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NATIONALISM, INEQUALITY AND ENGLAND'S POLITICAL PREDICAMENT

Charles Leddy-Owen



Nationalism, Inequality and England's Political Predicament

Based on fine-grained ethnographic research in an English city, this book offers a highly original perspective on England's contemporary political predicament. It argues that some of the most influential academic accounts of the country's current political situation, particularly those focusing on culture or racism, have neglected the key role of nationalism as an often unspoken, banal political principle and framing ideology. Suggesting that economic inequalities remain the key causal ingredient of English political life and, crucially, that these are being interpreted by individuals in relation to a nationalist/cosmopolitan ideological axis, the author argues that any effective, progressive political future will require a reinvigorated sense of political community. Proposing a politics that will promote both nationhood *and* cosmopolitanism, *Nationalism, Inequality and England's Political Predicament* advocates a seemingly contradictory but necessary approach by which explicitly anti-nationalist and anti-racist principles coexist expediently alongside short-term protectionist and immigration control policies.

Charles Leddy-Owen is Senior Lecturer in Sociology at the University of Portsmouth, UK.

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Nationalism, Inequality and England's Political Predicament

Charles Leddy-Owen

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This book is dedicated to the people of Portsmouth – but especially my daughter Holly and those whose interviews are featured in this book.



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In about 2008 I attended a poorly staffed open evening for postgraduate degrees at Birkbeck College. While waiting in the queue to speak to an exhausted looking academic (whose name I never learned) I read the department's prospectus and decided to do an MRes in Nationalism and Ethnic Conflict rather than the more practical degree (something to do with public sector administration) for which I had been planning to apply. Without this intervention, and Eric Kaufmann's excellent course based around Anthony Smith's interpretation of nationalism studies, I doubt I would be doing the job I am privileged to have now – so thanks are due to everyone involved in what happened there.

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Introduction

Explaining England's political predicament

This book presents an investigation of the contemporary English political landscape. It asks what political concerns are important for the research participants of the study on which it is based, and what factors – such as socioeconomic inequalities, culture and ideology – can best explain these concerns' importance. In also asking who the 'we' of politics is and how different perspectives on this question might help to frame and shape political outlooks, a particular focus of the book is on nationhood, nationalism and the state.

The idea for the research project this book is based on emerged in 2014 when I noticed that the recent rise of right-wing populist politics and negative attitudes towards immigration in England was being analysed and understood in very different ways by different sets of academics. Some political scientists, conducting quantitative research regarding political attitudes, elections and the remarkable success of the United Kingdom Independence Party (UKIP) were explaining these patterns primarily in relation to national identities threatened by perceptions regarding immigration and liberal shifts in culture and values. Some sociologist and cultural studies scholars, conducting qualitative research, on the other hand, were interpreting the same broad patterns primarily in relation to social class, race and racism. Both sets of literature have continued along these explanatory lines, and have developed considerable steam, since the dramatic result of the 2016 referendum on the UK's continued membership of the European Union. What neither literature does at present is analyse these developments with any real, sustained focus on *nationalism* as a political ideology – a gap that this book seeks to begin the process of filling. Based on research undertaken during the campaign for the 2015 UK general election, this is not a book that is directly about the EU referendum or Brexit vote, but there is no doubt of its clear relevance to this fundamentally nationalist moment in British political history, both in terms of mapping out the preceding political landscape and some of the potential ways of dealing with the referendum's aftermath.

When I refer to nationalism in this book, I am not referring to extremist or far-right political outlooks based on perceptions of a unique national identity (though the term can of course refer to these) but to a more subtle and far more prevalent principle holding 'that the national and political unit should be congruent' (Gellner, 1983, p. 1). 'The nation' has been studied and theorised intensively in recent

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decades, as brilliantly and critically chronicled by Anthony Smith (1998), as an ideology, discourse, cultural repertoire, and so on – sometimes loud and spectacular, sometimes banal and everyday. Important conceptual and methodological advances have recently been made which raise crucial questions about the salience, sometimes even the existence, of often taken for granted notions of national ‘groups’ or ‘identities’ (Brubaker, 2002; Fox & Miller-Idriss, 2008; Malešević, 2011). Returning again to 2015, when the research for this book was conceived, it occurred to me not only that the aforementioned political science and sociological literatures do not speak to each other very much, but that neither of them, with a small number of exceptions, really engages with the literature on nationalism at all. I would argue that this lack of engagement is both remarkable and problematic given the centrality of nationalist ideology to recent English politics and more generally in legitimising modern statehood and the boundaries of political communities. My aim with this book is to bring these (thus far) disparate literatures together and provide an original analytic perspective on England’s contemporary political predicament.

This bringing together of literatures also involves a methodologically novel approach. In employing qualitative research methods – semi-structured interviews and participant observation – focusing on the residents of a single English parliamentary constituency (that of Portsmouth South) to explore individuals’ political concerns, an immediate contrast can be drawn to the dominant approach for researching contemporary politics, which involves surveys of nationally representative samples followed by quantitative analysis. Rather than measuring and comparing isolated social and attitudinal variables in order to help explain election results, the emphasis in this book is on qualitative, narrative depth – on emplaced, contextually and personally rich accounts of politics. Unlike most survey-based approaches, the research presented here is not concerned with party politics *per se* but with a more general aim of increasing our political understanding vis-à-vis ‘the degree of plasticity in our collective fate at [this] time [and] the range within which it can, or might be, modified by our own, or others’ actions’ (Dunn, 2000, p. 104). Through an inductive, qualitative, focus on politics at a micro-social scale, this book therefore shares many characteristics with the dominant methodologies applied in the contemporary sociological and cultural studies literature on racism, and I will argue that the particular perspective on nationalism and society provided here offers some important interventions regarding recent political science analyses with regard to the notion of a ‘cultural backlash’ or beckoning ‘culture wars’. However, my methodological approach also *differs* from recent qualitative research in its focus on the formal politics of the state during a general election campaign, and in its overall concern with what might actually be *achieved* politically in England today. I will therefore also critique that literature’s highly principled but as yet largely visionary (perhaps chimerical) political prescriptions. This book therefore, on the one hand, aims to provide a far more sociologically critical perspective on politics than much political science currently provides, and, on the other, a more politically grounded and practicable perspective on democratic state politics than offered in much sociology and cultural studies.

The fieldwork for the research on which this book is based took place during the campaign for the 2015 general election. Until the release of the exit poll at 10pm on the evening of May 7th it seemed likely – for those of us who, back then, still trusted the opinion polls – that Ed Miliband would soon become Prime Minister on behalf of the Labour Party, probably through some manner of coalition with the Scottish National Party. Instead, David Cameron’s Conservative Party obtained a small overall majority. A little over a year later, this government fulfilled its manifesto commitment to hold a referendum on the UK’s continuing membership of the European Union, with the shock vote in favour of ‘Leave’ leading to Cameron’s resignation. His replacement, Prime Minister Theresa May, called another general election a year later in 2017 on the assumption that the Labour Party would be heavily defeated at the polls thanks to its election (and re-election following a failed set of challenges from parliamentary colleagues) of avowed socialist Jeremy Corbyn as leader. Following a resurgence during the election campaign by Corbyn’s Labour, at the time of writing (August 2018) the UK is governed by a minority Conservative government attempting to negotiate the state’s exit from the European Union.

It would therefore be fair to say that three years is a very long time in politics – and there is no space here to even summarise the tumultuous goings on over this period involving populist, nationalist politics in continental Europe and the United States. A lot has changed since May 2015, and with Brexit apparently rapidly approaching in March 2019 and a consistent swirl of rumours circulating about another general election, a second referendum and the potential for splits in one or both of the two main parties, it seems that further, perhaps even more dramatic, change is around the corner. However, it is also clear that three years is not a very long time at all if we consider the long duration over which broad political outlooks and, even more so, ideologies are formed and settled. The evidence suggests that the political divisions identified by political scientists as having emerged in England in recent years have their provenance in long-term socioeconomic, cultural and political dynamics (Ford & Goodwin, 2014; Inglehart & Norris, 2016; Jennings & Stoker, 2016; Jennings, Bua, Laurence, & Brett, 2017). These divisions have manifested themselves at different times in different ways – whether in terms of UKIP’s third place popular vote polling in 2015, the Leave victory or the Corbyn phenomenon – and it is in relation to these general patterns, evident in 2015 but perhaps amplified by later events, that this book’s contribution lies. At the same time, however, there is some evidence that attitudes on key issues such as immigration have shifted over this period (Curtice & Tipping, 2018), and in the chapters that follow some of the research that has poured forth following both recent general elections and the referendum will form a key part of this book’s analysis of the contemporary and potential future situation.

This book’s overall argument, and the overarching suggestions made in the conclusion with regard to political ways forward, are broadly progressive in character. This will not come as a huge surprise to anyone who reads academic sociology. However, I would also argue that many of the findings could be of value to those of a more conservative disposition, particularly as some of the conclusions

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are arguably quite conservative with regard to the analysis and prognosis of relationships involving nationhood, politics and the state and the current character and pace of attitudinal change regarding these.

Prior to providing an outline of the book's structure, it is finally important to make a note regarding the English focus of the study. The research investigated a UK election, and, as is well known, some of the key political issues relating to nationhood and nationalism in the UK relate to Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland. As an outcome of the book's research location and the concerns of its participants this book will barely engage with these issues at all (other than through one participant who discussed Scottish nationalism). Its focus is therefore on nationalism in England. However, it is not a book specifically about *English* nationalism. The methodology applied did not make any attempt to render English nationalism distinct from British nationalism, other than when participants themselves clearly did so in their narratives, due to the fiendish level of complexity required in attempting to isolate when someone in England is specifically discussing English rather than British nationhood (or vice versa, or both). Nevertheless, I will sometimes draw on, the relatively small but impressive political and social science literature on the topic (e.g. Aughey, 2007; Denham, 2017; Kenny, 2014; Kumar, 2003; Mann, 2011; Wellings, 2010), and I hope my findings will contribute to its further study.

Chapter outline

Chapter 1 will introduce the two key areas of research I am building on and arguing against. First, recent quantitative political science research, which broadly argues that economics or culture are responsible for contemporary political divisions in England – and that if the latter is the most salient dimension then a US-style 'culture war' is looming in which political coalitions and compromises will be difficult to forge. Second, sociological and cultural studies accounts that foreground racism and class. I will argue that neither broad sets of literature take into account the fundamental role of nationalist politics. The chapter will then introduce the constituency of Portsmouth South as an appropriate research site due to its socioeconomic disparities and unique political volatility.

Chapter 2 will introduce some classic sociological theories regarding nations, nationalism and cosmopolitanism before discussing some recent methodological approaches to the critical study of nationhood in everyday contexts. It will then introduce the research methods of the present study, notably the qualitative narrative approach to research, the interview structure and sampling process. Chapter 3 then discusses the political concerns of participants who described themselves as being in economically precarious situations. It will be argued that though the content of their narratives was highly varied, they all foregrounded personal experiences of material hardship and a feeling of being 'overlooked' by the present political setup.

Chapter 4 will discuss how nationalist ideology was mobilised and identified by some of the same participants as they tried to interpret, explain and solve difficult

personal experiences and relate them to a broader terrain of action. It is demonstrated that most of the arguments on which their nationalist (and often racist) politics were based – particularly with regard to immigration – stem from misperceptions framed and fuelled by nationalist ideology. An implication of this and the previous chapter is that the concerns of the ‘overlooked’ (or ‘left behind’, ‘left out’, and so on) relate above all to socioeconomic hierarchies, and nationalist, political interpretations of these, more than they do to any sense of ‘cultural threat’ or ‘threatened national identities’.

Chapter 5 introduces the study’s more economically secure participants, whose political concerns are similar to the less well-off but relatively removed from material hardship and necessity. This relative affluence will be demonstrated to have a crucial impact on the qualitative character of these participants’ political concerns and attitudes. Their relationships with the city in which they live, and with a sense of place in general, are shaped by utility and more individualist and privatised notions of home and belonging than those discussed in the previous chapters. These participants describe lifestyles involving a routine sense of mobility, with many, despite ostensibly holding to progressive political principles, implicitly stigmatising and pathologising, as culturally and politically backward, those who live in more deprived areas of Portsmouth.

Chapter 6 will discuss how, for many of these relatively affluent participants, the individualism and sense of mobility discussed in the previous chapter feeds into more cosmopolitan (or, as the chapter terms it, nationsceptic) political outlooks through which the normalised relationships between nation, state and society posited by nationalism are destabilised. However, the general political outlooks of these participants are found to be barely less parochial than those of nationalists. They thus express an effectively nationalist form of politics absent of a clear sense of nationhood – that is, their political concerns are localised to this state, but there is little sense of *national* community or identity associated with it.

The concluding chapter will reiterate the argument that socioeconomic hierarchies and political divisions rather than any cultural bifurcation are key to understanding and engaging with England’s contemporary predicament. From progressive political perspectives concerned with equality and justice at local and global scales it will be argued that the present situation outlined in Chapter 6 of ‘nationalism without nationhood’ among England’s more affluent population needs to be reversed – that is, a greater sense of political community and attachment to place is required to counter prevalent individualistic norms. However, this will need to be combined with a more explicitly cosmopolitan politics if it is to resonate in a highly globalised society and culture in which cosmopolitan political principles are making headway. With this aim, of promoting both nationhood *and* cosmopolitanism, the book will conclude by advocating a pragmatic, seemingly contradictory approach in which avowedly anti-nationalist and anti-racist principles coexist expediently alongside short-term protectionist and immigration control policies.

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