

# Anywheres, Somewheres, Local Attachment, and Civic Participation

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# Brexit and Britain's values divide I

- ▶ 'The people who see the world from Anywhere and the people who see it from Somewhere' (Goodhart, 2017, p. 3).
- ▶ Anywheres: not strongly tied to a particular place.
  - ▶ 'the mobile minority who went to a residential university and then into a professional job, usually without returning to the place they were brought up' (p. 23).
- ▶ Somewheres: more rooted in their community.
  - ▶ 'left school before doing A-levels . . . tend to be older and come from the more rooted middle and lower sections of society, from small towns and suburbia' (p. 24).

# Brexit and Britain's values divide II

Anywheres:

- ▶ 'progressive individualists' who embrace a 'double liberalism'.
  - ▶ Social liberal: support human rights and equality for women and minorities.
  - ▶ Economic liberal: market-friendly and support globalisation.
- ▶ 'value autonomy and self-realisation before stability, community and tradition' (p. 24).
- ▶ 'individualists and internationalists who are not strongly attached to larger group identities' (p. 24)
- ▶ oblivious to the 'harm caused by a slowly disconnecting society' (p. 12)

# Brexit and Britain's values divide III

Somewheres:

- ▶ 'social conservatives and communitarians' (p. 5).
- ▶ 'more rooted' ... and have strong group attachments, local and national ...' (p. 24).
- ▶ 'still believe that there is such a thing as Society' (p. 8).
- ▶ 'want some of the same things that Anywheres want, but ... more slowly and in moderation' (p. 6).
- ▶ 'Those who feel they most belong to their neighbourhood ... are also most likely to have higher levels of attachment to their national identity and their ethnicity. And that is unlikely to be Anywhere graduates' (p. 38).

# The currency of Anywheres and Somewheres

- ▶ Labour MPs ‘have become anywheres . . . slow to understand the sense of place, neighbourhood and community which still matter to somewheres—who comprise most of the electorate . . .’ (Collier and Kay, 2020).
- ▶ ‘Are we attached . . . to a specific rather than global community? . . . are we citizens of somewhere rather than anywhere? Do our concerns tend towards the parochial rather than the cosmopolitan?’ (Cruddas, 2021, p. 8).

# Testing Goodhart's thesis with Understanding Society data I

How to identify the Anywheres and the Somewheres?

- ▶ 'Almost all Anywheres voted Remain . . . [and] the values, attitudes, preferences and intuitions of most Leave voters match up with a large part of the Somewhere worldview' (p. 26).
- ▶ Use support for Leave or Remain (wave 8, 2016–18) as proxy.

# Testing Goodhart's thesis with Understanding Society data II

- ▶ Geographical mobility: whether the respondents currently live in their county-of-birth ('stayers') or not ('movers').
  - ▶ Comparing respondent's current residence (LSOA) and their county of birth.
- ▶ Generalised trust (wave 1): 'Generally speaking would you say that most people can be trusted, or that you can't be too careful in dealing with people?'
  - ▶ (1) 'Most people can be trusted', (2) 'Can't be too careful', or (3) 'It depends'.
  - ▶ We combine (2) and (3) and contrast against (1).

# Testing Goodhart's thesis with Understanding Society data III

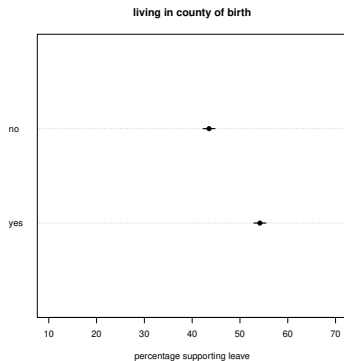
- ▶ Civic participation (waves 3 and 6); organisational membership: 'Are you currently a member of any of the (16) kinds of organisations on this card?'
  - ▶ We count the number of 'yes' response to this question, and group into four categories: 0, 1, 2, and 3+.
- ▶ Active in civic organisations: 'Whether you are a member or not, do you join in the activities of any of these organisations on a regular basis?'
  - ▶ Count the number of 'yes' responses, group into four categories: 0, 1, 2, and 3+.



# Testing Goodhart's thesis with Understanding Society data IV

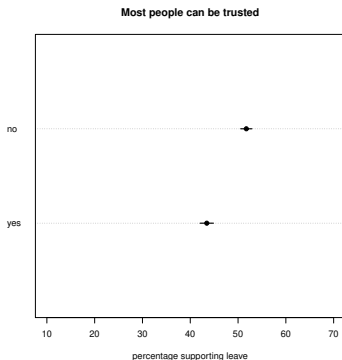
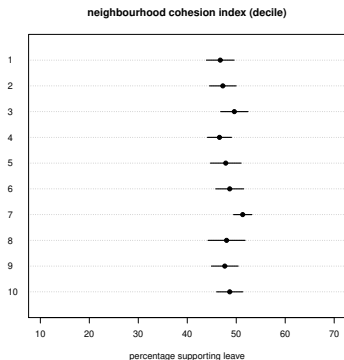
- ▶ Buckner's (1988) neighbourhood cohesion index.
  - ▶ Based on eight items on relationship with neighbours and neighbourhood, e.g.
    1. I feel like I belong to this neighbourhood.
    2. The friendships and associations I have with other people in my neighbourhood mean a lot to me.
    3. If I needed advice about something I could go to someone in my neighbourhood.
    4. ...
  - ▶ Form an additive scale, with higher values denoting greater neighbourhood cohesion.

# Bivariate associations I



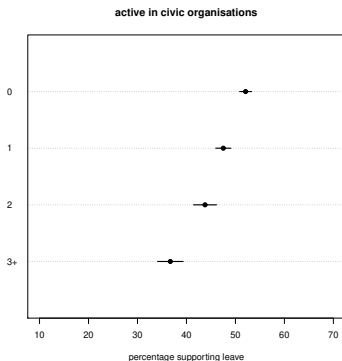
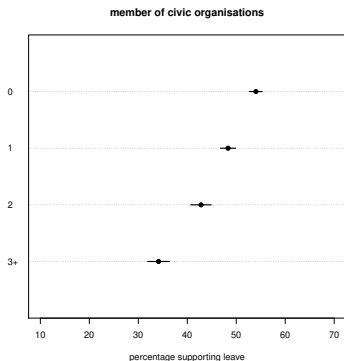
- ▶ Those who stay in their county of birth are more likely to support Leave.

# Bivariate associations II



- ▶ Buckner index (neighbourhood attachment) is *not* related to support for Leave or Remain.
- ▶ More trusting people are more likely to support Remain.

# Bivariate associations III

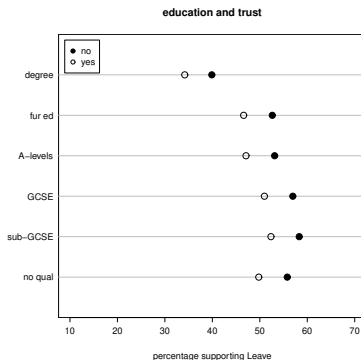
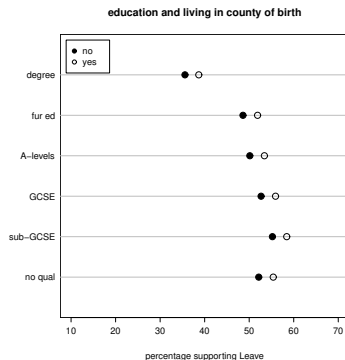


- ▶ As are those more involved in civic organisations.

# Multivariate analyses I

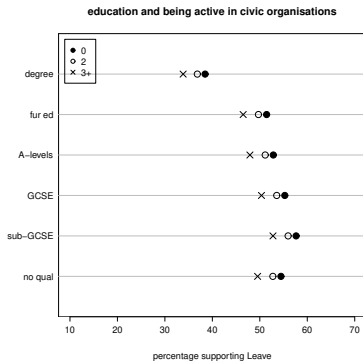
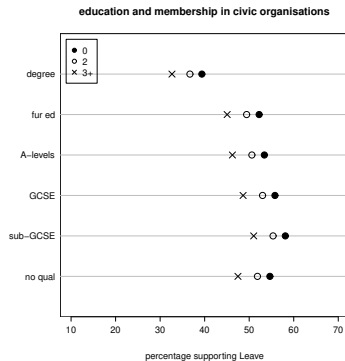
- ▶ There are likely confounders, e.g. education.
- ▶ Demographic characteristics (e.g. age, sex, ethnicity, region).
- ▶ Socioeconomic characteristics (e.g. educational attainment, social class, social status, poverty status).
- ▶ Proxies for cosmopolitan vs insular outlook (e.g. national identity, cultural consumption).
- ▶ Neighbourhood characteristics (e.g. economic deprivation, percentage of foreign-born, exposure to the Chinese import shock).
- ▶ Net of all these covariates, we obtain broadly the same results as bivariate analyses.

# Multivariate analyses II



- ▶ Movers (not living in county-of-birth) are less supportive of Leave.
- ▶ As are more trusting people.

# Multivariate analyses III



- More civic engagement associated with less support of Leave.

# Summary and discussion I

- ▶ People who stay in their county-of-birth are indeed more likely to support Leave (see also Lee *et al.*, 2018).
- ▶ But Remainers are just as attached to their neighbourhood as Leavers.
- ▶ So far as trust and membership or active involvement in civic organisations are concerned, Remain-supporters are more socially engaged than Leave-supporters.
- ▶ Inconsistent with Goodhart's characterisation of Anywheres as people with 'wide but shallow attachment' (p. 11), lacking 'strong group attachments or loyalties' (p. 13), unlikely to 'feel they most belong to their neighbourhood' (p. 38), ...



# Summary and discussion II

- ▶ It is true that 'people who attach greater importance to being British are more supportive of Leave' (Chan *et al.*, 2020, p. 838).
- ▶ But people's attachment to their neighbourhood is practically uncorrelated with the importance they attach to being British ( $r = .17$ ).
- ▶ Leavers are more nationalists than communitarians.
- ▶ The dichotomy between cosmopolitan Anywheres and communitarian Somewheres is a misleading one. Cosmopolitan Anywheres are just as communitarian as the Somewheres, if not more so.
- ▶ see Chan and Kawalerowicz (2022) in *British Journal of Sociology*.

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