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Camphill - An Island of Promise: Myth or Reality?

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Abstract

Myth as a subject has been studied by a number of disciplines but no study appears to have been undertaken of the role of myth in the field of residential childcare in Scotland. A review of the literature seeks to clarify definitions of myth and to examine the role of myth in organizations. In order to provide an historical context for the study, a selective description of the early days of Camphill is presented. The exclusive focus of the study is the minutes of the Schools Community meetings that were held from July 1948 to March 1954 – a formative period in the development of Camphill. In order to examine this documentary material an interpretive frame of analysis is adopted. From an examination of the documentary material three key themes are identified: (1) mission and vision; (2) roles and responsibilities; and (3) boundaries and relationships. The overwhelming image that emerges from the minutes is that of an enclosed, self-contained and inward-looking community. One consequence is that Camphill is frequently perceived as an island: a metaphor that can be viewed both positively and negatively. Such a perception may have encouraged those working in Camphill to resist external influences and pressures. Some of the tensions generated by living in a community which was committed to openness and inclusivity but was often run in a manner at variance with these espoused aims are highlighted. It is argued that preoccupation with a mythical past in which it is claimed there was certainty, clarity of direction and purpose needs to be challenged, if Camphill is to look forward and respond appropriately and responsibly to the future.

CONTENTS

CHAPTER 1.   INTRODUCTION

"Camphill is a beacon for all on the path toward social renewal. Its fundamental ideals light the way to a better future – a future where the work of healing the earth unites with the work of healing social life – where people's needs are met with love, where equality of opportunity is assured and where the individual spirit unfolds in dignity and freedom." (Hunt, 2001,p.115)

In 2007 Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Education and the Care Commission undertook an integrated inspection of the Camphill Rudolf Steiner Schools and reported that it offered sector-leading provision in a number of areas (HMIe, 2007). The fact is that Camphill has a long history of progressive practice whether providing education for children who were deemed ineducable, pursuing person-centred approaches to learning, adopting an inclusive decision-making management model or recognising the importance of investing in people through supporting the development of the nationally and professionally recognised BA in Curative Education programme.

However, in recent years Camphill communities have been faced with serious threats to their future. In Scotland, one Camphill community has closed, whilst others have been near to the point of closure but have managed to pull through.   Given Camphill's progressive profile the question arises as to why there should be any threat of extinction.   Whilst an answer to this question can be attributed in part to ideological, economic and political reasons that are related to discourses on inclusion, normalisation, and the free market economy, it is also the case that there is a perception of Camphill as an island remote from the mainstream, closed off from and resistant to external influences.

Even though Camphill may not see itself in this light, it is nevertheless important to ask how such a perception has emerged. It is likely that whoever sees Camphill in this way has either not visited Camphill nor attempted to familiarise themselves with the relevant literature. However, the essential point here is not whether this

perception is accurate or not but that it exists; that being so, it is the purpose of this study to identify how such a perception may have arisen and what are the implications. This is not simply a matter of cognition but, more critically, a matter of the dominant narrative. The dominant narrative relates to a story that has been created and appears to be generally accepted which articulates the shared values of an organization and helps toward the creation of its identity.

Narratives are powerful because they tend to be based on presumed certainties and they become part of one‟s identity. That identity is reinforced every time the narrative is retold.

> *"This is what fools people: a man is always a teller of tales, he lives surrounded by his stories and the stories of others, he sees everything that happens to him through them; and he tries to live his life as if he were telling a story".* (Jean-Paul Sartre as cited in McAdams, 1993, p.17).

Those who hold power tend to be those who are seen as the guardians of the dominant narrative and that narrative comes to acquire a sacred and unchallengeable character. It is frequently based on a set of myths that embrace the psychological, sociological, cosmological and metaphysical truths surrounding a group. It also reflects the most important concerns of the people, it delineates their identity, illuminates their values and in so doing helps preserve the group‟s integrity and assure its continuity (McAdams, 1993).

What Camphill is and what it is not and what constitutes „Camphillness‟ have been particularly live issues over the past few years. There have been numerous meetings in Camphill communities that have sought to answer these questions. Whilst there has been a measure of agreement as to the aims of Camphill, there have been marked differences in deciding how they can be practically realised.

I have also attended many meetings that have sought to define a future vision for Camphill. Whilst most people attending such meetings accept that change is

necessary, when changes are proposed, whether of a minor or major character, they are invariably challenged because they are seen as threatening some ill-defined notion of Camphillness. This repeated experience has prompted a number of questions:

- Why is it so difficult to effect change in Camphill?
- What constitutes Camphillness?
- Why is it, given the innovative character of Camphill, that so few external to Camphill know of its existence?
- Why is there an apparent reluctance on the part of Camphill to share its experience?

Whilst this study does not intend to answer these specific questions, it does however, propose to explore what may have contributed to the creation of the dominant narrative in Camphill and how in turn this narrative may have helped to create the kind of perceptions previously outlined. What then are the myths upon which this narrative is based? As myths tend to be „hidden", they would appear to be an appropriate focus for a study.

The study"s aim is to explore the origins of the Camphill narrative and the myths upon which it is based as they are revealed in the minutes of the Schools Community meetings which were held in the early pioneering years of Camphill. The study analyses this documentary material and draws from it the dominant themes that are then discussed in the context of the relevant literature on myth. The study concludes by looking at some of the possible implications for Camphill.

It is important to acknowledge that as a researcher, who has lived and worked in Camphill for the last 18 years, my own narrative will impact on the Camphill narrative presented here. As a researcher I do not believe that research is a journey of discovery that starts with a *tabula rasa*, rather it is a process of which the researcher is a part, for my beliefs and values will impinge on all aspects of the research process (Ball, as cited in Descombe, 2003).

CHAPTER 2. LITERATURE REVIEW

Whilst myth as a subject has been studied by a number of disciplines, I have found no study which has examined the role of myth in the field of residential childcare in Scotland. The literature review seeks to clarify definitions of myth and then focuses on the role of myth in organizations.

Definition of myth

Gould (1981) has made the point that: "myth is now so encyclopaedic a term that it means everything or nothing. We can find in it whatever we want to say is essential about the way humans try to interpret their place on earth" (Gould, 1981, p.5). Myth also appears to contain some sort of magical property. On the one hand, it is a word that is frequently used in everyday speech and thus seemingly readily understood; on the other hand, it is a word that has proved resistant to definition. Indeed with the passage of time, definitions have become increasingly complex and elusive (Cohen, 1985; Heller, 2006).

Myth in its most ancient or original sense forms part of one"s total experience and finds expression in the form of a narrative that is seen as self-explanatory. For example, the Pueblo Indians in New Mexico see themselves, quite literally, as the sons of Father Sun (God) and through their worship they help the Sun journey across the sky from sunrise to sunset. They conduct their worship not just for themselves but also for the whole world. Without their intervention, it would be forever night. For the Pueblo Indian, this is not a story; it is a truth or reality in this culture (Heller, 2006).

The rejection of mythological explanations of the world by the pre-Socratic philosophers, who had a major influence in Western thinking, has contributed to the concept of myth as being illusionary and resulting from ignorance (Barnes, 2001).To complicate matters further, Lincoln (1999) has pointed out that in Greek, *mythos* signifies the authority of truth, whilst *logos* means falsehood. This interpretation

clearly flies in the face of the common assumption that *logos* represents truth, whilst *mythos* refers to a fictional story (Lincoln, 1999).

Campbell and Moyers (1988) have pointed out that we all need to understand the mysteries of life, to discover who we are and to cope with our passage from birth to death. In that context myths are stories about humanity's search for understanding and truth. According to Campbell and Moyers (1988) "myths are clues to the spiritual potentialities of human life". Steiner (1971) has argued that in earlier times men were helped by myths for they brought out what men thought about the world and their vision concerning the world's secrets.

Myth has been studied within a number of disciplines including anthropology and psychology. However, few generalisations about myth can be drawn from these various disciplines as the concept is approached from quite different positions. In anthropology, it has been used to help interpret social behaviour, whilst in psychology it has been employed to explain neurosis (Heller, 2006; Jackson and Carter, 1984). This study seeks to understand which myths have helped to construct the Camphill narrative and what influence these myths have had in the formation of its identity.

However it is important to set out the study's assumptions and the position it takes in relationship to myth. Firstly, the study accepts that myths are real in the sense that they are an expression of an individual's or a group's beliefs, fears and fantasies which in turn influence the way the individual or group interprets the world and sees its place within it. Secondly, the criteria used in this study to determine whether a myth is a myth or is something else rest on whether it is seen as unquestionable, appears to guide and bond people together and gives meaning to the individual or group. Therefore relevant for this study is an exploration of the function that myth performs in an organization that sees itself as a community.

Myth can be found in the detail of everyday experience and cultural expression and thus is meaningful and truthful to the individuals that live it. Even if a myth is not

capable of binding a group of people together or guiding an individual, as long as there are stories told which frame human experience and meaning, then myths are real. Myth can be a highly effective lens through which to view and interpret experience. One lens shows the specific and personal, whilst the other looks at the universal and abstract. Out of individual and particular experiences of pain and joy myths are created which seek to explain that experience. In turn, myths in their generalised and universalised form give shape to those experiences. It is important to be aware of which lens one is using (Doniger 2000 as cited by Heller, 2006).

Levi-Strauss (1963, 1966) has provided a useful approach for anthropologists which assists them in their understanding of the nature and purpose of myth: it is an approach which has relevance for those studying organizations. Myth for Levi-Strauss provides a logical model to resolve life‟s contradictions. His ideas laid the foundation for understanding stories as vehicles for ambiguity and contradiction in organizations (Boyce, 1996).

Most authors using myth as a tool to analyse organizational culture see it as a form of narrative. It is a story that is sacred to, and shared by, a group of people. For them the narrative is their reality - their truth. Gardner (1997) has sought to define myth as a definitive statement, an authoritative account of the facts which may not be questioned or challenged. Myth determines the way things are done. Poulton (2005) has argued that myth can be represented as a lengthy narrative which is told with dramatic zeal and which provides the overarching story of an organization. It may be called „the genesis narrative‟. Poulton has defined „the genesis narrative‟ as: "this is what we are, so this is the way we should act" (Poulton, 2005). He points out that individuals who live embedded in such narratives stop asking the question „Why?‟ However, Poulton (2005) is reluctant to call it myth, as myth calls up something magical, god-like and ethereal. Thus to instil organizational stories with mythical properties is an illusion as organizations are made up of ordinary people. Storytellers may use narratives about the „heroic‟ past or exaggerate a founder‟s „heroism‟, „bravery‟ or „wisdom‟ but rarely over time will a founder attain the mythical qualities of an Achilles, Odysseus or Gilgamesh (Poulton, 2005).

Gabriel has sought to clarify the difference between myth and story. In his opinion stories lack the grandeur, the complexity and the emotional charge of ancient myths. Stories encountered in organizations are bound to the concrete and mundane realities of everyday experience. Gabriel sees myths as part of the narrative tradition which adds to the richness of our interpretations of organizational behaviour (Gabriel, 2000, 2004).

Whilst Cash (1997) does not attempt a definition of myth, he implicitly sees it as a story, similar in many respects to Poulton's „genesis narrative". He explains that stories are governed by a dominant myth - „stories within a story". These stories have a different impact on myth; whilst apologists seek to defend myths, others may employ a variety of means to challenge or negate them. Dominant myths can be found in the business world or in the political context in which organizations are embedded For instance there is the „egalitarian paradise myth" found in New Zealand that has evolved over the course of a century of progressive social legislation. According to this myth, every citizen of New Zealand can expect: free education, a job on leaving school, cheap housing and unlimited healthcare when old. Being a myth, it has no basis in reality (Cash, 1997).

Clark (1972) sees myth as forming part of the organizational saga. There are „epic myths" which capture the unique quality of an organization (cited in Mitroff and Kilman, 1975). To some these organizational myths are collective fantasies (Gustavsson, 2001). Myths are part of the story one tells to explain the nature of our reality; the touchstone to what is real and important. They help us to conduct life and to know what to do and how to feel and think (Gherardi, 2003). Thus myths are neither true nor false, they are stories which give shape and focus to spirit (Gherardi, 2003; Owen, 1987). A myth is a timeless story, a symbol, a metaphor, a form of retrospective nostalgia, an organizational memory (Hughes, 1995; Brown, Denning, Groh and Prusak, 2005).

Myths: their power and function

Hughes (1995) has pointed to the power and influence that myths have in organizations and on the lives of those who work and live within them. The fact that myths often lie deep in the unconscious mind and are used without one knowing them to be myths makes them both powerful and dangerous. One of the most common and well-known myths in modern organizations is: "This is how we always do things here". This response is often encountered when practices, procedures or policies, which have been well established, are questioned. One consequence of a myth's power is the preservation of inappropriate cultures, the prevention of an acceptance of new ideas and the blocking of progress. Such myths are regarded as sacred and unchallengeable truths and are often deployed as a defence against change (Hughes, 1995).

Gabriel (2000) has argued that the most common underlying emotion involved in the process of mythologizing and idealizing the past is nostalgia. Nostalgia reveals the past in a glowing light and accepts the past as something which is irretrievably lost. Whilst the present is portrayed as impoverished and emaciated, the past is dressed up and embellished so that it appears triumphant. This idealized vision of the past provides individuals with an escape and refuge from the complexities of the present. The sense of loss involved in nostalgia has not been psychologically conquered. Nostalgia is used as way of coming to terms with the present. In its acute form nostalgia can lead to a total inability to accept the present and to a morbid preoccupation with the past. Thus the feeling of nostalgia can profoundly affect and mould one's perceptions, interpretations and emotional reactions to present day realities (Gabriel, 2000).

Some of the elements in organizations that have been identified as attracting nostalgic feelings include totemic buildings and leaders, departed colleagues and certain ceremonial functions. Gabriel (2000) has argued that the constant idealization of the past with its emphasis on community, authenticity, family spirit, warmth, love, personal care and protecting leaders lies at the heart of most nostalgic feelings.

This argument has been reinforced by Brown et al (2005) who have asserted that stories about the past, which become embedded in legends and myths, can be so powerful that they constrain the behaviour of individuals within organizations. The stories help establish and perpetuate the organizational cultural norms. All these stories have an implicit message which may find expression in such statements as: "We tried that and it didn"t work". And the reality is that if it **is** tried, it will not work (Brown et al.2005). (The authors" emphasis.) In Poulton"s opinion „genesis stories" can become barriers to change and growth because people become locked in the „genesis story" and cannot imagine themselves responding any differently (Poulton, 2005).

The power and negative impact that myths can have within organizations is addressed by Morgan"s (2006) psychic prison metaphor. Plato first explored this metaphor in *The Republic* (1941). The story involves an underground cave with its mouth open towards the light of a blazing fire. Within the cave there are people in chains and the only thing that they can see is the cave wall in front of them. As they can only see shadows of people and objects projected onto the wall, the cave dwellers liken the shadows to reality; they give them names, talk about them and even link movements on the wall to the sounds from outside.

If an individual were allowed to leave the cave, there would be profound consequences. There would be the realization that the shadows are only reflections of a much more complex reality and that the perceptions of the cave dwellers were distorted and flawed. If the individual were to return, it would not be possible to live in the old way, since a different world had been experienced. If s/he were to share the new knowledge acquired, s/he would probably be ridiculed, since the familiar images would be much more meaningful for the cave dwellers than a world that they had never seen. The individual would no longer be able to behave with conviction within this shadowland, whilst the shadow folk would view this outside world as a dangerous place and one which should be avoided. This would in turn lead them to tighten their grip on *their* way of seeing the world. People and organizations find it

difficult to change because they find themselves trapped within their own constructions of reality - their own shadowland! (Morgan, 2006).

The notion of shadowland is not dissimilar to the notion of the „total institution" as described by Goffman (1991), where people are literally divested of their individuality through the imposition of a set of rituals, such as hair cutting, removal of personal clothes and the wearing of an institutional uniform. In this way each person becomes part of a homogeneous group and in the process becomes institutionalized and loses their individuality.

In contrast to the negative impact that myth may have, Jackson and Carter (1984) have pointed to the positive and mediating function of myth. They argue that whilst individuals have a basic need to understand their condition, not everyone has an absolute need to understand everything. Myths provide explanations for events and realities and by so doing reinstate equilibrium, bring certainty and meaning to what otherwise may appear uncertain and meaningless (Jackson and Carter, 1984). Myths can also provide a way of: (1) coping with disruptive external and internal conflicts; (2) creating a sense of collegiality; and (3) perpetuating and reinforcing the values of an organization (Sievers, 1986; Bowles, 1989; Boyce, 1996; Gabriel, 2000; Poulton, 2005). Such myths can be detected in the intentions embodied in mission statements proclaiming: "Here is what we are aspiring to be". They fulfil the need for people to have a vision of a better future (Brown, et al, 2005, p.30).

Myths can also be used to facilitate organizational learning. Cash (1997) has argued that organizations are often embedded in paradox. Increasingly government agencies in the fields of health, welfare and education have to act as profitable businesses and offer a service to the public. Cash cites caring industries as being there to "assist the unfortunate at the stage when it is too late to prevent them being unfortunate" (Cash, 1997 p. 160). Nevertheless by bringing to the surface these paradoxes and confronting the basic assumptions of the dominant mental models upon which they are based, it is argued that a higher level of consciousness is gained (Cash, 1997, Senge, 1990).

Movva (2004) has reinforced the above argument by indicating that if the way organizational reality is constructed in the minds of organizational members fundamentally shifts, then the organization goes through a process of transformation. Reflecting on old myths and creating new ones can raise the consciousness of people. Through framing and reframing reality, one can develop a shared vision that is likely to be understood, remembered and owned by all members (Movva, 2004).

McWhinney and Battista (1988) have described the above process as remythologizing. Remythologizing brings to consciousness the founding ideals that helped to create and sustain an organization‟s identity and by so doing link the primal energy with present circumstances thus enabling organizational renewal. McWhinney and Battista have proposed three stages to this process: (1) bringing founding myths to organizational consciousness; (2) reviving founding myths; and (3) recommitting to a revitalized myth (1988).

Boje, Fedor and Rowland (1982) have proposed a similar approach: they see myth-making as an adaptive process in which individuals construct a story which ascribes meaning to their activities. Both remythologizing and myth-making represent approaches to collective centring whereby a group focuses on that which lies at the heart of the organization (Boyce, 1996).

The development of these processes of organizational transformation and renewal can possibly be explained by reference to the work carried out on symbol by Jungians. Symbols, such as those contained within myths, are seen as an expression of the collective unconscious (Boyce, 1996; Movva, 2004). The collective unconscious can also be understood as one‟s psychic inheritance, the vessel of one‟s experiences as a human species, a kind of knowledge we are all born with, but which one is not conscious of. It influences one‟s experiences and behaviours, especially emotional ones. Jung (1875-1961) called the contents of the collective unconscious, dominants, mythological or primordial images and archetypes (Boeree, 2006).

In this way the symbols contained within myths appeal to the nonrational and emotional side of human beings and can therefore function as connecting links between states and levels of consciousness bridging different domains of reality, such as enabling people to move collectively beyond rational thinking and to tap into their emotional and intuitive domains of consciousness. In this way an alternative approach to looking at organizations is possible. Rather than seeing organizational change as something that happens to forms and structures, individuals can see change in terms of an evolution in organizational consciousness, moving from tangible facts and figures to looking at things in terms of organizational emotion, intuition and energy. Alternative ways of thinking can then develop (Boeree, 2006). In this way symbols contained in myths have the power to induce or catalyse changes in one"s worldview. It has been argued that returning to one"s mythological roots can give a sense of purpose and direction, alleviate any sense of alienation and renew the human psyche (Boyce, 1996; Movva, 2004).

Owen (1987) has argued that when environments become unstable or so radically altered that they can no longer operate effectively then the organization has to seek a new path. Transformation rather than development is required because the environment is so unstable that the earlier form is no longer workable. However, development assumes the existence of a relatively hospitable and stable environment and involves making existing organizational forms function better so that it achieves optimal performance under the new circumstances. In order to highlight the difference between transformation and development, Owen (1987) offers us the image of the butterfly and of the tadpole. The butterfly starts out as a caterpillar, spins a cocoon about itself and after a period, emerges as a butterfly; in contrast to the tadpole which develops bit by bit – first losing its tail and then growing legs. If one were to cut the cocoon one would find a dissociated protoplasm. The caterpillar dissolves, returns to its essence and then is reformed and transformed into a butterfly. Assuming that it is better to be a butterfly than a caterpillar, it is clear that one has to allow the old form to dissolve and by so doing freeing essential energy, purpose or spirit to achieve a new form. Like remythologizing, transformation also means an organization going through a process of death, whether it is death of old ways of

thinking, doing or feeling. In this process, the spirit and energy behind the myth is freed and old institutionalised ways give way to the new form that has been created.

Myths are not only the expression of the values and purpose of a culture but also the essence and the spirit of that culture. Owen (1987) has created a mythograph which seeks to make sense of myths and reveal the quality and direction of the spirit within the organization. In a high-performing organization one would encounter the same story with only minor variations. This picture would reveal a unity of spirit and a clear focus on the tasks in hand and those that subsequently come to hand (Owen 1987, Movva, 2004). This might be equated with Anglin's (2002) state of congruence in relation to residential child care which encompasses three main aspects: *consistency*, which refers to the degree to which the same set of values, principles and processes are demonstrated in every aspect of practice; *reciprocity*, which refers to the degree of mutuality demonstrated in the interactions between people; and *coherence* which is the degree to which there is an overall sense of wholeness and integrity.

Research frames of reference

Organizational symbolism has been broadly defined as that which "…expresses the underlying character, ideology, or value system of an organization" (Dandridge, Mitroff, Joyce, 1980 pg.77). Ceremonies, rituals, anecdotes, jokes, stories and myths are important symbol bearing aspects of organizational life (Boyce, 1996). Four paradigms have been identified in organizational symbolism research: (1) *the functionalist paradigm* which emphasises the use of symbol for the maintenance of social order; (2) *the interpretative paradigm* which is interested in the construction of meaning, and how this process occurs; (3) *the radical humanist paradigm* which emphasises the pathological use of symbol; (4) *the radical structuralist paradigm* which emphasises the way symbolic form is used in ideological control and the way in which dominant social ideologies are sustained (Boyce, 1996).

Hawkins (1997) has suggested that the concept of organizational culture has become more holistic in character. Many different but related aspects of organizational life are now examined from rituals to reward systems and from organizational symbols to shared belief systems across groups. Whilst this has led to a richer form of organizational analysis, it has produced an overabundance of competing models. It has been argued that many researchers in this field fall into an evangelical camp, whilst others, mostly from academia, suffer from „taxonomitis"; a term that describes those who are addicted to taxonomies. It has been argued that researchers tend to focus on culture through one of three overlapping frames: (1) *a systemic frame* that focuses most on the structures and functions of organizations: (2) *the cognitive frame* that focuses on the mental maps and constructs of those within the organization, (e.g., cognitive psychology studies that measure behaviours, such as „reactions" and how the brain works and conditions behaviour) and (3) *the symbolic frame* that looks at root metaphors, stories and rituals. The first two frames rely mainly on quantitative research methods and external analysis by researchers, whilst the last frame tends to employ qualitative research methods which draw out the accounts of a culture from those working within it (Boyce, 1996). It is this last frame that this study will be using (see Chapter 4).

Research to date has demonstrated that organizational myths have a number of applications: expressing the organizational experience of members; confirming the shared experiences and meaning shared by organizational members and groups within the organization; orienting and socializing new members; altering organizational reality; developing, sharpening and renewing the sense of purpose held by organizational members and co-creating vision (Boyce, 1996).

CHAPTER 3. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

This chapter provides an historical context for this study. Rather than being a straight historical description of all the events that led to the creation of the Camphill Movement, it has necessarily been selective given the particular focus of the research. It is a story of Camphill told by others and which I have interpreted.

Long before Camphill was established on the banks of the river Dee south west of Aberdeen, the valley had been associated with two significant Christian movements. The Dee valley was one of the main routes for the Irish missionaries who came to the north east of Scotland from their seminary in Bangor in County Down. The Celtic branch of Christianity was opposed to the centralised nature of Roman Christianity and placed a particular value on the natural environment and a reflective and meditative approach to religious practice (Monteux, 2006). Also located on the banks of the Dee was one of two communities in Scotland of the Knights Templar. This medieval religious order comprised warrior monks who were engaged in the defence of Christianity, in general, and the crusades to the Holy Land, in particular (Monteux, 2006; Read, 2001; Ralls, 2003). It was a cycle of lectures given by Rudolf Steiner in 1916 on the subject of the Knights Templar that inspired the co-founder of Camphill, Karl König, to create what came to be called the „inner Camphill community". This was a group of individuals that dedicated themselves to work with the esoteric aspects of Camphill that were based on anthroposophy. The „inner community" came to play an important role in the life and work of Camphill up until 1948 (Steiner, 1984; Müller-Wiedemann, 1996).

The germinal idea for the establishment of Camphill was conceived and nurtured in Vienna which during the late 19th Century and early 20th Century was seen as the heart of European culture. It was a time of unprecedented activity in the worlds of philosophy, politics, science and the arts. The coffee houses of Vienna provided the home for numerous lively debating societies, in which the political, social and

cultural agenda of the 20th century were set. There was a certain paradoxical streak to Viennese society in that it embraced both virulent anti-semitism and revolutionary socialism (Beller, 1990, Harwood, 1998).

It is worth noting that Karl König was, for a while, politically active in the Socialist Party being a leading figure in a group of socialist medical students. The strong Jewish representation in the socialist movement inevitably imbued Austrian socialism with a religious mood changing it into a kind of „social Utopianism". This form of socialism was less concerned with the development of theory than with bringing about better life-conditions for those who had few of the good things of life. One persuasive advocate of this kind of social utopianism was Martin Büber, an Austrian-Jewish Zionist philosopher and educator. Büber, it has been argued, was following in the footsteps of the founder of socialism in France, Count Saint–Simon, and the founder of socialism in England, Robert Owen (Müller-Wiedemann, 1996; Beller, 1990).

Karl König was later to identify Robert Owen as one of the „Three Stars of Camphill" who stood for the Fundamental Social Law outlined by Steiner (1919, p.50):

> *"In a community of people working together, the well being of the community is greater the less the individual worker claims for himself the proceeds of the work he has done and the more he makes these over to his fellow workers. Similarly he allows his own needs to be met out of the work done by others."*

The interpretation of this law has been the subject of long debates in Camphill over the years. One commentator familiar with Camphill communities has suggested that this law represents a form of old-fashioned communism. It is not an ideological mantra but a pragmatic imperative that should be followed in one"s personal life (Christie, 1989). König"s interpretation of this law is the one that has been strongly adhered to across most Camphill communities:

"None of us regards the money which goes through our hands as a personal possession. We do not earn money; we administer it…it is never a question of "sharing the cake" in the most equal fashion. We can only share the work, not the proceeds." (König 1960, p.43)

This interpretation has led to the tradition of no wages and no salaries in most Camphill communities (Monteux, 2006).

It is scarcely surprising given the Viennese tolerance of radical ideas that Steiner's anthroposophy should appeal to so many people. Rudolf Steiner (1861-1925) was an Austrian philosopher, literary scholar, educator, artist, playwright and social thinker. He was the originator of Anthroposophy, Waldorf Education, biodynamic agriculture and anthroposophical medicine. Steiner defined anthroposophy in terms of one's consciousness of one's own humanity (Tummer, 2001). He advocated a form of ethical individualism and believed that through freely chosen ethical disciplines and meditative training, one could develop the ability to experience the spiritual world, including the higher nature of oneself and others. By engaging oneself with such disciplines and training, one could develop into an ethical, moral, creative and free human being: free in the sense of being capable of actions motivated solely by love. Freedom, he suggested, is the spiritual activity of entering with consciousness into one's own nature and the world. Thus free deeds are those about which we are fully conscious and which motivate our actions (Steiner, 1964). König's first encounter with anthroposophy resulted from reading Steiner's *Philosophy of Freedom*. This book made a deep impression on him and led him to commence a period of intensive studying of anthroposophy (Müller-Wiedemann, 1996).

Karl König and the "Youth Group"

Karl König was born in Vienna in 1902, the only child of Jewish parents. He gained his medical degree in 1927 from the University of Vienna. Medicine seems to have been the preferred career choice amongst many young people in the Jewish population in Vienna at that time (Beller, 1989). It was whilst working as a doctor

in one of the large hospitals for sick children in Vienna that he met Dr. Ita Wegman, a close colleague of Rudolf Steiner who had established a centre for anthroposophical medical research in Arlesheim, Switzerland (Müller-Wiedemann, 1996). She invited König to work in her clinic, initially in the laboratory. However, it did not take long before she introduced König to her work at the Sonnenhof, one of the first curative homes for children with special needs in Europe (Müller-Wiedemann, 1996, Monteux, 2006).

In the years that followed, König along with his wife Tilla König, built up Pilgrimshain, a curative home for children in Silesia. However, the political climate in Germany was becoming increasingly dangerous for Jews so he decided to return to Vienna (Monteux, 2006). Back in Vienna, König resumed his activities as physician and lecturer to anthroposophical circles.   It was at this time that a group of young people began to form around him. They were drawn from Jewish families; some were artists, others medical students. They would meet in one of the Viennese coffee houses and sit together for hours discussing ideological, political or personal issues. They would read poetry, make music together and study. They made an intense study of anthroposophy and discussed the problems that people with special needs were facing in Vienna.   A growing sense of togetherness was developing in the group (Müller-Wiedemann, 1996).

Steiner‟s views on Christianity have been singled out by writers on the history of Camphill as being the main source of inspiration for the group around König, and for König himself. Whilst there can be no doubt as to the influence of Steiner‟s ideas on the subsequent creation of Camphill, it should be borne in mind that the conversion of Jews to Christianity in an anti-semitic Vienna was essential for survival (Beller, 1989).   Given the anti-semitic stance taken by the Roman Catholic Church in Austria, it is not surprising that this group of Jewish university students should be attracted by the alternative view on Christianity that Steiner seemed to provide. His views on Christianity diverged radically from conventional Christian thought in a number of key respects, not least his belief in reincarnation and karma. At the heart of Steiner‟s Christianity is the being of Christ. In Steiner‟s opinion, it is the Spirit of

Love that unifies all religions. It was his view that each religion is valid and true for the time and cultural context in which it was born. However, he believed that the traditional forms of Christianity needed to be shaped to meet humanity"s on-going evolution (Steiner, 1973).

The group met for the last time on the evening of the 11th of March 1938 - the day the Nazis annexed Austria. Fear, insecurity, chaos and confusion reigned in the group. They debated the consequences of the Anschluss (the political union of Austria with Germany achieved through annexation by Adolf Hitler in 1938). One thing was quite clear and that was this was the end of the life they had known. Whilst recognising that they all now had to go their separate ways, they were determined to meet up again in some other country (Schauder, 2002). In this life-threatening situation it is not entirely surprising that this small group should have a passionate desire to change the world. In separating one from another, they made a promise to meet again and to create a community that would work out of love, acceptance and celebration of life.

Scotland

However, where was this small group to go? Most European countries at that time were not keen on opening the doors to Jewish immigrants. Only after a number of unsuccessful applications to other countries, were they invited to come to Scotland. An invitation was extended by Theodore Haughton, the laird of Williamston Estate in Aberdeenshire, and his wife Emily Haughton who had been a patient of Dr Wegman in Arlesheim. The Haughtons offered Kirkton House, an empty manse, located near Insch, Aberdeenshire to the group who began to arrive in 1939 (Jackson, 2005, 2006). Although Konig and his colleagues had found a home in Scotland, it was far from ideal. The house was dark as it had no electricity, there was no running water, and they encountered a language they could barely understand. What greater contrast could there have been to their exciting life in Vienna. Scotland was experienced as an unbearable cultural desert (Schauder, 2002; Monteux, 2006).

Just as they were starting to create a home for themselves and receive children with special needs, things took a turn for the worse. On Whitsunday 1940 all the men were arrested and interned as „enemy aliens" on the Isle of Man. Whilst the men spent most of their internment reading and studying, the women were left with the task of establishing Camphill. It was the women who undertook the move from Kirkton to Camphill, it was the women who worked the garden, cared for the children, washed and cooked. It was the women who created Camphill (Monteux, 2006, Jackson, 2004).

It was during the internment period that König claimed to have had a spiritual encounter. It took the form of a dream in which Count Nicolaus Zinzendorf (1700-1760), the founder of the Herrnhut Brotherhood, appeared. In that encounter it was suggested to König that he should introduce a Bible Evening in Camphill. König"s proposal met with some initial resistance but after some time it became an accepted part of Camphill life. König identified Zinzendorf, along with Jan Comenius and Robert Owen, as the three pillars of Camphill (Monteux, 2006, Jackson, 2004). All three were deeply religious, social reformers and all imagined a new social order with a universal brotherhood among all men.

Their „new world" was to be based on three principles or as König termed them, „three essentials" (König, 1960):

1. the conviction that the spiritual individuality of each person is unaffected by the outer disabilities;
2. the importance of the ongoing personal development and meditative work of the curative educator ; and
3. the development of a Threefold Social Order.

   (Monteux, 2006, p.26)

The notion of a Threefold Social Order derives from Steiner who argued that human society had been moving slowly over thousands of years towards an articulation of

society into three independent yet related realms. He believed in equality of human rights for political life (law, social questions and capital); liberty in cultural life (education, culture and religion); and voluntary, uncoerced cooperation in economic life (work, industry and individual needs). This he linked with the ideals upon which the French Revolution had been founded: *liberty* - the choice of a free spiritual life; *equality* - fairness in the legal sphere; *fraternity* - brotherliness in the economic realm (Monteux, 2006).

CHAPTER 4. METHODOLOGY

This chapter describes the frame of analysis that was adopted for the examination of the documentary material. Some problems relating to this material are highlighted.

As symbol-bearing aspects of organizational life, myths whether in the form of anecdotes, jokes, ceremonies or rituals, express the underlying character, ideology and value system of that organizational life. Research on organizational symbolism concerns itself with interpreting symbolic discourse, identifying themes and linking meaning to action. As part of that symbolic framework, research on organizational symbolism tends to employ qualitative research methods (Boyce, 1996). Qualitative documentary research has been adopted for this study because it is the main method employed in historical research. Documentary research is sometimes criticised for offering no clear-cut methodology or guidance on how that methodology should be employed. Such criticism is somewhat misplaced for it is clear that analytic processes can be applied to examination of documentary data. A further advantage of documentary research is that it is generally unobtrusive (Hart, 2005; Sanghera, 2007).

Broadly speaking, a document is defined as a written text. Sources of documentary research include historical documents, such as declarations, statutes, people‟s accounts of events and periods, statistical reports, personal diaries and biographies. There are primary and secondary, public and private, documents. Primary documents refer to materials that are written or collected by those who actually witnessed the events they describe. Public and private documents can be divided according to their degree of accessibility: open archival material (e.g., census reports) and restricted material (e.g., secret police files) (Sanghera, 2007).

Insofar as the documents examined in this study were minutes of the Schools Community meetings written by those participating in these meetings and were housed in the Karl König Archive, they can be classified as primary and open–archival. The minutes can be seen as a construct of what happened and have been

used to explore tacit and implicit meanings and structures which are embedded within the documents. Such an analysis can help detect underlying social patterns and values and how individuals construed reality. According to Sanghera (2007), this falls under the broad category of an interpretivist frame of analysis.

The minutes of the Schools Community meetings were chosen as these meetings were the only occasions when all co-workers came together and when one might obtain a reasonably full picture of Camphill life and work. The figures in brackets in this chapter and subsequent chapters refer to the minutes of a particular School Community meeting. These are set out in Appendix A (e.g., (2) refers to Schools Community Meeting held on 2nd July 1948). Participation in these meetings was characterised in the following terms:

> *"...every voice counts equal in weight and measure...all feel free to speak...all responsible members will have a say in the running of the work...a democratic level must be kept permanently"* (2)

The minutes kept in the Karl König Archive cover the period from November 1948 to July 1954. The whereabouts of the minutes for later periods is unknown. Three other documents were also examined: two School Superintendent"s reports and one School prospectus. This was because their content had been highlighted in the Schools Community meetings.

A number of important factors about these minutes should be noted:

1. All the minutes were handwritten and on occasions were not easily decipherable.

2. Throughout the period surveyed, the first language of those persons responsible for recording and minuting the meetings was not English.

3. Where discussions were related to anthroposophical concepts and ideas, articulating those concepts and ideas concisely and clearly in English presented problems.

4. Looking back on material written 50 years ago, it is not easy to detect allusions and nuances that would have been obvious to co-workers at that time. Thus in some instances it is just possible that it is what is <u>not</u> being said that it is as meaningful as what is being said.

Mauthner and Doucet (1998) and Hollway and Jefferson (2000), cited in Elliot (2005), have argued that it is important for researchers to be methodologically explicit about the „nitty-gritty" of the analytic process in relation to qualitative research. They argue for greater reflexivity and openness about the analysis of any qualitative data and in order to facilitate that process they suggest the researcher needs to respond to the following questions:

- What do we notice?
- Why do we notice what we notice?
- How can we interpret what we notice?
- How can we know that our interpretation is the right one?

(Elliot, 2005; p.159).

The reading of the documentary material was done with these questions broadly in mind. The „nitty-gritty" was the creation of a grid which was made up of five parts:

- source (the name and date of the document)
- summary of content (short bullet points on the content)
- quotes and notes (what was noticed)
- thoughts (why was it noticed and how was it being interpreted)
- theme (interpretation and classification).

It is important to note that the experience gained from undertaking this study has many similarities with how Krathwohl (1995) and Elliot (2005) described the process of research in social science. The straightforward accounts presented in research reports are rarely an accurate reflection of what actually happened. The processes of discovery and confirmation are often frequently intermingled. Leads are followed, explored and discarded and then new ones tried. One of the main difficulties is the task of sorting out what is significant from the mass of data accumulated. In large measure, it is a matter of „following one‟s nose‟. For instance, during the course of analysing the material, the word „sacrifice‟ frequently appeared. This prompted me to look more closely at what it was that was being sacrificed.

One of the criticisms of documentary research is that the researcher tends to give a selective and biased understanding of the documents and may be selective in his choice of documents (Sanghera, 2007). As mentioned in the Introduction I cannot claim that the account presented here is truly objective. The study represents what I‟ve noticed and interpreted. This will have been influenced by the fact that I have lived and worked in Camphill for 18 years, so that my views, opinions and experiences may well have coloured my interpretations.

Ethical considerations

Permission was sought from, and granted by, the Karl König Archive to undertake the documentary research. However as Guillemin and Gillam (2004) have pointed out being granted permission to access the documentary material is only one ethical consideration in carrying out qualitative research. A distinction needs to be drawn between „procedural ethics‟ and „ethics in practice‟. The first has to do with asking permission from various bodies (e.g., ethics committee) and the second has to with making decisions about ethical concerns during the course of the research itself (Guillemin and Gillam, 2004; Hart, 2005). Even though this study did not involve people directly, it was examining documents relating to people. The main ethical consideration that I soon became aware of was my power as a researcher to selectively interpret and present my findings. Throughout the whole research

process I became aware of the need always to maintain myself in a state of „ethical mindfulness" ever conscious of the trust that had been placed in me by the Karl König Archive (Bond, cited in Etherington, 2007).

CHAPTER 5. FINDINGS

This chapter describes the three key themes which emerged from my examination of the documentary material: (1) mission and vision; (2) roles and responsibilities; and (3) boundaries and relationships.

Applying the interpretivist frame of analysis to the documentary material, it was possible to draw out a number of themes. It is important to stress that these themes had <u>not</u> been identified prior to reading the documents.

1. *Mission and Vision,* which relates to what Camphill aspired to be and do.

2. *Roles and Responsibilities,* which relates to what individuals should and should not do.

3. *Boundaries and Relationships,* which relates to Camphill"s relationships with the outside world.

Mission and vision

One of the clearest expositions of the purpose of Camphill, which captures a sense of an all-encompassing vision, is to be found in the Superintendent"s Report for 1947/1949. In this Report König made clear that with the number and variety of children in their care, a very special opportunity was presented to all who worked in Camphill. He noted that there was hardly a type of child who was not represented there and through that fact Camphill would be able to become a training centre for curative teachers and helpers. This same factor, the great variety and large number of children, gave the possibility of research into the nature and causes of „mental deficiency", as very little was known about this condition. This was one of the tasks of the Camphill schools and to that end a research laboratory was to be established with the aim of studying more closely the psychosomatic foundations of „mental deficiency". Another task identified by König was seen as the most important one of

all. This was to enlighten the public about the nature of the child in need of special care. In König‟s opinion, every one of the children at Camphill could be seen as a rebuke to mankind. Society had an obligation to make appropriate provision for such children; failure to do so was to betray the values of humanity.

> *"Everyone of these children is an admonition to mankind that our age is in danger of losing the values of humanity. These children are a strong warning not to abandon what is the highest ideal of humanity: the Image of Man which is still created in the "Image of God". This is the shining star which guides the work of Camphill." (34)*

The Schools Prospectus for 1948 expanded further on the perceived role for Camphill. What is particularly remarkable here is the contemporary resonance in much of what was written. It is worthwhile highlighting that this document was written 70 years ago when most children with intellectual disabilities were receiving no education at all:

> *"Each child is an individual, and therefore needs a special and individual method, and not a standard method, which might be enough for the ordinary child. Therefore these children are in need of „special‟ care, as they ask for their „special‟ method of being trained and educated. It is with this that we are concerned – to find the Spiritual individuality in each child and out of this individual Spirit to assess the special method which he needs. Each child has not only the right to live, but the right to demand that he is given all possible help towards bringing his potentialities to fullest expression." (33)*

Whilst the Superintendent‟s Report for 1947/49 and the 1948 Prospectus give the impression that the vision was to establish a residential special school, it is clear that by 1951 König had more ambitious aims. He saw Camphill developing into a centre for curative education offering professional training for doctors and nurses and possessing a range of on-site facilities including a hospital, X-ray unit and dispensary.

"…there is hardly a type of child which is not represented to all who work here and through this fact Camphill is able to become a training centre for curative teachers and helpers. The same factor, the great variety and considerable number of children, gives the possibility of research into the conditions of mental deficiency" (34).

But then in 1951 König signalled a possible change in direction for the role of Camphill. In the Schools Community Meeting for the 28th January 1951 he reported:

" I had the idea that maybe the time has come when some of us must leave the idea of residential schools and have a kind of Camphill clinic in Glasgow. Each day a child could come for special lessons and treatment. In evening lessons for teachers and parents. On Sunday the children's service. We should have support of authorities and come into contact with Glasgow working class people."(16)

König returned to the impact that his visit to Glasgow had had upon him in the School Community Meeting for the 15ᵗʰ February 1952:

"We cannot leave the year 1951 without referring to the May conference in Glasgow. One thing became clear that we cannot restrict our work to just starting schools - we cannot only build islands when so much suffering and misery abounds in the big cities and so many parents cannot send their children to us, some should start these social centres. I know it will hardly be possible to bring it about in a short time but it is an ideal for the coming year." (23)

König was later to acknowledge in one of the Schools Community meetings that the courses for doctors that had been set up had proved a failure because Camphill was essentially a home for children and not a clinic. What is clear is that König and some

of his colleagues saw Camphill as an experiment in creating a new social order, which, if it proved successful, could be adopted elsewhere. In 1951 König expressed, with remarkable prescience, his conviction that the Camphill model would eventually be found throughout the world. (16)

> *"... what we now intend with the schools community is to try to shape this social structure to let it grow, so that more and more the 3-fold commonwealth would develop, i.e. that all those connected with the work of the schools, the children and the grown ups will experience what a 3-fold commonwealth will be [...] Camphill where curative education dwells with the social order." (12)*

The *threefold commonwealth* that is mentioned here refers to Steiner"s notion of a Threefold Social Order.

Roles and responsibilities

During the period under investigation the vision for Camphill was very much the vision that König had laid out. What emerges clearly from examining the minutes of the Schools Community Meeting is the increasing frustration, and on occasions, anger displayed by König at the failure by colleagues to measure up to the demands of living in an experimental community. In the minutes for the 8th January 1953 König stated that it had to be one of the tasks in the coming year, to improve the standards of Camphill in every respect and every housemother and housefather had a role to play in achieving that improvement. He pointed out that Camphill had an obligation to the local authorities that referred children to the School. For example, there could be no justification for dirty walls and broken beds for these deficiencies brought the School into a bad light. (29)

König felt it necessary to remind colleagues of their basic responsibilities. He indicated that the only way to help the children who attended Camphill was to learn to understand them with all their peculiarities. This could only be done in surroundings which were suited to them: a sheltered environment which was full of

beauty, kindness and helpfulness.(33)   He went on to stress that the first thing for the children to learn was that they were not looked upon as outcasts or to be held as backward in comparison with other children. They should feel that the earthly world of which they were a part had room for them as well as for others and that their way of living was appreciated and their behaviour understood.   Only when this was achieved would they gain in confidence and lose their distrust of the world. Curative education could then start but this had to be an education that not only developed intellectual faculties but also the whole being. Every aspect of life in the community played an important part in this balanced development of the children. (33)

Based on the 1948 Schools Prospectus and the minutes of the Schools Community meetings of November 1952, January and February 1953, a picture of König's expectations of what co-workers should and should not do are outlined.   König stressed that teachers should not be seen as adults who simply stand in front of the children but rather stand alongside them. They should not just be individuals who have received a special training but also be people with a well-adjusted personality. They should know not only how to teach reading and writing but also handicrafts and music, gardening and farming, painting and woodcarving. A distinction was drawn between the kind of professional specialisms that existed in the outside world and the problems that specialisms caused within the context of Camphill, where a range of diverse skills was sought and valued. (28). In König's opinion, to handle a spade and to use a saw was as important as the ability to draw a picture or play an instrument. The teacher must live with the child, eat and sleep near the child, share the daily work and the daily joys. The warmth of the family and contact with the world were both necessary for these children. The children had dormant qualities which needed to be awakened before they could respond. Above all, the teacher had to keep the ideal of the whole man - body, soul and spirit - clearly in mind as Steiner had recommended. (33)

The minutes for the 8th January 1953 meeting reveal a measure of despair on the part of König.   Attention is drawn to the fact that many members of the community had admitted that they had no time to make their beds. In König's judgement this was

undisciplined conduct which had a disastrous impact on curative education. König questioned why, in such circumstances, the children should make their own beds. He indicated that this kind of behaviour could not be tolerated because it had damaging effects on the whole community environment. (29)

In the Schools Community meeting of January 1951 König indicated that due to many human failures and human errors which all had been guilty of, the moral standard of Camphill had gone down a great deal. By moral standard, König meant the way in which co-workers stood faithfully toward their work, the children and each other and to the ideals of curative education as described by Steiner. To the extent that people"s innermost heart turned to these things and to the ideals of Camphill, people had not been entirely honest with each other. In his opinion the pioneering group had been a wonderful one, for it had been filled with courage, fire, zeal and determination. The group that followed was not up to the same standard. And so far as the present group was concerned, talk of their failures had been quite free and open and attempts had been made to instil something that appeared to be lacking. König was quite clear that the truth had to be spoken when the community met together: *"we must speak the truth when we meet here on the background of what we think and feel." (*22)

One issue that regularly cropped up related to the role of money in the life of the community. In 1952 it was noted that issues relating to money were not being handled in a proper way. This was attributed to a failure on the part of those dealing with money in not sharing their responsibilities with others and those not dealing with money having little or no interest in how it was used. Whilst it was acknowledged that co-workers were not employed, they should nevertheless adopt a responsible attitude to the way in which money was spent in the community. The point was emphasised that money should never be seen as a possession but rather as an indication of how transactions take place.

"Not with a £1,000,000 can any human troubles be remedied. […]. Freedom cannot be bought for either £ or $. Only through love can freedom be achieved." *(26)*

Whilst it was accepted that a solution to the role of money in the community had not been found, it was agreed that any new ideas and experiments should be shorn of bourgeois sentiment. It was argued that one should avoid the effects of the proletarian revolution in the 19th century when the effects of trade unionism damaged the status of the working man. This appears to be allusion to Rudolf Steiner's belief that the introduction of trade unionism was an affront to the dignity and independence of the working man. Thus preoccupation with money matters was held to be a bourgeois obsession and should be rejected if a new social order was to be established and curative education was to flourish. (26)

In 1953 König directed his critical fire at the contribution of the house communities to the curative education endeavour. He argued that the communities were gradually becoming "useless". He made a plea that to the extent that they were engaged with children, they should concentrate on the sphere of curative education and the need for special individual handling of the children, as these fell short of what might be expected. More attention had to be extended to individual children in the form of special exercises so that their abilities could be enhanced.

"The praise I had to extend to the teaching side is followed by the sorrow for the neglect of curative education proper […] the homes are becoming useless […] the stress was put on education […] the sphere of curative education & the special handling of the children fell short of what it should be. I must ask that each house community in as far as it is engaged with children, concerns itself with this problem & tries to find ways & means to enliven this impulse […] more care will have to be extended to individual children in the form of special exercises so that their abilities are used to create greater possibilities." *(29)*

Despite his sense of disappointment and occasional despair, König expressed his belief that there had been a marked improvement in human relationships. Some of his happiest moments had occurred during his personal talks with individuals and his having witnessed the changes that had taken place in them over time. By 1952 he had experienced a true spirit emerging that was shining forth from within individuals. He believed that those who wanted to develop into true human beings had that possibility in Camphill. He anticipated that there would be many tasks lying ahead and that great demands would be placed on the ability of the community to face these challenges.

Boundaries and relationships

There is evident confusion in the minutes concerning the respective roles and responsibilities of varying bodies within Camphill. At an early stage a distinction was drawn between the Schools Community and Camphill Community. Whilst anyone working at Camphill could belong to the Schools Community, not everyone could belong to the Camphill Community. What the minutes fail to reveal is the nature of that difference other than in the most simple of terms; namely, that the Schools Community was oriented to the outside world through the Schools Council of Management and that the Camphill Community was inner oriented with possibly a closed membership. We will discuss later some of the implications of this lack of clarity surrounding the role of the Camphill Community.

Reference has already been made to Camphill's perceived mission to export the Camphill model to the wider world. In the minutes for the 2nd December 1949 it was noted that there had been several discussions about whether Camphill was yet strong enough to meet the outside world. When full members of the Community discussed the question, it was indicated that an invitation had been received to establish a Camphill community in Wraxall, near Bristol. Tilla König proposed that she should go down to England and undertake that task.

In 1951 it was recorded that the only success Camphill had achieved in going out into the wider world was when it had been asked to do so. And it was accepted that this should be the guiding principle as far as further „exports" were concerned. (19) However later that year the view was expressed that Camphill was too much like an island and that members of the Schools Council should be made aware of what was happening beyond „the island". The minutes also recorded a degree of tension between what was seen as the farsightedness of the Council and the views of external members of the Schools Community, although it was conceded that Camphillers could acquire such views if they took enough interest!

The minutes for 21st November 1952 noted that children who came to Camphill did so because they were unable to live in the outside world. It was necessary therefore to create an island where the world was kept out. Only when the children began to recover could they be sent to school and led back into the world again. It was noted how children were able to go home and fit into their old surroundings in spite of being out of the world whilst at Camphill. The task of Camphill was leading the children back into that outside world. (28)

Further comment

Whilst this chapter has sought to present in as objective manner as possible the main themes that appear to surface from an examination of the minutes, some limited commentary appears justified. The picture which emerges is one in which König is the dominating figure. His presence is strongly in evidence even when he is not there. As noted in the minutes for 21st November 1952, König only lived in Camphill for just over half the year. (28) The rest of his time appears to have been spent either in his Harley Street clinic or on visits to other countries. The frequent and extended absences of the person who was the unquestioned leader of the Camphill Movement may, as the next chapter will seek to explore, have contributed to the creation of a climate in which both myth and ritual flourished.

What is rarely evident in the minutes is any sense of a dialogue in which arguments are advanced and their respective strengths and weaknesses explored. It does not follow that there were no such debates but rather that any such debates, if they did occur, were never recorded. Whilst there were frequent comments about the role and responsibilities of different „representative" groupings within Camphill, there is a conspicuous lack of clarity as to their functions. Apart from the Schools Community meeting of January 1952, where König presented a yearly report with some facts and figures as to how much rye, oats and milk had been produced from the farm, or how many mugs, cups, saucers and porridge bowls had been produced by the pottery, one gains no impression of the views of the group represented or whether they had views that differed from those held by König. In fact, only once in the minutes of the meetings examined was there an instance of a discordant note being struck.

> *"...the present members of the council are those who know the history of Camphill and through their acquired ability are able to know the future. Majority of people cannot survey the whole. Decisions are made passively." (20)*

The overwhelming image of Camphill, which is clearly evident in the minutes, is that of an enclosed, self-contained and inward-looking community. It is scarcely surprising therefore that Camphill should be perceived as an island. Such a metaphor can be seen in both positive and negative terms. König clearly believed that in order for children in need of special care to benefit from curative education they needed to be isolated from their home surroundings. That isolation was part of the curative and rehabilitative process. The perception of Camphill as an island by co-workers is likely to have encouraged resistance to external influences and pressures. This metaphor still has a resonance today, although paradoxically it tends now to be employed by those external to Camphill!

"...we must create an island where the world can be kept away [...] Camphill should become a self-supporting structure through which more and more people can pass through." (27)

CHAPTER 6. DISCUSSION

In this chapter I seek to make a link between my findings and what I have learned from the literature review, so that the findings can be contextualized within a theoretical framework. Particular attention is drawn to some of the possible consequences resulting from high levels of insecurity experienced by co-workers in the early days of Camphill.

In its most ancient and original sense, myth is reality: the unquestionable truth held by a group of people. The reality for the Pueblo Indians in New Mexico was that they literally believed they were the sons of the Father Sun, (Heller, 2006). The reality for people in Camphill is that a human being has a spirit which is not simply a „product" of genes or the environment but is a „product" of the stars:

> *"...the highest ideal of humanity: the image of Man which was created in the "Image of God". This was the shining star that guided the work of Camphill"* *(33)*

One interesting aspect of myth within Camphill is the belief that the rituals attached to myth are always performed for the good of humanity. The worship of the Sun by the Pueblo Indians was not just for themselves but for the whole world, for without their intervention it would be forever night (Heller, 2006). In Camphill in 1947/49 one of the most important tasks of the Camphill schools was *"to enlighten the public about the nature of the child in need of special care."* *(33)*

> *"...the importance of us having an Advent sale was not the financial side but that a healing force will stream into the world and help make it a little bit a better place."* *(16)*

This was to be done in part by researching the causes of „mental deficiency" in order that children would be better understood and in part by creating an environment whereby children's *"dormant qualities could be awakened"* (32). It was König's

conviction that *"each child has not only the right to live, but the right to demand that he is given all possible help towards bringing his potentialities to fullest expression"* (33).

The archetypal mythic hero is usually the founder of something new, whether it is a religion, city or way of life. In order to establish something new, one needs to leave the old and go in quest of a germinal idea that has the potential to bring forth something new. Buddha went into solitude, sat beneath the tree of immortal knowledge, where he received enlightenment; Jesus went into the desert for forty days and returned with his message; and Moses went to the top of a mountain and came down with his tablets of stone (Campbell and Moyers, 1988).

It is clear that König, together with his colleagues, intended to create a new way of life:

> *"We wish to create a new social order, which may influence social orders formed in a much bigger way in the future."* (7)

König was also clear how this new way of life was to express itself. In this respect the story is not dissimilar to the hero"s mythic journey. König returned from internment on the Isle of Man in 1940 with a number of ideas that he claimed were revealed to him during the course of a spiritual encounter with Count Zinzendorf. This took the form of a dream in which Zinzendorf highlighted the need for the introduction of a Bible Evening.

Gardner (1997) has pointed out that myth in an organization refers to that which is sacred and shared by a group of people; it is their reality and truth. It is an authoritative account of the facts which may not be questioned nor challenged for myth determines the way things are done. Poulton (2005) takes this argument further by saying that not only does it determine the way things are done but it determines how people define themselves. He does not call this myth but rather the 'genesis story" of an organisation.

There seems little doubt that the Bible Evening is part of Camphill's „genesis story". The Bible Evening was created so that people could practise their spirituality by meeting at least once a week as spiritual beings; that's to say, meeting as morally and ethically developed human beings.

> *"These regular weekly gatherings enable a strong and intimate bond to develop amongst community members. They meet on a higher level as brothers and sisters [...] No one is marked out by anything save his love for Christ and his fellow human beings [...] they meet in a renewed way in the true light of the spirit."*
>
> König as cited in Müller-Wiedemann (1996 p.183).

Gibbs (2003) has argued that morally mature people see daily life from the vantage of its „cosmic ground", they identify themselves with the unitary whole of nature and in this way transcend existential despair and experience inspiration from a deeper reality of living in the light of love and justice. The individual moves from self-centredness to an acceptance of the ideals of love and moral reciprocity. This deeper reality is sometimes glimpsed and encountered through meditation or existential or life threatening crises.

Steiner (1972) claimed that the higher the stage of development reached by an individual, the more the impulse of love strengthens. This is a love that does not look for compensation; it is a love for the well-being of the earth and the souls of men. It is a universal love, a love for all beings. It should not be a matter for preaching but rather it must be offered independently and freely from one being to another. However, Steiner stressed it was only possible to experience this sense of unity between human beings and universal love through Christ's crucifixion which he calls the „Christ impulse".

Meeting once a week and immersing oneself in the words of spiritual wisdom drawn from the Bible was only one way of practising one's own spirituality. Helping to

implement the „Christ impulse" was clearly and explicitly stated as one of the primary tasks of Camphill. According to König only those individuals who saw themselves as part of this mission could call themselves full members of Camphill (Müller-Wiedemann, 1996). In the beginning all saw themselves as part of a mission, not least because the early Camphillers began their shared life as members of an anthroposophical study circle and because König was personally drawn to the „religious" expression of anthroposophy. This was such a vivid reality for König that not only did he arrange in 1942 for Camphill to become a member of the Christian Community but also he noted in his diaries that he expected Camphill to become a new sort of religious order (Müller-Wiedemann, 1996; McKanan, 2007).

In 1948, two communities were created: an inner community sometimes referred to as the life or esoteric community and the other, the work or Schools community. The reasons for this split are not clear. One possible explanation is that in 1948 many people had been attracted to live and work in Camphill, not all of whom were inclined to commit themselves to the specific „Christ impulse". Another reason may have stemmed from König's interpretation of Steiner's ideas of what a social organism needed to do in order to develop in a healthy manner (McKanan, 2007). According to Steiner, for a human society to be healthy, three realms (political, cultural, economic) had to be recognised and allowed to function as independently as possible from each other, even though they were related and should be mutually supportive. For instance, the economic life of an individual should not dictate the kind of education that an individual could access. Steiner was quite clear that when it came to the cultural realm, which included religion and spirituality, absolute freedom had to be honoured.

The intention of separating out or creating two communities seems to have had the effect of placing the Camphill Community within the spiritual realm, so that its members could pursue their common spiritual tasks in total freedom and quite independently from the day-to-day administration.

" The Camphill Community has again, made a sacrifice, she has given up, what until now she still did, i.e. the running of the Schools. […] The Camphill Community became more aware of her spiritual tasks, and out of this awareness decided not to interfere with the work and the arrangements". (2)

König claimed that Camphill was not an organization created for the purpose of disseminating Christian faith, nor was it there to propagate Steiner"s teachings (Müller-Wiedemann, 1996; McKanan, 2007). However, it is quite clear that Camphill was expected to commit itself to anthroposophy:

"…Camphill is a place where anthroposophy is taken seriously. Unanthroposophical views should not begin to grow up". (4).

By insisting that only those who were committed to the „Christ impulse" and anthroposophy could call themselves members of the Camphill Community, König was helping shape Camphill"s identity. He was also investing those who were committed to the „Christ impulse" with the authority and responsibility to preserve that identity of Camphill as he had imagined it to be. The creation of these two communities did not promote a sense of unity: one of the key aims of anthroposophy. What also seems not to have been recognised is that when König expected people conscientiously to attend the Bible Evenings, he was in fact violating his colleagues" spiritual freedom. It is quite clear from König"s pronouncements that the inner community played a critical role in Camphill life and work.

Morgan (2006) has indicated that myths can have a negative impact within organizations in that people find themselves so trapped within their own constructions of reality that change is almost impossible. He uses the metaphor of the psychic prison: where people are imprisoned within their own realities and where people live in their own „shadowland". The notion of „shadowland" is not dissimilar to the „total institution" described by Goffman (1961) where individuals are divested of their individuality. This is not to suggest that this is what happened in Camphill, however it is quite clear that individuals were asked to make a series of „sacrifices":

sacrifice personal possessions, sacrifice their own needs in the interests of the organization and in the interest of others.

Camphill co-workers were asked to act like mythic heroes by giving freely of themselves. An interesting aspect of this kind of sacrifice was the expectation that individuals could be moved around at any time when it was felt necessary. It is quite remarkable the number of times people were moved, not just adults but children too. In one year alone out of a total of 236 children, 54 were admitted and 59 were „discharged". In the same year, 51 co-workers left, many going to England where new Camphill communities were starting, whilst 38 joined. Individuals were frequently asked to move to wherever there was seen to be a need. (7).

> *"During the last four years Camphill has become widely known and many people have joined and balance all those who have left. During the last months no inquiries have come and twenty to thirty people are leaving in the coming year [...] this year never so few admitted 58, and discharged 41." (28)*

In the period between 1946 and 1947 out of 163 children, 48 were admitted and 43 „discharged". (28).

> *"...the rhythm in the life and the work, the coming and going of people into Camphill and out of Camphill taking powers with them to work against the adversary." (23)*

Anthroposophy generally and karma specifically were often used to explain and justify actions including the admission and discharge of children.

> *" ...karma has decided some of us will have to go down [to England] everyone in Schools Community should feel himself potentially willing to join her" (15).*

Seeking to create a home that was open to all appeared to threaten any sense of permanency or belonging.

"Whether he can work a lot or a little, everyone who wants must be able to come and work with us." (23)

Another aim was to create a democratic system in which each person would be heard:

"…it is quite wrong from the social order point of view, for any one to work in a place and not to have any say in the running of it. All responsible members will have a say in the running of the work. All must feel free to speak. Every voice counts equal in weight and measure. All distinctions fall away. A democratic level must be kept permanently." (2)

However, it is clear that König usually had the last word: *"he himself decides 60% of pending questions, 40% presented to council."* (13) It is important to note that König was also part of council where: *"decisions are passively accepted."* (20)

"...[this] evening [was] disappointing, little activity, everything left to myself [i.e., König]. It was a very painful thing to always have to propose things and have them accepted in this way one can lose hope in the Schools Community." (5)

"…we should consider that if a new house comes about Dr. König would not be here with us […] if we expand Dr. König goes away. For me Camphill and Dr. König are synonymous. Whatever happens in schools, groups, meetings, lessons, Dr. König stands behind and over this we are complacent. We can always ask Dr. König are we able to carry on without this one who stands behind. We are fortunate in having one who puts everything in following Rudolf Steiner indications." (16)

One can only dimly imagine what the impact of this continuous movement coupled with other uncertainties - no salary and no job permanence - must have had. A picture arises of a great sense of insecurity that may have led to greater dependence

on and obedience to König as the leader (see Tables 1 and 2 pp 46-47). It is worth dwelling for a moment on some of the possible consequences of owning no home, receiving no payment and having no permanent employment. While the sequences presented in Tables 1 and 2 are very tentative in character, they seek to develop a possible line of thought. The basic proposition here is that myths are more likely to flourish in the circumstances outlined in Table 1 and are less likely to prosper in the circumstances outlined in Table 2. Table 1 sets out in very broad terms the state of affairs that used to apply to most Camphill communities. However today, an increasing number of Camphill co-workers live off site in homes of their own, are paid a salary and are employed. The tensions that these changes have generated have been documented elsewhere.

Cash (1997) has argued that the contradictions in which an organization can become embedded are often so extreme that it is prevented from doing what it has set itself to do. He claims that by bringing these contradictions to light and confronting the basic assumptions of the dominant models upon which they are based, a new level of consciousness is gained and thus new learning. Movva (2004) and McWhinney and Battista (1988) take the argument further, by claiming that if an organization is able to reflect on old myths and create new ones, then renewal and transformation are possible. They call this process remythologizing, which is bringing to consciousness the founding ideals that helped to create and sustain the organization"s identity, and by so doing link the primal energy with present circumstances, thereby enabling organizational renewal.

Some positive aspects of myth in Camphill

Owen (1987) has argued that myth is not only the vehicle through which a culture"s values, purpose and direction are realised but also the medium through which an organization manifests its Spirit which is defined as "that which underlies all that I am or we are. Spirit is man in his essence" (Owen, 1987; 6). Owen has suggested that at the genesis of every organization there is a moment when some individual or a small group of individuals has the kind of „Ah-ha, I"ve got it" experience. It is the

creative moment when something new appears as if from nowhere; what it is and what it will become are all unknowns. The individual may not know what to do precisely and where it might lead but something has happened which is hot, powerful and moving. It carries a high level of energy but little focus. This can be conceptualised as the primal Spirit.

Even though it is difficult to perceive „high levels of energy" by just looking through the minutes of the School Community meetings, there is little doubt that this powerful and energising creative impulse was there, as otherwise it is difficult to see how Camphill came into existence and continues to survive. König expressed the „I've got it" experience in the following terms:

> *"Yes, this is my future task! So to awaken the spiritual light inherent in each one of these children that it will lead them to their true humanity – that is what I want to do!"* (König as cited in Müller-Wiedemann, 1996; 68)

The energy that created Camphill was the conviction that all individuals have a spirit; a spirit which only needs to be recognised and given the possibility to express itself. This led to an investment in humanity and the celebration of the individual and of difference:

> *"The only way to help these children is to learn to understand them in all the peculiarities they have, in their common ways of life, in their expressions, manners and gestures. This can only be done in surroundings which are suited to them, a sheltered environment full of beauty, kindness and helpfulness." (31)*

But there was also a parallel conviction, which was that one needed to change the world. To that end it would be necessary to create a mini-world on its own, a different world where the „spirit" would be able to „shine" like a „candle on a hill". This metaphor was often used in explaining the origins of Camphill. Unconditional love, freedom and trust were its essential elements (Müller-Wiedemann, 1996).

POSSIBLE CONSEQUENCES OF HAVING:

NO PHYSICAL BASE
NO PAYMENT
NO PERMANENT JOB
LEADING TO:

↓

Insecurity

↓

Dependence

↓

Obedience
(Feigned loyalty)

↓

Unchallenging disposition

↓

Myth perpetuating disposition

↓

Suppression of individuality

↓

Lack of confidence

↓

Sense of entrapment

↓

Dehumanisation

↓

Desensitization

↓

Being malleable

Table 1: Insecurity

POSSIBLE CONSEQUENCES OF HAVING:

PHYSICAL BASE
PAYMENT
PERMANENT JOB
LEADING TO:

Security

↓

Independence

↓

Loyalty

↓

Challenging disposition

↓

Myth rejecting disposition

↓

Expression of individuality

↓

Self-confidence

↓

Sense of freedom

↓

Humane disposition

↓

Sensitivity awareness

↓

Non-malleability

Table 2: Security

The practical realisation of this world was not constrained by the imposition of any prescribed models. On the contrary, there was the continual call to experiment, change and expand into whatever was thought necessary.

> *" The innermost task striving of Camphill is always to make new steps and that each one of us can help by taking this responsibility." (28)*

Even though there was this call for Camphill to open its doors and depart from its original model, it never did. The reasons for this are not clear; one can only surmise. The sense of urgency of going wherever there might be human suffering and be prepared to use whatever model that was thought appropriate was perhaps only felt by König. This would not be surprising since it was König who travelled all around the country and abroad. Therefore he was better placed to experience the world that lay beyond Camphill"s boundaries. Another reason may have been that König wanted people to move on, experiment and change but it was too late. By then people had settled themselves into the only model they knew, the only permanent and certain thing in their lives.

CHAPTER 7.   IMPLICATIONS

In this chapter some aspects of Camphill"s historical legacy are challenged. It is noted that a preoccupation with a notion of a past in which there was certainty, clarity of direction and purpose needs to be challenged, as it is demonstrably a myth. It is myth that prevents Camphill from looking forward and responding appropriately and responsibly to future needs.

What makes myths so powerful and dangerous is the fact that they tend to be buried deep in one"s unconscious. From the point of view of those that own these myths, this is quite natural, for not only are they not conscious of their existence but are also oblivious to the fact that „others" may see them as odd. As such, myths are regarded as unchallengeable truths and are often used to prevent acceptance of new ideas and to block progress (Owen, 1987; Hughes, 1995; Brown et al. 2005). Hughes (1995) and Brown et al. (2005) have claimed that if myths are ever challenged, the response tends to be the same and is expressed in such terms as „this is how we always do things here" and „we tried that and it didn"t work".

Gabriel (2000) has argued that myths can take the form of retrospective nostalgia – a form of organizational memory. Such nostalgia idealises the past and accepts it as something which is irretrievably lost, whilst the present is pictured as impoverished. With this form of nostalgia the sense of loss is never psychologically conquered, it uses the past like an analgesic, which numbs the pain and provides refuge from the complexities of the present. In its most acute form it can lead to a total inability to accept the present and to a morbid preoccupation with the past - so that buildings, particular rituals and charismatic leaders are identified as elements that attract nostalgic feelings. At the heart of these feelings lies an idealised past that is seen as authentic and caring, where there was the warmth of love, community and family spirit and the presence of protective leaders.

There are aspects of Camphill"s historical legacy that merit challenge. For example, there are still closed meetings – „inner community group" and „upper room" meetings - whose precise purpose is not clear. Indeed some co-workers were, until very

recently, unaware of their existence. It is not being argued that these meetings are in any way sinister bodies but rather that their existence calls into question König"s wish to create an open and inclusive community. Whilst their purpose appears to be that of acting as custodians of König"s mission, it could be argued that their continued existence is both inappropriate and incongruous in a 21st century context.

What the examination of the Schools Community meetings during the 1940s and 1950s reveals is König"s clearly articulated an imaginative vision for the future but at the same time the existence of an organizational climate in Camphill that was largely unsupportive of the kind of changes he sought. This prompted him on a number of occasions to express his anger, frustration and disappointment with his colleagues. In other words, this was not „a golden age"! At least, not in König"s eyes! It can be argued that the situation has not changed, for the same conservative, introspective and exclusive attitudes found in Camphill in 1948 can still be detected in the Camphill of 2008! The kind of community model that König was seeking to establish, along with the opposing tendencies that were evident in the community at that time, are set out in Table 3. The purpose of this schematic representation, which is based on a close examination of the content of the Schools Community meetings, is to highlight the critical difference between aspiration and reality. The documentary evidence to support this schema is set out in Appendix B.

ASPIRATION	REALITY
Love-based	Law-based
Compassionate	Punitive
Forgiving	Vengeful
Forward-looking	Retrospective
Extrospective	Introspective
Democratic	Hierarchical
Participative	Authoritarian
Exoteric	Esoteric
Intuitive	Calculated
Conciliatory	Uncompromising
Pragmatic	Idealistic
Inclusive	Exclusive
Attitudinally open	Attitudinally closed
Psychologically open	Psychologically closed
Challenging	Complacent
Creative	Uncreative

Table 3: Aspiration and Reality

The contradiction here is that in his frustration to lead Camphill in the direction he wanted it to go, König felt obliged to act in an authoritarian manner. Later in his life when he was asked why he acted in this way, he quietly responded that he was left with no choice! (Messenger, undated) This suggests that he had limited confidence in the ability of his colleagues to provide the collective and democratic leadership that was needed.

The fact that a significant number of the co-workers were at that time drawn from Central Europe and were living in a country whose language, culture and manners they did not share is likely to have increased their sense of physical, social and psychological isolation. The fact also that König was often away from Camphill for long periods of time probably contributed to the development of an introspective and closed community. With the death of König and later the death of Thomas Weihs, his charismatic successor, it could be argued that Camphill lost its way and when there is uncertainty, there is often an irresistible temptation to hang on to the past.

A number of authors have agreed that rigidity and preservation of lifeless forms will only lead to organizational death (Owen, 1987; Gabriel, 2000; Steiner as cited in Luxford and Luxford, 2003; Morgan, 2006; McKanan, 2007). Some have argued that only by contemplating death, can the possibility of survival be realised. McKanan (2007) has suggested that being ready to live in the face of death makes it easier to risk investing resources in „touching the world" as well as remaining open to the possibility of resurrection. For Owen (1987) death is not a matter of choice, it is something that happens to all organizations, the choice lies in whether the organization decides on death that leads to extinction or to resurrection.

For resurrection to happen, a process of transformation needs to be brought about which involves a search for a better way of functioning. This is not usually a process that the organization itself initiates, as it is too painful (Owen, 1987). The essence of transformation is the odyssey of the primal spirit of the organization as it moves from one formal manifestation to another. Transformation is different from development,

as transformation requires the old to die and dissolve to make way for a new form. Owen (1987) has given the example of the transformation from caterpillar to butterfly. The only way to move from one stage to the next is to allow the old form to dissolve. Once the caterpillar dissolves and returns to its essence, it frees essential energy to achieve its new form.

There is some indication from research that the most successful communities (where success is measured in terms of longevity) are the ones whose practices demand that individuals subordinate their individual freedom to the welfare of the group, where loyalties that compete with group loyalty are discouraged, where there is total commitment to the prevailing ideology and where high walls are placed between the community and the outside world (McKanan, 2007). This may help to explain why Camphill has survived for almost 70 years. However to pursue this kind of community ideal runs the risk of sacrificing the real spirit and essence of what constitutes Camphill, which is deeply held beliefs in individual freedom and connection to the outside world. If Camphill wishes to survive, it will need to embrace living with instability. Rather than measuring success in terms of organizational longevity, it should judge effectiveness in terms of its attentiveness to, and realisation of, its larger goals.

The choices that lie ahead of Camphill are not clear-cut. It is not a matter of constantly adapting to external requirements like a subservient chameleon or sticking stubbornly to old ways and erecting even higher walls between it and the outside world. The most important thing for Camphill to realize is that it is not hostage to a cruel world that does not understand it but that it has an important and active role in helping to shape that world.

Working out of the principles of love and freedom is as relevant now as it was at the time that the Nazi regime drove König and his colleagues from Central Europe. The growth of a centralised state in the UK which is increasingly reliant on surveillance and inspection regimes is one in which individual liberties are being challenged. This is therefore a time when strategies to enable people to feel valued and fulfilled

are needed. Camphill has a role to play here but if it is to do so, there needs to be the kind of transformation to which reference has been made.

One possible obstacle to organizational progress is the belief that there was once „a golden age" and that any significant departure from what is generally perceived to have been past practice will be detrimental to the health of that organization. Preoccupation with a notion of the past, thought to have been characterised by certainty, clarity of direction and purpose, merits challenge. As close scrutiny of the minutes of the Schools Meetings has revealed, there was considerable disagreement and confusion on a wide range of issues. Acceptance of the myth of a „golden age" not only prevents Camphill from looking forward and responding to present and future needs but also represents a threat to its continued existence.

Conclusions

It is a matter of some surprise that no history of the development of the Camphill Movement has yet been written, notwithstanding its existence for nearly seven decades. This study constitutes one of the first attempts to take a critical look at the life and work of one Camphill community through scrutinizing original documentary evidence held by that community. It is to be hoped that the publication of this study will stimulate future scholars to examine other facets of this unique community movement. The findings of such research can only benefit the Movement itself through encouraging those who live and work in Camphill communities to reflect critically upon the purpose of the Camphill enterprise. But those external to this Movement will also profit from such research, for the seminal ideas that König promoted and developed in the mid-20th century have an especial relevance and resonance today.

Further research

To compare and contrast the factors that appear to have contributed to the formation of other residential care establishments possessing a strong spiritual mission (e.g., L"Arche; Garvald; Bruderhof; Hansel Trust; Barnardos).

To continue the process of examining Schools Community minutes with a view to determining whether the themes identified in this study continue to be prominent or whether, and in what circumstances, new themes emerge.

Recommendations

1. Camphill Rudolf Steiner School

That, in the light of the findings of this research, the Council of Management of Camphill Rudolf Steiner School be alerted to the need for all committees within the School to record as fully as possible the proceedings of committee meetings so that scholars in the future are aware of the issues and problems that are the subject of discussion.

2. Scottish Institute for Residential Child Care

That the Scottish Institute for Residential Child Care should be encouraged to explore the possibility of establishing a group committed to historical/archival research in the field of residential childcare.

That such a group offers practical assistance and guidance to residential childcare establishments in determining: (a) the kind of material that it is important to retain; and (b) the best ways of maintaining archival material.

That such assistance and guidance be offered through the publication of guidance notes or holding seminars in residential childcare establishments.

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Appendix A: List of documentary material examined

(1) Superintendent"s Report 31st January 1946 - 31st January 1947
(2) Schools Community Meeting 2nd July 1948
(3) Schools Community Meeting 9th July 1948
(4) Schools Community Meeting 12th August 1948
(5) Schools Community Meeting 31st August 1948
(6) Schools Community Meeting 8th September 1948
(7) Schools Community Meeting 8th October 1948
(8) Schools Community Meeting 18th January 1949
(9) Schools Community Meeting 11th February 1949
(10) Schools Community Meeting 4th March 1949
(11) Schools Community Meeting 25th March 1949
(12) Schools Community Meeting 24th May 1949
(13) Schools Community Meeting 10th August 1949
(14) Schools Community Meeting 28th October 1949
(15) Schools Community Meeting 2nd December 1949
(16) Schools Community Meeting 28th January 1951
(17) Schools Community Meeting 4th April 1951
(18) Schools Community Meeting 25th May 1951
(19) Schools Community Meeting 5th July 1951
(20) Schools Community Meeting 5th October 1951
(21) Schools Community Meeting 2nd November 1951
(22) Schools Community Meeting 11th January 1952
(23) Schools Community Meeting 15th February 1952
(24) Schools Community Meeting 11th March 1952
(25) Schools Community Meeting 23rd May 1952
(26) Schools Community Meeting 4th July 1952
(27) Schools Community Meeting 24th October 1952
(28) Schools Community Meeting 21st November 1952
(29) Schools Community Meeting 8th January 1953
(30) Schools Community Meeting 6th February 1953
(31) Schools Community Meeting 13th March 1953
(32) Schools Community Meeting […] July 1954
(33) Schools Prospectus (1948)
(34) Superintendent"s Report (1947-49)

Appendix B: Documentary evidence supporting Table 3: Aspiration and Reality

ASPIRATION

1. Love–based

"Distance between human beings does not solve human problems…   …only through love can freedom be achieved." (7)

2. Compassionate

"The first thing for these children to learn is that they are not looked upon as outcasts or held to be backward in comparison with other children. They must feel that the earthly world has room for them as well as for others…   …that their way of living is appreciated, and their behaviour understood. (33)

3. Forgiving

"One thing I must make clear in my concluding remarks is that in spite of statements of despair and disappointment there is a marked improvement in the human relationships." (1)

4. Forward looking

"There is still a third task which lies ahead of us, perhaps the most important one of all. This is to enlighten the public about the nature of the child in need of special care." (34)

5. Extrospective

"One thing became clear [which was] that we cannot restrict our work just to starting schools - we cannot only build islands when so much suffering and misery abounds in the big cities and so many parents cannot send their children to us, someone should start social centres." (23)

6. Democratic

"It is quite wrong from the social order point of view, for any one to work in a place and not to have any say in the running of it.   All must feel free to speak. Every voice counts equal in weight and measure. A democratic level must be kept permanently." (2)

7. Participative

"Spoke to Mr. W. S. [of the] British Council for the Care of the Spastics and a new co-operation will probably come about between this society and our work. Also [there is a possibility of cooperation] with the Association for the Care of the Maladjusted Children through the president Dr. H." (23)

8. Exoteric

"Each child has not only the right to live but the right to demand that he is given all possible help towards bringing his potentialities to fullest expression." (33)

9. Intuitive

"We tried to help the single child by uniting ourselves around it…   …faith and goodwill enables the possibility of healing [through] intuition." (30)

10. Conciliatory

"We have not come to a solution of either the human problems or the financial situation. The proposals by different houses should be put into practice". (26)

11. Pragmatic

"Every aspect of life in the community plays an important part in this balanced development of the children. [Curative educators] should know not only how to teach reading and writing but [be able to contribute to] handicrafts and music, gardening and farming, painting and woodcarving." (33)

12. Inclusive

"The fees are not fixed, however, but can be adjusted according to the means of parents or guardians. By this arrangement we try to make our Schools open for all classes of children. There is no distinction made between the lower and higher fee-paying pupils in the provision of food, education, treatment, or other amenities." (33)

13. Attitudinally open

" I visited a physiotherapist who works with children with cerebral palsy…   …she has found something which we have not, and she is willing to train some of our people." (16)

14. Psychologically open

"The teachers must not be adults standing in front of the children but among them." (33)

15. Challenging

"Each one of these children must be regarded as a complete human being, sent into this world with a task which we are very often unable to grasp or understand, and the education of all these children should not be directed to making them „nomal". Normality in itself is a wrong and abstract idea." (33)

16. Creative

"One should have freedom for metamorphosis…   …this is important because it is the first experiment to combine education and the curriculum within the framework of curative education." (21)

REALITY

1. **Law–based**

   "…it should be a duty to attend the school community meetings. Each house must account for missing members, must give names and reasons for staying away to the chairman before the meetings". (5)

2. **Punitive**

   "That German is spoken in private conversations is understandable but Camphill cannot be a German speaking colony. First, we live in Britain; second, [it is] detrimental to children…   …Camphill must be an English speaking colony, Dr. König will take steps if this is not enforced straight away." (13)

3. **Unforgiving**

   "The moral standard has gone down a great deal and by moral standard I mean the way in which we stand faithfully toward the work, the children each other and the ideals of curative education as shown to us by Rudolf Steiner. We have not with our innermost heart turned to these things and to the ideals of Camphill, we have been entirely dishonest with each other". (22)

4. **Retrospective**

   "I also thought of the past and what we experienced and why we had enthusiasm for the work. We met the enthusiasm of those who began Camphill and who have gone on the path of trying to find what the human being is. Through time knowledge has developed and also the seminar. This incentive is not there any more". (30)

5. **Introspective**

   "[it was] pointed out that so far the only success we have achieved in going out was when we were asked to do so. This should be our guiding line in view of expansion." (19)

6. Hierarchical

"Thought the council was the cerebellum of the whole community" (21).

7. Authoritarian

"He [Dr König] decides 60% of pending questions, 40% presented to Council. In some people [there is] an emotional background of resistance." (13)

8. Esoteric

"[Dr König] pleaded for the use of Weleda Preparations, he stressed the evil of chemical preparations and [he] emphasized the healing properties of Weleda preparations for our children." (11)

9. Calculated

"… [it was urged] that we take mental testing into consideration. N. [was] asked to study modern methods. We should develop our own tests… … although [it is] a wrong thing [to do] - it is right that we do it… … [it is an] important step to include this devil"s tail into our work [so it] can be metamorphosed." (4)

10. Uncompromising

"We have to a great extent become bourgeois and if we wish curative education to flow through our lives and work we must not lead this kind of existence." (29)

11. Idealistic

"Our present ideal is to establish gradually a centre for curative education where the new Image of Man, as it was taught by Rudolf Steiner can be studied methodically and where deviations can be understood and assisted." (1)

12. Exclusive

"Everyone can belong to the School Community who is working here. Not everyone can belong to the Camphill Community. These two bodies are separate Bodies." (2)

13. Attitudinally closed

"[it was] pointed out that so far the only success we have achieved in going out was when we were asked to do so." (19)

14. Psychologically closed

"…Camphill is a place where anthroposophy is taken seriously. Unanthroposophical views should not begin to grow up." (14)

15. Complacent

"At first the surroundings had to be created by continual efforts, now they are formed and far less effort is needed. It is easy to lose sight of a right approach to the work and life…   …the problem seems to depict itself in two ways: the more we learn, the more enthusiasm becomes impossible". (30)

16. Uncreative

"The present members of the Council are those who know the history of Camphill and through their acquired ability are able to know the future. [The] majority of people cannot survey the whole.   Decisions are passively accepted…   …a certain tension is brought about between the farsightedness of Council and the work of others in the Schools community. The humble ones thought the work was hindered through this." (20)