Edited by Bernard Crick and Andrew Lockyer

Active Citizenship

What Could it Achieve and How?

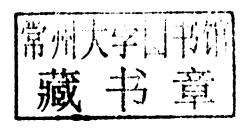


ACTIVE CITIZENSHIP

What Could it Achieve and How?

Edited by
Bernard Crick

And
Andrew Lockyer



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ACTIVE CITIZENSHIP

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Edinburgh University Press has been immensely tolerant and understanding. Nicola Ramsey and James Dale, in particular, have afforded help and advice without which the project would not have been completed.

Preface

Party leaders have talked a lot about encouraging both good and active citizenship and about more community and voluntary involvement in the business of good government and a just society. Many academics have written a good deal in recent years (ourselves included) about theories of citizenship, while others produce measures of popular participation (heartening or disheartening according to the base-line of what is counted as involvement). The party debates and proclaimed policies do not always seem clearly connected with actual practice and much or most of the academic debate has not seemed able – or even intended – to reach out beyond seminars and research ratings to a wider public and publicity.

So rather than plunging back into the internal debate we have asked our expert contributors to write relatively short but pointed essays assuming, on top of all that writing and research, that a radically more active citizenship is a worthy aim; but then to speculate and spell out what they each think, in respect to some broad area of concern, could be the social and political consequences of the United Kingdom, as a whole or in its parts, becoming a citizen culture. However, each essay will also indicate how these aims could be achieved, through what institutions, old or new, or through what changing mind-sets or values.

So these are our 'starter's orders' for each of the contributors to consider, no more but no less. We all want to address aims and instrumentalities in terms relevant and readily comprehensible to the intelligent and concerned reader, not specifically the academic or research specialist, although students may like this book for trying speculatively to get to the heart of possible reforms more than their teachers secure in their specialisms. This sense of who we are writing for follows the origins of this book in the Stevenson Lectures on Citizenship for 2006–7 at the University of Glasgow, an evening series specifically aimed at the general public. Not all the original lecturers figure here – lectures are more discursive; new

Preface

voices and topics have joined us and everything has been rewritten and pointed to this book's title: 'Active citizenship: what could it achieve and how?'

Bernard Crick Andrew Lockyer

The origins and purpose of this book are stated succinctly in its Preface. The need for an introductory prologue might seem superfluous, except for the circumstance that delayed its publication.

Sir Bernard Crick died on 19 December 2008 in St Columba's Hospice, Edinburgh, aged seventy-nine, having lived and worked for over two decades with the knowledge of incurable prostate cancer. The publication of this collection of essays is no more and no less than the fulfilment of an undertaking that Bernard wished to have seen through. It was not the most important academic piece of work that outlived him. (He was working on a political history of the United Kingdom, parts of which may or may not be recoverable from his papers.) However, it has significance beyond the content of the essays in being Bernard Crick's last initiative in an enduring project to advocate for a real improvement in British civic and political life by wholly embracing active and inclusive citizenship into our institutions and culture.

The difficulties for me have been to exert editorial authority without Bernard's clout and to provide an introduction that he would have written, undoubtedly with more insight, style and persuasiveness. It is the harder by this project becoming evidently my inheritance during Bernard's last days: it was something to discuss when there was nothing more to be said about hospice food, ministerial gaffs, the state of Labour, Edinburgh traffic cones, and lesser matters of life and death.

This collection is not to be elevated as a series of essays in honour of Sir Bernard Crick – although most of the contributors were his choice and were influenced by him. There is already such a collection edited by Ian Hampsher-Monk *Defending Politics: Bernard Crick and Pluralism* (1993), which was presented to him at the Oxford Political Thought Conference on his retirement from Birkbeck. Bernard would not have welcomed another *festschrift* – though he graciously tolerated this one. He admitted

'there was some surprisingly good stuff in it': a judgement which his annotated copy confirms. (Adrian Oldfield's essay on 'Political Education' gives the best account of Crick's intellectual heritage – a mixture of classical republicanism and moderate socialism.) But as Ian Hampsher-Monk points out, even to do justice only to Bernard's contribution to the study of Politics would require volumes. This leaves aside his contribution to other forms of literature; his role as a commentator on public affairs in all forms of media and his active involvement with agencies responsible for delivering policy on citizenship.

Neither is this a place for another Crick obituary. There are plenty of these – most are informative, some fairer than others. There is good reason to expect, and look forward to, enduring discussion of his work in many forums. Crick was acknowledged in 2000 to be one of the five leading contributors to the study of politics in the second half of the twentieth century by the Political Studies Association, the professional body of university politics teachers. If the reader wants a short assessment of Bernard Crick's place as a public academic, read Richard Hoggart's brief but acute Foreword to *Political Thoughts and Polemics*, a collection of Crick's essays published by EUP in 1990 – 'a cousin in spirit of Orwell'. But better to read the man himself.

The background to these essays does merit some amplification. As mentioned in the Preface they derive, directly or indirectly, from Bernard's last part-time academic appointment as Stevenson Professor of Citizenship at Glasgow University from 2006–7. The main responsibility of this appointment was to take charge of the programme of public lectures on 'Active Citizenship'; this he did by giving the first and last lectures, choosing and chairing the speakers in between.

Crick's approach to this appointment reflected his wholehearted endorsement of the rationale of the Stevenson Citizenship Trust Fund. It was set up in 1921 by a bequest from Sir Daniel Macaulay Stevenson (1851–1944) a Glasgow-born engineer, liberal politician and philanthropist who was both Lord Provost and Chancellor of the University. He was first a municipal socialist, committed to improving the horizons of Glaswegians by various means of public education (including the Sunday opening of museums and art galleries); and second, after the Great War, a proponent of international understanding and co-operation, whence he became a benefactor of the university, funding Language chairs and the lectureship in Citizenship. His brief for the Citizenship Trust Fund was as follows:

to make provision in Glasgow for instruction in the rights, duties, and obligations of citizens in relation to the city, the state, and the commonwealth of nations; and promote study, inquiry and research in subjects bearing on local

government, national polity, and international community; and thereby to emphasize the compatibility of civic or local with national patriotism, and of both with full and free international co-operation.

The first appointee to the part-time post was W. H. Hadow (as Derek Heater notes in his essay in this collection). Hadow like Crick was a Sheffield Professor who promoted 'citizenship' in the school curriculum. Sheffield and Glasgow share similar civic socialist traditions. For a period prior to Bernard's appointment there had been an implicit acceptance that the public lecture had become a lesser instrument of civic education, so the Stevenson Trust Fund had been put to diverse uses to promote citizenship education; most recently to help fund a post in the Education Faculty to develop a Global Citizenship Unit, providing school teachers with a resource – clearly in the spirit of Stevenson, but departing from the format of direct public lectures.

The Stevenson Trust Committee decided to return to Stevenson's original idea of public lectures. In Sir Bernard Crick they found the leading proponent of citizenship education in the UK to be a ready advocate for Stevenson's vision. Crick had an abiding belief that universities ought to do more to bring town and gown together. He took on the task to revive the public lectures with typical commitment (and willingness to tread on corporate toes) – 'you need inspiring speakers and better publicity'. The Stevenson Trust Committee are still working on the paradigm to the standard he set – it should be said with considerable success. (The Lectures from 2007–8 onwards are available to download on the Stevenson Trust website: www.gla.ac.uk/departments/stevensontrustforcitizenship.)

The essays that follow are somewhat less uniform in approach than was anticipated. The diversity in style in part reflects the diverse background of the contributors: they are a mixture of academic political actors and politician academics. Most of the essays significantly departed from the original lectures, and in many cases are newly commissioned. Where this is not the case, as with Crick's lectures I have not sought to edit them, or add references where they are lacking. Rather I have invited academic colleagues to modify their normal standards of scholarly notation in the interests of speaking directly to the public (following Bernard's injunction to excise unnecessary textual notes).

My approach in the following Introduction is to give occasional contextual information and briefly summarise what the essays contribute to the subject in the title of the book. Bernard would have wanted to comment more on what others have said; I have not sought to do this. Some authors acknowledge and draw on their engagement with Crick's work; sometimes

I have explained the connections. Generally, the Introduction is to provide readers with an indication of what to expect from each chapter, not provide an essay which links them.

Andrew Lockyer November 2009

Contributors

Bernard Crick was Professor Emeritus of Politics, Birkbeck College; Honorary Fellow in Politics, University of Edinburgh; and Stevenson Professor of Citizenship, University of Glasgow (2006–7). He was former adviser on citizenship education to the Department for Education and Skills (DfES) and on citizenship and integration to the Home Office. His publications included: In Defence of Politics (1962, 5th edn 2000); The Reform of Parliament (1968); George Orwell: a Life (1980); Political Thoughts and Polemics (1990); Socialism (1987); Essays on Citizenship (2000); Democracy: a Very Short Book (2002); and (with D. Millar) To Make the Parliament of Scotland a Model for Democracy (1991).

Andrew Lockyer is Professor of Citizenship and Social Theory in the Department of Politics at Glasgow University and holder of the St Kentigern Chair. He has served as a panel member and Regional chair in the Scottish Children's Hearings System and been a government adviser on child-care law and consultant on children's rights. He has written and researched on the history of political thought, juvenile justice, citizenship and children's issues. His publications include: (with F. Stone) Juvenile Justice in Scotland: 25 Years of the Welfare Approach (1998) and (with M. Hill and F. Stone, eds) Youth Justice and Child Protection (2006).

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active citizenship, community involvement and lifelong learning. His publications include: (with B. Crick and A. Lockyer, eds) *Education for Democratic Citizenship: Issues of Theory and Practice* (2003).

David Blunkett has been the Labour Member of Parliament for Sheffield Brightside since 1987. He held ministerial office in the Blair government, first as Secretary of State for Education and Employment (1997–2001) then as Home Secretary (2001–4) and later Secretary of State for Work and Pensions. He was leader of Sheffield City Council and has a BA from Sheffield University where he studied under Professor Crick. He has lectured on politics and industrial relations and written on local government and education. After leaving the Front Bench he continued to inform government policy on social issues, citizenship and the voluntary sector.

David Donnison is Senior Honorary Research Fellow and emeritus Professor in Urban Studies, University of Glasgow; he was formerly Professor of Social Administration at the LSE (1961–80) and thereafter Professor of Town and Regional Planning at Glasgow University. He was chair of the Supplementary Benefits Commission (1975–80). His publications include: *The Politics of Poverty* (1982); *Policies for a Just Society* (1998); *Towards a More Equal Society* (2001); and most recently *Speaking to Power: Advocacy for Health and Social Care* (2009).

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Fellow he organises the annual programmes of high profile Public Lectures on Citizenship.

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Elizabeth Meehan is emeritus Professor in the School of Law at Queen's University Belfast where she was formerly Professor of Politics and the Director of the Institute of Governance and Social Policy. She is an elected member of the Royal Society of Arts (RSA), the UK Academy of Social Science and the Royal Irish Academy; she has received numerous academic awards and honours for her contribution to the study of Politics and European Studies, including being made life Vice-president of the Political Studies Association. Her research and publications are on women and politics; European citizenship; citizenship and participation in the UK; constitutional change in the UK; and British–Irish relations. She was also a member of the Home Office Advisory Board on Naturalisation and Integration (ABNI).

Pamela Munn is emeritus Professor of Education at the University of Edinburgh, having been Professor of Curriculum Research at Murray House Institute of Education since 1994. She chaired the committee responsible for introducing Citizenship Education in Scotland and the Advisor Group on the Implementation Programme. She was a member of many national committees and conducted extensive research on schools, most recently making proposals for improving student discipline and

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teacher education. She was awarded an OBE for services to education in Scotland in 2005.

George Reid is currently Honorary Professor of Law at the University of Glasgow and was the Stevenson Professor in Citizenship (2007–8). He was the second Presiding Officer of the Scottish Parliament, served eight years as an MSP and was a member of the Consultative Steering Group that set up the Parliament. From 1974 to 1979 he was the SNP Member of Parliament for Clackmannan and East Stirling, and was Director of Public Affairs for the International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies for twelve years. Since demitting political office he has had numerous public appointments, including acting as a diplomatic commissioner and international constitutional advisor.

Matthew Taylor is the Chief Executive of the RSA. He has been extensively involved in the development of Labour Party policy and strategy. He was Assistant General Secretary of the Labour Party and Director of Policy during the 1997 General Election and Director of the Institute for Public Policy Research between 1999 and 2003. He has been a county councillor, university research fellow and director of a unit monitoring health-service policy. He has written for *Political Quarterly* and contributed to a collection on *Citizenship and Civic Culture* (2001)

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