THE TEMPORAL COLLAGE:
HOW BRITISH QUAKERS MAKE CHOICES ABOUT TIME

Judy Frith

Leighton Buzzard, England

ABSTRACT

This article introduces the concept of the temporal collage as a descriptive tool for the compiled, interwoven elements of an individual's time that can accommodate the complexities and paradoxes brought about by choice in the twenty-first century. Time is described throughout as polychronic rather than linear (that is, of clocks or calendars) in order to include its cycles, juxtapositions, interconnections and linear aspects in the collage. Choice about time is perplexing for individuals, as there is a lack of consistency or coherence between different life stages, and between the way time is perceived and described in conversation with others. In this article, polychronic time comprises diverse elements drawn upon to build individualised and flexible constructs with priorities that vary from person to person and are adjusted throughout each lifetime according to circumstance and/or choice.

KEYWORDS

INTRODUCTION

In this article I explore the complexity of decisions about time that Friends face at the beginning of the twenty-first century. As the Religious Society of Friends has no paid clergy it relies heavily on time given voluntarily as service to the Society by the membership, but its membership, in common with other Christian churches in Britain, is in decline. The number of members and adult attenders was 26,310 in 1965, falling to 23,279 in 2006 (*Proceedings of Britain Yearly Meeting* 2006). In a similar period, average weekly attendance in the Church of England fell from 1.6 million in 1968 to under 1.2 million in 2003 (Gedhill 2005). Friends perceive themselves as 'overstretched' and 'juggling too many responsibilities' (The Meeting of Friends in Wales 2003). A minute from Britain Yearly Meeting 2001 read:

> Many Friends have been expressing concern at the over-fullness of our lives. Conflicting calls upon our time can result in stress and not doing anything well. We are called to 'life in all its fullness', but are our lives too full? (*Proceedings of Britain Yearly Meeting* 2001: minute 13).

This article shows that Friends' lives are indeed full, but that they make choices about time and build temporal collages of faith, busyness and community.

In contradistinction to other studies on busyness (Fenn 1997; Osborn and Osborn 1993), I describe time as polychronic rather than linear, because interviews and group work with Friends reveal time that has varied qualities. Linear time is the time of clocks, calendars and diaries, with specific beginnings and ends, but polychronic time is heterogeneous. Sometimes time is paradoxical, cyclical, juxtaposed and interconnected as well as linear, and describing time as polychronic permits the either/ orism, paradox and contradiction (Phipps 2004: 147) that emerges from Friends' descriptions of their use of time. Here, polychronic time comprises diverse elements drawn upon to build individualised and flexible constructs with priorities that vary from person to person and are adjusted throughout each lifetime.

For the purposes of this article I take the elements of personal polychronic time and add threads of a 'networked community' enriched with both 'bonding' and 'bridging' social capital to illustrate a 'temporal collage' stitched upon an ill-defined but persistently pervading spiritual fabric. I draw upon Scully's use of 'collage' (2002: 212; 2008) to describe how Friends make ethical choices, as there are similarities in the ways in which Friends make choices about time. For instance, individual collages are creatively compiled, but need not share a common language. Choice about time is perplexing for individuals, as there is a lack of consistency or coherence between different life stages, and between the way they perceive and describe time in conversation with others. Further, the outcome of collage decisions is not necessarily predictable, especially in areas of service, paid work and relationships.

Temporal collage is a descriptive tool for the compiled, interwoven elements of an individual's time that accommodates the complexities and paradoxes brought about by choice. Although temporal collages are individualised, I show they operate for both the individual and the Religious Society of Friends through the web of social capital they both create and draw upon. Each temporal collage reflects how an individual's time is assembled and its threads drawn together to form the whole. Within the collage, time is polychronic rather than linear, and as time is shaped to fit the individual's needs the collage reflects choice, variation in texture, interweaving and interconnectedness. Linear 'clock time' is included in the collage, but usually overlaps other elements. Components of the collage may remain with the individual throughout life, but reshape or reposition in adjustment to responsibilities and commitments, whilst others may come and go.

For the purposes of this article, I distribute the collage elements between three layers. The first is a foundation layer, taken here to be Friend's spirituality. The second layer is built with the practical elements of work, relationships, service and volunteering. Finally, there is an overlaying mesh of time spent in the networked Quaker community and Quaker social capital to which Friends contribute and from which they draw benefit.

THE FIRST LAYER: THE SPIRITUAL FOUNDATION OF QUAKER POLYCHRONICITY

Although the greater part of the lives of Friends who took part in the interviews and group work is spent in the secular world, Friends consistently declined to distinguish any part of their life as free from the spiritual. Friends were not asked to describe what they understood by spiritual, but whether or not they distinguished between the secular, the spiritual and the religious life, and to give examples of activities they would assign to each. In common with Scully's research groups, respondents were hesitant (Scully 2002: 213), and descriptive language was inconsistent (2002: 224). Dandelion (2005: 124) claims that 'liberal-Liberal Quakers have lost their sense of working in God's time' and that 'The "Now" is all. Everyday is equivalent rather than special'. For this article, that equivalence permits spiritual, religious and secular tasks to be melded together under a spiritual heading. By this I do not intend to undermine the integrity of the belief that all activities are spiritual, but to suggest this belief 'works' (Scully 2002: 212) for Friends as they build their collage.

That the spiritual underpinning fabric is itself flimsy, unstructured, ill-defined and lacking in clarity is unsurprising. Hay (2003: 2) found distinctions between spirituality and religion blurred. Wildwood (1999: 87) describes the variety of spiritualities upon which people draw (including himself) as living 'between stories', that is, between the time when the Christian church held a hegemonic monopoly on spirituality in Britain, and now, when organised religion is irrelevant to the majority. Many who come to the Society are unchurched or combine religions. Friends lack a common story (Wildwood 1999: 4) and vocabulary, but creatively build their temporal collage in the absence of a single theological metanarrative.

When asked about how they made decisions, only a few described religious or spiritual practices such as prayer, retreat or clearness groups, but for those few Friends, these practices were a significant part of their discernment processes. Retreat or a request for a clearness group (*Quaker Faith and Practice* 1995: 1.02.27) was largely reserved for difficult times or decisions such as whether or not to take early retirement, or move home or take a particular job.

A spiritual perspective on time takes a long-term view of time (Brand 1999: 9). It reflects the slower process used for making choices, including prayerful discernment, listening, retreat, reflection and seeking clearness. It is qualitatively different from other elements because it is permanent, eternal and unhurried, always there as a resource.

THE SECOND LAYER: FINDING A PLACE FOR PRACTICAL MATTERS ON THE TEMPORAL COLLAGE

Overlaying the spiritual foundation of Quaker polychronic time are the practical elements of life which most Friends have to balance, and which are at the forethought of those who speak of Quaker busyness. Often, and in contrast with the spiritual layer, choices about time in this layer take a short-term view, are pressured,

opportune and individualised or secularised. The temporal collage is a better tool than a linear sequential model of time to interpret these paradoxes. Understanding choices about time in terms of temporal collage does not overcome the social and institutional demands on an individual's time (Fenn 1997: 38), but it offers a model that accommodates inconsistency and incongruity in people's busyness.

This part of the collage comprises clock time, Quaker time, 'holy busyness', 'faith in action' and relationships, each of which is described separately, but the boundaries between these elements are not always clearly distinguished, and fragments of each may be found in some or all of the others. Thus Quaker time contains aspects of holy busyness and relationships are found in, or vie for, clock time with each of them.

CLOCK TIME

Clock time was introduced to meet the needs of modernity, which required machines to be kept working and employees who arrived at work on time (Toffler 1980: 115). Now, clock time permeates all of the practical elements of Friends' lives, especially most working lives, where Friends have to meet deadlines and prioritise. Fenn (1997) claims that some of the features of modern societies that expand time pressures for state and corporations are passed on to individuals as increased demands for skills and productivity. He claims that time pressures which increase the rationalisation of time into 'schedules, quarterly objectives, time values and response times, and minimal times-out for individuals under stress' urge a search for spiritual resources in order to ease the adverse effects of busyness (1997: 38).

For Friends in full-time employment (and, sometimes, self-employment), balancing the demands of deadlines, diaried time and timetables with life outside of the workplace is often difficult. Making time for life beyond the workplace requires assertiveness to withstand a long-hours and work-focussed culture embraced by colleagues who work beyond their ascribed working hours. The pressure of planning and controlling work is often difficult, especially for parents. Particularly heavy workloads meant the forfeit of leisure activities and, sometimes, Meeting for Worship. Others Friends work part-time or become self-employed to free time in order not to be 'inordinately active' or 'to make a virtue of "being in the world"' (Wildwood 1999: 92).

Clock time is linear and monochronic. Viewed as an asset akin to money, it can be allocated, spent, commodotised and therefore it is potentially scarce. It can be divided into functions (Csikszentmihalyi 1997) or compartments (Jönsson 2003) for different types of activity, for example, money generation, spending time with family and friends, maintenance activities (such as cooking or laundry) and leisure. Yet, whether full-time or part-time, employed or self-employed, the thread of Friends' Quakerism runs through work for most. Either the work itself is service for them, or the work generates the spirit within those with whom they work, or some draw upon skills acquired through their Quakerism (mediation, for instance) or affirmed by it, such as paid work in the voluntary sector, social care or teaching.

QUAKER TIME

According to Dandelion (1996: xviii) 'Quaker time' distinguishes itself from other time in the lives of Quakers as their lives outside of the Meeting became privatised at the end of the nineteenth century and during the twentieth century. Dandelion describes Quaker time as 'the time spent as a Quaker with other Quakers' (Dandelion 1996: xxvi), and within a Quaker's temporal collage, 'Quaker time' includes Meeting for Worship and participation in the structure of the Society, special interest groups and learning opportunities. The ending of endogamy in 1859 and the required use of plain dress and speech initiated a removal of the 'hedge' between Quakers and the world (Dandelion 1996: xxv). By the end of the twentieth century Friends decided for themselves when and with whom they shared aspects of their life outside of the Meeting (Dandelion 2005: 68). Within the temporal collage, Quaker time is placed as a separate element, but the work it generates is described as a further element, 'holy busyness'. For very committed Friends, Quaker time occupies most of their time, and other parts of the collage are placed within it, but for others, Quaker time is confined to Meeting for Worship and a few related events.

A remaining peculiarity distinguishes the time Quaker's give to the Society from volunteering in the community. As a 'priesthood of all believers', Quaker volunteering within the Society is described in this article as 'service' and takes place in Quaker time. The Society's membership was set up as a 'priesthood of all believers' as part of the disdain for the intervention of priests between the individual and God. All members of the Society are part of the clergy and have responsibility for the Meeting and for the community (*Quaker Faith and Practice* 1995: 11.01).

HOLY BUSYNESS

Holy busyness is time given for or out of faith, usually driven by clock time but enfolded by spirituality, or God's time (Dandelion 1998: 148). As an element of the temporal collage it is not inviolable, and may be infringed or embraced by paid and unpaid work in Quaker time or in the wider community. Where employment is seen as service, or as God's work, or as having a spiritual aspect, then that too would be holy busyness, as would the love and care given to family and friends.

Most of the work that Friends undertake for the Society comes to them via nominations committees whose stated purpose is to wait on God and find names for service within the Society, and each of the Meetings for Business is managed by Friends in nominated roles. *Quaker Faith and Practice* (1995: 3.22) confirms, 'the responsibility of a Christian community [is] to enable its members to discover what their gifts are and to develop and exercise them to the glory of God', and it falls to nominations committees to 'discern' those gifts in others. Nominations committees do not make the appointment, but put forward names for service. In best practice, the nominees have been asked if they would agree to serve (*Quaker Faith and Practice* 1995: 3.24f.). This practice distinguishes Quakers from the voluntary sector, where individuals can put themselves forward for office, or be openly nominated prior to a vote, as Quakers do not vote. Nevertheless, as it emerges in the paragraphs that follow, some Friends position themselves for nomination to office or otherwise.

How Friends decide whether or not to accept a nomination is described in Figure 1. The process has become individualised and is largely privatised. The table is divided into four quartiles, the top two describing acceptance or involvement and the lower two indicating refusal or withdrawal. Either can be tinged with guilt or a sense of duty. Each choice can be actively or passively invoked, and Friends are often ambivalent or hesitant about positioning themselves. Positioning is not a permanent, now and forever and for all requests statement, and Friends 'pick and mix' from the quartiles according to their life stage, busyness, level of current involvement, the perceived value of the opportunity or the priority given to the nominating group by the Friend.

Acceptance/ involvement			
Active	▪ Express an interest ▪ Complete a Britain Yearly Meeting form ▪ Seek clearness ▪ Use discernment process (enquire, discuss, attend, read, thresh) ▪ Seek balance ▪ Seek rewards (training, travel, variety) ▪ Ask family or Friends whether or not to accept ▪ Enthuse in a role	▪ Be active in a Quaker community ▪ For those with many roles, know which will be resigned first in order to accept a more favourable one ▪ Be aware of rewards in a role ▪ Be flattered when asked ▪ Be aware of support in the community ▪ Know the time is available ▪ Aware no-one else has said 'yes'	Passive
	▪ Seek clearness ▪ Use discernment process (enquire, discuss, attend, read, thresh) ▪ Declare non-availability when a time limited role has finished ▪ Accept a role in order to be unavailable for more demanding ones ▪ State a lack of available time ▪ Resignation	▪ Non-attendance at a level of the structure or a type of Meeting ▪ Deflect requests ▪ Recognise own lack of skill or inclination ▪ Be sure to be known by nominations to be busy ▪ A dislike of bureaucracy ▪ Aware of own need for rest or reflection	
Refusal and/or withdrawal			

Figure 1. Reasons as to whether or not to Accept Nomination

Friends like to balance their roles according to the time they have available, or to have a variety of interests, or because they like to work both in the Quaker community and in the wider community. They are careful in their discernment processes, seeking clearness, learning about the role and speaking to others about it. Usually, the nominee knows the group where the role is available, and knowledge of the amount of support available helps the decision. Friends also consider whether or not they have the skills for the role, and what they might learn, but even experienced

Friends can be surprised either at how they develop within the role or by the amount of work involved. For a few Friends, the skills are sought as part of their continuing professional development.

Some Friends claim they find it difficult to say 'no' to nominations committees, especially when they suspect there is no-one else to do the work, but they also know their capabilities and limitations and decline tasks they feel unable to do. Most Quaker roles are time limited (*Quaker Faith and Practice* 1995: 3.23) giving incumbents a chance to declare their non-availability when their service is finished should they want to. Friends use several ploys to avoid nomination. Some claim they are not approached if they are known to be busy in their paid work or in a Quaker job that might be difficult to fill, and others take a less demanding job in the hope their name is not put forward for a bigger one.

FAITH IN ACTION

Although some Friends prefer to keep their holy busyness within the Society because of the high level of time and commitment involved, most also volunteer within the wider community. Friends do not necessarily express their Quakerism when they volunteer in the wider community, and for this reason, I describe such volunteering as 'discreet witness'. This also applies when the activity has a link with Quakerism, either because it meets in the Meeting House or because it was started by local Quakers or local churches. Non-proselytising is not necessarily down to societal taboo or funding obligations. Many Quakers uphold the taboo according to Dandelion (1996: 305), who states 'Proselytising is illegitimate among Quakers in social and theological terms'. Friends' reticence about their Quakerism is not wholly due to Quaker culture, but to a taboo on mentioning religion in some workplaces (paid or voluntary). Indeed, when external funding is sought, overt proselytising risks breach of an organisation's funding criteria and its equal opportunities terms. To some extent, and in some places, Quaker time is defined for Quakers by the secular world.

Nevertheless, it is not unusual for volunteering to be informed by Quakerism. In the much-valued local Meeting, Friends learn about causes and issues not necessarily spoken of in their day-to-day life. They can go on courses or to workshops or read literature in support of their ideals. Punshon (1990: 176) places activity at the heart of religion, say, 'a religion which consists of an obsession with beliefs is not in the life'. Religion includes 'our ethical commitments, the controversies we are involved in, the nature of our discipleship and the way we understand God'. As a result, Friends volunteering is diverse. They include peace and mediation, human rights, criminal justice, health, homelessness, advice work, the arts and political work.

RELATIONSHIPS

Family life is in transition and British Quakers have not been immune from these changes. Quaker family relationships are now privatised and beyond the authority of Quaker faith and practice when once they were endogamous. Only 13.8% of Quakers have experience of Quakerism from childhood (Rutherford 2003), but any current Quaker families are as likely as any other to be caught up in the transitional changes affecting families in Britain. Families today are formed in many variations,

from the traditional mother, father and children living in close proximity to an extended family network. Over a lifetime, a person may live alone, cohabit, marry, divorce, parent together or alone or any or all of these things (Williams 2004: 6). Families are getting smaller as women have fewer or no children, or choose to have them later (Inman 2005: 2). A child's life may be formed by its parents, step parents, step brothers and sisters, close friends, same sex partners or ex-partners. At the axis of these families there is often a 'kin-keeper' (Williams 2004: 17), who helps them stay in touch.

The diversity of living arrangements and family form or groupings has largely gained acceptance both in the wider community and within the Religious Society of Friends. Other economic, social, cultural and demographic changes have shaped family life and key personal relationships. More women are working (either full- or part-time), there is an increasing older population and a global society brings together people from different parts of the world, and sends others elsewhere to live.

Whether Friends are married, partnered or single, family and friendship jostle for space on the temporal collage, demanding clock time and challenging Quaker time. For the majority, regardless of whether or not other members of the family are Quakers, clock time is required for immediate family, for kin-keeping and for inter-generational care. Most Friends now come to Quakerism in adulthood, and live their lives in a secular world in which the remainder of their family and friends may be unchurched and unsympathetic to the demands of Quaker time or holy busyness.

Both optimistic and pessimistic outcomes from family change emerge. A pessimistic view includes threats from individualism, secularisation and generational decline in religiosity, and Quaker families are no longer the main transmission route for the Quaker tradition, which was previously passed from one generation to another. The dilemma for Quakers (and for other Christian churches in Britain) is to understand how the Quaker story is to be transmitted, when it cannot reliably be passed from one generation to the next, yet optimistic possibilities emerge from this research. For the optimists, that same individualism frees people from fixed conventions and restraints leaving them able to shape their own lives and relationships. Given that family life is beyond a return to traditional family patterns, the implications for time available to support the work of the Religious Society of Friends are considered here in a similar light.

Giddens (1994: 4) claims commitment and intimacy have shifted from marriage to sexual love relations, parent–child relations and friendship, which are replacing the economic contract that once bound the marriage partnership. Relationships have become democratised, and communication and intimacy are prioritised over and above blood ties. Friendships have acquired a significant importance. The democratic and communicative structures of family life enable negotiation of autonomous and equal decision-making (Giddens 1998: 93) by Quaker family members, freeing them for participation in Quaker life.

Roseneil's (2004: 12) work on networks of intimacy, formed by people in her study who were without partners, signals possibilities for the preservation of autonomy, independence and connectedness to others that are echoed by Friends. Friendships with other Quakers are highly valued by Friends, as Best found in his

work with young Friends, but most people are embedded in a complex set of inter-generational familial and chosen relationships (see Best 2008). The old is in with the new (Williams 2004: 24), at times preferring friendship over family and conversely. Whether married, partnered, widowed, divorced or single, Friends commit both time and energy to friendship networks both in Quaker time and with other Quakers outside of it.

Greater longevity, relationship breakdown and a longer period of delay before marriage or partnership, if it is a chosen life route, has resulted in 6.5 million people in Britain living on their own (Inman 2005: 2). It is clear from Roseneil's research and from the degree of involvement identified by single Friends in interviews that living alone does not necessarily equate to being alone. Most Quakers have close friends in the Society, and these friendships roll from one life stage to another.

The Religious Society of Friends is a network of interlinked communities. Most Friends attend Meeting for Worship at the their local Meeting, but they may well be involved in other parts of the structure. The 'gospel order' established by George Fox in the 1660s to reinforce discipline and authority (see Whitehouse 2008) now comprises local, Monthly and Yearly Meeting. It absorbs time, but also provides a place to meet old friends and make new ones. There are residential events, including courses, for Friends to attend if they wish, and special interest groups. Thus friendships often extend beyond the local Quaker community into the network of Quaker communities which can be accessed at any stage in life.

THE THIRD LAYER: QUAKER THREADS OF SOCIAL CAPITAL AND NETWORKED COMMUNITY

This section considers the overlaying threads of networked Quaker communities that add additional texture to the collage, stitching other elements with bonding and bridging social capital. Threads for this layer comprise multiple strands spun together which both tie other elements one with the other and which carry the social capital of the Religious Society of Friends. For British Quakers, the elements of their collage include temporal strands of the networked Quaker community. These strands carry the social capital that holds the Society together as a distinctive organisation. Two types of social capital, bonding and bridging, are particularly important for this function. Putnam distinguishes between the two thus: 'Bonding social capital constitutes a kind of sociological superglue, whereas bridging social capital provides a sociological WD-40' (2000: 23). In other words, bonding social capital holds the group together and reinforces its particular identity, but bridging social capital is inclusive and generates a broader identity. Putnam acknowledges that there is not always a clear distinction between the two, as some organisations might 'simultaneously bond along some dimensions and bridge across others' (Putnam 2000: 23). In the same way, the temporal collages of some individuals vary, and some may contribute more to and gain more from one type of social capital than the other, or may have involvement with both. Social capital is brought about by connections among individuals that build trust and reciprocity (2000: 19). Thus the time people give to those connections, that is, the more they 'stitch' into each of the other Quaker

elements of their temporal collage, is upheld by the time given by others, benefiting the Society and deepening the individual's commitment.

Quaker networks thrive within the structure, but also in places where groups meet for learning, committee meetings, conferences, special interest groups or for any of the many other reasons that Friends come together. Each group, however small, partakes in bonding activities that reinforce an exclusively Quaker identity and encourages homogeneity in what are often disparate groups in terms of belief (Dandelion 2008) and interest. Bonding social capital can be fostered in small acts, such as making coffee (Amit and Rapport 2002: 165) as well as more active ones, for instance in a Quaker nominated role. Bourdieu (1997: 52) confirms the need for continued effort as networked connections are not naturally or socially given, and, once acquired, they need constant renewal and regular review.

Some Friends restrict their activity to their local group, perhaps including their Monthly Meeting or any special events it arranges, but they still contribute, some-times considerably, to the bonding social capital in the area. Success in accessing community is not necessarily easy, especially for the newcomer (Heeks 1994: 18) and some people remain at its edge for some time. Responsibility for engagement lies both with the community and with the individual. Bourdieu (1997: 57) speaks of 'institution rites' that mark the essential moments necessary to produce and repro-duce the relationships that permit access to the benefits of the community's social capital. Newcomers to the Religious Society of Friends need a degree of assertiveness and robustness to access the rites, as some, such as silence and ministry, are subtle and nuanced.

Both bonding and bridging social capital transmit the faith story and reinforce the social memory for the group and its members (Hervieu-Léger 2000: 141). The nature of each Friend's involvement with the Society governs the nature of the social capital within the temporal strands of their collage. Those whose service and interests lie largely beyond the local Meeting, with Britain Yearly Meeting committees or with special interest groups, for instance, contribute to and gain most from the bridg-ing social capital. Despite the threats of secularisation, liberalisation and social change, those committed to the Society yield a high level of activity and strong statements of belonging as conduits for social capital. In order to show the reliability of the networks of belonging, I draw on two contrasting examples of networked commu-nity, Young Friends General Meeting and Woodbrooke Quaker Study Centre. In each of these, despite declining and thinly spread numbers, communities of British Quakers continue to build the social capital of trust, co-operation, learning and information transmission.

Young Friends General Meeting (YFGM) is the national organisation for Young Friends in Britain. It follows the structural rules of the Religious Society of Friends and is beset with the same problems of finding people to fill nominations as Britain Yearly Meeting. Young Friends meet three times a year to conduct their business at a residential weekend and create a distinctive, if temporary, space for themselves, as Best (2008) found in his work with younger Quaker groups. They have nominated roles within the group, nominate young people to roles within the Society and to representation outside of it if required, but nominees are not required to be in formal

membership, as they are elsewhere in the Society. YFGM actively promotes the use of the Quaker business method in its meetings, encourages the right holding of meetings and appoints elders and overseers (YFGM 2003). This careful structure inducts young Friends into the rites of institution by example.

Woodbrooke is a Quaker Study Centre in Birmingham that provides educational opportunities to explore Quakerism. It is also a conference centre for Quakers and other groups. Some Friends use and support the centre repeatedly and for a number of purposes, and it thus fosters community in networks of belonging, some of which are very temporary (its weekend courses, for instance) and others which are recurring. As a place of temporary but repeated and varied community, Woodbrooke reinforces the 'resources' or 'credit' (Bourdieu 1997: 51).

The networks in each of these examples build durable social capital in temporary settings which is fungible throughout the Society, though there is no clear evidence of bridging from these activities to the local Meeting. Both YFGM and Woodbrooke offer opportunities for learning about Quakerism, either in courses or workshops, from guest speakers, in special interest groups and a range of other settings. Woodbrooke offers specific courses as preparation for Quaker roles, and a long-term 'Equipping For Ministry' course for those who want to deepen their faith and Quaker education over a two-year period. It is also used as a venue for conferences (Quaker and for other organisations which sometimes include Quakers), events, meetings and Quaker special interest groups. There are, in addition, opportunities for chance meetings with old friends met in other areas of service or interest, or planned meetings with current friends.

Each of these examples offer conduits for social capital despite their very different natures:

1. each provides learning opportunities
2. friendships are built and endure
3. friendship networks develop in the intimacy of sessions at courses, meetings or conferences, or, less formally in the shared necessary activities which make these things happen
4. each offers the experience of Meeting for Worship and Meetings for Business
5. each offers either experience or understanding of trusteeship.

There are residential opportunities in each, including service as Friends in Residence at Woodbrooke, a role undertaken by a few interviewees, where the experience of Quaker community can be reciprocally shared. Young Friends cater for themselves, and sleep on the Meeting House floor, lending repeated opportunities for forming fellowship (Amit and Rapport 2002: 165). In each, friendships are made and renewed, and Young Friends interviewed told how these endure, often extending beyond the age at which they moved on from YFGM.

These two examples are not alone in the Society as places of temporary meeting, friendship renewal and brief but reinforcing events. Local and Monthly Meetings hold events and invite speakers either for a day or an evening, and sometimes at residential venues, which bring together both Attenders and Members. Planning for these evolves from small committees who are not always known to one another

before the event, again reinforcing the networked social capital. There are centres other than Woodbrooke holding residential weekends (for example, Charney Manor in Oxfordshire and Claridge House in Surrey). Meeting Houses host events for special interest groups, such as Quaker Green Concern and Quaker Women's Group and many committee groups meet at Friends House in London.

Thus, networked community has aspects that are spiritual, are governed by clock time, and are influenced by the nature of their own holy busyness, service, friendships or the witness. The mesh of networked community both overlies the temporal collage and is stitched within it, and, in common with the layers beneath, it changes and shifts throughout the lifetime of an individual.

SUMMARY

This article has illustrated a Quaker temporal collage constructed with elements of time about which Quakers make choices in keeping with their faith. Within the collage, polychronic time is shaped by choice and circumstance to fit an individual's needs throughout their lifetime. As the collages are polychronic they can accommodate the long-term, on-going elements of time, including a spiritual and family life, as well as the short-term demands that arise, for instance in paid work or volunteering.

Using collage as an interpretative tool offers an imaginative and creative approach to understanding choices about time in a changing and fragmented world. Collage is a better tool for understanding the paradoxes presented by time that have to be faced by individual Friends, as it provides a framework for analysing the variations of texture with interwoven and interconnected components. Thus linear clock time can interweave or pressure other elements of the collage and invoke a sense of busyness. When a great deal of a person's time is pre-set either by others, or by fulfilment of their core needs, then the variety of elements in their collage is likely to be limited, but their time remains polychronic. Temporal collage represents the outcomes of choices about time that everyone faces. In terms of the sociology of Quakerism, temporal collage offers not only a model of how time and choices about time are utilised by participants, but an analytic tool for better understanding the way an organisation dependent on high levels of time given by individuals actually works in practice.

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AUTHOR DETAILS

Judy Frith was a student with the Centre for Postgraduate Quaker Studies at Woodbrooke Quaker Study Centre where she completed her PhD. Her thesis, 'The Temporal Collage: How British Quakers make Choices about Time', demonstrates how British Friends overcome the complexity of twenty-first century lifestyles and give time to their faith. She has trained and worked with volunteers in adult education and the English voluntary sector for over thirty years.

Mailing address: 7 Rockleigh Court, Southcourt Avenue, Linslade, Leighton Buzzard, Bedfordshire LU7 2QE, England. Email: judy.frith.t21@btinternet.com.