



International  
Inequalities Institute



# Diverging destinies and the populist tumult

Mike Savage (LSE) and Magne  
Flemmen (Oslo)

# The drama of populist nationalism



Anything is possible if enough decent people are prepared to stand up against the Establishment. .... We made June 23<sup>rd</sup> (2016) our independence day when we smashed the Establishment



When we win, it is the people, not powerful, who win. The nurse, the teacher, the small trader, the carer, the builder, the office worker, the student who wins..... We don't accept that it is natural for Britain to be governed by a ruling elite



Today's ceremony, however, has very special meaning.... we are transferring power from Washington, D.C. and giving it back to you, the American People.

For too long, a small group in our nation's Capital has reaped the rewards of government while the people have borne the cost.

Washington flourished – but the people did not share in its wealth.

Politicians prospered – but the jobs left, and the factories closed.

The establishment protected itself, but not the citizens of our country.

France's newly elected leader, Emmanuel Macron, represents the European establishment fearful of a popular revolt, former MI5 intelligence officer Anne Machon tells RT, as many analysts appeared to be sceptical the former Socialist minister could bring change.

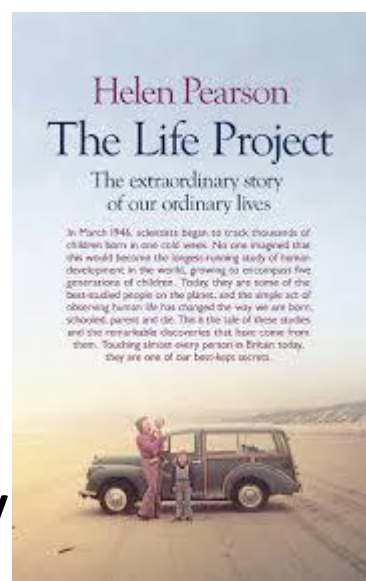


“Former US President Barack Obama endorsed Macron, the EU endorsed Macron. They were very frightened about another popular revolt against the establishment. Macron is very establishment: the elitist universities in France, the fact that he was [France's] Economy Minister,” Machon said....

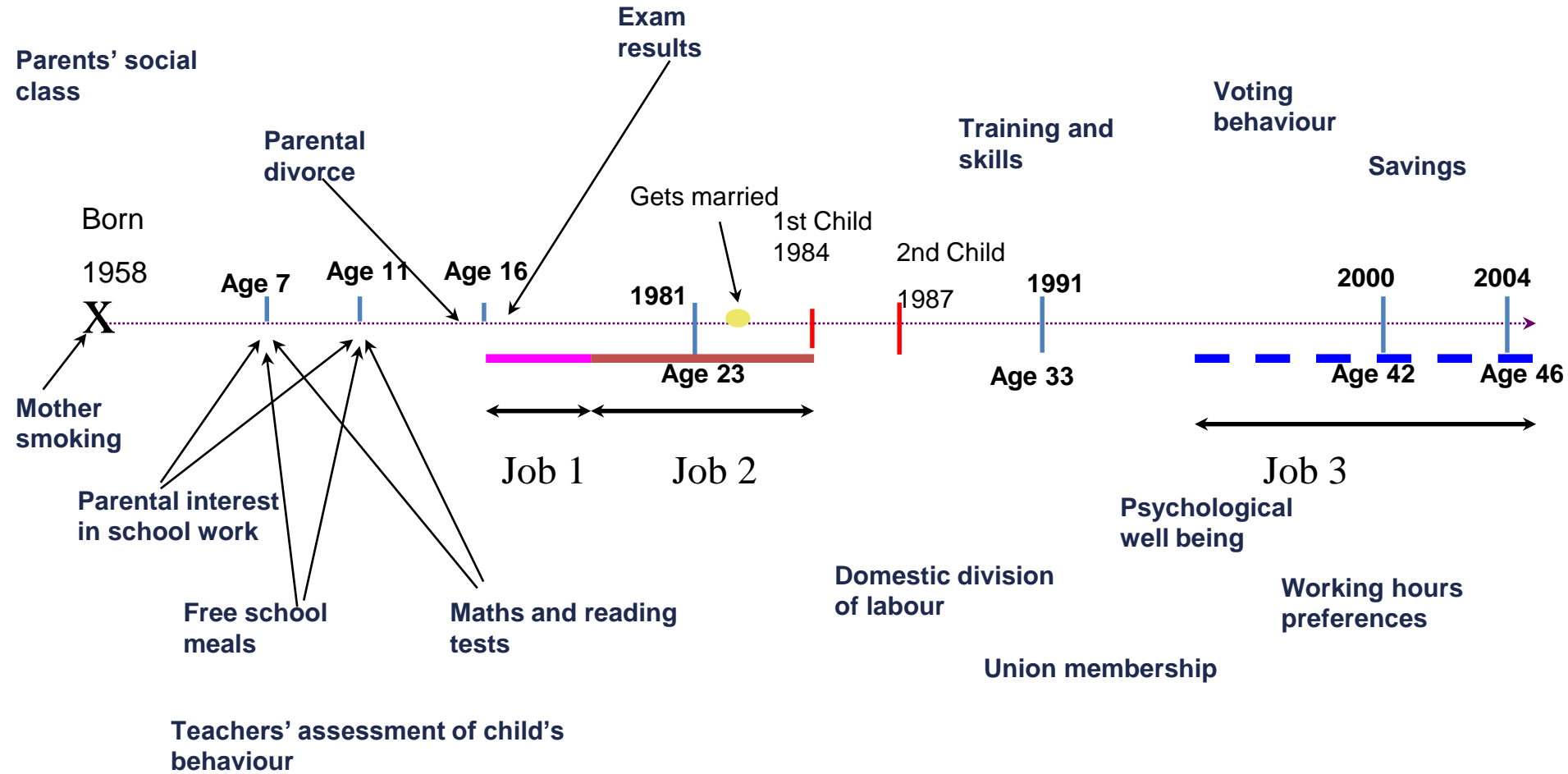
According to the former British intelligence officer, the fact that his En Marche! political movement “that came from nowhere within one year” looks very much “an establishment stitch-up.”

# Diverging destinies: probing the National Child Development Study

- The NCDS is the 'gold standard' panel survey which has regularly followed 10,000 respondents from the same cohort, born 1958.
- With Andrew Miles, Jane Elliott and Sam Parsons I collected 220 qualitative interviews in 2008 which can be linked to the panel data to provide unprecedented insights onto attitudes

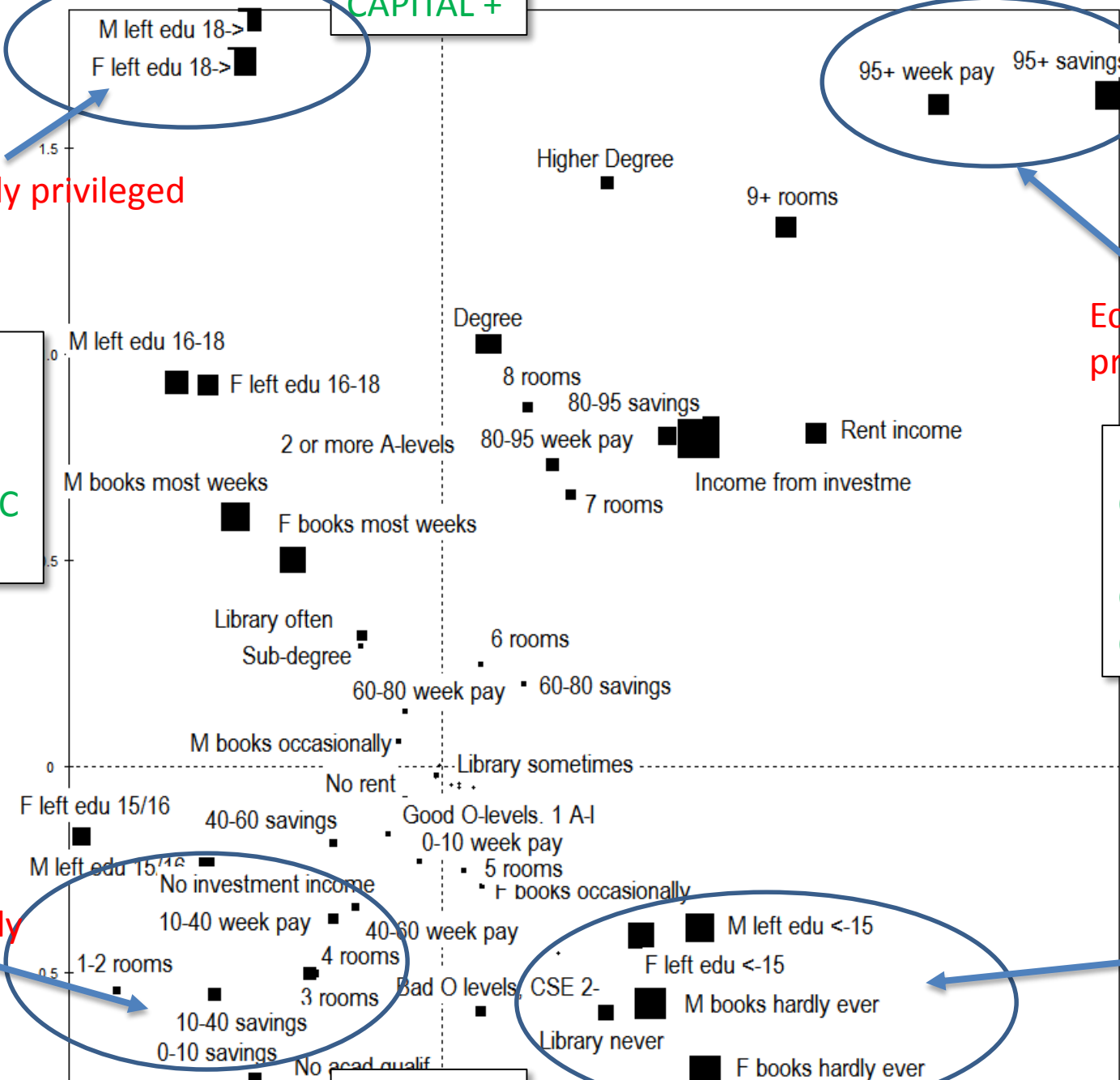


# Hypothetical life history



Axis 1 7.24 %

CAPITAL +



Culturally privileged

Economically privileged

CUTURAL  
CAPITAL +

ECONOMIC  
CAPITAL -

ECONOMIC  
CAPITAL +

CUTURAL  
CAPITAL -

Economically deprived

Culturally deprived

CAPITAL -

Axis 2 - 3.93 %

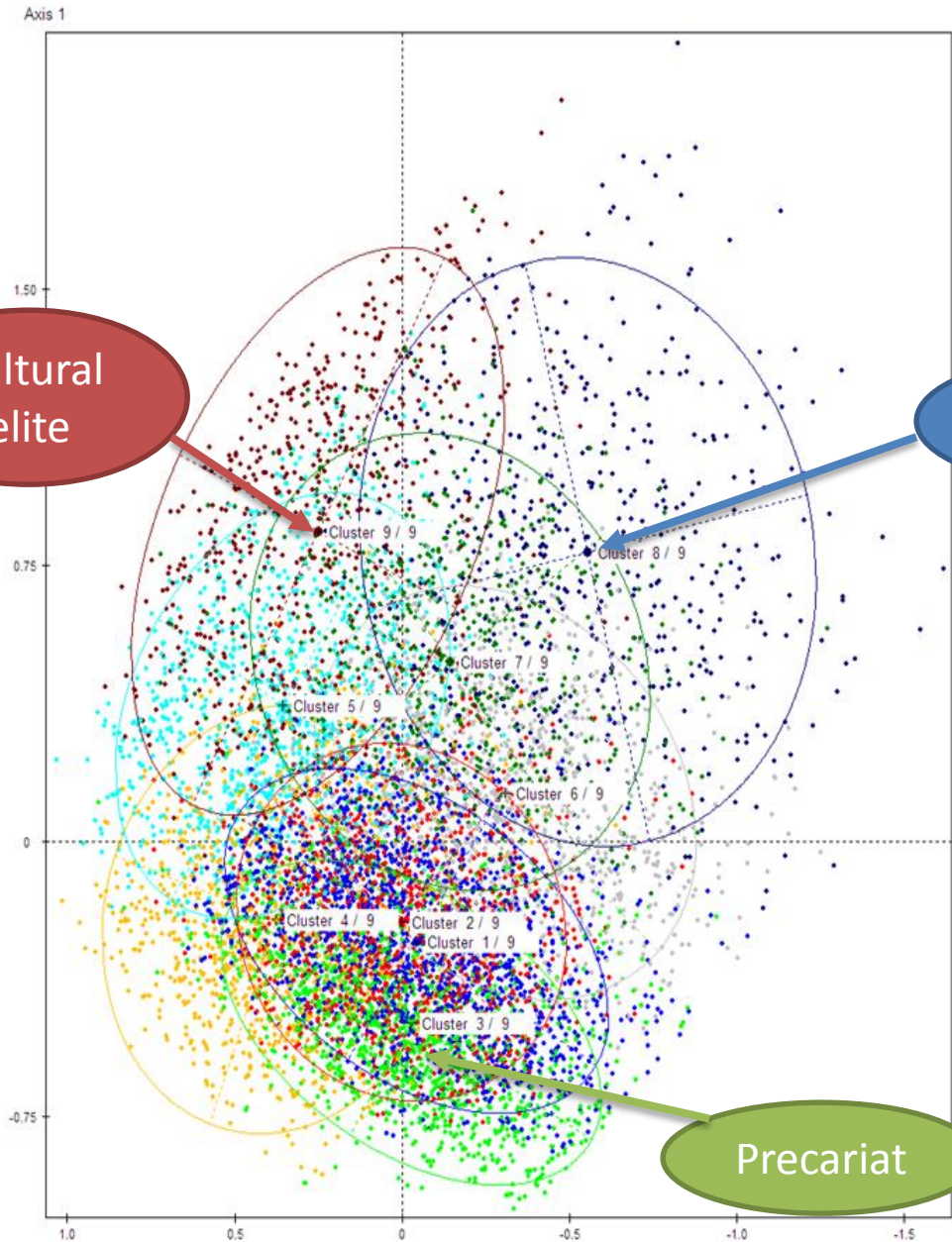


# Clustering the respondents

Cultural elite

Business elite

Precariat

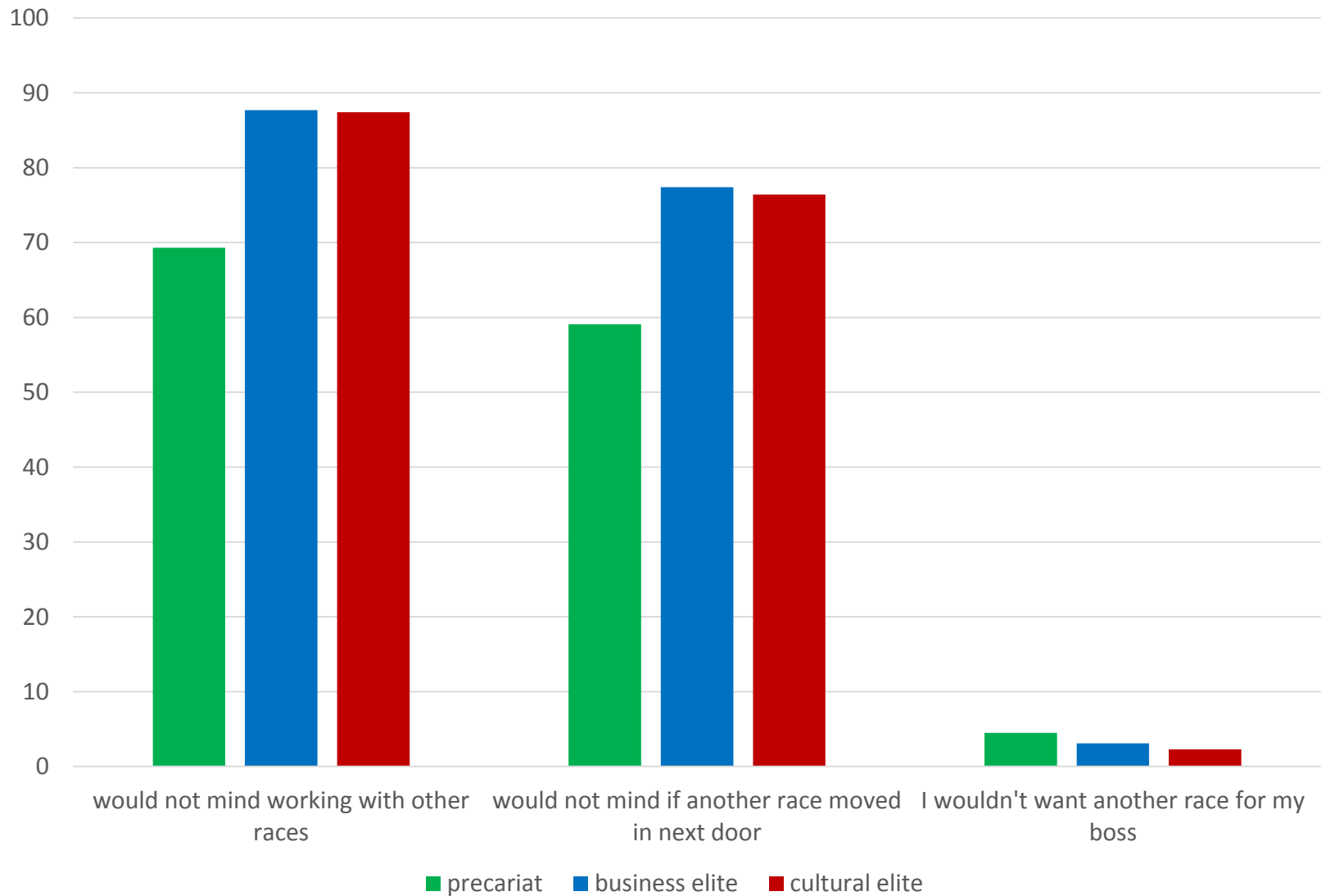


CUT "c" OF THE TREE INTO 9 CLUSTERS

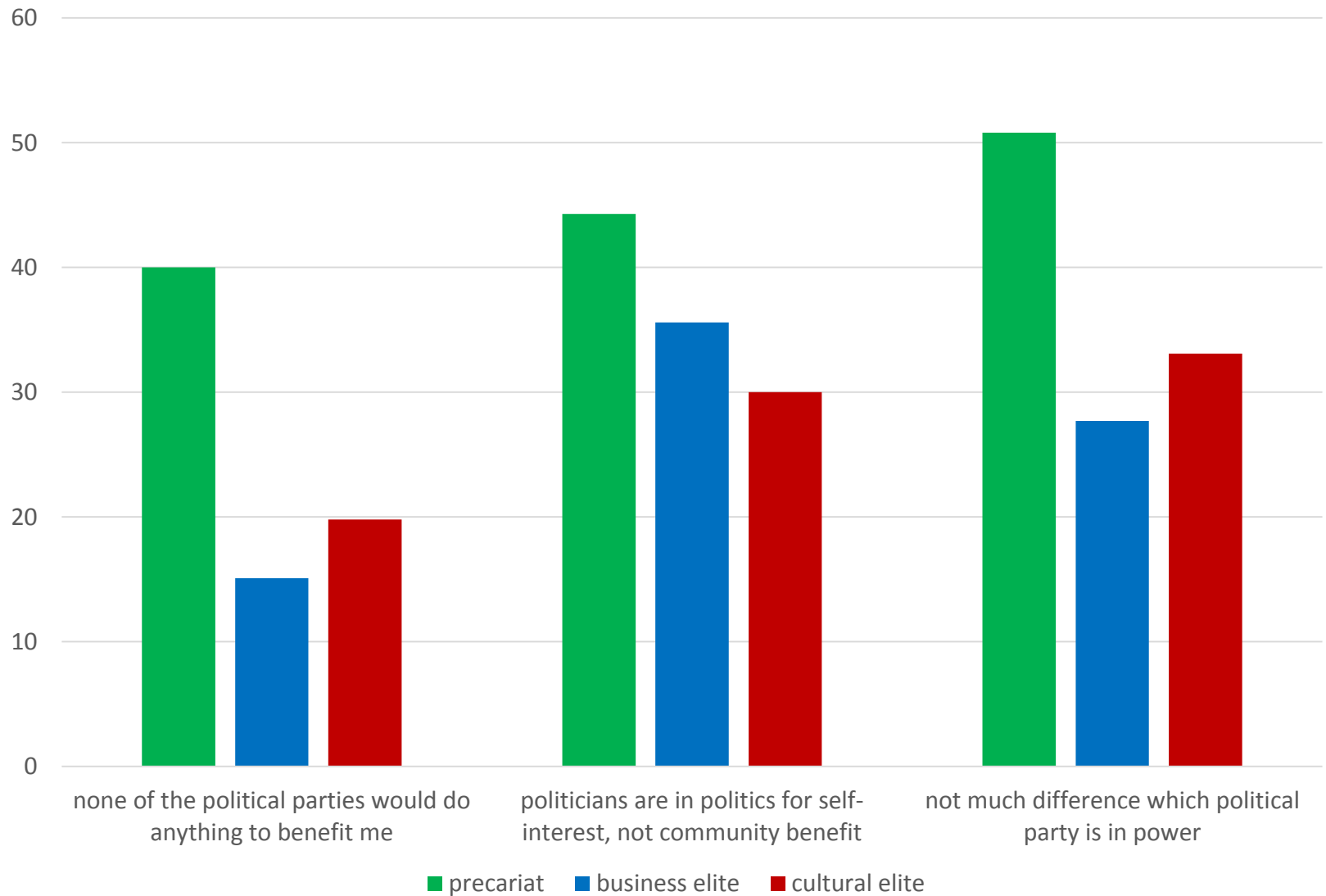
	count	% ext	area
• Cluster 1 / 9	1926	11.6	0.76
• Cluster 2 / 9	1344	10.8	0.75
• Cluster 3 / 9	1589	12.0	0.70
• Cluster 4 / 9	921	11.4	0.95
• Cluster 5 / 9	1023	12.4	0.86
• Cluster 6 / 9	1155	13.0	0.98
• Cluster 7 / 9	679	13.5	1.16
• Cluster 8 / 9	522	11.5	1.71
• Cluster 9 / 9	631	11.7	1.21



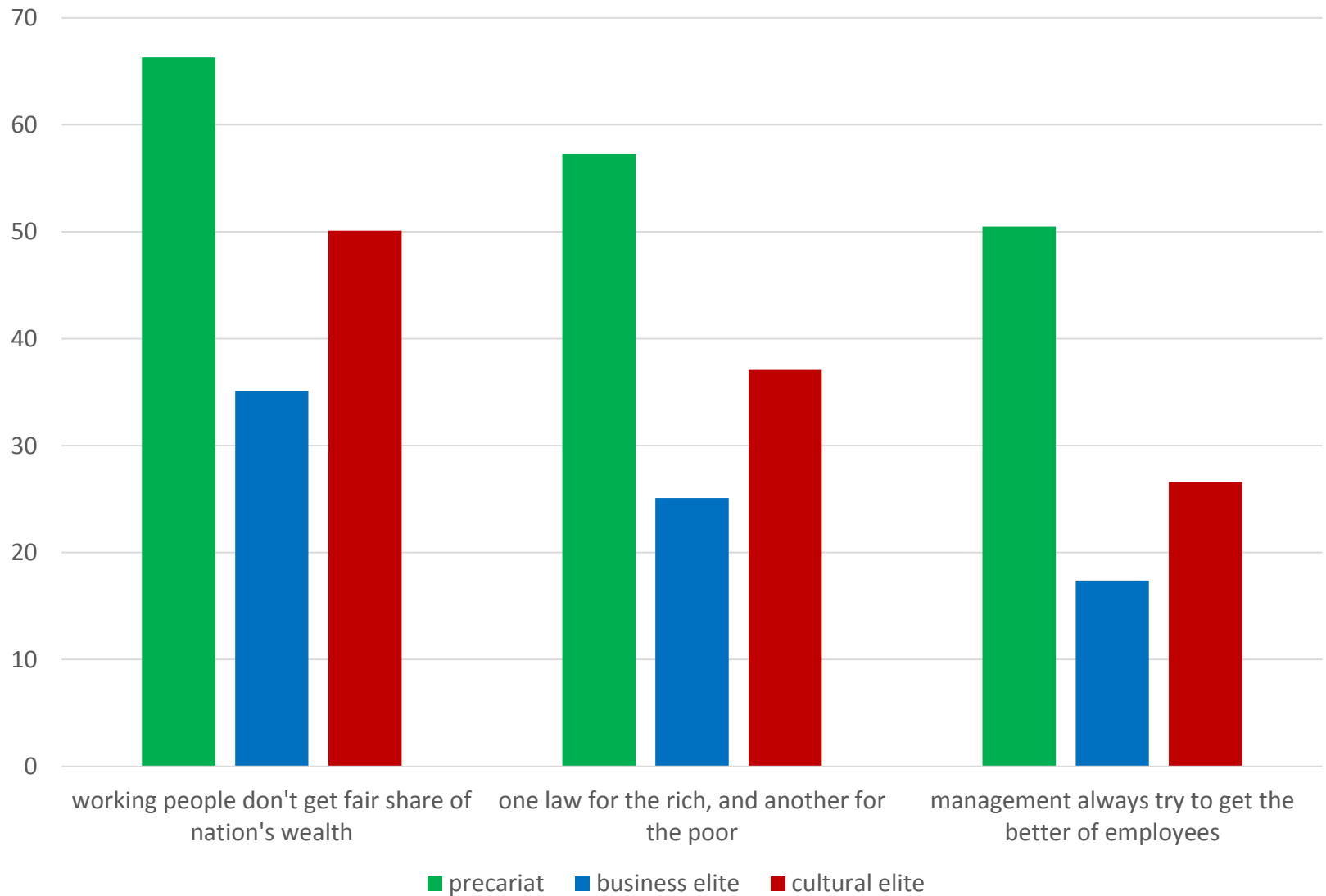
# Attitudes to race



# Attitudes to politics



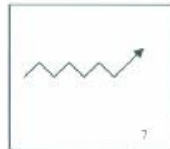
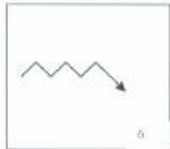
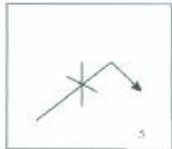
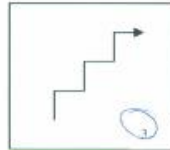
# Attitudes to economic equity



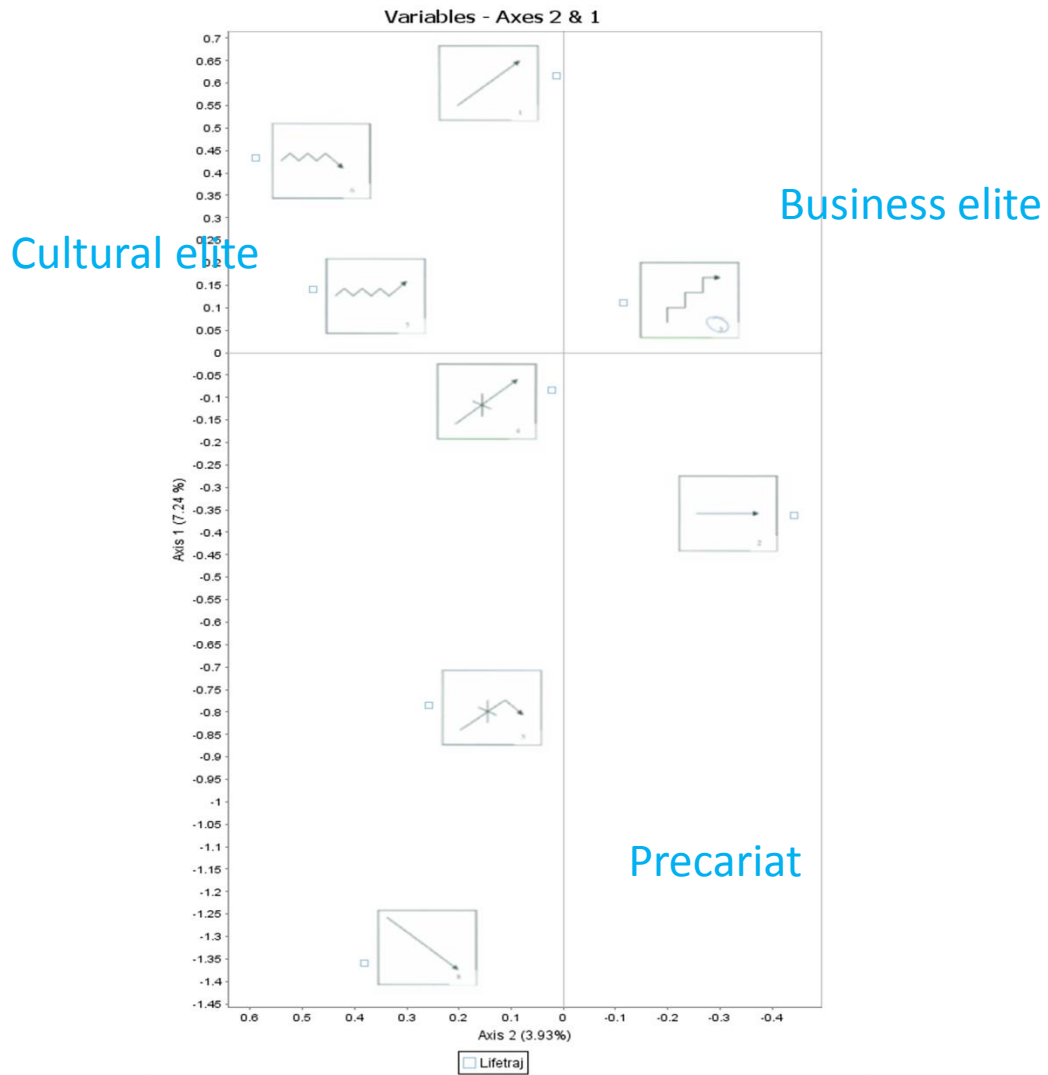
### Life Trajectories

Project specific serial number: 1307

Date: 13.1.10



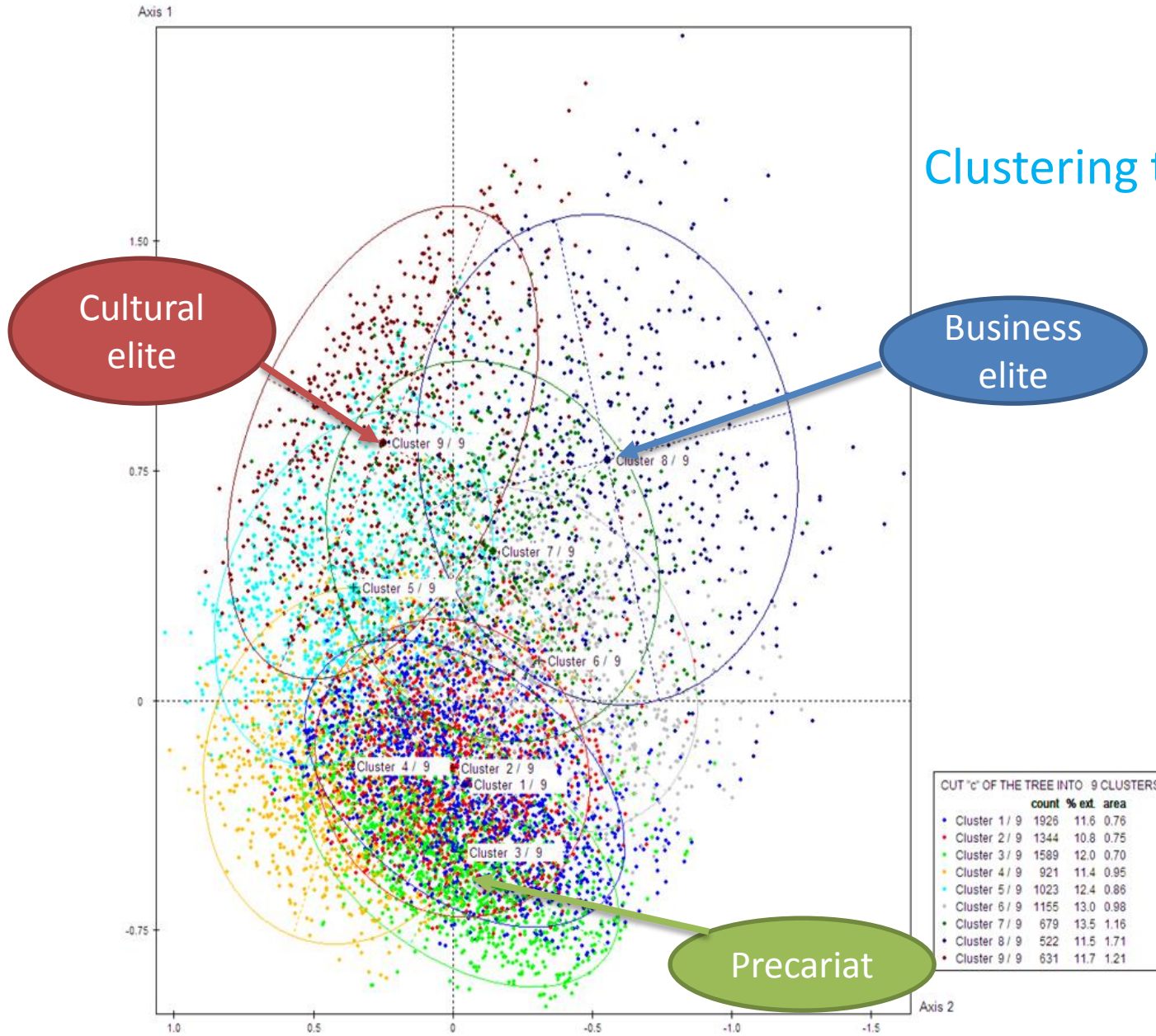
If you had to represent your life through a diagram, which of these would it be?



# Nationalist & racist repertoires

Looking carefully at the qualitative interviews from the three clusters, we found very different repertoires between them

# Clustering the NCDS





# 1: Sensuous Nationalism

National	Interviews	Indicative quotes
Strong Scottish	189, 224, 461, 633	it's because the way of life that we have, the scenery we have, we are more... generous isn't the right word I'm looking for but we're-, we're more obliging, we tend to try and help, we're not the scroungers or the people that the English portray us to be (461)
Strong English	1098	I'm not racist, I'm just--, I'm English, I don't get--, you know it's all these others, I was born in England so I'm English.
Strong British	115	It's so lovely, that's to me being British and seeing daffodils in the spring and, you know, I love all that, I couldn't live anywhere else I don't think because of that.
Ambivalent	47, 481, 498, 578 (Scots), 1307 (Welsh) 736, 430 (British), 47, 52, (English), 5, 441	I think everyone--, I'd like--, personally I think that everyone's the same, you know. It doesn't matter in respect of race, creed or colour, if you're born in this country and that's your allegiance, you're British (430) I just see myself as British and don't think I'm very patriotic at all, no. If they asked me to stand up tomorrow and swear allegiance to the Queen, I don't think I would (430) I'm not out with my flags waving at [both laugh] big royal events or anything like that. No, I mean--, no I don't feel particularly--, quite frankly at the moment I've--, I'd rather be anywhere than England [laughs], I just think it's the most depressing place. (441)

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# Anti –establishment Scottish Nationalism...

Darling and Brown are Scotsmen in London and Scotsmen on the make in London basically. I find them... very traitorous really, to use not too strong a word. Rather than all these parts of--, an independent Scotland they're trying to demolish it so we'll end up in the union because we've got nowhere else to go, the unionist propaganda for 300 years has told the Scottish people you're too small, too stupid and too dumb to run your own affairs, there is nowhere comparable in the world that would allow the big country next door to run us. There's nowhere in the world that has discovered oil and become poorer apart from Scotland.....

## 2: Imperial nationalism

We get a raw deal from other countries because.... you can't say anything against the Asians and they play the card a lot..... My friend's married to a girl from Africa... I think it's too serious... it should be addressed and it's a very difficult question where everything is, but I would say British is a leader... it leads the way for the rest of the world'

I think we've lost the plot basically, yeah. Well we've just been to Europe for a week which was lovely, I loved it..... it's the first time I've been abroad when there's not been loads of English yobos there really, spoiling the thing. And we came back here and my wife immediately says, "What country are we in?" She said all these different coloured faces, some are good, some are bad, but we've just lost it, and as for industry and government, we've--, it's out the window isn't it really? So being British doesn't mean a lot now, I'd love for it to go back to that, the Victorian ways.

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# 3: Managerial multi-culturalism

I did a lot of equality and diversity stuff at work and... I used to like that, they used to send me out to conferences and to speak at conferences.... With another little housing association, a small one in the middle of Manchester that we'd worked with quite closely for quite a long time.....it all fitted in beautifully, it was a black and minority ethnic led association, it was my thing.....

But (a manager who has to be dealt with) had this absolutely ruthless approach to it, and he was also dreadfully sexist, he was racist, he was anything 'ist'..... I mean the boxes that you get for all ticking as to what occupation and, you know, I can put myself as a professional managerial type person, you know, so comments, and he was a terrible racist himself and he used to say the most outrageous things in public, sometimes in writing to people. And so I spent a lot of time getting people to sign compromise agreements so they couldn't take us to a tribunal, you know, and paying them to go quietly 'cause of something stupid he'd said,

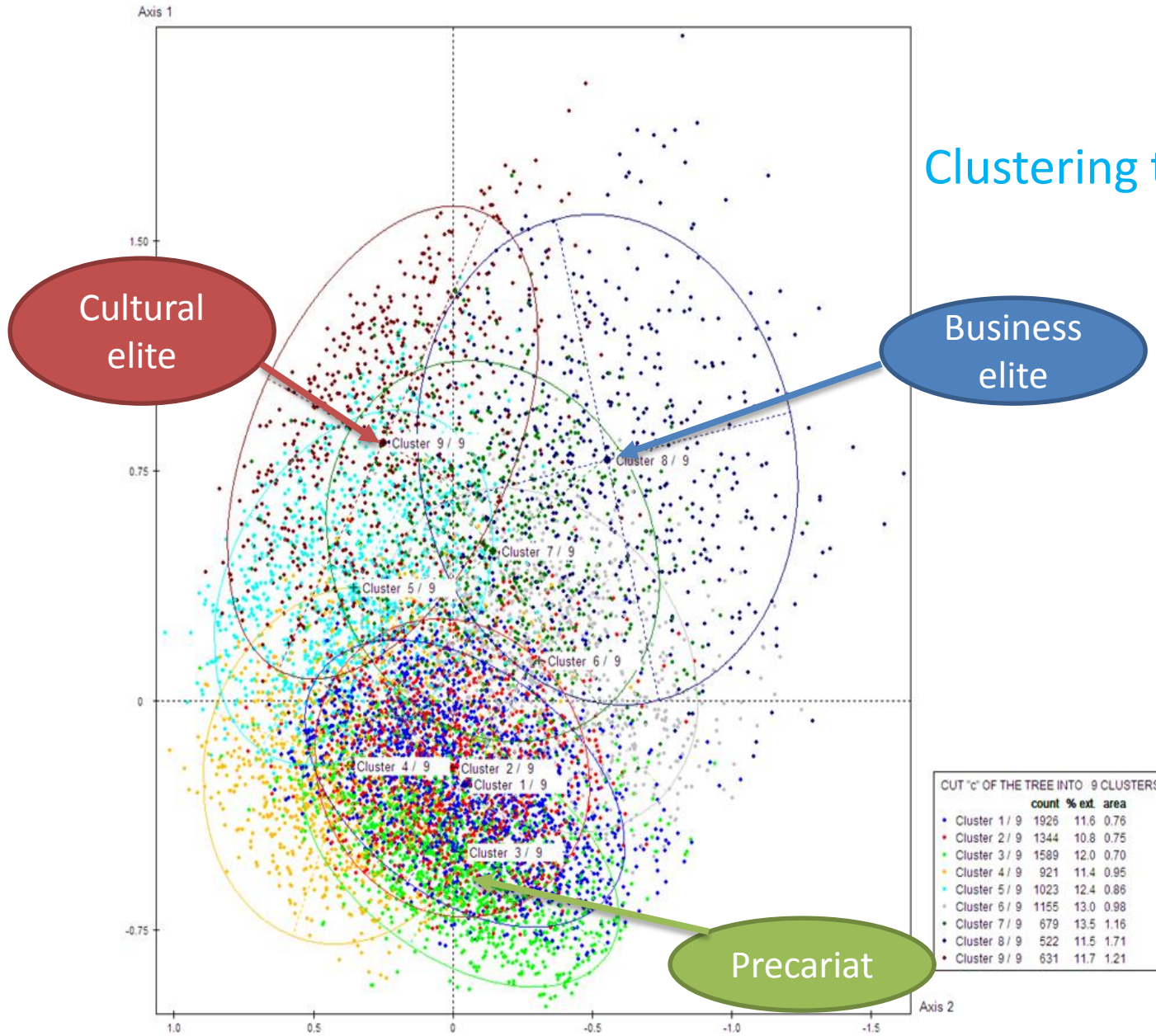
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# Clustering the NCDS



# Conclusions

- Very strong anti-establishment discourse has deep roots because of the entrenchment and accumulation of economic and cultural inequalities
- Populism is also associated with privileged groups engaged in internal 'elite' contestation
- These dynamics cannot be captured by singular variables (class, race, etc) and are bound to generate unstable political outcomes.....