

PGCE Citizenship

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April 2001

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Introduction

Teaching Citizenship at PGCE level is unusual in several aspects. Most PGCE courses can assume that both subject knowledge and overall philosophical approach to the subject are relatively settled and uncontentious and have been substantially dealt with by degree level studies. None of this is true for the PGCE in Citizenship.

This document aims to offer the outline of an approach to citizenship teaching that allows students to explore the philosophical basis of the subject for themselves. It is clear that the teacher of citizenship must work across the curriculum and will need to engage well with teachers of many other subjects. A clear conceptual grasp of the place for citizenship will depend on general philosophical competence. In addition the nature of learning in this field demands that much of the citizenship curriculum be offered by means of active learning in one form or another. The citizenship teacher must therefore be imaginative and able to devise active learning opportunities for young people. This document aims to offer an approach to PGCE Citizenship that specifically addresses both philosophical and pedagogical issues.

This paper deals with the philosophical approach to Citizenship, but includes a number of exercises for student teachers that are designed to allow them to explore issues and design active learning opportunities for young people. Such active engagement of student teachers should ensure that they become, in themselves, models of the skills of 'enquiry and communication', 'participation and responsible action', that they seek to elicit in their students. The aim should be to offer this material in a manner that is

- Dynamic and interactive
- Encouraging personal enquiry and challenge
- Utilising the trainee's own life experience and study
- Reflective and building self-awareness

Key concept: How human communities work with knowledge

"Science and Society"

This section will consider how human communities come to feel that they know what they know and how such knowledge interacts with other aspects of the life of a society. It will review the history of scientific endeavour and the attempts to apply scientific rationalism to the whole of society. The evident failures of this project, at least in its totalising form, will be used as a platform on which to offer a more subtle approach to the interaction between science and society.

Types of Knowing and Theorising:

The human mind continually searches to make sense of the experience of life. To do so we construct theories and test them. The process of testing requires us to act as if they are true and thereby carries a certain commitment. A fish might see what it takes to be a fly above the water. It lunges for the fly making a commitment. It may be wrong, but such is life. As Michael Polanyi said, all human knowing is properly described as 'personal knowledge with universal intent'. We have to accept that there is a subjective and uncertain element in our approach to knowing, but we are always searching for what is true for all.

A brief introduction to the philosophy of science will illustrate the importance of the dialectic between theory and experience, the necessity of theorising and the design of crucial experiments that may falsify a theory. It will be shown that scientific theorising conventionally uses particular types of paradigm. In the inorganic world it thinks in terms of probability and fundamental forces, which in turn translate at certain levels of description into concepts of law. By contrast the more complex, organic world considers the function of individual biological components in a machine-like worldview. A review of Enlightenment attempts to conceptualise society and people in terms of 'law' and 'machine' will be used to show the inadequacy of this

approach. Such ideas laid the foundation for sociology and economics. It will be argued that such theorising is generally appropriate for the material world, but that once the object of study includes the complex mind and the behaviours it gives rise to, then different approaches are required.

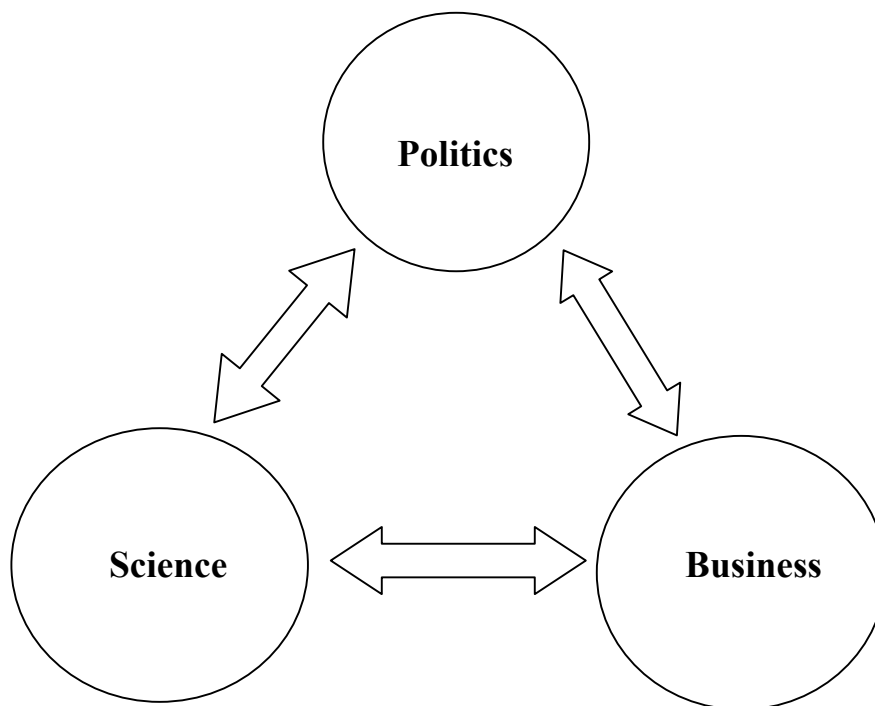
As human communities attempt to make sense of people's behaviour it seems they naturally develop tacit theories about life and how it should be lived. In making such theories, communities act upon them, testing them and become committed to them as an ongoing expression of truth and right. Much of this theorising goes on at a subconscious level and is inaccessible to analysis. So, for example, a society will often work with a commitment about justice. This may derive from the feeling for fair exchange, but gradually elaborates in to a system of laws and customs to which the whole society is committed. Very little of this system of justice may be able to be expressed at a propositional level. Michael Polanyi has called this type of knowledge 'Tacit Knowledge' being that form of knowing which is held in the culture of a society and to which the society is committed, yet a knowledge based so centrally around the experience of life that very little may be accessible to rational analysis. Tacit knowledge is the practical 'how to' knowledge inherent in a society and is based on the real experience of human behaviour. Much of the culture of a society arises as such 'how to' knowledge, including customs, politics and law. If this is so, then it becomes important to think how we work with and negotiate this form of knowledge.

One characteristic of this societal level of knowledge is the need to talk the language of purpose. Since the mind is largely hidden from immediate and conclusive material analysis, then theorising about purpose requires a process of critical imagination whereby one tries to enter into the mind of another and imagine why they are doing what they are doing. Accounts of life are then typically rendered as a story. Stories are multidimensional, theoretical constructs that attempt to gather up our experiences of life into a coherent whole. The next section will consider in more detail how human communities negotiate truth and right by means of story, the importance yet uncertainty of this process, and the place for rationality in testing aspects of story.

The debate about what counts as knowledge in society is a continual one and there have been dramatic shifts in understanding even in the past few decades with the rise

of postmodernism. There remain whole fields of academic and practical discourse whose philosophical basis is in doubt, including sociology, economics and psychology. Nevertheless every society has a range of knowledge to which it is in some way committed. It may include science, tacit knowledge embodied in customs, law and politics. It may include explicit political theory or doctrines about free markets. It will use story, rational argument, religious understandings and much else besides in the negotiation of this knowledge. Yet knowledge does not exist in a vacuum. A host of issues in any society turn around how these different types of knowing interact with one another and also with other dimensions of human behaviour and motivation.

Many practical problems faced by human societies can be understood in terms of a dynamic interaction:



For Example - Fishing in the North Sea:

A **Scientific** analysis could properly look at fish stocks, fish breeding cycles and the sustainability of fishing in the North Sea. It might utilise the experience of

Newfoundland, which has been fished out and Iceland, which has managed to maintain its fish stocks, and consider scientific data pertaining to these differences.

A **Business** analysis would consider the fishing industry, the competitive struggle within the industry, the ongoing search for technological improvement and concern of those within the industry to protect their livelihoods and advance their position.

A **Political** analysis would consider the role of national governments and the European Union as national governments have sought to protect *their* fishing industries and the EU has tried to mediate. It might show how national rivalries have dominated over scientific warnings about falling fish stocks, resulting in inadequate action on the basis of scientific advice. It would also point to the difficulties of policing agreements about fish quotas and might consider Iceland's successful record in this regard.

Such problematising of public issues is essential to successful human co-operation. None of these three dimensions exists independently of the others and a proper understanding of how they interact is vital. For example, in the fishing scenario, one would expect the fishing industry to rigorously question the conclusions of the scientists about falling fish stocks. Such advice would seem to threaten their immediate interests. Furthermore one would expect them to be sceptical about the political process, point to the shortcomings of any deal from their own perspective and argue forthrightly for the best solution from their point of view. Similar dynamics apply to all the issues where business interests interact with scientific endeavour and are mediated by a political process. Science itself does not exist in a realm of objectivity, but individual scientists themselves seek recognition, they are members of communities that protect their own interests, their institutions need funding etc... Scientific theories are ultimately offered as an appeal, inviting the commitment of others to their explanation of experience. There is always a certain openness to this process, most particularly with large explanatory theories that attempt to take in a wealth of diverse data, such as global warming. There will be a residual level of doubt that can easily be exploited by a President who does not 'believe in it' and who is influenced by powerful business interests.

Modern society is continually grappling with issues that can be analysed in this way. In addition to the above, recent examples include:

- Global Warming
- Genetic modification
- BSE Crisis
- Foot and Mouth
- Train crashes
- AIDS and the provision of medicines in South Africa
- Major dam projects
- The 'Green Revolution' and its impact on developing countries
- Desertification

Student teachers will be encouraged to explore this resource tool by devising a particular class activity, in which young people are called upon to research different aspects of one such problem, perhaps with different groups taking the part of scientists, politicians and business people. They should then devise some form of debate, or game in which these three different parties interact. (Websites of Broadsheet newspapers and NGOs are a useful resource). If the young people come through the process to feel strongly about this issue, how might they act to present their view? What channels are open to them?

An analogous tool could be developed here for use in PSHE. For example scientific understandings of the body, healthy eating, exercise, sexual behaviour could be brought into tension with other pressures that derive from media images of success that affect self-esteem, an analysis of business motivations driving image production, and political, moral and religious views regarding gender, race and normalcy.

Key concept: The role of narrative in human community

"Narratives and Worldviews"

Both individuals and communities construct stories as a primary means of understanding and negotiating their lives. Key characteristics of stories can be summarised as follows:

- the use of story in making sense of human experience,
- the construction of meaning and purpose for our lives,
- stories giving us reason for action,
- stories are built on an underlying structure of beliefs and commitments
- the use and abuse of story in building community identity,
- the importance of our own story in rendering self-identity.

Identifying the 'story' element:

Human studies of animal behaviour illustrate the process of imagination implicit in storytelling. We enter into the mind of the 'other', even another animal by imagining why they are doing what they are. This is how, for example, David Attenborough makes sense of the behaviour of a colony of baboons. He tells a story.

Newspaper accounts of a particular activity tend to contain a mixture of reportage and storytelling. So there will be aspects of any event that are amenable to examination by simple observation e.g. the time and place and people involved etc.. Nevertheless in any report there is also likely to be an attempt to describe the event in terms of human behaviour, implications will be present about why they did what they did and the rights and wrongs of such behaviour. This is the story element in the

report and it acts to embrace the rest, itself dictating which 'facts' are reported and how they are put together into a coherent whole.

Students will be asked to deconstruct such a story into its elements, examine the underlying commitments within the story and come to their own critical judgement about it.

Story and Rationality:

Rational analysis of human societies does not generally stand alone. In order to embed itself within the society it purports to describe, reason ultimately engages with story and the overarching worldviews that arise from story. Stories dictate what subjects are analysed, what data are collected, how they are analysed and how the results are presented. A proper balance between story and rationality can be illustrated by holocaust denial. Recent attempts to deny or minimise the holocaust illustrated how some stories have embedded within them elements that are accessible to simple observation. There are also purported links between different aspects of a story that are susceptible to logical, rational enquiry. By focussing on such observable elements in a story the overall construct can be brought into tension and a judgement made about its veracity. Most disciplines contain elements of story, simple observables and rational deduction. Mediating between these is a crucial part of seeking truth and right.

When stories conflict:

The story is a theoretical construct making an appeal to the listener. It implicitly says, "This is my view of the world and of these events, join me in seeing things this way." The story also contains implicit views of right and wrong. Another person may come from a different perspective and have a quite different perspective on life leading to quite different views of how people should behave. The negotiation of conflicting stories is one key characteristic of public conversation. To hear the voice of the 'other' is potentially to be enlarged in vision and understanding and thereby for the community to make better decisions. The quality of public conversation is a crucial determinant of the health of a society.

Political stories:

When politicians seek to justify their actions in the eyes of the public, they tell a story. That is they try to make sense of the relevant events, expressing them in a manner that is coherent, value-laden, proceeding from their own deep level commitments and which thereby leads to a certain course of action. Examples will be given of relevant political stories, their varied forms and the importance of their underlying commitments. In a country such as the UK, the stories/justifications of a politician will be actively interrogated by the media, who may offer different interpretations of events. The quality of public conversation is therefore enhanced by the challenges made by investigative journalism, which in turn requires freedom of information and expression. Yet the media likewise will be subject to their own implicit commitments and worldviews. Particular reference will be made to the work of Chomsky and the role that the commitment to 'anti-communism' played during the Cold War, precipitating action such as the Vietnam War.

Community identity upheld by story:

Communities gather stories about themselves, construct overarching stories about their community, possibly buttressed by religious accounts of life. These become part of the very identity of the community and points of reference in discussions about morality and political decision-making. Yet stories upholding community identity frequently do so in part by stigmatising and alienating others and other stories. The situation in Northern Ireland will be used to illustrate this tendency and to suggest that a key factor in reconciliation is the ability to hear the story of the other.

The class should be encouraged to explore several other examples in which story, community identity and stigmatisation are linked. They should go on to consider the process of reconciliation, as it may be achieved in such communities, by hearing the voice of the marginalised.

The class should be asked to critically imagine a local history project, including the way that it upbuilds the sense of local identity, the values that it implicitly validates and the people that it includes and alienates. In Bristol one key example might be the history of slavery and the continuing outworking of this history and its telling in the city today.

Personal stories:

As we go through life we continually rehearse and adjust the story of our own lives. Our story is the sense we are making of our existence. Implicit within our story are our most basic beliefs, commitments and worldviews. These in turn give us a sense of right and wrong and render self-esteem or shame.

Each student should be encouraged to tell a story from their own life to some of the others. This should conclude with a class discussion about the use of personal stories with young people, drawing up guidelines for their constructive use without risking over exposure of particular pupils, learning to respect diversity and encouraging young people to take a measure of control over what they tell of themselves to others.

Class to discuss the potential for local storytelling projects- may include interaction between stories of young people and older people in an attempt to build understanding- may also include a local community storytelling festival hosted by the school.

Do we live out the stories we tell about ourselves? Students to consider how easily we may say, for example, that we care about the environment, but do we follow that commitment through? The table below illustrates such a process. This exercise might reveal how our commitments about life frequently conflict with one another and we find it necessary to prioritise.

I believe	I believe this because....	Therefore I will....	This might involve me in....
In caring for the environment	Scientific evidence shows that if we do not look after our planet we are going to extinguish it....	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Choose how I travel • Re-cycle • Seek to use alternative forms of energy • Think about what food and other products I buy • Encourage others to do the same 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Taking action in my school and community • Contacting the local newspaper over a topical issue • Writing to my MP • Supporting & getting involved with voluntary organisations like Friends of the Earth/Oxfam

Discerning Citizenship elements in other components of the mainstream curriculum:

Story is used in all the humanities and the discernment of story is a key to illuminating citizenship in the rest of the curriculum. So, for example, the above holocaust denial debate , is an historical enquiry. Historians work with a complex of sources, which they select and weave together into an imaginative construct called a history. Elements of this can be tested by rational enquiry, but there is within history, an inevitable element of judgement about human behaviour, whereby the historian

tries to enter minds of those with whom they have to do and consider why they did what they did. Such judgements will depend on a series of commitments, present within the sources and within the historian and will entail implicit moral judgements. Drawing out and understanding the story element within history gives a broad perspective on the processes by which different societies have negotiated truth and right, encouraging us to include their experience within our own. Such a critical account of history allows the student to engage with worldviews very different from their own and so listen critically to the voice of the other as it comes from the past.

Likewise geography does not concern the material world only in an abstracted sense, but frequently seeks to make sense of connections between people and their environment. As it examines human behaviour and its impact on the environment so it needs to construct stories about why people are behaving as they are and these will necessarily be laden with commitments about how we might or should behave. A number of modern environmental issues will be used to show how discerning the 'story' element in these problems becomes the resource for discussions of citizenship.

In Religious education it is possible to examine how religious stories impact on the socio-political agendas of relevant communities. Can these stories be understood as part of the general quest for all that is true and good and right? What affect do they have on how the society organises itself, on the stories that it tells in the political and social arenas and so on how people behave?

Every curriculum subject can be looked at from a citizenship perspective. The sciences, as is evident from the 'science, business, politics' resource tool, also clearly interact with stories at the level of their impact upon society. There are a host of examples of the abuse of science in constructing stories about the inferiority of other cultures. Part of the reason for this is that science itself has always been in the hands of the elite. Languages likewise find a place as the medium of story, imposing some restraint and difference upon different cultures. Discerning the story element in any discourse and its socio-political impact is frequently the key to its explication in terms of citizenship.

In particular 'My Story' is a key element in PSHE as young people ask the big questions about 'Who am I?' 'Where am I going?' 'What am I good at?'. PSHE may also usefully consider popular culture today and the stories about ourselves that are being promulgated by the media. It might note the dominance of image over real relationship as the means of self-reflection. Young people might develop the ability to be properly critical of Western culture and how it impacts upon their own lives.

Key Concept: Social structures as systems of trust

"Human relationships and co-operation"

As social animals, human beings are committed to strategies of co-operation. On a purely pragmatic basis co-operation can be conceptualised simply as a means of obtaining goods that would not be accessible to the individual alone. Sociobiological theory would suggest that a root organising principle of any animal is an individual motivation to succeed in the sense of propagating their genes. Working with a collective would then set up certain conflicts within the animals between their individual interest and their collective commitments. It may result in a psychology that is dependent for health on both an individual and relational focus. The tension implicit in this understanding of ourselves as 'individuals in relationship' may be a fundamental driver of human cultural development.

One of the simplest practical illustrations of human co-operative behaviour may be the insurance principle. Here individuals pay into a fund aware that accident strikes at random and that any individual might be overwhelmed by their obligations in the event of an accident. The accumulated fund, however, is adequate to meet the demands from accidents occurring and so pays out to affected individuals. It is simple in theory and an obvious gain to all involved.

Class discussion here explores the weaknesses of insurance systems and how they might fail. What happens when the claim form is being filled in? This will draw out the inevitable presence of a small number who will try to cheat the system and the need therefore to have appropriate disciplines in place.

This discussion suggests that the *structure* of the system is important to realising the co-operative gain.

Class are asked to examine several other social structures that bear a relationship with insurance schemes including social security and certain types of medical fund. One, very positive, view of taxation is that it is likewise a pool of resources aiming to

realise co-operative goods such as security, health, education etc that can not be realised on an individual basis. In each of these systems an obvious good is being obtained through human co-operation, but the structure of these systems is clearly important and some discipline is required.

Students are asked to devise a game for use with the class that will illustrate the insurance principle.

How should a society pay for its communal goods like health care and education?
What place has something like the National Lottery?

This sort of thinking can actually be extended to a host of social structures and mechanisms each of which is designed to realise some co-operative good.

Money, for example, facilitates the exchange of goods and the accrual of wealth. It allows flexibility, delay in the process of exchange and new means of co-operation.

Class to discuss here why gold and silver were used as the basis of money for so long. Illustrations should be used from the history of money to show the perennial tendency to try to cheat the system, and the development of appropriate safeguards.

The history of the rise of banking is similarly charted. Banking offering a further co-operative gain enabling the use of saved money -to include the vulnerability of early banks, the introduction of paper money and the derivation of laws to govern their behaviour.

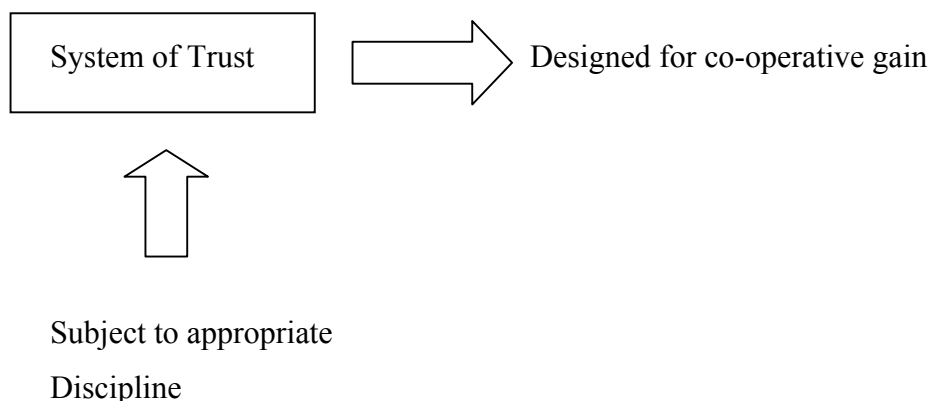
Finally the origins of public ownership are sketched, arising as it did in the shipping industry. Another form of co-operative gain, with its own checks and balances.

Conceptualising the process:

The simplest act of human co-operation is probably that of barter exchange. An immediate exchange of goods or exchange of favours is calculated, negotiated and agreed. It is straightforward to see how this might be in the interest of both sides and it requires the minimum of social structure to achieve. Such immediate exchanges of favour are commonplace among animals and are the most frequent point of contact between otherwise estranged peoples.

It is significant that none of the acts of co-operation envisaged in the above terms like insurance, money, banking etc, can be understood as an immediate exchange of favours. There is a delay. You pay into the insurance scheme, but only later might claim. In the meantime you *trust* them with your money. The insurance system is thereby a system of trust designed for co-operative gain. Similarly money itself is a system of trust. You turn your goods into money, trusting that the money will retain its value. In some countries rampant inflation sets in and people then turn their money back into durables.

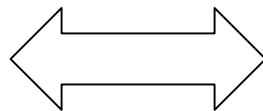
All such systems of trust are essentially pragmatic. Each requires relevant disciplines against those who would subvert the collective interest in favour of their self-interest. These disciplines can take various forms according to the general scheme:



Consider a school as a system of trust. How does it work? What systems are in place? What does everyone expect to get out of it? What recourse is there if needs are not met? If something is wrong with the system, what can teachers or young people do to put it right?'

This conceptual scheme can actually be applied to most social structures. For example the commercial world can be understood as consisting of extended, interlocking chains in which each link in the chain is the exchange of a favour. Many of these exchanges are delayed in some important sense and laws about trading standards, contracts and the like have grown up to discipline the exchange. Furthermore the people involved are organised into units, or companies, which are themselves systems of trust, designed to work co-operatively toward some common goal of efficient production, shareholder return etc and subject to internal disciplines of appraisal and external disciplines of competition. There is a gain in working together in established relationships, where tacit knowledge can be accrued and co-operative action achieved, but there is also the tendency for any established group to cease to be truly creative and dynamic. This gives rise to an essential tension as the structuring of companies in the market place continually adjusts itself to ensure the best outcome between

Synergy of
established relationships



Disciplines of
competition

The company is both a system of trust and a unit of power. The power element arises from the need to establish corporate discipline and via the competitive struggle and is dealt with under 'Power, motivation and emancipation'.

Co-operation is also needed in human societies in a defensive sense. There are occasions when we need to protect ourselves from the results of our actions, by co-operation. So with the fishing scenario discussed in the first section, there is a need to develop a co-operative system to maintain fish stocks. This can be similarly understood as a system of trust. For example, there needs to be an agreement to limit fishing. It will need to be respected by most of the fishing industry and entered into as a trust, but it will also need to be policed in order to stop those who would cheat on it and subvert it. Similar considerations apply to a host of environmental issues.

Students to discuss here the international challenges relating to global warming. How can an effective system of trust be established between nations so as to prevent environmental tragedy?

The origins of systems of trust and their maintenance:

Sociobiologists have considered, from their own point of view, which properties of animals and their societies might be necessary to spontaneously generate systems of trust. It seems that good memories, stable relationships and effective discipline and essential ingredients. So, in a delayed exchange of favours, one needs to be able to keep track of an animal for whom a favour has been done, remember that they 'owe you one' and offer appropriate discipline if they fail you. In such conditions systems of trust might be expected to arise naturally in response to potential co-operative goals. Primates offer a host of examples of this type of behaviour.

Traditional human communities likewise demonstrate the elaboration of systems of trust from good memories, stable relationships and effective discipline. These elements may be formative of all human culture. Similarly working class communities in the Industrial Revolution and the tendency to generate systems of trust in terms of Christmas clubs, pawn shops, friendly societies and the like, together with their own moral and legal disciplines.

Students will be asked to imagine a classroom discussion in which groups of young people swap stories about favours and whether or not they were returned. They are then asked to engage with these basic ideas of favour exchange, good memories, stable relationships and effective discipline. Here lies the origin of many of our social systems.

As human societies became more complex and extended their reach so the originating face to face conditions were replaced by more abstract methods of maintaining systems of trust. So, for example, 'good memories' might be replaced by an account

book in a more complex society. Similarly, the need to keep track of people may result in passports or driving licences. Despite this abstraction of relationships, modern societies should still properly be conceived as systems of trust and attention needs to be paid to psychological factors that impact on the development and maintenance of a sense of trust.

The roots of all systems of trust can be conceptualised in game theory.

Students are invited to participate in an imaginary game styled around the Prisoner's Dilemma. This illustrates the crucial importance of the structure of the situation in making the decision as to whether or not it is sensible to trust others and so commit oneself to a collective goal.

Sociobiologists propose that every culture develops its array of customs, manners, morals and laws so as to structure its social system in favour of the development of such systems of trust and so reap potential co-operative gains. For example, in the simplest way, such societies might frequently develop a virtue around trustworthiness. Any society needs the majority of its people to be trustworthy because policing any system of trust is costly and corruption is dramatically inefficient through its lack of proper accountabilities. Frequent recourse to the law is likewise very inefficient for the community that has to support it. So cultures are likely to generate moral and legal constraints that encourage trustworthiness as a virtue.

The class should be invited at this point to brainstorm other features of a society that may foster the development of realistic systems of trust. These may include simple relational matters like kindness, forgiveness and manners. It may include moral developments around promise-keeping and loyalty and it may consider the elaboration of law and its purpose.

These are important realities to any culture. There is always some blend between character development, which offers an internal discipline, informal social pressures such as ostracism and formal collective requirements as stipulated by law.

The class should discuss each of these in turn. Consider where they are well used and examples of abuse. The Victorian age offers an example of over-specification of moral strictures, and JS Mill's response can be noted.

How could young people engage with weakness of will? The reality that we do not always do what we 'know' to be right? Devise a class exercise to illustrate this and help the young people to become aware of their own 'drivers' and 'value system'.
(Resource - Strachan R 'Belief and Behaviour')

Today's social environment has seen the decay of moral consensus due to

- The meeting of cultures and their mutual interrogation
- Enhanced mobility and communication making for loss of social cohesion
- Acceptance of our failure to generate morality by purely rational means

The result may be a society which has a tendency to over-specify law as witnessed by the weight of legislation now bearing down on our public institutions such as education.

The aim of all these structures, internal and external, formal and informal is to mediate between the individual and the collective interest, looking for co-operative gains, but also aware of the need to protect individual diversity and freedoms.

The protection of individual freedoms is now enshrined in our Human Rights Act. The Act will be explained and discussed. Some maintain that all of citizenship can be taught through human rights. Students will be asked to consider whether an approach based solely on a defensive attitude towards the individual can adequately encourage collective responsibilities. Examples of conflicts of rights will be offered.

Some young people today talk the language of rights, but find it difficult to imagine communal responsibilities. Student teachers will be asked to think of ways in which to reveal such inadequate understandings where they are present. Who is to guarantee the protection of our rights and provide for them? Whose responsibility is it?

The role of law in society will be discussed including its development in the UK. Law will be conceptualised as that which attempts to mediate conflict fairly and establishes a minimal set of boundaries for a society.

Students will be asked to imagine exercises in the classroom on the use of law. This might involve young people coming up with something they feel is particularly unjust and how it should be dealt with, or school rule development, debates on matters of law that young people find contentious etc.

The role of story in human co-operation:

Every society will search to justify its values, virtues and laws and the stories of the community are likely to be of vital importance to this process. These stories may be religious in origin and will tend to give the moral and legal precepts an enduring validity in the minds of people. This will be helpful in resisting pressures to erode them, but may give a permanence to the societal structure such that it cannot respond creatively to new situations.

The class should discuss examples in which cultures have failed to adapt due to their commitment to inflexible stories that upheld social structures.

Finally every social structure can be conceived as being aimed towards co-operative gain, that is, it has a purpose. This may be very particular in form. A dance company may put on a particular show. A business may make a particular product. Each of these purposes may in turn be buttressed by the elaboration of a particular story. So the company may formulate a mission statement, which functions as a collapsed story, giving purpose and direction to the collective. One of the key factors in any society is how these stories interact with one another, whether there is an adequate sense of striving for a common vision, while retaining an appropriate diversity and creative freedom. Or whether one story, or set of stories come to dominate the whole, suppressing all others. This might happen for example with a peculiarly dominant religious story or a totalising market ideology.

Key concept: Structures of Power and personal motivation

"Power, motivation and emancipation"

The most common solution to the inherent tension between individual and collective interest is to form some sort of power hierarchy. Primates demonstrate the most basic political structures. In primate hierarchies individual animals struggle to move to a place of higher rank. They make occasional challenges to those above them and receive threats in return. Those who maintain a higher rank are assured of greatest access to the necessities of biological success, namely food, sex and safety. But the power system as a whole benefits all its members to a degree in the sense that damaging violence is rare and some degree of co-operation is possible. It is particularly interesting to note that primate societies differ. Some form vicious hierarchies. Others are much more benign. Key characteristics of relatively benign systems include the presence of multiple, overlapping alliances, the attention paid to relationships and peacemaking strategies and the ease with which one may leave the colony.

Human groups likewise tend to have an element of power, but the type of political/power system adopted can vary remarkably. Despotic, vicious regimes have occurred repeatedly throughout human history. They can be understood as the default condition of politics. They are what happens when all else fails.

Stable and relatively benign political systems have tended to develop rather than be imposed according to some rational scheme. This may be because political 'know how' is part of the tacit knowledge that gradually accrues within a society and gradually wins the commitment of its citizens. Root and branch revolutions have tended to result in reversion to a vicious hierarchy (viz French, Russian and Chinese

revolutions) as the newly formed society sweeps away all the previous subtle and unstated understandings with which it co-ordinated its life and needs to revert to brute power to make up the deficit.

Yet a healthy political system needs to take account of the interests of all its citizens. In any system of power, this requires the possibility of challenge. Dictatorships are defined by the absence of challenge.

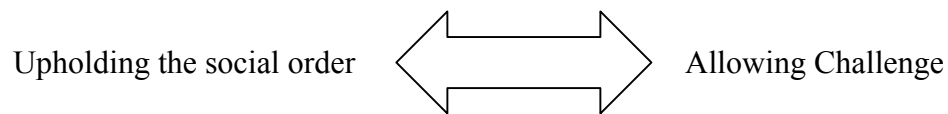
Students will be asked to conceive an exercise with young people that involves their own experience of group behaviour including bullying, threats, the appointment of leaders etc. and then leads on to a historical comparison with the behaviour of dictatorial regimes.

At the first level challenge can be provided simply by the formation of alliances within a society and the competition of elite groups for power. One view of English history would maintain that we have experienced around a thousand years of almost unbroken political development and seen a gradual shift of power between monarch, nobles and parliament. The existence of competing alliances is a primary condition for a healthy body politic.

Class should here attempt to map some of the alliances that currently exist in the UK, the extent to which there are real balances of power, including functional specialisation in terms of judiciary, legislature and executive. These should then be compared with other systems including countries with written constitutions and different functional specialisation.

Nevertheless elite groups have a natural tendency to collude together in their own interest and form an establishment. This typically alienates those outside and offers no means by which they can present their interests. For this reason *grass roots* challenge is a further vital component of a healthy political society. Historical examples from early nineteenth century England will illustrate the difficulties of this process.

Political development can then be conceptualised as occurring by means of a fundamental tension between



Societies that can sustain this tension over a significant time are most likely to form the most inclusive and participatory political cultures. It has been argued that the strength of British democracy derives from the long period over which it has developed, such that challenge and change lie deep within its culture.

One means by which public life is negotiated and challenges presented is by means of story. So a marginalised person, group or their representative presents a story of ill-treatment into the public arena and public policy adjusts. Examples will be given of this process.

On democracy:

The fundamental importance of democracy is to build some degree of challenge into the formal structure of the society. Yet no good democracy is a bare voting system. Healthy democratic participation demands a plethora of groups and people representing their interests powerfully within the public arena, out of which a debate ensues. The concept of the people ruling the people only makes sense philosophically if the people concerned are able to engage in conversation, hearing other perspectives and thereby arrive at a better decision that they would have done otherwise.

The structure of governance in the UK will be detailed together with an overview of a range of democratic methods and their outworking.

Students will be asked to conceive an exercise in local decision making with their class in school - beginning from a conversation with a councillor who says that there is money in the budget for some play equipment for young people. He wants to know both what they want and would be pleased if they could come to some agreement with the local community about where it should be placed. This exercise should engage with the need for the young people to make decisions among themselves and also allow them to experience and learn to work with 'Not in my back yard' behaviour.

Students should also consider the establishment of a school council. Would they set one up? What powers would it have? Could it look after some school resources? Or set up a particular project? What would the process teach? (resource here- the schools council web site)

Students should be asked to write the protocol for a survey of their local community to be organised and evaluated by the young people. The aim is to discover what are the most important perceived needs of the community at that time. (resource CSV publication 'Active Citizenship')

Party politics can be understood by reference to the power hierarchy. In any society there are those who have deep level commitments to the social order and feel strongly against precipitate change. Such a position is understandable by reference to the importance of tacit knowledge in upholding social order and the danger in too great or too fast a process of change (ref Burke). Similarly other parties are likely to arise representing the interests of significant sectors of society. Others may, for example in our Liberal heritage, contend for the freedom of the individual per se and against the state assuming oppressive powers.

The class should explore the current state of British party politics under this type of analysis. Also at a personal level, 'Why do they hold the particular convictions they hold?'

The party can offer the opportunity of organising a coherent programme of change and is a pragmatic necessity for the gaining of power. Informal parties are likely to arise in any democratic system. Parties can be understood as both alliances for power and schools of interpretation. As the latter they interpret the world to their members from the perspective of their shared deep level commitments. The necessities of gaining power result in shifts in the story that lies behind the political party.

Offer examples from British history of shifting stories in party politics including the origins of the Labour party and New Labour.

It is argued that one key factor in the health of a democracy lies in the quality of public conversation.

The class to consider the effect of the modern media on the quality of our public conversation. Political parties have to use the media because it is the most powerful means of accessing people. Competition for space demands extensive use of image and soundbite. What does this do to the quality of public conversation and our ability to make good political judgements, or is it leaving us all in a passive and manipulated state?

Motivation and success:

Political motivation revolves, in the same way as the rest of cultural development, around the tension between the individual and collective interest. In any power system individuals will seek to move up the power hierarchy. This will result in deep level dispositions towards status seeking.

Class to brainstorm evidence for status seeking in society. How important is this motivation to the way society works?

Leadership and Inter-group negotiation:

Leaders of any social group have a certain degree of power over those within the group. Those within the group are likely to put pressure on their leaders, if they can,

to force them to behave impartially towards those over whom they have power. Yet a leader also has their own individual concerns for status, recognition and reward. These may be the cause of actions that are not in the interests of the whole or are not properly impartial.

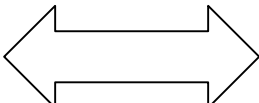
The Principles of Public Life offered by the Nolan committee will be discussed in this context, together with current stories of bribery and corruption in public life.

Leaders are also likely to be called upon to represent their group in negotiating with other groups. The leader will need to be able to 'sell' any deal to their members subsequently. Most groups defend the life of the group with great tenacity and this results in a corporate lack of moral imagination. It means that there is an inevitable component of power in inter-group negotiation.

Class to discuss the various protagonists in the ongoing negotiations in Northern Ireland illustrating the elements of power in the process and the knife edge that the leader walks in negotiation.

Business and power:

Business tends to understand the world in terms of an ongoing power struggle. Every company feels under threat from others and there is continuing concern to maintain the ability to act decisively in the face of changing market conditions. Any social group works with something of a tension between

The capacity to act decisively as a body  Critical engagement regarding those actions

So, for example, in wartime a government will often work for a much greater sense of community solidarity. A coalition government will be formed and a variety of means put in place to limit public criticism of its actions. In response to a threat to the survival of the group, the group consolidates in order to allow decisive corporate action, but the cost is less critical engagement. Likewise, business is very focussed on

the competitive struggle and the measures of success that are agreed as the terms of that competition. This produces an extraordinarily powerful process of change in society, one that is able to harness scientific understandings towards new ways of organising society around maximal efficiency and technological innovation. In the process business thereby comes to value that which is measured in its competitive struggle and to ignore other accounts of value unless they are forced upon it. It has been bolstered throughout the Enlightenment period by an apparently rational account of wealth generation in terms of a free market. Many have revealed the values and assumptions implicit in this theory, but it continues to dominate the thinking of the most powerful interests in world trade. Commercial activity naturally measures that which can be exchanged in the market place. This will include money and many sorts of material goods but will typically not take account of long term consumption of resources or pollution of the environment nor of the network of relationships and values necessary for all human co-operation. Another way of saying this is that a business tends to have both a very powerful and a very limited story of life, and a story that needs to be continually challenged by the rest of society.

Vocation and the search for success:

One fundamental driver of human behaviour is the search for success, but a special characteristic of the human condition is to be able to ask questions about what success really is.

Class are asked to brainstorm different models of a successful life as pursued in our society today. These should include commercial entrepreneurs, political challengers, compassionate heroes and workers in various kinds of voluntary capacity.

The media dominance of our society may be leading our young people to derive their images of success from those portrayed on the media and not from people involved in other aspects of life. The class should be asked to imagine how the experiences of parents or other people from the community might broaden and balance young people's perception of what it means to live well.

