselves; it is only then that normative constraints becomes important. It can be concluded from this that the more directive an activity, the less the need for normative structures, and the less directive, the more the need for normative constraints to support the groups' evolving achievement of aims.

Tough and intentional change.

In adult education, the researcher inhabits LMOs that are akin to teachers. The researcher's peer group and background experiences are as trained practitioners. They bring to their research particular personal equations and experience that affect the way they approach research. Tough's investigation of intentional change involved respondents who were already engaged in a learning project and based upon his own experience of intentional change. In the book (Tough 1982), he gives clear information about his trip to India. His decision to go was because of a "fairly broad desire" to learn about India. On arrival, the impact of poverty, a gap in his knowledge, was so great he decided to learn about the causes of poverty and economic development. He also records an unintentional change, that of missing his family, again the result of a gap in his understanding since he had not expected to miss his family.

This is related from the point of view of somebody who had only himself to consider. There is no hint of why Tough wanted to explore the Indian situation. What part did the LMO of his colleagues play in his decision making? What part did his family have to play? From the way he relates it no one else was involved with his decisions. His approach reflects his insistence in his research on people being clear in their minds about what they want to do about their personal development.

In his research, Tough brought his own understanding of academic endeavour to his subjects' activity. The parameters for his respondents were suggested by his own understanding of what it is to study. Hence his respondents are assumed to have a pre-understood learning goal and a way to achieve it. In these circumstances it is sensible to talk about the learner being able to evaluate their achievements because they were performing in an already accessible milieu. While respondents

acknowledged help from friends and family, there was no examination of the normative structures these people inhabited, because Tough did not see this as important and he did not do so because he was concentrating on the pursuit of intentional change, rather than the intersubjective relationships of learners. The discovery for example that friends and acquaintances were consulted was treated as quaint rather than significant.

Tough seems uninterested in how adults came to choose their learning projects. Knowledge and skill had to be clear and definite in individual minds. No attention was given to the confidence people had in what they were doing although he did discover that they were self deprecatory about their learning activity. Tough's concern was with the autonomous person, "the ordinary self knowing absolute subject with a subjectivity which is both pre-given and individualistic, both pre-social and a-social" (Usher 1992 p204). This person must be continually improving, progressively becoming more knowledgeable in the subject studied. Brookfield (1980), was also interested in the quality of learning in successful independent learners where their learning is valued by other hobbyists. He brings to the research his understanding of English community life, where he saw such learning activity as co-operative but not intersubjective.

Brookfield (1983) reports that these independent learners are:

"part of a larger learning community. [] a kind of fellowship of learning comprising fellow enthusiasts who shared the same concerns, pleasures and anxieties.

[] expressed in a readiness to share knowledge and accumulated wisdom" (p53).

However, this sharing was done, "in addition to, and separate from, the official business of the club or society" (p54). I assume that the separation was physical because I do not see how any enthusiast can divorce themselves from the base and support of their activity.

Ted belonged to an organisation that fitted Brookfield's description of a hobbyist club. It is clear from what Ted says that he was concerned with every aspect of the way the club was run. For Brookfield to address the intersubjective aspect of hobbyists he needs to be aware of all levels of members involvement in the club. Because he was only interested in people with a "high level of expertise", he could not take the intersubjective into account. That is why I consider his research to have concentrated on co-operation between individuals.

I propose that what Tough and Brookfield were looking at was evidence from which they could infer that learning had taken place because the individuals had achieved a measure of success in their activity. I would further suggest that Tough and Brookfield have little concern with **how** learning takes place, although they do recognise the role of informal learning networks. All they can say is that in the opinion of other knowledgeable people the respondents had a certain status for their expertise. Learning did take place but they did not seem to be concerned with investigating the way in which people learned. As far as I can see, there is little indication of 'learning from', but a great deal of 'learning about'. This is learning but it could be argued that it is only 'learning from' that leads to change. There are degrees of change and I call learning activity quantitative when it builds up information that leads to qualitative change, as discussed above.

My own approach to this research shows I am not embedded in a research milieu. I show a large measure of uncertainty in what I am

doing. The questions I ask are informed by my own self-concept of failure as a learner. My questions relate to an identification I have with the respondents in their inability to see themselves as learners. I am concerned with their uncertainty, an uncertainty that mirrors my own. This research is not looking for "clear and definite" skill, but uncertain and painful growth towards knowledge and how people untrained in learning understand it.

My experience suggests that many learning exchanges are only quantitative, and do not lead to change on their own. It could be that the reason Tough and Brookfield see learning as leading to change is that they are interpreting the psychology of permanent change as a qualitative outcome, whereas I have tried to show something can be learned quantitatively, and this learning does not, on its own, lead to change.

I believe such quantitative knowledge holds one back because the connections between various pieces of quantitative knowledge are not recognised. People do not see **how** two and two make four, they only accept it. I believe this is why Mary could not do work at which she felt she was good in front of other people. Since she had always been told what to do, she had no means of telling herself she was competent in public even though she was sure she could do what was required. Her knowledge was quantitative and did not lead to growth in intersubjective understanding because she had not been used to drawing deductions. She was brought up in a milieu that was not based upon reaching agreement.

Quantitative knowledge provides a certain sensitivity to one's own confidence in the intersubjective milieu. People may know they lack certain knowledge, but not know how to gain it. Qualitative changes come about as the result of recognising the learning that becomes a life

changing experience. People do not see themselves as learners because their negative learning experiences do not support a confident view of themselves as learners. When they do have important insights into their activities they see these as their own and not translatable into the understanding of others although they do share with others, albeit with a certain equivocation.

I believe this could change if people knew about the mechanism of intersubjective relationships. As I have argued, there is a powerful difference between making sense of the world, and giving sense to it. I think it is clear from what the respondents say that they do not feel able to influence the external circumstances they find themselves in. A greater understanding of the reciprocity of relationships may help people feel more responsible for their learning or life.

Pre-understanding.

"Pre-understanding, the background and contextual knowledge that is already known 'traditionally', form a tacit backdrop" (Usher 1992 p205)

The implication is that all people relate to a culturally defined structure of pre-understandings available in their society.

What is a pre-understanding? How do we recognise it? What does it do? Gadamer (1993) says that long before we understand ourselves through self-examination, "we understand ourselves in a self evident way in the family, society and state in which we live" (p276). This is the same as saying that we inhabit several intersubjective milieux and know what is traditional about them. It seems obvious, in the experience of the respondents, that Jane, John and Mary did not have a deep understanding

of their relationship to their families, yet this is in a society that is immersed in the 'tacit backdrop' of family life. In Gadamer's terms this means there must be a problem in the projection of meaning that individuals must engage in to make sense of their lives. I would argue that their interview responses show that they do have certain difficulties in relating to their families. In many respects people have to make sense of family relationships; if they fail some rationalisation takes place to allow them to do so, otherwise life would be impossible. There is evidence in the interviews to suggest that the respondents observed other families in order to help make sense of their own. Such observations helped them to rationalise their own situation.

Confidence with the text.

"So when we read a text we always assume its completeness, and only when this assumption proves mistaken, i.e. - the text is not intelligible - do we begin to suspect the text and try to discover how it can be remedied". (Gadamer 1993 p294)

Harré (1979,1993) suggests that the outcomes of intersubjective interactions are never replicated. What Gadamer is suggesting is very similar, the individual cannot have confidence in outcomes because they cannot guarantee their success. In Harré's terms it is the collective that sets the context of success or failure, in Gadamer's it is the individual who is responsible for their assumptions being right or wrong. I also understand that Gadamer is talking about people coming to an activity having a pre-understanding of what it might be. In everyday learning

terms this cannot always be so, but it is often the case that people will choose an activity that they already know something about.

In the respondents' lives the 'text' is the intersubjective communication they use to understand their LMO. The more LMOs they belong to, the more 'texts' there are to understand. People can make assumptions as the result of their understanding of these texts. Theoretically the more completely they understand the text, the greater the validity of their assumptions. However, if something happens that confounds their assumptions it is assumed they will look for remedies because it affects their understanding of themselves as knowledgeable people. In many cases, the respondents did not seek to remedy their mistaken assumptions but withdrew from the situation.

When respondents engaged in a well-known activity they had fairly firm assumptions of how things should be. In Ted's case, these assumptions were not borne out. At work, he tried to reassert the normative constraints, while in the budgerigar club he adopted a philosophical attitude to the way judges carried out their judging and learned to rely more on his own understanding. In well-known situations, where the respondents knew the LMO they knew enough either to try and put things right or leave well alone.

When a person knows nothing about an LMO, they can make no assumptions. Their lack of understanding arises because they have no pre-understanding of the 'text' of the situation. When they find themselves in a new intersubjective milieu, they cling to what they know and resist becoming involved with the new activity until they have learnt something of the normative structure. In the case of Paul and the parents' committee he left rather than get involved with a situation that was uncomfortable.

Mary used to withdraw from certain situations and then feel frustrated about it.

The way Gadamer puts it, people would have some way of engaging with the 'text' because to understand a mistaken assumption is to know that there is a mistake. To know that there is a mistake is to know there is an absence, which can only be known because the context is known.

"The important thing is to be aware of one's own bias, so that the text can present itself in all its otherness and thus assert its own truth against one's own foremeanings" (1993 p269)

My lack of understanding of the text can arise from my lack of pre-understanding associated with the topic the text is portraying. Alternatively my pre-understandings may be mistaken in which case I will incorrectly understand the text yet feel that I am correctly interpreting it. If I translate this to an intersubjective milieu where I can read the text of the interaction, my understanding of the text will be confirmed when responses to my enquiries happen in a way that I expect. If I become puzzled or annoyed in this situation, I will have misunderstood. However, all my understandings are going to be contingent because there is always new information on hand to amend my understanding of the intersubjective milieu. These understandings will supplement my already existing knowledge and give me grounds to see new gaps, but there is always a possibility of being mistaken.

In their everyday activity my respondents wanted to find a resolution to the things they wanted to know; it is as if they had recognised a gap in their knowledge and they want to fill it. In this sense, "understanding is a productive activity" (Gadamer 1975 p296). However this activity can be

undermined if a person cannot give sense to their activity. This creates ambiguity and loss of confidence because of discomfort in the intersubjective milieu within which the learning is situated.

Patterned activity and tradition.

The hermeneutic circle is described by Gadamer as "neither subjective nor objective, but describes understanding as the interplay of the movement of tradition and the movement of the interpreter". (1993 p293) A tradition could be seen to be a body of historical texts that share a particular use of language where the originators of the text would agree on the meaning of the language they use. Gadamer says every age (tradition) has to come to understand such texts in their own way, each person becomes an interpreter of the text. Such interpretation helps to define what is worth knowing at a particular time.

There are individuals whose interpretive abilities allow them to 'see' their subject in a new way, for example, Freud or Einstein. 'Geniuses' like these create new understandings that lead to particular trends in intellectual discipline for example 'structuralism' or 'post-modernism'. 'Isms' become fashionable and there are people who support and who oppose such popular ideas. When the ideas have currency they are fashionable. As I interpret Popper's terms, these ideas become World 3 objects. In this state they become rigidified and used in a way that is not interpretive but taken-for-granted, used only to teach rather than to enlarge the knowledge of the subject in the way that filling in gaps does if freely chosen.

An interpretive culture is a milieu where not only is learning taking place constantly, but where such learning leads to development of the interpretive culture. Such a milieu is an evolving local moral order. In an

academic environment constant re-interpretation is the leitmotif of the interpretive culture. However, academic disciplines can go down a cul-de-sac and become stultified because the interpretive culture becomes a taken-for-granted one. I believe this is what Habermas means when he criticises Popper's World 3 theory. It is not interpretive in itself although in special circumstances it can be used for interpretive purposes. In the everyday context, my respondents use both the interpretive and the taken-for-granted, or open and closed understanding, in their relationships with LMOs.

Ted's understanding of the budgerigar LMO is interpretive. He came to understand the intersubjective framework and now makes his own mind up about the advice he hears. At work, there are both interpretive and taken-for-granted cultures in place. His knowledge of the company, and of relationships between people is interpretive, and open to revision. Where Trade Union relationships are concerned it is taken-for-granted, as he feels Union boundaries protect his position in the workplace. He can see what the other Unions are trying to do but condemns it as illegitimate.

It would seem that Mary does not have much use for an interpretive culture. Her relationships take place within a narrowly defined world of taken-for-granted assertions of the way things should be done. However, she does not fully engage with an interpretive milieu where she would be open to criticism and/or blame. I would suggest that Mary began to enjoy herself on the 'Wordpower' course when she was able to engage in interpretive activity. She was able to use her understanding of family life to engage with other people. The more she became integrated into the intersubjective milieu the better she liked the course. This may have been helped by her antipathy towards the teachers after they had rejected her request to be told what to do.

I feel Paul also had a good interpretive ability. He identified people in the community who had skills that would be useful. He also knew that if he offered advice people might not always take it until they had tried other ways of doing things and found them wanting. However, he did not become fully integrated into any intersubjective milieu; he was both a participant and an observer of others. His often stated view that people thought him odd seems evidence for this separation. Jane also seemed an onlooker to most intersubjective activity, her fierce independence keeping her apart from integrative action. The nearest she gets to an intersubjective milieu is in her acceptance of a 'wavelength' of information that many women around the world share.

John seems to participate in integrative activity in the Invisible College, all of whom pursue a very narrow band of study, this is a group of people he trusts a lot and has a high regard for. In other areas of his life he is not so open because his higher intellectual ability sets him apart. People have to earn his respect before he will be involved with them. In his everyday job and pastimes he does not seem fully integrated with his colleagues. Where he does mention learning things from others, he makes use of something called the 'intangible qualities' they have, almost as if they are not responsible for him learning

Ruby shows evidence of an interpretive ability in her comments about how she and her children 'co-operated' even though her Jamaican upbringing did not fit her for parenting in England. She knows her black women friends' individual foibles because she understands the intersubjective background they all come from. Where she has difficulty is in her relationships with the indigenous population. She gives several instances of misunderstanding that arose as much from her Jamaican way of doing things as from the misunderstanding or racist attitudes of the host

population. However, racist attitudes played a large part in her disillusionment with English society.

The respondents came to understand the 'texts' of their activities in their own way. Their involvement in intersubjective milieux provided knowledge that filled gaps in their understanding. They actively processed knowledge into meaning. There were times when they influenced activity and times when they did not. I feel I have shown they used both the interpretive and taken-for-granted approaches to their lives.

Mental Change.

Brookfield (1984), reminds us that adult education researchers must "propose clear and unambiguous definitions of learning and education in order that internal mental change is distinguished from the external collection, management and analysis of information" (p61).

Internal mental change is not specified but in Brookfield (1983) he states that it is usually taken to mean that such change leads to altered behaviour (p12). He says a little later on that

"experience on its own has no intrinsic educative merit since one can experience any number of emotions, situations or crises yet exert no purposeful desire to acquire knowledge and skill" (p17).

Is this purposeful desire a pre-understanding, long held, to acquire a certain piece of knowledge, or is it a desire that arises spontaneously when context relevant information triggers some hidden-from-view well of knowledge that then presents itself for appraisal? In this sense there are

two approaches to the subject: an awareness that certain knowledge is needed or the bringing out of storage hidden knowledge that is activated by a happening. I would argue that Brookfield means the former because he is interested in clear and definite knowledge which by implication is foremost in the mind. Therefore he is dismissing the type of learning I suggested earlier that Tough was discounting. If we knew more about this type of learning it would help us to identify how serendipitous learning becomes purposeful. As Brookfield says, "relatively little thought seems to have been given to the way in which we learn from everyday experience" (p16).

As mentioned in Chapter Two Brookfield has examined his own learning (Brookfield in Boud, Cohen & Walker, 1993), and looked at how adults, specifically "doctoral students majoring in adult education", (Brookfield 1994 p204). Much of Brookfield's work now seems to be done with graduate students or by engaging in debate through article and book. Whilst I am sure that this work is meant to benefit, eventually, the student returning to learn reading and writing, it seems to be aimed at adult education practitioners for their own intellectual growth. Empathising with learners as they "traverse new intellectual terrains" (1993 p21) implies a constituency of interest that I would argue was missing from an average literacy tutor and their students. I propose that this is because they do not inhabit the same LMO. While a graduate student may have much in common with the person teaching them, because they both may have had similar academic careers, it is not the same as sharing an LMO. However it is the case that the five themes that Brookfield (1994) explores in this article could usefully be put to work in examining how "return to learn" students feel about themselves in relation

to the local moral orders to which they belong in contrast to the "return to learn" course they are attending.

I argue that by asking a question a person is giving evidence of wanting to know something. The realisation that a question needs to be asked **may** lead to altered behaviour. The local moral order provides a venue for the gathering of information through the asking of questions. It also provides the arena for the validation of experience because knowledge can be tested out in a supportive environment. However, I have suggested that some knowledge may be quantitative and not immediately lead to change while that which shows permanent change is qualitative. Brookfield says that breaking a leg does not constitute learning but I would argue that it may lead to learning that will be useful in the unlikely but possible event of an accident where somebody has broken their leg. This knowledge will not always be at the forefront of a person's mind, but can be called to mind when needed.

I would argue that much that we do is necessarily hidden. Life would become unendingly tedious or completely overbearing if we carried all our knowledge at the front of our consciousness all the time. Yet, if we reflect on some aspect of our everyday lives just once we could learn significant things that could lead us to be permanently changed. If we could persuade people that this was significant learning it would go a long way to showing them how to learn more.

The personal equations are important to this learning ability because they affect the way people interact with their chosen LMO's. If they are nervous of communicating, or lack trust in some of the groups in which they interact, their communicative ability will be impaired and their learning activity reduced, as I suggested in Chapter Seven.

Making mistakes.

It is acknowledged that mistakes are powerful learning opportunities, yet adult education research seeks to minimise mistakes in the quest for efficient learning. The overconcentration on efficiency in the provision of adult learning in industry, formal educational institutions and in the provision of money starved "return to learn" activity takes attention away from those most in need of help with their learning.

I argue that we must allow people the opportunity of making mistakes because it is the basis of our humanity. Also, while it is true that we may not learn spontaneously from certain situations, it is possible that we learn from a mistake and all that the experience leads to. Marsick & Watkins (1990) paraphrase Jarvis (1987):

"People can learn informally from others, but they do not always do so. They may not be open to change and to seeing things from new points of view. Jarvis describes potential non-learning responses to a situation, that is, times when adults rely on presuppositions without questioning the need to do anything differently, not considering the experience as an opportunity for learning, or simply rejecting the option of learning. At worst, no learning takes place; at best, people are aware of a need to learn but, even then, they may learn errors that fit in with their existing view of the world or that reinforces erroneous beliefs" (p12)

There is a lot in here to question. Firstly what is "correct"? My view of the world is not correct neither is it wrong, it is my view. If I wish to live with others in a local moral order then my beliefs must in some way match those I associate with. If I am in error it will show itself. I would argue

that it is only in formal learning activity that mistakes are seen as important. In everyday life making a mistake leads to learning, right or wrong, but it may also lead to a new understanding that may not be compatible with what was known or believed before. People can change their minds.

I would argue that we cannot see all our experiences as learning experiences. Therefore, we do not, "simply reject" learning, we fail to see its significance because it does not cause a discontinuity in our everyday lives. Using the results of my interviews I would argue that there is a lot of evidence of making mistakes which resulted in the creating of strategies to learn enough to see that the situation did not arise again. Jane found out that she was not able to overcome the discontinuity occasioned by moving to a new school, and this powerfully affected her subsequent learning activity. Mary's strategy for preventing occasion of hazard was to learn in private, or be told what to do.

The correction of errors is an important part of everyday learning. The local moral order people belong to provide them with the information they need to make good their errors away from the public gaze of confrontation through individual contact and mutual exploration of the topic at hand.

Implications for practice.

I would argue that, however democratic in approach, the average return-to-learn tutor has a deficit model of their students. By the nature of the course provision they are providing a service to make good deficits. Literacy and numeracy provision is for those who do not have the necessary skill in these areas. Because this is the case I do not expect tutors to be knowledgeable about the home and social life of their

students. They may try to match a learning topic with a hobby interest, but they will not feel a full knowledge of the local moral orders a student belongs to relevant to their job. Added to which most tutors in this area are not expected to do anything other than teach even if they double as social workers.

I have shown that the division between the adult tutor and the adult learner cannot be bridged; there will always be a division in how the pupil and tutor think of their roles. My intention has been to seek a way to show adults that all aspects of their lives involve significant recognisable learning. The learning that they do is hidden from them because it does not happen in a way they recognise. For most if not all adults learning happens in a teaching situation. This suggests two avenues of enquiry. Firstly, how to help people recognise their learning and secondly how to help adult tutors and the providers of second chance courses understand the importance of local moral orders in the lives of their students. They will then bring to their practice a greater understanding of how their students learn for themselves.

It is my experience that adult tutors are very keen for their students to succeed. I argue that the promotion of the ideas I have argued for will help them do this job better. By understanding the parameters of everyday learning and knowing about personal equations, local moral orders and gaining knowledge by the process of gap-filling, they will have new tools to enhance their practice. Reflection may be an ongoing process, but to have something new to reflect upon puts previous knowledge into a new perspective.

Summary.

I feel I have gone a long way in this chapter towards distinguishing internal mental change, and the function of reflection and experience in adult learning, therefore delineating them from management of information. I believe the filling in of gaps caused by pre-understanding leads to mental change. I consider I have also shown that quantitative learning, the knowledge that does not on its own lead to change, is important because it provides the potential for change when the circumstances allow the individual to give sense to two quantitative pieces of information they already have. It seems to me that the characteristic of the intersubjective milieu that leads to learning for change is a level of trust that allows open-ended integrative activity added to an ability to usefully reflect on experience. The LMO is a venue for the making of productive mistakes.

Chapter Nine.

LEARNING ABOUT EVERYDAY LIFE.

Introduction.

This chapter will explore my feelings about the research, how I feel about other adult education research and the people who do it, some explanation of how my research parallels that done by other people, and some comments on what the research tells us about how people learn from their everyday activity. Finally I will point to some further areas of investigation that could usefully be carried out.

How I feel about my research.

Recently my son asked me to install a large domestic and heating system in his house. I felt competent and comfortable in the knowledge that I knew what I was doing. I really enjoyed the experience. My second son asked me to decorate a room that involved painting and paper-hanging. Again I felt competent and enjoyed the experience. I have not felt competent with the progress of this thesis. My "habitus" is a practical one and I agree that "practical mastery may even be incompatible with conscious symbolic mastery: self consciousness can inhibit or even destroy the practical efficacy of the habitus" (Brubaker 1993 p225.) I do manual work in an unselfconscious manner. Given the difficulty I have in writing it seems appropriate to ask why I gave up manual work.

I left plumbing because I did not want to work on building sites in all weathers until I reached retirement age. However, this view was accompanied by other perceptions. I had been brought up to believe I could do anything I wanted. This view was not coupled with an understanding of ability. Ability was taken for granted. The method for being able to do anything was hard work. The reason I did not do well at

school was because I did not work hard. I welcomed the notion of Ruskin College and University because I did believe I was able to do anything, application was all that it needed.

The impetus to start this thesis came from a feeling that what I wanted to look at was important and with enough hard work I could succeed. At the beginning there was one cloud on the horizon and that was my feeling of inadequacy in writing the English language. I have always had a problem with writing and I feel this has become more pronounced over the past seven years. I have become more and more self-conscious about what I write because I do not have the "symbolic mastery" of the language needed to do the work. This notion of self-consciousness is also recognisable in my respondents. John and his lack of manual skills, Mary and her fear of doing things in front of other people, all respondents have activities where self-consciousness inhibits their actions. However I persevere.

I am now questioning whether my lack of ability in writing has affected the way I read and understand the writing of others. I have been looking for practical statements that support my view that everyday learning is an important topic for investigation. I did not feel it appropriate to engage in an in depth critique of the texts because I was not engaged in an ongoing academic discussion with other researchers. I did not involve myself in the language needed to understand them because what they were doing did not seem central to my interest and a lot of the language they used was difficult to understand. I did not see this as a problem, but I can now see that if the thesis is to be situated in the domain of adult education research it has to be accessible to others in a way that they understand. This means I have to know something about their areas of concern so that I can translate my ideas into their language.

In considering the above paragraphs I have come-to-see that my approach to the written text is affected by my writing ability. To criticise a text it is necessary to take the language apart and write in depth about why the text is deficient in some way. My reading of texts was to understand the ideas not to criticise the text for its own sake. Even writing this paragraph I am finding it difficult to express what I mean. I am looking for ideas, not the background of their creation, and yet in this thesis I want people to know where I am coming from. I would say that I feel towards the thesis like Mary felt toward the 'Wordpower' course, puzzled and vulnerable because we do not fully understand the type of hazard situation we are in.

I argue that people inhabit hierarchies of knowledge acquisition where the material they work on becomes more refined. Those who do the refining necessarily become detached from the original source of their material. There is more thought given to refinement and less given to how to send the results back down the line to the people that could benefit. I do not want to play this game. I do not want my work to be unintelligible to return-to-learn students and tutors and yet I know that it is.

The Critical Practitioners.

On reflection I have come to see the world of adult education researchers in the same way as John saw the "Invisible College". I perceive a close relationship between those who write in adult education journals. These people put their work up for appraisal by their peers. They risk hazard in their chosen local moral order to gain respect. There is visitation between them, they go to the same conventions and follow the same fashions in research, although they may not agree that research is

subject to fashion. My work was done because I wanted an answer to a question. I had not considered myself to be risking hazard.

In examining the work of adult education researchers I have found there are distinct areas of interest. These areas are usually started by a writer putting forward some idea that attracts colleagues. The work of Tough (1971, 1979) gave rise to a raft of research into the same area, as well as criticisms of his method or results. Knowles (1950) led to an increased interest in informal learning and then to self-directed learning (Long H.B. 1989, 1992, 1993). Argyris and Schon (1974) developed the notion of action research which is used by Marsick and Watkins (1990) on formal and informal learning in the workplace. Kolb (1984) highlighted experiential learning critiqued by Jarvis (1987).

The value of research work is judged on the provision of external criteria. The rationale for "human resource development", (Marsick and Watkins 1990) is the efficiency of organisations to deliver a service or product. For others it is to provide knowledge for practitioners that is evaluated and examined so that professionals can promote good practice in their work, Brookfield (1987, 1994,). The other touchstone for good work is the "invisible college". Brookfield says that

"experience without critical analysis can be little more than anecdotal reminiscences. [] practitioners can serve as reflective mirrors for each other's informal theories, helping to focus attention on those parts which have the greatest validity across contexts, and on those parts which are unique to a specific setting". (Boud, Cohen and Walker 1993 p30, 32).

Whilst I recognise this it seems to me that this leads to work being inbred. The work criticised by practitioners is ostensibly in the public domain, but

in reality it is only accessible to certain people who understand the issues and language involved. I would argue that there is little room for people following a hunch and coming in from the outside. How can a member of the invisible college find validity in a piece of work that does not use the language or concepts they are used to dealing with?

When I first started to research my area of interest I sent for a National Institute of Adult Continuing Education database printout of work done on everyday learning and incidental learning. There was no reference to everyday learning and only one reference to incidental learning, (Fodor 1984) published in America and not available in this country. I took this lack of titles to mean that nobody was researching the area I was interested in . When I read texts from the adult education "invisible college" they did not seem to be addressing my area of concern. This is why the material I did use was culled from a variety of sources. In the company of researchers from the adult education invisible college I feel like Mary, vulnerable but stubborn. In the terms of Bourdieu I was not able to use the language of adult education research competently because I had not been socialised into the subculture (Jarvis1987).

Everyday learning as I see it.

Incidental learning is seen as an accidental by-product of learning activity, although as Jarvis (1987) says, "it is a major process whereby people learn and acquire their culture". (p32) This type of learning has not been studied in depth because it does not fit into a culture of improvement for either economic, cultural or educational purposes. I would argue that most learning for adults is assessed against such criteria. There is now a growth in the assessment of prior learning which tries to fit experiential learning into an assessed environment. Evans (1994) suggests that such

assessment must be sensitively handled because the knowledge being assessed is the property of the individual, not the handed down wisdom of a significant other who could be blamed if it was wrong.

Everyday Learning, as I conceive it, cannot be validated against externally set criteria. I argue that Everyday Learning can be justified by the internal consistency of the actions of individuals as judged by others in a local moral order engaged in an activity that promotes the possibility of development. The framework within which Everyday Learning can be recognised, by relatively constant guidelines, occurs in a community setting where individuals interact with that setting and the community engages with the individual. What I argue for is a way in which the community (the LMO), the individual and their personal approach to learning and development of an activity are welded together to provide a learning area of lived experience.

Such a unity of experience has to have a basis in the world. I argue that it does not help the integration of people in the world, nor the assimilation of learning, if the person is seen to be composed of body, mind and self (Jarvis 1987). The divisions are largely metaphysical and lead to unhelpful debate about how they work together. This formulation of the person is usually accompanied by a division of internal and external, objective and subjective experience. I would argue that this understanding of a person leads to conflict in the world because it presupposes a divided self and extrapolates from this a divided society.

I have already suggested that we are part of the world and not separated from it and that it is not necessary to talk about body, mind and self which are attributes ascribed to a person. My work is based upon the understanding that people have abilities, practical abilities, thinking abilities and spiritual abilities. Abilities are given expression in activity

and reflection is an activity that involves the three already mentioned. I argue that abilities can be demonstrated, but attributes have to be argued for. This is why I support the view that the local moral order provides a better way of understanding personal learning because it gives equal weight to individual initiative and group influence.

Practical abilities. It can be seen from the respondents' talk about their practical abilities that most, Ted, Mary, Jane and Paul, are happy with their manual skills . They perform activities that bring them satisfaction. John is not happy with his practical skills and Ruby is only happy gardening or talking to her friends. I argue that a practical ability is shown in an end product be that an artefact or a shared thought. However I do not consider the artefact to be objectified by the individual but by the local moral order that recognises and appreciates what has been done. The description of the respondents' activities gives evidence for their end products being part of them; Mary and her garden, John and his running. In these situations it seems perverse to think that their product is separate from them.

Thinking ability. This includes reflection, planning for the future and working out ways to achieve practical outcomes. I would argue that thinking is an activity, not something removed from the active world taking place in the mind. All the respondents give clear evidence of the ability to think about their lives and activities.

Spiritual ability. This allows the person to think beyond themselves to others, contemplate God and ethics which affect the way practical and thinking abilities are used. However I would not claim that this ability is used more than any other nor guides every activity.

These three are conscious abilities that allow thought and appraisal of all our active abilities which also provide us with a conscience which is

the main repository of doubt. The terms mind, soul and self are unnecessarily complicated for an understanding of adult learning because they come from a language that is "bourgeois" or "elaborate". I would argue that people using "common parlance" (Collins 1993), everyday speech, understand what it is to be practical, a thinker or religious within their LMOs in the sense of exercising an ability they share with others. I understand this from my own observations of others and from their sharing their understandings with me, it is not hidden. We belong to a constituency of practice which is why I propose the following model of adult learning that is integrated,, not divided, and gives equal weight to the individual and the group largely as the result of the occasion for hazard that people have to consciously accept if they are to grow in the world they inhabit. In this sense growth is not just a "feature of the person *per se*" (Jarvis p67). I argue that because a person can exercise an ability it is not desirable or necessary to divide the person into separate entities.

1. Context.

The Local Moral Order sets the contexts for learning. It may be that the LMO has an historic rationale for existing which results in a constant examination of the current direction of the organisation against fairly fixed guidelines. I conceive the LMO as an organic whole which changes and grows according to the aspirations and actions of the adult membership. The LMO provides a 'situation' for individual activity and growth. It exists to develop a particular activity.

2. Progression.

Within the group there will be newcomers and others who have long experience of the activity the group promotes. There are two sides to this

activity: the developmental side which allows people to become proficient and a conservative side that seeks to maintain the status quo. These two may be hierarchical but permeable. There is also a social side that allows people to have relaxed relationships with other members. As a member of the group an individual will be known for some aspect of the group's running, either as an exponent of the subject the group supports or for having good social skills. Members will also have personal and emotional feelings about others.

3. *Reputation.*

Personal progression in the LMO from novice to respected member will show that learning has taken place by a recognised change in the abilities of the member. Reputations will wax and wane as the group develops. New personalities and ways of doing things will affect this process.

4. *Realisation.*

Because people inhabit an LMO they know things about the purpose and personalities it includes. This knowledge, the basis of pre-understanding, will help them discover new information that will permit them to be seen as supporting the group. People identify what they want to know because they have a gap in their understanding. I argue that an autonomous person does not give meaning to what they do, the meaning of what they do is provided by the group. The person comes-to-understand what they need to know to progress through a realisation that their progress and the progress of the group is interlinked. Their decision making is materially influenced by others so that their decision is as much the responsibility of other members as it is their own. Their autonomy is bounded by others.

5. *New Context.*

The above process results in new knowledge which alters the standing of the person within the group and changes the context of the group as a whole. New behaviour for all becomes appropriate.

This method of working allows members to challenge and alter the way the LMO develops because they can hazard their reputation according to their understanding of their position in the group. This freedom of expression is much less available in other areas of life like school or work because of its hierarchical nature.

The five point progression from 'contextualisation' to 'new context' was constructed as the result of putting all the information I have gained into a coherent form in an attempt to make it accessible to others. I had considered the life of a person to be very fluid because of the many choices they were able to make. However, I felt that everyday learning was about an incremental growth in knowledge which followed a single path, one item at a time being considered. I have recently had cause to question this.

Parallel Trajectories.

It is argued that learning is a situated activity (Lave and Wenger 1993) and Collins (1993 p123) says that Bourdieu (1977) provides insight "into the already-situatedness of situated encounters" (p123). I want to examine these ideas in relation to my work.

Lave and Wenger talk about a "community of practice" (p29) which I argue is the same or similar to a local moral order. They define the process of learning as "legitimate peripheral participation" which

"provides a way to speak about the relations between newcomers and old-timers, and about activities, identities, artefacts, and communities of knowledge and practice. It concerns the process by which newcomers become part of a community of practice. A person's intentions to learn are engaged and the meaning of learning is configured through the process of becoming a full participant of a sociocultural practice. This social process includes, indeed subsumes, the learning of knowledgeable skills" (p29).

This has affinity with my second process of Progression. In Lave and Wenger's terms people learn to become part of a "community of practice".

There is a significant difference between my work and Lave and Wenger's. I am clear that people are free to join and free to leave an LMO. Whilst a member they are free to accept and reject information. This means the LMO must cater for the needs of all the individual members for it to be a success and continue in being. People's motivation to remain comes from their free acceptance of the order's method of business.

Lave and Wenger developed their understanding through the examination of apprenticeship. The motivation to become and remain an apprentice; to become accepted into a community of practice and eventually become a Master practitioner is primarily economic even though good craftsmanship can be appreciated in its own right. In apprenticeship there is a strong element of compulsion, if the apprentice wishes to leave the possibility of a good livelihood is reduced. The authors conclude that learning takes place in a "social world" (p123) on an "expanded scale of time and a more encompassing view of what

constitutes learning activity" (p121). This has been my view and why I have argued that time is a problem and it is important for everyday learning not to be constrained by time. What is important to Lave and Wenger is that

"communities of practice have histories and developmental cycles, and reproduce themselves in such a way that the transformation of newcomers into old-timers becomes unremarkably integral to the practice" (p122).

Unremarkable because its situatedness is commonplace and hidden.

I would argue that the concept of "already-situatedness of situated encounters" (Bourdieu 1977) accords with the need for individual pre-understandings if people are to engage in local moral orders. While I agree that there can be a mismatch between linguistic codes in the world of school, government or formal relations, I would argue that there can be a fundamental lack of understanding between separate local moral orders even where the participants share "bourgeois" or "common" language practices, for example extreme right wing political groups and extreme left wing ones. Local moral orders share a different perspective which is about the direction of development in which all are involved. Members of the LMO define direction by being involved in occasions of hazard, which I consider to be the same as "social contradictions" (Collins p131). The difference is that in Bourdieu's model social contradictions are imposed from without by the dominant group in society.

Bourdieu is trapped in his own construction. In highlighting the problems brought about by the dominant language of teaching, and wanting to know how people who do not share this language learn, Bourdieu argues that "social transformation would require methodical

attempts to reach (that is, to teach) those whose backgrounds do not prepare them for the language of schooling" (Collins p121). The only conclusion I can draw from this is that the modified language of pedagogy would be provided by the bourgeois practitioner because only they have the pre-understanding, "already-situatedness", to do so. We do need to understand how the language that makes hazard possible is fostered in an LMO, but I argue that a framework for assessment should not be imposed on the activity a local moral order promotes from without, but researchers should work from within mapping the internal consistencies and inconsistencies of speech and censure. By observing how people come to understand and grow in their chosen milieu we will come to understand how they use the language they habitually use to learn what is necessary to get on in the LMO and understand how they remain on equal terms with other members. In this context learning is the modification of pre-understandings produced by the wider societal culture.

Creative independence.

Based upon my interview material I would argue that the modification of experience is engendered because people know what is useful to them as much from proactive as reactive learning. I do not agree with Jarvis (p67) when he links proactive learning with self-direction which follows from his assumption that "the actor is an agent, in some ways free to act upon the social structures and even to change them" (p66). Reactive learning is also as potent a force for changing something. However this must be looked at from the point of view of hazard (Harré 1993). I would argue that the ability to cope with hazard is intimately linked with self-direction and this is not sufficiently understood by adult educators. A return-to-learn pupil is in a very hazardous situation which

the educators sees as benign. I want to develop the view that hazard makes reactive learning every bit as important as proactive learning.

Jarvis (1987) give little attention to the body. He says that learning can be influenced by "physical acuity and even [] physical position" (p67) and acknowledges that the mind needs the body (p172). He also says that self-direction "is a feature of the person *per se* rather than the person in relation to a specific social encounter" (p67). This could mean that the body is little more than a vehicle for the mind and self where it is a growth agent for them both. Because the body is accepted "per se" it does not have to be actively considered. There does seem to be a division here between bodily experience and learning and the more substantial learning that goes on in the mind and self.

There also seems to be another division between being alone and being in society.

"However it has to be recognised that many learning situations do occur when an individual is *totally alone*; for instance, a person who trips over a doorstep recognises that the doorstep is there and so internalises that act and stores it for future reference"

(Jarvis p67). (my italics)

The implication here is that the trip is devoid of social implications because it happens when the person is totally alone. To trip in a social situation is to experience an occasion of hazard where embarrassment is felt. When a trip happens in isolation the person will still feel a sense of embarrassment. This means the person can never be totally alone even when isolated from others. I would argue that a trip has social significance and cannot be discussed in isolation from shared meaning

I argue that self-direction is not based upon proactive or reactive

activity it is based upon creative independence derived from wanting to live a comfortable life, hence reactivity is a form of pro-activity if equilibrium is required. The question then is if people require equilibrium why do they seek occasions of hazard? What is their motivation to be uncomfortable in the social situation, that is to create a disjuncture rather than react to one. I would argue that it is either to prevent a feeling of greater discomfort than already apparent or because the logic of the situation requires amendment. Because both reasons have implications in the world they both have social consequences. Therefore it is the person's understanding of their position in the world and their felt ability to cope with it that leads to learning which accepts both equilibrium and lack-of-balance as part of their everyday experience. People are proactive and reactive as the result of being prudently independent at whatever social level they operate. I argue that this can be demonstrated with reference to the interviews where all respondents had strategies for maintaining their personality in the face of hostile relationships.

Learning in the world.

The remarks in the previous section are based upon the argument that there is not only selfish motivation ("pragmatic motivation", Schutz & Luckman p16 1973) but also altruistic motivation. I argue that people take decisions for both selfish and altruistic reasons. I will further argue that this leads to there being, in the context of this discussion, two types of intersubjectivity and reciprocity. Also I want to show that "Non learning" (Jarvis 1993) is an impossibility.

There are lots of similarities between the work of Schutz and my own. We both use the same words to describe similar processes in the life-world. However there are two areas where we differ. Firstly what

does he mean by "pragmatic motivation"? and is his use of the terms intersubjectivity and reciprocity the same as mine?

Schutz puts forward the view that people can experience the world in the same way. Also that experience of the world is "imposed" upon them although with experience they can seek to mitigate or enhance experience. The basis of intersubjectivity therefore is how an individual behaves in society. Schutz argues that such behaviour is based upon pragmatic understanding of what is best for the acting individual in relation to other acting individuals. This means that intersubjectivity is examined from the point of view of the individual in society. When I realised this I was reminded of a passage in Parekh & Berki (1972) the notion of reciprocity is about 'indebtedness'. If you do something for me I must do something for you because a person "feels inferior when he is 'under' an obligation, and awaits an opportunity when he can be 'free' again to look his benefactor in the eye as an equal" (p82). Schutz seems to base his notion of the accumulation of knowledge on such a system when he says that "objectivated" knowledge is "dependent on the subjective relevance structures of the individual" (p295). This seems to be a modification of the view put forward by Luijpen (1960) above.

If you add altruism to the relationship between people then there is the possibility of doing things for others that do not necessarily result in your own well being or make you feel superior or inferior. This makes the intersubjective experience much more interesting and allows the idea of an imposed world to be questioned. One can seek to modify the world for the benefit of all rather than for the benefit of one. Social knowledge is accepted for its benefit to all and is objectified as such, e.g. Penicillin.

Because I believe people 'are' before they 'become' they react to their environment as much from a process of natural growth, over which

they have no control, as from intellectual development. Therefore in the intersubjective world life is governed by undeniable aspects of growth and a process of maturation, over which they have some control through their ability to influence social life. The meaning of reciprocity is very important, but there are two types. Selfish reciprocity, mutual exchange to remain equal in the life world, or co-operative reciprocity, exchange to improve the fabric of life world based upon altruistic endeavour. It therefore seems clear to me that peoples' motives for learning will incorporate both selfish and altruistic motives and will affect the intersubjective and reciprocal relationships in which they are involved. It could also be argued that altruism, in the long run, is also a form a selfishness. I would want to reject that view completely.

I now want to argue that people do not reproduce themselves as individuals, they reproduce themselves as social beings. As a result of this learning is multi-faceted and not uni-directional. I would argue that not all learning takes place because of a disjuncture. The idea of uni-directional learning supposes that all learning does take place because of disjuncture, That is why Jarvis (1993 p83) suggests that non-learning can occur "when what is being communicated is already known" i.e. there is no disjuncture. This seems to me to be a strange idea. I want to suggest that the second experience will take place in a different context from the first and therefore there is a potential learning experience because the context is different. For instance if I learn something from a book, sufficiently well for me to be able to enter into correspondence with the author in a way we both understand. I then meet the author and because of his appearance I have new ideas about his writing, I have learned something which makes the context different and important to me.

People do not have one experience at a time. They have several experiences that go to make up an '**experience**'. For instance marriage is dubbed a unique experience, but in fact it is several experiences that are unique because of the context of the total experience. It is the same with learning. The learned experience is not a succession of 'unique' experiences but a collection of experiences that clothe knowledge with meaning and make it unique. Only in a special sense is learning uni-directional where an item of learning may be missed through inattention. I argue that learning is a multi-faceted activity in which there can be no non-learning because the context provides many possibilities where new learning cannot be ignored.

In any learning encounter there will be the positive and negative attributes of the participants. There will be tension in conversation because the outcome is unknown and intersubjective and reciprocal relationships will be in flux. Non-learning is as impossible as perfect learning in any situation. The potential is always for learning never for the status quo. I would like to make a plea, even in formal hierarchical situations, for cohesive social learning groups, hand shaking, cheek touching, I know you, learning groups. The reason is that normative group knowledge is an important form of learning, even in formal situations and it promotes learning in it's own right. Group solidarity leads to shared outcomes. It fosters enquiry and supports dissemination.

Further Work.

The interviews give evidence of learning in the modification of the respondents' approach and understanding of particular activities in their lives. However, their descriptions do not give a rounded picture of the

intersubjective relationships in which they were engaged. In future research the method needs to catch the richness and diversity of speech and action with others. The relationships in an LMO will be influenced as much by facial and bodily language as by speech and the lack of it. I would also argue that gossip is a major part of learning in a normative situation and should have more attention paid to it in research activity. I would further argue that gossip is a precursor of change.

The investigation of everyday learning cannot be pursued effectively if the method of enquiry relies upon externally provided evaluative criteria. I would argue that we need to examine the internal consistency of information and the way it is disseminated in an LMO. What methods are used to keep people down and why? and how is the development of the activity focused? Everyday learning is a multi-directional activity and it needs to be examined by a variety of means. Questionnaire and interview could be used to find out why people joined and how they have progressed. Taking a video record of several meetings would show interaction at work and identify the key people who keep the LMO moving 'forward' and how newcomers become old hands. A long term follow up of this would be useful. All this material would show what strategies adults have to pursue an interest and how their everyday learning complements or contradicts their previous formal learning experiences.

On a practical level I argue that teachers and helpers of remedial literacy and numeracy students spend more time on seeking an understanding of their clients' everyday learning activity and strategies. They need to know who they interact with, on what subject and how they feel about such interaction. It would be helpful to find out what the students feel they learn in the course of their everyday lives. If the facilitators of learning understood the importance of local moral orders to

themselves and their students a more user friendly approach could be developed. The initial problem to be overcome is that the student would not recognise the process as a learning one as it would not fit their pre-understanding of a learning situation.

Lastly I would argue that the investigation of local moral orders would be useful in its own right. It would be interesting to see what insights into collective learning behaviour (Marsick and Watkins 1990) could be gained from seeing a hobbyist group as an intersubjective organism where adults are mutually dependant on one another for the continuation of the group. This is a paradigm shift from a "willingness to share" (Brockert 1985), which is based upon the cult of the individual, to an intersubjective sharing that is based upon a collective understanding and shared dependence on the future of the group that will eventually benefit the individual and group. This approach will examine the interaction of individuals "warts and all". We may then understand how individual relationships in the LMO enhance or inhibit learning.

Everyday learning in the "natural societal setting" (Jensen 1964) is an important area for research. It involves incidental and accidental learning that should not be written off as harmful or inefficient until more is known about it. It addresses what people consider to be important to themselves, not deemed problematic by others. The perspective the researcher could usefully bring to it should be as much a sharing of their own everyday life with their respondents as an 'objective' look at how people learn. People can learn in the "common" mode as can others in the "bourgeois" mode.

The whole point of this research is to give people the means to recognise the learning they do in their everyday lives. The main barrier to this is their lack of image as learner, the attitude of those charged with

teaching and the effort it would take on the part of a number of people to persuade opinion formers to popularise the notion of everyday learning. People should be persuaded they are learners in their everyday activities not just in a rather formalised second chance learning situation where they have difficulty recognising their position because of their past experience.

APPENDIX A

Interviews.

Mary	P.272
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Jane	P.322
Ruby	P.341
Paul	P.365
John	P.394

Mary

Mary is married to her second husband. She has four grown up children. She did not take any examinations at school because she was in hospital at the time the exams were taken. She is the last but one of fourteen children. She has spent some time in psychiatric hospitals with depression. At the time of the interview she was attending the local Open Learning Centre in preparation for a job.

Q What were you doing?

A I was doing curtains and furnishings.

Q Making them up?

A Yes.

Q OK Was that an occupation that you've had since you left school?

A I've had several. I've had lots of jobs, do you want to see my C.V.?

Q If you've got one. Have you done a course where you do c.v.'s and you've got a whole stack of them?

A I've got one. I've got a few mistakes in one, my best one I am keeping for a job.

Q Did you get any qualifications at school?

A No, mainly because I was in hospital at the time of the exams, so I never got to take them.

Q They did not give you the opportunity afterwards?

A No they didn't in those days.

Q Have you done anything since school to get qualifications in your adult life?

A No not really, I've never had the time, to be honest.

Q But at the moment you are doing something?

A I am doing the Wordpower course.

Q Which is a computer course?

A Well it includes everything, English, typing maths, health and safety.

Q and that's a preparation for a job or.....?

A I'd like to try office work now, I've tried everything else. I try a nice cushy job. I've always wanted to work in an office but I've never had the opportunity, so I thought, well now's the chance.

Q Did you, how did you find out about the course?

A When I went to the Labour Exchange. They don't call it that now do they. The um, job centre. I said was there anything I could do while I was looking for a job. To do some catching up on maths which is my weak point, and anything else that I could because I did not fancy being at home having nothing to do after the housework was done, and um, they said go to this place in Kings Avenue, so I rang them and made an appointment and saw Glenda and she said there was a Wordpower course and would I like to go on it. I said yes.

Q and that was it. How long have you been doing it?

A This is my last week.

Q and how long is the course?

A Ten weeks.

Q How have you got on?

A Well it was a bit mixed up at first, but I don't think they knew, 'cos they were thrown in at, into it very quickly, it was all sort of done very quickly. The teachers hadn't been selected and we didn't know anything about it and it took about four weeks to sort out, um, and I think I'm just about getting the idea of it all, but I've managed, you know, because I'm one of those people that when I start anything I like to finish it properly, and persevere with it.

Q So it's been a good experience for you?

A For me, I love going there, I mean I hate being home, I love going down there, I used to stay until about five. You're supposed to be chucked out at half-past-three.

Q So have you learnt to type or could you do that all ready?

A No, I was learning myself to type, um, but, ah, I don't really know how to set letters out and things like that like they would do in an office, so I'd like to do that next. I didn't have a chance to type properly on this course, there's so many other things to do I just haven't had the time, so I'd like to concentrate now on actually doing a typing course, a proper typing course.

Q And where will you go for that?

A Um, unfortunately for me the ET. scheme which I was going to go on next, has been put out of my reach by different rules, apparently I won't be eligible now for some reason, they told me, so unless I pay for lessons somewhere, I don't know what I am going to do, I might go and do Wordpower stage two.

Q That's the second level of the course that you are on?

A Yes.

Q So Sight and sound is not possible?

A I'm not sure yet. I've got to find that out within the next few days.

Q One of the questions there is do you feel you have got any qualifications from life?

A Oh gosh yes I would say so.

Q What would you put into that category?

A Well I've brought up four children and I've done loads of jobs. I mean, there's quite a few jobs I could do, I could do a driving job, DIY job painting and decorating. I did this house, um, I've done several houses like when I lived in the other house, and I've done my friends house.

Q Where did you learn the skill from?

A I, I learnt my skills from watching my brother when I was young. I just used to watch, I'm a watcher, I like to watch people do things, and then I'll have a go and make mistakes that are not quite right and work it all out, like paper, you can't just stick paper on a wall, you've got to have a plumb line, I didn't know that when I was young, but as I got older I read it in books, I used to wonder why my paper would overlap at the top and not at the bottom, sort of thing. I sort of learned that way, and a, I would say I'm quite a good paperer now.

Q Mm, looks it, and you did the Artex on the ceiling as well ?

A No. I have done ceilings, I can paper ceilings, but I couldn't do that because it's a big brush and I haven't got the strength, I've got arthritis.

Q Decoration you've done, you've brought up four children, have you got any skills like that you could put to financial use, to get a job with?

A In what way do you mean, my own business do you mean or work for somebody else?

Q Work for somebody else. In our society we do not have a female decorator, but obviously if you could do that, are there any other skills you've got you could use in that sense?

A Ah driving, I can drive.

Q Who taught you to drive?

A Um, I went to a driving school.

Q Did you have any practice with any of your family?

A My first husband gave me a few lessons, but after a few whacks I decided I did not want him to teach me 'cos he was a driving instructor in the army and he used to whack his pupils over the wrist with a cane or something and he tried it with me and I wasn't putting up with that and I, in no way, so I then went to a proper place and learnt with them, they said I was too cautious, I would never learn to drive, 'cos I'm a very cautious person, and I thought Oh dear, so I gave it up for a little while, then I decided I was definitely going to do it and nothing was going to stop me, and once I was determined I went ahead, and I was all right. It takes me a little while to get my confidence you see, I haven't got a lot of confidence I must say that.

Q Do you know why that is?

A It's something to do when I was young, I don't know why, but, um, it was something happened to me, I don't know if it's the life as it was very strict, very, (girls were not brought up with the same freedom they are today), That's right, I was brought up with a father that was very strict, um, and you weren't allowed to speak, what is it they used to say, (children should be seen and not heard), as soon as father was there everything was quiet.

Q Who do you ask for advice now, if you want to know something, who would you first go to, if you wanted to know something?

A In my life now, not before, my second husband.

Q He is your first port of all?

A Yes he's great, he's super, he's very, he encourages me in everything, he's given me a lot of confidence.

Q Did you go on this course as a result of him persuading you, or you came home and said here's this course and he supported you?

A Yes, that's it.

Q You found it as a result of going to the labour exchange as you said. In your past life then, as well as now, are any of the people on this list, were any of them any benefit to you, I mean did you go to any one of them more than another?

A Well, my mother was a very quiet person and she didn't speak a lot, although she was always there, I never, she never taught me a lot that I can say that she taught me a lot, except to be honest and don't tell lies 'cos you'll be found out and all the old sayings that frightened you to death; if you're going to do a job do it properly sort of thing: and all that, my mother was full of those, but apart from that she was not a talkative person.

Q You mentioned you learnt how to decorate from watching your brother do it.

A Yes, my brother, 'cos I got quite a few brothers, I've got, at the moment I've got six brothers, five sisters, I did have seven brothers but one's died, and I did have six sisters, there were seven girls and seven boys and I was the youngest but one.

Q So you came from a large family?

A My mother had one family sort of grown up and away from home, and then she had another lot of which I was one of them. I did not know I had all those brothers and sisters I used to think they were uncles and aunts, when they came to the house, until I was a bit grown up, but you know I said who's that, then she said that's your sister, that's your brother. I used to think it was aunty so-and-so.

Q Nobody outside the family that you would go to to seek advice, or ask anything special?

A Not years ago, but now, at this time, you know, I've got a friend, Reg, he's a gardener, he lives over the back, and when I first came here I'd never had a garden before, like this would be, and I didn't know anything about gardening, and um, he spoke to us up the lane and got very friendly and before long I had a garden, I was doing it (all right), had vegetables, fruit, flowers, I've learnt everything from him and books of course.

Q You've done it?

A I've done it.

Q and he's helped you and you've got books as well?

A He hasn't helped me do it, but he's, I would go to him and say, Reg, what do you think of this and he'd tell me, he won prizes for his garden and his father was very good, and my father was a good gardener too, he died when I was thirteen but I remember that his garden was immaculate and I don't know whether that's in me from my father and it's just come out at this late stage.

Q How and where do you get the books from?

A I buy them from shops, I had them as presents and I've had them from Readers Digest, (...), I've got quite a few actually.

Q Gardening books, did you get any from the library?

A Um, well, until we moved here we weren't really near a library, but I never used a library much, but we do use the library, it's just up the road from us and we do use the library but not for gardening because I've got so many books now, I don't really need them from the library.

Q So you're gardening then is really because you've got it, you've wanted to do something more with it, and it just happens that the neighbour just over the fence is a good gardener and was able to offer you help and advice which has been useful to you. Are there any other areas of your life where you get that sort of advice from somebody?

A No not really, maybe my sister, but no, I would not say she was very informative or anything, she was always one of those people who could not be bothered to do this, could not be bothered to do that, you know, whereas I'm the exact opposite, I am very curious, I must find out and look into things and everything i do I am interested in and I follow it through so I would say I was a self-seeker, would you put it like that ? I like to, I like to find out things I'm very interested in.

Q What triggers off you're wanting to know something. How do you become involved in getting to the bottom of a subject?

A Well if I see something that I think, Oh, I wonder if, what will that be like to try and I try and I like it then I'll get deeply involved in it and go all out and get the books, it doesn't matter what it is, sewing, gardening, everything I've ever done, I've sort of gone all the way through with it.

Q So it presents itself to you in a sense, like the garden did, the garden was there so you had to do something with it, so you could get interested in it?

A I couldn't just leave it as a jungle, I had to do something with it.

Q Right, would you say you have ever chosen something that was not presented to you in the way the garden was?

A No not really. I don't think I have really, just sort of happened.

Q You take the opportunity, something comes along and you jump at the opportunity?

A Yes.

Q Right, you said just now that you are quiet and you sit and you watch people doing things, do you ask them questions as well?

A No.

Q No?

A It's not until I've started going to this place that I've, I've come out of myself more, because I've always been afraid. I don't like to be a nuisance, that's the only way I can put it, that's why I don't ask questions, not because I don't want to, sometimes I desperately want to but I think I'm just being a nuisance, they won't bother with me.

Q Were there times when you would have liked to have asked questions but you didn't?

A Oh yes, lots of times, I always regret it, always, why didn't I ask.

Q You remember what you see, your decorating experience, and the gardening, but with the gardening experience it's also remembering what he's told you?

A Um, I don't really know.

Q Well, you've read books, and you've got information from the books, tried it out in the garden, how is it he gives you advice?

A Well if things are not working the way I'm expecting to, say from the book, to the ideas that his plants are all so nice, why aren't mine, I'll go and say, you know, they might be the soil, it might be this it might be that.

Q So you will go and ask him?

A Oh yes, because they're our best friends now, they are an older couple, they're like my Mum and Dad really and they're such nice people that they never make you feel that you're a nuisance, so I don't mind asking them.....

Q But you've had problems in asking people elsewhere?

A Yes I'm a bit hesitant about asking questions.

Q Do you remember things that you see, obviously some you do, but would you say you were good at remembering these things?

A Yes, if I'm really interested I'll remember them, and I write things down and I find that helps me, like I keep a diary and every now and again I'll read it through, Oh yes, that starts off something else and I remember lots of things like that.

Q Is your diary a daily diary or now and then when you think of something to write?

A Well it used to be a daily diary but now I am so busy I don't have a lot of time but I do still jot things down.

Q Have they done anything on this course about asking you to keep a daily journal?

A No, not really.

Q Would you say you had a good memory?

A I always thought my memory wasn't very good but I think in comparison with my husband it's excellent, because I remember so many things and he says, I don't remember that, he says, how do you remember all that, I say, I don't know, it just comes out now and again.

Q Right, so your realising that your memories better than you thought it was, OK. I have the same impression, I never thought my memory was very good either but I now am beginning to realise, that , you know, I can remember a lot more than I would have thought I could. I think some of that is to do with the way we were treated at school, but we'll come onto that I think. The information that you've gained over the years and you've gained a lot of interesting information, do you pass it on to other people?

A Yes.

Q How do you do it?

A Can I give you a for instance ? (Yes certainly, yes), When I was working at this place, (the curtain design place ?), there were lots of girls and women and they would be talking about the garden and I would say do you grow such an such a thing, and they'd say no, wouldn't know how to do that and I would tell them, and I would bring photographs and maybe seeds and plants and give it to them and tell them how to grow it,

and um, there's lots of instances like that, of different like that of different people who've come to work at the place, they all know me as Pam the gardener.

Q Did you find that people actually came and sought you out?

A Yes.

Q Did you feel comfortable with that?

A No, actually I didn't, I used to be a bit scared. I didn't mind if I volunteered it all but if they come and asked me I used to get a bit worried that I might not tell them the right thing sort of not confident, but if we were talking about it, my experiences, I'd say this that and the other, um, it was OK. but when they actually wanted me to even do the job for them whilst I'd be quite happy to do it, I was worried that I might not quite do it to their satisfaction, although I did it to my own.

Q Why do you think that was?

A I don't know.

Q You don't know why the feeling was different?

A No.

Q You didn't feel as if you were being put on the spot or something?

A Well maybe that as well, but I think what what it was that I'd be afraid that I was, quite happy to you know...???... my own decorating but if somebody asked me to do it for them I'd make all sorts of excuses, well I wouldn't mind it but, you know I was not a professional an' all that, I'd sort of put yourself down, as my husband is always telling me, you're always putting yourself down and yet inside I know I can do it, but if they're going to watch me I go to pieces I can't stand being watched.

Q So you watch other people, but they can't watch you?

A Yes, but I do it in an unobtrusive way, they don't know that I am watching them, they don't know I'm watching them.

Q What's obtrusive watching then?

A Well you don't go up and sort of stand there, Oh, that's how you do it, and interrupt their thoughts and try and give them advice like a lot of people do, don't they, who think they know it. Show you how to do the job you're doing. I couldn't do that to people I'll just watch.

Q Would you say that these things that you've picked up in the way that you've described is learning?

A Yes.

Q When you pass it on to other people would you say you were teaching them?

A Not really.

Q No, what are you doing?

A I'm just telling them my experience and unless they go and try it for themselves they haven't learnt anything really have they ?

Q I don't know.

A I don't know either.

Q You think that people have actually got to go and try it out and see that it works to know that what you've told them is correct?

A Or that they are already experienced and they know what I am saying is correct.

Q So even though you give advice you're not even sure the people are going to accept it in the end, unless they've tried it ?

A No, I don't have that confidence.

Q Have you actually seen anything that anybody's done as a result of you telling them about it?

A Um, well *only in the context of my job, in this job I used to teach newcomers how to do jobs, um, if they followed my instructions it would turn out right, and if they didn't follow my instructions it wouldn't turn out right and I say why didn't you do that and they'd say well so-and-so told me to do it this way, you know and I say, well you know I told you to do it that way and if you'd done it it would be all right.*

Q So the people, some of the people you gave advice to also asked other people.

A Yes.

Q So you don't think you are teaching them but you do think you are learning from watching. Is this course making it any different now, I mean you say that, from what you've said it sounds as if the course is helping you with your confidence as a result of doing it, you don't mind speaking out more now than you did. How is that going to affect the way you watch people?

A Well, I'm more inclined to ask questions now, I feel that down there that it's allowed, it's sort of, they don't mind, I don't feel that I'm being a nuisance, because people come and ask me things and I'm quite happy to tell them, except one chap that's just started there and he's a bit nasty, so you know, the fact that I feel that I'm not being a nuisance by asking questions because it's a place of learning and I feel it's OK. to ask.

Q and the response you get when you ask is OK?

A Yes.

Q People are willing to help?

A Oh yes their very kind, very nice.

Q Now, you said that people come to you and ask you for information in the place that you worked, about gardening and so on, did anybody recommend you to give information to somebody?

A Well my friend Janet used to say to somebody if they were talking about gardening, oh why don't you see Pam, she'll tell you how to do that, they were, if there was something they didn't understand they couldn't do or couldn't get, is that the sort of thing you want, she used to say that sort of thing a lot.

Q How about parenting. You said right at the beginning that you had brought up four children as if that was experience you had gained from life. How do you use that experience, how do you pass that experience on, or don't you?

A Um, well, my daughter Teresa is the one that comes to me more than the others, the others only come when they're in trouble, but Teresa rings me up and says Mum how do you cook so-and-so, and she never seems to be afraid to ask me anything while the others are a bit more, I don't need to ask you, attitude. I know how to do it, or they'd ask somebody else, they don't ask me, I don't know why.

Q How about people outside the family?

A Um, well, I've never had lots of friends because as I told you I've always been a bit quiet and shy, um, so I suppose that's never really arisen, I don't really know.

Q We've found out that you don't feel that confident about the advice that you pass on if it's advice, but if you're just in a group of people and you're chatting then you can hold forth about something without any trouble what so ever?

A Yes.

Q We know where you get the knowledge from you read about it.

A I read a lot.

Q Do you buy all the books that you read?

A Yes.

Q So you don't use the library?

A I do use the library but not as much as Brian, he uses every, well has just went and got some books.

Q But you prefer to buy the books for yourself?

A Well because normally the books I buy are all information books, I don't but romance and things like that, I'd go to the library for all that sort of thing I don't buy books like that.

Q So the books you buy have all got practical applications?

A All my books.

Q Gardening or general knowledge or...?

A Sewing or anything to do with doing things or making things.

Q Would you say that most of the things you've done, or can do, you've either done because you already knew about the thing or because you've had to know about it?

A No, it's because I had to know about it, it because I wanted to, I've been interested.

Q Well I could say your gardening experience here was because you had to do it, you had a garden?

A No, I've always wanted a garden. I lived in a house, first house I lived in was in Bishopston and that had a garden, I did that all up and got it all nice and then we had to move and we moved to a house with no garden.

Q So you have been interested in gardening in the past before...?

A But not growing flowers and vegetables, just keeping the garden tidy and nice for the children, because it was grass and it was like a jungle when we moved in so we re-seeded it.

Q But in fact you did want a garden, there was something in your background which made a garden something that you wanted to do something with?

A Yes.

Q Is there anything like that that you've come across, you've never encountered before, but because you encountered it you then had to do it?

A I don't quite understand what that means.

Q Well most people do things because they either already know about it, if you like they are already programmed to take that activity on board when it comes along, because of some past experience, or something happens and they've got to know about X, whatever X is and they've never been interested in it before but they've got to be interested in it because it's staring them in the face some way and they've got to take it on board. I mean it's not quite the same thing as having a family because if you get married you expect to have a family I suspect.

A What about driving?

Q Well driving maybe yes. I mean if you hadn't thought that you were ever going to drive and you had to, um, I mean why did you learn to drive ?

A Because I wanted to.

Q Why are you going back on this course?

A Um, 'cos I want to learn.

Q Because you wanted to, you did the garden because you wanted to, why did you do the decorating?

A Because I wanted to, I wanted to do it because I wanted to be independent of other people, really, I think, when it comes down to it because.....

Q Is there anything you would not do to be independent of other people. In other words you'd get somebody in to do it?

A Oh yes, there's lots of things that you need other people to do for you but I don't mean it in that way, I mean, for instance, I couldn't be an electrician, I mean I can wire a plug and I can fix things, a real mechanic, I mean like a broken down washing machine for instance, I wouldn't know how to.

Q Have you ever been to any night school evening classes?

A I did go to, I started the typing and then I was burgled, um, and that just set me right back again, I was sick at the time with my nerves and that and I was just coming out

of myself and I started to get out and about and I was going typing and calligraphy, I started calligraphy as well and I was burgled and it just made me ill again so.

Q Why did you do the typing?

A It was something I'd always wanted to do.

Q and what about the calligraphy?

A Um, because I like to see nice writing, 'cos I'm not a very good handwriter, at least I don't think I am, and i thought myself I could write 'cos I like the Gothic style and a no sooner had I started than I'd finished so all I got was all my pens and paper, all I can do is just practice but I'm not um, I've not gone through the proper lesson you know to learn all sorts of things.

Q Have you tried learning a language?

A Um, I did send away for a tape once but I'm not a very good teacher, for teaching myself, I need help I don't think I could learn a language anyway, I haven't got the brains.

Q Do you think it's something you could do?

A Is it something I could do, what learn a language, if I could, I was interested at one time but I don't think I could. I can't do English very well.

Q Who can. So that would predispose you actually to not to try to learn a language the way you feel about it?

A Well if somebody said to me I think you would be all right and they gave me the confidence, I would have a go, I'll always have a go, but um.

Q But you tend to have a go at practical things and not academic, there is a sense in which learning a language is a practical thing but it isn't practical like doing it with your hands is it?

A No, No.

Q How does remembering all these things you've done, how does remembering it make you feel?

A I've never thought about it really until Judy said about write down all your, all this sort of thing, I mean don't know how I remembered all that but when I sat down and thought about things just things used to click over and it all started coming back all the

things I did and and I thought God I have done a lot of things really and I never thought I was all that you know.

Q I was thinking as well as with your gardening you've developed a gardening skill, I take it you can now grow vegetables and flowers, with help from the books and the Guy next door you can actually, you know that if you do something, something's going to happen as a result of it. How does that make you feel?

A Oh, I feel great especially in the summer when my garden's a blaze of colour looking nice.

Q You've done it?

A Yes, I get a lot of satisfaction out of that, I love being in the garden I'd rather be in the garden than in the house any day in fact I get quite depressed when I've got to be in this place on my own. That's why I always like to be busy.

Q Is there anybody, any person or people that you say that you respect or do respect?

A What do you mean? I don't quite understand what you mean.

Q Well, one of the reasons why people do things is because they respect the person that's doing it for them or with them or telling them how to do it, um, and I get the impression that respect is an important aspect of learning and I wondered if there were people that you have respected?

A That you mean people in particular, don't really know.

Q Lets take the guy over the fence.

A OK. Reg yes.

Q I mean would you say you respected him?

A Oh yes.

Q Do you know why?

A Yes 'cos he's very honest, um, he's very honest and he doesn't con you, he, um, he's very a kind and understanding and helpful, he's one of these people that he help everybody around here, he gets the pension for the next door, the old lady of the road, he'll go and fetch her pension, 'cos he's like me, we're very much alike and I think that's why we get on so well.

- Q Can you think of anybody in the past that you respected in the same sort of way?
- A No.
- Q Would you say you had learnt more from him than anybody else?
- A (Pause) Yes, I think I have. Well it's like I he's like a father to me. it don't matter, whatever, you can go over there any time and he makes you welcome, your never made to feel you're a nuisance and that you know you wish you hadn't come, which I always been one, I'm very sensitive to atmospheres and undercurrents, um, and I've never felt like that with them, they're so genuine.
- Q When you say you watch people were there some people that you couldn't watch?
- A (Pause) Well if I didn't want to watch anyone it was because they had nothing of interest for me.
- Q But were there people of interest to you who you would not watch?
- A Well I suppose not really.
- Q No, I mean, there wasn't a sort of, you said you were very sensitive to atmospheres, you know, have you ever seen a person doing something but the atmosphere was such that you weren't going to stay and watch?
- A Yes.
- Q So there were people you wouldn't actually watch even though they were doing something you might be interested in. (Yes that's right), because of the atmosphere?
- A Yes, you could feel that they didn't want you there.
- Q So would you say from that that when you were watching your brother decorate that there is some way in which you could say that you respected him?
- A Oh yes.
- Q Yes, I mean, he was, you know, your favourite brother or...
- A He was actually, he was one of my favourite brothers he was very good to my mother, he's been good all his life.
- Q He didn't turn round and say don't watch me or else?
- A Oh no.
- Q I take it you were happy in the curtain design job?
- A Yes.

Q You liked the workpeople and you liked the interaction. (Yes). Was that the first place that you've worked where people listened to you and came to you for advice?

A (Pause). No, I don't think so, but more there than anywhere because it was that sort of job, where you had to um, work it out for yourself a lot of the time, you were given the material and no instructions as such, do this, do that.

Q So when you first went there who did you ask for advice?

A The Boss.

Q The Boss, was that a woman or a man?

A A woman.

Q and she ran it? (She ran it). You didn't ask any of the people around you for advice or help?

A Oh yes, I used to ask whoever was doing it.

Q What sort of thing would this be?

A Well you know if I was not quite sure, If I couldn't get it quite the way they had it, I would say could you show me again so that I can do it properly and a things like that, but once I know how to do it, it was all right.

Q So you both asked for advice from people and people asked you for advice, (Yes). So there was a sort of interchange going on all the time as well as not just the job but in all other areas of life?

A Yes.

Q You've mentioned the gardening in the job are there other areas that you also talked about at large?

A Oh yes, everyday things about cooking and children, anything like that.

Q and again passing on information that was useful to everybody and useful to you?

A We used to have a young girl in there in the curtain place and when she was a child her mother had left home and gone off and she was terribly insecure, 'cos she moved from St. James. You know the nurses home?

Q This course of yours that your on, ten weeks, what have you learnt from the people on the course, not the tutor?

A Quite a mixed bunch, 'cos I told you I'm not a very good mixer, not because I'm not friendly, because I am, but I can't make friends you know, they have to come to me. I'm a bit, I always feel I'm a nuisance to people, so they have to sort of come to me, but um, there was Betty and she used to drive me mad because she wouldn't let me get on with my work, she was talking all the time, she was always asking me this, asking me that, asking me the other and I used to, you know, spend a little bit of time with her, tell her what she wanted to know, do this now Betty and she'd go on talking and it got to such a pitch that I had to go and see the teacher 'cos I thought well, she just sort of notice she was talking all the time and say look you ought to be getting on with your work, do it in a nice way so that there was no one was upset, and they said I'd got to be assertive and tell her, well, I couldn't do it. I just couldn't do it so ah, (Didn't they give you some information about how to do it ?) No really they just said say it in a nice way. I do, I do everything in a nice way, I've never been nasty to anyone, you know I've said to her, look, I want to get on with my work now Betty lets stop talking now and she'd say all right and immediately she'd start talking again, and say I just want to finish this a minute and i said she still go on talking and that's how it got, it got so bad and she wasn't interested at all in the course she really didn't want to, she said she knows it all, she said I don't need all this, she kept saying, I said why did you come on the course then, well she said, they made me, I said , surely they didn't, I said they can't make you do things if you don't want to, I said I've come because I want to learn, giving her the hint like and no difference, but it didn't matter where I moved she'd follow me, hopping around the room and it got really bad, anyway what they did in the end, I nearly cried one day, I thought I can't bear this any more, I've got to go, so I got up and I was going to go out, I was just going to leave and I thought well it's no good, I want to learn, I don't want to leave, why should I have to leave, so I went to see the teacher again, so she said well I'm afraid you're going to have to be more assertive, so I said well I can't I'm just not that way, I just am not that way I said because I know if I say anything she's the sort of person that will get really mad, she wouldn't take it in a nice way, like if somebody had said to me, look Pam you're talking too much, do you mind, you know, let me get on with my work, immediately I think oh good you know, I'm ever so sorry and I wouldn't bother them any more, but if you said that to Betty, she's a

big black woman, you know and really nasty at times, she can be really nasty, I can just imagine her punching me on the nose, and I didn't want to upset the group, and in the end Jane had her in her office, but she didn't, she just put it to her that, um, that there was a lot of talking going on she'd noticed and that in the future people must get on with their work and let others get on with their work. That's the way she put it, so of course Bet came straight to me didn't she, that cow she said, she started running her down, I said she said the same to all of us, we're all talking too much, just to spare her feelings you know, as if to say that she wasn't the only one like, so, and really I lied which I didn't like doing, it went right against everything that I believe in. I didn't like lying like that but it was a white lie, it saved her feelings and it just made worse because then she was like a limpet, she was just with me all the time don't matter what I did, anyway, I'm fed up anyway, she said, I'm gonna leave, so I said well I think you'd be wise to concentrate on your shorthand, which she wanted to learn, rather than be on a course you're not really interested in, hoping she'd go like, or move, or anything, anyway eventually she did leave, but she was, I want to write to you she said, and I felt so guilty. I want to write to you she said, because you're such a nice person, you've told me lots of things and you've helped me, you know I felt terrible.

Q When she said that you'd taught me lots of things that helped me what sort of thing was she referring to?

A Well, she'd copy all my work, she say how do you do that then, let me have a look at yours then and she'd copy it all down.

Q What topic actually are you learning I mean there are subjects are there on the course?

A Well we have to compose our own letters, we have to write our own experiences, all different things.

Q Sort of autobiographical work?

A In a way I suppose it is, because a lot of it is to do with what your learning and experiencing and you've got to write about it and write it down in such a way that it reads not too boringly and, ah, which I find very hard.

Q It is a sort of life journal then?

A I suppose in a way it is really, although not really, it's difficult to understand.

Q Do you have to put down the practical aspects or how you feel about it?

A Both.

Q Both. Do you have group sessions?

A They teach us everyday something about what we have to do then we have to go away and do it.

Q But do you actually have group discussions?

A Not as such, not controlled, we just talk among ourselves, we all get together and chat about it all.

Q What is the hardest thing you've had to do?

A I think talk to the group.

Q How do you set about doing that?

A Well if they'd have said to me do you want to do it I'd have said no, but sometimes it was sort of thrust upon you and to say no would be bad sport sort of thing, and so it was left to me one day to tell them all what they had to do because the teacher couldn't be there. I don't know why they picked on me, but they did, would I see to it all, tell them all about it and.....?.....to them all and read out the letter which I found very hard because I don't like being looked at see so, um, but I did it, so that's counted as talking to more than one person.

Q How did you prepare for it?

A Um, I didn't really, I just quickly read through the letter and then.

Q You just got up and did it. What other aspects of the course are there, there's computing, do they teach you how to use a computer programme or do you pick it up?

A Well again, as I say, it's not very well organised, to be quite honest, I don't like to run them down, they are doing their best but, like they said they were thrown in at the deep end and they weren't prepared for it and it was a bit of a mess. I mean it took me four weeks to learn how to log on and log off, and I should have learnt that the first day, but there was not enough teachers for the pupils they were teaching. We didn't have time.

Q But didn't any of the pupils that could log on and log off teach you how to do it?

A Well in the end they did, that's how I did eventually learn because I then used to ask them, how do you do that and they'd come over and show me, it was great.

Q Was there a lot of that?

A Yes there was a lot and I do it now to others that have come in now and are new to it, I do the same. I feel happy about that, whereas before I wouldn't dare. I would think I might make a mess of it ?

Q But wouldn't you consider that to be part of the course?

A (Pause) I suppose it is really.

Q You say you're not happy about it, it doesn't seem very organised?

A No.

Q Would you say your expectations of the organisation are what you brought from a long time ago with you to it?

A Yes. I think I explained that to the teacher. I said I'm not used to this doing it all myself, I've always been told what to do, I said I'm not used to it and she said the new way now is you got to find out for yourself and go from there and I said but it takes so long, (yes), it takes that much longer than if somebody is telling you right here's what you have to do, you do it, which I've always been used to and it's taken me all this time to realise all the different assignments I could have done without having to find out all the information for myself, its taken me that much longer, I could have done a lot more work if I'd have gone straight to the different assignments that are apparently in there, I only just, you know, it took me a little while to learn.

Q What you're saying is that there are a lot of assignments and if people had told you that they were there you could have gone and done them. (Yes). But what in fact has happened is that you've been left to do certain things on your own and now you've found out about the assignments are you going to do them?

A Well, I've done em now, I've done it in my own way, whereas their way would have been much quicker.

Q Would it?

A Yes, 'cos it was all set out. You do this this and this, this covers this element, that element and that element, 'cos you have units.

Q But what have you learnt as a result of doing it your way?

A Frustration, because I feel I could have done a lot more work because I've worked really hard, I come home from there, I don't leave till about four or five sometimes and then I work in the evening.

Q But isn't that saying that you would have liked to have been told what to do?

A Yes.

Q and you've just said you always have been told what to do and it's quite a refreshing change to have to find things out for yourself?

A Ah yes, but not in the way you mean, like for instance Anna, not Anna, Sanya, she showed me this assignment for gardening, she look she said there's an assignment on gardening here, and it said it covered, you know all in one swoop, more or less, and so I did, I did that one it was great, I thought well I know a lot about gardening I can do that so I went on and did that and then it would be all different aspects and I didn't know there were assignments for everything, not at the time, although we were told if you want to see anything it's up there in the files, but I didn't know where to look, although it is sign posted and it is colour coded and all that, you go to one and you pick out one page or something and you really wouldn't know what to do with it, it was that sort of thing and I used to get so frustrated, I used to spend so much time....

Q But what happened if you went and asked the tutor, you say you've got this sheet, you know, it doesn't seem complete, what do I do?

A Well, that was a problem, um, because by the time you'd planned all these things out their lesson was over and then they had their other hat on, in other words they couldn't be disturbed, you couldn't ask them questions any more, so you'd have to wait till the next day. It was so frustrating.

Q So in that case then you asked the other people on the course?

A Yes and if they hadn't done it they say we don't know about that.

Q But there were some people that did know. (Yes). So in the end in fact there was as much information going between people on the course as there was between the course and the course tutor?

A Yes.

Q Which of those for you was the most comfortable?

A I felt better when the teacher told me what to do, because sometimes somebody would tell you something and it would not be right, 'cos they sort of figured it out and used their own imagination and gumption I suppose.

Q How did you find it was wrong?

A Because when I did it I would go no, no, no, it wasn't meant like that, you'd have to do it all over again.

Q So you would go to the tutor, first of all you'd go to somebody who would tell you wrong, then you'd go to the tutor and they'd say no it mustn't be done like that, and you felt that was wasting your time really?

A It was, well I felt that.

Q Did you get anything else from talking to people on the course?

A (Pause) Yes, um, (pause), I don't know how to put it in words that's the trouble.

Q How did you feel about what you got?

A Well what I liked about it was the way they were so willing to tell me anything I wanted to know, and I wasn't made to feel a nuisance, I just felt that they were doing it because they wanted to, not because they had to.

Q and this was a new feeling?

A Yes.

Q You hadn't come across it in the curtain design place?

A No, there was a lot of bitching in there, you know what it's like with women. When you get a lot of women together they can be dreadful. You know if they got any information they don't want you to know because you'll know as much as they do.

Q It's not like that in the Open Learning Centre?

A No, it's not at all like that, at least I haven't found that yet.

Q Could you say that you've learnt a lot that was nothing to do with course you were on?

A (Pause) Well I suppose you could say that all the different nationalities I've come in contact with now I never really knew people like that before, not to become friends with them and talk a long while, I might be acquainted with a neighbour who is coloured, or an

Indian or whatever but it would only be hello and goodbye, you never get together and discuss life, whereas in there we did, and they are no different from anyone else, we all got our, you know, feelings about our children, about our families and about life in general, all human beings. You hear so much in the newspapers and on the radio about this ethnic minority and that ethnic minority and terrible things are said about them and I didn't find any of them in amongst this lot that I've got to know.

Q So how would you describe that experience?

A (Pause) I don't know.

Q Well, has it broadened your experience?

A Yes definitely.

Q Can you say in what way?

A (Pause) no I can't.

Q So you met a whole group of new people some of whom have only been sort of them over there before, they've been looked at as a group, the Blacks and the Pakies or something, (that's right), Now you have actually met some of them individually what you've experienced is that they're just like us, (yes), that was the result of being on the course, but it was not the result of what the course was teaching you. (No). So within the course there's a lot of information going around which has altered your attitudes. (Yes). Now I mean do you call that learning? (Yes). and is it important? (Yes). Can you see that sort of activity in any other area of your life?

A (Pause), um, I don't really know.

Q Well it would seem a little unlikely wouldn't it, because you've said that, you know, we haven't actually asked about social life but you've said yourself that your quiet and withdrawn from people, you don't really get into the thick of it, so I take it that you don't belong to any wacko social set?

A No.

Q Which is where you would get this interchange of experience, I suppose the closest is the friends you have over the garden fence and your family. (Yes). Would you get, do you feel that you get this sort of interaction within the family, or is it different?

A Ah, it's different.

Q I mean you still know about the family obviously?

A Yes, we still meet Christmas times and things like that.

Q If there is any life happening, another grandchild born you would know about it?

A Yes.

Q But the interaction is not the same obviously?

A No, their very, ah, since my mum died it's got gradually less and less 'cos we used to get together all the time we were always having parties and things but after that it was a ...

Q You know when we met in the Open Learning centre I told you about the Harpsichord bit, (Yes), and I asked you all to remember something which keeps coming back, something you remembered over a long period of time, have you thought about that or come up with anything?

P No, not really. (Inaudible).

Q No that's OK. Your coming to the end of this course and either you want to do typing or if you can't do that you are going to carry on and do stage two of the current course, (Yes), Is that more of the same to a higher level?

A I think so.

Q So that the same sort of experiences will be taking place, you will meet a different set of people. Would you say that if you go into stage two your confidence level will be a lot higher than when you started stage one?

A Yes, oh yes, definitely.

Q How will you know outside of the course that your confidence level is radically altered for the better?

A How will I know, I won't know until I get a job.

Q You think that will be it, actually, actually going into a job and being able to do it ? (yes). and your thinking of an office job, anything in particular, 'cos there is more to office jobs than typing?

A I don't mind what I do as long as I'm kept busy. I don't want a boring job.

Ted

This interviewee is a married man with three married daughters. He was apprenticed as a copper smith and with a break for army service has followed his trade all his working life. He is shop steward in a specialist union and has been so almost since finishing his apprenticeship. His hobby is breeding budgerigars.

Q You did an apprenticeship to be a tinsmith.?

A Well actually my apprenticeship was to be a copper smith.

Q Not a plumber?

A No.

Q So that was copper sheet work?

A Yes we used to travel all over the country doing um, in the brewery line, putting in fermenting vessels, brewery boiling coppers, miles of pipe work. (Inaudible) We go away for months, come home once a month.

Q So it was not just sheet metal work, but it was pipe work?

A Yes, soldering, welding, silver soldering, brazing, putting flanges on, it was really interesting work. Stainless came in and then, a copper work went by the board.

Q Did you get any qualifications after you left school?

A Used to do apprenticeship one day a week, but there was no qualification, it was a...

Q Do you feel you have got any qualification from life, I see you've got your budgerigars out there how skilled are you in that area?

A Well, I'm getting better at it. You know you start of as a beginner, then you get um, a novice, and intermediate and a champion, so I am intermediate now, but the higher you go the harder it gets.

Q And how do you learn about it?

A Um, well my father used to keep canaries and I wanted a hobby, and I just keep pet budgies, and then somebody said, there's a club at Yate and I joined, and before I knew it was, you know, once a month, I started buying different birds, got into it, it's quite interesting.

Q Do they hold classes or seminars?

A Once a month, you know, you have a speaker, usually you can talk about anything, bloke the other week, he was talking about a, brought in, you know, one of these things that swallow people a condor, he said this ones only so many weeks old, but when he's full size he can take anyone. Anaconda.

Q Do you learn a lot from people who are in the club?

A Well we meet like, we have a chat about birds and things. We have shows, we go out for a meal now and then. We have a dance, play skittles, once or twice a year, that kind of thing.

Q Do you have any particular people you listen to more than others?

A Well up there you've got budgie people and you've got canary people, and the budgie people tend to sit one side and the canary people sit the other. There's no friction or nothing.

Q No it's a different interest and skill.

A That's right, I mean if they've got somebody talking about canaries I don't always go.

Q But in fact, apart from the specialist speakers the budgie people swop information?

A Amongst themselves, they chat about, I buy a bird off a guy, (Inaudible) it's just an interest.

Q Is there any sort of speciality in keeping budgies?

A Well once you've joined a club you become part of a show, like an, you then start showing birds, like next week I'm of to Weston-Super-Mare, then you show against all the people from Bridgwater, Weston-Super-mare, Bristol, Exeter, you know they all send their birds, you're all against each other. In the different groups, as I say, and then you go in half past two, you've got your case number and you look up to see how you've done. You meet people there, have a chat.

Q Is there some sort of skill in choosing a bird you think will be a show winner?

A Oh yes.

Q How do you get that sort of skill?

A Well it's experience really, you've got to have a big bird, a very wide head, it's get to have a very deep spots, it's got to be the right colour, you know it has not (Inaudible) got

to have appropriate black markings on it, it's got to be tidy, there's a lot to it. I mean some people go out and they spend up to £1000, well I don't do that, sometimes I might spend £30 to £40 you know, (Inaudible).

Q Is that to breed from or to show?

A To breed from, you look for a bird which is what you want, something from, in somebody else's aviary. It does not mean that because that bird is what you want that the first year they will throw the youngsters they want because the blood might not be compatible, you've got to wait two or three years, it's a long job.

Q How long has it taken you to get to this level of knowledge?

A Ten years, must be ten years yes.

Q Have you read a lot?

A I'm a member of the British Bird Society, Budgerigar Society, they sent me a book (Inaudible), it tells you all about breeding, everything.

Q Do you think you have got more information out of the books or more information from talking to people?

A Well I've got a lot of advice from people on birds, you know I find that quite, you know I've taken birds to a champion breeder, champion mind, you know, and I've put my bird and said, "what do you think of this bird ?", and they will tell you where your going right or wrong, what's wrong with it, and you've got to try and eradicate the faults by buying birds that haven't got that fault.

Q How do you become a champion breeder?

A Well you've got to win, you've either got to be an intermediate for, I think it's four years, or you've got to win 3 or 4 certificates within a class in one year. You do reckon you do well if you just win one show, you've got to win so many shows before you go on to be champion, or be an intermediate for about 5 years.

Q And that actually, I imagine, shows your skill at choosing birds to breed for the points you're looking for?

A That's right, I've been to people to buy birds off them, Champions, when I was a novice, and they just sold me rubbish, because I didn't know you see, they were getting rid of birds they did not want. But then you suddenly realise what you're doing. I bought

one, I paid £50 for it and I brought him home and I put it in a small cage because I let them stay in the aviary ?) a bit before I let them fly with the rest, and after about two ? I took him out and threw him into the flight, just threw him in, it just went straight to the floor, I thought crumbs, what's going on here, picked him up, threw him in again and he went on the floor. I took it to a champion breeder and told him and he said "Oh I know who you got this bird from", and he told me, he said what this bloke does is when a bird is sick he fills them full of different tonics and injections, he said and they're no good. So I had thirty quid on a bird that was useless and that taught me a lot.

Q I bet it did.

A You know I want to see them moving about.

Q So would you say that your experience, and the people that you've spoken to have taught you more than reading about it?

A Well yes, this chap that I bought that bird from, he said to me in a show last year, I've got just the bird for you and I said the last one I bought off you was not very good, I said, when I come to you I expect you to help me because I'm lower down, I didn't expect, you know, I told him like, I wasn't nasty you know, there's no point. It took me by surprise, I learnt a lot.

Q Experience is a great teacher. (That's true). Is there anything else that you would bring up under question 16?

A Well, parenting I suppose, with the three girls, we've had our share of that. I remember one time my daughter turned up here one day, she was married, and, um, she turned up one day with a van, a big van, she had all her stuff in there. I came in, what's wrong ? Oh I'm not staying with no more, (Inaudible), of course we were talking, well your not learning your stuff here, (Inaudible), and then when we were talking, he took ? , so we had him and his father, I can remember father was sat there, and I was sat in the middle, I was, I mean I criticised them both and thought they were both wrong, not one more than the other and um, I was saying when Sharon came home, we had quite a discussion for an hour and a half, anyway it ended up with um, she went back and he went back, now we've got three grandchildren. It worked out nicely. My eldest daughter, we used to wait up on a night, (Inaudible) One night she stayed out all night, we had to

straighten that out, and now she's married, they all settled down, we've got seven grand daughters and one grand son, two lots of twins.

Q Did you go to anybody for advice for that or did you just treat it as you would have?

A No chance of the I just had to a.....

Q But in general in parenting?

A Um, no I think a lot of it is common sense, you haven't got to be too hard, I think you've got to let them. When girls get 15 to 16 you've got to try and look after them, not to be too hard on them, hope that things work out with a bit of common sense.

Fortunately although we did have our scrapes, many a time when Brenda was worried to death about them I had a little chat to them, (Inaudible) but that was the biggest one, it was a bit hair raising at first, between the two of them, you had to try and be like the chairman I suppose.

Q So if you want to know something particular do you go to anybody in particular. Do you find you ask peoples advice?

A Quite frankly I find people ask me for advice, more than I ask people (Inaudible) people come up and ask me for advice. I don't know if that's because I'm shop steward or because I'm skilled person and a lot of semi-skilled or what, but um, (Inaudible) ask people for advice. I just think about it and keep it to myself. I'm not saying, you know, it's the right to do, there are occasions I suppose (Inaudible).

Q That's O K. You say people come and ask you for advice, do you give it?

A Yes, if I can help them.

Q Do you give advice to the people in the Budgie Society?

A Well I've had um, come here for birds and they ask me what I think, I mean the last thing I would do is sell them something which was (Inaudible) yes if I can help people with birds I will.

Q You have no problem with giving people advice?

A Um, no, you know I seem to be able to get along with most people, give them advice, yes.

Q So if you do want to know something you work it out for yourself?

A Um, I think about it, I tend to come up with the answer, but I got a problem, funny really, I got a problem to do at work, you know, union things and I've thought about it, gone to bed, I don't know whether it's unusual, but I've woke up in the night and I've almost had the answer. I don't know if it's ever occurred to you, (Yes), has it.

Q If you stop thinking about something sometimes it comes. If you try to think about something because you try you've got blinkers on, you know?

A Yes, but I've woke up in the night and I've suddenly thought, you know it's the middle of the night, the answer seemed to be there. I've said that to people in work.

Q So really what follows on is a bit awkward because I wanted to know if you remembered what you are told. If you don't ask people for advice and people don't tell you things but I suppose people come and ask you for advice, do you remember that, remember what they ask?

A Well there's people always asking me about (Inaudible). I'm not an expert on the union I did it because no one else wanted to do it.

Q Which union was it?

A M.S.F.

Q Which is?

A It's a big union, it used to be. I'm in the craft section. I always get caught on this question.

Q It's not AUEW or anything like that?

A Oh no.

Q Is it a craft union?

A Craft union, there are two branches, there's the staff side, engineers, (Inaudible), craft side which is for tradesmen, coppersmiths, tinsmiths.

Q So it's a specialist craft union. With your union activities have you been on union courses?

A No, I've never bothered.

Q How did you first come to be involved with the union?

A Well usually when your an apprentice, when your sixteen you join the union. I didn't join till I was 21 (Inaudible) and um, 'course when you come out of your time it's

always a hard job to (Inaudible) a shop steward. In the old days if you were not in the union you didn't get a job, it was usually a closed shop, and then they all sat around and wanted a shop steward, and somebody says how about you and before you know it your up front so to become shop steward.

Q But you did say no?

A Well, um, well no I think somebody got to do the job, you've got to do the best you can. I mean I walked out of a meeting last week, I don't know if your interested but we used to be on a bonus scheme and we were about £15 ahead, the tool-makers and everyone else, (Inaudible), and all the others got together went to the management and said we are setting up a construction zone, we want to know got to (Inaudible) on a day work situation. So we were bought out, I negotiated that buy out. For the £15 they paid us £2800 which was quite good really, you know, we had the condition that we would always be in the top group of the wage structure and um, well owing to our union activities, I think, they wanted to do things at work that were against our interests, like someone watching us all day, you know, making notes what we were doing. I thought this was protection ?) of our trade, we was the only ones that were the same. So, ah, I think the other three, the electricians, maintenance and the Tool Room got together with management and they kicked us out, and I thought that was terrible, you know, (Inaudible) I must admit I was very upset about it. And, a, so they had a top group of 22, like top because they called them skilled and we were in the top group of the second group, there was another two groups setters and inspectors and ah, when they did this they gave these other groups £20 a week extra.

Q Who negotiated that?

A Well this is what the firm did with these three groups.

Q Was there a union negotiator on?

A Yes.

Q It was not you?

N We had our union man out and I said to them at the meeting, I said, all you've got to do is tell the company you want us in that top group, this was to the A E U and the Electricians, and they looked at me and they went blank, you know they couldn't say it, I

think it was a put up job, and ah, I said to our bloke we might just as well leave the meeting because there's no support here, sit here all night discussing, so he said hang on a minute, anyway the company came in and said the work had changed, which it hadn't, and um, we were not needed like we were years ago, and so that was that. So, ah, we've go to set up a grading system now you see and they wanted to set up a committee to go over and look at another persons job, which is below us in our group, they wanted us to grade it, see if we thought their work (was good) enough to be upgraded into our group, really only skilled men's group. So I (inaudible) I go up and say well when you have your agreement with us, or negotiate them, then I'll take part in your committee.

Q And this was a union committee?

A This is committees for upgrading people in...

Q So it's talking with management?

A So I walked out and ah, that's in abeyance now.

Q But how does a preliminary discussion take place for that for that sort of thing?

A Ah, the part where they want to upgrade you or not.

Q Well no. Do you just go to a meeting and they just say this is what we are going to do, or do they give you some ideas first so that you can discuss it before you go to the meeting?

A Ah well this is it you see. They call you to a meeting and I say what's the meeting about, but they won't say what the meeting is about, which is totally wrong.

Q And this is management?

A Yes.

Q Right, but what you were saying was that the other unions in the place were trying to do a deal with management trying to cut you out.

A Yes Electricians, Maintenance and Tool Room thought they were that much better.

Q How did you get to know about that?

A Because some months previously we were talking about pay and they suggested to management that we should not be on that group, so therefore I was not at the meeting that they were present with the management, so it must (Inaudible).

Q How did you find out about it?

A What that they were at the meeting? Well everybody knew they were and they were offered this new contract of employment with the 22.

Q I was just wondering how, how information like this gets percolated around the factory?

A They go back and report it to the members and somebody lets it out. (Inaudible)

Q Are some people listened to more than others?

A In what respect?

Q Lets assume that everybody in the workplace is a gossip, are there some people that people listen to as gossips more than others? Whether some people have status, what they say is thought of as being worth listening to?

A There are always people saying have you heard this or do you know about that, you know that's common knowledge.

Q But there must be some people that you listen to more than others?

A Um, well if I want to know something I will go and ask someone who is in a position, I think, to tell me. If I want to know what happened at a meeting with the T&G I'll go to their bloke, I'll say what's happening about this problem you've got with so-and-so, (Inaudible) but everybody working for their own ends, in that respect.

Q The EEPTU is trying to expand it's base at the moment isn't it so?

A They're on about going in with the T&G aren't they, I did hear something about it.

Q I mean I would not be surprised if they did not take in all craft unions in the end. Well what's your memory like for all these things?

A Well, not bad.

Q As a shop steward do you find you have to write things down or do you keep it all in your head?

A No I never make notes, I seem to remember it I remember things I think are important to me, tend to let the ones I don't go off.

Q Would you say the things that you remember are the things that you had learned?

A Well to do with the union side I think anything I've learnt over the last 40 odd years, I don't tend to forget these things and if it's useful any time, I use it, it's experience really isn't it.

Q So it is learning and you do remember it, you can recall it when you want to use it?

A Yes.

Q So for instance if you went into a negotiation with management and they brought forward a point that they brought forward five years ago you would be able to say you've tried that one on us before?

A Yes.

Q Do you have a union committee you pass these things on to?

A Well, at the moment we are a bit of an outcast you see. You've got the 22 in the top group and then you got the rest, are all factory skilled now, we are the two skilled in that top group. Basically we've got to fend for ourselves.

Q Can I rehearse that to you. There are 22 people (Who are made up), two of them are skilled.

A No, in the top group there are 22. Then there's the second group which we are in. We are in the top band and all the rest are factory skilled, but we served an apprenticeship.

Q So the top group of this second group are all apprenticed trained?

A There's only two of us.

Q Right, so you've only got a constituency of two?

A That's right. But there is MSF members there but they're all on the staff side.

Q And who do the 20 belong to, what union are they in?

A Electricians, AEW.

Q So really your power base is quite small?

A Yes we've got to stand up for ourselves.

Q But your still in a negotiating position even tho' there is only two of you?

A That's right. I think they'd wish us to go sometimes. I mean we used to be on the joint consultative committee but we got put off of that. I don't think they like us who ask questions (Inaudible).

Q Well they are mandated by the unions.

A Or the management. They don't want people on who ask questions.

Q So we've established that the things that you remember you call learning and that you do pass on the things that you remember to other people.

A Yes.

Q Both in the union area and as far as the Budgie Society is concerned. Do people, we know people come to you for advice at work, you have said largely because of you being a shop steward. Do you find that a number of people actively seek you out for advice from the Club?

A What on bird? Well yes it works on the system that a beginner or a novice would ask me and I would ask a champion.

Q And that works?

A Oh yes, because if a beginner is going to buy a bird he'd probably go to a novice or me, I'm an intermediate.

Q So we can deduce from what you've said that you actually do act on what other people tell you?

Q Well, I take into consideration what they say.

A What sort of thing would you consider?

A What on the work basis?

Q Well either, well if somebody came along and gave you some advice how would you act on it, what sort of criteria would you use to assess it as being correct or otherwise?

A Well if it was something to do with work and it was something to do with the two of us I'd follow it up in any way I could to find out the truth behind it. Apparently my view, perhaps I shouldn't say it, my view of the management out there is um, not very good. Every day there's a mistake, everyday (Inaudible) is on my opinion is bad management which is um, well not what it should be. I feel that the manager, this is confidential, he was a rate fixer, he's a bit of a filibuster, I don't think he's got the ability to sort problems out, you get the same problems happening over and over again, every week thousands of pounds worth scrapped, (Inaudible), I think it's all done, the wages is so low that's what keeps the place open. I mean you hear of 500 tumble dryers coming back because they're rusty, because they have the wrong wiring, so many thousand with something else.

Q How does this information get to you?

A It's general knowledge how you hear about this order from Germany, it's got the wrong fuses they got to all come back and have the fuses changed or a wire's rubbing on the drum. Why doesn't somebody get on the floor and shake them up.

Q Is there anything that you can remember that's very specific and you can remember why you remember it?

A Well I think most things are with the family. With my daughter that was quite traumatic. I think of when I get, like I suffer with kidney stones and when I was on this x-ray machine for about five hours so they could put this wire in me to explore all my glands, then they asked me to come back a second time. you would never believe it. I was in there, he said to me he said we want you to come in because you've got too much calcium in your blood. They put this thing in a big vein, check every gland, check it all out, find out what's wrong (Inaudible) He had me in five hours. I could look at the television screen. Any way the most traumatic part was, I was dying to go to the toilet so they sealed, this bloke came from Bath to do it, he sealed me up, (an artery in the groin) he said you can go to the toilet now, well actually it was a main artery, I went and where I laid on me back I had a job top go, anyway I forced myself and all at once I looked down, everything was covered in blood, and I got my thumb like that and I'm stood there, this nurse is there trying to wipe the blood off, everything was a mess, anyway they got me back on the table sealed it up, so they sent me down to Frenchay. I'd had an operation in the meantime (Inaudible) and he said I want you to come back again and do this, (Inaudible) we've had the operation we want to test and see if it's successful (Inaudible) so I went back in, this time they had new equipment and it took three hours. I remember that, yes, it was traumatic. Not the kind of thing you're looking for.

Q When you give information to other people is it because they ask you or do you offer information without being asked?

A Um, well do people ask me things in general, I've got a job to remember.

Q Well no I don't want specific instances.

A If I feel something to do with work perhaps, somebody said to me so-and-so done that job, he didn't (Inaudible) rather than see him do it again, I wouldn't do that because

after it's painted it will show up or something. Yes in a tried, but you got to be so careful, people get very upset, they don't like being.....

Q How about in the club?

A In the club, well um, basically you get discussion at the club but you get more when you go to see somebody's birds. You go into the aviary and they say what they think of this and that, you have a discussion about it.

Q Do people recommend you to give advice?

A Long pause. On the union side I've had people from other unions come up to me and ask advice because they don't trust their own stewards, um, you know and I've said well I shouldn't interfere, I would tell them (Inaudible) and I know it's got back to management, where it wouldn't cost the management anything. It cost one one occasion, they had people working all hours they put in a stagger system, where you work until till 5 pm instead of working till 4pm to get overtime. If I'd done a staggered system from 8.30 till 1.30 instead of 7.30 till 4. They wanted to bring this in and they are all coming up to me and it's nothing to do with me and they're all saying, look we're going to loose so much money per week, it's going to cost us 4/5 hours overtime. The moneys poor. I mean, um, the people up there with mortgages and families, it must be hells own work, you know, and I was saying that's not right, they were saying if we do not do it he's going to put somebody else up here to do it. Unknown to me the Personnel Manager is seeing all these people come over and talking while I am working (Inaudible) anyway they come out of it with £100 each, which was a kind of sop to get them to change the system.

Q How do you feel about the things that you pass on?

A Well I always try, if I give any opinion, I always try to do it as not for any reason, that I think it's the right thing. I wouldn't tell them just to be awkward. I mean I go to a meeting with the Management and we'll have an argument but we meet next day and its hello Ken (Inaudible).

Q And you feel confident about what you pass on?

A Well yes, if they ask me something I tell them what I think, I mean, hopefully, I hope it's all right.

Q Is it important for you your memory, you say you remember most things you don't write it down?

A No I don't.

Q Is it important for you to have a good memory?

A Um, well I tend to remember things that are (Pause), things that I don't think important I don't suppose to remember. I just let it go straight through like.

Q But you feel you have got memory?

A Yes, I think it's reasonable. I mean I think a lot of things in life is common sense. More common sense than anything else, it's practical and common sense.

Q What is common sense, I mean could we explore that a little bit?

A Um, well common sense, if somebody asks you something you say well that's a pretty straight forward answer to that , I mean that's common sense, everybody should know, you'd think, you know it's practical isn't it ? In your mind you think that yes that's what you should do, I can't really say.

Q O K you've had training for your present job, it was training with a firm, but not the one you're with now, when you did the training did you have to do theoretical as well as practical training?

A Well that was part of the day-school. That's a, used to do marking up, a funny thing happened to me up there you know, we used to do this physical thing, in between, where they paired you off and put a pair of boxing gloves on you. I got picked with this little short fellow and I got in close and suddenly everything lit up, bright lights and stars and I heard somebody shout stop, it was the instructor. Nearly killed me, he really hit me like, he got in close and he (Inaudible) Yes we had um, general it was, I remember other things, If you got a sewerage system (Inaudible) going back a few years, they would get you in a group let you get up a petition in order to (Inaudible).

Q It was a sort of general education session?

A Yes, general all of it. Just under the bridge as you go down Stokes Croft.

Q When you started the job you've got now who did you go to to ask advice about what you were doing?

A They were very good actually, um, it was totally different to what I'd done before, a lot of it was rectification, you get damaged stuff in for repairs, sent it back into the system, (Inaudible) and he had a leading hand, he had to be a member of the union, (Inaudible) and um, he would have you in the shop you know, he'd give you work, say this is what you've got to do and gradually he'd put you out with another person on another type of job, gradually as time went on you learnt to do all the jobs.

Q This is now at Creda?

A There used to be twelve of us.

Q Was he any good this bloke?

A Oh yes. He used to make model battleships and things, he served in the war, very interesting.

Q And he was a good help?

A Oh yes.

Q How was it, obtrusive, did he interfere or just look over your shoulder?

A No, he would put you on a job and more or less tell you what to do, then he would come over occasionally to see you were doing all right, look at what you'd done, I don't mind, I mean some people take offence at that, I mean you had blokes come there) (Inaudible).

Q Have you been in that situation yourself where you inducted people?

A Well yes, we got a bloke started last week actually, couldn't get a lot of workout of him, he's been on the dole for 7 months and a, the day I was on the course, he came on that Monday, my mate up there came back on the Wednesday. We've got a go-between, not a skilled man, between chief inspector and us, he said he's no good, he's got to go. He's only staying for three weeks, and I've been helping him today and I think he's getting better but unfortunately tomorrow we start the holidays, he's off, he's been on the dole for about seven months which is a shame, with more time he would have made it and I was looking for to keep the bloke for ever. Once they're in and you can get on with them all right, give a job they can get on and do it on their own, but he does try hard but, um, unfortunately it hasn't worked out. Yes you (Inaudible).

Q When you were learning the job what was the most important thing for you?

A Oh getting it right, say you'd done two hundred of this or that (Inaudible).

Q What information did you look for to be able to do it right?

A This is what I learnt from the leading hand ??? shop. They were good as gold really, I mean you reckoned that you did not know too much about this type of thing and um, people helped you all you could.

Q Do you discuss your work with people outside of the workplace?

A Well I have a laugh with the wife sometimes.

Q Not with the people with the budgies or the family or down at the pub or whatever else?

A Some of them come up to see me to see if they can get reconditioned tumble dryers or up, (Inaudible), they might want that, I've got several tumble dryers for people.

Discussing work, no, I mean the wife works up there as well you see, one thing I won't do is discuss her job. She works on the financial side, I think she's something to do with the invoices (Inaudible) I don't really know. I think that when you're at work I don't want to know her job because it can lead, especially being shop steward, it's the last thing I want to do.

Q Do you adapt any of the skills you've got at work, I'm not now just thinking about the actual trade skills but your union skills, negotiating skills and so on, do you adapt any of those things to use them outside in your own life and hobbies and so on?

A I got this thing with me, it's a bit awkward really, I believe in strength. If I make an agreement, or if I do anything and I say this and I mean it. I don't, I got this thing that I don't joke when I say something, it's down the line you know and oh, I think a lot of things in life, whether it's home or like I said before it's experience and common sense, it's something that's to me is, say my daughter says something, I say well what you should do is perhaps this, 'cos to me it's, it seems like common sense, you say what's common sense, experience I suppose.

Q Well common sense, I mean if I can put words into your mouth and we can agree or disagree, is for whatever instance you need to use common sense it's so that the outcome is going to be the best possible outcome, which means weighing up a good and a bad outcome and deciding which is going to be the least troublesome all round, Which I think

most people would think is common sense, if you don't actually go out and try and hurt yourself or other people with your decisions.

A Well my daughter said to my other daughter, Dad will tell you once and that's it, I don't know whether that's a good thing or no but they know that when I say something I'll stick to it.

Q I get the impression that at work you are the recipient of a lot of information, people come up and talk to you, ask you questions and so on, so how active would you say you were in actually finding out information that you want to know?

A Well, anything I want to know about, anything, I'll find it out, either by asking other people or, um, going to the best source for information.

Q And the motive for that is?

A (Inaudible) It's what I want to know. Something I need to know for either union activities or whatever, so that I'm prepared to be ready to have my mind completely channelled.

Q It says here do you belong to a social group and we've established you belong to the club.

A Yes we belong to two Village Halls. I belong to Coalpit Heath, we use it once a week perhaps Saturday.

Q You and your wife belong to it together?

A Yes and, ah, I been to snooker with some friends, there is the Oldland Club, that's the other Club, that's five miles away, we meet some friends over there sometimes on a Saturday, we have a drink, game of snooker (Inaudible).

Q So you have got, as well as your own special hobbies, and work, you've also got a couple of clubs that you go to both you and your wife?

A Yes but we've let that slip a bit lately.

Q Do you find that there are people there who's conversation and information you find useful and interesting?

A Well, usually what happens is the two women, the wives, they sit outside while we get the drinks, this is a (Inaudible) and we go in and have two hours snooker, we talk about almost anything.

Q If there is anything you want to know would you explore it with those people?

A Oh yes, I mean one of them's a vehicle mechanic and I'd ask him about my car or something, anything like that, yes.

Q Would you carry out the work on your car as the result of him telling you what to do or would you ask him to do it?

A I'd ask someone to do it. I'm useless on cars, I just get in and go basically (Inaudible) the oil and water and pray.

Q So you do talk to them and you can, there is a certain sort of advice you'd get from them but there are things you would ask them to do?

A Oh yes.

Q I mean the people that you do listen to, whose advice you value, can you give any reason why you think you listen to those particular people?

A Well I don't know there's anybody in particular that I listen to basically. It's generally, um, if i need to know something, whoever, you know, I'll ask anyone.

Q There are not certain people that you ask. Lets look at the bird situation. Lets take that as an example, it's fairly hierarchical isn't it, the beginners, novice, intermediate and the experts. Lets assume that the only people around are on your level that you would ask for advice in preference to asking other people for advice on the same level?

A Well in the bird (Inaudible) you get people that have kind of got their own ideas on birds. Now um, there's one chap ,I know and i go up to him, once you get in an aviary it's amazing because you go in you start talking about birds and before you know it two hours have gone you know, you have a cup of coffee and you're still talking, but you value some peoples opinion more than others because you look at some peoples birds and they tell you this, this and this and you think right, I don't think that's right, like this and that together, that bird is doing quite well, so you wouldn't value his opinions as much as someone else's who you might think well, his way of talk is probably more in line with my thinking about it, his advice is good stay as you are. He might put two birds up and say your trouble with this is so-and-so and so-and-so. Well one would say well there's something wrong with that bird, he's good breed (Inaudible) different type of advice.

Q so you take more notice of the person that speaks the way you think (Not necessarily) hang on, and you base some of that on, not just what they say but whether what they say matches up with what their birds look like?

A Yes, that's right.

Q So there is two things going on there, the one is quite blatant isn't it, if they say this and this and it does not look as if it's the case then your not going to listen to them?

A Been at a show where one chap has got up in front of a crowd and he said this birds a good bird, and this, and this, and this, me and my mate sat there, afterwards we both said the same thing (Inaudible).

Q But you did say that if somebody talked along the lines you agreed with you'd be likely to listen to them ?

A Well if I could see what they were saying, if I'd been in the um, what they call the fancy ?? being in it for 10 years, if he was making points which I thought I'd learnt through my 10 years experience, well I'd think yes what he's saying makes sense to me, yes.

Q So you've learnt things in that sense from particular people then as a result of this experience of going to the aviary, talking to them, seeing what they say matches up with what their product is, so you would agree then that you had received help from particular people and those particular people are identifiable, if there were a dozen people you could say those are the people I agree with and those are the people I do not agree with because of this, or do you find that everybody's got something?

A I think we've all got something. Um, see when I go to an aviary I take what I consider to be my best bird and I take the cock and the hen, and I want better birds 'cos I want to get to the top, so I'll take them and I'd go in, obviously 'phone up, (Inaudible) Torquay, and ah, I put the bird up and I say to the chap, that's the bird I've got, I want to buy a bird from you, I want a better bird. Now he's got a, he can help me, he's got to put birds from his cages put his alongside that bird and I've got to decide whether that birds, it's my own judgement. It's up to me really, I mean is there, Well say going to cost so much, it's up to me whether I buy that bird or not. I might say to him I want one with a

bit deeper spot or a wider head or a bit wider back, whatever I'm looking for and you know, I used to (Inaudible).

Q Not any more?

A Not any more.

Q And that's experience isn't it?

A Yes.

Q Is it more than just being conned the first time?

A Well I didn't, you know, as I say, I just think things are black and white and they never are, it's just impossible, you never get anybody black and white, any situation. I went to this chap and paid £100, we had a bit of spare money (Inaudible), he let me have three, I thought right, they're my birds now, there's a show coming up, I'm a novice, I put them up in the novice class, two of them and they never even made the first three, now that don't mean to say that those birds are no good because the judge, another judge might view it all differently. So I went back to him again. If you keep the same blood-lines you get better birds because the blood is already there, but if you breed two different blood-lines you get terrible birds but the next year you get better birds. You put the young back, and he sold me this bird that didn't fly, so I wasn't happy about that, since then I've learnt a lot, I mean I like to say to one of these breeders, he puts a bird up (Inaudible), I just want to see it you compare his best with the one he wants to sell you, it looks terrible sometimes.

Q Where do you hear of new developments, obviously at the club I imagine. There must be fashions in birds I suppose. What you feed them, how you keep them or what colour they are going to be for the season?

A Well no, there is perhaps 20 different classes and it all covers every colour of bird and every type of bird so you don't have to go in for any specialism, some people do, they go for ?? yellow ones, it just depends, I try general, I just breed them and try to put my best bird together to get.....

Q And you've been doing it for how long?

A 10 to 15 years.

Q What is different now to when you started?

A Well I find this um. When I started off first I bought two birds from people down south. I bought a cock bird from a person in London (Inaudible) and I put them together and the youngsters were hopeless and I put the cock with two different hens, then I put the young back in there and I was winning prizes and then I found that showing budgies was perhaps like a lot of other things, people get envious. People think, Christ I've been doing this for four years, (Inaudible), perhaps that's one of the reasons why when you go to someone they think you know, we'll keep you down. I think that this tends to be in the show as much as in other things, people think they're going to win everything and if someone beats them it tends to lead to, sometimes, people getting a bit upset. I was talking to a judge funny enough. He was judging a show somewhere and he puts this bird, he puts them all up first and then sorts them out. The bloke that was helping him every time he turned round this bird would finish up in the front place and apparently this chap had spent a lot of money for it and he thought he was going to win. Every time the judge didn't move he kept pushing this bird up so in the end he caught hold of the bird and threw it down, I mean, I'm in it for, ah, to look after my flight, keep my birds, clean them out, go to a show about four times a year, go to the club. I mean basically I'm not bothered, I try to win but I'm not going to get upset.

Q Would you say that the knowledge that you've got about birds was on a level with what you've got about shopstewarding?

A Um, I think with a shopsteward it's a give and take situation and you've got to use a lot of hard common sense, but with the budgies um, there's more to it. I think you've got to be able to look at birds and decide which are um, you've got to have that kind of thing. You buy birds, you've got to know what you are doing.

Q And that's not common sense?

A I think that's more experience. Knowledge of keeping them and you know you wouldn't get a beginner (Inaudible). I think with shopstewards you've got to go to the management. You think well they're trying to pull this and that. Is it going to do us all that much damage or should we co-operate, it's a common sense situation. You try to get the best deal you can. I don't think it's a job that's all that special. I think a lot of people could do it, it's just a matter of discussion points.

Q So you are making a distinction then between, you have not used the word, are you making a distinction between common sense and expertise?

A I think with birds it could be expertise. It's something, I mean I know a couple, champions, and they can go out and look at a bird and they know what they want, they know exactly what they want.

Q So would you say you had to learn expertise?

A Oh yes, comes with a long period of experience.

Q So it comes with buying birds the experiences that you've had, breeding them winning prizes with them so that you can say if I win a prize with that it must be what people are looking for?

A Not necessarily.

Q No but again it comes down to whatever the judge is looking for?

A Yes that's right.

Q Would you say that your job divorced from the shop-stewarding The tinsmithing, is that common sense or expertise?

A That's expertise it's something you acquire over a period of time.

Q Snooker is expertise?

A Yes I used to enjoy that used to play all through Bristol.

Q Bringing up a family?

A Well bringing up a family, there's a lot of common sense in bringing up a family, you, ah, have three children and they can all be different. I mean when one stays out all night and comes home in the early hours of the morning, not really, about 10 o'clock, somebody dropped her off in a car that's common sense you've got to sort that out, it's not expertise you know 'cos it's not going to happen again.

Q But common sense is a certain sort of knowledge isn't it?

A I think it's probably something you acquire as you grow older with experience, um, didn't come to much of a problem.

Q And for you it sounds as if common sense is as important if not more important than expertise?

A Um, well dealing with family things.

Q And the union?

A Yes I think there is a lot of expertise in the union.

Q But the knowledge that you've got about things that you remember about negotiation, all the financial aspects of different grades of jobs.

A Agreements and things.

Q The relationship between the different unions in the work place, surely some of this must be expertise?

A Um, my thinking on the union, to do with the management is this. The management, when they offer you a deal, when they offer you a new system of payment, (Inaudible) price per part, they're not offering you a deal because it's better for the company and better for their way of working so they can make money and that is what they are there for. If the company don't make money then you're out of a job, so in your union business it's no good being too militant, to a certain degree you got to try and give and take because you don't want the company to go bust. On the other hand you want the best deal you can get.

Q That's common sense?

A I would have thought that as well. It don't mean to say you're going to agree with it, you've got to look at it to sort out what they're after and do the best you can.

Q Would you say that, how would you assess common sense against a City & Guilds or GCSE or A level?

A Well that's something you study for, which you um, well as I understand it it's something you study for, if you get it it might give you a better start in life perhaps or looking for a job. Basically you could have a somebody who'd been to university and they might come out with all the diplomas in the world but if they haven't got common sense at all they might go for a job and they got all the diplomas but perhaps in the interview they can see they got all that but they haven't got an ounce of experience or common sense, no practical experience.

Q Is there anything you want to ask me about the project?

A I looked at it first and I wondered what you were going to do with it and I thought well I don't mind helping out because um, I wondered what the basis.

Q I want to show that the learning that people do in their everyday life is on a par with the learning people do in academic institutions. I want to show that people's everyday learning fits them to do academic courses but that's why common sense is a very difficult concept. If it cannot be explained rationally I cannot use it. I know what you mean by common sense but a lot of people would say either you've got it or you haven't.

A I suppose it's like if one of my daughters comes and asks me a question wants my advice, you look back on things in your own life, what you think is right, that's common sense. You tell her what you felt was the best thing but you don't make a decision for them.

Q Well no it's common sense. Common sense in that respect is almost instinct, it is a sort of instinct for the way things ought to be done.

A Well in a way, could be, looking at all the problems the question might get, in the sense of asking for advice, perhaps it could be a bit of a practical reaction, you know what's practical in that situation (Inaudible).

Q Have you ever been to any night schools or evening classes or anything like that?

A I went in the army, I was stationed at Stirling and um, I was in REME and ah, I used to go to night school in my trade about six weeks and I used to take a bus out once a week, course they posted me out to a place just outside Benghazi called ?? that's when Suez was on. I was out there for eight-and-a-half-months which was very good. We flew out, seen how other people live, basically when you come home, see people live, perhaps we don't see how people live in Bristol, we're suburban. When you um, come back to this country you think well, you say to people it's a hard life, they got their chickens and a donkey all in a kind of hut about as big as this room, corrugated sheets, mud on the roof, and they drive it all in on a night and go to sleep. Drive outside from one town to another they live in oil cans, petrol cans for houses, they don't bath they smell you know flies, there's a lot to be thankful for in this country even though I don't agree with the government.

Q No but that was a good learning situation?

A Oh gosh yes I mean, we flew out in a two engine biplane. We slept in an underground at Clapham Common, landed at Niece, Malta, flew over Sardinia landed at

Belini (?) airport first thing I seen was an old coach taking us to the billet and there was this (Inaudible) he looked as though he was about 17 stone and he was sat on this donkey and his feet were dragging the floor and he had this Fez on and he had a big stick and he was hitting this little donkey who was staggering down the road and I thought what have we come to. You know where we were, I mean ,you see, the way they live they did buy their wives £100 you know the girl might only be 10. A lot of them could not afford it. I was in the workshop, you had an Arab worker, he was quite good. We were working on Land Rovers I'd say to him, I kept a list of the Corporal there a list of stuff, in the end I had this chap so well trained that I'd say to him ?? Do this and I'd leave him and I'd come back and he'd do a wonderful job and he said to me he said, Johnny, he'd say; there's three classes, One, Two, Three, and he was in the third group, and he'd say ?"Morphoulous"? which is more cash. I went up to the Corporal, his name was John, I said John I said, this blokes a good lad, he works very well I said, do you think you could get him more money. He said I'll have a chat with the Sergeant. So the Sergeant, a few weeks went by, John said he'd been made up, he comes over to me this bloke, he was getting an extra £4 a month, it was nothing really , he brought me in a ?Cobsa? like a bread role full of tomatoes and lettuce and stuff. I said thank you very much and I eat it, two days later I was in hospital with appendicitis. I came out, I was on light duties for three or four weeks, went back to the workshop, Corporal came over to me gave me the sheet like that, went over to the vehicle and said to the bloke like, he was there, I said here you are and he started doing it and the Corporal said to me, what's he doing, I said well he's doing this job here. He said he's now made up, you've got to do your own. I got him a rise, appendicitis and i had to do more work and a funny thing was all the Arabs in the workshop were coming up to me and they'd say Johnny you get me a rise, me got so many chilos, or bambinos or something.

Jane

Female Single Mother Daughter 18 yrs. Formal qualifications after school and as a mature student.

Q. So you were a mature student?

A. Mm yes. I left school without qualifications.

Q. What sort of age did you go back to learning?

A. started my 'O' levels, I left school when I was sixteen. I started my 'O' levels a year later, 17. O took them late, I did those evening classes then did the 'A' levels two years after that.

Q. So you got seven 'O' levels in one year of evening classes?

A. Yes, but I'd been doing the subjects at school, some of them not all of them.

Q. Was this a planned move from school to evening classes as some people do?

A. I left school and did a secretarial course and they encouraged me to do some 'A' levels took some 'O' levels after that, some of the 'O' levels were subjects I'd done on the secretarial course, some like English and Maths I'd done at school, and then I did my 'A' levels. I did two in the first year and two in the second, and I did one of them on a correspondence course, and I went to evening classes each year. Did my CQSW six years ago, middle thirties.

Q. Do you feel you have any qualifications of any sort gained from life?

A. Oh aye, that's unlimited isn't it ?

Q. What I am thinking of here are things you have picked up you can use in your job, or use in some sort of economic sense, or just to make life easier for you. Helping other people for instance.

A. I've got most of my social work skills from life, rather than from the course that I did. I wouldn't say I learnt very much connected with social work on the course. I got most of that from life.

Q. What did the course do for you in that sense?

A. It made me look at whether I wanted to be a social worker or not, it encouraged me to think about going onto further education after that, but I don't think it actually taught me very much in regard to social work.

Q. What it did not teach you you used when you were working in social work?

A. What it did not teach me.....Yes Yes.

Q. Who do you ask when you want to know something?

A. It depends on what I want to know. Not the first six. I ask my daughter if it's something she might know, that I don't know about. I ask friends if they have got particular experiences I have not got, Wouldn't ask my Doctor anything, not my Vicar, I tend not to ask shopkeepers anything very much because I learned from experience they don't know very much, but I do ask the man down the road in the hardware shop. (Why do you ask him ?) When I get my stuff for the house when I need to do anything. (You ask his advice on what to get?) Yes.

Q. Do you identify people because you think they have got advice, information that you want ?

A. Yes, I would go to someone, like I'm not sure what to do about my bike, I'll go to the bike shop and ask him. So yes I identify people who I know have got skill I haven't got.

Q. So you just don't ask the same person everything?

A. Oh no.

Q. So you're rather selective about who you ask and what you ask them for?

A. Oh yes, I'd ring you up if I had a plumbing problem and you'd say I don't know.

Q. Do you remember what you are told ?

A. I usually try it out on and if it works I remember it if it doesn't seem to work I tend to forget it.

Q. And this is any sort of advice, including practical advice or, spiritual or philosophical, just general chatting about issues?

A. I don't usually ask people advice about my personal life, if I ask advice it's usually very practical. But in general I think I remember quite a lot of what people say.

Q. So in remembering it do you call it learning ? If you do not call it learning what does it mean to you?

A. I suppose I'd call it learning, but I think the learning process for me is like I'm learning about gardening at the moment, what I tend to do is ask people how they grow

something or what they do in a particular situation if something does not look very healthy I sort of talk to people about it and then I try it out or see if it applies, then that process of actually talking about it, then applying what people have told me and learn from that process rather than having people tell me. I am not very good at taking on board what people tell me, It's not validated.

Q. Do you pick up things without asking people for information?

A. Yes trial and error.

Q. I was thinking actually overhearing people, saying things, or listening to the radio, television or just hearing something that is relevant to something your interested in at the time and remembering it as a result of hearing it?

A. Yes. Not on the television very much but on the radio and from reading the paper, and if I want to know about something I will get a book out of the library about a specific thing.

Q. How about picking up information incidentally can you think of an instance?

A. You mean other than reading about it in the paper?

Q. Or asking somebody for it ?

A. I think quite often your chatting to somebody and they mention something and it doesn't have any significance, or you hear something on the radio that's got no significance, later somebody says, I don't know what to do in this situation, or do you know anything about that I think oh yes I remember somebody mentioning that, so yes, quite a lot of that goes on. You hold a lot of information you don't think you're going to need.

Q. So you just said you might hear somebody else talking about this, do you pass the information onto other people that you gain?

A. Oh yes.

Q. It's not just using it, it's having it as a resource for other people to draw on as well?

A. Yes.

Q. And you do that a lot?

A. I think I do yes.

Q. People act on what you tell them?

A. Yes. I don't usually, Usually it would be a situation where somebody has come to me and said, or in conversation, I'm not sure what to do about this, or have you heard about that, or have you any idea what to do in this situation.

Q. So you wouldn't pass on any information to people gratuitously, just by seeing them doing something and saying when I do that I do this?

A. No. I might say, if I was in a situation where a friend and I were looking at something or talking about something, I might say Oh I heard such and such the other day. (she tests out here knowledge with other knowledgeable people) So I would be more, I mean unless somebody asks for advice I would not give advice, I might well share something that I'd heard.

Q. How do you know that others act on what they tell them?

A. Quite often someone will say I tried that or, and it did not work.

Q. You get some feedback from it. Can you tell me something you remember and why you remember it. Something that keeps coming back? (Harpsichord bit)

A. I've got a mind that is a jumble of information that keeps coming out, not necessarily terribly relevant. Like we are very unlikely to find many books that were produced before the mid 19th century because the paper the books were made of does not tend to survive that long. The books we are buying now won't last that long as many of the books I've got because the process by which books are produced now, produces a paper that does not last very long. That's quite interesting to me.

Q. Where did you pick that information up from?

A. No idea.

Q. If you look at an old book you wonder if it's made of that sort of paper. Why is it important to you? Well obviously you have got a lot of books here which are of historic interest if nothing else, same as the harpsichord, almost useless but something that makes us what we are.

A. I tend to remember something if it is of interest to me. I do not try to remember things if they are of no interest to me whatsoever.

Q. Do you find that people ask you for information a lot?

A. Yes, people ask me, I don't know whether its a lot or not a lot.

Q. Do you give other people information when you think you should?

A. I tend not to unless people are obviously looking for information. I think there is a difference between sharing something that you have found out about, and telling people.

Q. What being directive about it?

A. Yes, I would not actually be directive about someone, having said that I probably am.

Q. Do people recommend you to others for advice, your advice to other people?

A. Yes, I think that's to do with the sort of work I've been involved in, people often come to me if they want information, homelessness, or mental health or something like that.

Q. How do you feel about the advice you pass on?

A. If I am actually giving people advice, I wouldn't give advice that I did not feel fairly confident was correct. I mean advice as in information. I would not give people information unless I was fairly confident it was correct.

Q. How about advice to family or friends?

A. I don't give.....advice. well actually I said to my mother the other day that, I suggested my daughter, sister be sterilised, I suppose that's giving advice.....

Q. Off the cuff advice to family and friends?

A. I would hope that I wouldn't give advice and information if I did not know what I was talking about. I don't think I do that.

Q. So where do you get the knowledge that you pass on then ?

A. Life.

Q. How do you validate life ? You have said you only pass on advice that your confident about. What gives you the confidence to pass it on if it is life that gives you the information ?

A. Well I mean you pick things up don't you, partly from experience, experience of doing things, being involved in things, getting, having information that comes in. There are things that I would not feel confident about giving advice on like um dealing with the equipment at camp or first aid, I would never give advice on first aid.

Q. So you need to be fairly sure about the topics and subjects about which you give advice?

A. Yes.

Q. Because you have remembered something over a number of years would you say you had learnt it? I think you said earlier on that the answer to that would be yes. When you do remember something is it because you already know something about the subject?

A. I think it is easier to understand and remember something you already know something about. If it is something new you do not pick it up quite so quickly.

Q. But you said about the paper that you do not know where it came from, yet it is something that keeps coming back to you.

A. Well it is something that, like they are just a few of my books, so books are part of my life, but say computer programming, which is something that is totally alien to me, that is something I have never done, it's something I have not got any experience of, and don't feel confident in the way of thinking and doing things that I don't feel confident in, although, I mean I was quite surprised when I had to complete a project before my examination, I was quite surprised to discover that my tutor thought it was a good piece of work, because I actually did not feel I had a proper grasp of it, and the reason I thought I had not got a proper grasp of it was because I had not got a lot of understanding that I brought to it, whereas if I did, when I go on to Cobol I will find it easier to understand because I've got that background of having done computer programming before so I've got a bit of understanding of how computers work and so for me I build on information I have already got.

Q. In the particular learning you are doing at the moment who do you go to for advice?

A. On E.T. I will ask my tutor sometimes, um it's self-learning really, open learning, we all work at our own pace, so, I read the stuff I've got to read, if I do not understand it I keep on, if after a while of attempting to understand it I will often talk to one of the other students whose been doing it a bit longer than me.

Q. Any particular student or anybody?

A. Well there are some that I avoid because they,-----, I will ask anybody once, if I am not impressed by the sort of advice they give me I do not actually go back to them again.

I've discovered for instance that people can, I mean I was quite interested, but people who had gone through the project and had done basic programming, that had just finished, if I asked them a question if I was uncertain about something often did not know, because they had done it in a sort of low way, they could not think round it so I would not go back to that person, because they could not explain it to me.

Q. Have you found people that can explain it to you?

A. The help I have got is mostly from students who are at the same level as me and we work it out together.

Q. Discovery learning together, they ask you in the same way?

A. One of them will say I've got this and we will look at it together and I'll say I don't understand this.

Q. Do you go through that process before you ask the tutor?

A. Oh yes.

Q. So the tutor is the last resort. If you find out something through consulting other students you do not need to ask the tutor?

A. No, but I am not sure that is the best thing. What happened to me for instance with my project was it took me twice as long as it should have taken me, it did not take twice as long as the average, but I would have done it a lot quicker, only I had got incredibly, I was trying to do all sorts of things, and I just couldn't make it work and in the end I got so frustrated I said to me tutor, I can't make this work and he said to me, A he said you won't be able to make it work because you cannot actually do that with Basic, you are trying to make the whole thing much more complicated than we are actually asking for, 'cos I was trying to validate lots of things and change it, and it seemed to be what you would want to do for the programme of this sort. All I needed to do was actually answer the question which was very simple. So when he said that I threw out what I had done and started again and wrote a very simple programme and had I gone to him earlier I would not have had to do that, but on the other hand I learnt a lot.

Q. Did you learn a lot in conjunction with the other colleagues that were doing it or was this a project you did on your own?

A. I did it on my own.

Q.with the computing you have got a basis of knowledge which you will go on from, you said about the Cobol by the time you get to that you will have got something under your belt. How does remembering it make you feel, these bits of new information ?

A. If it is information about something that I have learnt because I am interested, then I am always interested, if it is something that I know because I have have to, that I am not particularly interested in like this, I suppose what I feel is that it's um, I see it as a challenge, so that I feel I have achieved something by doing something which is actually quite alien to me, so in that sense it is a sort of achievement, but usually what I feel is interest.

Q. Did you get maths 'O' levels?

A. Just about. I am innumerate.

Q. So it's logic then?

A. The logic I can do the maths I can't.

Q. You have trained for social work haven't you?

A. Yes.

Q. When you did that you were not employed I think ?

A. I did in service training.

Q. So you were employed by somebody?

A. I did a year day release, when working for social service. When I did my CQSW I was not sponsored or anything.

Q. How easy did you find it?

A. I found it very difficult.

Q. The course, how difficult, what was difficult?

A. Initially writing essays because I had not written essays for twenty years two things really practically, I had not written essays for twenty years and I really did not know where to start, and I got a block because I had been told I was backward at school, I had always thought of myself as not very bright, and because I'd been told always I was not very bright at school even though after school I had got my 'O' and 'A' levels I still saw myself as not very bright. So when I went to do the course I assumed I would not be up

to do the written work so I had a lot of trouble with essays, and I had to have, (Pause) remedial teaching, I suppose you'd call it. Help with essays.

Q. How about the practical side, the seminars and the discussion groups and so on?

A. That was all right because I felt I had a lot of experience I could bring to those, it was about something, I mean A I had worked in the field so I knew the work and, I had personal experience of being on the other side, so I knew that as well, so I felt I had got a lot of information.

Q. Did this bring you in to conflict with the people on the course?

A. Yes a lot of conflict. It was a very difficult time.

Q. Were there people there that were able to help you through this?

A. I think one of the tutors was quite supportive. My own personal tutor was vital because her assumption was I could do it, so there was no problem. Another tutor was very supportive about the conflicts I got into, and when I was going to leave, in fact there was an awful period very early on when one of the students ganged up on me speaking in lectures, saying I presented a view that all the lecturers would think all the students were left wing feminists 'cos I spoke too much and they did not want to hear students they wanted to hear lecturers. We had a big debate about it and all the lecturers were very supportive, but it was a very difficult time.

Q. Did you have friends on the course that helped you through it?

A. I had one friend.

Q. Was that helpful in coping with the bits and pieces?

A. Yes. It was not very helpful on the academic side.

Q. So what did you learn from that particular support?

A. I do not know about the support, I know that I learnt from the experience. What I learnt was that I would have to be more diplomatic about the way that I speak and deal with conflict situations, and I need not get upset in situations where I feel very strongly.

Q. This really was self learning, it was not. was it suggested to you by other people?

A. I think that was what I realised for myself. No what this tutor, who was quite supportive, was saying was that she thought (Pause) I was quite bright.

Q. Who did you find gave you the most valuable advice?

A. Phillida. (Parsloe Prof. of Social Work Dept.)

Q. She was not your tutor?

A. No. She took some seminars that I did, but we got fairly friendly, not in the sense that I went to her when I was in trouble, but in the sense that a number of things that she said when I raised issues were very helpful to me.

Q. They made sense to you in that situation?

A. Yes. There are things she said that I still find valuable.

Q. What is most important to you in learning a new job?

A. Being able to make mistakes I think, and not feeling I have got to do it perfectly straight away.

Q. What type of information do you look for?

A. In actual fact I think you get the best information from talking to other people who are doing the job. I suppose I do background reading, if I was to do a social work job I would read background files to see what was going on and talk to other staff.

Q. What about the clients?

A. I would talk to people who had worked with a particular client, although I think you always have to be open minded about that, people often have very set different views about the same client, but yes, I mean when I started work at the Cyrenians it was very useful for me to be able to say, if I was a bit concerned about someone, to be able to say to people who had been there before me, do you know this person, is he liable to knife me, in this situation for instance, I mean that was quite useful information.

Q. It is interesting the way you are putting this. On the course you got into a lot of conflict, it sounds as if you said too much but I would have thought it was more the content of what you were saying, even though you might have been talking a lot, that the people would not have agreed with. What sort of content was that?

A. In the context of social work I am actually very pro the rights of people that are clients.

Q. But you just said that if you went into a new job the sort of information you would look for, and where you would get it would be from the professionals and the files. When I said about the clients you said you would ask the professionals whether they would do

this or that. I was interested in your reaction. If you are going to look for information in the job, OK you ask the professionals, but from your past experience you would, I can imagine you thinking that you would have to ask the clients as well?

A. I would not ask, when I went to the Cyrenians, I would not ask a client how do you feel I should act in this situation where somebody is coming at me with a knife, but if I wanted information about the client I'd talk to him, that's when I said, I mean I'd read the files, to get the background of what's been going on.

Q. And then say to then what shall we do in this situation have you got any suggestions?

A. Yes, I am trying to think. I'd want to get a background of the agency. I am trying to think about situations where I have actually taken over a client. I mean if you take over a client what I do is talk to the social worker, read the back files and see roughly what has been going on and then go to the client and talk to them, and start afresh. You need to have that background information, when they been to court, how long they have had a social worker, which is different to the clients perception of the situation. Which is often more valid than an ex-social workers situation would be. The background information of how long they have had a social worker is quite difficult to get from a client. You would go to then for different things.

Q. Do you discuss your work with people outside of the workplace?

A. When I am stressed.

Q. Who do you talk to particularly?

A. When I was particularly stressed at the Cyrenians I'd talk to everybody and anybody. God I'm fed up, I've got to get out.

Q. I was thinking on a bit deeper level than that about actually saying to people this is a problem I've got at the moment talk it through with somebody.

A. When I worked at the Cyrenians I actually had an outside consultant. I insisted on having one. No support in the first year.

Q. Nobody outside supporting you either?

A. I am not very good at asking for support unless it is something I can ask for as a sort of right really. If we got a consultant I can say I need support. I am not very good at going to people and saying.

Q. No, I am not thinking of actually going to people, but just people you have, friends or relations that you can sound off to?

A. I am not very good at that.

Q. You tend to bottle things up then unless it is a professional relationship. (Yes) In the professional relationship is it the fact that it is a professional relationship that makes it all right, or is it the person you are having the professional relationship with ?

A. I would not talk to my senior for instance, and say, this is getting to me. Why I talk to Norma, was because she was somebody who I knew, (in the job, You did not share anything with Sarah?) No.

Q. So the next few questions.....38-41, are not very useful. This implies that you have friends and family that you can discuss your work with and see through the fog.

A. No. I do not think I um, no, I have found it very difficult to talk about work.

Q. Do you reflect on the things you have learned?

A. Yes.

Q. What is the purpose of that?

A. When you try something, what I tend to do is to try something out, see how it worked, if it has not worked, think about why it has not worked, and if it has worked think about why it has worked.

Q. A sort of practical reflection? (Yes). That would be the same in your job as well?

A. Yes, I tend to think about my work a lot.

Q. Do you adapt things you have learnt for for other purposes?

A. Yes I think so. I mean there are some things you never learn about, relationships.

Q. Who does?

A. I think in general when you go into that you take a lifetime of experience don't you? You use what is useful.

Q. The highlight of what we have discussed so far is obviously on the course, where you brought your experience from the other side of the fence into the social work milieu. Some people did not like it?

A. No, but I learnt from that and now what I do is use that same experience and I can deal with health service managers, I can actually, because I use that experience. How to get what I want without um.

Q. How active are you in finding out new things in your workplace situation ?

A. Oh very I think.

Q. What is the purpose of doing it?

A. Probably because I would get bored if I did not. I couldn't imagine doing the sort of job where you go in at the beginning of the day and do something very mechanically, and go home at the end of the day. That has got me into trouble. When I worked in Ilford's film factory making boxes for films, it was so boring I devised all sorts of different ways of organising my work that I got very speedy and that caused trouble. Paid so many per hour, if someone was regularly producing a lot more they put the rate up. So you had to do more per hour. It was pointed out to me that this was not a good thing. Just because I got a kick out of devising new ways of doing things is no reason why everybody else should be paid less.

Q. Do you belong to a social group?

A. I suppose I do.

Q. Do you belong to any other social group outside work?

A. No not outside work, not in the sense of a group. Most of the people I have a social relationship with are Quakers. I belong to what could be called a social group, the Labour Party social side.

Q. That is interesting, you do not like it because it stinks, so you do not involve yourself in it. How have you got that information. How have you evaluated it, we know how you are acting upon it?

A. I felt. I got involved in the Labour party peripherally a few years back when I felt that I ought to join the LP. I went along to meetings but did not enjoy them particularly. I have been feeling for the past few years, as a result of my work and thinking of ways of

getting social change that maybe one of the ways that I personally could do something about getting social change was by becoming a Councillor. In order to become a Councillor I needed to become more involved in the LP and I started going along very regularly to meetings to get on to general committee. The more I have got involved in that the less I have liked what I have seen, and I don't think it is anything to do with the LP. I think it is about political parties and why people are there, the sort of things that go on. I actually felt a dilemma about do you actually stay there and fight anyway, at the moment I don't want to be involved in working in the way you need to work in order to get on and achieve anything in a political party.

Q. Is that because of long hours of because you have got to horse trade?

A. It's the in fighting and the personal attacks, and for women particularly they have a very hard time, get lots of abuse. There are a lot of very personal attacks that are disguised as political disagreements. What I saw showed me that I do not want to do that.

Q. Are there people within the Quaker group you ask for advice?

A. I ask different people advice on different topics. The reason I ask a person for advice may not be the same another person would ask for advice. e.g. when I first took over being Clerk I came to you a lot. When I ask other people, I, I do not ask advice I talk things through with people.

Q. What have you learnt from becoming Clerk of M.M.?

A. A lot. Greater confidence, learnt in the last 3.1/5 years being as Assistant Cl. I have learnt a lot more about how the society works, how people function in the society. I have learnt especially over the last 18 months, about how to deal with difficult situations, and dealing with conflict, especially dealing with situations when I want something. To achieve something and I know there is going to be a disagreement. I would have felt a lot less confident about even raising the issues a year ago. When I want to talk things through in the Society it is not because of their particular roll, it is because there are certain people who I feel would get more out of talking to, but that's probably because I am talking about wavelengths rather than experience.

Q. Would you say the longer you have done the job the more direction you are getting internally?

A. First year I was just concentrating on getting the job done. Where as this year I am actually able to think much more around processes and changing things.

Q. So in fact growing into the job is just realising that you can do it?

A. I suppose so yes, but I have learnt a lot as well. Like I have learnt to write a minute, I remember when I was A .Cl. and I was doing M.M. one month I could not even begin to think about how to do the formal minute let alone anything else. So I think it's not just knowing that I can do it, it's learning by doing. I am one of those people who learn by doing.

Q. At the beginning part of the interview you were very much learning by consulting the experts?

A. maybe that is in theory.

Q. Even tho' you felt that your experience of being on the receiving end was more valid than those experts information that they were giving to you.

A. Maybe I am contradicting myself all the way through. Maybe in theory I go by the experts, in practice I do not give a damn what they say.

Q. But you do give a damn about the outcomes don't you?

A. Oh yes.

Q. That's not just self preservation is it?

A. Oh no. I do not see the point in doing anything unless you've got some sort of outcome.

Q. Do you have a hobby?

A. I am never sure what people mean by a hobby. I play in my garden.

Q. You read a lot?

A. That is what I do most when I have got the spare time.

Q. It is not quite what I mean by hobby.

A. I suppose I could call gardening a hobby. I mean I do it for pleasure not because I have got to garden.

Q. Do you get help from particular people?

A. I discuss, yes discuss gardening in general with people.

Q. And you learn things from discussion?

A. Yes.

Q. Did you learn most from a particular person or did you pick up bits from all sorts of people. Is it a special person where you would think gardening, that's the person?

A. Probably not. I think what I tend to do is, when I visit someone I look at their garden and see what they are doing. I suppose, yes there are two people I might ask questions, but I don't think it is because they are particularly knowledgeable, Sarah, and a friend called Kate. It is not so much because they are knowledgeable, because I do not think they are any more knowledgeable than anybody else, but because I know they are interested, they are interested in their gardens.

Q. You have seen that they have done it and it works?

A. Not even that, but because I know they are uninterested they will be quite happy to talk about it. I also ask my father about gardening sometimes and that is purely because we do not have anything else to talk about and it is useful to be able to have something that's not dangerous for us to talk about. So I will often ask him.

Q. So you have not been to classes about gardening?

A. No.

Q. Have you been to any classes on reading, literature?

A. When I was, when Faith was a baby I went to a class on literature.

Q. Was it any good?

A. I think I found it, two things that stick in my mind, one I remember him reading a passage and I was able to say that's from James Joyce Ulysses, he was most impressed. I was actually quite interested that I could know who had written a book just merely by listening to a passage but the other thing I remember from it was feeling incredibly inadequate because the class was full of these very intelligent women who had done degrees and things and I felt very unintellectual. I feel very unintellectual, I am not an intellectual person I don't think, I am not very good on ideas for their own sake.

Q. Abstract thought?

A. Mm, I am not very good on it, for me it is quite meaningless.

Q. But you had to do a bit of thinking to become a Quaker?

A. That was actually based, I mean thinking was around my personal experience. I am not very good at thinking about abstract thoughts that are not connected with life that I know about. So a lot of higher levels of literature and philosophy I find very difficult.

Q. Do people ask you for help because you have special expertise they know about?

A. Yes, I think they ask me about things they know I have got yes.

Q. Friends with a big F or anybody?

A. Yes amongst Quakers because I am clerk.

Q. But you were a Friend before you were Clerk?

A. Not when I first started coming to meeting.

Q. But when they got to know you?

A. Yes.

Q. When you give people answers would you say you were teaching them?

A. I'd say I was giving them information.

Q. Where do you hear of new developments?

A. What sort of new developments?

Q. Things change?

A. I believe in group consciousness.

Q. What is group consciousness?

A. I think that somehow information gets disseminated at an unconscious level.

Q. So how do you find out about the Poll Tax. Even I can't cope with that?

A. I think you do. I think what happens is that you get information in little trickles from lots of different directions, it all builds up into a whole.

Q. You pick things up as you go along?

A. But also I think there is something about thinking about issues, and discussing issues. I mean for example, I would say that my thinking around feminism over the last twenty years or so has changed and developed and I would say that it's my own personal development that has gone on, as a result of my thinking, my experience and my discussions, but something that I am quite often aware of is that I reach a conclusion and somebody else also reaches that conclusion and I think that it is part of a process that is onward development.

Q. So your group consciousness is in fact individuals considering the same issue more or less from the same standpoint and coming to the same conclusion and then sharing that conclusion with other people?

A. But often in very different places, so I mean I might come across somebody who I've never met and we could talk about, there are lots of people who I don't think in the same way as but I could well come across somebody who thinks in the same way as me who has gone through that same process of development. So I think there is something wider that is a subconscious way rather than each individual personally learning something.

Q. It sounds like osmosis. How people can be intelligent, can have knowledge, can do a range of things and not feel that they are learners and not feel that learning is legitimate?

A. I think it comes down to school. partly it is about schools requiring a specific type of intelligence, which most of us have not got. I, for instance, have never been able to do rote learning. I just can not do it. If I do not understand something I just do not learn it. School, certainly when I was at school, was about learning things by rote, I could not do that, so I was regarded as being not very bright, you take that view of yourself on board.

Q. How are you getting on with the course you are doing now?

A. (A Masters Degree) It has been a long emotional struggle.

Q. But how do you feel about doing it?

A. Quite pleased that I am doing it, I am quite pleased about the idea of having a degree.

Q. Here is something you have chosen to do for yourself, how do you feel about it in relation to the academic work you have done recently?

A. It is much more enjoyable because something that I am doing, I am studying something that I am interested in, I am reading, it legitimates my reading the sort of books I am reading for it.

Q. I don't understand that. You would like to read books anyway, but because you are doing it for a course it is even better ?

A. Yes. Because when I was working if I, had time to sit down and read, I really ought to have read books about work, now I can actually read books about other issues, I can

say well that is all right, whereas before I could not have done that without worrying if I've got time to read this I should be reading about homeless or whatever, but it is quite good for my morale actually doing this.

Q. Well you are working on two fronts at the moment, you have got the university course plus your E.T. training and their quite separate are they not?

A. Oh it is quite different.

Q. What does that do for your confidence?

A. I go up and down. Certainly when I started, it's done a lot for me confidence the fact that I have succeeded and I have not just scrapped through, I have actually done very well. So that has done a lot for my confidence. I feel a little bit of a, it's interesting this because I know how I am doing it. I find that a very strange thing. For instance I produce an essay and I do not know how I produce it. I find that strange because I do not know what it is about that that makes it good. What I have not got yet is any conception of how to produce a good essay. I am doing it.

Q. Are you saying you cannot produce a good essay to order. What it sounds to me like your saying, that because you were never good at school, you were made to feel that you were not good at school, you never actually learnt how to write an essay, writing an essay in one sense is getting it grammatically correct, getting all your arguments marshalled, but you do not do that you just write it. You still feel that that is a bit of a problem?

A. I am beginning to realise that somehow I know how to do it, but I do not know what it is I know how to do. Like my last essay that I got an A + for, I cannot work out what I did that made that an A +. I passed my exams, it is beginning to feel to me all you have to do is sit down, in front of a piece of paper and write a specific number of words and stop, which is what I do, and you pass, and I do not know what I am demonstrating.

Q. I think that is as much to do with your original attempts at writing essays which were not accepted and you are now writing essays that are accepted and it is not in keeping with your experience.

Ruby

Interviewee is an afro-caribbean woman who refused to give her age. She is a retired State Enrolled Nurse. She has seven children and is separated from her husband. She is a member of her local Methodist Church and represents them in the community.

Q Would you be able to tick any of these qualifications?

A When I studied in Jamaica I studied to be

Q and you obviously did some nursing training as well?

A Oh yes.

Q Did you gain these qualifications after you left school?

A I left school at fifteen in Jamaica. The school leaving age as fifteen and ah, all my examinations was taken. Fifteen was elementary and after that was after school.

Q So the "O" level equivalent you did at school?

A After school, elementary finishes at fifteen, we did a school leaving certificate at fifteen in Jamaica but did not specifically say, it said you attended school and left with good conduct, but it was after, when I was fifteen plus I took my first examination and that was first Jamaican examination and that was the equivalent of GCSE. Then I took second and advanced then i took the third, which was the third one that got me into practice teaching fully. I was fifteen plus, I was what you would call a pupil teacher. The system in England is far different from the education system in Jamaica.

Q So was it a college that you went to do these things?

A No, I did it, I taught at school during the day and we had evening classes and then I left after a time and went to a secondary school in Kingston.

Q and then you did the second and third year and you were teaching at the same time?

A and I was practice teaching, yes.

Q So the nursing bit actually came in when you came to this country?

A Yes I had no idea of nursing when I was in the West Indies apart from I've always been a caring person because I come from a very caring family, but the basis of my nursing training I had from when I took my second Jamaican local examination. Jamaican local examinations then was written and corrected and graded by England because we were under the British Government then so everything we did in Jamaican was from England.

Q Governed by Westminster?

A Yes, so, where I got most of my nursing knowledge was when I was sixteen plus I took and passed with honours. I had to do a lot about human life, about human biology which was like the circulation of the blood and digestion and enzymes and haemoglobin so I was quite familiar to certain terms when I came into nursing that was what I brought with me from when I was fifteen.

Q As well as that type of formal educational qualification do you feel that you have gained any other sorts of qualifications from life?

A Not qualifications but knowledge. I don't know how you differentiate between the both of them.

Q Well what sort of knowledge do you think you have learnt?

A I told you how much I am proud to be a housewife and a mother and I learnt a lot even from my grandchildren. I learnt things from my grandchildren that I have never learnt, I never did, like I seen my grandchildren, I see my granddaughter sit down and put on her socks, and the way I see her put on her socks was a way that I did not know they could put on her socks, and to me that is real learning, but to say to get a certificate, well I have just done sociology, I've got my sociology, I did child development, I did PPA and these things I did in the last four years since I left nursing.

Q PPA, Pre-school Playgroups Association?

A Yes, I've got a certificate for that.

Q So since you have left nursing you have actually done some courses and got some qualifications as well?

A And knowledge as well as qualifications yes.

Q What I was thinking of was, you've got your family experience, so I imagine a lot of family experience is on a par with the PPA information that you got?

A Not really, because what I learnt about bringing a family, especially being in England, and I was brought up in the West Indies, I found it very, very, very, knowledgeable but very, very, difficult, very, very, trying, and times was very, very, frustrating, sometimes I was lost because my kids, the way I expected, I was trying to use the way I was brought up to bring my kids up because, one of the things that really is

interesting is when I came here 1956, I was among one of the first lot of black women of my age group to come here, so we did not have a whole of Jamaican women that had already brought up children to give us, to give me any guideline, so I was just like out in the deep. So I had it very, very, very, I had it very, very, difficult.

Q Would you say these were cultural differences that caused the problems?

A Well they were mixed. There were cultural difficulties, there were my religious beliefs, and it was just how England is so free. The freeness of England, the discipline was different, the education system was different and i have always had to discuss it with my kids and compare it to them, why I wanted them to wear school uniform to school, why it was important that you come in in the evenings, you should always put your clothes out ready for the next morning, why it is so important that you should have a bath before going to bed at night. You see all these things, because those were like things like the ways I was brought up, then I realised then not being critical in a destructive way, the England system of life was entirely different from the way we was brought up; and my children, I did not expect, even though they were good children. in a way, I did not think they found it easy because what I told them at home was, when they went to school, their friends, you know their idea of life was something different. So it was very difficult for them, so I think I was very lucky to know that we co-operated to the point we did.

Q During this time who would you go to to get advice and talk to about it, the problems you were having?

A Well when I went to work, I nearly always worked, and there was some English people at work I used to talk to, like when I had my first child. I used to put them in a vest 'cos the time was cold, so I wanted something else that I should put on him apart from a vest and I did not know, so I used to put a petticoat on him even though he was a boy, all he would need in the West Indies would be a vest or one piece of clothes, and I went to work and I remember I was saying it to the cleaner at work and she said put a tee shirt on rather than you see, so I've always been a person that talks because I realised then that by talking and exchange of knowledge is a wonderful way of learning.

Q So there were these people at work, were there any particular people outside of work that you sought or talked to?

A I talked to people outside of work but there is only one lady that was here before me, I think she had her second child when I had my first and I spoke to her. I can remember quite clearly, she is still alive until now and living here, but if I said I was among the earliest black people because I've been here since 1956 so there was hardly any more black people than that we always tried to see out own black people, you know all of us that was here were in the same boat, did not come any mother, did not come here any aunty, so we had to just

Q You clung together?

A Yes, but there was not any, we had a health visitor that came in to see to you when you had the babies but ah, they did not tell you to come to clinic and have the baby weighed, they did not tell you about milk, change the milk if they had upset stomach or anything like that, but I don't think there was that support there that I would have had if I was home.

Q So did these friends that came over, or the community that you were part of, did they give you that sort of information and advice?

A Well the black community did not really know it 'cos we were all here at the same time, if you know what I mean, so there was not say, they have a lot of places you can go to for advice, Citizens Advice Bureau, St Paul's , you have so many things, you have the housing place, they have so many things, sprung up but they sprung up after the fifties as far as I know, I did not know of them when I came here.

Q So actually all the people that came from the West Indies were in the same boat, they did not know all this information anyway and they were not told it by the white host community. So either you did not find out about it or you found out by accident?

A Yes, yes, because it's like a, it's like I had some very, very, like, ah, odd experiences, like one year, it was 1963, the freeze up year, that bad year and we had just moved into a house round this way, we had no coal and I used to buy our coal by the hundredweight from Montpelier coal station, but there was not any at the time and Mr Hussey had a shop down, I forget the name of the road now, where they got the Social Security.

Q Wilder Street?

A No where they got the pub the Prince of Wales, that pub at the corner, and there was a coal shop that sell coal and another shop Mrs White, and that was in the fifties and in the morning we did not have any coal and I went down there to ask him and he said I've got coal to serve my own people I'm not about selling you and somebody told me there was a coal yard up in Eastville which I did not know there was and I had a new brown pram, with an umbrella, these high kind of a pram, that was for my daughter, my daughter was really special you know, youngest daughter, so me and my ex husband went up there and we were so lucky, I think it's where the market is now.

Q It used to be the gas works.

A They had a coal yard there and we went up there and we were so lucky we bought one hundredweight of coal and I said to him could we have another one and he said yes, so it was like gold, so we put the two hundredweight of coal on the pram and we both of us started pushing the pram and we went to right where the Nat West Bank was where the Post Office is but now they have built a big house there by Sussex Place. By the time we came there the pram broke down and I can remember this man is here until today, he used to live in Bath at the time and now live in Robinson Road and we was there struggling with the coal and he came down and he said to me, he said, what are you doing he said, suppose I am Aunt Darkie, because my mother is called Aunt Darkie, so Aunt Darkie that you are in England struggling with coal what would she think about you ? I said ssh. We struggled, we had to struggle with the coal and this pram, and we struggled and struggled and went up to where we lived and we had to lift the pram up and push it over the green and there was the end of my new pram. We learnt a very hard way, very hard way.

Q I take it that meant that you really remember the things that you learnt?

A Sometimes it was for the good and sometimes I don't know if it is for the good. I've got a very good memory so far, I can remember things that happened to me when I was six years old.

Q The things that you've learnt now, you were saying that there was not this sort of help around when you first came here but you've learnt a lot since?

A If there was, if there was we did not know about it.

Q Right, do you find now you are able pass on your experience to other people?

A I would say experience plus and i do. I do a lot because I am always, I am always having people coming to me like for advice, people that confide in me and the younger mothers like my friend that has just left here, she is forty and I can remember that it was I that found out that her son was deaf and dumb. Because I knew, that through the experience of my kids, I knew so much about kids and knew how they should react and what they should be doing and you know, she did not know, she was pushing the pram along St Nicholas road, I said I think something is wrong with David, I said because the cars are coming up and he is not even looking as if he is paying attention so she took it from there, so I am always passing on, not only passing on but exchanging, but I've got a lot of friends that work and have different experiences from what I have so they might pass on, they pass on some of their experience and I pass on mine, so the exchange of knowledge is very important.

Q Right, now do you actually pass information onto other people when they ask you or when you feel you should?

A It all depends, because some people I know, I somewhat know peoples personality, my friends, the people that I associate, I try to know their personality. Some people are very quiet and suffer in silence and you can see they want to say something and then I've got to say well you know what's the matter and feed them gently and after a time they build up a trust and they would say, but sometimes I know my friends so much that you know and they confide in me and they just tell me things without me asking them, so it is knowing peoples personality, knowing people to know.

Q Right, so in fact you have a fairly understanding approach to the people you know (I do), some of whom you will talk to without asking and others who will ask you and you will say?

A But I think knowledge is important to pass on anyway and that is a form of teaching, a form of learning.

Q Do people recommend you to others for passing on information?

A Yes they do.

Q Do you have any idea why that is?

A Why that is, because a lot of people know that I am confidential, number one; and they know that I read a lot and especially the black community they realise that I stand out for justice (Pause) between black and white, number one; and I do things that get myself into the position where I can know noting things. The people I associate with, but some people they don't associate with the people I associate with the people I associate because I go to quite a lot of different projects and a I used to go to the Women's Committee and a lot of different places.

Q So you are quite well known in the community for, as somebody that is active and will give advice and so on?

A Yes. Yes, definitely, definitely. There's no doubt about that and the church as well.

Q How do you feel about the advice you pass on?

A If I am not sure about something I always try to be open and honest. I always say well I think, so don't take it one hundred percent because I am not quite sure but what I'll do, I'll try my best and find out the right thing for you, and I say if anything, if somebody tells me something, I am very careful how I use it, I'll say like my friend was here today, this was what, I can trust her so I can call names to her. I can say this was what Mary Jane told me so this is coming from Mary Jane so don't take it first handed because it's second hand but I , to another person in another situation, I said well I read that myself of I experienced that myself so what I am telling you you can take it one hundred percent. You can rely on it because it's not second hand information because that was either my experience or my finding.

Q Right, so in fact on your own information you are very confident about it?

A Yes but if it's coming from somebody else I always wait first.

Q Now the next question we've skirted around and you've said a bit about it but where exactly do you get knowledge that you pass on?

A Where do I get the knowledge that I pass on, a very good question. My Mother is ninety-two years going into ninety-three and I was brought up in a very big family, very, very closely knit. My Mother experienced as a young girl, she told me as much as she could, I had a very, very stable family upbringing and everyday, I don't think there is a day that passes in my life especially now, that i don't refer to me mum, 'cos my Dad died in

1966 but my Mum is still alive. My Mother don't read or write but my Mother is a remarkable, she is just a remarkable, remarkable woman. With her knowledge and the things that she knew and ah, I don't think I could say that my Mum was wrong. If it did not work out the way, oh she said it is probably because I am in England, or you know, things like that but the advice she gave was about family, husbands, behaviour and money and logic, scripture, war days. She's the same age as the Queen Mother and she been through a lot of things and I depend most of, apart from what I read for myself, most of the knowledge and the background of the way I am, it's like from my Mum.

Q She gave you a real firm foundation for ...

A Definitely, definitely, no regret about that, no guessing about that.

Q And she gave you an ability to discern knowledge and that's going to be useful and good rather than

A Yes because one of the things, I do writing from time to time, I wrote an article and I wrote in the article I'll never forget my Mothers philosophy which was, Think all you say but don't always say all you think. She used to give us these things in proverbs, you know, she's a wonderful woman. I'm lucky she is still alive.

Q My father used to do the same for me we're the same generation, there were loads of homilies. (Yes, Yes). Now obviously your Mother was a firm foundation but you've said also you got knowledge from your initial time in the country where you had to learn to do things the hard way so you learnt things as a result of your experience of living in England at a time when it was very difficult to live in England because there was no advice around and people did not treat your community with the best will really, I mean you said that the nurse did not give you information about milk and about this and that?

A Well I mean probably the information, but she, you see, there are times that all people were treated alike, they did not see, whereas it was important to find out anything about black people and I mean when we came here it was National Dried Milk. You gave your family NDM and all that but when you was in Jamaica, 'cos my sisters had children and I know it was breast milk and my mum always said when your baby is four months old and you can decide to wean your baby, you can always wean them on cows milk and barley water so when the health visitor used to tell me to go down Charlotte Keel and but

NDM powder and I realised that the NDM was second class powder and SMA, 'cos I knew about SMA in Jamaica, so if I had to give my baby anything I would struggle to buy SMA and I would struggle to give them barley because I've got barley here now that I drink myself and that was from what our Mother told us about bringing up children and crushing their food and giving them you know, cod liver oil and this and all that, so I used to see my mother how she treat her grandchildren and it was just knowledge, knowledge all the way.

Q Right, that's fantastic. How does remembering all this make you feel?

A Very, very mixed feeling. Very, very, very, very, mixed, sometimes I am here and I still cry, up to yesterday I cried, I cry and I was thinking I cry for two reasons. I cry because I am lucky because I have still got a Mother alive, which I hope to see; and I cry sometimes because I look back and think however on earth I come through. 'Cos my friend was here as well just now and we were saying how did we come through. What made us come through I mean, why is it we are not in Glenside. Why is it we are not bedridden. How did we manage to come through? I mean I had five children it was a lot to most families, and I studied, I had to work as wages were small. My husband only had £7 a week and I was brought up to have a lot of respect and a lot of philosophy around education. That is why I find it hard for me to probably talk to a lot of probably black people or white people my age group, because I find that my way of education the way I was brought up, probably people in Jamaica, that is the same age as me never had a mother like I had, never had education as their main philosophy, never have thankfulness always say your prayers when your going to bed, always grace your meal, those are just some, we had a meal and I said to my friend isn't that important I said 'cos I had people eating with me on Sunday, and my other friends she from another church, but she said her grace but I said last week when I had my birthday dinner I dare not say my grace because the people that were here were not people that I know that when I go to their house they have a grace. You see and these are the things, you know, the way I was brought up and to me it is a part of me but when I said I am sad and I am glad, I've got my health so far, I've got a Mother alive, I've got five children, I've got ten grandchildren and so far I think especially with my daughters and one of my sons, I, one of them, was here last week and

we talked, and I am so glad to know that my daughter is struggling the same way. Not the same because she drives a car, she could afford it more than i could when i had them but she's got an only child having the best education that there ever possibly was.. So I am happy. Sometimes I cry inside to know that my Mum had it. My Mum and my Dad had it, more so my Mum she fought hard for it for us. I fought for it for my kids and the same way sometimes I hear my daughter say about what she buy for her children, not second class, how you should bring them up, you are the Mother, your model is important. I find that my Mother taught me, my Mother did not have a Mother to teach her but my mother learnt the hard way she taught me, I taught my children and I think I can see that some of my children have got the same philosophy, education, cleanliness, being mannerable to people, you know being diplomatic you know, so that's why I really cry sometimes for happiness and I cry to know what I went through in England because I went through hell in England to be, and to be still here as I am I think it's an added blessing and it's strength from my parentage because I never worked until I, apart from practice teaching which is not work and my mother used to wait on me, but still even though I was waited on I had to know how to do things myself if you know what i mean, and I came here, and I did not know that I could ever manage, to manage a family in England without a Mother or a Sister and when I was having my second child, Grandmother can't read, can't write very well and she got somebody to write to my ex husband and said that she hoped that he realises that he has to get somebody to help me to do my housework because I was not brought up to do housework. That is to show how naive, and I came here and people said Oh you was brought up one way and you can't change. I came here and I just wanted kids, right, I wanted a profession as well and I wanted kids and I know the only way that I can do it is to burn the candle at both ends. Just keep going, just keep going, and I didn't think of stopping 'cos that's what I wanted. How I kept going I did not know, I just went straight in the deep end and I did not sink.

Q You did manage though and in managing you obviously created a great network of people who both you support now and who, I imagine, support you at the time?

A Yes, yes, yes, yes.

Q Now how did you, you said you burnt the candle at both ends, actually how did you get into the training for the jobs that you did?

A I came here to do my nursing so that was something I wanted to do. I did teaching in Jamaica, practice teaching but with my educational background, educationally, read and write fluently, you know, how should I say, fluent reading and writing. I had a very good knowledge because I did seven subjects in Jamaica, so everything that I did in England I had a background for it 'cos I did English, Geography, History, Science, Human Biology, there were seven of them in Jamaica and did them at a very advanced level as well.

Q So when you came from Jamaica you actually came from Jamaica to be a nurse?

A Yes, I had my educational background in Jamaica.

Q And when you actually arrived you got a job as a nurse?

A I went into a nursing auxiliary first then afterwards over the years I managed to do my training because I was caught up having kids as well so, but I've always worked in the caring field.

Q Did you stick at nursing all the way through?

A Caring yes. I worked in hospitals all the way through yes.

Q Were they always the geriatric hospitals or different ones?

A I worked in this place you must have known. I worked in the home for the aged at 100 Fishponds Road, did you know that? (Yes) I worked in there (the old Workhouse). Yes with the reception centre down the bottom. I was talking to someone the other day. There are a couple now that have got a lot of children and I knew that I had them in reception centre when I worked there. And um, I did not always work in geriatric I worked in general in Frenchay, the general wards because, a, I think I was, I don't know, I think I was recognised when I came here for my talent more than I did as the years went on 'cos when I came here I had a Sister on Ward Eight in Frenchay and her name was Sister Spooner, and I never forget, and the things that she let me do, I don't think it was something I should have done but we brought up relationship and I liked her and she liked me and she realised there were certain things I could have done. Like I never forget there was a woman called Mrs Cleverly and I nursed her. She was on the therapy ward and I never forgot, and she had to go to theatre for a theoretic operation and she asked the

Sister if she could allow me to go to the theatre with her and hold her hand 'cos we brought up a very good relationship and the Sister said that I am not allowed to because only like trained nurses, nurses but she said she'll let me do it because she definitely asked; and I went with her to the place where there was the preparation room and there was a clock on the wall and I was holding Mrs Cleverly's hand and at the time you had to do cut down, cut to put in the, it's not like that now when they put theand I was there and when I saw the Doctor cut I looked at the clock and I realised I woke up in a room with a headache. I fainted. I fainted so things that I learned there I will never forget, the good ones and the bad ones.

Q How did you get on with the formal training?

A Not very good (No) Not very good because I was not treated very good. Not that I couldn't manage the training because I just was not treated very good, and I was treated worse in the hospital where I was based for training than I was treated when I was seconded. I did my surgery at the Homeopathic Hospital and it was the system it was very very good and when I had to get like my report, I can remember one Sister writing and said it is very good to see like a person of my age group coming into nursing 'cos how important it is to have the more older person coming into nursing which we have like either bringing up a family, or bringing up a family and we have more experience and more to deal with people, when the young people come into, some of the things she discussed and some of the things she write on paper she said when the young people come into nursing a lot of them have got to leave to get married, a lot of them have not got experience they've got the education, they have not got the experience and she finds this very difficult in comparison with the older people and the younger people, she finds the older people are, should be more accepted in the nursing profession, but not everybody thought that way. So and I went to Stoke Park as well. I did my subnormal at Stoke park as well and that was very good experience because I did not want to, I couldn't think I could take subnormal because the kids they really upset me to see how deformed they were and I did not ever, 'cos I'm Jamaican I'd never seen one of those children. So when I went to Stoke park and I see them it was really heart-rending but then afterwards I remember there was a boy there I remember his name but I won't say it, and he was born

the same year as my first son and when I came I said I was going to go, it was only when I realised how lucky I was that my first son was perfect and if my son was like this boy I would need somebody to look after him and that was the philosophy I took on and I went back when I left I did not want to leave all loving those children were.

Q You mentioned this Sister at Frenchay but if you wanted to know something particular was there a particular person that you went to?

A I don't think there was much to want to know because it's like this, in those days you go on a ward and you are explained what you got to do before you do it so if you, and you have a ?miss a kind of member, like you might do the flowers and you have to do the sputum and you might have to do the sluice, and whatever you have got to do you know what to do they just don't tell you to do it, you somewhat know. So I don't think there was much that I wanted to know and I found I knew a lot because I asked. I was always asking questions and I can remember there was a Sister Marsden when I was training and I asked her everything I wanted to know and everything that I asked her I can remember now; and she put me right.

Q But you were saying in the training part you were not treated that well?

A I was not treated that well because it's like I would go on a ward and because my training was State Enrolled Nurse you had the SRN which they were students and their training was three years and they was always, you're a pupil and I am a student sort of business you know and they were always like that.

Q They were a cut above as we would say over here. So does that mean that the SEN and SRN were both on the same training course?

A We might meet up on the same lecture but their training was three years and mine was two. So they would get, their certificate was higher than mine would be.

Q When you were learning a new job what was the most important thing to you?

A When I was learning a new job. I don't know if I would say it's a job training. Now when I had to learn things 'cos I had it very hard, because I had a family at home, I had it very hard, so to learn certain things which I did not find it easy. I had to find some way of learning, when for example, when I was doing blood pressure the two readings is the higher reading and the lower reading, one is called the diastolic one is called systolic and I

for the life of me, it was very hard for me to remember which one was diastolic and which one was diastolic, so I had to work out something to remember and I look at say sys and look at it as I am going up the stairs, right, as sy means ys so should I say I'm going up the stairs so that's what I had to work, so I said stairs is going up so sys is the highest and dia means down and I remember when I was in Jamaica and i used to use prefixes and suffixes I used to know what pre means before and D means down so I said dia means down, so that's why it's very hard to work out something that suits you so that you learn quicker that makes it easier for you.

Q So you used to work out your own way of remembering things?

A Some of my own ways and my sons, one of my sons was excellent, because he was at grammar school, and when I came in and was cooking, and my Mum did that as well, I would say, could you read that for me I can't understand it so could you spend a little time with me and show me, read it to me and explain it to me and he would do it, and my Mum. I had a niece she is in America now she comes here for holidays and my Mum used to buy all the papers that you could think of in Jamaica and when my mum was in the kitchen cooking on a Sunday morning that Laurel used to always sit outside and read all the news and everything to her, that what made her so knowledgeable because apart from her experience in buying and selling and things she had like us to read to her when she could not read for herself.

Q So that makes you self sufficient as well doesn't it?

A Yes.

Q Did you ever discuss your work with people outside of the workplace?

A Not, we always, I always, I've got a few nurse friends and we always agreed we should not speak shop. So if we go to have a social evening we always say that we don't want to talk about patience and we always say (Inaudible) Doctors (Inaudible) lets always like to be free from our work but I would discuss it and I did discuss it a lot in a learning way because I have friends more than one like black girls I've seen come to where I was working and they were training and I've always offered my knowledge so I've had them especially just before I left work, I've had them coming round to where I live and I had to help them with their work, but that was something different but to say to speak about your

work with your own work mates we used to say it's too much, as a learning base yes but not for.

Q But what you've just said about having younger people coming round and you helping them, did you find discussing things when you were training with the people on the course and people outside of it help you learn it, helped you remember things?

A Yes, I learn, I learn, I talk a lot, I learn by talking more. If I was to say sit down and read something I don't say I would not retain it but I find it a bit harder because I am a person that, I've never had much time so the time I take to sit down and read notes and underline things and do that, If we sit down and we discuss it is a group I remember what you said and it's easier for me to learn.

Q Do you think about the things that you've learnt, reflect on them?

A Oh all the time because to me knowledge is always important, it's always, there's always probably reasons for you to remember what you learned when you was eight, or what I learned when I was training or what I learned from my marriage you know and it's always turning over.

Q So would you also say that you adapt the things that you learnt in one area of your life to use in another?

A Yes.

Q And you seem to be somebody that is always trying to find out new things as well?

A Definitely.

Q So in your work situation after your initial training you would have been continuing to find out things?

A Yes I've got a very inquisitive instinct.

Q How would you explain that?

A Why because I realise that knowledge is important and a, if I'm here and anybody's talking about politics, religion, race, I like to know that I can be a part of a conversation and the only way how I can feel comfortable, like a part of a conversation, if I have some previous knowledge or some idea of what the subject is about otherwise I just sit down and I feel stupid because I think we are living in a political world and i don't mean party

politics. A lot of people, when I talk, use the word politics they get confused and think I am a Labour, Conservative, I'm on about the water we drink, everyday living.

Q Would you say then that you tend to find out about things that you already know about MORE than trying to find out about things that you know nothing about at all?

A I try but that's one of the things I realise is not very easy like I went to try to do computing, to use a computer. I went to a place in town, now I don't know if it's because I am not a sitting down person, I can read, so I could touch the buttons and make sentences on the computer, that to me was no problem right ? But when I had to sit down and talk to a computer I just did not get on very well with computering but when I was doing sociology which I just finished last year, I was so interested to hear new things because I could handle it because it is a discussion and we read and we had homework to do so we had to do all the homework and i always got very encouraging marks so that encouraged me as well, but i knew, It depends upon what new things you mean , like a computer to me like I can't (Inaudible) like sitting down just like so I couldn't see myself sitting down typing but I could see ploughing the garden. I could see myself doing something in somebody's house, I could, you know, do I make myself clear?

Q You do very clear. You had a good schooling in Jamaica (Yes) and you were competent in your ability to learn (Yes) would you say that you had gained more confidence in your ability to learn since you retired and have taken up the courses you have been on?

A Yes, because this is very important, I've got to make this very clear for you. I know, what ability I had 'cos I knew what my educational background was, but I've been marred, trodded on, abused, you know my personality, I was just slashed, like at one stage when I read something that was written about me at my previous work place, it said that I could never learn anything and they make out I was so, the things they said about me was that I was negative, and I knew, I knew that they was wrong and did not have to question it, I knew that they was wrong and because I know who I am I will never, it's not very easy for me to take put downs because saying all negative things about me it breaks my heart because I said my mother tried and tried with her kids to make them come up in the world to be decent living citizens yet nobodies perfect and my Mother is still alive and I

owe my intelligence and a lot of my qualities to me mother so why should I accept put down, so that makes me more determined to prove what I am and I am very very strong person in belief in who you are.

Q The next bit is about social situations. We've established that you do have a wide circle of friends and acquaintances and you do belong to a social group, and that social group is, is it based on the Church or are there other social groups you belong to as well?

A It's based on my religion the Methodist. I've got my Jehovah's Witnesses friend who was just here. I've got a friend from the New Testament because when I came here, over the years and I have met friends some of them did not belong to church, so over the years start going to the Jehovah's Witnesses, or they start going to this church they start going to that church, that still keeps us as friends, so I have had, I have friends from, I tried to, I like to. I like to have, like the poor classes, the dropouts is friends as well. It's like, I would be going down the road now and I would pay a lot of attention to one of these boys that is rejected by society you see them walking around talking to themselves and not very clean and things like that, and I would leave my other friends and I would make it my point of duty to speak, pay some attention to them and they know it, like Quinty, and quite a few more, a lot of people just say just look at him, I always..... and he said could you give me a £1 he said, I had £20 and I lost it. I know him, I say I don't think you had £20 and you lost it, but I am still giving you a £1.

Q So you've got a church group, you've got the friends, friends that you've built up over the years, and you've got acquaintances that you meet and talk to because,

A Yes my friends vary from the professionals to what you would call the dropouts and I tell you, when I was a young girl my Mum used to say to me you should have friends and know people from all walks of life and I said Mum what do you mean? She said I sell in the market, she said and she herself used to buy and sell in the market and the market in Jamaica is really, you know what the markets are in England, so some of the markets in Jamaica probably is even worse, depends on the things they sell and the hand cart. She said I'm in the market she said, and I have got to be very friendly with the unkempt boys, all the people in the market I got to be friendly with. Why do you want to be friendly, why you just tell them? Well if anything happens to me, if I'm attacked those are the

people that are going to defend me, they're the people that is going to come to my rescue. So she said whatever you do in life have the people..... have the.....people but always recognise everybody 'cos everybody serves a purpose and I think I've got that..... and it means a lot to me.

Q Now you're obviously a person that people listen to in the community's that you belong to, (Yes), are there particular people that you listen to?

A Yes. I am more listened to the younger people the thirties and the twenties because I find out that they have got a lot. I learn a lot from them because some of them were born here and I wasn't and even the way they live, 'cos I find out that a lot, of my age group when we came here, we did a lot of things wrong because we did not have anybody to correct us, right. We did not have any roll model but I find out that a lot of young people that I meet they're way of thinking is a bit different and there are things that they do that I would agree with. For example, I've got some young friends and they want a couple of cups, they go to town and buy six cups and start using the six cups and when it's finished they go buy another lot. Now if you notice all the things we have around us we hoard things and there comes a point when it makes me wonder still whether we were right or whether we were wrong. So the younger people I get on with the younger people anyway.

Q Do you think it is a question of being right or wrong or just being different?

A I don't think there is no right or wrong, I think you're correcting me there, it's just because that's how we were in the West Indies because I mean we have always known our Mum to have her best plates. You know suppose I could not afford to buy any more plates there were six plates here I could fall back on, always have a reserve. My Mum always called it rainy day, so we came up with the idea but probably we have not seen a rainy day yet.

Q Do you have a hobby?

A Yes I have three hobbies, gardening is my first hobby. Scrabble is my second hobby and puzzles is my third apart from study that's something I do in my spare time.

Q Do you have an allotment?

A No I don't have an allotment but when I had a big house, which I had, which went, I had a big garden. I had a garden in the front and a garden in the back. Now I have only got this little plot down here and it has caused arguments in the past so I just can't bother haggling with people over, you know 'cos what I want to grow, I grow my tomatoes and grow pumpkin but they want to grow flowers.

Q How did you learn about gardening was it over in Jamaica?

A My Father had his own plantation, acres and acres of plantation. Even though, I was born in a month which is like now, October and it's a very rainy month and rain goes with growth. So because my Father did a lot of cultivating we had a lot of soil and things like that. I think because of the month I was born even had something to do with why I choose gardening as my main hobby, and I do my friends garden for them as well. I was going to get an allotment. I wanted my husband to get an allotment and I tried but he wouldn't do it. Now I could manage to do an allotment with the help of a couple of friends but I wouldn't have enough, I wouldn't know what to do with the things. I would have too much things from the allotment so that's why just do gardening. Do the garden.

Q How did you find out about gardening in England because it must be quite different?

A There was a man, gosh what's his name ? He had a fish shop just on the corner, Mr Anglen. I used to sell the fish and I used to talk to him a lot about you know, If I can get an allotment, so he sat down, he, I should come back another time and I went back and he said tell your husband to come up Ashley Hill on a Sunday morning such and such a time and i will be there to let him see the man for the allotment but my husband was not interested see, but that, I didn't know much about gardening, there was not any garden like when I came here first. I didn't see any garden but when I came one of the things I wanted was to go straight back home, I didn't see, I said these are factories, I thought everything top of thehouses. I said where's the verandas where is all the flower gardens, 'cos if you ever see pictures of Jamaica you'd have an idea of what I am on about, right. When I came here I was disillusioned because I did not know that these were houses that people lived in, so there was, I didn't see anything about garden when I came here first until later on I realised there was allotments and I did not manage, I couldn't do allotments because I had to work and i had a kid and my husband would not have an allotment so I was robbed

of that as well 'cos I would probably have managed to fit it in going to see the things grow. So when I had my house, I made use of every inch of the earth that I had and I grew broccoli, tomatoes, think of it I grew it everything but I have been to allotments I go to my friends allotments.

Q And how about Scrabble, do you play that in the family or in the home, or do you go to a club?

A I, ah, I don't go to a club. I'd like to go to a club because I heard there is a Scrabble Club in Clifton but then I've never found out much more about it because I realised that I had it difficult years ago when I was working nights. I did go to Cotham Grammar School to do Maths and English top up and I found it was very very difficult for me to get from this side of Bristol up to Cotham Grammar School, I had to go across Clifton so I was just, I just erased the thought but I learnt to play Scrabble in Exmouth 1976 and I was a patient and I went there convalescent and that was one of the good things that come out. (You enjoyed that?). Yes, and I have even got the that they wrote me from Scotland as I met a friend from Scotland and she runs a Scottish Club, and I played with her when I went on holidays and we had quite a few disputes over what is right and what is wrong and then she sent me I've got it there, she sent me about the words that I did not know about, like two words that can go in the Scrabble so I am really interested in promoting my Scrabble.

Q Right so you've actually helped people into the Scrabble hobby?

A Yes, oh yes. Most people my friends now, my black friends that play Scrabble, I don't think any of them, I'm not boasting, I taught them, until, I,I,I,I,I mean it was from Exmouth when I was convalescing that they taught me.

Q Now we've established that you learn from experience, (Yes) and the only thing I am not sure about in when you pass on the information to other people, because you have said that you do, would you say you are teaching them ? (Yes). Yes, you see it very much as...

A I see it. I teach them and I know they got to learn themselves but because, most people I talk to is like..... (Tape ended)

You remember the other day when, you know, I was talking about splitting up from my husband, you know, my husband my son so-and-so, and so, do you know what

happened after that for example 'cos like my son is I said I thought he was different from when he was a child, he still want to marry, his mother was there just now, and we are still, I am still a very important person in those peoples lives, and it's like a, the son is doing very well. and he, he was at Western College or something and she had a problem with him last year 'cos he have, all, where ever, when He was in Bristol and he used to go to school at Southmead Independent School, I used to go with her most times, so I was always involved in that child from he was little and I know the thing about him. He went away to school in the country and come back and I always, and he went to this college and he came home and he was very disillusioned and he did not want to go back, so his mother got concerned and he wrote what was bothering him to his Mum and his Mum, she didn't, she didn't so much, she was a bit hard, she was a bit surprised 'cos he did very well up to that point and she came to me and I discussed it with her 'cos he said that he's not doing very well and he thinks the is a waste of time and he's going to leave and I got really upset so I said David has done very well all through this time going to college and everywhere we waste he got the ability so lets get down to the bottom of this. So I told her what to do and I said lets put it in writing and I wrote the letter to David's Headmistress and I said ask for an appointment but tell her, don't tell such and such a thing just say this and ask her for an appointment for you to come and discuss it with her and ask her if it is allowed that you could be accompanied. I said don't say who you will be accompanied by but you are finding it, you know you're going, you got concerned about David. Up to this stage now that he's wanting to turn back after he's there and then after I wrote the letter and she sent it she did not have to go, they sorted it out. Because what David was realising he was missing out because he wasn't, they did not have enough teachers and he was not getting the teaching that he should be getting. Well they soon got him what he should and he's doing very well he was here last week. So I always like keep a follow up you know of a .

Q Well that's come to the end of the questions actually. and it's very good, (is it ?(4), is there anything you want to say about the project or questions you want to ask?

A I,I,I, would like to know a little more about the project because, 'cos I haven't got much time either 'cos I've got to be dashing about at six o'clock right so mmm, could you

tell me more, tell me something that you think it would be interesting to know, now that I've given you the information, which to me means a lot and If I am passing them on to you which I've already done I would like to know what you are going to use it for, who will be benefited because I don't believe in selling, I don't believe in giving away what I should have sold. I've got strong, I've got strong, I think knowledge is important.

Q Right. Well what I am doing is, I'm finding out how people learn, learn from their everyday activity because I believe that a lot of people in a lot of things but when you actually say to them why don't you go to evening classes of college they say, Oh no I couldn't do that. And you say to them, well why not, and they say I'm not any good at learning, well most people are good at learning, (Everybody is good at learning yes), so what they don't realise is that what, the learning that they do in their everyday lives, (It is learning) is as valid as learning in a college, (definitely, right, now what I hope to do with this research is show that people that do not feel themselves able to go to any form of formal learning have the same abilities, (to learn), as the people that go to formal learning classes. What I then want to then try and do is to show, somehow, I mean it's almost impossible, but I don't think it's impossible, I want to show, I want to create a system whereby people can recognise that they are learners even when they think they're not.

A So in other words you want to create an awareness to learning to let them know that.....

Q they are learners. Whatever they did in their lives they've got to learn to do it and that learning is as good as any learning that anybody does in a college or university. A I don't know 'cos when I, I, when I came here and I heard the talk about backward children and one of my child, Oh Christ I've had a hell of a life in England. One of my children was put into the backward set, and Lockleaze School, and he's still, he's not very well it has affected him all the way along. (Well quite, I've got a son like that). It affected him all the way along and because most of them are from a very gifted family and all his sisters and brothers are proficient and did very well, and he just was left like that, I was, when I was teaching in Jamaica one of the things that we taught, we was told the first thing is to realise that every child has got an inborn ability (Yes), and it is for us at a very early stage to assist the child ability and work on it so when I hear people say that a child is, your

dumb, your, you see that why, I, the whole English, the education system in English, in England, to me is so different. I think most of it is crap. (Yes), most of it is crap because you might not be a Lawyer, you might not be a Doctor, you could be a gardener, you could be a basket maker, you could be a shoe maker because there is something, you have got something in you that should be developed to make you something that you would love to be and proud of. (Yes).

Q Well what I am looking for is just that because I failed the English school system as well. I was brought up to think I was not any good and it took me a long time to realise that I was, and a lot of people out there are like that.

A And I think it is through your background as well. Because I said I was from a very stable parentage, because if you have got parents who don't let you feel proud of yourself then that's not doing you any good, because if you parents start putting it on and say Oh you'll never learn, why can't you do that properly, you never do it properly, then you are going to feel as if what they're saying to you is right. (That's right). But I remember when I was a young girl my Father, my Mum always says, Oh you, you got an answer for everything, and my Dad always said, you don't touch her, in other words don't stifle what she has got, and you know I was brought up, some people say why is it people is a bit surprised, why is it I stand up for myself so much why is it I'm so strong. I said because my parents brought me up in the majority of cases to realise that I've got worth, and I shouldn't let go, and I don't. With all the hardships that I have had in Britain my parentage my stable bringing up is a

Q Stood you in good stead.

A and it still does that's why I love my Mother so much 'cos my Dad died.

Q When you say you did fostering and adoption was that on a course or because you wanted to foster?

A Because I wanted to foster, 'cos I wanted to foster. I'll tell you about that and she wrote in her statement was, I am one of the most articulate person in her knowledge have ever come to Bristol. (Yes). all right, (Yes). I said to her like things, she questioned me, and I got to be honest about my parentage, my, because you go right back, (Yes I know), and I tell you something when I was turned down, listen to me, one of the things that I

wanted was to do, I hope you don't work in that field, I wanted was to get into that office, right, I didn't get in, one of the reasons why I wanted was to get into the office was a black woman that interviewed me that put me through the fostering and I probably is wrong, was wrong, probably am still wrong right now, what the woman found out about me going on the course, she was honest and I had everything to back it up right, but I am very unusual person of my age group ?? and I am wondering if the Social Services who tho' I know the names I won't call them, think this is rubbish, this couldn't be true, are you with me, so I wanted to go in there to let them know who dare them undermine, not taking me is bad, who dare them probably undermining what a black woman is finding out about me as another black woman which is very true (Yes, yes,) but I didn't get in, I did not get in 'cos I.....

Q But you thought that the higher up people thought that it was a black woman letting in a black woman, (Yes), and they were not going to have it.

A and I think they find it hard to believe that the qualities that the black woman said I possessed, it was, it was not possible.

Q It was not in their experience so they did not believe it.

A What she did say that I was one of the most articulate person that ever come in, 'cos I told her people think, just, people is somewhat amazed when they get to know me, not boasting, you know, and the thing about is where I am coming from. (Yes, yes, that the important thing), and how I help on to, my mother was poor, we did not have much, my Mother sometimes did not anything to eat 'cos it was seven of us and she was always having grandchildren around her and always feeding other people and sometimes when my Mother cooked and dish out the food she take a little piece of the dumpling and she wipe what I've known her, and there wasn't enough for her, and my Mother go without. my Mother walk barefoot, she walk in rags but she always say what she did not have her children must have it and it was her determination all the way through life, she was robbed of a Mother, she had a step Mother that she had a hell of a life with and no way her children is going to experience what she experienced and she stood for it until this day. Very very good.

Q I have to go back to work, that is excellent.

Paul. Initial interview 4 January 1990.

Male. 34 Married. 3 Children. Driver. No formal or vocational educational qualifications. Claimants. Some doubt about passing on the right information. Item 6 definitely true.

Most of what I know today basically boils down to a man I used to know, the father of my best friend. He died. Brilliant man.

Subject considers himself a "Glorified Labourer". Wife, domestic engineer. Bracket F. Cannot tick any boxes.

Did all mocks but had a fallout with the school. Did not get any father in the mocks, did well in the mocks. Left school. Stacked shelves at Gatwey, got the sack. Stones Springs for a few years, interesting but dirty, low paid. K.S.Pipelines, fell out with Manager. Black Diamond Dairy Produce, fell out with Manager. Trist Draper, fell out with shift engineer. On dole. Motorbike deliveries £40 per week.

Got offered present job, enjoys it, one of those jobs where you get up in the morning and don't say "Oh God". Just get up and do it. Job works for me rather than for them.

What do you consider training ? Safety aspects things like that. (formal input). (Safety film on scaffolding). That used to be done, they don't do it any more. Lot of that's stopped now, 'cos there are no hourly paid employees now. Everybody is subcontract. (Firms not responsible for them). Only one hourly paid employee left. All the rest salaried, five. Used to be twenty-two hourly paid people down there. Regular, every six months, at that time, there was training. Safety Officer visits sites. He looks at it so as they (The Firm), do not have to pay any money out. Firms supervisors should make sure that the subcontractors are using the right materials.

What makes you put area of residence 'Knowle', 'Clifton', 'St Annes', Why pick on Knowle ?

You get some people and it does not matter how many times you tell them something, blanks. Some people, just does not sink in. Don't seem to want to know.

I found when I come out of school like I did, it's a big nasty world out there. Bit of a shock coming from a school. Although you had Careers Officers and all that sort of thing. Nothing to do with reality. What is it really like out there.

Extended Interview 11th January 1990.

Q. (referring to the questionnaire). Do you feel you have gained any qualifications of any sort. I mean, we were talking last time about you having got a driving licence, do you feel you have got information you have gained from life that you would rate on the same level as any of these school or academic qualifications.

A. I suppose so, yes.

Q. Can you be more specific ?

A. I mean I can do sheeting and things like that. I can actually do the work. I haven't actually been trained for it, but I can do it.

Q. This is to do with your job ?

A. Yes. Not actually to do with My job 'cos that is not my job. (Sheeting ?). Roofing, but I can do it if I want to. (That's flat roofing ?) Any roofing. (Roofing, right, and you picked that up, over the years from working on the firm ?) Working on the job, yes.

Q. How did you pick it up ?

A. By being on the job, seeing what was done really. I've actually had to do it on and off on the odd occasion. (Other people, Helping other people ?), asking questions.

Q. Have you ever been sent to do a job on your own because the firm know that you can do it ?

A. Yes. Bad mistake that. (Bad mistake, what letting people know you can do it ?).

Q. How about a hobby, have you picked up a hobby ?

A. Well, fishing, shooting, pretty good at shooting.

Q. You haven't been to any formal (No) classes.

A. Only what I have read out of books and put into practice myself. (Talking with other people ?) Oh yes, picking up things as you go along.

Q. Do you enter competitions ?

A. I used to Angling. (How did you get on ?) Not very good. (Belong to a Club ?) Yes, belonged to several two, we had our own fishing club going as well. Carp Fishing Club.

Q. You used to fish in garden ponds did you ? A. Yes, we did actually. We caught some Carp on a rod and line up Queen Charlton pond.

Q. 16. Do you want to say anything about that question rather than me asking you about things. Did it ring any bells with you or was there anything you thought of particularly.

A. The only one I can think of that one there is that I got a certain amount of knowledge in here, (points to head), people from school may not have gained from there. I mean it all depends what you turn your hand to, just because I got none of that does not mean to say I am uneducated, does it ? (No it doesn't No. What I want to know is really, what you've got that you would equate for instance, with the City and guilds ?) Only when I was working down Stones, I suppose you could class that as smithying, toolmaking. Used to make our own chisels and stuff like that. (Yes, and that was picked up from learning how to do it ?) Starting Yes, I did not actually do an apprenticeship, but done so much training.

Q. Do you use the skill now ?

A. I did about a year ago when I done my uncles lorry springs for him, at his garage at his house. I wouldn't be able, he couldn't do it. (No. You had the experience ?) I could do it yes.

Q. You've got a skill that you have picked up which could come in useful some times ?

A. Yes, no doubt I could go back to it if I had to.

Q. Who do you ask when you want to know something. That is rather a broad question, but we've got it here that, are there certain people that you would first go to if you wanted to find something out ?

A. Usually me Dad. Me Father would be the first one I would go to.

Q. Would you expect him to know, or would you expect him to know where you could go to get what you wanted to know ?

A. I'd expect him to know really. (Yes). 'Cos he's a very Knowledgeable bloke. (Yes).

Q. And um do you find that you ask him things you can pretty well always find out what it is that you do want to know.

A. Yes most of the time.

Q. Anybody else in particular, do you sort of draw a line at your Dad ?

A. Sometimes the blokes at work if your doing a little job and you've got a query on that job, like say you are using a new sort of material and you want to know how to do one of

the flashings or something similar to that and you ask them and they'll tell you a quick way round it, whereas you could be sat there for ages trying to figure it out and they know a quick way to do it, and they tell you and then you go and do it, and then you know yourself the next time you come across that problem. (Right. So I take it from that then that you do remember what your told ?) Mostly.

Q. Can you tell me something, other than what you have already told me, that you can remember, other than from your Dad ?

A. Oh what from me Dad. A lot actually from me Dad 'cos he's a carpenter. (He's the first person you go to you said ?) Yes, that's probably 'cos he's got the knowledge of life really, 'cos he's that much older. I'm actually, I mean, I can mix sand and cement, and I can and I can lay bricks to a fashion, I can lay patio stones, and I can make my own fencing and practical things that's mainly what I've learnt off of him. Tiling in the bathroom for instance, things like that.

Q. So you've learnt these things and you remember them because you do them or do you remember them because you he taught them to you ?

A. I remember them because I used to go to work with him. He used to say mix me up so much of this, so much of that, and then its like I said before, once you've been told, if you have to do it again then you know. (Right). Putting the right quantities in. When you use a UPVA sealer of something like that, "Febmix"

Q. Is there anything you have learnt from him that is not practical ? (Long Pause)

A. No. Only at school, I used to do Tech Drawing. He helped me with Tech Drawing. I did not get on with that at all. Can't think of anything now.

Q. All the activities that your Dad showed you about, would you call that learning ?

A. Yes it is learning.

Q. In the same way that you think about learning from school ?

A. Yes but in a practical sense.

Q. The same a being in a woodwork class or metalwork class or something ?

A. Yes semi apprenticed. I suppose.

Q. Do you pass what you've learnt onto others, this knowledge or skill, do you pass it on to others ?

A. Yes if I am asked.

Q. Who is likely to ask you ?

A. Friends or if somebody is building an extension down there, they ask me about roof, or should they use thermalite blocks or should they use Con. blocks, how to dig the footings out, how far down.

Q. And would they ask you that without (They did ask me) Yes, let me put it another way then. Do you volunteer information to people without them asking you.

A. Sometimes if your there at the time their doing something. (See what their doing). Somebody who is doing something for themselves the first time you may know a better way that he doesn't. (you would then volunteer?) I would say to him yes. (A better way of doing it).

Q. So can I take it from that that others actually do act on what you tell them ?

A. I suppose so.

Q. Do you know ?

A. Yes they do.

Q. How do you know ?

A. Mainly seeing it done after I suppose. Being there at the time they are doing it. Bit of a hard one really 'cos a, you could tell somebody something, they'll do it, and probably think to themselves, well the way I am doing it is a bit better. Till they actually do it then they realise that the way you told them to do it was better. 'Cos people have got their little quirks haven't they ?

Q. Have you learnt something for yourself without asking anybody ?

A. Yes, but like what ? (Absolutely anything). ????? Tying, Rod whipping, driving, practically taught myself to drive.

Q. On the Rod whipping, you saw other people doing it, did it yourself without making too much fuss about it ?

A. Just read it out of a book. (And you took it up from there ?) That's right.

Q. So we have established that you give information to others, either when they ask you or when you think you should ? (Mmm).

Q. Have people recommended you to give advice to others ?

A. Yes.

Q. If you talk to Michael you will get the right advice ?

A. Yes but sometimes it can be a bind 'cos you get too much of it, you know what I mean ?

Q. How do you feel about the advice you pass on ?

A. How do I feel ? I feel all right about it, I don't mind.

Q. You feel confident about it ?

A. Oh yes.

Q. Do you ever pass on any advice that you don't feel confident about ?

A. Um. well that's a yes and no, I mean sometimes you can and sometimes you don't, 'cos your only picking up from what someone else has told you usually. But mainly I'm pretty confident in what I say.

Q. We know No 27 because you've already said that if you remember something then you do call it learning. What you've already told me so far actually is all to do with one area, sort of building and allied trades so No 28 is when you do remember something is it because you already know something about the subject and it's quite obvious in that situation, because it's a sort of um. you just add to your knowledge don't you, of this particular area of life ?

A. Well yes you see, you could go on and on and on, I mean I could go on from when I was working on a farm. I mean I can hook up a chain harrow and chain harrow a field, or roll it, or plough it, or you know seeding and bailing, and all that sort of thing, well that's a different area again isn't it ? So you can go on and on and on. (there are several areas of life that). That is actually what comes to me now because I suppose that's actually what I am doing mainly. (That's fair enough). if you can understand. (Yes I do).

Q. So how does it make you feel. I'm interested in how having this knowledge that you have picked up over the years, you know from your Father and right the way through, how that makes you feel as a person ?

A. Don't know. Don't know how to answer that one.

Q. Well you've said that you feel confident about passing on knowledge in these particular areas. About what you do in these particular areas.

A. It doesn't make me feel superior or inferior or whatever to anybody. Just take it as it comes really.

Q. So what sort of feeling of self-worth have you got as a result of being able to do these things ?

A. What do you mean, do I take pride in what I do, or no ?

Q. Well not really no, I mean what gives you a kick in this area that we have been talking about ?

A. Oh! When the job goes right. Or you do a job for somebody or even for yourself, you think you've done it right, you've done it well.

Q. What actually does doing it well mean ?

A. Having the knowledge to do it. (You can have the knowledge to do it, but still not do it well, there's an outcome isn't there, you do the job and the outcome is, um, that you've done it well). I take a pride in what I do. (Yes right, lets explore that a little bit). Or I do try to the best of my ability. Somebody could do it with better ability, but I try to do what I do to the best of MY ability. (Right, and that gives you a sort of feeling of satisfaction ?). Yes. (What. To be satisfied lets go through the job from start to finish, you get all the gear that you need without having to go backwards and forwards to get it). Yes. (You do the job in one logical sequence, without having hiccoughs of problems, or forgetting the tools, and it all goes together in a way that looks nice it's been good for you to do and at the end of it you feel). Pretty good, it's all right.

Q. What is that feeling can you describe that feeling both in the doing of it and the actual finish of it ?

A. ????? I don't know, once I've done it, if I've done any job like that or something similar to that, once it's done it's done. It's just done.

Q. It's done, that's it really ?

A. Yes and you hope that there are no comebacks on it.

Q. But if you have done it to the best of your ability there shouldn't be.

A. Ah well there's always something. There's always something that will go wrong, no matter what you do there is always something or some other thing that will offset it, there's always something like that. Examples examples, you could go on for ever. I mean,

you think you've done the best job in the world, I mean something will happen, you either get a damp patch somewhere, where waters seeping in or something like that. You've got to go back on your knowledge again to find out where that's coming in and what to do about it. I'm just talking about roofing but I suppose that could go into anywhere really.

Q. We've established that you did not have training for your present job, you picked up what you know about the job from watching other people doing it, from doing it, from just sort of generally mucking in with the people that you work with. Training was not provided by the firm ?

A. Well no because I am just the driver really.

Q. And yet the firm will ask you to go and do jobs ?

A. That's right.

Q. So somebody somewhere has got some expectation that you do have a level of skills to be able to do such a job. (Yes). How do you think they gained that knowledge ?

A. Well I would assume that they know that you pick it up as you go along.

Q. But you were telling me the other day that some people however much you tell them, they just won't pick it up ?

A. Well no they don't.

Q. So how do these people in this firm recognise (Well I have been there for so long , I suppose, I don't know). They just see that you can do it ?

A. Well sometimes, um, in the work situation, um, your down on a job, you take the gear down, and somebody says, come here and hold this sheet up a minute while I drill the holes to put the bolts through. That's the simplest way. You hold the sheet up, you see the bloke punching the holes out so the sheets supported. So that is a vertical sheet put up. You just do it on the roof, you just do it the other way round. You use a little rodding pull, it's just things you see as your there on the job, as you actually see them going on. Or sometimes you, um, can remember going, say a Ganger, his mate hasn't turned up, and they need to get the job out of the way, this is when we had our own men, then you are probably going to fill in for half-a-day with the Ganger so that the job will be

get done out the way. You might not actually do anything probably, stand there and watch him all day 'cos he probably works better without you when you first start.

Q. Well I've got when you first started the job did you ask people for help ?

A. What on this job or previous ones ? (well any job that you've been on). Well yes, yes, obviously you asked, you'd ask people who are actually doing the job. To do something, fixing a centre bolt to somewhere then you need to know whether it was a mild steel one or a high tensile one, or whether it was an M8 or something bigger. You'd ask them.

Q. So that would be to do with rather specialist parts of the job, rather than just laying the sheet down or something ?

A. Well if I was stuck to know something, I wouldn't be afraid to ask for something.

Q. No I didn't think you would, but some people wouldn't they just get on with it and muddle through.

A. No I couldn't do that.

Q. Is there anything in the firm that you would go to for the most valuable advice, is there any person that you look upon as a person that would give you the advice before anybody else ?

A. Well, I would not ask so much the Managerial side. I mean although they do know, but up, I got a pretty good thing going with all the fixers and that. If I needed to know anything I would ask one of the fixers, 'cos I've known them eleven years look, like friends.

Q. And these are subcontractors that have been there, some of them for a long time ?

A. They were firms men first and then they went subbing.

Q. How often do you get to learn something new on the job ?

A. I suppose you learn something new, what's the saying, learn something new every day.

Q. That is true but if a new job comes along, a new technique a new building material, something like that ?

A. If I had to I would probably ask for the relevant literature on it first. Read through the literature first. We done that when Durbigen come out, that was a new system and just, usually when a new system comes out they send literature with it so a quick read through the literature and you've got it transfixed up here in your box, just put it into practice.

Q. Do you discuss your work with people outside of the workplace ?

A. As little as possible.

Q. Is that because they are not interested ?

A. Well no It sometimes crops up in conversation. I learnt a long time ago people don't really want to know, hear what you are doing at work all day, 'cos they are probably the same feeling as well once their outside work they want to try and forget it. Which is, well works work in the day, out of work is your own time, isn't it really.

Q. What sort of things do you discuss with people out of work ?

A. What about work ? (Anything) Oh anything, usually what I've seen during the day. Being driving round the country side, see a lot of things going on, different things.

Q. Can you say anything in particular, or two or three things ?

A.. Like driving around Salisbury Plain and watching the tank manoeuvres and that sort of thing. ????? stop like you know. Just sit down and watch what's going on around you for twenty minutes. Gives you a nice feeling.

Q. I have got here do you think or reflect on things that you have learned, but um, I would like to broaden that and ask you what do you reflect on. What do you think about not necessarily to do with your job, but in a sort of whole life sense ?

A.. I don't quite get that one. (OK we'll come back to it)

Q. Do you adapt the things you learn for other purposes ?

A. Yes. (Can you give an example ?) Well um trying to get the best out of your work, comes another things for instance. When you can do something that's not to do with work you try to do everything to your best ability not just what you do in work, and a , you people might not think it, but I like to, a simple thing, chopping logs, I gotta chop, if there are logs to be chopped they got to be chopped properly if you see what I mean. I like to do it properly, and be stacked properly. I mean sometimes people might not think I am doing it the right way round, but. (What's properly mean to you ?) How I feel is right. The right way it should be done. Like loading the van, I can't abide people who just go along and chuck everything on. I gotta load it, place it, and put everything up. people think your mad but in the end you end up with a tidy load and everything's all ???.

Q. How do you do the washing up then ?

- A. I don't. (Never ?) Yes I do actually, rarely though.
- Q. Do you do the washing up the same way ?
- A. Yes I like to wash it all.
- Q. Yes how do you like to wash it all ?
- A. I do the cups first, then plates, then bowls.
- Q. Do you stack all the plates up, big ones on the bottom little ones on the top ?
- A. Yes.
- Q. So there is a sort of tidiness that runs throughout everything that you do ?
- A. Yes, without a doubt.
- Q. So that tidiness is actually adapted then from one thing to another, it isn't necessarily that you do this this way and this this way and this this way. It's a question that you have got and approach to each job which is similar for each job ?
- A. I am trying to think of a word there is a word for it. (Fussy ?) No I am not fussy. No I am no fussy at all.
- Q. What are you then ?
- A. I am definitely not fussy. I like to have things done how I think they should be done. But I am not fussy.
- Q. That means you, do things in another way ?
- A. I am trying to think of that word. Not meticulous. (Structured ?) No, can't think of it now it's gone. (It will come).
- Q. How active are you in finding out new things in the workplace situation ?
- A. I am not that active myself. I won't go in and delve and find--well if its relevant to me yes. (Yes it's got to be relevant to you ?) Really yes. (That's fair enough, most people are like that).
- Q. Social situation. You belong to a social group. I think we established that last time. (Yes Scouts.) Do you belong to any other social group ?
- A. No not now. (Well there's the family ?) Oh yeah. (Which we did not really look at in great detail, Scouts, family that's about it ?) Scouts take up all ones social time really, and the family.
- Q. Well is there somebody in either group that you ask for advice ?

A. Jim, very handy to know, 'cos he knows quite a bit about it down there. {The local Scout Group}.

Q. You said about your father earlier on, for other things, the family context would it be your father or your wife or somebody else ?

A. Probably be me Mum and Dad, Wife I expect maybe, I would not ask me brother. Basically I am a loner.

Q. Now you have told me why you go to your father for advice, but can you give me any reasons why you go to particular people for advice ?

A. Everybody has their own, I mean, I read that to me again. (Why do you go to particular people for advice whoever they are ?) Well usually, everybody has a different skill, different knowledge, of something we are not all the same. We do not all know everything. Probably you ask them because you think they might know either more than you or something else that you don't know so you ask who you think. If I want the car electrics done, I go and ask Bill down the road because he was a car electrician. If I wanted something else done I would go and ask P.J. down the bottom because he's a mechanic.

Q. So you've got a whole list of people in your head, for different activities, that you can go and ask for advice and help ?

A. Yes J.D. is a prime example. If I wanted something doing on the car, I don't say I could not do it myself, but rather than make a mess around with it I'd go and ask someone like J.D. 'cos J.D. could come down, stick his hands in there, two minutes in there had it done. Whereas you could be there for two hours.

Q. Within the scouts what have you learnt the most by doing. You've been in it a bit now. How did you get into it, and how have you grown into it, how have you learnt about it. If you could do that in fair detail ?

A. Started off when the boys wanted to join cubs. They would come home with bits of paper saying we are having a clean up day at Chelwood, which I don't mind doing that sort of thing. They were having a conservation weekend out at Compton Dando, clearing an orchard, I don't mind doing anything like that, suits me down to the ground, doing anything like that. And then because of the help I gave there John and L..... who run the

Wednesday night cubs asked me if I'd go on the committee. I went to the committee found that absolutely, totally boring as hell, and then somebody said that Monday nights scouts was closing down, they couldn't find any new leaders or leaders to run it. So I thought to myself, lets give it a go. There's no harm in trying is there, and I got kids of my own, could probably handle it and I, previous to that, Jim who's been a great help, used to go out with him and do things with Wednesday night scouts, generally mucking in when they needed something, you know, just went on like that, sort of snowballed.

Q. Would you say you were attracted to it initially not just because your two lads were in it but because the rural part of it it attractive to you ?

A. Probably. (It's back to your roots in a sense isn't it ?) I like being out of doors.

Q. Would you say it was a primary attraction ?

A. Probably, and I probably appreciated what I missed out on when I did miss out on it, 'cos I never got any farther than the cubs.

Q. Would you call it a legitimate activity ? Can I explain that to you. Because many married people find it difficult to take up something outside of the home, because one of the partners is going to think, My God, you know, what are they doing. Why are they going. I am not saying this is it in your case, but it is the case and there is a sense in which joining the scouts in inverted commas is a legitimate activity. Was there anything like that in it as far as you're concerned ?

A. No not really because before I started the scouts I had fishing anyway.

Q. You went fishing actively up until the scouts ?

A. Yes, every weekend regular. Sometimes for three nights at a time. Day, night, it was just, I just liked being out. The wife doesn't object, because she knew that was the sort of person she married. I mean, I am not saying I am not a home man but I do like me family and everything else, but she knows that she could not change me then so she got her own (unclear).

Q. What does she think about the scouts as opposed to fishing ?

A. She doesn't actually say a lot about it. If I asked her to do something foe scouts, she would do it willingly.

Q. What attracts you about the scouts now that you've been in it a bit ?

A. The same really, the activities really, for kids well and for me as an adult the activities is great. I mean you can't knock it. I don't reckon so anyway. I mean I would never have done what I have done in this past year if it weren't for being in the scouts. If you know what I mean. None of what I've done this year or last year I would have ever done on my own.

Q. What did you think of the scouts when you were a teenager ?

A. It didn't even enter my head. There was nothing there. (They did not come up at all ?)
No.

Q. Within the scouting, apart from the practical activities, there's a number of theoretical activities, aren't there. I don't know if you are doing your Wood badge or you've done part one or anything ?

A. I have done my introductory training, pretty menial I thought that was.

Q. Yes well what did you think about that ?

A. Well, for somebody who's come straight in or somebody who's doing their training before actually taking on scouting then yes, because mainly what they went over in this introductory training, is all what you've done for the last eighteen months say. So you feel pretty menial for doing it all, you know. They tend to treat you like kids really. I mean I done it 'cos I had to do it, I mean you either go in there and moan, or you just go in there and get on with it. So you think to yourself, well lets get in and get it done and it's out of the way. But I now start my next course in March, which is two residential weekends, Advanced training. That's for the Wood badge. (You go away to do that ?) Yes I think so.

Q. How do you keep up to date with what's going on in the scouts ?

A. Jim. No generally what you see on the board down there, what's in your pigeon hole, really I am only interested in what happens on a Monday and a Wednesday and the dates I've got in my diary. (That's it ?) Really yes, and what Jim's doing, usually what Jim's doing coincides with what I'm doing so we try to integrate it. Jim helps on Monday as well as Wednesday, he's got to spread himself two ways, and I don't know what the hell

would happen if he left, I don't, I don't know whether I could, a see, He go so much knowledge up there about scouting which I haven't I couldn't even hit on really.

Q. Well do you expect to be able to catch up ?

A. I'm learning pretty fast.

Q. And how do you learn, how are you learning ?

A. By watching. A lot of it mainly is using your own common sense. But like I said Tim is a great help 'cos a, if it weren't for, 'cos Tim puts a bit of motivation into it you see, gets you motivated, you get wound up to do something, you actually think well I ought to get on to do it, whereas the others, sort of like, their there but they haven't got the same, whether that's because their older I don't know, I'm not exactly no young chicken myself now.

Q. I want to depart from this a little bit. You might think it's a bit illegitimate but do you have a philosophy of life ?

A. The only philosophy of life is live life to the full if possible.

Q. But what does that mean ?

A. To me that means really trying to get out, get out, I don't know if I'm trying to get away from it all of not. To me, it's get out, and do, just get out and what I like doing. That's it really, as long as the kids and wife's all right. And the family.

Q. Do you include the wife and the kids in this ?

A. The wife's not interested in it. So there's not much point. She seems to be pretty content as far as I can tell. I mean, we have our arguments the same as everybody else I imagine. But as long as the mortgage is paid, as the rest of it, I mean we asked her if she wants, I mean no I haven't, I think she tolerates it is a better word.

Q. When you read this, (The Questionnaire, you've had a think about it for a week, what sort of reaction have you got to it ?

A. It's very comprehensive, it's covering a big area isn't it ? I think the questions that you read through at the beginning, the questions in the questionnaire are relevant, they do inter-link with the other two. But a, as to actual feelings on it, I think it's quite good. Well very good actually. I've never done anything like this before so I couldn't say it's bad or good really.

Q. What purpose do you think learning things has got ?

A. Well, I wished I learnt more when I was at school. Like now reading, reading is definitely a good learner. Jim's always going on at me about, I said read it in a book, he (Unclear). What I read in a book I will endeavour to put into practice if it's at all possible. I mean I never read a book at school. If I can get a book that I like, I will sit down and read it from cover to cover and actually remember some of it.

Q. What sort of books are we talking about ?

A. Vietnam War, I've read lots of literature on it. Anything mainly to do with wild life. Out of doors. I've just read one now on a young kid going into his first year of gamekeeping, as an under keeper. I was enthralled in that, I read it, it took me about three days to read it. I've been trying to find the book that follows it up now, I can't find the dam thing.

Q. This is one of a series, a novel type book ?

A. It's part fictional part factual, it's actually wrote by a woman, it's describing herself as she went into it, but she's using different characters. What they call that in the literary sense I've no idea.

Q. What attracts you to that is the rural part of it ?

A. It's the outdoors, I just love the outdoors.

Q. What attracts you to the Vietnam War ?

A. I haven't asked myself that. I think somewhere down here I wish I was there.

Q. Could it be that the Vietnam War was going on when you were about twelve, thirteen, fourteen. Do you remember a lot of it then ?

A. Seeing some of the Newsreels but I cannot remember it that well.

Q. Do you think that your interest in it could have been sparked off then ?

A. I like war films as such. I like any war films, but I just wonder if that's just war mongering in me. I should have liked to have been there to experience it in some way or other.

Q. How is this a part of you, how it makes you feel, the fact that you can read these books and get so much out of them whether it's the Vietnam War of Wild life, Game keeping or whatever ?

A. I don't know.

Q. Well why read it ?

A. 'Cos I enjoy it, I enjoy reading it.

Q. But in reading them you learn from them ?

A. Well your learning yes, your learning about actually how it went on, and what carried on. Who done what and who done this.

Q. And then what do you think about that, (About what ?) well about what you read. Are you telling me that you read it and discard it, or do you read it and then at some time driving around in your van your thinking about something that you've read , the Vietnam War.

A. Not the Vietnam War bit no, no so much the Vietnam War bit, I mean I'm interested in it, I probably think it's the only war we'll ever see in our age. I don't know.

Q. You mean that we could be involved in ?

A. Yes. The nearest thing we're going to get to is in Nicaragua or something like that. I'm past it now anyway, so that's irrelevant now I would have liked to have been there, even if I'd have ended up in a bodybag. I'd have liked to have been there, and done, but it didn't work like that you know. I would have liked to have been at the Faulklands. I mean, that's something, I can't explain it.

Q. It's part of you isn't it, what I am interested in is how all these different bits mix ?

A. I don't know, I think I should have joined the army, I should have, rather than wasted half me life, I should have gone into the forces, but then if I'd done that everything that I've done up to now probably would not have ever cone in.

Q. Yes, I mean can you waste your life ?

A. I think you can up to a point.

Q. But that is because you weren't ready wasn't it ?

A. I can reflect on it now, because I am, I mean, your that much older and the years have gone by and you can reflect on in. I mean as for driving around, um, oh yes, I can, I still can, I can look at a river, or stop by a bridge and look at a river and think to myself, there's a dam good swim down there, I could be down there just trotting down to the

water, that's in you. That bit of you's in you, I mean people say its not but it is. Some people can look at that and all they see is a river.

Q. And where does that come from ?

A. Well that comes from being, actually, enjoying doing it, reading the books that give you the knowledge to know about it. I mean I can look at a stretch of river and as near as God dam it tell you exactly what's there on the bottom and everything. That's come from reading books and practising it yourself.

Q. What value do you give that knowledge ?

A. Well to me it's invaluable.

Q. As in valuable knowledge, what does it do for you ?

A. I don't know what it does for me, must do something for me. I don't really know what to say.

Q. Does it make you feel good ?

A. It makes me feel good that I can do it. Go home and get me rods go down there in that situation, I can be there and set up and catch a fish while somebody sat the other side thinking what the hell is he up to.

Q. But doesn't it make you feel good to know that you can think about it ?

A. Oh yes it gives me a buzz.

Q. You don't actually have to do it, you can think about it as well ?

A. Oh yes. I mean like the other day. I was coming up the M5 and I think well, see the Mendips, it was nice sunny day, sun was shining, a little bit of haze just thought myself I wouldn't mind being up there today.

Q. That's what it's about ?

A. Yes I reckon so. Well for men.

Q. You see what I am trying to get at, you know, (AM I a wally), No No. I am trying to get at how people maintain their equilibrium. Now that you says to me last time don't use big words, what I am interested in is what keeps people confident and happy and, knowledgeable and wanting to have more knowledge. You've got into a stage now where it sounds as if you want to get all you can (Input). Yes. You want to read, you want to do things, you know, and your relating that , by the sound of it, what you consider to have

been a fairly wasted period. (Yes but I can't). Somewhere there's a thread in there of you, somewhere there's a reason for you doing what your doing, and I want to suggest that there certain parts of it you've done all the way through. So there is a certain stability.

A. I've probably done a lot of it for myself as much as anybody.

Q. Well we all do. I feel much the same. Let me give you a piece of information that I've got which is useless. A harpsichord can either have quill pluckers or leather pluckers to pluck the string. If it's got leather pluckers the atmosphere affects the leather and you've always got to be re-tuning the harpsichord, whereas if you have got quills you tune it once and that's it. Now when I hear a piece of harpsichord music I think to myself has it got quills. I mean that is such a stupid piece of information. I learnt that from actually seeing somebody once tuning a harpsichord and complaining about these leather pluckers, and it stuck with me. Now there are lots of little bits of information like this that make us what we are. In other words if your not a depressive then all the time we are picking up these silly odd bits of information and storing them away.

A. The only thing I used to get depressed about was money and I've learnt that it is something that I don't get depressed about any more. People say that all the worry in the world won't put anything right, well their right it doesn't, so I basically don't worry any more.

Q. How did you learn that ?

A. Going through life really. When you got a family it's a lot of worry, it's not so bad now, as the years go on it actually does get better, and works not too bad. Sues got another job now which brings in a bit of extra money.

Q. So was it the fact that you were getting extra money that stopped you from worrying about it, or did you realise that it was useless worrying about it before you got the extra money.

A. Before I got the extra money. I decided it was useless when I got a letter from the bank saying I was ten pounds overdrawn. That's when I thought it's futile to worry about it.

Q. But that's a process of thought which. what you are and the way you think about those problems come from all the activities and the life style that you've got. Now can you

identify what the most important aspect of the fact that , why was it you thought it wasn't worth bothering?

A. When Freddy Laker went out for ten million.

Q. So there was a direct (Yes) If he can go out for ten million ?

A. Their harassing me for ten pounds and there's a bloke that just gone out for, I think it was seven million, I think it was then, gone out for that, he doesn't look worried about it, I mean he was on the telly smiling hi head off, wasn't he ? And I thought, why the hell should I worry about a ten pound overdraft, so I chucked it in the bin.

Q. So you could say from that, I mean that to me is a significant piece of learning.

A. Well yes worrying doesn't do you any good.

Q. Well not just that, the sequence, the whole sequence, the Freddy Laker bit, your bit putting the two together, and there must be lots of other significant bits like that ?

A. Yes i imagine so. I think myself that I am odd 'cos of some of the things I do. I think I'm odd but Tim don't reckon I'm odd. (Well no). But I reckon I'm odd, I mean some of the things I do. I mean I, people, cannot understand how I like to be on my own so much I mean, there is nothing I would, well I'd give my eye teeth for sitting on a river bank, on a long hot summers day and catch nothing all day, but I would be content just to be there. People cannot see that, sometimes I can be really aggressive you see. Usually I'm always on the go, doing this and doing that, but when I'm there, that little bit area mine, and I am well in it.

Q. But for you, you are doing something aren't you ?

A. Yes.

Q. Other people see it as an absence of activity ?

A. Well fishing to me is like a, your learning something new all the time, there's always something there to learn, to try, people don't think so but your actually pitting your wits against those little fishies. Shall I use this bait, shall I use a smaller hook, or shall I go up to a bigger shot, or shall I lower the shot to make the bite faster to have the hook quicker, what depth shall I overfish, you know, it's like an endless role of information.

Q. And where do you get this from ?

A. Well mainly books really.

Q. Putting all the information together for yourself.

A. I used to have the Angling Times every week and that always used to have it, relevant bits of information in there or you'd read through it. I'm not one for, if I got a newspaper, I won't read through a newspaper, I will look through a newspaper and if I see something then I'll read that bit, I won't read the whole page just to read that bit, if you see what I mean.

Q. Do you think that is unusual ?

A. Well I don't know. I'm not keen on newspapers anyway. (Neither am I). I read the newspaper in much the same way I think possibly most people do, there's so much rubbish in newspapers. One paper that I will sit and read, when I go round Dads and I sit there and will read the Western Daily press, because that is filled with stuff that's relevant virtually to our area, round here. I think really I'm a yokel that come to late. (I don't think so). You don't think so. (I mean this fishing knowledge of yours is pretty high level isn't it ?). Yes Oh yes. I mean when I first started I was fourteen, fishing. I've gone up through, done this done that and before I went into scouting I was into high touch. carp fishing, I mean that goes into a (What echo sounders and all that ?) No not all that, that goes into a different league again you see because you are not using, well you can use, (unclear) but then your using rods with test curves and carbon fibre, carbon fibre reels. line that changes colour to the water, hair rings, baits, different baits to mix up, different kinds of baits, and that's another endless book as well, you know, tandoori flavoured boilies and things like that. Getting the protein mixes right, getting hold of somebody who actually worked in a laboratory to, got a bait I want to try, can you break it down into it's different fats, proteins and all the rest of it. Believe it or not these fish can actually tell whether it's a good protein bait, and high in protein 'cos that is all their interested in to bung on the pounds, you see. Well that's how we think of it and then you go in the shop leaders and booms and all sorts of things. Oh it goes on for ever, swivels, link swivels, beads and then there's another aspect of Bream fishing, you see little short rod with a two foot quiver tip on, swim feeding with bread crumbs, brown bread crumbs, bread flakes, bread paste, worms, maggots.

Q. Would you say that this was the most highly developed area of your knowledge ?

A. No not really.

Q. What other area is there that's as highly developed ?

A. Anything to do with outdoors. (Wildlife ?) Yes I'm pretty knowledgeable about wildlife. (So that's another, pretty knowledgeable about wildlife ?) Oh yes, wildlife and their habitat, oh yes I could yes. (That's mostly been gained from reading ?) Reading television, television mainly for the wildlife, wildlife from abroad that is.

Q. How about observations on the river bank ?

A. Oh yes I mean that's (Do you keep notes or ?) Yes in the block. The only things I ever used to keep notes on is fishing was what I caught, what tackle I was using, what set up, what the temperature of the water was, what time of day, what conditions whether windy, sunny, or whatever. I mean Bream fishing used to to be on a lake. Bream fishing used to be good when it was blowing away from you up the lake because the food was going through the lake the water, the wind would push it down through and bring it back to you so you could actually keep the fish in front of you rather than fishing long distances out you see, because you always got a chance of loosing something a long way out than you have if having it close in to you. And, knowing how to play fish, yes I suppose you could say fishing is the biggest knowledge I've got yes, I think you would yes.

Q. Do you see any of these skills that you have got in this fishing area transferable to scouting?

A. Only. maybe, the patience side of it really, it's not giving up, 'cos fishing can be a really, I mean, people get into it and find that their not catching, that's when they (lose interest) in it, start to get cheesed off with it. To me that is part of it and you've got to accept that and you just got to appreciate that you are there. I mean if you don't catch nothing all day, you are just there, just being there is there.

Q. You've got a systematic mode of washing up, you've got a systematic mode of chopping wood, you've got a systematic mode of fishing for different fishes and conditions. (Work's systematic as well mind). Yes well, work for you is not as systematic as these other activities that you are talking about. It doesn't seem to be.

A. If I am given a list of things to do in a day, up here in the box, I will work out job got to be done first, say at the time ?? what job have got to be done first. What job are more

important, I mean I can actually go to the job without the blokes being there and know what they want. Whether to do this one first because he needs gas or whether that one there, so I work out a thing, and I can go, and I go start back, start back, systematic as well.

Q. So you think that's as systematic as the rest. It sounds from the way you've described it as if it is. So how do you translate that systematic approach to the scouts ?

A. Same way really. How do they call, Programme planning they call it don't they ? All it is really is a bit of foresight, I mean ,um, doing that like that it's not quite the same as parcel delivery because they actually got the lorries actually loaded in the way the notes are loaded. Now I learnt that years ago. When they load up a van, your first drop is your last parcel so to speak. So you look at a lorry in (pause) so he gives me a list of things, he doesn't work out, whatever, I mean he could have me, just for arguments sake, he wouldn't know but he'd have me going to Exeter then going to Southampton. Or Exeter, Weymouth, Southampton, just say something like that, he wouldn't really have a clue what was happening there. I mean Exeter Weymouth is all right, that's not too bad, you can handle that in a few hours, but I just work it out, he knows now that if he just leave it on his desk I just work it out. It just gets done, I do it now myself.

Q. When did you first notice you were methodical like this ?

A. That's the word, that's the one, I don't know, I really don't know. I wasn't like this at school. No.

Q. And yet you said you had good mock results ?

A. I got to be honest, 'cos it was easy.

Q. So would it have come at Stones Springs ?

A. Well yes I think it did, might have done, yes could have done, but then no, I don't know 'cos that was one of those sort of job where, might have been.

Q. You started fishing at fourteen, what did you do before that, did you have a particular hobby before that ?

A. No fishing's been the one. Mum and Dad wouldn't let me go before that. I did start going before that I fell in the river. They wouldn't let me go after that. I don't know, might have been, thinking on it now, you get a spring come in, they got no books on

springs, you have what camber they should be, the camber on them, you knew that, if you didn't know that you asked somebody and you tell you, we always used to ask Norman Fogg, he used to know everything, so you would go and ask him. But they had a way of, like a, you'd strip the spring down, you put it back the opposite way, you'd stripped it down after setting it or if you were making a new one you got to put in... The first thing you'd do is you get your dimensions and that wrote down in the book. Then you'd go up to the steel rack and get your steel out, then you'd go to the chopping machine and you'd get it chopped, then you'd go to the drilling machine you'd drill the clip holes, you take the stuff from the clip holes to the cambering machine, you'd then camber it, if it's got pips rather than centre bolts you pip it in the piping machine where it meant to say you'd have to get all the leaves put them all down to the furnace and then put all the leaves into the furnace two inches apart all along to furnace floor so that they all heat the same, then after that, when they were the right heat you'd start from the smallest work to the biggest dipping them out. Then it was the same to the basket, you took them out the same way. You always took out the main spring the main leaf first, then the second one, and you'd see how much it lost during the heat tempering process, then you see yourself when they were all laid out together on the floor, how much you'd have to hit them up to get the camber of the spring. I suppose it might have been yes.

Q. You left that job because it was dirty and poorly paid didn't you ?

A. I think probably if I was there at this stage I'd probably stay there.

Q. Yes I know, I don't mind about being young. Most of the other jobs that you've left, you've left because you had a bust up with somebody was that because...

A. Ah well I had a bust up down there as well. (OH what with Springs ?) Yes the Foreman - (Ah well you didn't say that) That was one of the reasons as well. The Foreman was a nice bloke, one of the lads, then he got made up and he went into the management office and then he turned the other way.

Q. I wondered, this is a methodical job you've just described and I wondered if the job where you had problems were not methodical jobs ?

A. No bloody Trist Drapers, that you couldn't get any more methodical than that could you. Laborious I call it more than methodical. Fill this up, put the right stuff in, get the

right amount in, put the things in bake it for the right amount of time, tale it out, press it out start all over again.

Q. No skill in that is there ?

A. No.

Q. But there was in springs ?

A. Well yes there was, yes I mean I could do Jim's Land Rover springs, couldn't do your springs 'cos you've got coils. We used to get people come in with carriage springs see that another interesting thing. An Oldsmobile the queerest one I've ever seen it went from the front to the back, an Oldsmobile. Bloody great spring must have been twenty two feet long. Went from one end through the length of the car to the other end. Amazing. (One either side was there?) Yes and two across the back, a lot of old cars were based on old carriage designs 'cos carriages, used to have, believe it or not, a set of springs that was the old anti role one, you see. That to me see, That picture up there, that's great, I can handle that forever. I've loaded up some hay carts in me time, tipped one over at Whitchurch. Funny gateway that is coming out there by the bridge, you can't come out of it straight. I caught the low loader wheel on the gatepost. (Which way did it fall ?) That way into the road, tipped it all over the road.

Q. Right (Your happy now are you ?) Well I don't think we can get too much further.

A. I wasn't exactly full of relevant information on that school bit there was I ? (That's all right. I'm not looking for people who are educated or have got this or that.) Looking at that there you see you probably think, well, all that I've ever learned is all work orientated, well it isn't really. (Well no it isn't, well no I know it isn't.) You know now. (I know now, but that's why we do the interviews). Yes but what we've discussed after- (Doesn't come out of this) Not really. (No I know that is why it's a good idea to just, you know, not have any questions to answer. I mean I shall do that with everybody because this questionnaire is not getting the information I want) It's not. (But I cannot do it any other way, because the information I want I'm not going to get out of a questionnaire). Well what information are you after then ?

Q. Well what you just told me about Springs and fishing and wild life and so on, but what I've got to get, and I don't quite know how to get it, I've got to get at the philosophy that

people have got about their learning and I can see that you have a methodical approach to things but I don't know why your interested in fishing, why you've got a methodical approach to life, I think I know why your interested in the outdoors. (Why ?). Because you were brought up in a rural area, you know with the paddock out the back, and I expect that you were always out in the outdoors always. (Oh yes, always up the apple tree) So therefore you want to be out in the outdoors but where did the methodical bit come in, it could have come in from your Dad because he was a carpenter, and he could have been methodical in the way that he did things.

A. It could have started from the farming.

Q. Well did you have your own chickens or animals to look after ?

A. Calf's that all. But that don't really matter on a farm look. (No). Get up there for seven o'clock in the morning, give Lawrence a hand with the milking. Then when Lawrence was finished the other half, go get the suckler buckets for the calves, go and get X amount of buckets, mix X amount of milk up, go and do them, then you go and do the beasts out the back with silage, then you go round and do the chickens, then you go round and do the sheep, and that's like the same routine, or then after that you go round with the bails and do the fattening beef that was in the stalls an all that, but that was like the daily routine that you done all the time, day in day out wind, rain, whatever.

Q. Did you modify the routine to make it more efficient ?

A. No, you didn't, you had to fit in, you had to do their routine. (The animals ?) Yes.

Q. But within their timing , that's what we are talking about isn't it, you had to feed them at a particular time, outside of those parameters, your part in the fetching and carrying, the preparation, did you modify that over time to make it more efficient, in other words it used less time, less energy or whatever ?

A. No because there wasn't that great deal of energy, or time, time-wasting wasn't a factor really. so long as you had it done by about half-past-eight which was breakfast time. "Cos all the animals had to be done by breakfast time, then after breakfast time you went on the other bit which was like say start of spring just after the wet weather had gone by you'd let them out the stall or out the shed, then the sheds got to be washed out cleaned out ready for winter. So those sort of jobs were done after breakfast. Then after dinner,

maybe in the afternoon you'd go out and do a bit of hedge trimming or drilling or whatever, go out and do fencing. Cows, basically they come in on their own, because they knew when four o'clock was, they'd come walking down any way. So a quick dap up with the Land Rover and dog to get them in the stall down the big pen, cubical shed, put the silage wire back so those that are waiting can have a chew of silage and the ones that come out because there's quite a hierarchy system with cows, fight like hell they do the buggers. That's basically it really.

Q. I'd like to see you again in six months time. I want to know if any of this has had any affect over the six months. As a result of thinking about it have you done anything, have you thought anything, has it been significant to you, it probably won't have been. Finish it off in a sense because what I am looking at is experiential learning and learning that people are happy with really, very individualistic. I want to know what you want to know, you've given me a really good go at that.

A. I don't expect I shall remember any of that in six months.

Q. That's OK if you don't remember any of it, that's OK. I mean, I don't, I'm not looking for anything particularly if you haven't OK. If you have remembered something OK.

A. The thing I will enjoy will be the last part of the talking about it. That will come to mind and the last bit will come to mind because I don't very often.....

Q. Well that's OK. Thanks very much for doing it. It's that sort of expansion of the subject that's of interest. I've got to fit it into. I don't know what I'm going to fit it into yet, part of the methodical approach could be put down just purely to the fact that you are a male. Males do have a more logical approach, part of your rural approach is obviously going to put down to the fact that you were brought up in a rural setting which you said yourself.

A. Yes, but it could also be down to priorities as well couldn't it?

Q. Yes but it's your priorities isn't it and your priorities are in that area.

A. It's like with the survival things that I like doing, all that is, (but that might be where the Vietnam wart comes in), no, no that's doing something, no that's different. That's outside. I think the Vietnam war is the violent bit of me somewhere.

Q. It's the violence of the war that you like?

A. Probably. (Not sure?) I'm not going to say.

Q. It's all confidential this, nobody else is going to hear.

A. It could be. Yes probably. There's things on there I would put on there, probably you wouldn't want to know about, I mean I was a Club bouncer you see, violence. I've been had up for violence, violent offences, ABH and GBH. I was always in fights.

Q. What, did you initiate them or did you join in them when they started?

A. No, I just happened to be there at the wrong time usually but mainly I put that down to drink and all the rest of it, but um, I would not say I was not partial to a bit of violence. If you can understand.

Q. What do you learn from it?

A. Well there's a lot you can learn from it isn't there?

Q. I'm not a violent person.

A. Well it's like I keep trying to tell the kids, or people when you're doing something, I mean somebody won't lift something because it hurts, or no that not say, lift something because it hurts, they won't do something 'cos they say it hurts, I mean just for arguments sake, grabbing hold of a piece of rock or something when you got it out the ground with your hands or something to get it out the way to do something else they won't fight a bit of pain, if you understand, (Yes I do). Pain is nothing really. You get hit, you get hit. First bit of pain there then it's gone you don't feel ant pain till it's all finished. That's when you get the pain it's after, I mean, it's fight the pain a bit isn't really.

Q. I don't know, I've never hit anybody and because I've never been hit. I know what you mean about pain because I can take pain, you know it doesn't worry me too much. (Like a blister). It worried me yesterday, but you know, I thought I'd done something serious, but I mean when you're in the building trade, I mean when I put the saw through my thumbnail, I thought bloody hell, you know it was bloody agony, but you've got to get on with the job.

A. Well then you know don't you. Sometimes when you get angry with the job you get on and do it a bit quicker don't you, anger produces adrenaline, am i right? I mean I would have lasted a long time somehow in my own mind, probably have got wasted as soon as I got off the plain.

Q. OK. Right, well I don't think we can go any father. I think what you've given me is a lot of interesting stuff. (Told you I was odd. Good job your not a psychiatrist isn't it. You probably put me down as a latent murderer or something). Well, I shall not put you down as anything. I might quote some of what you say, it won't be under your name, it will be under something else. Whether what I want to come out of it is going to come out of it, I don't know. Certainly on the fishing, it is on what you've said.

A. Women don't seem to fit into the fishing game. (No). They got, most women, well we shouldn't categorise them, but most women look after small children, now looking after children you got to be a saint to look after kids, but as a fisher people, they don't seem to have it. Saying that every rod is made by a woman. Shakespeare's rods are all made by women. They do all the whipping, the varnishing, put the eyes on, putting the cork rings on, everything.

Q. That might be because they are cheap, not because they are good at it.

A. Ah, but they do a good job, I'm not knocking.

Q. I am not saying they don't do a good job. If you're trying to say that they get into the feel of making a rod I'm not so sure. If they make it better because they've got a better feel for it, I don't know.

A. Really what I was trying to say is making a rod is the most laborious job you could ever want. Sat in a factory turning out rod after rod for eight hours. I'm not saying women should be classed with laborious jobs, but most women or most jobs that are passed as laborious women seem to get passed onto. I was wondering whether they can handle boredom better than us men.

Q. I think it's a power battle, but we better not get into that.

A. I got great admiration for women, I wouldn't knock em down at all.

John.

Male 51 Married. University Lecturer, Senior Lecturer in Zoology. Teaches university students, scientific research, university administration. Wife's occupation varied. Has 'O' and 'A' levels, College degree and Higher degree.

Q. I take it the majority of your qualifications were gained in the normal way?

A. Yes. Absolutely straight forward.

Q. Did you do anything after school?

A. At university yes, but nothing outside the standard progression.

Q. Have you got any skills you feel you have learnt outside of the formal educational area?

A. Skills probably not, but parenting, life experience of course.

Q. You've got no hobbies?

A. I don't have any hobbies that involve skill.

Q. What sort of hobbies do you have?

A. I walk, I run, I listen to music, but they are all passive things and they are all unskilled.

Q. Do you know a lot about music?

A. Oh yes.

Q. You do, how have you learnt that?

A. Well listening to music, concerts, records and the public library.

Q. So you have actually spent some time in studying the music that you listen to?

A. Yes, I've been to evening classes including here.

Q. You have in fact gained information from your own researches?

A. Oh sure. I certainly gained a great deal of knowledge but not skill in the sense that I don't have a creative hobby that involves making things that would need a skill, I don't paint or pot.

Q. Who do you ask then if you want to know something?

A. Well, whoever is appropriate. I would tick all the people on your list.

Q. Would you like to elaborate on that?

A. Well, one of the problems about answering your questionnaire as somebody fairly articulate, is that if you want information you tend to know where to go to get it and you don't feel inhibited about going to get it. So I would go to any of those people, and I do have all of them, well no, my father now dead otherwise I have all those and I would go to any of them. There is not somebody I would go to outside of the skills they have to offer. I would go to these people in relation to my perception of what they could offer me.

Q. So you would see them in some way special ?

A. Yes, there is not, as it were a sort of *éminence grise*, that I now have. I did when I was a young man but now I am in late middle age, there isn't somebody that I go to because I regard them as wise of more experienced than me or whatever, as for example some of the people taking part in your questionnaire might go to their doctor or their Vicar or might have a particular friend that they particularly respect.

Q. Can you remember what you are told?

A. Oh I think so yes.

Q. And you remember it largely because you identify people who have a particular knowledge and you tap into that knowledge?

A. Yes I think that is fair

Q. These things that you remember would you call it learning? It is a bit early at this stage to ask you that question.

A. It is a very interesting question and my answer would be quite a long one, do you want it now?

Q. Yes.

A. Well, my immediate response when I first read the question was no I don't and then I thought about it and I realised that the answer has to be yes, um because if you remember something that you didn't know before you must by definition have learnt it, but I then decided that in relation to your questionnaire and the work that you are doing, incidental learning must presumably be defined as involving something rather more than simply remembering something. Um for example, if I remember there is a bus that passes my nearest bus stop at ten past eight I might well remember that, I don't think I would regard it as incidental learning.

Q. No but you would regard it as learning of some sort?

A. I would regard it as learning of some sort, and therefore the answer to your question 19 in fact must be yes, but as I say my immediate response when I read the question was to say no.

Q. In fact what I am looking at now is not incidental learning, it's what I call everyday learning.

A. Right, then learning what time the bus is going past the bus stop is learnt. if I remember it, yes of course I've learnt it.

Q. So in these various areas, I take it you have got various things you learn this way, do you pass it on to others?

a. Only if I am asked and that outside, of course, my formal job context. If you are a teacher your formal job is teaching people but outside of that I think I only pass information on when I am asked, i do not think I gratuitously convey information to people much.

Q. Do others act on what you tell them. I can imagine if people ask you things, you tell them?

A. I think again, doing the sort of job I do the answer has got to be yes.

Q. But outside of that?

A. But outside of that I think the answer is also yes because being a certain sort of person with a certain sort of position in society, then one has a position where people tend to regard one as fairly authoritative. Um I am also told I have an authoritative voice, in fact a friend of mine listened to a radio interview I did about a fortnight ago, he said your voice is so authoritative you can talk a whole load of rubbish on the radio and people will believe you. I was not quite sure whether that's a compliment or not.

Q. Do you have any evidence to suggest that people do listen to you ?

A. Outside of a formal context, um, yes but I would be very hard put to give you chapter and verse.

Q. What sort of thing would you look for?

A. Let me give you a specific context. One of my hobbies is running and and I am not a solitary runner, or not all the time. I sometimes go running with groups of friends, in

fact I go running with groups of friends on a regular basis. We discuss a whole variety of things and one of the things we discuss is running and I am quite sure that some of my have acted on comments and advice that I have given them and conversely there have certainly been occasions where In relation to our running I have acted upon comments and advice from them, so yes there is a specific example of knowing that people have acted on what I have said.

Q. Can you give me some item of your knowledge that you remember and say why you remember it, this is outside of your work life. is there some item of knowledge you find comes back to you quite often?

A. Well I've got a good memory and I tend to remember most things. Of course, one is more likely to remember things if they are important to you, but I often remember trivial things like telephone numbers of people who are not importantly to me. Um, or tho' registration numbers of peoples cars which is totally irrelevant to me, but I find I've remembered them. So yes I do remember a lot.

Q. What I was thinking of was, Harpsichord. Something quite special that keeps coming back to you and in a sense has no sense.

A. There is not anything that keeps coming back but I must know an enormous number of things that are totally irrelevant to me but I remember them, but i would be very hard put to I mean I can certainly think of examples in relation to practical things, like um, I am pretty hopeless with my hands, my manual skills are of a very low order indeed, and so I don't have a feel for materials and I therefore try especially hard to pick up information of that kind which I get the impression a lot of people um for a lot of people it comes quite easily, it doesn't come easily to me I have to try, but these are all things I know are going to be useful to me so it's not quite relevant. (Telephone rang) Well that's given me an opportunity to think of a perfect example of what your after. I know for example that there are two people in the world who have ever won two Nobel prizes and they are Marie Curie and a chemist in California called Lynus Pauling, and the reason that I know this is that about fifteen years ago I was invigilating an examination with a colleague of mine who happens to be a chemist, and invigilating examinations is very boring, and I looked at the book that he was reading ah, and the book happened to be by Lynus Pauling and he

had written in the cover a note that Lynus Pauling was one of the people who had won two Nobel prizes, and there was also tucked in there a newspaper cutting about the fact that there are these two people who are the only ones, and I retained that piece of evidence, totally useless piece of information, but I've retained it and I can vividly remember where I got it and how I got it.

Q. That's excellent. Now you've said that you give advice to people when they ask you, but are you ever in a situation where you give people advice when you think you should?

A. Not very often I would guess. Um, mainly I think because being in the sort of job where one is giving people advice a lot of the time, one tries not to when one is not on the job.

Q. So, um, would it be right to say that outside your job people do not recommend you for advice?

A. Oh, I am sure they do but I do not give advice gratuitously very often. Yes, I know this is the case because when I am in social situations with my wife it quite frequently happens that in situations where it might be appropriate to offer advice, where it has not been asked for, I notice this specifically that I am the one who holds back, in this particular context she tends to be the one who does it, so the answer to your question is no I think I don't.

Q. But you do when asked?

A. Oh, of course.

Q. How do you feel about it when your asked?

A. There is not a short answer to that, um, everybody is flattered to to ask advice, how I feel about it is very complex mix of um a sense of responsibility um, that if people take the advice, then then then you have a responsibility for their action on the advice but also a sense that people very frequently don't take advice and therefore a sense of wondering whether one is wasting ones time and it is a curious sort of mix of those two.

Q. Where would you say you've got the knowledge that you pass on when you give advice. Where does it come from?

A. Oh.

Q. I imagine that we are talking about outside the job situation in a social situation where the advice that you are going to give to people is not necessarily going to be your job skill advice. Can you be a bit specific about where you get such advice from?

A. A lot of it comes from accumulated experience, so it would be advice of a kind that when I was eighteen or twenty I probably would not have been in a position to have offered and now I am fifty one I can.

Q. What does life experience mean to you in this context?

A. Well it means I am still on a learning curve, um, you know, right the way across the board in every respect, in terms of knowledge, emotionally, in terms of understanding people and how they respond and react to events, and other people and to me, um, I think one of my definitions of old age would be probably be, when in that respect one stops being on a learning curve, um, can I come back to your point about where the source of advice which I answered your question in relation to advice which I give because I am accumulating experience simply as a consequence of being around a long time and getting older, but there is a secondary source of advice and I think its a sort that I personally probably give quite a lot of and that's advice that derives from extra mural things that I do which have increased the level of my experience in other words outside of my job and I think particularly of things like for seven or eight years I was counsellor for the university student counselling service and I call that outside my job because it's totally voluntary, um, but it was something I was trained to do, I am now the universities advisor to students with disabilities, um, again I don't have to do that, it is not voluntary in the sense that I am paid for it, it's voluntary in the sense that I don't have to do it. Um, and both of those activities have immeasurably, have increased me experience, especially being a councillor for the university counselling service, Um, I've been involved in the running of an old peoples home for about ten years and that of course must have increased my experience in a different sort of way and probably to a smaller extent things like being on the Council of Folk house, um, all these things increase experience in ways that I am quite sure substantially, um, increase my feeling of ability to offer advice.

Q. Are you saying in fact that this increasing of your experience is nothing like training?

A. Oh yes. All of these things that I have mentioned to you I have not gone into in any sense with the intention of increasing my experience and none of them in any sense, well the university counselling I had to be trained for but doing it wasn't training, um, being university disability officer isn't training a voluntary work for old people home, Folk house isn't training.

Q. No but you pick up things as you go along from the people that you bump into?

A. Of course an enormous amount and and in that sense an enormous amount more from those things that you do which are not work related, to those which you do, you know. I think the committees that I sit on that are work related of course I pick up a lot from them, but I certainly, I think I probably pick up a great deal more certainly in terms of my personal development, I pick up a great deal more from the things I do outside of my immediate work.

Q. Well I have asked you if you remember something do you think it's learning, we've more or less answered that, would you say that you remembered things mostly because you already know something about the subject or, you have hinted you just remember anything?

A. Oh yes I mostly remember things that I already know about.

Q. and that are of interest to you?

A. Yes, I am interested in a huge diversity of things. Um, and I probably, like most people, things that are effectively about those things I am totally uninterested in, but there are not many things that I am totally uninterested in.

Q. How does remembering all this information make you feel?

A. That, like so many of the your questions, there's a long answer and a short answer. The short answer is good, the long answer is in fact much more complicated than that because, this sounds a bit facetious, but I think it has an underlying rationale, that I rather have the feeling that that there is a finite limit to how much information any one individual is going to remember and I sometimes wonder whether every time now I acquire new information it's at the expense of information I have already got and you wonder whether that's efficient, whether you might just as well not keep the stock of information you have rather than replace it with something, um. sorry that sounds a bit facetious, but can you

see that there is an underlying, and it is a bit facetious, but there is an underlying serious element to this comment.

Q. It sounds as if you see memory, or the remembering of things as a sort of um, file where you pop things into slots.

A. Yes I do.

Q. and you keep it regardless?

A. Um, yes, I think that is probably largely true, I mean... (trails off).

Q. So it's an accumulative process, not what I would call a roundabout process, whereas when you are going around the roundabout you pick things up and chuck things off.

A. Well of course that happens, um, but but the problem about commenting on that, um, is that while I think about it, I can doubtless tell you a great deal about picking things up and how I picked them up, I know absolutely nothing, or virtually nothing about the process of losing them and I think I could introspect till the cows come home and it wouldn't advance us one whit further.

Q. Now we are going to talk about the work situation and I realise you have been where you, are for some time, but you you had training for your present job I take it?

A. Yes, you can answer that question at two levels, I mean in the sense that I am a professional and have to have a certain training in order to pursue my profession the answer is yes. if you, mean did I have specific training for some elements of my job the answer, surprisingly is no. I mean, do you want me to enlarge on that. (Yes) I mean for example my contract with the university is that I should do three things, that I should teach, that I should undertake research, and that I should do such administrative and other general jobs, um, as are required of me by the university. Now as far as the teaching is concerned I've never had any formal training at all. This wouldn't be the case for a new entry into the profession in 1990. Somebody like me who entered the profession in 1964 it was, i have no formal training as a teacher, so all my teaching skills and I think I can say without being too unmodest, that i am actually a very good teacher. I can tell you one or two things I am bad at, I can identify them but I am not immodest about saying the things I'm good at and I am a very good teacher, um, 95% if not more, is either innate or it's

using certain innate abilities and personality traits, um, I got that the wrong way round, it's using information that I picked up, um, to improve, um, what started simply being a result of innate personality traits and, and, and, a....

Q. Right so, when you started the job and you got into teaching were there people around who you either watched or went to for advice?

A. There weren't people I went to for advice, there were certainly people I watched, um, but interestingly this is in fact, I find this a very interesting discussion and I think it's valuable to you because it's making me focus on incidental learning that I did, but I've never really thought about in those terms, um, but when I think about it and think about how I acquired my teaching skills, I actually acquired my teaching skills before I needed them and before I knew I was going to need them and I can actually identify some of the people on whom I base my teaching and I can actually identify some of the events on which my subsequent teaching skills were based, and these pre-date my needing those skills, they even, in many cases pre-date my knowing that I would need them, I think that's immensely interesting and I've never thought about them in those terms before.

Q. Who were these people?

A. Well, um, quite complicated people, for example the father of my best school friend, he was immensely influential, um, all sorts of ways, you know he, I picked up from him, from what you would call incidental learning and I would agree with you in this context it was incidental learning, I picked up from him the specific skill of how to do a vote of thanks and I was not aware of having done it until several years later when I was in a position where I got asked to do a vote of thanks and I modelled myself on my memory of him doing it, there's a specific example, there are plenty of others, that's a good one.

Q. How would you see that person in relationship to yourself on a scale of high and low?

A. High and low what?

Q. Social status, occupational status?

A. Well he's a person of high occupational status, not super high, he was a school teacher, a very successful schoolteacher, um.

Q. So you would have seen him above you in particular facilities?

A. Well he was very much older than me, we are talking about when i was a teenager and he was in his fifties, but a man that I had an immense respect for, in every way as a person and professionally.

Q. Was there anybody actually in the job when you started it that was around that you sort of talked things over with?

A. My recollection is, that in fact, no, um.

Q. No chat in the common room in the staff room?

A. No I think not, I'm a pretty arrogant person, much more arrogant than most people suppose and one of the things I'm very arrogant about is my own ability.

Q. Self made man aye?

A. In that sense yes, um.

Q. So in fact there was not anybody when you got your first job that you actually went to for advice?

A. Well now we are talking about the teaching context, if we look at other contexts of the job then there was for example, I mentioned the teaching component and we've discussed that, there are two other components, there's the doing research component, that of course is something one is trained to do so it's outside our discussion, the third is the sort of administrative component and staggeringly enough I got no training in that either, um, and so that again was something that one picked up largely by incidental learning but in that case also by seeking advice and for example, i vividly remember the first time I was ever asked to write a reference for somebody, it was, as a matter of fact, somebody who was coming on the first evening class, it might have been here at Folk house or the university, and I was asked by this guy to write a reference, of course I said yes and I wrote a reference for him and I took it to a man who was my immediate superior at that time for whom I had an immense respect and said, what do you think of this and he metaphorically tore it up into little pieces and threw it in the bin and said right this is how you do it. That was an immensely influential and immensely salutary, I remember it to this day, um.

Q. What about everyday administration tasks, did you get help from your secretaries or administrators?

A. I picked it up as I went along and one of the things, thinking about this, and looking back at this in retrospect, is how long it was before there were quite a lot of things I had picked up. I mean for example, if you write a reference for somebody there are certain legal consequences that follow, I don't think I was aware of that until I had probably been in my job for several years.

Q. How did you become aware of it?

A. For example the desirability of keeping, if you are a professional, the desirability of keeping a record of everything you do and I don't, you know that was something that gradually dawned on me, um, and it dawned on me as a consequence of a again an incidental learning process, it did not dawn on me as the result of being formally taught or as the result of going to, in contrast to the writing of a reference situation, nor did it dawn on me as a consequence of going to people and saying what are the norms, how do you do it, it just kind of happened and I in that context I don't remember precisely how.

Q. But within your research you said that is what you are trained to do, but surely if you've got a research project that you want to do, you must want to talk it over with somebody just to validate it in your own mind?

A. Right, yes, that is part and parcel of the research process.

Q. Who do you do that with?

A. Oh my peers. If you are a research scientist there are two sorts of peer group you have, there are your peers in your actual place of work, but doing any kind of research is actually a rather curious kind of occupation because there is a sense in which you are on your own, you are certainly on your own in your place of work, um, because you are doing your own thing and you are surrounded by colleagues but their doing their thing and that's the sense by which I mean your on your own, so your peer group are people who are at the same level as you are and hopefully you respect them and therefore you can discuss your precise problems because they understand them, the group you go to for that are a group people call the invisible college. Let me illustrate that by my speciality. I'm an expert on lizards, there are about 3 or 4 experts on lizards in Great Britain, all the other world authorities on lizards spread out amongst the world, we all know one another ,um, a lot of us know one another personally, if we know one

another we correspond, um, for some of them especially the ones in the States and in the nearer part of Europe we talk on the telephone, so they are certainly, they are the people I would go to for specific advice about my job, but I suspect this is straying a little bit from the kinds of things you want to know.

Q. No it's not. So there are two groups of people you seem to ask advice from, one is your peer group and the others are people who have got some sort of superiority, and I don't mean that they have got more money or higher status, but you see them as superior in certain facets of their behaviour or expertise?

A. I see them as being superior in that I perceive them as being people to whom I could go and get advice of the kind that I might value.

Q. Who would you say out of these two groups that you went to most for advice?

A. Oh, the invisible college.

Q. That's your peer group?

A. No, No, The people round the world that do the same sort of thing that I do.

Q. So your peer group are the people in this country who do the same sort of things as you do ?

A. No, No, my peer group are people who do the same job as I do but their specialism is slightly different.

Q. That is step one, step two are the people in the invisible college which are people who are specialists in your subject of which you are a specialist as well?

A. There are a small number of people in this country who are in the invisible college, and that's a peer group as well, but I see them more as invisible college than peer group, because peer group I see as people I am meeting all the time , my immediate colleagues. I see the people who work in the same specific field as I do, who happen to be in Gt. Britain not being a peer group but as invisible college, because I only meet them at infrequent intervals.

Q. But also their level of knowledge in certain aspects of your speciality is going to be different to yours?

A. It's going to be different and in some cases greater than mine and therefore it's appropriate to seek their advice, the kind of advice, um, that I go to these two groups of

people for are going to be slightly different. If I want specific advice I'm more likely to go to the invisible college, if I want general advice, um, or want to talk things over in a general sense then it would be my local peer group.

Q. What would you go to your professor for, information or advice?

A. Very little, he's a very busy man, and I rather have the perception that he would not want to be concerned with my problems, um, (pause), I wouldn't actually, when I was a young man I would go to my superior whom I respected very much and I would go to other superiors within my organisation who I respected of who I thought might have the specific knowledge that I wanted, um, but in a sense I am now the superior class, um, it's more that people come to me for advice. Now of course this is not a one way thing, of course I need advice but the people who are my superiors now tend to be way up in the stratosphere, they are very busy men, um, and I tend not to go to them for advice simply because they are such busy people.

Q. So you would go to your peer group?

A. So I would go to my peer group, um, not my.....(tails off).

Q. Would your peer group include the administrators at the place of work?

A. Um, if the advice I wanted was in an administrative context, yes.

Q. And is there a particular person you would go for who might not be the person that would know about that specifically but would know about it generally?

A. Are we off the record, off the record, no, I don't have very much respect for most of them.

Q. Do you discuss your work with people outside of the workplace?

A. Not a lot because it is so specialised that, that mostly they wouldn't understand it. I mean if you mean the details of my work, if you mean my work in general, um, well I don't think I'd discuss it no, I mean I'm asked to give talks about it and that sort of thing but I don't think that that was on your mind when you asked the question. I don't discuss it in the sense that I think you mean.

Q. I mean you go out to the Pub one evening and talk about your job because you've got something particularly interesting that your doing?

A. I don't button hole people in the pub and say I work on lizards, don't you think that's fascinating and bore the pants of them, there are plenty of people who do but I am not one of them.

Q. I was wondering what helps you to remember things better, talking it over with people or thinking it through for yourself?

A. I think that there are two things that help me to remember things better, first of all having a perception that I need the information, or the advice or whatever, and secondly having a respect for the person who, to whom I consort or who is offering the advice. I mean I have to say that having the elements of having a fairly arrogant character is that there are not very many people I respect, but that the flip side of that is that the people I do respect are very important to me, because there are not very many of them, and so I do tend to listen to their advice very carefully. I mean for example, I received a rather critical letter in a work context from a colleague of mine in Belgium, who is part of the invisible college who I respect very much indeed and because his letter is critical it upsets me rather, it upsets me because I respect him so much.

Q. You've got a very specialist area obviously, but do you adapt things that you have learned as a result of your work for other purposes?

A. Gosh.....(illegible)me to give chapter and verse?

Q. I mean, lets put it this way. you've got certain administrative tasks that you've got to carry out in your job. You've got a particular research oriented background which means that you would look at particular problems in a particular way. Is that helpful, for instance in your seat on the housing trust, does it help in other areas of life?

A. That's very interesting. Um, I would say yes it does. There is no doubt at all it influences how I operate in most contexts. I would say that it's helpful, but being honest I have to say to you that I have been criticised from time to time for bringing over, um, their attitudes, or the particular working methods, or the skills that I use in my job to some of the things that I do and other people have told me they are not appropriate, and certainly in relation to my involvement in running an old peoples home on one or two occasions at committee meetings people have said to me look your not running a university now you're running an old people's home, um, and it's different.

Q. The question I have got here is how active are you in finding out new things in your workplace situation. Now what I mean by that is that in a workplace situation things are always changing, people are coming and going, there are things it is useful to know, even though they may not be actually specifically to do with your speciality. So that's what I mean by how active are you in finding out new things in the workplace?

A. Oh, I mean, I am sure the answer is very. I mean I don't think you could do the kind of professional job I do unless you were the kind of person who is open to what is going on. You have, if you're a good teacher, you have to adapt and react, certainly a good teacher is somebody who can react to the situation and the culture and the situation that he or she finds herself in.

Q. But you have already said that you are in a situation now where it is more likely for people to come to you for advice than for you to go out and get it, but in fact the question does rely upon you keeping your ear to the ground asking questions and finding out these new things?

A. Ah, sorry, yes. I think there is a misunderstanding here. I am not talking about finding out things because I've asked, I was talking about finding out things because I've picked them up. I do see a difference there. I don't think I personally do very much of finding out things in a general context because I've asked, I do an enormous amount of finding out, learning things because I've picked them up and many of those things are going to be things that I have no perception are going to be useful to me, I never the less pick things up and I see it.....

Q. But how do you pick them up, where do they come from. Where are you at the time of picking them up?

A. I don't think there's ever a time when one doesn't.

Q. Oh yes, but your office from what I remember of it is pretty isolated, if you sit in that all day long what are you going to pick up?

A. Yes, but as you have discovered when you try to telephone me I am not always there.

Q. I mean you must pick up more than being in a lecture or doing a seminar in your office?

A. I mean, I do a kind of job where simply as part of the job I am interacting with an enormous number of people, so inevitably as a result of those interaction I pick a lot up.

Q. So there is a lot of gratuitous information going around which you just log?

A. A huge amount, and it also happens out of the context of the job as well, um, let me give you a specific example of that which draws two threads together from things we've been discussing. The first is my point, well I want to make a point that I do pick things up from people outside of the purely work context and that the second thing is, do you remember that I said quite a while ago that one of my weaknesses, one of my failings, is that I'm hopeless with my hands and I don't have a feel for materials, um. I am very well aware of the fact that most artisans are people who do have this skill that I don't have, and I must have, although I have a small number of close friends who are artisans, inevitably most of my friends aren't so I must have picked a lot of knowledge up incidentally and I also have the perception, um, this sounds rather arrogant, um, it's very difficult to put what I am trying to say into words, and especially to put it into words that don't sound arrogant, but I am sometimes surprised to discover, um, how very good the interpersonal skills, um, of people whose educational and other sorts of attainments and whose social status is comparatively modest, like I said it sometimes surprises me how instinctively people like that perform extraordinarily well in particular tricky situations. I sometimes think to myself, my golly. you've done that better than I would have done, um, this is an example of picking things up. I am not quite sure how well I've explained that but you can see what I am trying to say.

Q. You can recognise things in other people that you find surprising?

A. That I find surprising and that I admire.

Q. So, I am still not quite sure how active you, are in finding out these things in your workplace because you are saying on the one hand that you are active but you are saying on the other hand that you don't ask many people about it. So I am not quite sure what this activity of keeping au fait with what goes on in the workplace is about?

A. Well if you communicate with other people, just by the process of communicating you learn things, and I learn things as a consequence of communicating with a very wide range of people.

Q. But from your point of view your communication is to do with your job skill or your job, or the three areas of your job?

A. Or social communication within the context of, you know we have coffee breaks and we don't talk about the oxyribonucleic acid.

Q. So you do have coffee breaks and there is a peer group with whom you have the coffee breaks and you talk about all sorts of things?

A. Right, but what I don't do very much of is asking those people for specific pieces of information or specific advice.

Q. But in fact you do pick up specific pieces of information and advice from their discussions?

A. Oh yes indeed. The context in which I am most likely to seek advice in fact, um, is precisely to make good the area of my ability that I've mentioned twice already as being one where I am particularly weak. I am very likely to go to friends, I've got a do it yourself/ building problem, what's your advice. I certainly have one particular colleague that I frequently go to to seek building or do it yourself, but in the general context of my work.....

Q. Is that person one of your peer group?

A. Yes.

Q. You have already said that you take the skills or some of the things that you have got from your workplace to your other activities, and we've been told about that. Of this information that you pick up incidentally which seems to be the best word to use here, in this peer group discussion, are you aware of actually using any of that information that's come to you, if you like gratuitously in your other areas of activity?

A. Yes, I am sure I do, um, I must do, particularly in those parts of my job that involve advising students. Um, I mean my contract with the university is to teach, to do research and to do administration but, but there is a hidden agenda here, if you are responsible for students then quite a substantial amount of your time is actually spent interacting with students in ways that vary from, um, indirectly advice is being offered to them overtly seeking advice and you offering it, and undoubtedly information that I pick up as a result of my general activities gets channelled in to the advice that I offer in the specific context

of part of my job being to offer advice. I mean I would be very hard put to to give you a specific example or quantify it, but I have no doubt in my own mind it must happen to a large extent.

Q. Now, we've answered some of these questions, do you belong to a social group, well....

A. We haven't answered that question actually.

Q. No well, you belong to certain groups that are outside of the work context, but they are not what I would define as social groups.

A. No, when you say do I belong to a social group I assume what you, mean is there a group of people with whom I identify, you don't mean do I perceive myself as being B1 or C2.

Q. No, I mean you have talked about runners, this group of runners.....

A. Right, interestingly that is the only one, I am a bit of a loner and, and I mean you can see that from my hobbies. I walk, that is either on my own or with my wife, on the whole I run, that's mostly on my own but there are groups of people that I run with on a regular basis. I listen to music that's largely, go to concerts with small groups of people from time to time, in fact I am taking somebody to a concert on Saturday, um, but I don't belong to a social group in the sense that I don't belong to the darts team or a drama club or whatever.

Q. No, but you said yes, in answer to question 17, where there are 12 different people, that you asked them all for advice. They are a sort of social group, so we've got, family group, then there's friends, doctor, vicar, shopkeeper, advice centre worker?

A. I don't see them as social groups, they are people I interact with but they are not what I would

Q. I would define the family as a social group.

A. Well all, OK, right, but, but, but.

Q. I would define the vicar as being part of a social group.

A. Right.

Q. Shopkeeper not obviously, that's somebody you could go to for advice, Friends, yes, I would say that you would have friends you might qualify that, you might just have a

friend, in which case you would say that it is not a social group, but by and large most people do have a group where they have got people they would call friends.

A. Yes, OK, well if you want to define those as social groups, I mean, I don't agree with you, but, lets take that as a working definition and I will respond to it. I don't actually seek advice, um, and I don't think I obtain very much information, um, from any of those, um, I don't obtain very much information from my family a because, I'm in a situation where my educational attainments are higher than all of those of all of my immediate family. I don't go for the vicar because while he's an amiable enough chap he is not a person that I respect in the sense that I talked about respect earlier , on um, friends, yes, but my circle of close friends is quite small.

Q. And would they be identified with your peer group?

A. Um, no, um, on the whole not.

Q. So they are outside your job?

A. They are outside the peer group, but difficult to know how much I learn from them.

Q. Well, no but they are there for talking and general information?

A. Yes.

Q. Of the groups that you do belong to can you identify somebody that other people ask advice of?

A. Yes, obviously I read these questions, I've thought about them.

Q. So why do you think these people are listened to?

A. Well in this specific example I am thinking of, because of a combination of the kind of people they are and the kind of job they do. The group I run with on Sunday mornings is very diverse socially, one of them is a local G.P. and he I would immediately identify as somebody who comes into this category, but then he IS a G.P. and we all look up to G.P.'s don't we?

Q. Well.

A. Well it's a very rare person who doesn't.

Q. I don't.

A. Well OK but most people do.

Q. Yes most people do, they are the gurus of our society unfortunately, um, so you're just actually putting forward one group at the present moment where you have observed this and this bloke is a G.P., so he's got a special professional attitude?

A. Right, OK, but people don't seek advice from him and he does not offer advice, um, in the context, I mean, the opposite is true, as you know if you're a doctor when you're outside the surgery the shutters come down, um, and if you're sensitive you respect that and I would, the last thing I would ever do is seek medical advice from one of my friends who are in the medical profession.

Q. But having said that, this person obviously does stand out as somebody?

A. But he stands out as being somebody that people, including myself, discuss things with and we listen very carefully to what he has got to say.

Q. Why do you think that is, if it's not the fact that he is a G.P.?

A. Well, I think it is partly the fact that he is a G.P. I think this carries over, um.

Q. So it is not that he is tall or listens to people?

A. No, in this particular case it's very largely the fact that he's a G.P. plus of course he has, you know, intangible aspects of personality.

Q. Right, how about on the home committee, is there a person there that people listen to more than others?

A. Yes there are, there it's more a matter of personality, um, and you can't, you know people are wholes, you can't divert, or dissect out, I am sorry I am getting tired, beginning to lose my ability to articulate what I am trying to say, um, you cannot dissect out, you cannot isolate, that's the word I am looking for, peoples, um, various attributes, you're a particular kind of person you do a particular kind of job, and you cannot totally isolate those, um, but in the case of running an old peoples home, yes, I would say that the people who are listened to there tend to be listened to largely because of the kind of people they are, it so happens that because of the kind of people they are, they once did very high powered jobs, um, but they are now retired and I think we listen to them because of who they are not because of the job they used to do.

Q. You have talked about a hobby in the sense that you don't have a skill hobby but you run, and you listen to music, how did you get into running?

A. I am very proud of the fact that I got into running before the mob did. In a very specific, was in a matter of fact, I was camping with a family on a race course in the north of England and the weather was awful, and you've got a family, you would know or can imagine what it's like camping with a family when the weather is bad, um, and so I was bored out of my mind and the family was beginning to get on my nerves and I thought to myself, just for the hell of it I'll run round the race course to see what it's like to be a race horse, and I ran round the race course and enjoyed it, and it all started from that.

Q. So have you done any learning, I mean is there any skill to you've had to learn?

A. Yes, oh yes, there is, um, in the sense that there are lots of things you must not do and if you do them it will be painful, um, and there are lots of things about the clothing you wear and what parts you Vaseline if you are going to run a long way, to stop yourself getting joggers nipple and all that sort of stuff, yes there is an awful lot.

Q. Where did you get that sort of information from?

A. Um, mostly either trial and error learning and from books and magazines, a bit from discussing it with friends but not a lot.

Q. Mostly trial and error?

A. A lot of error but some discussing with friends.

Q. And reading about it?

A. You know what kind of running shoes should wear, yes I mean one discusses that.

Q. So you haven't been to any classes on the subject?

A. No I have never been to classes on running, I've been to classes on music on many occasions.

Q. Did you get any help from particular people as well, I mean it is all very well getting this trial and error knowledge and reading books, but did you feel there were particular people that you felt able to ask advice from?

A. Um, I don't think I, there were people I asked advice from, there were certainly people I picked up information from, um, you know I can certainly think back to the music classes that I went to and there were people on the class who were well informed and I certainly learnt from them.

Q. Can you say what sort of things?

A. Um, no, because they are mostly intangibles like attitudes to things or modifying my attitude to things, or, you know if you are interested in music you are a very rare person indeed who is interested in music right the way across the board, you know, everyone has their likes and dislikes and I think undoubtedly I have enlarged the area of music that I relate to as a consequence of the people who have been members of music classes that I have been on.

Q. Do you read music?

A. Not very well, I do a bit but not very well.

Q. Is that part of, I mean if you are studying music do you read it?

A. No, not at the level I study it.

Q. So actually what you go to classes for is to listen to somebody talking about music?

A. To listen to somebody playing a piece of music on the gramophone and then talk about it.

Q. Does that enhance your enjoyment of music or does that mean that you, does it have a practical aspect, do you then go out and buy a particular rendering of a particular piece as a result of having it recommended or do you listen to them all or what?

A. Both, I forget the first part of your question was...

Q. Does it enhance your enjoyment, which you said it did, is there a practical outcome?

A. Well yes, that I might go out and buy the record or what's much more likely I'd go to the record library and get the record from the record library.

Q. Have you helped anybody come into your hobbies, the running and the music, have you persuaded people that these are good things to do?

A. Yes, running, yes.

Q. Why would you want to do that?

A. Because I enjoy it. I don't proselytise, I've only helped people who've demonstrated that they want to be helped. I'm not a proselytising sort of person, that's not part of my personality make-up.

Q. So somebody knows you're a runner and comes and asks you about it?

A. Yes, and says you run and can I join you or what's it like or whatever, so I could have been responsible for starting off, in the days when I used to play squash I certainly introduced a lot of people to playing squash.

Q. So people actually ask you about a special expertise that you have got as a result of knowing that you have got it, (yes), and they have done in the past, (yes). When you're telling them about these activities would you say you were teaching them?

A. Y, yes, um,.....I see teaching as a fairly formal, a....., I define teaching in a fairly formal sort of way, in other words I define teaching as transmitting either specific information or a much less tangible but never the less real, a specific sort of set of attitudes which is very much more difficult to pin down. Um, but there is a whole area of sort of incidental things, um, which I don't define as teaching but I can see, you know, if you wanted to press me on this, I would probably ultimately be forced to admit are teaching, sorry it depends on how you want to define teaching and I would define it in that restricted way, and, and, and, having defined it in that restricted way the answer to your question is no. I don't very often teach people in the way in which, if I was a scout master I would be teaching people how to get their next badge.

Q. So you actually are in a sense sort of giving advice and information?

A. Giving information, but I see that as different from teaching, um, but the boundaries are not clear cut.

Q. Question 58 is an interesting one which I should like to look at in three areas. The social area, which I take it to be all our activities outside of work. The work area, which is obvious, and the family area which I see as different from the social. So where do you hear of new developments for instance, in your social activities?

A. I don't know what the question means.

Q. Let's take your housing experience. On the housing there are fashions in the way that these places are run, and they change from time to time and certain things have to be done, so there's a sort of development of the activity itself, (Right). In your running, I don't know anything at all about running, but I can imagine that there are fashions in running, (sure yes there are), where do you hear about these new developments?

A. The technical literature or you know the relevant literature, um, and discussion with other people who are interested or concerned. It is actually easier to identify this in relation to the old peoples home because running an old peoples home is so totally outside my normal range of experience, I mean my job is nothing to do with old people it's to do with students and I don't yet have any really elderly people in my family so, so, so, it's something totally outside everything else that I do, so therefore it's easy to identify the learning process because in a sense every new piece of information and every new attitude that I acquire is learning, because I can't have got it from anywhere else, um.

Q. Hang on a minute, where does the learning come from?

A. Well, right and I can identify that the learning comes from two quite specific areas in that context, one is reading the technical, the relevant literature, by which I mean newspapers as well as, as, magazine articles and the housing acts and all that kind of stuff, um, but also, and I can see this very clearly, it emerges from discussion, you know I go into a committee meeting and that's a kind of discussion, there is then informal discussion before and after and that's discussion and I can certainly identify in the context of running an old peoples home that I learn an enormous amount out of both holding committee meetings and the informal discussion that takes place before and afterwards.

Q. And reflection upon it?

A. Right, and I can identify that particularly clearly because, as I say, it's the one area, well one of the areas of what I do that is totally divorced from all the other things that I do.

Q. What about in the running situation?

A. Well, it's not so easy to identify there, first of all because there's much less to learn, um, and the whole thing is just more diffuse, um, and also, sorry to sound facetious but when you're running you're mostly out of breath, so there is not a lot of discussion and mostly at a pretty basic level of grunts, for god's sake slow up !

Q. But I can imagine that you have a chance to talk before and after, but I mean are there fashions in running?

A. Um, there are fashions in clothing related with running yes, and fashions in training and so on, um, but not very much, there isn't a great deal of information involved in the running situation.

Q. Just some basics?

A. ..(pause).....it's not actually a very productive area to pursue to try to identify learning because although of course learning in the sense that we are discussing it takes place there is not a lot of it.

Q. I mean what would be a new development in running?

A. Well, if somebody develops a new kind of shoe for example, which happens once every year, once every other year.

Q. And how do you find out about that?

A. Discussion.

Q. You don't read the literature of running?

A. I don't any more, I used to, but it got so boring it just goes round in the same old circles.

Q. Where your job's concerned I imagine new developments come up in the literature of your peer group?

A. Oh yes, right, sure, that's absolutely specific.

Q. There must be a stage, a sort of pre-new development stage, there must be a gestation period for new developments. How does that work?

A. Well, it's part of ones job that one is continuously interacting with ones peers, um, and so these proto new developments are going to emerge in ones discussions with ones peers.

Q. Now in the general, in the popular world one would expect developments to be the prerogative of those higher up the ladder rather than those lower down the ladder because they are better qualified, been doing it longer, therefore should be more creative to their approach in what they are doing. Would that be your experience ?

A. Well no it wouldn't in the particular kind of job I do because my job is well, the social organisation of the job I do is stratified in a rather particular kind of way, um, there are several sort of classes of people in the same sort of way that in the army there are

privates, N.C.O.'s, Commissioned Officers and so on, exactly the same is true of a university, um, and I slot into the academic staff or band, um, but in terms of the kind of discussion we are talking about there is not a lot of distinction between the raw recruits that come in at the bottom of that band and the grand old men who are toppling off the top end, of course the grand old men have got a lot more experience and in that sense a lot more to offer, um, but it's actually very genuinely a two way thing, within the band, um, once you go beyond the band then to a very large extent transmission of information of that kind ceases and what is transmitted is just the general coinage of day to day living, nice day to day, teas a bit weak this morning, (or more formal ?), well not formal, but not specific formal, (well no or more formal, what I mean by that is either it's inconsequential day to day chat, or it's formal request for, which is not the two way communication), say go and he goes, oh yes of course that. But within the band it's very much a two way thing not a linear flow but I would guess that universities are, well not unique, but you know if there's a spectrum in these things universities are right up at one end of that spectrum.

Q. What for a.....

A. For a two way flow of information within the band, um, I mean commerce or for example industry would be much more hierarchically arranged, even without the band. I mean it's significant if you see a job advertisement in commerce or industry for middle management it says, you will report to, well I don't report to anybody, and of course I have a superior, of course I have people that are junior to me but we don't report in that formalised sense.

Q. What about the family situation?

A. LONG PAUSE.....I come from a very diffuse family, my family aren't in Bristol so I only see them at irregular intervals.

Q. But there must be procedures, for want of a better word, that the family have got for contacting one another, for discussing family issues, there must be a developmental aspect to the family however far flung they are?

A. Right, but I am sorry I have forgotten what the initial question was?

Q. New developments within the family, where do you hear about them?

A. Oh, gossip.

Q. I am not thinking here that the wives sisters brother is having a new baby, there is a network of communication within the family that is fairly direct, but there are developments within families, like for instance, we've brought all our children up food reform, no injections, now our children, that are having babies are having injections, the food they are eating is rubbish, you know no that is a development, is that sort of development disseminated throughout the family and is it discussed?

A. Only at the level of gossip.

Q. So in fact you would get to know about things like this within the family from this gossip?

A. Yes, I know how my elder daughter is bringing up her son.

Q. Would you put that at a bit more than gossip?

A. Yes, but not very much more in the sense that I have never discussed it with her and she has never discussed it with me. I mean I ought to say in fairness we are talking about a lad of nine months, I mean certainly later on I would feel I, had failed somewhere if there was not the sort of communication that your talking about, um,.

Q. It's a strange thing to say, but what would you see as new developments within the family?

A. Well the sort of, I, I, actually find it very difficult to relate to this question in relation to, to , to, the family but the sort of things you've identified, different ways of doing things, um, either in terms of specifics, some people have a table cloth, some don't, some people have a bottle on the table, some use a jug, or in terms of the underlying ethos, injections are in principle bad and therefore we won't have them, injections are in principle good therefore we will take everything that's on offer.

Q. What about the generational gap, and the fact that the younger generation have different ways of doing things because of their peer group than we did because of our peer group?

A. I see a very distinct difference here depending on which way you look, If I look back then I see a yawning generation gap, a, and its because education, um, but if I look forward, then, its a very very much smaller generation gap, and when I, I'm sure this is a

real phenomenon because if I look at the people that were within my peer group when I was a teenager and a member of a closely knit family, then I was very conscious of the fact that I and all my friends who were heading towards an educational attainment, an educational level that was greater than the norm for the family, had a bigger generation gap than those of my peer group who were heading towards a level of educational attainment which was the same or similar to that of their parents. So in other words as more and more people are educated to a higher and higher level, in my opinion the generation gap will get smaller and become less important. I think it was tremendously important for my parents generation because they just totally failed to understand my generation while of course there are big differences between my generation and my children's generation, um, I can empathise with them and even though I don't agree with a lot of things they do, I can understand the rationale on which it's based. My parents were totally incapable of empathising or even understanding the rationale on which many of the things we did were based, that's a matter, to a large extent, not entirely, but to a large extent educational attainment.

Q. A question that you might like to comment on but isn't in the paper, how would you expect somebody with no educational qualifications at all to approach this questionnaire?

A. Gosh. Of course I hadn't thought of that one, um..... some of the questions they would answer in exactly the same sort of way that O would tho' of course they might be rather less articulate, um, but basically they, they, they, would answer the questions in exactly the same sort of way, but some of the questions require, well it's possible to answer some of the questions in ways that require sort of fairly sophisticated conceptualisation and analysis, um, and I would expect the sort of people you're talking about maybe to answer those questions in rather different sorts of ways, and I am guessing but I guess they would answer them, um, on the basis of gut feeling and their experience rather than sort of dissecting the situation and rationalising it and analysing it as somebody like me does. Does that answer your question?

Q. Yes that's fine. Do you have anything else you want to say about the process of considering the questions?

A. No. There are some things I might say about where all this is leading, but that's not quite the same thing, um, though in fact the two are part and parcel, I mean I think you're sample size is too small and I mean I think it's too small because for example you have interviewed me and you've got an hour and a half on your tape, um, but it's very biased material,, it's (John), um, it's not representative of anything it's simply (John), um, and I think there's a danger if you have a small sample size that you will use it not as (John) but as representative of some of the things (John) represents, you know, as an example of, and I don't think, I think that's a danger.

Q. I think, well I would like to say that's not going to happen. What I am looking for, (You can't do anything about it), patterns, and interestingly enough there is a pattern coming out of all the interviews (Really), which I find absolutely fascinating, (yes) What I am saying is that people that don't go to people above them or below them they go to their peer group for quite crucial information.

A. Right and that's right, and my response was to say yes and I've seen it time and again in the, the, teaching context of my job, that I've been horrified to discover that in a situation where students, I'd have felt should have come to me, and I think I am as approachable as it's possible to be, um, because if you're more approachable than me in the context of my job, your one of those people who are trying so desperately hard that the students despise you, so, so, so, um,, many, many times I've been horrified to discover that they haven't, and the reason they haven't is that I'm sorry, I can't point to the tape recorder, because, you know, I'm so far above them that they're hesitant to do it, (that's right), um, they are perceiving a far wider gap, um, than I do.

Q. I don't see it like that and this is why I need to look into it. I see it as them not wanting to let themselves down, (well there's also that, there's also that), in front of somebody they respect, (there's also that), um, and I think the reason why people ask their peers is because they are on a level and they feel confident in that situation.

A. Yes, I am sure that is one of the reasons but suspect there are probably quite a lot of other reasons as well and if I go away and think about it I am sure I could come back at you with, with what I think are several other reasons but I absolutely agree with you it's absolutely a clear cut phenomenon. What I wanted to go on to say, and I think you might

find this interesting, we find it absolutely fascinating, um, out final honours years students, the third year students, do a research project and this year, it's the first time they've ever done a little piece of research and for most it's going to be the last time in their lives they ever have, so it's a very big thing, it's also totally different from anything they've ever done before, so they love it because it's theirs. It, it, it, emotionally and intellectually it's a big thing in their lives and ever since I became involved in X University we have operated a system where a student did a project and for reasons that bluntly have nothing to do with education but all to do with the financial pressures that universities are now under we have decided that, that has got to change and this year, with enormous trepidation and misgivings and reluctance, because we have felt that we were driven into it by financial pressures, um, we have introduced a scheme where students do their projects in pairs and we were staggered to discover that they love it. They think it's fantastic and the reason they think it's fantastic that they've got somebody to discuss it with, now not only that but a major reason we introduced the scheme was to reduce the impact on staff time that projects, um, involved, now, we had assumed that if we take X students and instead of having X projects, you now have $X \times 1/2$ projects, you would reduce the staff time by 1/2, it's actually reduced staff time by immensely more than that because the students are now seeking advice from their partner rather than going to a member of staff and at the day to day level this is immensely constructive because of course it's part of the educational process if a student comes to one and says, um, you know, I am not quite sure where this research is going can we discuss it, but when a student comes and says well, I've broken a test tube where do I go to get another one, do you see, that's a totally unconstructive use of my time. Now they don't do that, they go to their peer group and say we've broken out test tube what did you do when you did that. So the actual saving in our time is enormous and far greater than we thought it would be, but it illustrates beautifully your point, um, and, and it, this actually extends outwards, it's difficult to be sure of this but I am pretty certain that as a consequence of the students interactive in pairs they are also interacting more as a peer group, groups, do you see, you're doing your project with your partner something goes wrong so you discuss it but you're now much more, you're in a discussion frame of mind so your much more likely to go to another, (Your not so isolated), member

of your peer group and say we've got a problem have you got similar problems, let's discuss them, um, so all of these things increase the diffusion of, of knowledge and information and communication horizontally and decrease the diffusion of information vertically and, and, and both you and I would agree wouldn't we that provided we build in certain safeguards that can only be a good thing, (absolutely yes), and, and, and we are amazed, we didn't foresee this perhaps we should but we didn't.

Q. Well no I don't think people have taken it into account. I mean I'm finding it in these interviews but I've never come across it before, you know it's a revelation to me.

A. Well we've discovered it in this very precise context and, and, and it's staggering.

Q. The point about biased sample in this type of research I would say from now, but I might change my mind later on, that you cannot have a biased sample. What I am talking to is talking to individuals with a set questionnaire about the way they learn things and who they learn it from and so on. Now it does not matter, it seems to me, what the background information of any of those people are, the way they learn things is valid for them and that is what I am looking for.

A. Right, right, but then you mustn't fall into the trap of generalising that people in general because.....

Q. No, no, not in general, but you can actually point to certain things that might be generalisable,.

A. Right oh, fine

Q. Then somebody else can do a bit of research and see if it is generalisable.

A. Right on a genuine random sample.

Q. Right. As far as I know nobody has done anything like this before in adult education. There are lots of objective studies but there's nothing about, nobodies actually talked to people about how they learn. One of the holes in adult education is this sort of talking to people about how they do it.

A. Well, that's interesting, I mean, I am quite sure one of the reasons for this is that academics like me are going to come to you, you're doing this wrong, this isn't the way to do it, um, and what your showing is that if you buck the system and do it quote "wrong" unquote, you actually uncover a whole great variety of stuff that nobody ever knew about.

Everyday Learning Project Questionnaire.

Everyday learning is the process of getting knowledge from everyday activity. Such knowledge will be useful to the person, will be remembered and used in the future. Everyday learning depends upon the needs and desires of the individual.

1. Sex: Male. Female.
2. Date of birth.
3. Marital Status.
4. Number of children living at home.
5. Area of Residence:
e.g. Knowle, Clifton, St. Annes.
6. Occupation.
7. Job Title.
8. Please give a brief description of your job:

9. Have you had any previous occupation(s)?

10. What is your husband's, wife's or partner's occupation?

11. Income. This information will be treated in strictest confidence. Please indicate the level within which you own gross income falls by ticking the appropriate box:-

(a) £ Nil	to	£ 3,999	<input type="checkbox"/>
(b) £ 4,000	to	£ 5,999	<input type="checkbox"/>
(c) £ 6,000	to	£ 7,999	<input type="checkbox"/>
(d) £ 8,000	to	£ 9,999	<input type="checkbox"/>
(e) £10,000	to	£11,999	<input type="checkbox"/>
(f) £12,000	to	£13,999	<input type="checkbox"/>
(g) £14,000 and above			<input type="checkbox"/>

APPENDIX B.

11a Please indicate the level within which the gross income of your husband, wife or domestic partner fall:-

- (a) £ Nil to £ 3,999
- (b) £ 4,000 to £ 5,999
- (c) £ 6,000 to £ 7,999
- (d) £ 8,000 to £ 9,999
- (e) £10,000 to £11,999
- (f) £12,000 to £13,999
- (g) £14,000 and above

12. If you are unemployed please state how long your current period of unemployment has lasted.

Years Months

13. If you are a housewife, please state:

- (a) How many years since leaving school or last period of employment.
- (b) Any previous or present occupations.

14 Please indicate with a tick whether you hold any formal qualifications at each of the following levels:-

- (a) CSE
- (b) GCE 'O' Level
- (c) GCE 'A' Level
- (d) City & Guilds
- (e) Apprenticeship
- (f) HND
- (g) Teaching Certificate
- (h) University of College Degree
- (i) Higher Degree
- (j) Some other. (Please State)

15. Did you gain these qualifications at school or after you left?

16. Do you feel you have any qualifications of any sort gained from life. Hobby skill, home skill, parenting,, life experience, etc.

APPENDIX B.

17. Who do you ask when you want to know something?
Mother - Father - Partner - Sister - Brother - Son - Daughter - Friend - Doctor -
Vicar - Shopkeeper - Advice Centre Worker.
18. Do you remember what you were told?
19. If you remember something, do you call it learning?
20. If not, do you have a name for what you remember?
21. Do you pass on to others what you have remembered?
22. Do others act on what you tell them? How do you know?
23. Can you tell me something that you have remembered, and say why you
remembered it?
24. When do you give information to others?
 - (a) When somebody asks you?
 - (b) When you think you should?
 - (c) Because someone has recommended you?
25. How do you feel about the advice you pass on?
26. Where do you get the knowledge you pass on?
27. Because you have remembered something over a number of years, would you say
you had learnt it?
28. When you do remember something is it because you already know something
about the subject?
29. How does remembering something make you feel?

WORK SITUATION.

30. Did you have training for your present job?
31. Was this training provided by the firm?
32. Was this easy to do?
33. Who do you ask for help when starting a new job?
34. Would you say you had learned from this help?
35. Who gave you the most valuable advice?

APPENDIX B.

36. When learning a new job what was most important to you?
37. What type of information did you look for?
38. Do you discuss your work with people outside of the workplace? Who particularly?
39. Are they helpful?
40. What sort of things do you discuss with them?
41. Do they help you remember things better?
42. Do you think (reflect) on the things you have learned?
43. Do you adapt the things you learn for other purposes?
44. How active are you in finding out new things in your workplace situation?
45. How would you explain this?

SOCIAL SITUATION.

46. Do you belong to a social group?
47. Is there somebody in your group you ask for advice?
48. Can you think of a reason this person is listened to?
49. Do you have a hobby?
50. What is your hobby?
51. How did you learn about it?
52. Did you get help from particular people?
53. How did you learn most?
54. Did you go to classes on the subject?
55. Do you help new people who come into the hobby?
56. Do people ask you for help because you have a special expertise that they know about?
57. When answering them would you say you were teaching them?
58. Where do you hear of new developments?

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