

THE SCOTTISH PARLIAMENT, DEMOCRACY AND ADULT EDUCATION

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It is true that the Scottish parliament has failed to live up to public expectations. This is partly as a result of high initial hopes, a hostile media, but also a real sense of failure of the institution to make a difference to people's lives. In the most recent Scottish parliamentary election in 2003, just under 50 per cent of the electorate took the trouble to vote – a decline of about 9 per cent since the first election in 1999 (Denver 2003). Quite surprisingly, however, the common response to disappointment with the parliament is to demand it be given more political power not less (McCrone 2005).

The purpose of this article is to explore some of the issues and links between the Scottish parliament, democracy and their implications and opportunities for adult education. What, if anything, is the Scottish parliament doing for adult education and how might adult education further democratic aspirations? In relation to this last point addressing the failure of the institution may involve going further than extending the parliament's powers – welcome as this may be. The democratic deficit in Scottish life requires more fundamental change including the deepening of democracy, a change in the political culture of the state, as well as engagement with processes of 'globalisation from below'. In all of these areas adult education has a potential role to play.

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BACKGROUND TO THE SCOTTISH PARLIAMENT

The wider context in which the parliament emerged is one characterised by the dominance of neo-liberal globalisation, by which I mean the combination of economic, social and political discourses aimed at promoting free trade, flexibility, privatisation and the deregulation of labour markets on a global scale. The important point is that these trends are not fixed but are preferences based on political choices rather than immutable economic laws; they are shaped by discourses which are open to change rather than simply limiting it. Therefore political agency is potentially significant and is not merely subservient to economic processes of globalisation. This is particularly important because globalisation has different consequences for different people. Generally it reinforces the power of the powerful by promoting 'free' markets as the best means for organising the distribution of services and resources. The discourse of the customer and market compromise and undermine those of the citizen and democracy.

The impact of neo-liberal globalisation has put pressure on the sovereignty and legitimacy of nation-states. In relation to sovereignty, the powerful role of large transnational corporations has to be reckoned with: of the 100 largest economies in the world, 51 are corporations, not countries (Auerbach 2005). Also, international organisations such as the World Bank, the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), the World Trade Organisation, the International Monetary Fund and G8 all play an increasingly prominent role in regulating and influencing the politics and economics of nation-states. In Europe, states have attempted to increase their scope for action by pooling some of their sovereignty through the European Union. On the other hand, a response to the problem of legitimacy has been to devolve political responsibility downwards to institutions which people feel closer to and which are more likely to retain their support. This has favoured the development across Europe of more regional administration, assemblies and, in the Scottish context, a new parliament.

The significance of the wider context should not take away from the internal dynamic for reducing the democratic deficit in Scottish politics. The increasingly marked divergence in voting behaviour between Scotland and England gave impetus to the democracy movement from the late 1970s onwards (McCrone 2005). Agitation for constitutional reform resulted in the referendum in 1997, after the general election of New Labour in the UK. The

outcome of the referendum was a clear majority in favour of the new Scottish parliament and that it should be given tax varying powers.

The Scottish parliament has no easy task in reducing the democratic deficit. Even if we judge the institution to be more representative and politically balanced it may be consistent to argue that the democratic deficit is widening and taking new forms. In addition to the powerful external global forces there are internal factors such as the nature of party politics and the administration of government which remain unchanged. The emergence of New Labour politics has been a powerful centralising force in the UK despite devolution. In addition, the role of the civil service in servicing the Executive means that their influence on the policy process is critical. So let us now turn to examine what impact the new institution has had on policies for adult education.

THE DISTINCTIVENESS DEBATE: THE SHAPING OF POLICY ON ADULT EDUCATION

In this section I want to examine the claim that the Scottish parliament has permitted a more distinctive approach to policy thereby reflecting and reinforcing its democratic credentials. The comparison in this case is with policy pre- and-post the Scottish parliament. I will focus particularly on areas relevant to adult education. The emphasis is on 'relevant' because there is no specific adult education legislation. For this purpose I have chosen to look at policy relating to lifelong learning, adult literacy and community education. These all bear directly on adult education and are salient for its practice. Clearly there are other policy areas which are important, but these are the most obvious ones.

In addition, as David Raffe (2004) points out there are different ways of defining education and different criteria of national distinctiveness, which lead to very different conclusions. He identifies at least five ways this might be done (focusing on myths, values and traditions/the 'societal' political economy of education/policy discourse/the administrative system/social relations, processes and outcomes of education). Because adult education has no statutory status and little official data, the two latter categories are probably difficult to apply to adult education in any systematic way. The following analysis relates to elements from the first three categories although it is not organised explicitly by these. We can expect, according to Raffe's analysis, that the distinctive nature of Scottish policy comes to the fore if one looks at it through the lens of myths, values and tradition. Conversely, if the

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approach taken a political economy perspective the outcome is that one sees less distinctiveness. The focus on policy discourse is somewhere between the two. The consequences of combining aspects of all three, as might be expected, lead to the emergence of a more complicated picture.

a) Community education: from the margins to centre stage

Community education has been, until recently, on the margins of educational policy in Scotland. The creation of Community Education Services in Scotland followed the publication of the Alexander Report (SED 1975), which aimed to widen educational opportunities to traditional 'non-participants'. The title of the report, **Adult Education: the Challenge of Change**, is an indication of the document's main concern. Understanding the consequences of a changing society and how change may be shaped inform the democratic aspirations of the report. Adult education was seen, therefore, as an integral part of the process of social change.

The main and most contentious recommendation of the Alexander Report was the proposal for a partnership of youth and community work with adult education to create 'committed allies' in community education services. The belief was that the experience and expertise of youth and community workers, based in disadvantaged communities, would provide a network of links to enable a more formal adult education service to reach individuals and communities which did not participate in its provision. In turn, the experience and expertise in curriculum development would brush off on the work of youth and community workers. Both sectors of the new service would gain – that was the theory, at least, even if the reality was more controversial. In England the pattern of development has been different. Youth and community work is largely offered through separate local authority provision, schools and the voluntary sector whereas adult education is a distinctly different service.

However, it took regionalisation rather than policy legislation to apply Alexander's recommendation for the introduction of community education services across Scottish local authorities. Most of the significant resourcing implications of the report were not enacted. As Lindsay Paterson (2003) points out, informal adult education has been characterised by official indifference and a preference for institutional forms of learning.

However, changes in the politics of welfare are having a significant impact on community education services and their marginal status. The Osler Report (Scottish Office 1998) proclaimed that community education was an

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approach that was central to policy and that it needed to permeate other sectoral areas. In 2003 the Scottish Executive published their plans for community education now relabelled community learning and development. The former integrated approach to community education has been replaced through the dis-aggregation of community education into community based adult learning, youth work and community development (Galloway 2004). In this new policy context the importance of the approach is re-emphasised as well as the need for targeted work with disadvantaged groups and communities. The main concern informing policy is the potential for problems of social cohesion couched in terms of social inclusion and active citizenship. Community based adult learning is primarily seen as a route back into the labour market, or formal education, and for greater participation in community life. A bureaucratic structure of community planning, involving a wide variety of services and agencies, has been introduced to ensure the needs and interests of communities are recognised. If only!

The movement from sector to approach complements the changing nature of state activity from provider to enabler and regulator of service provision. This has had a double impact on the work of community educators. Firstly, it has meant a greater role for management information systems with the community educator expected to be more of an auditor rather than specialist in educational activity. Secondly, through its control of resources and surveillance practices the state has greater influence over where funding is spent in local authorities and in the voluntary sector, which once prided itself on its independence. The result has been that the community surveillance net has been cast wider and drawn tighter in order to meet targets set by the state. Projects and activities that do not fit with government priorities are squeezed in this process.

In terms of community education therefore, we can see the decline of a distinctive service now replaced by one tied tightly to the social and economic policy objectives of the state. Ideologically this seeks to construct the sense of a responsive service, geared towards people's interests which are increasingly to be provided by the private sector, voluntary organisations or so-called public-private partnerships. The reality however, is that the work is simultaneously de-marginalised and its autonomy reduced and compromised.

b) Adult literacy: subverting the dominant discourse

Policy on adult literacy and numeracy is an interesting example of subverting a globalising human resource development discourse into one that is more

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open and relevant to people's lives. The impetus for policy originated with the International Adult Literacy Surveys (IALs) sponsored by the OECD in the late 1990s. Basically these surveys found that participating member countries, particularly the UK, were performing badly in comparison to their competitors in terms of literacy levels. In the context of the OECD's perception of the 'knowledge society', countries which had literacy level ratings below level 3 (on a 5 point scale) were underperforming. In the UK this translated into several millions of adults.

The Scottish sample was a sub-sample of the UK data and was based on a mere 720 respondents. Out of this it was projected that 800,000 people living in Scotland were in need of help with literacy and numeracy. However, criticisms of the IALs approach seriously call into question their findings and therefore the basis on which policy has been formulated (see Hamilton and Barton 2000). The spectre of helpless individuals unable to function in society because they lack the necessary skills in literacy and numeracy is untrue and unhelpful. Even the IAL report recognised that most people, even at the lowest levels of attainment, found no difficulty in coping with the complex demands of everyday life (OECD/Statistics Canada 2000). It did nevertheless galvanise politicians to recognise the importance of expanding literacy provision and to want to do something about 'the problem'.

Historically, provision for adult literacy in Scotland developed as a response to the BBC's 'On the Move' campaign in the early 1970s and as part of regional authority community education services. At its height in 1983 around 18,000 students were involved in studying but this went into a spiral of decline and by the mid-1990s around 6000 students were catered for. The term in use then was adult basic education, which was an attempt to keep a broad focus for the work. The IAL surveys made an impact on the low priority given to this provision because local authorities are now required to include in their planning strategies explicit targets for adult literacy (for more detail see Hamilton, Macrea and Tett 2001).

The tension between the broad approach to adult literacy which informed practitioners' understanding of its purpose and the narrow human resource agenda informing the IAL surveys are reflected in the development of policy today. This is important because the **Adult Literacy and Numeracy In Scotland** (ALNIS 2001) report retains a level of openness in its policy agenda. For instance, the definition of adult literacy is as follows:

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The ability to read, write and use numeracy, to handle information. To express ideas and opinions, to make decisions and solve problems, as family members, workers, citizens and lifelong learners. (ALNIS 2001, p. 7)

This view is much broader and flexible than literacy as a skill required for employment – basically the concern of the English model. Also, instead of a focus on adult literacy performance outcomes the emphasis is on participation rates. This means greater curricular flexibility for practitioners who can tailor their work to student interests rather than a national curriculum. In addition, measuring the success on literacy work seeks to focus on ‘distance travelled’ based on learners’ initial goals rather than an arbitrary and external target.

Another distinctive feature of the Scottish approach has been to adopt a ‘social practices perspective’ which developed as a theoretical critique of what Brian Street (1984) terms the ‘autonomous model’ of literacy. By this he means a decontextualized skills model, which claims to be neutral, fixed and rule bound with clear stages of progression in terms of attainment. A social practices perspective, on the other hand, emphasises the contextual nature of literacy and conceives that there are different literacies that we use in different domains of life. There is, therefore, not one single literacy but multiple literacies in use. This starts from the basis of the literacies people use in their daily lives rather than with how they fall short of an external standard.

The implications of a social practices perspective are interesting and its results not yet clear. In England the autonomous model is dominant and is underpinned by a deficit discourse of functional illiteracy. The vision behind the Moser Report (1999) in England involves a more rigid core literacy curriculum, baseline testing, quality control, standardised tests and the attainment of performance targets. Literacy is clearly integrated into a societal or political economy perspective. In comparison the Scottish model is looser (and generally envied by practitioners in England) even though it came out of a broadly similar discourse of human resource development.

The distinctiveness of the Scottish approach is perhaps partly explained by the historical link of adult literacy with community provision rather than, as in England, with Further Education. This rooted adult literacy in a philosophy which emphasised local needs and interests rather than national standards. It might also be partly explained in terms of the low priority given to it and therefore the absence of adult literacy policy in Scotland since the 1980s. Starting from a relatively low level of interest in terms of national policy has

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its advantages. Adult literacy practitioners and academics have been strategically involved in the policy process and have been able to introduce a theoretical critique of the dominant literacy model into the formulation of Scottish policy. The absence of a strong tradition has been, therefore, an important factor in the distinctiveness of this policy area.

c) Lifelong learning

It is significant to note that lifelong learning is the responsibility of the Ministry for Enterprise and Lifelong Learning rather than education. This signals clearly the importance of lifelong learning in terms of a political economy perspective in that learning is structurally linked to labour market and skills issues. Moreover, lifelong learning includes in its remit sectors such as further and higher education, vocational training providers and work-based learning. Lifelong learning constructed in these terms may be highly relevant to adults, rather than necessarily to adult education. So it is no surprise that the concerns of community adult education are swamped by much more powerful interests in the policy process. That is, they are primarily seen as a stage onwards into institutional provision in order to meet targets for widening participation.

The two important policy documents are **Opportunity Scotland: a Green Paper** (SOEID 1998) and **Life through Learning through Life** (Scottish Executive 2003), although there are other related documents that are also relevant. A comparison between these two is interesting because the first came from the Scottish Office before the parliament convened whereas the latter derived from a cross-party committee involved in an extensive consultation exercise with 'stakeholders'. The difference between the two gives some indication therefore of the impact of the parliament on policy.

Opportunity Scotland is narrow, vocationally oriented, and is neither about learning, nor is it lifelong. The litmus test for policy addressing the 'lifelong' element is to look at what it says about participation for older people. Nothing! The litmus test for its contribution to learning is the scope of its vision. Training for employment! The focus in **Opportunity Scotland** is very much on the 16-30 'job club' market and the aim is to gear people for work. This policy statement is a depressing attempt at interpreting lifelong learning that fails to lift its aspirations beyond the workplace.

Life through Learning through Life is more hopeful. It passes the first litmus test (just) by stressing the nation's demographic profile and the need to

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keep older workers committed to learning and retraining. It also passes the second test (again only just) in that it recognises the importance of learning in more rounded terms. The vision of lifelong learning in the foreword states that:

Lifelong learning brings benefits to the individual as well as to society; to the employed, as well as to those who employ them; to the social fabric of our society as well as the economy. In other words, lifelong learning has an important and distinctive contribution to make to people's wellbeing, to a more inclusive society and to a vibrant and sustainable economy. (p. 4)

Thereafter, the systematic focus is on 'the skills gap', 'the productivity gap' and the 'opportunity gap' all clearly underpinned by a discourse of human resource development, despite passing references to citizenship and social inclusion. In terms of equity and entitlement (a right to a particular level of education), two values which underpinned the recommendations to the Executive from the consultation process, entitlement was dropped because of its resource implications. Equity on the other hand is seen very much in terms of providing equal opportunities through mechanisms of support for people making their way through the education jungle of qualifications and institutions. However, the response from the Executive in terms of their final policy strategy was to reject these recommendations. Whilst **Life through Learning through Life** has its rhetorical flourishes, which makes it seem more robust and meaningful, it is skewed primarily to economic concerns and to young people.

In the six indicators of success that the document identifies to assess progress, three are aimed at the 16-30 age range and the other three are specifically about raising skills and qualifications for those in work. The prime focus of attention is raising the qualification levels of the working population. In this respect the document echoes policy trends in the UK as well as other European states. Stripped of its rhetoric, lifelong learning policy is essentially about competition in the labour market.

In summary all three of the above policy areas relevant to adult education show a combination of distinctive Scottish developments combined with, and overshadowed by, powerful global forces which are fundamentally being allowed to reshape public policy. It is probably in the area of adult literacy that this trend is least apparent despite the fact that the impetus for it was

certainly driven by a neo-liberal policy agenda fostered by the OECD. What it illustrates is that the process of policy formulation can be influenced and redirected away from narrow conceptions of policy problems and solutions. On the other hand, the direction of policy in community education and lifelong learning reflects, perhaps more than anything, a real lack of vision to resist the dominant globalising agenda linked with narrow versions of human resource development and problems of social inclusion. In this context, the Scottish parliament has simply gone in much the same direction as UK and European policy. Having formal control over education policy, without the vision to make it different, is not a significant step forward. If the Scottish parliament has found it difficult to help foster more democratic forms of adult education can the latter help the Scottish parliament?

THE CONTINUING DEMOCRATIC DEFICIT: WHAT IS TO BE DONE?

Adult education with a social purpose has long held an interest in the furthering of democratic life. It takes democracy to imply more than the process and procedures of political decision-making, although these are highly significant. It focuses on democracy as a way of life, as well as political democracy and it has linked these with the relationship between the local and the global. In the following section some comments on the implications of these areas are highlighted.

Democracy in everyday life

If people do not experience democracy in their everyday lives at home, at work and in communities they are unlikely to be able to use this experience to inform their lives as political citizens. Learning to be active political citizens is premised therefore on acquiring the habits of democracy in civil society.

As an example of what the above might mean I want to refer to work undertaken with my colleagues (see Crowther, Martin and Shaw 2003) on the production of an educational source book on renewing democracy in Scotland. The following extract is drawn from an account that is expanded on elsewhere (see Crowther and Martin 2005). Our argument in the source book is that the process of civic disengagement is a serious political problem which demands an urgent educational response. On the other hand, part of our aim is also to encourage people to understand democracy as a social and cultural process that is *learned* and must be continuously *re-learned*, as well as a set

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of political institutions and procedures. In this sense, the intention is not to 'teach people how to be good citizens', which is essentially what seems to be wrong with much of the current British government agenda for 'citizenship education', but rather to stimulate and resource the development of a critical and reflexive civic culture of democratic discussion and debate.

Within increasingly pluralistic and ethnically diverse societies, democratic living demands of citizens not only the willingness and ability to learn to understand each other but also, and crucially, the capacity to forge new kinds of political solidarity out of cultural difference. In Scotland today for instance more 'new' Scottish citizens speak Urdu than 'old' Scottish citizens speak Gaelic. This means that if democracy ultimately depends on the common sense of a common citizenship, it must be understood and enacted in deliberative as well as procedural terms. In this way, the pluralistic politics of civil society should insistently enrich and vivify the institutional politics of the state. This process needs to be systematically informed and resourced educationally.

Political culture of the state

Whilst it is true that the Scottish parliament has reduced an aspect of the democratic deficit, in terms of formal political process and procedures, there are still major obstacles to be addressed. Ian Martin (1999) identifies the challenge for adult education as that of developing the dialectic between 'the cultural politics of communities and the political culture of the state'. If the former is to influence policy, the voice of communities needs to be informed, organised and heard. This is a difficult task. The omens are not good because even if adult educators are successful in resourcing the struggle for a voice in communities there are powerful opposing forces limiting the critical and creative capacity of the parliament to respond.

First, as Lindsay Paterson (1998) points out, the new political settlement has restored the influence of the civic elite in the policy making process. These were the very groups that were shut out during the Thatcherite period of reform in the 1990s and were a force for the establishment of a Scottish parliament. However, the civic elite cannot be regarded necessarily as a progressive social force. They may equally be a force for conservatism against radical and democratic change that the Scottish parliament serves rather than opposes.

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Second, the role of the civil service in the policy process is very powerful. For example, the meaning given to participation in decision-making by civil servants is largely a consultative one which people are asked to respond and select options they have not shaped (Sloat 2002). A more active role for people outside of the policy process is limited by this particular conceptualisation. However, without some checking of the role of the civil service as a filtering mechanism, the values and influences on legislation will be drawn from a narrow social base. There are merely two mechanisms which currently facilitate open participation in Scottish parliament legislation. One is the Petitions Committee which allows individuals or groups to raise issues of public concern and for the parliament to consider the need for change. The other is the Civic Forum funded by the Scottish parliament to inform policy making and to 'test' policy through democratic processes of discussion and debate in fora outside of the state. In May 2005 the Executive reduced funding for the forum by half and in the next financial year it will not receive any direct funding. The Petitions Committee therefore carries the burden of expectation – and probably an overburden!

Third, the dominance of New Labour with its centripetal tendencies has made the prospect for political change through the Scottish parliament exceedingly difficult. However, the Scottish election in 2003 and the general election in 2005 have weakened New Labour's hegemony because of political losses. In addition, the emergence of conflicting political issues in Scotland and the rest of the UK may undermine this further. For example, immigration control which is seen as politically important in England has a detrimental political effect in Scotland, with its long-term population decline. Such differences of interest may fuel demands for greater political control over reserved policy areas. Or it might drive a greater wedge between the Scottish Labour Party and its English counterpart thereby opening space for alternative ideas, values and priorities to potentially emerge.

Adult education with political parties is a neglected area but understandably so. By and large political parties are resistant to such initiatives from educators outside of their own organisation and structures. However, the commitment to 'listen' by New Labour after the 2005 general election could be translated into an opportunity for systematic educational work. Having said that, I am only aware of one example of adult educators currently engaging in an educational process with a political party in Scotland (see Kane 2004). Therefore, if adult education is to make some impact in terms of the cultural politics of communities becoming a resource for the politics of

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the state, it will need to start by building organised and vocal communities on the ground. This is slow work but essential. There is evidence of a patchwork of such activities in terms of public education seminars and community organisation building (Warren 2003). If democracy is to become a reality it will need more.

Globalisation from below

In many respects the real forces of resistance to neo-liberal processes of globalisation have not been through formal political channels but through forces for 'globalisation from below'. That is, networks of groups in local areas which connect with the global context and act to link the two. We can see this clearly in the environmental movement and the peace movement. The World Social Forum and the European Social Forum are also examples, as are protests against the World Trade Organisation and the meetings of the G8.

Adult education has a long and important history in relation to social movements. In Scotland Owenism was founded at New Lanark in the 1820s and was the first really influential social movement which addressed issues of gender inequalities, cultural oppression and exploitation. The democracy movement in Scotland during the first part of the nineteenth century may have been more sober than its Northern English Chartist counterparts, but it too was a significant educational force. In addition the Labour College movement was important in the early twentieth century, and the Workers Educational Association has been influential in the labour, women's and peace movements throughout the twentieth century (see Duncan 1999; Barr 1999). Let us not forget, of course, that the Scottish parliament is a product of the democracy movement from the 1990s and many of its principles and procedures derived from the experience of social movements (Paterson 1999). Their history in Scotland has been significant both as forces for change and for educational activity. However, their role as educative forces for change is often neglected.

It is important to underline the informality of learning in and from social movements. That is, learning occurs in contexts which are not specifically educational although there may be very conscious decisions to learn. This has a number of advantages. It is close to people, embedded in what concerns and motivates them and is practical in the sense given to it by the radical tradition of adult education – i.e. as a basis for informing action. It can be systematic as evident by 'teach-ins' staged by the World Social Forum (Lavander 2005); however, learning in social movements can also exhibit many of the

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weaknesses of informal learning. It may not be well organised, systematic or hardened by sustained study.

The diversity of social movements create opportunities to engage with processes of globalisation through a number of different sites of struggle from concerns about pollution and the environment to global poverty. This creates opportunities to build alliances between 'old' and 'new' movements as resources for change. The opposition to the G8 summit in Edinburgh in 2005, with its theme of 'Making Poverty History' is a good example of the type of material issue which can link local and global interests amongst different communities of resistance for learning in social action. Without some degree of economic equality it is difficult to see how social justice can be furthered and a better society built. The Scottish parliament can contribute towards this but the powerful interests which benefit from inequality have to be resisted on a much broader front. It is in struggle that the potential for education in social movements is substantial (Foley 1999). Of course it is not without its difficulties. Nevertheless, adult education has something to contribute to these wider processes of organising 'globalisation from below' by re-rooting itself in social movements.

CONCLUSION

The position which gives the strongest stimulus to the growth of intelligence is that of rising into power, not that of having achieved it.
(John Stuart Mill 1861, cited in Dobbs 1919)

John Stuart Mill's point is true, at least to an extent, and the democratic deficit in Scotland can provide an agenda for social change, informal learning and social purpose adult education. The role of the Scottish parliament can be a resource for this, but it can also be a hindrance. The current trend seems to be that adult education is being more closely drawn into the policy objectives of the state rather than having its roots elsewhere in communities. In terms of lifelong learning, adult education is positioned as a stepping-stone into institutional provision driven by a focus on widening participation in Higher Education. Furthermore, community-based adult education has been more closely stitched into the state's social and economic policy objectives. This is occurring in a context where New Labour has seen its role as encouraging global trends (euphemistically named as promoting an 'open economy') rather than intervening to influence them in relation to the interests of a democratic community. Adult education is therefore being reshaped

according to the values represented in the globalising project of neo-liberal capitalism. However, interventions in the policy process can make a difference, as the example of adult literacy shows, and the culture and politics of Scottish civil society can be a resource for this too.

It is important to see the struggle for a Scottish parliament as only one element of the wider struggle for democratic change. Its role should not be minimised or exaggerated. As Alice Brown, a prominent figure in the democracy movement, points out that 'for the constitutional campaigners, creating a new parliament was not just seen as an end in itself. It was part of a vision of developing and building a new political culture and democratic system in Scotland that allowed for different relationships between the political process, politicians and the people' (2002, p. 35). In these terms there is still a long way to go.

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