



# Englishness and the UKIP Vote

A presentation by Eric Kaufmann, Birkbeck College for

‘English issues in the 2015 General Election’

A University of Winchester [Centre for English Identity and Politics](#) event

18 Jan. 2016

[e.kaufmann@bbk.ac.uk](mailto:e.kaufmann@bbk.ac.uk); twitter: @epkaufm; web: sneps.net;



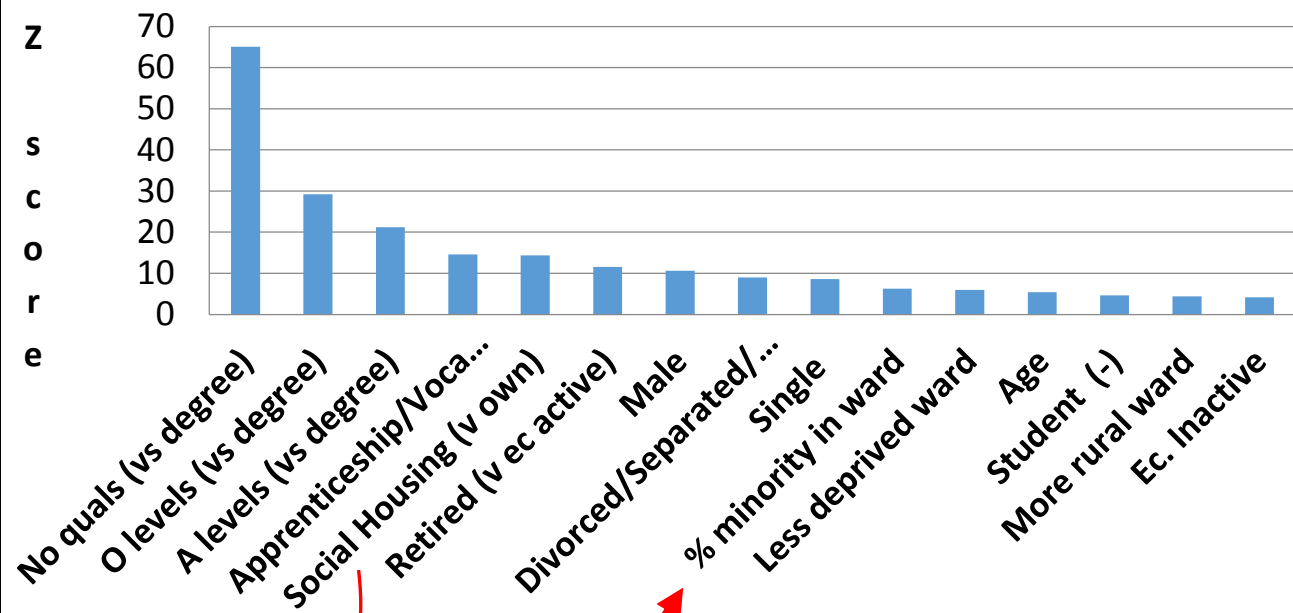
# English national identity

- English more of an 'ethnic' national identity than British
- Englishness stronger among working class/poorer/less educated whites
- English identifiers more likely to oppose immigration and EU membership
- English identifiers more likely to vote UKIP
- Sources: Fenton, Garner, Condor, Leddy-Owen, Lawler, McCrone & Bechhofer...

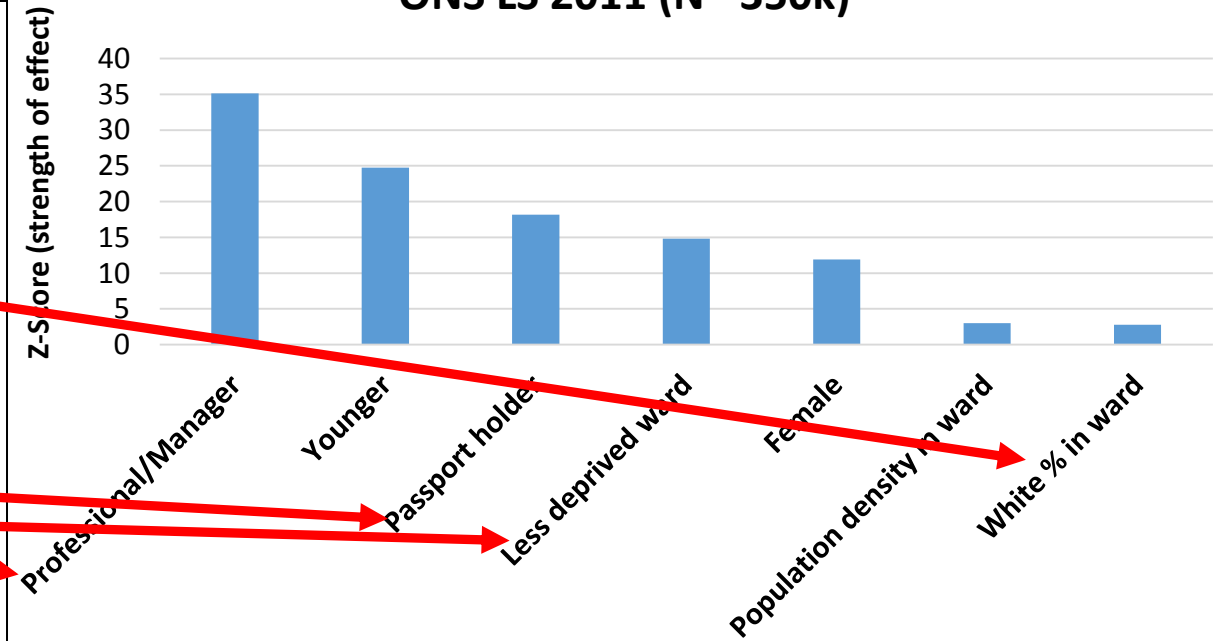
# Englishness, class and whiteness

- [The working class] “are the bearers of a problematic whiteness, disavowed by liberal middle classes” – Lawler 2012: 421
- “If you're English, or if you state you're English.. . it flags up to some people, a lot of the people that I work with, that you've got some sort of racism going on. And I don't see that” – working class respondent quoted in Garner 2012: 455
- “There's nothing that's very positive about being English, I think that's the problem, other than the violence, thuggery, racism” – middle class respondent quoted in Fenton 2012: 478

**Predictors of English Identity among White British  
(2011 ONS LS), N~350k**

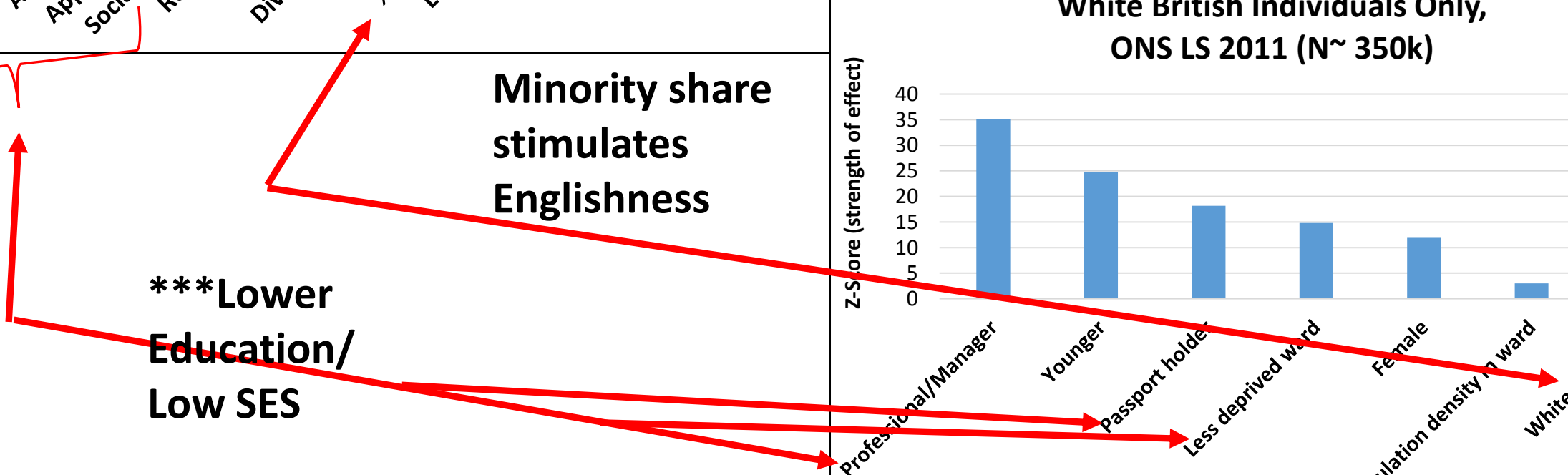


**Predictors of NOT identifying as English,  
White British Individuals Only,  
ONS LS 2011 (N~ 350k)**

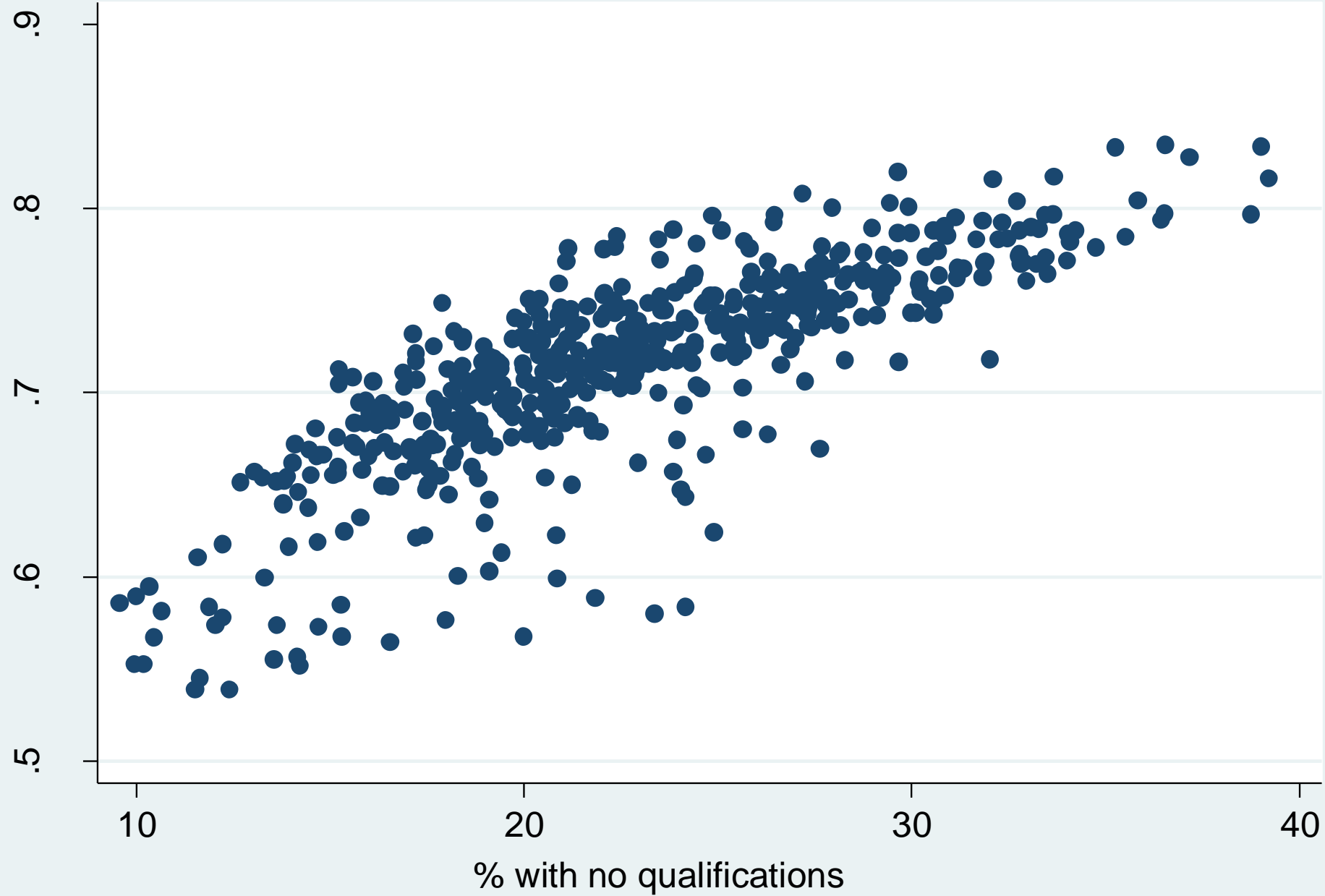


**Minority share  
stimulates  
Englishness**

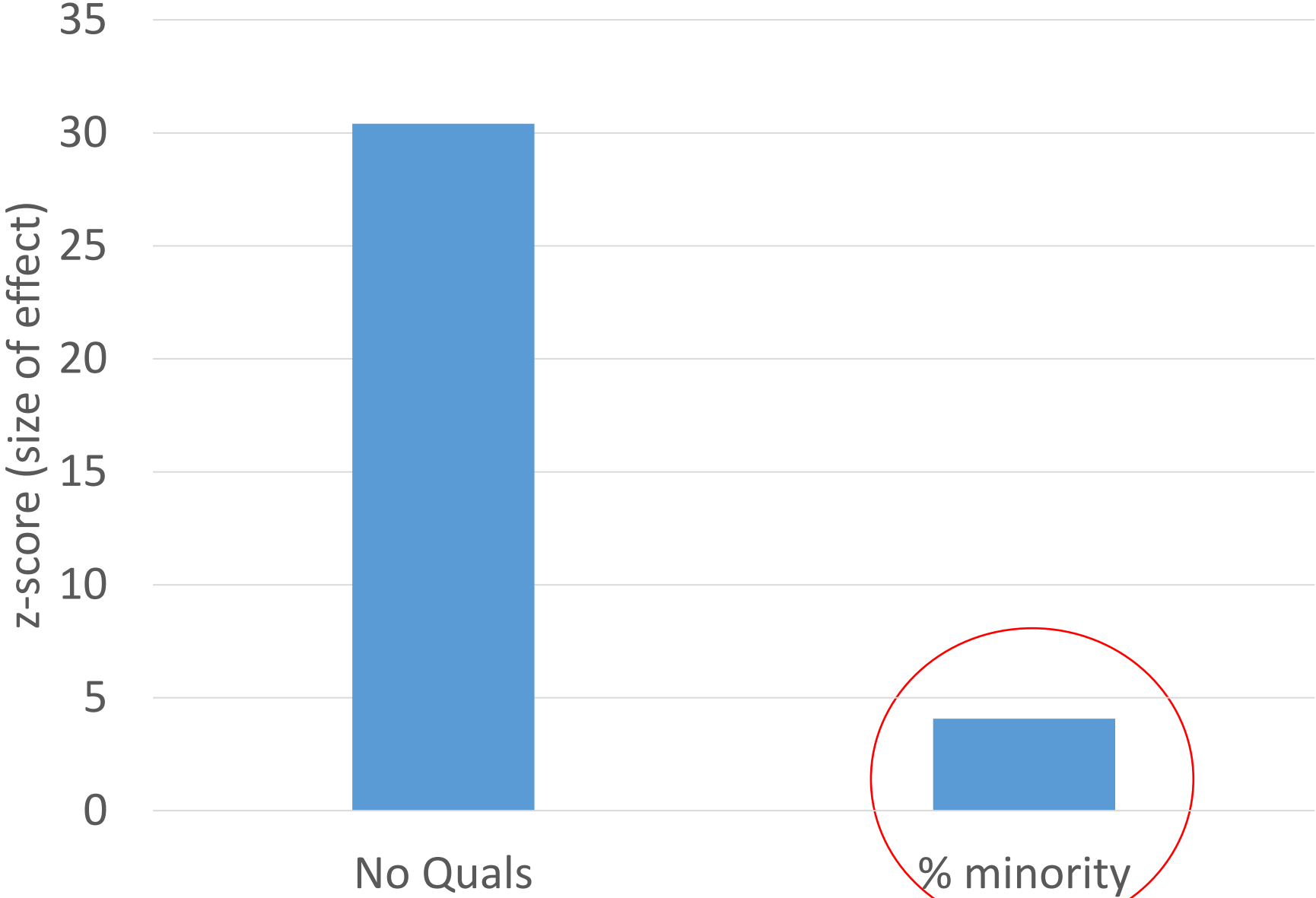
**\*\*\*Lower  
Education/  
Low SES**



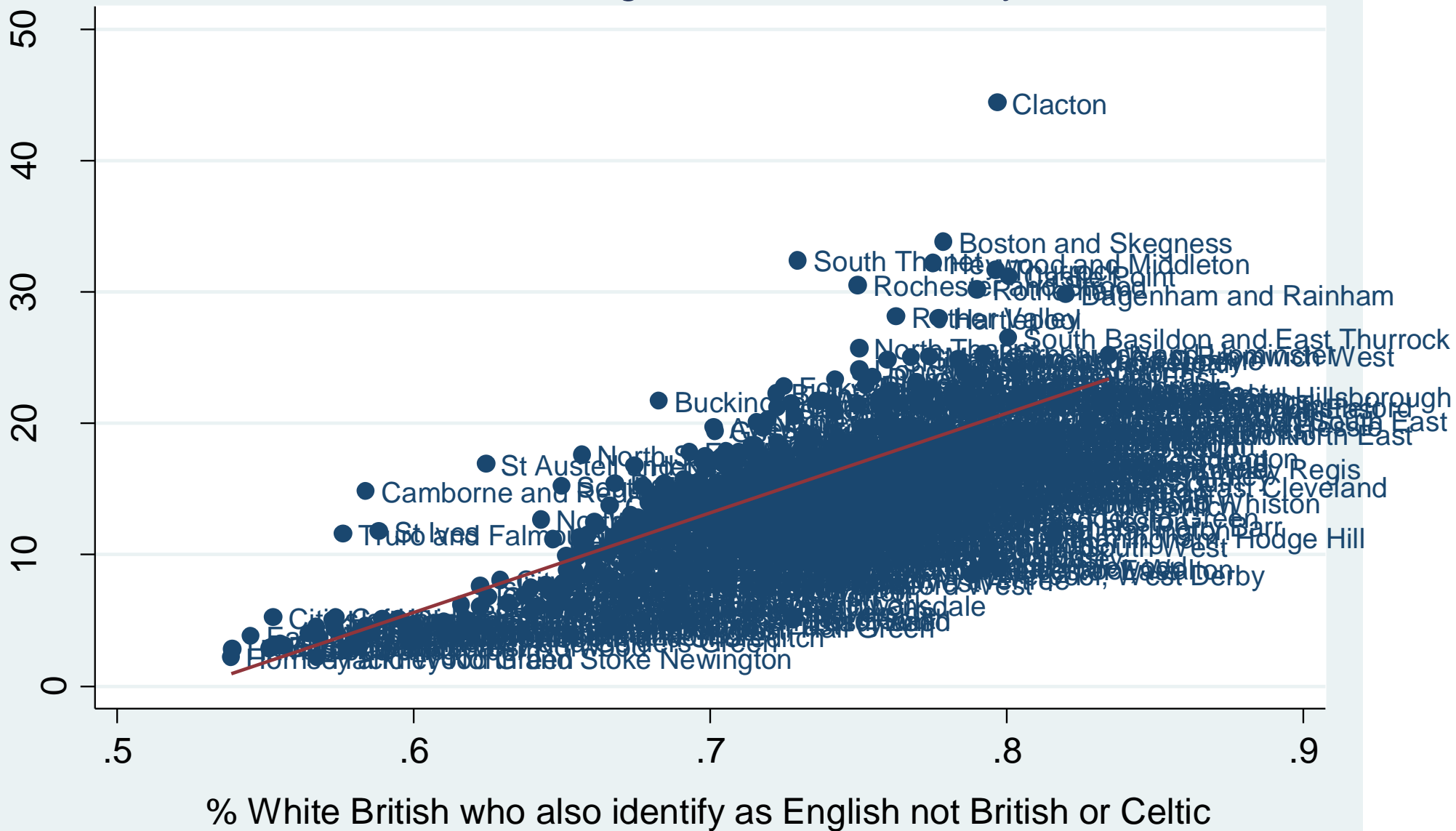
# Englishness and No Qualifications, by Constituency



# Main Predictors of English share of White British, by Constituency, 2011

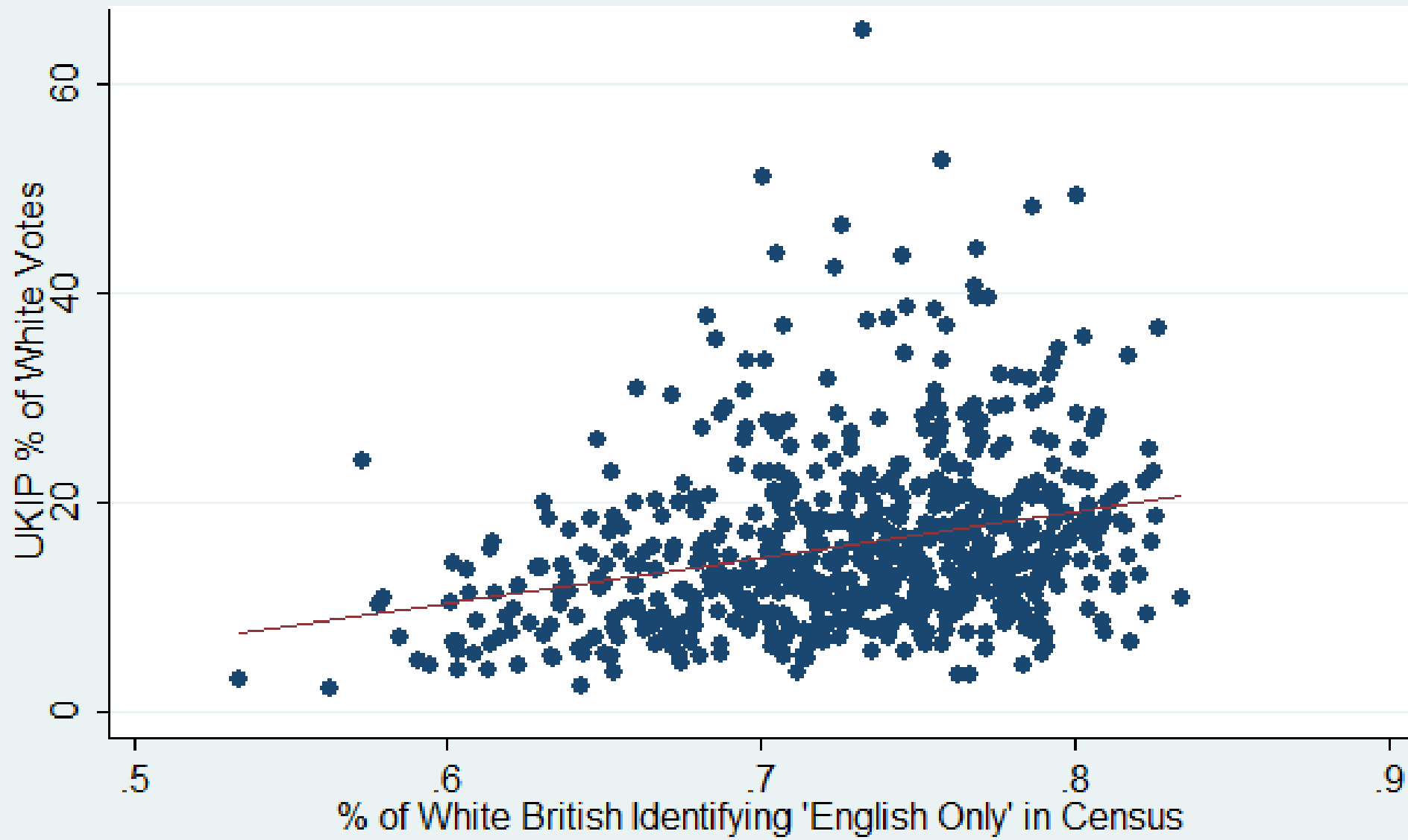


# White British share with English National Identity & UKIP Vote



● constituency — Fitted values

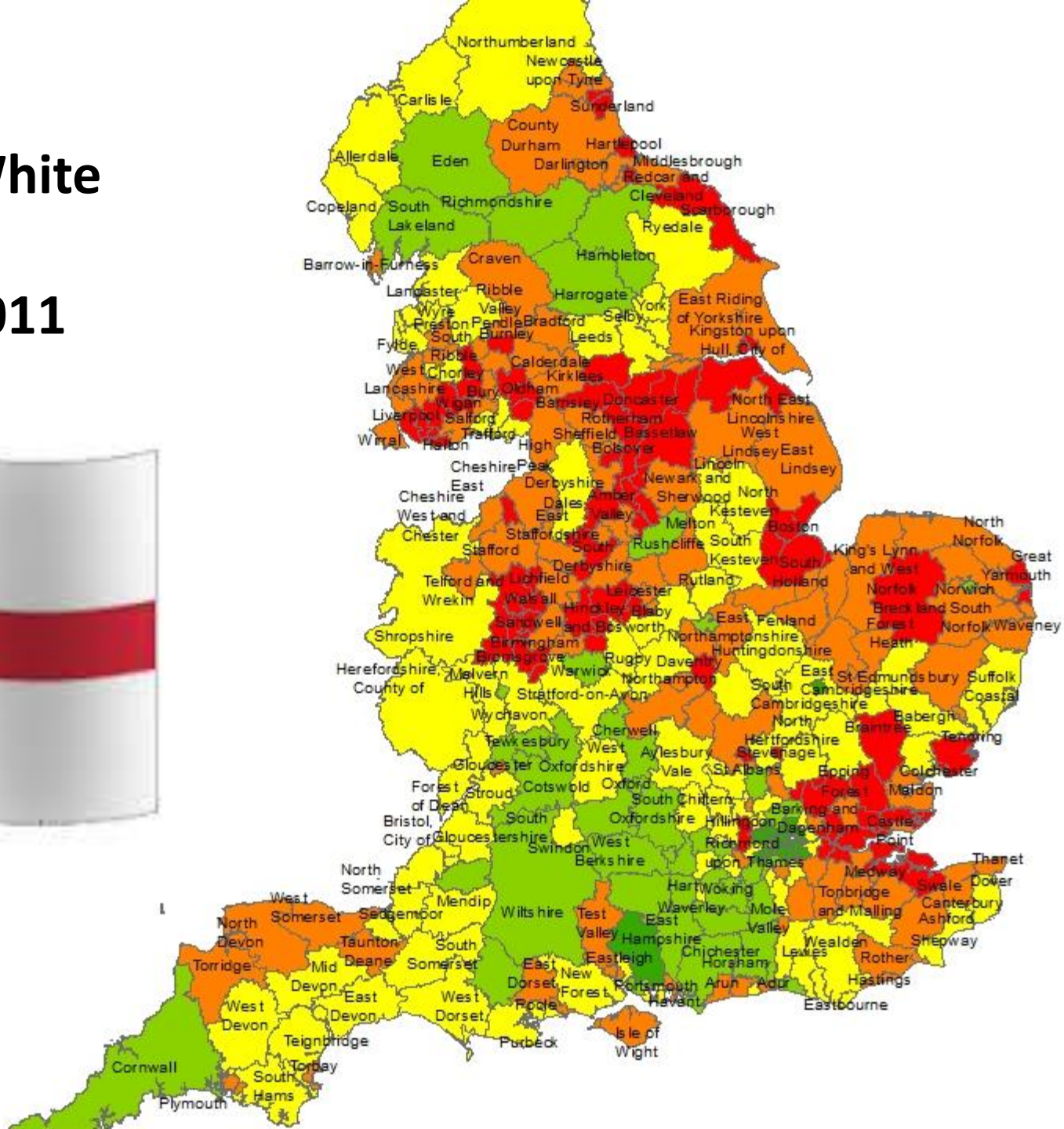
# UKIP 2012 Local Election Vote and Englishness of Voters



• wards where UKIP stood candidates      — Fitted values

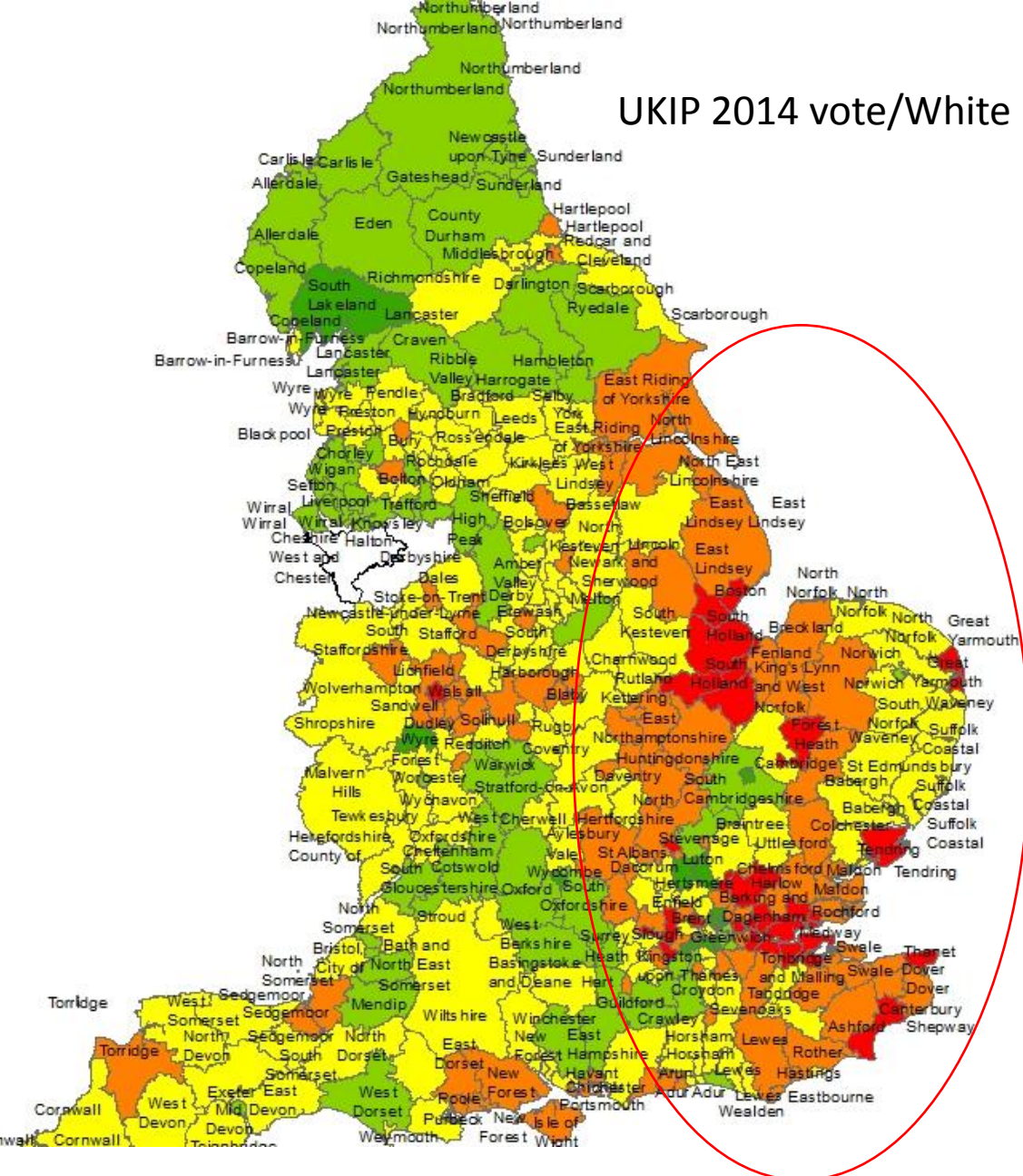


# How English are White British People, by Local Authority, 2011

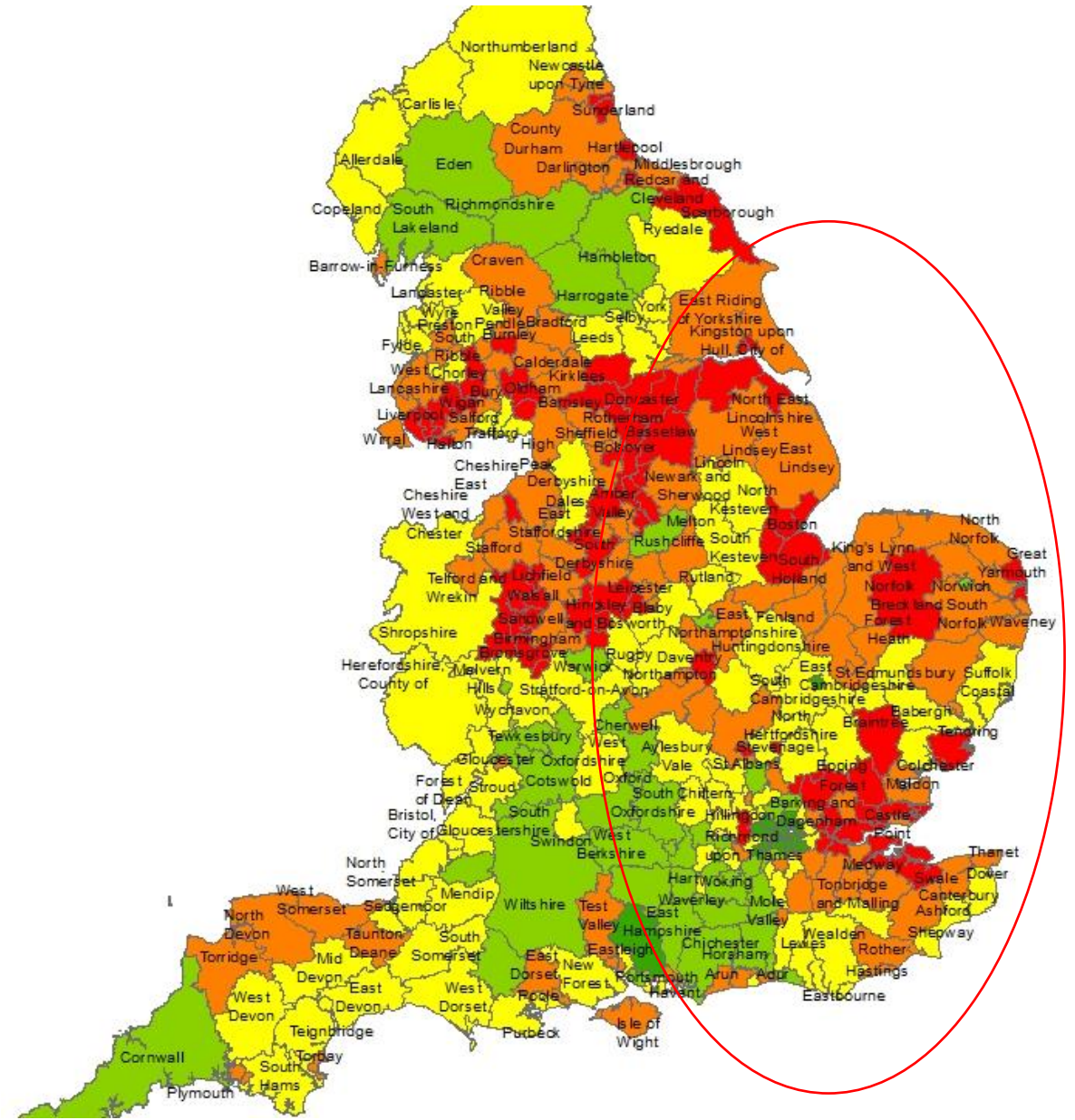




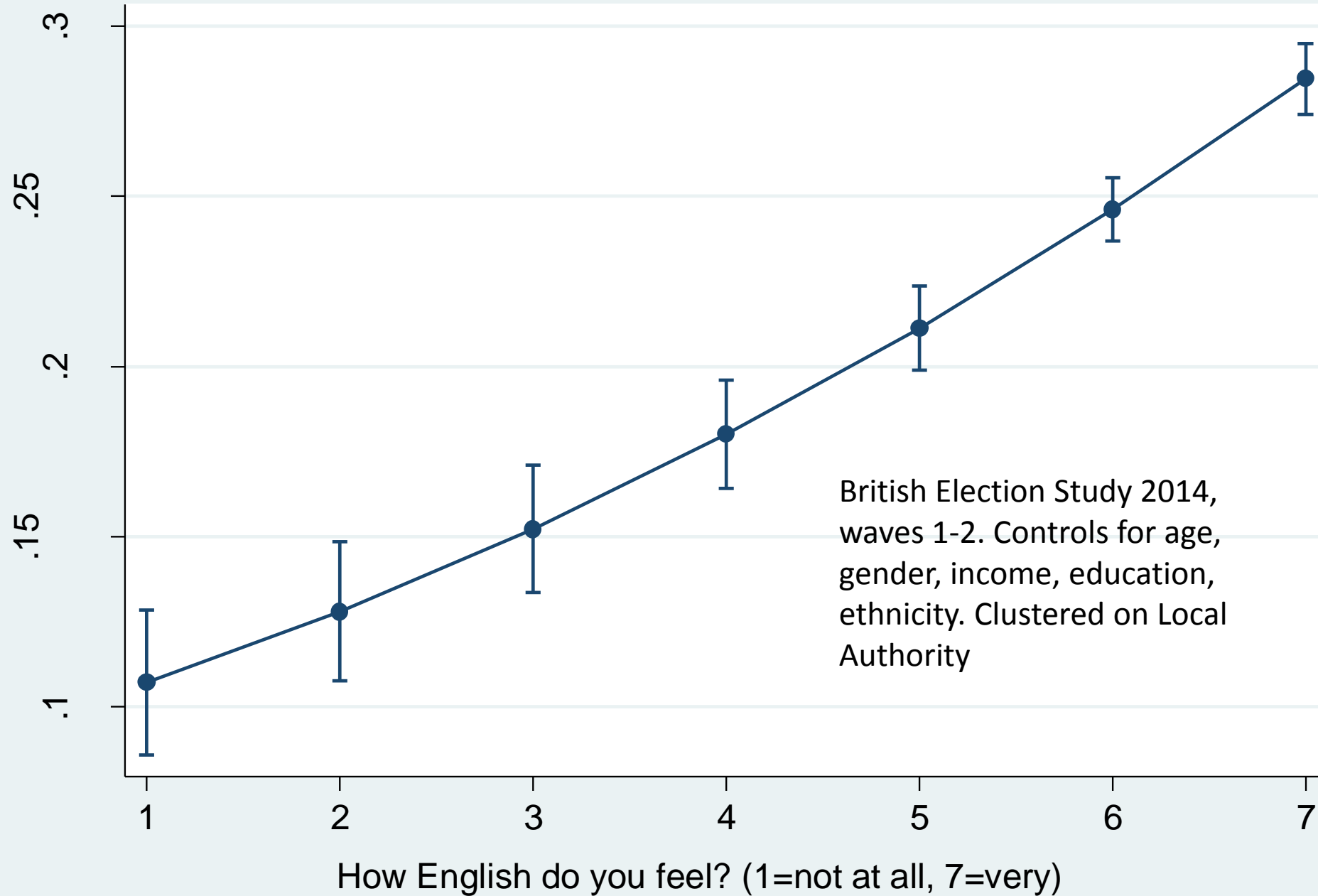
UKIP 2014 vote/White British %



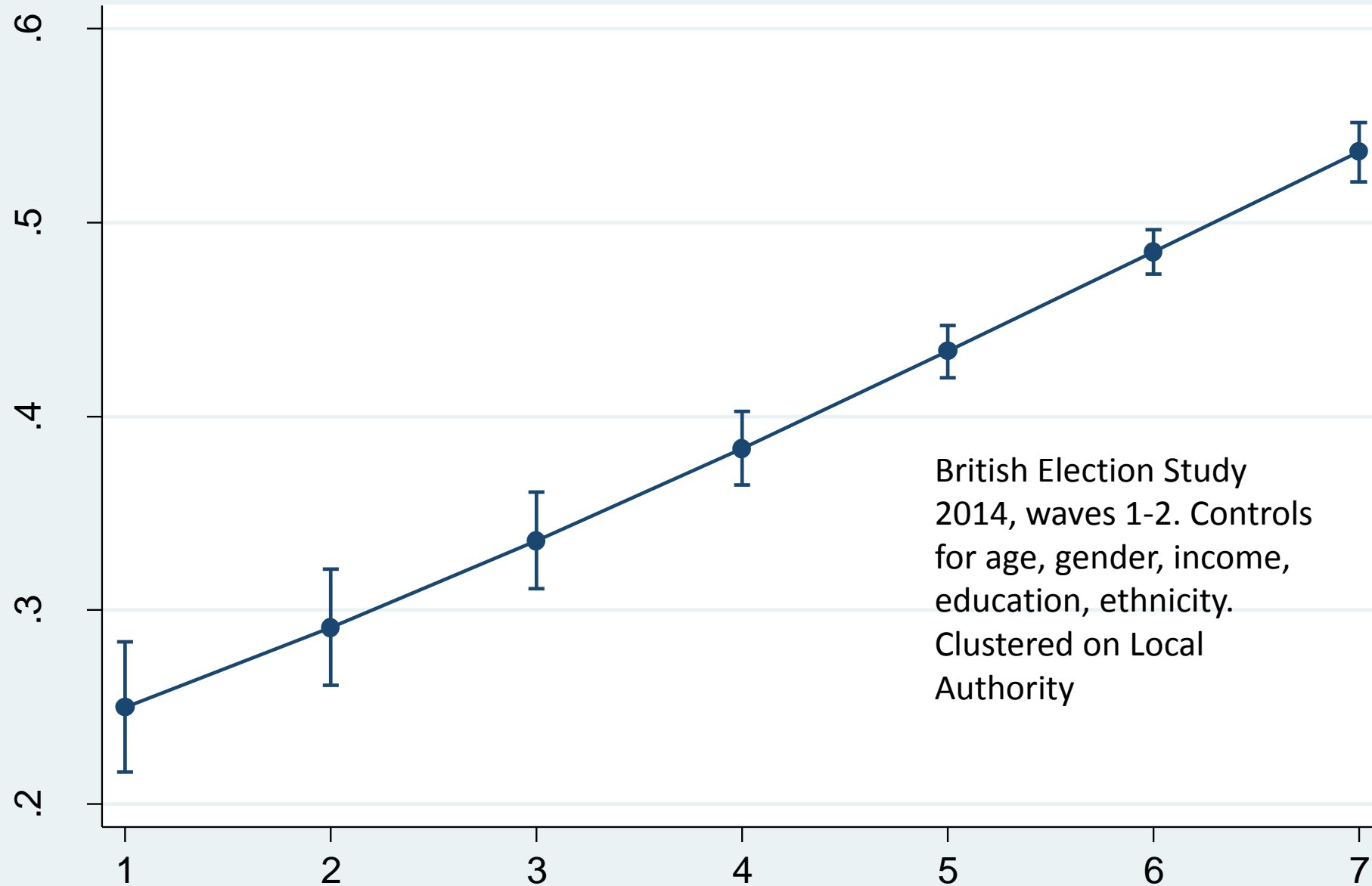
English Identifiers as % of White British



# 'Immigration Undermines Cultural Life' and Englishness



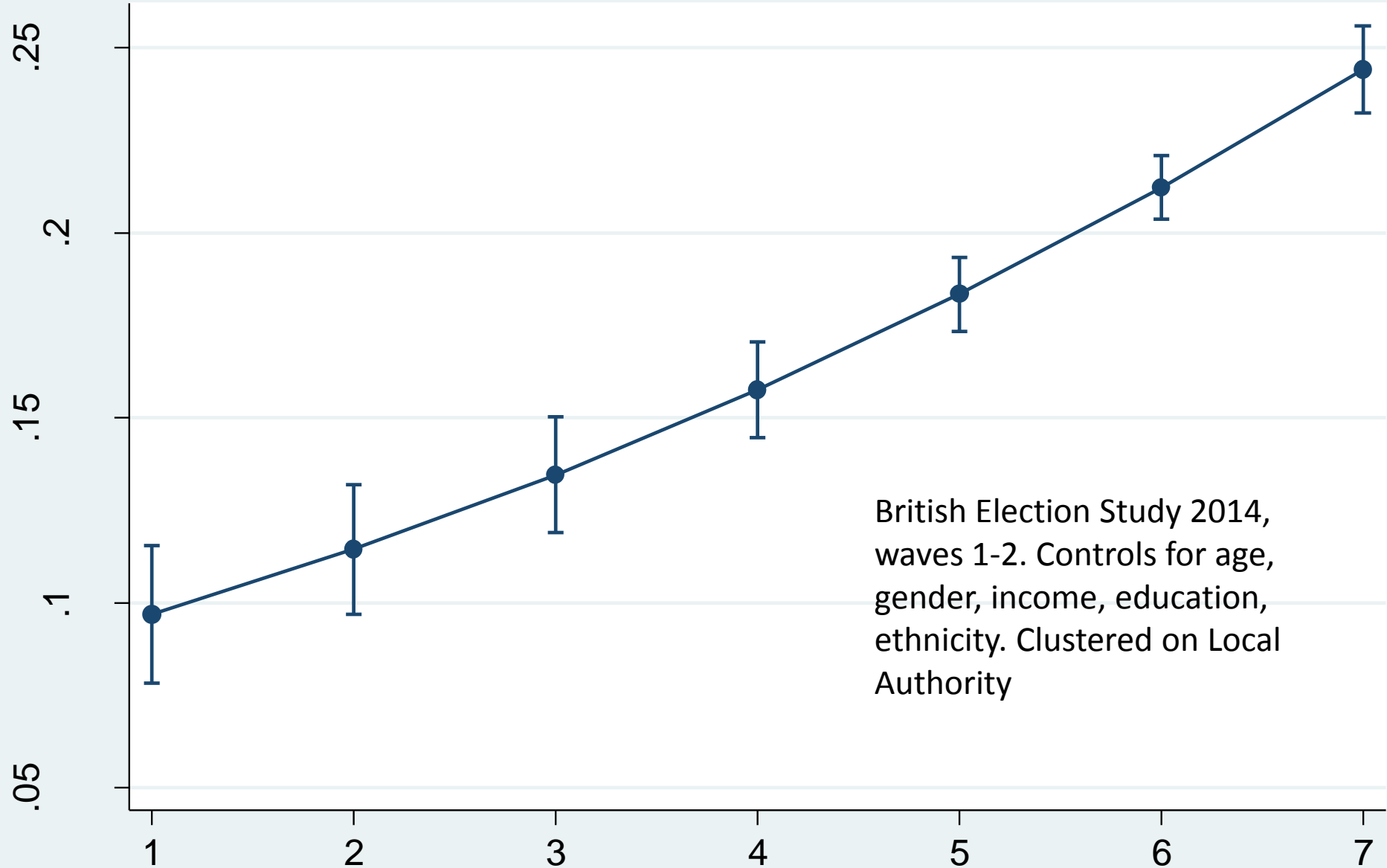
# Englishness and Brexit Voting Intention (BES 2014)



British Election Study  
2014, waves 1-2. Controls  
for age, gender, income,  
education, ethnicity.  
Clustered on Local  
Authority

How English do you feel (1=not at all, 7= very)

# Englishness and 2014 UKIP voting



British Election Study 2014,  
waves 1-2. Controls for age,  
gender, income, education,  
ethnicity. Clustered on Local  
Authority

On a scale of 1-7, from lowest to highest, how English do you feel?

# Conclusion

- Englishness stronger among working class/poorer/less educated whites
- English more of an ethnic national identity than British, more 'civic'
- English identifiers more likely to vote UKIP
- English identifiers more likely to oppose immigration ('ethnic' issue) and EU membership ('civic' issue). But care more about immigration.
- Why Englishness more ethnic?: reflects the most pressing challenges to English identity:

In Scotland, political boundaries more salient due to lack of independence; in England, ethnic boundaries more contested due to higher immigration