

LOOKING FORWARD TO THE FUTURE

**Roots & branches**  
*governance & civil society in England*  
*- a very long view -*

*Barbara Heinzen*

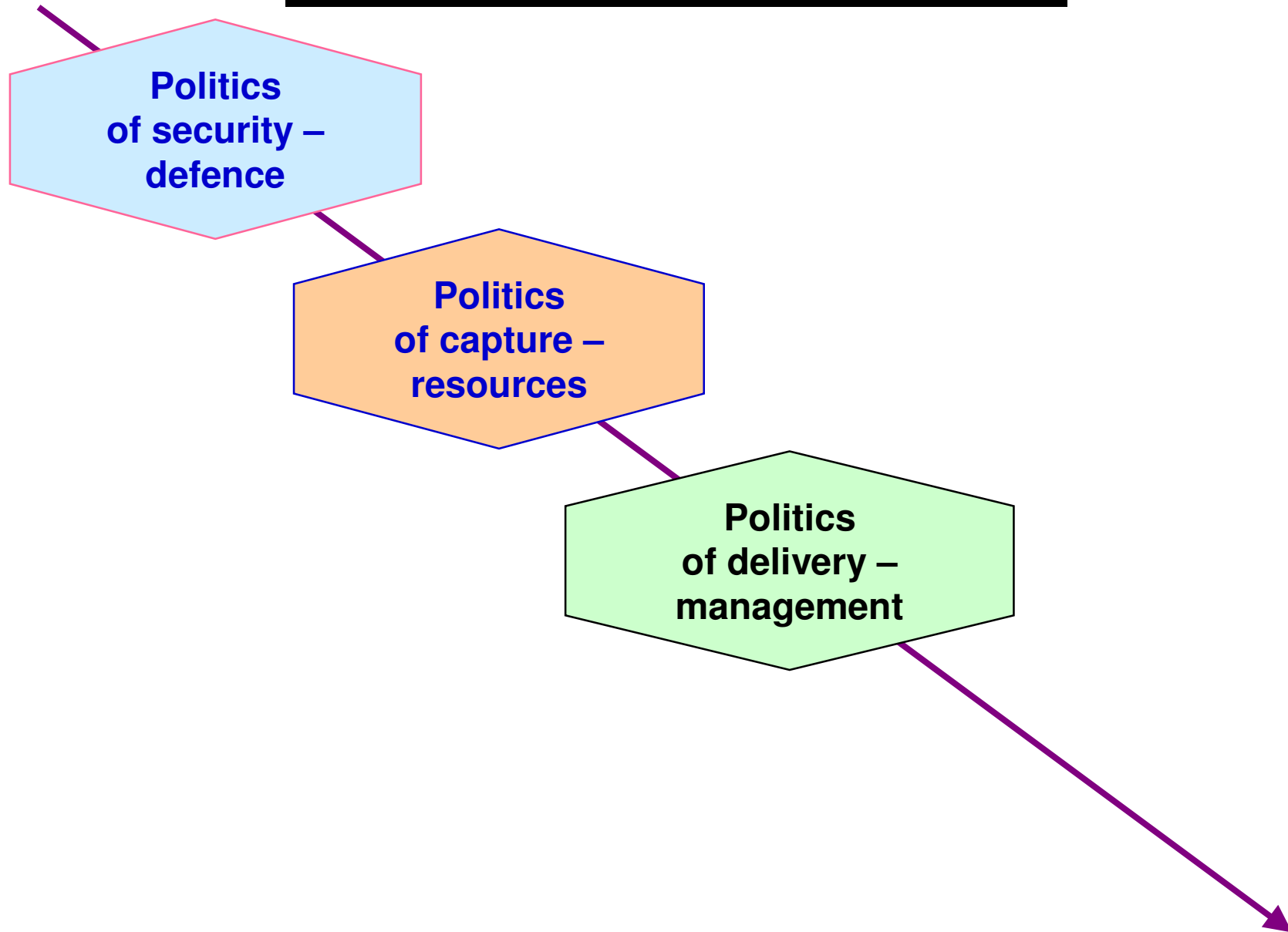
# INTRODUCTION

## Governance & civil society

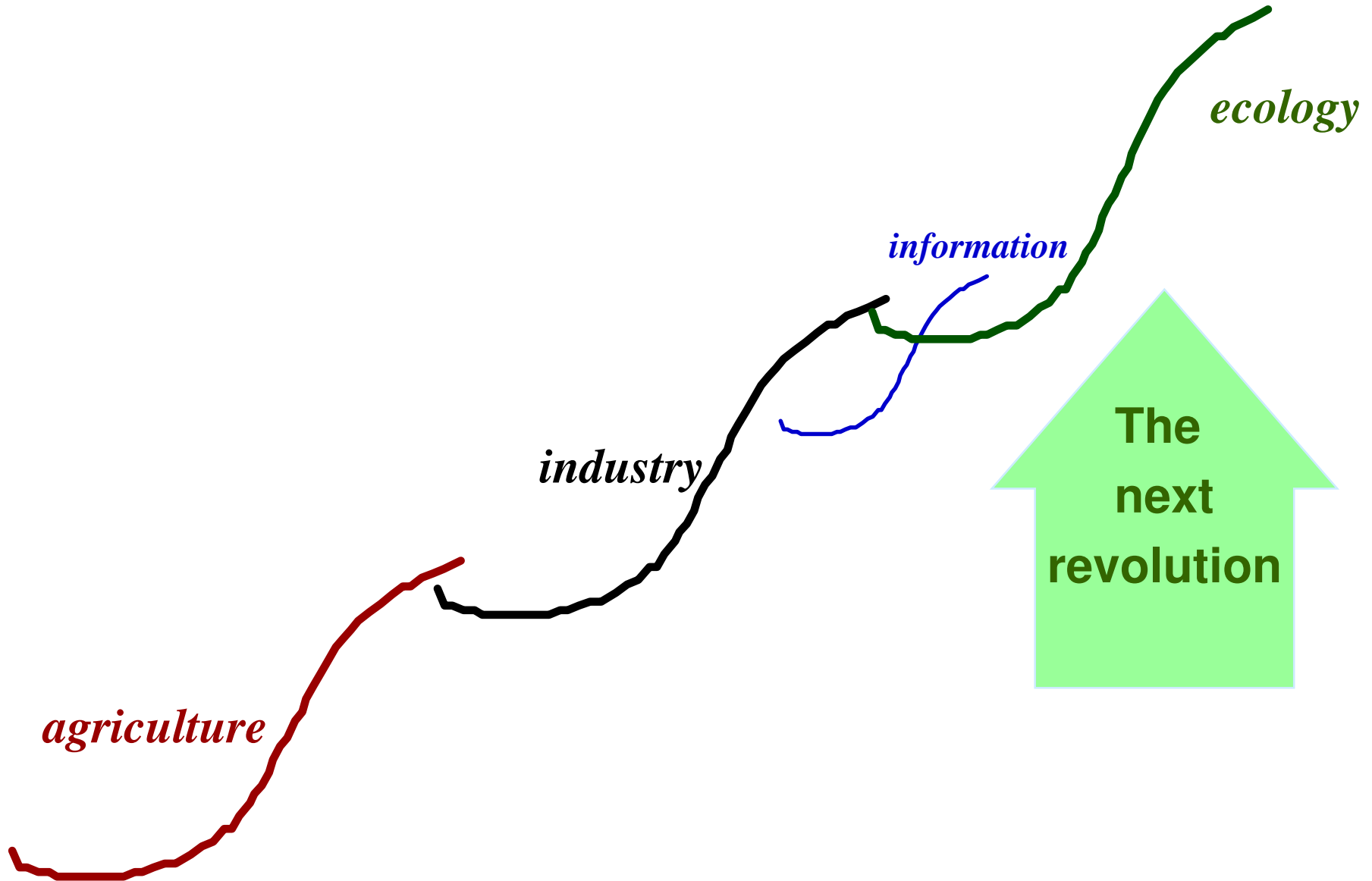
This presentation was delivered to a conference organised by the Southwest Regional Development Organisation in England. It was prepared soon after finishing the manuscript for *Feeling for Stones*. It begins by identifying the political foundations for inventiveness in pre-industrial England.

The presentation looks for what parallels might be created, or needed, today as we need to invent new agreements that will allow us to include ecological principles in everyday social and economic affairs.

# Governance for what?



# To govern what?

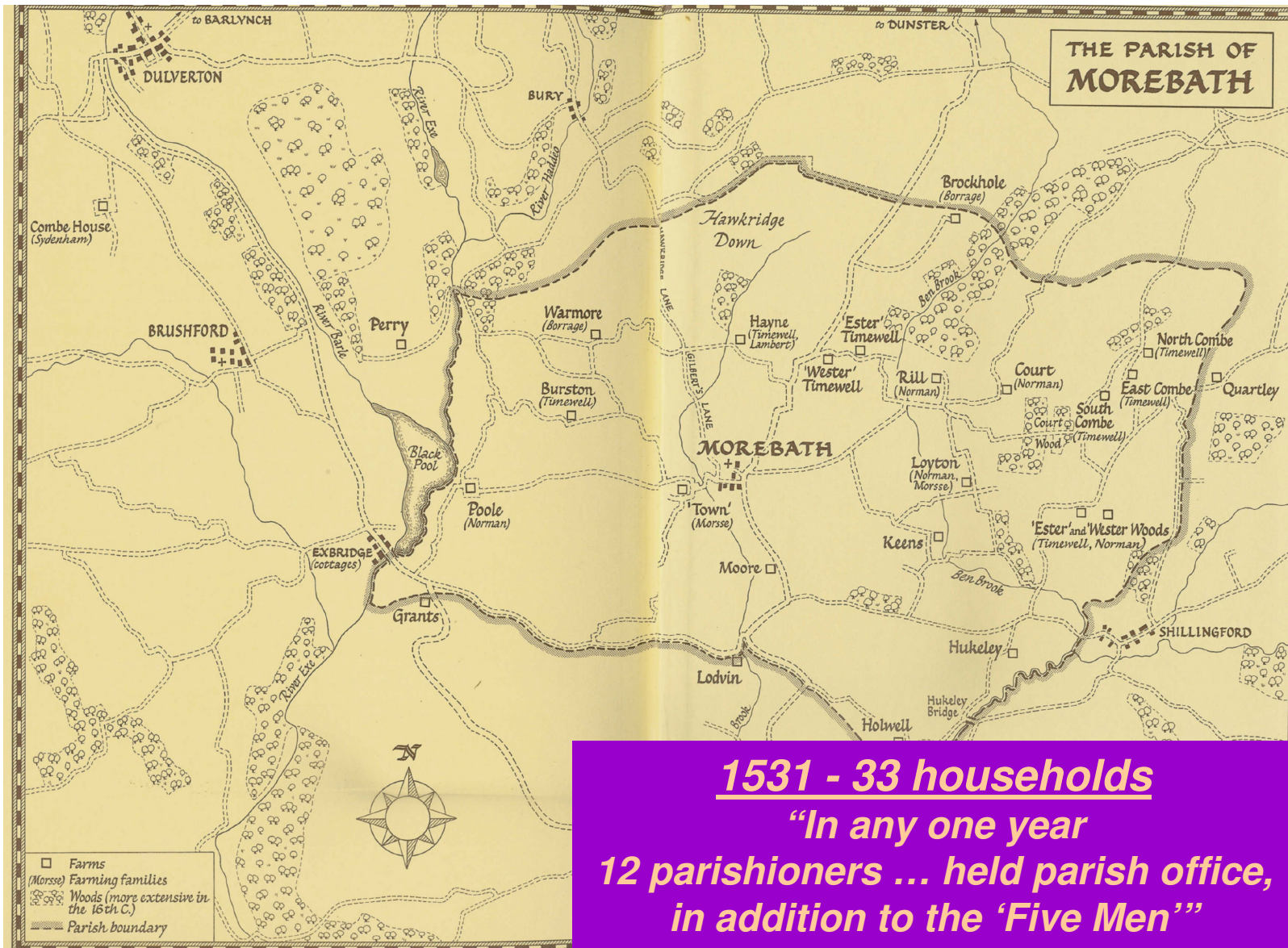


# Roots

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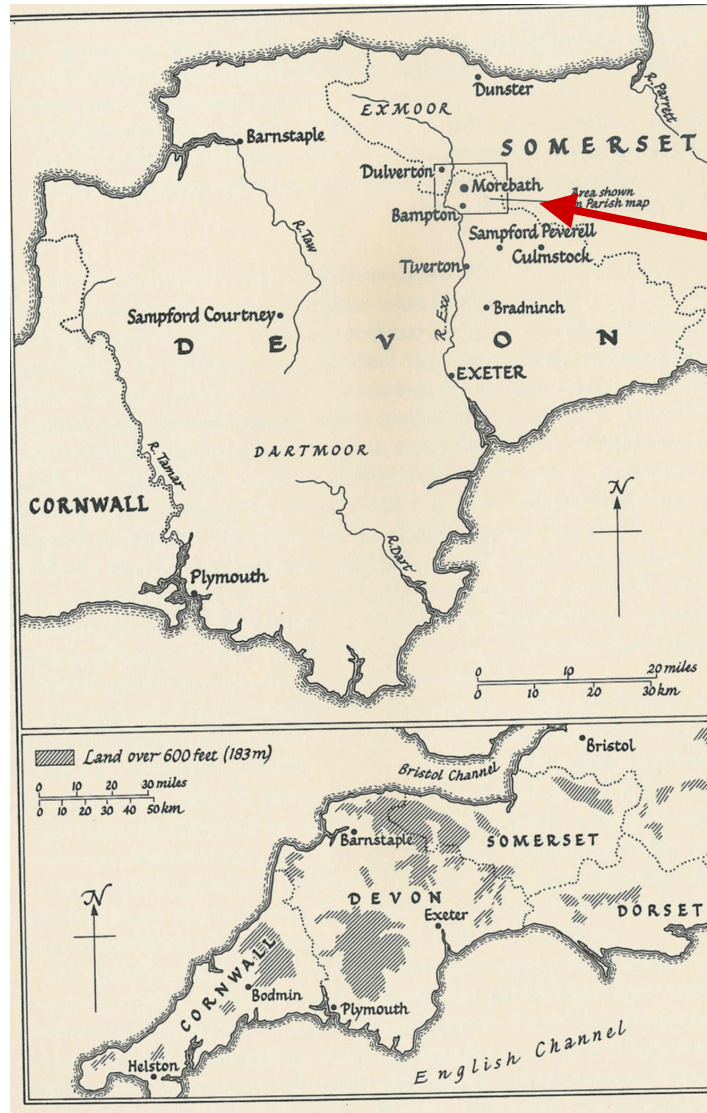
South West  
England

# Self-government at the king's command

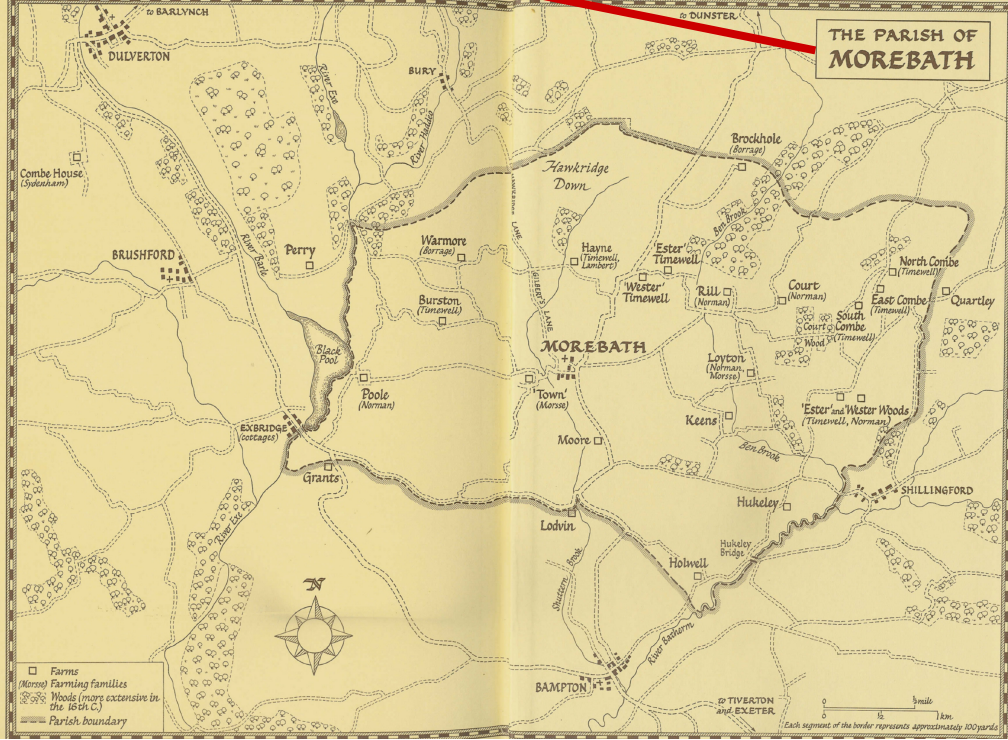


Source: Eamon Duffy, *The Voices of Morebath: reformation and rebellion in an English village*, 2001, endpapers, p. 2, 31

# Morebath in SW England



1530-1580  
Sir Christopher Trychay's  
parish accounts



Source: Eamon Duffy, *The Voices of Morebath: reformation and rebellion in an English village*, 2001.

# Inns of Court & customary law

*“What usage has approved becomes law without writing.”\**

*Henry de Bracton  
13<sup>th</sup> C. judge, SW England*



\*Helen Cam, *Law-finders and Law-makers in Medieval England*, 1962, p. 14



# Localities connected to power



*in Parliament - opened  
in Westminster Hall*

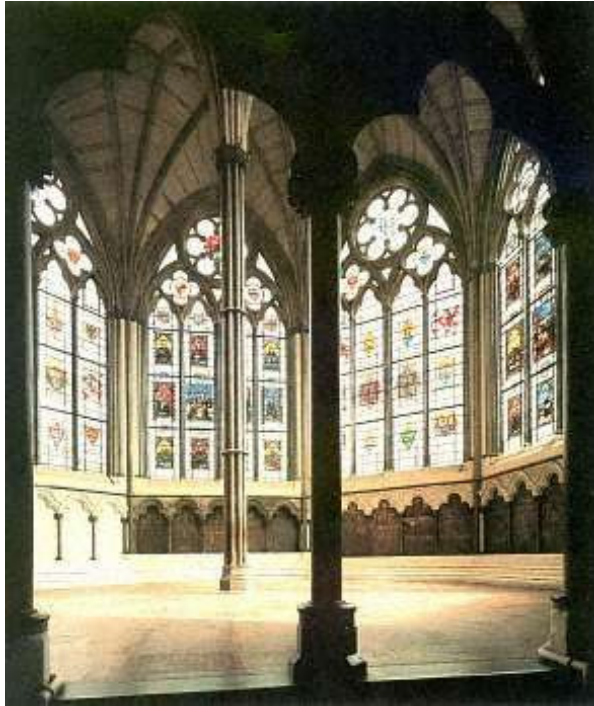


*integrating forum of interests,  
knowledge & power*

**“Local  
communities  
with their  
customs,  
the kings with  
their decrees,  
the barons  
with the  
counsels  
& the judges  
with their  
expertise”\***  
**plus abbots &  
bishops  
all attended  
parliament  
by 1275**

\*Helen Cam, *Law-finders and Law-makers in Medieval England*, 1962, p. 17

# 1375-'81: Willing to rebel



## 1375: The Chapter House

*First impeachment  
of the king's ministers  
after Commons rejected  
request for war money*

## 1381: St John's Gate

*Previous gate destroyed  
in peasants' rebellion v.  
poll tax & status of freemen*



# Rebellion → equalities of respect

Something at stake ← → something to trade



Duke of Lancaster re: Commons in Chapter House

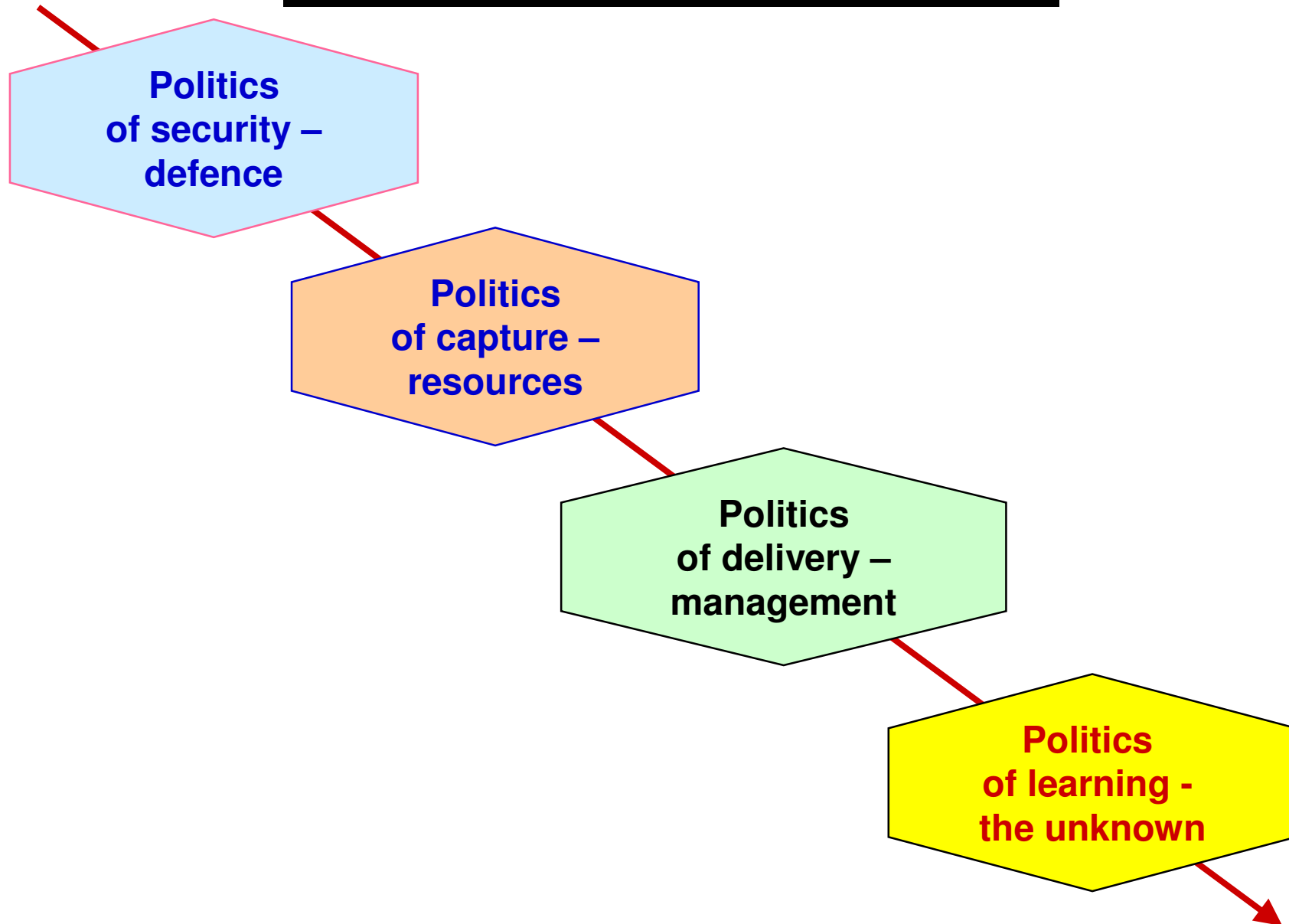
Who are these “degenerate knights?”

“they are not common people, but ... men powerful & strenuous in arms...”

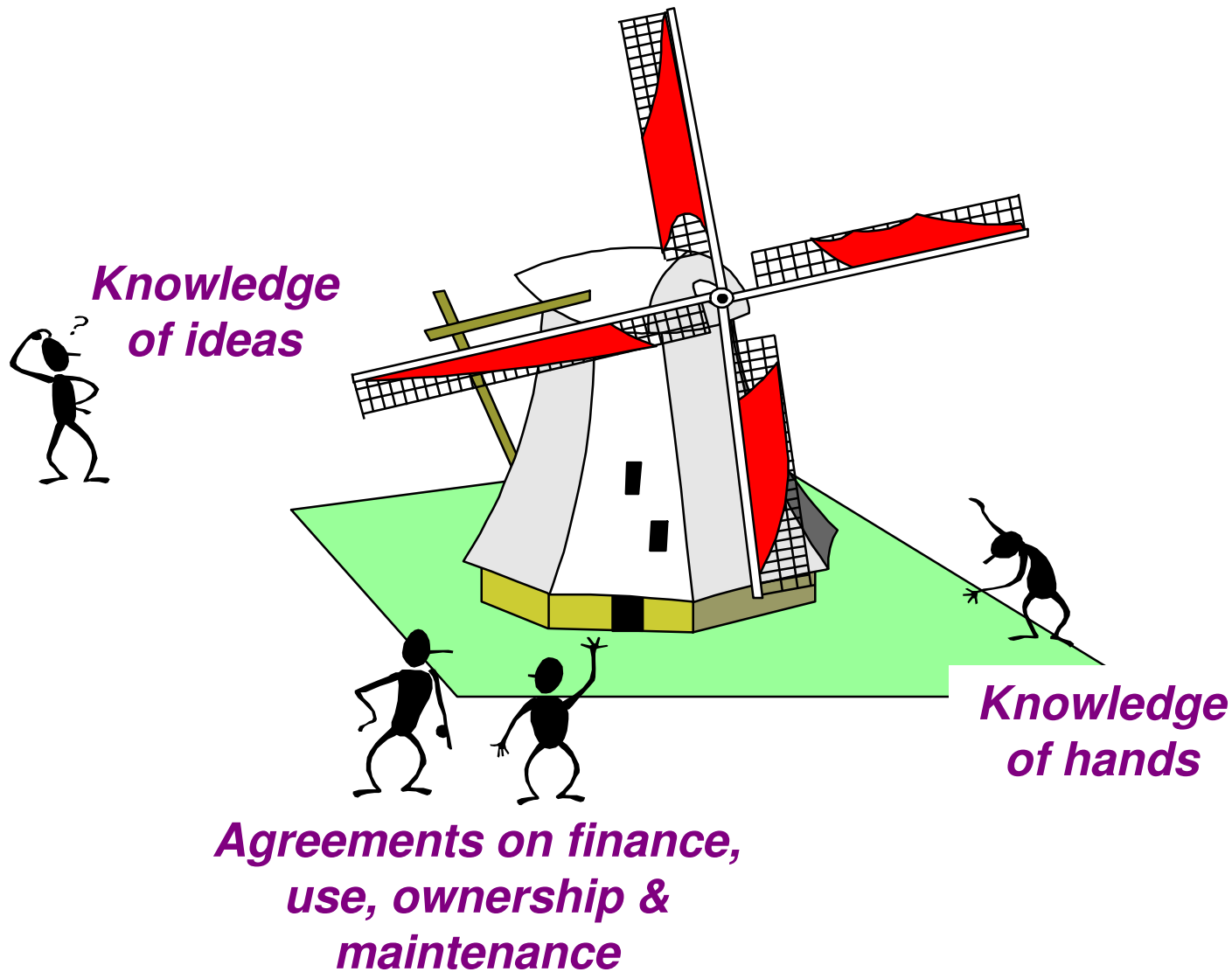
\*image of John Ball scanned from Simon Schama, *A History of Britain*, 2000 p. 251; quotation from Ronald Butt, *A History of Parliament, the Middle Ages*. Constable, London, 1989, p. 349

© B.J. Heinzen, 2004, p. 11

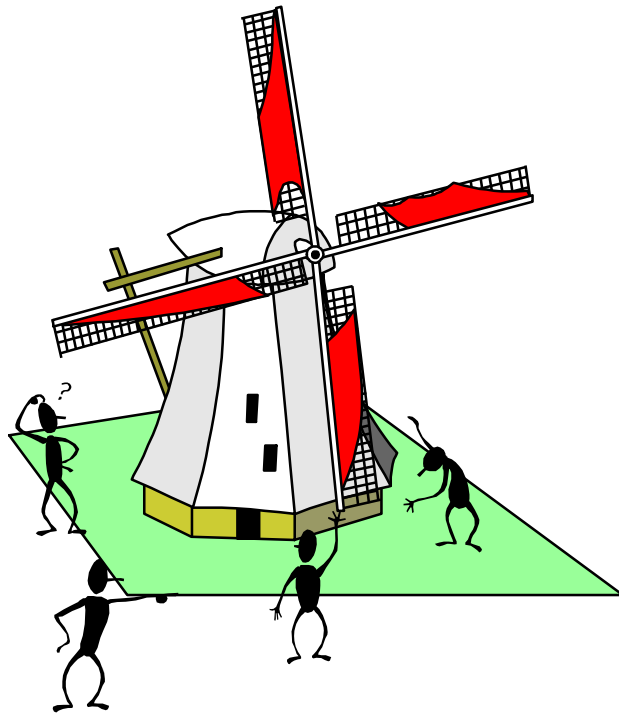
# Governance for what?



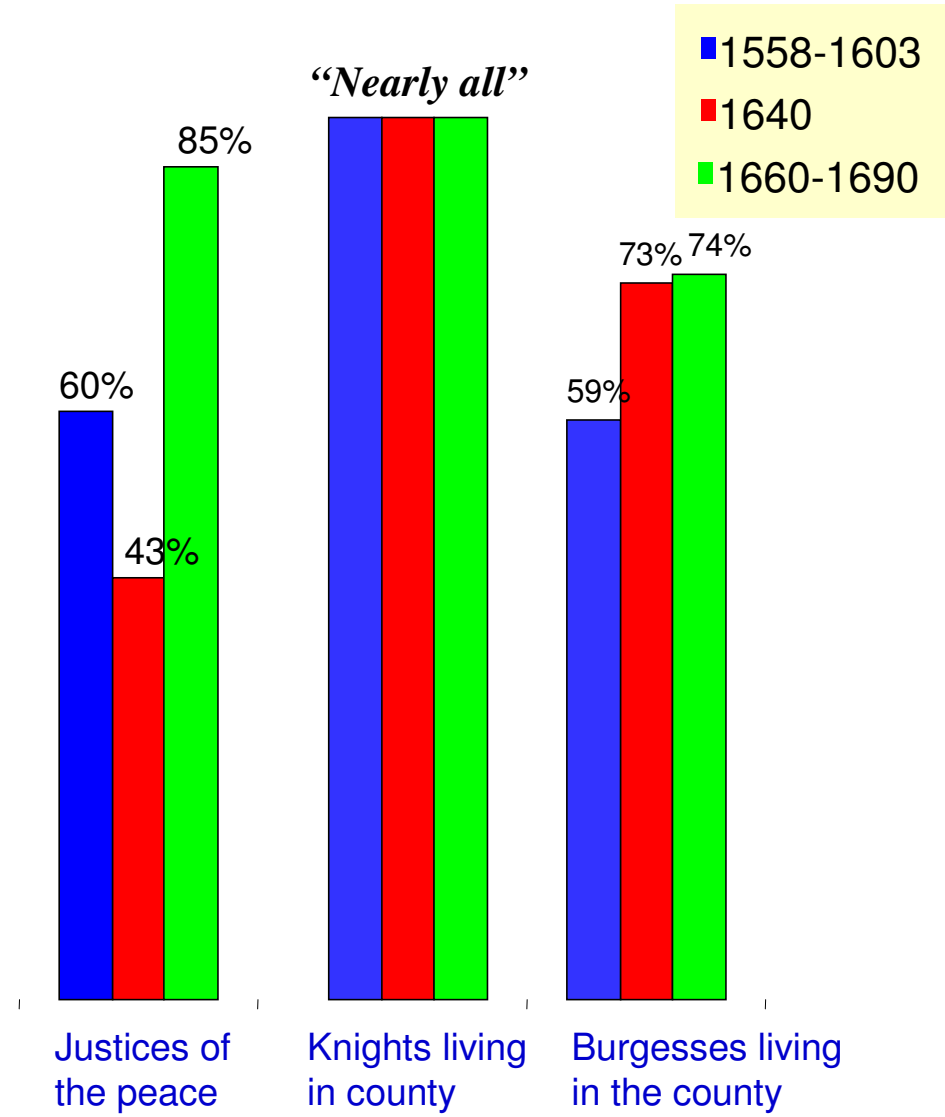
# Late 17<sup>th</sup>C: Neighbourliness as invention



# Powerful men as neighbours



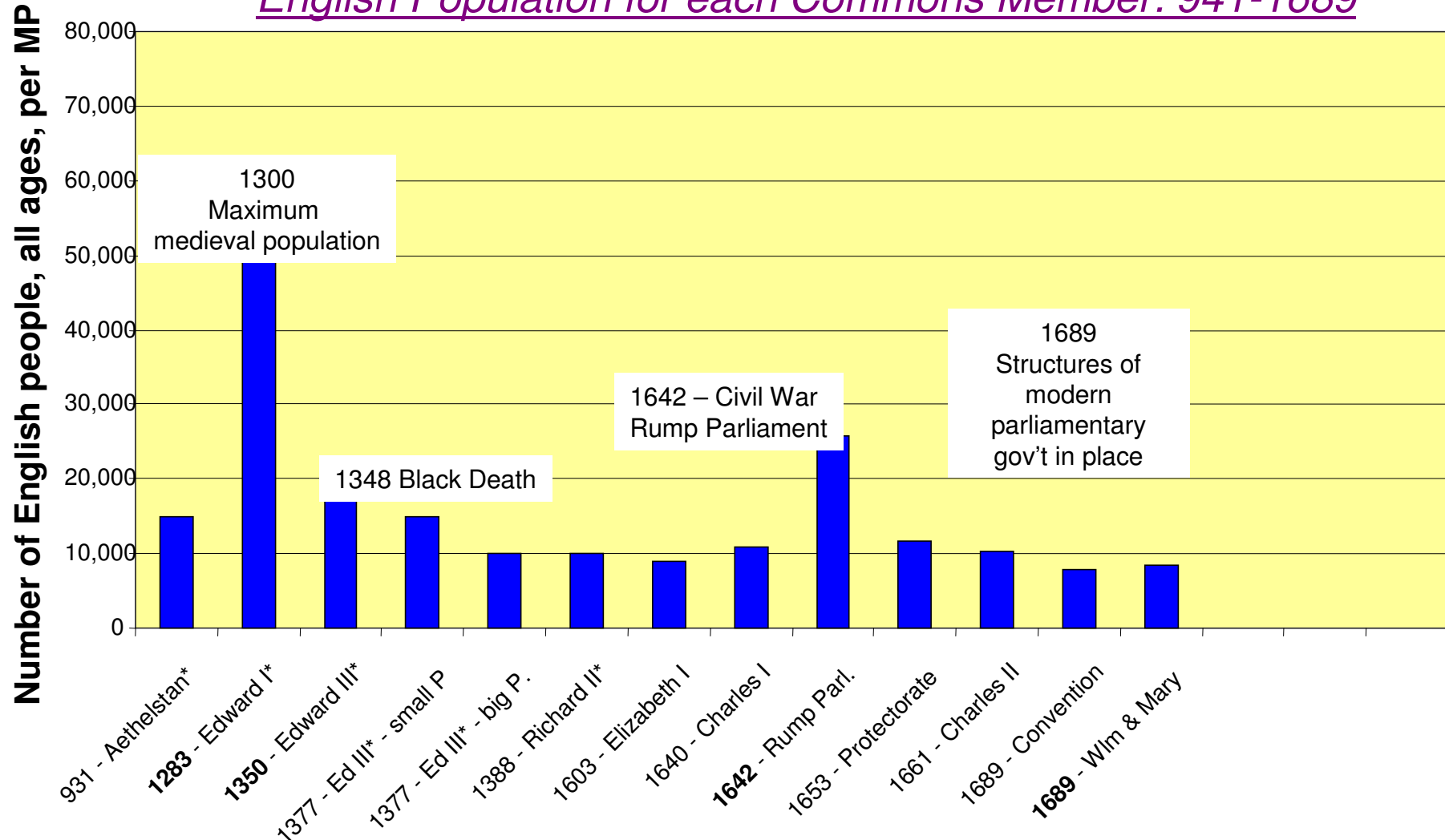
*Localities in the centre & the centre in localities*



**Members of Commons were also**

# Small political distance & large political invention

*English Population for each Commons Member: 941-1689*

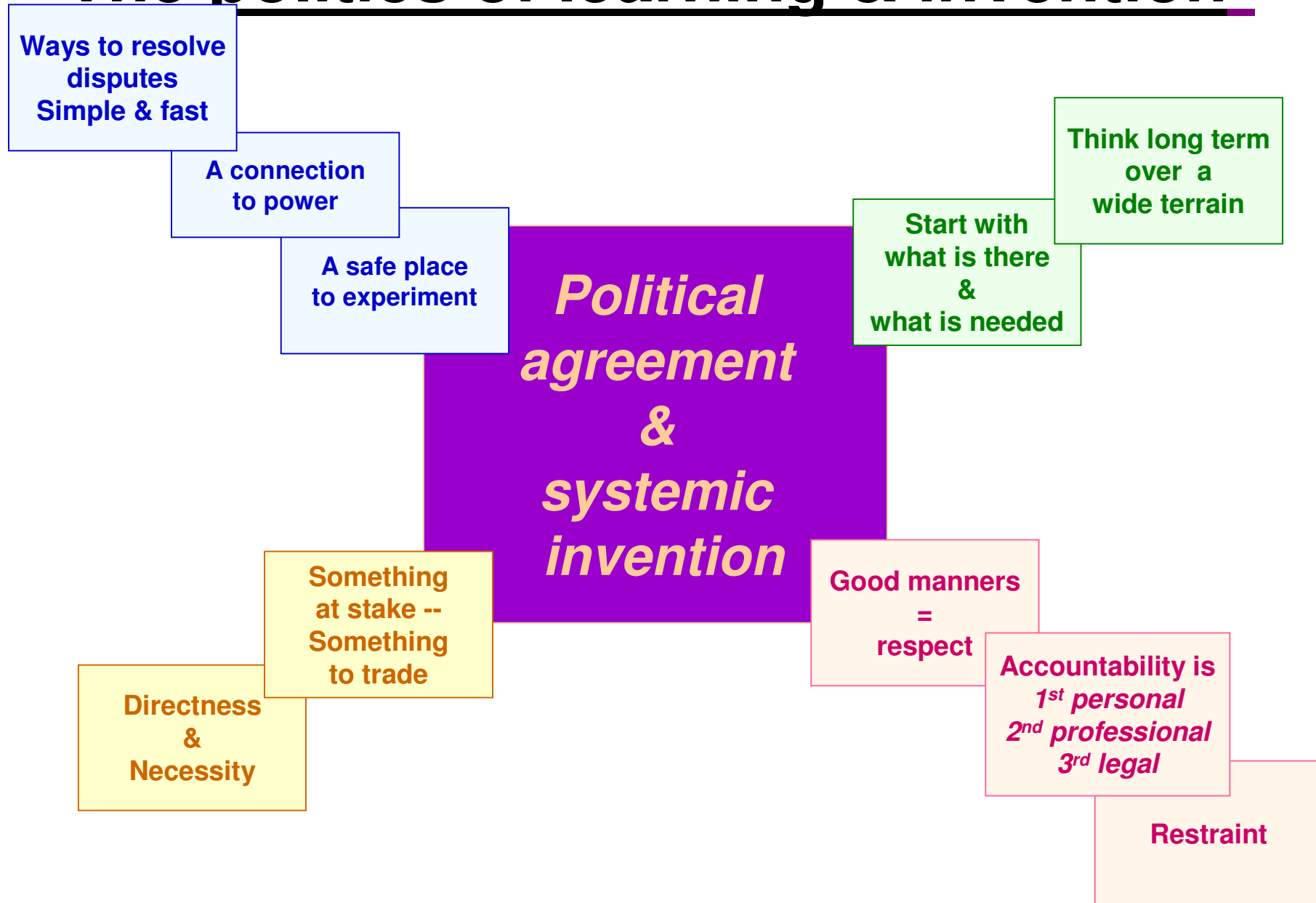


Notes: 1) MPs came from Eng & Wales & later from Scotland, so this is only a very rough guide to political distance.

2) Population estimates 931-1388 are very rough and only available for England for the whole period..

3) Average size of an English electoral constituency, 2001: Boroughs: 68,000 Counties: 72,000 (Scotland = 55,000)

# The politics of learning & invention\*



*\*based on lessons of English history Norman Conquest - industrial revolution*

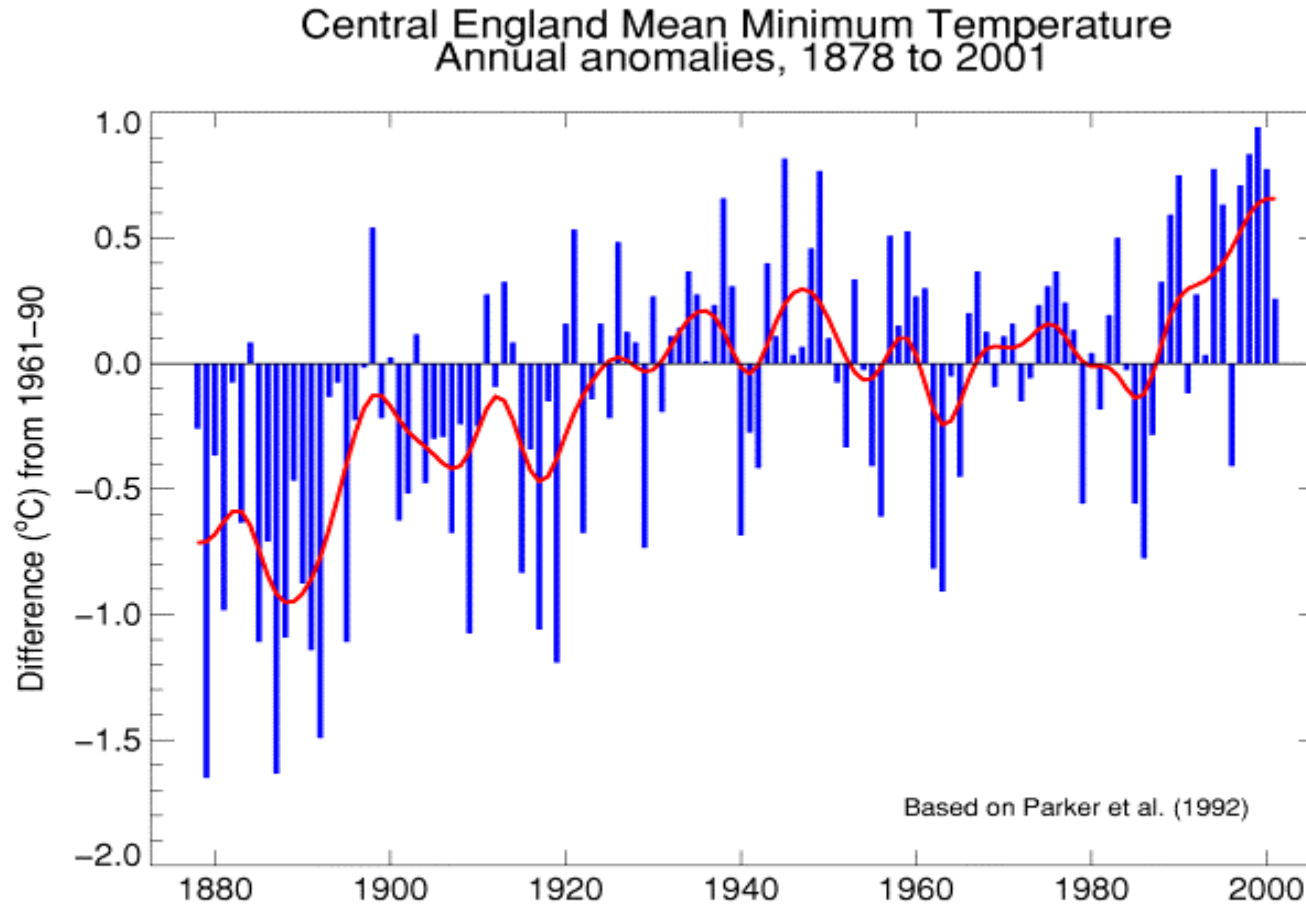


# Branches

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South West  
England

# Climate change in Central England *changes in minimum temperature*

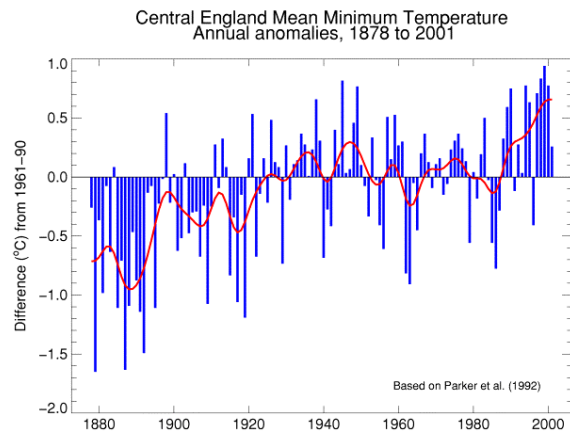
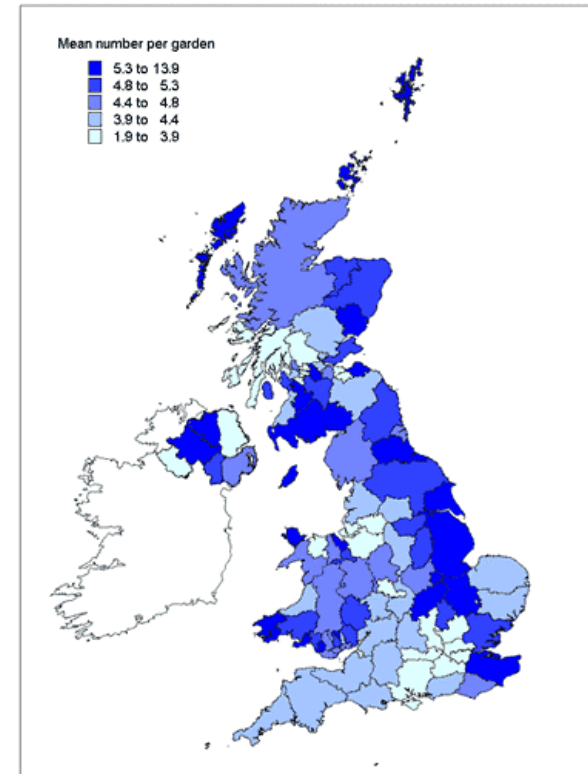


# Biodiversity & ecological resilience



## House Sparrow

The mean number of House Sparrows per garden.



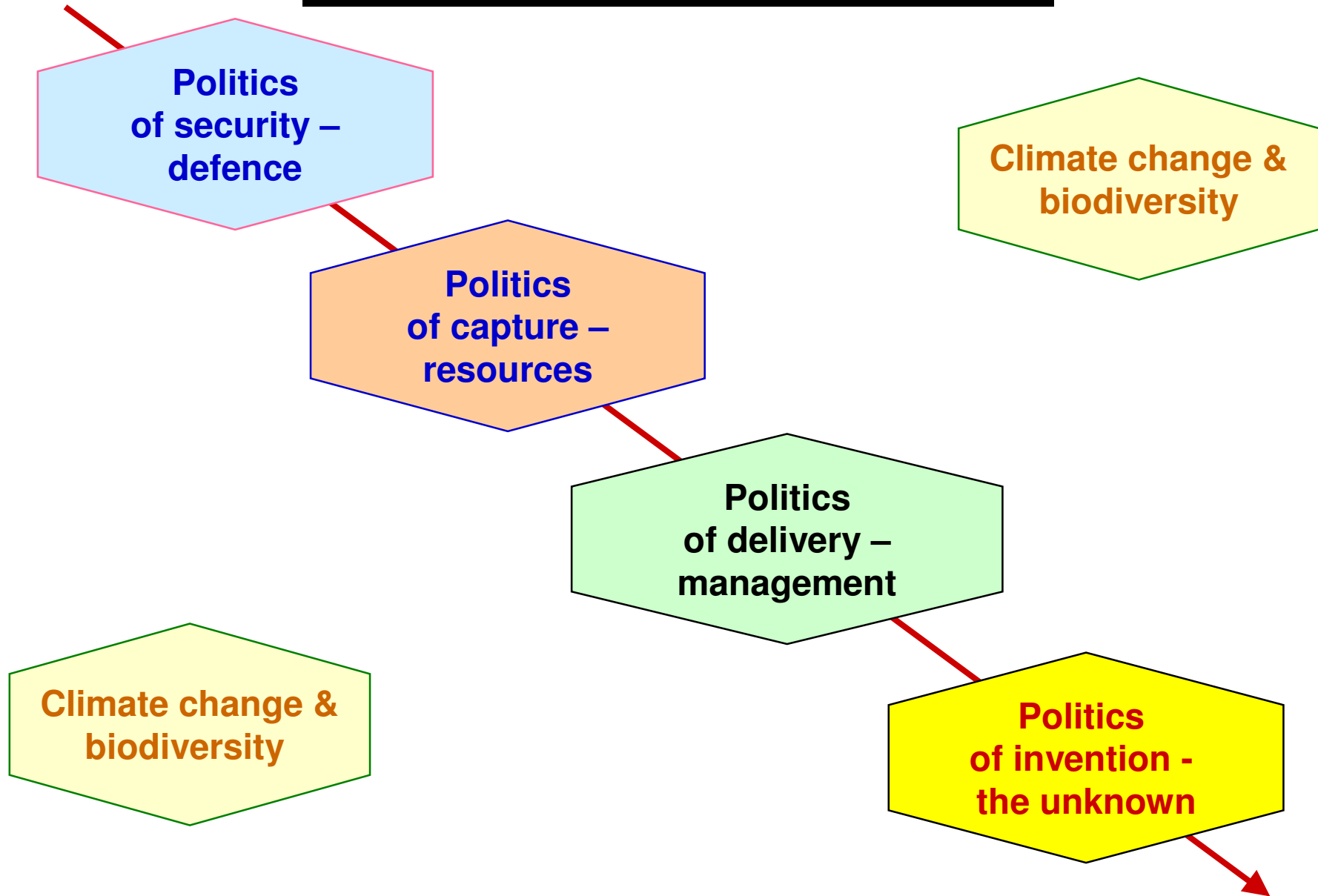
Met Office

Hadley Centre for Climate Prediction and Research

bn 02/04/2002 1057



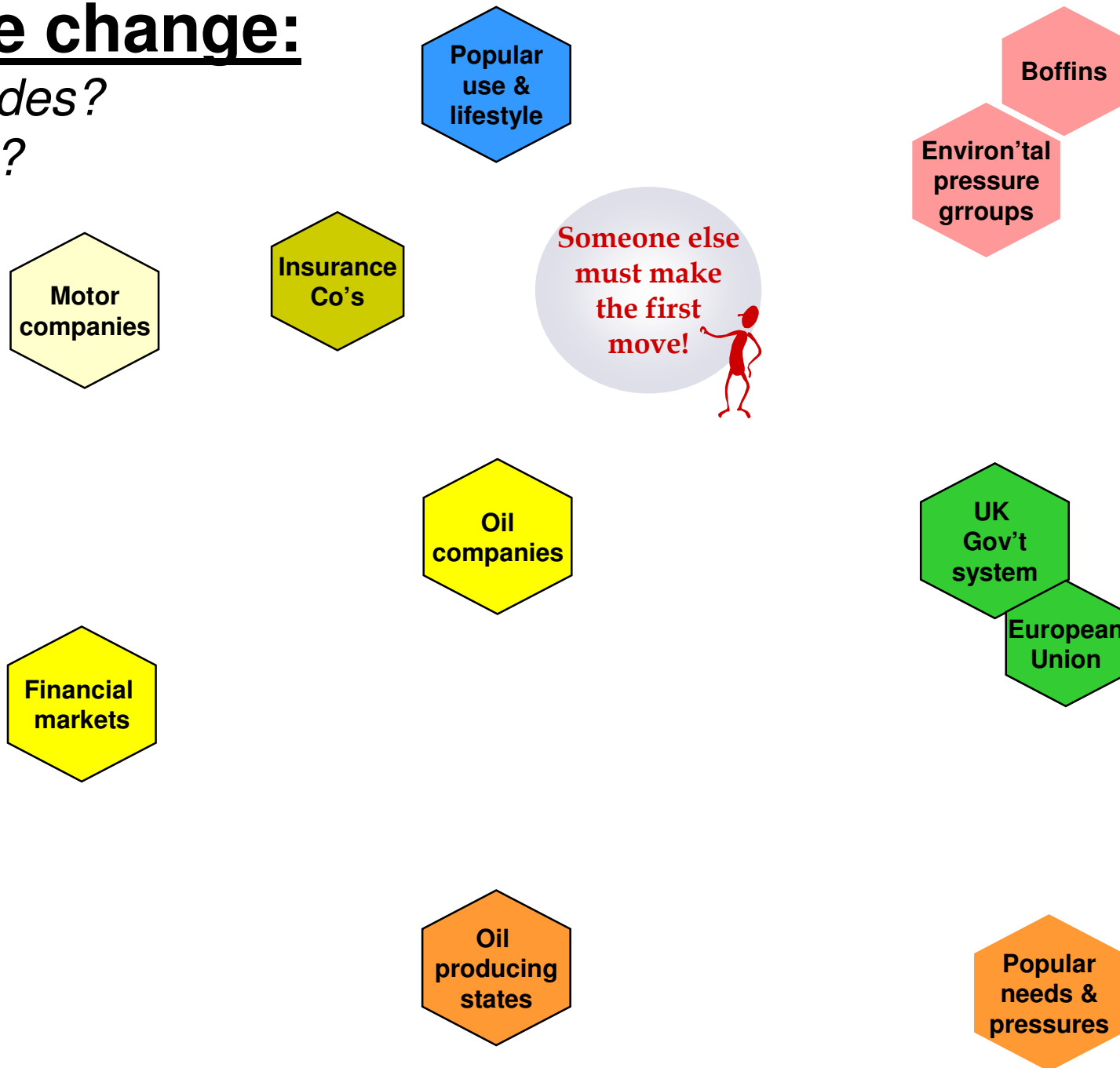
# Governance for what?



# Climate change:

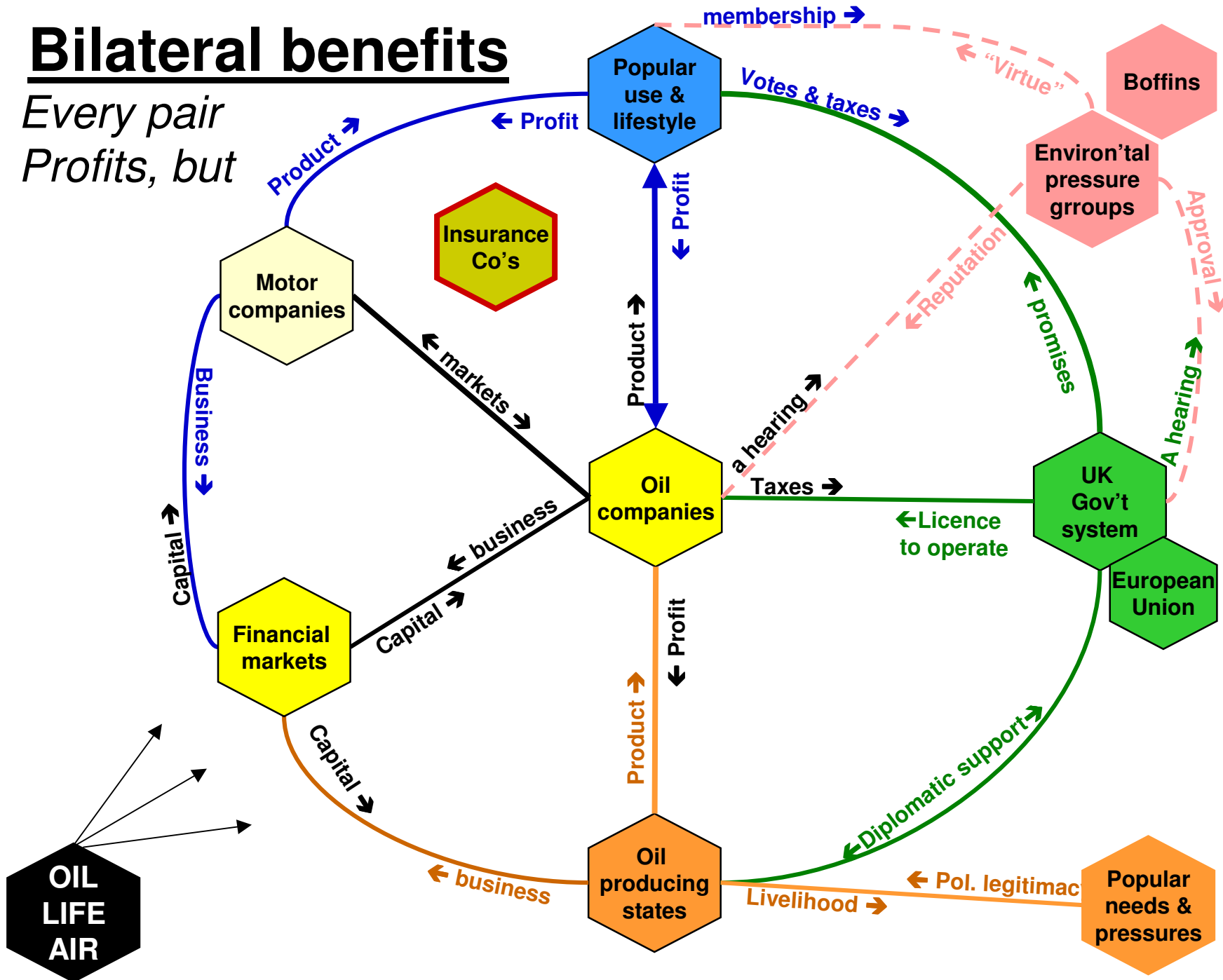
*Who decides?*

*Who acts?*

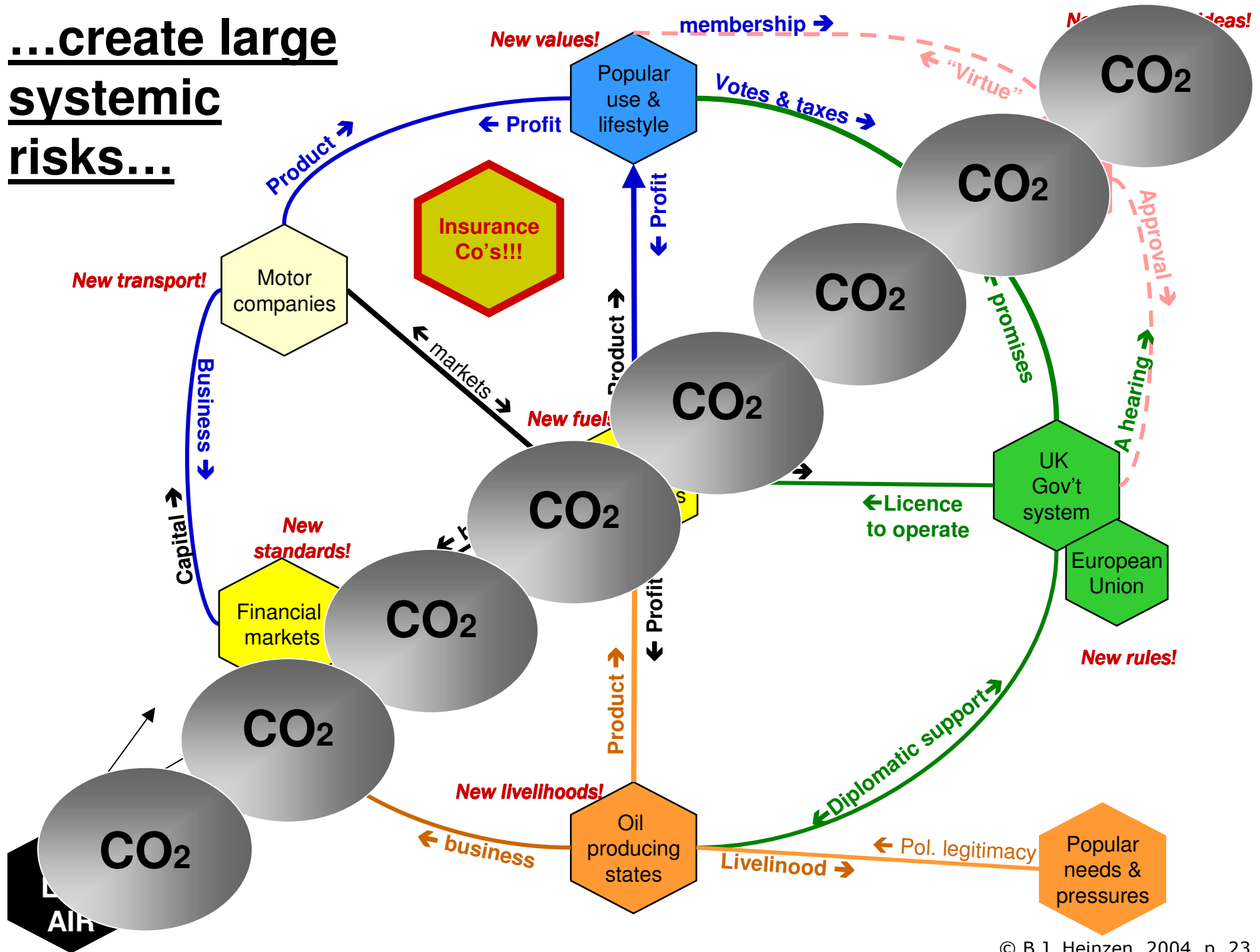


# Bilateral benefits

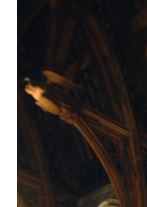
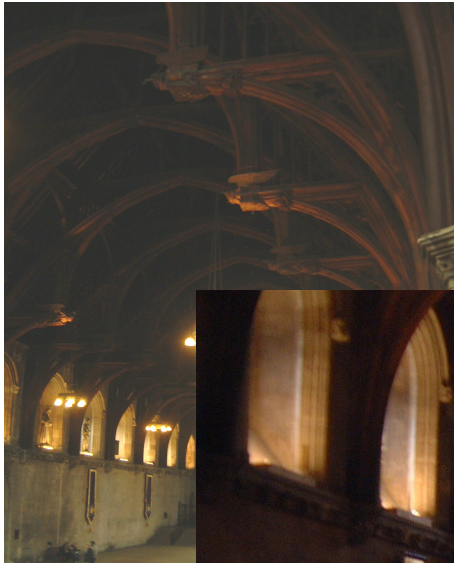
Every pair  
Profits, but



# ...create large systemic risks...



# Where do we meet?



*what integrating forum  
of interests, knowledge, wealth & power?*

Car users  
Car makers

Oil companies

Governments

Finance &  
insurance

Scientists  
& ecologists

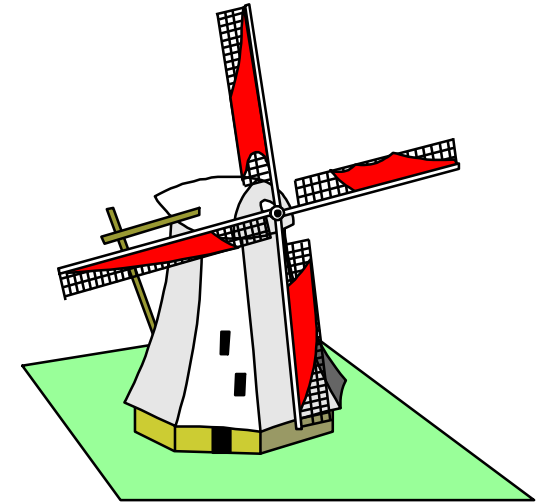
Judges

Spiritual  
leaders

The voice of  
nature



# What is role of neighbourly invention?



Carol singing in Wilmington Square, London, 2002

# What can localities control?

*85% of local  
spending  
decided by  
central gov't*



# What role for custom & the law?

## *The Nationalised Bar*

*Criminal bar = 70% of  
all barristers & is  
largely funded by state*

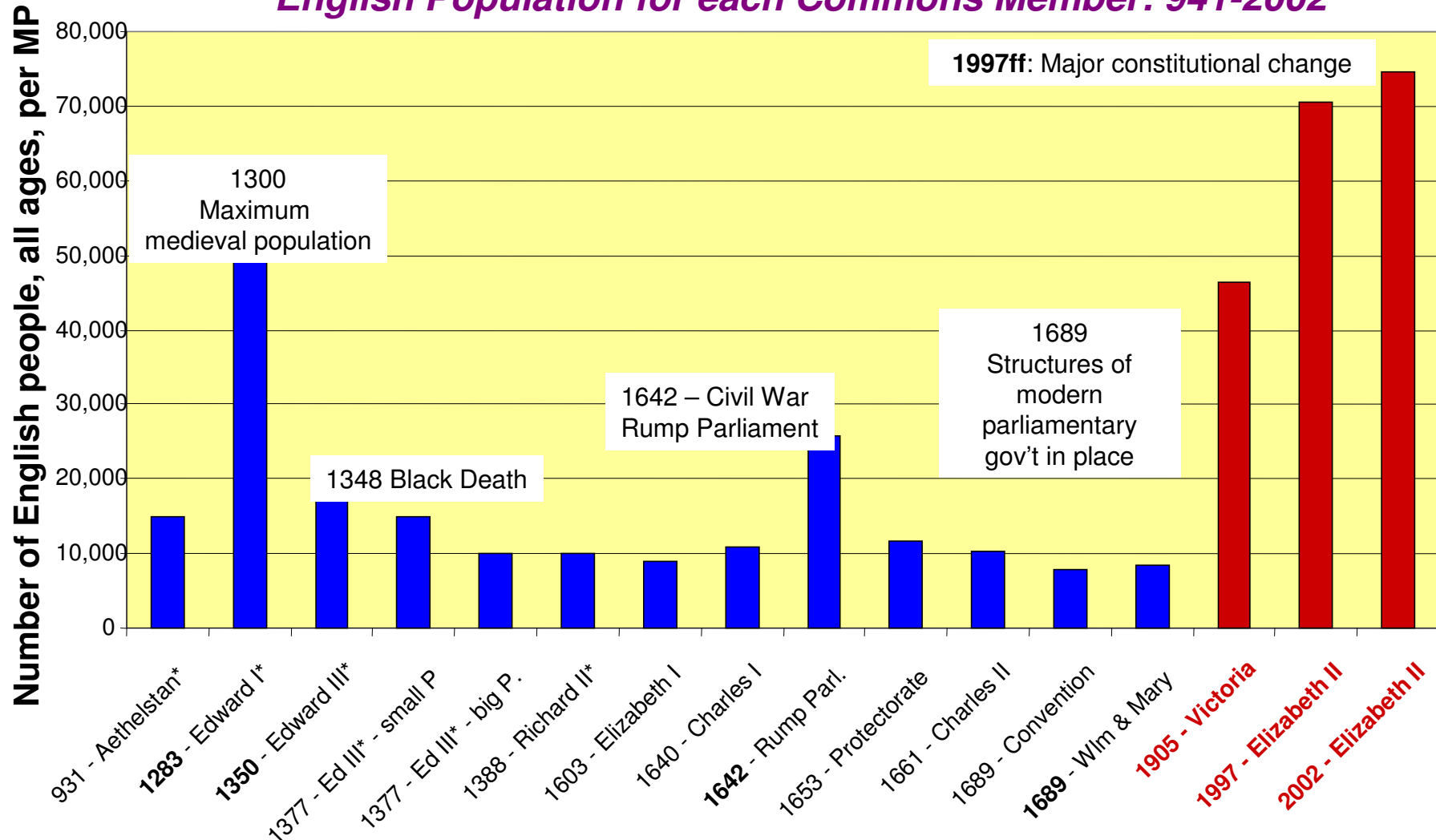


*What is  
customary now?*



# What connection to power?

*English Population for each Commons Member: 941-2002*

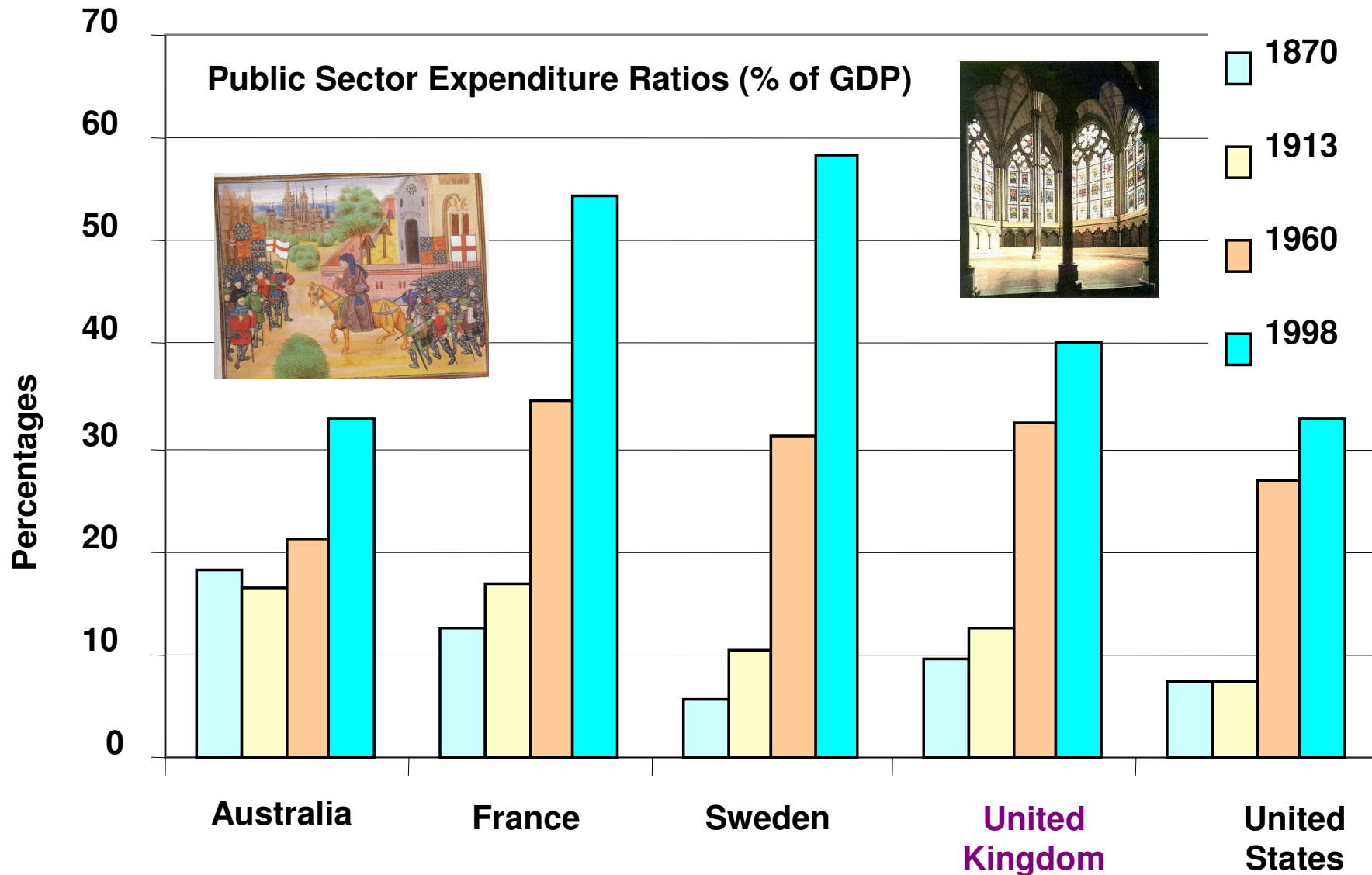


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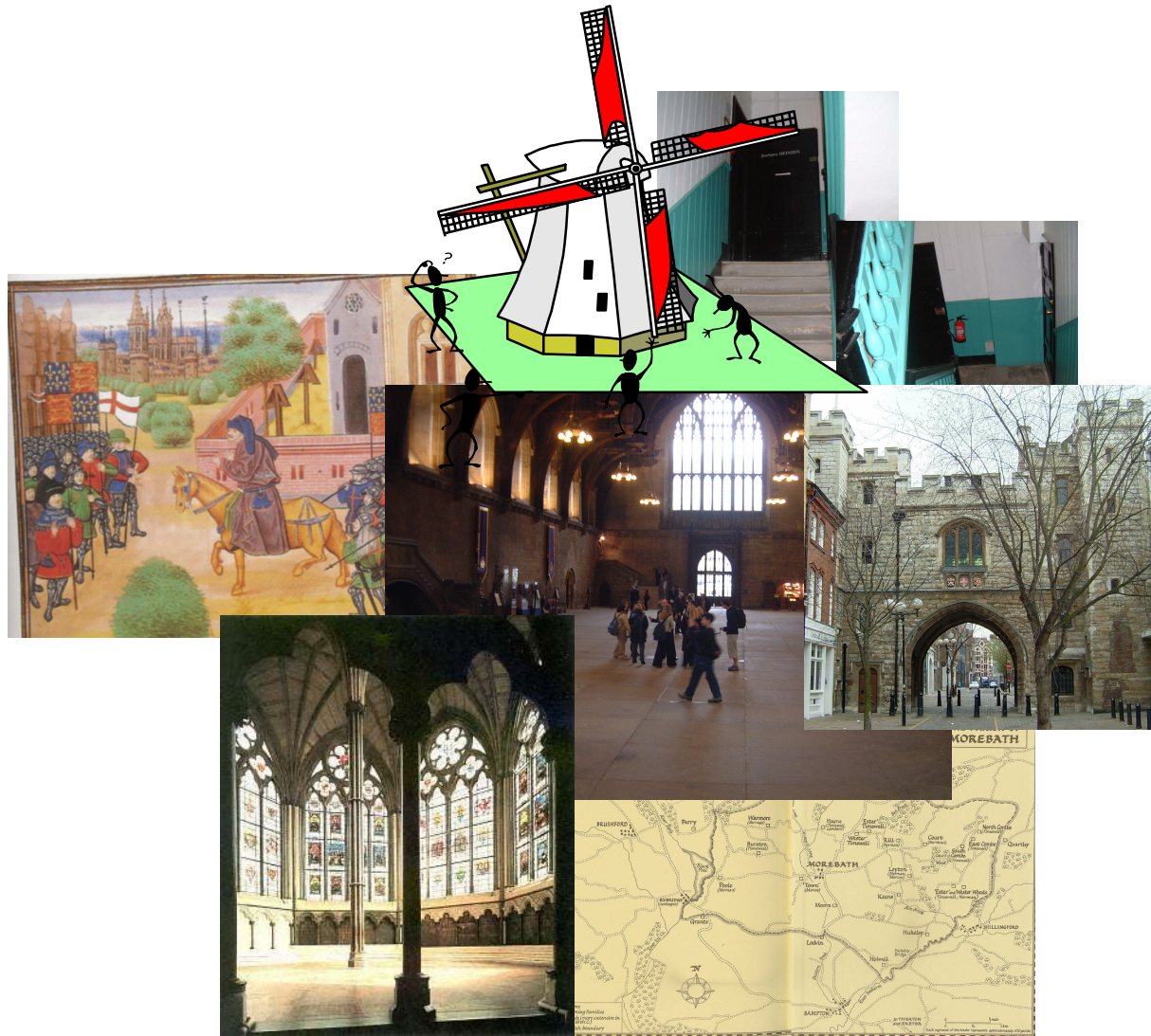
# What willingness to rebel?



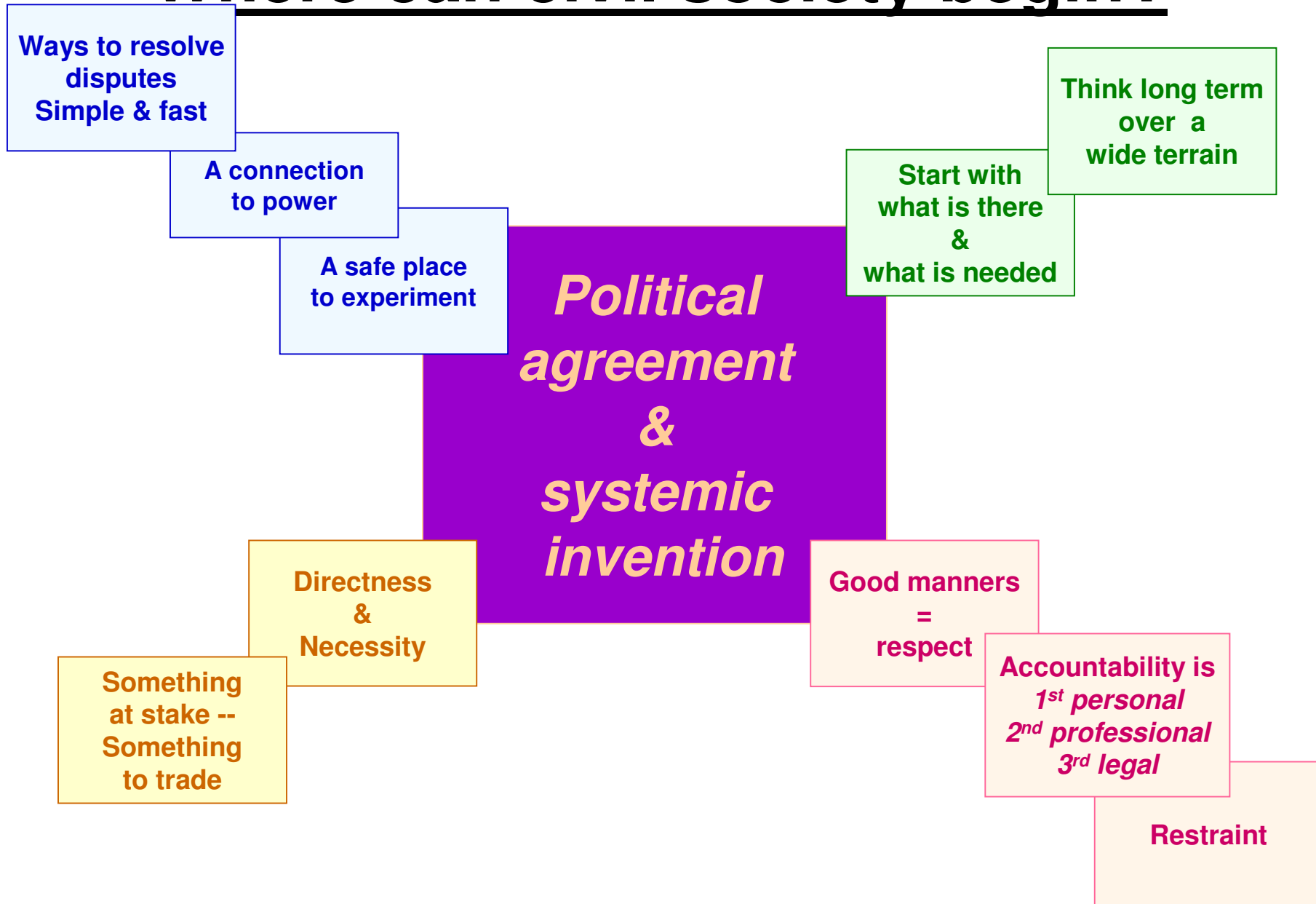
# Civil society

South West  
England

# Who is civil society now?

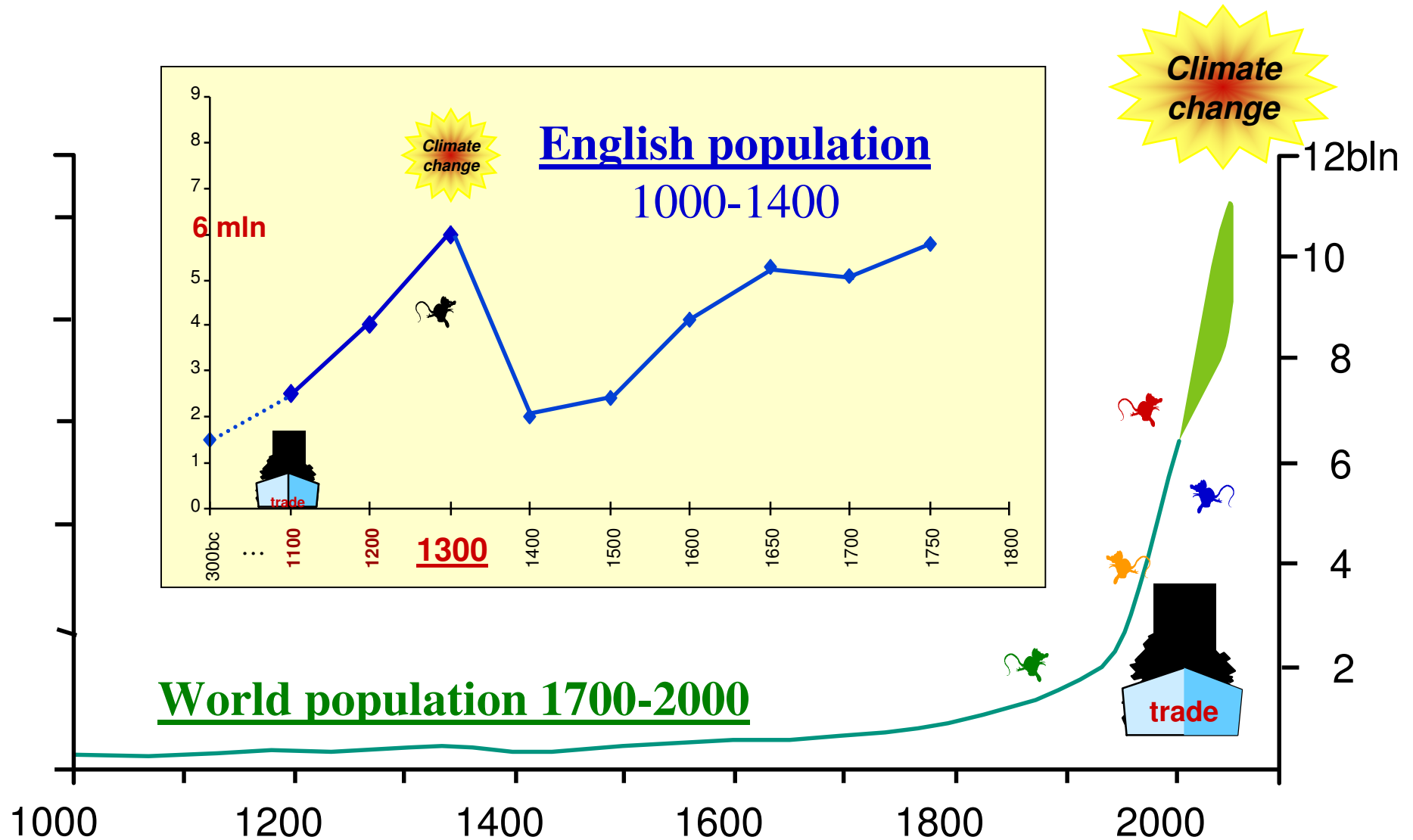


# Where can civil society begin?





# Will it take a crisis to change?



# When nature is more threatening than war



Weesenstein, E. Germany



Vaclav Havel in Prague



Kralupy, Czech Republic

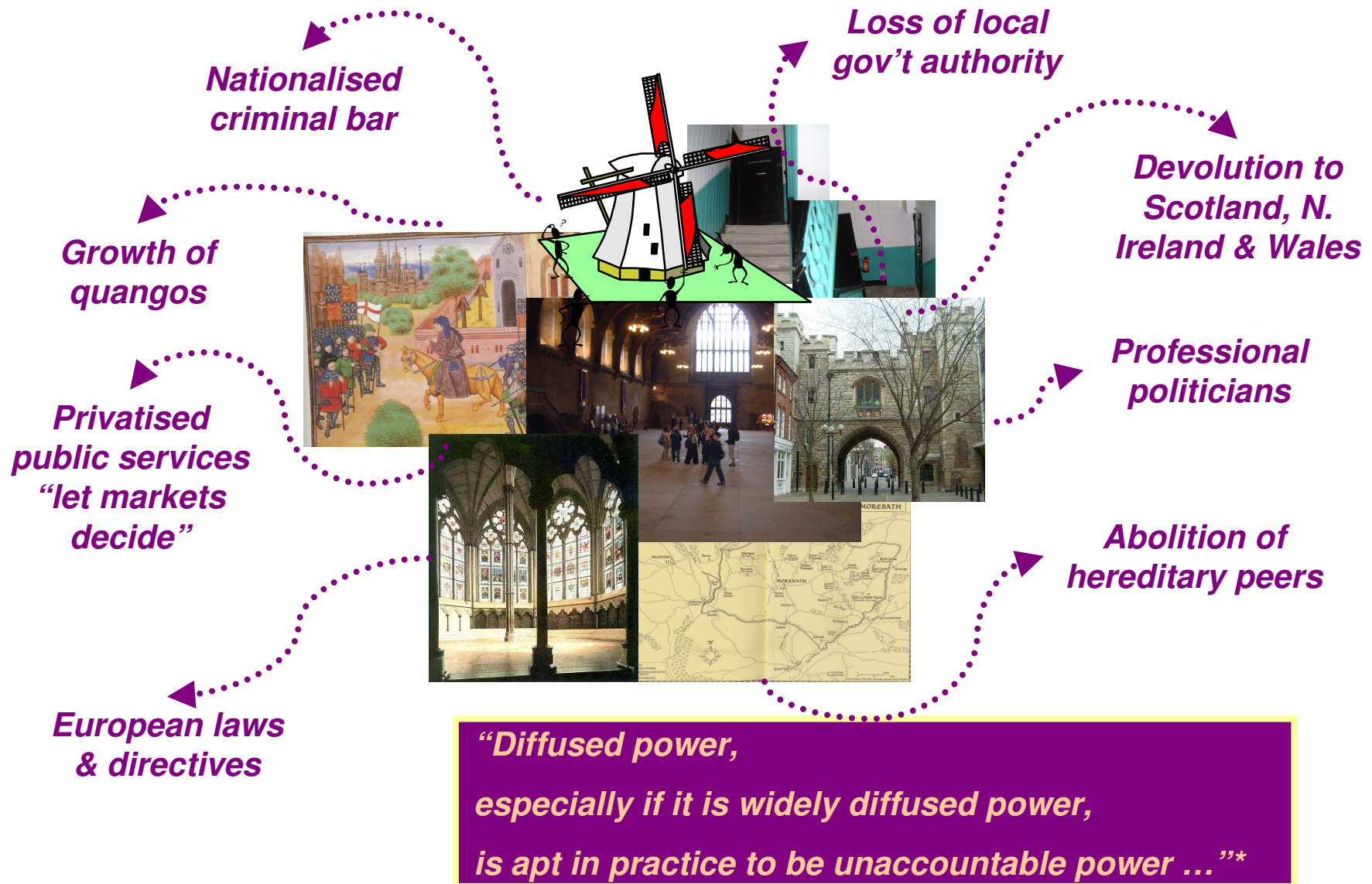


Brunne Im Feld, Austria

**“Defence takes second place  
as clean-up battle absorbs funds.”**

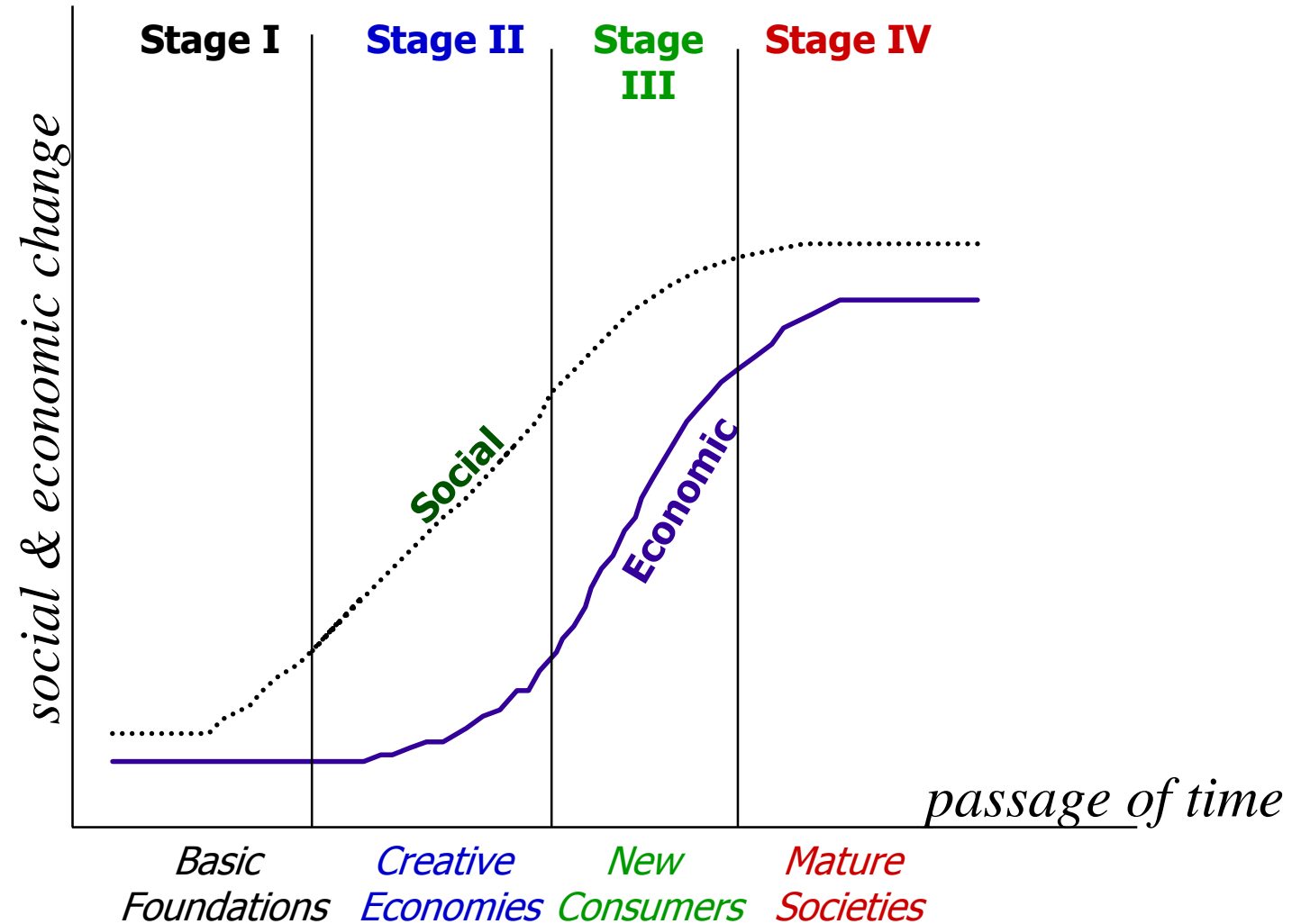
*Financial Times, 29 August 2002  
Re: Czech decision to not purchase  
24 Gripen fighter planes  
& similar statements from Germany, Austria & Slovakia*

# Civil society & the unsettled constitution

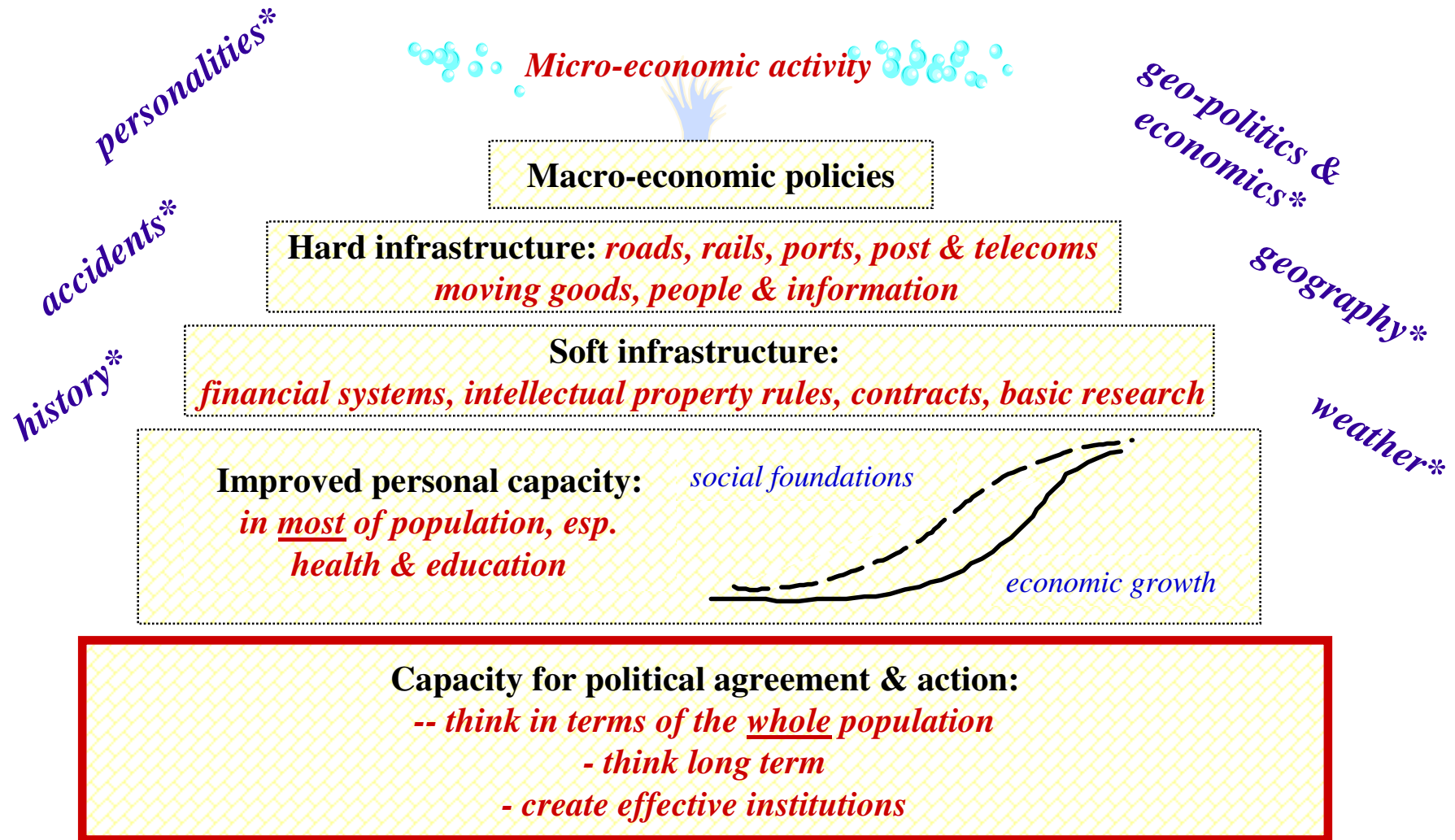


\*King, Anthony, *Does the United Kingdom Still Have a Constitution?* London, Sweet & Maxwell, 2002

# Late 20th Century Dev't Stages

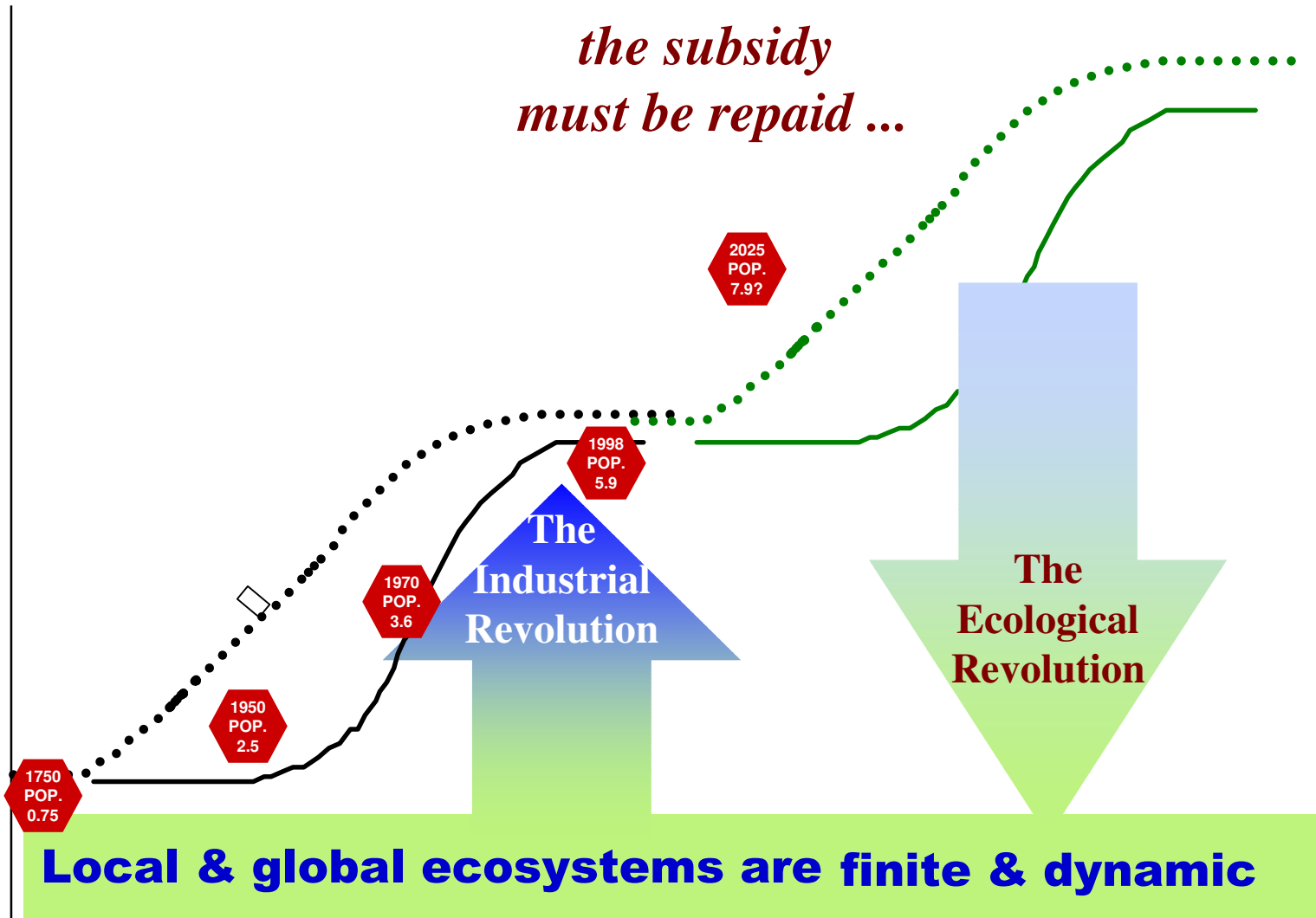


# Development's Building Blocks



(\*“If you can’t be wise, be lucky...”)

# Ecological necessity → systemic change



1750 POP. 0.75bn POP. *global population, in billions*

# Exponential Growth

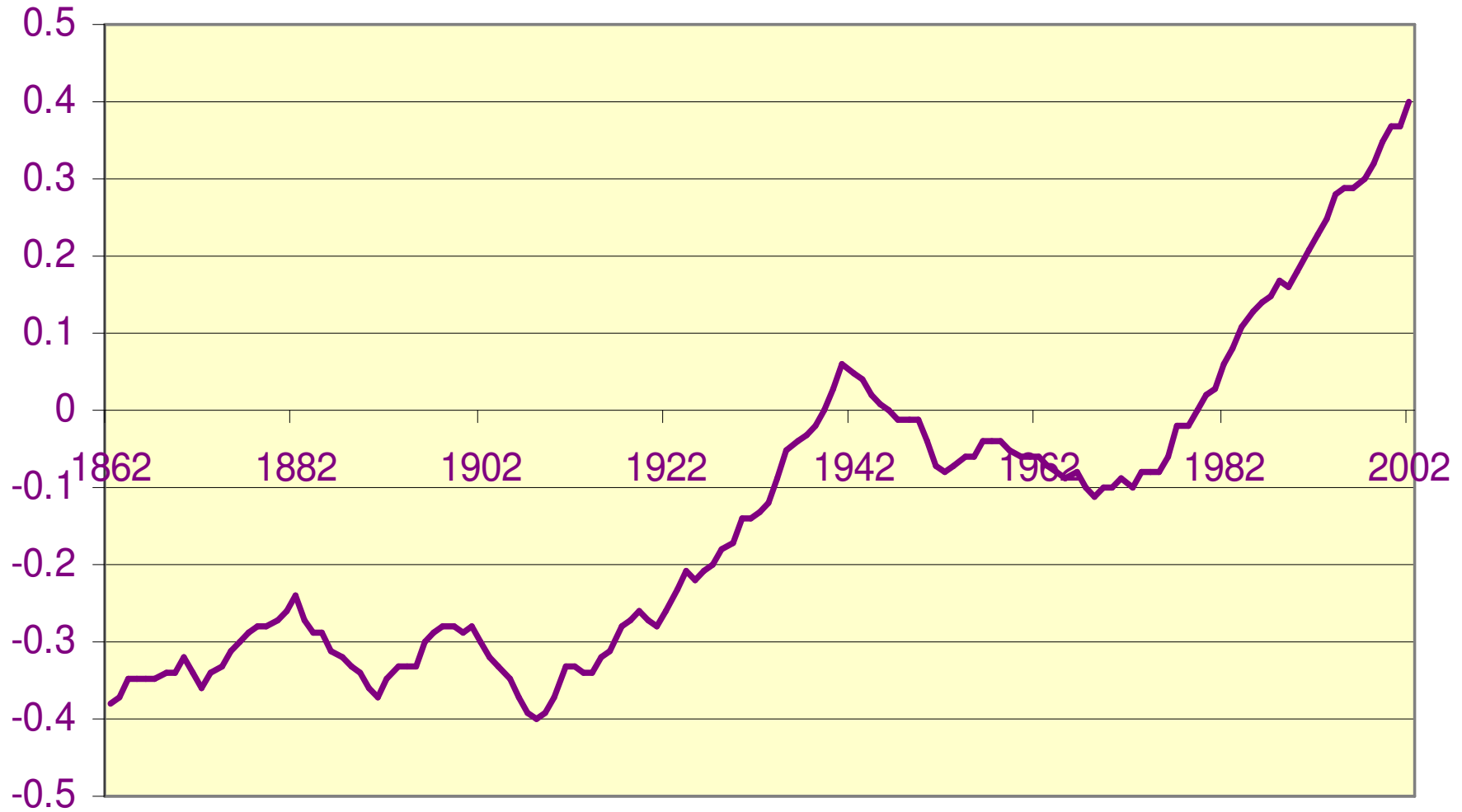
## DOUBLING TIMES

**Growth rates - %/yr**

**Doubling Time - yrs**

<b>0.1</b>	<b>700</b>
<b>0.5</b>	<b>140</b>
<b>1.0</b>	<b>70</b>
<b>2.0</b>	<b>35</b>
<b>3.0</b>	<b>23</b>
<b>4.0</b>	<b>18</b>
<b>5.0</b>	<b>14</b>
<b>7.0</b>	<b>10</b>
<b>10.1</b>	<b>7</b>

## Average Surface Temperature of the Globe - Degrees C



Source: Hadley Centre for Climate Prediction and Research