ENGLAND IN THE 20TH AND THE 21ST CENTURIES.

Key Words and Related Topics:

- The Suffragist movement.
- The two World Wars and the gradual decadence of the British Empire.
- The cultural revolution of the sixties
- Pop culture and music: Britpop, The Rolling Stones, the Punk Movement
- The evolution of the monarchy in the 20th century
- Post-imperial, multicultural Britain
- English national identity

Temario de la Guía Docente: 5. Aspects of English National Identity: The Monarchy, the Protestant Reformation, and Liberalism. 6. The Anglican Church, the Monarchy and Parliament: their historical origin, their evolution and their cultural roles today. 7. The British Empire and the Origins of a Global, English-Speaking Culture. 9. From the Political Reforms of the 19th Century to the Welfare State. 10. Britain after the Second World War: The Fall of the Empire and the Crisis in National Identity

Introduction:

The nineteenth century, and in particular the Victorian period, was a triumphant episode in the history of the British Empire. It had defeated Napoleonic France, its main competitor and it had also managed to manoeuvre around the radicalism of the period through gradual and moderate political reforms that had quenched any revolutionary outbreaks. The British Empire dominated world trade, and its industrial and technological prowess situated it at the forefront of the Western advance over the nations that it colonized. The twentieth century would prove to be far less glorious: the gradual emergence of the United States as a world power would be confirmed first by its defeat of the aging and decadent remains of the Spanish Empire in Cuba and the Philippines in 1898, and then it would deal two fabulous blows to the British Empire as a result of the First and the Second World War. The outcome of these two wars debilitated the international standing of Britain, which led to a gradual process of decolonisation, and to the post-colonial world of today, when only the Commonwealth remains to remind us of what was once the largest empire the world had known.

The twentieth century also brought important social and cultural changes. In the first place, the political reforms implemented during the last years of the 19th century and the early decades of the 20th century—above all the extension of the franchise to all males, and then to all women—brought about significant changes in the political landscape of the country. One of them was that the Labour party emerged as the representative of the urban working classes. Another one was that women gained an increasingly prominent role. After the suffragist movement, the cultural change brought about by the sixties also had an important impact in the way women were liberated from the traditional roles that had been ascribed to them, and have become more prominent in politics and in society in general.

The sixties brought about changes that affected all of society, not just women. The demographic boom of the post-war period had led to a situation in which a significant percentage of the population were under twenty. These young people were relatively

affluent and did not identify with the spirit of discipline and self-sacrifice that had dominated the generation that had to live through the war—and in particular through the devastating effects of the Blitz, the German bombardment of the capital during the Second World War. Nor did they have to struggle, like their parents had done, through the hard post war period, when rationing and austerity imposed rather grim lifestyles. The young generation in the sixties adopted a new style in clothes, and in music. In particular, the music they imported came from the United States of America: this was another significant case of trans-Atlantic transference or translation.

But the sixties brought with them changes that ran much deeper than mere clothes and music: a more relaxed moral and social code, far from strict 'Victorian' traditional values, a more relaxed attitude to social classes, and racial relations. The empire may have dissolved during the post-war period, but men and women from all the former colonies, immigrants from India to the Caribbean, from Hong Kong to Africa, or their British-born descendants, all became citizens. They have changed the social and cultural landscape of the country forever. This can be seen in politics, but also in music: some of the new music that Britain produced –and pop music has become one of the most profitable British exports after the sixties—was inspired by American Rhythm and Blues, but some other music produced by Britain was inspired by former colonies—for instance, the Caribbean counterpoint of Ska, or the influence of Reggae, among others, have made their presence felt in the many varieties of groups and songs that Britain has been exporting since the sixties.

This racial, political, and cultural mix-up in an increasingly globalized world has posed serious changes to traditional patterns of English cultural identity. We shall close this unit with a couple of texts that approach multiculturalism and globalization, and how they have affected the traditional patterns of national identity whose history we have been tracing in this class.

TASK: Read texts [1] and [2] and answer the following questions:

1. Why do you think that, as Mrs Millicent Fawcett says, 'The war revolutionised the industrial position of women - it found them serfs and left them free.'?
2. Which was the traditional occupation of women? What sort of new jobs did they find?
3. Did this have an effect on the sort of wages that women were paid?
4. Which event led to the foundation of the London Society for Women's Suffrage?
5. Which was Queen Victoria's opinion about equal voting rights for women?

[1]
WOMEN ON THE HOME FRONT IN WORLD WAR ONE
By Professor Joanna Bourke

Did World War One actually improve women's lives in Britain? At the time, many people believed that the war had helped advance women politically and economically. Thus, Mrs Millicent Fawcett, leading feminist, founder of Newnham College Cambridge and president of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies from 1897 to 1918, said in 1918: 'The war revolutionised the industrial position of women - it found them serfs and left them free.' The war did offer women increased opportunities in the paid labour market. Between 1914 and 1918, an estimated two million women replaced men in employment, resulting in an increase in the proportion of women in total employment from 24 per cent in July 1914 to 37 per cent by November 1918.

An English suffragist, around 1910

The war bestowed two valuable legacies on women. First, it opened up a wider range of occupations to female workers and hastened the collapse of traditional women's employment, particularly domestic service. ... Working women who might previously have been enticed into service were being drawn away by alternative employment opening up to satisfy the demands of war. Thus, nearly half of the first recruits to the London General Omnibus Company in 1916 were former domestic servants. Clerical work was another draw card. The number of women in the Civil Service increased from 33,000 in 1911 to 102,000 by 1921. The advantages of these alternative employments over domestic service were obvious: wages were higher, conditions better, and independence enhanced.

Trade unionism proved to be the second legacy of the war. Female workers had been less unionised than their male counterparts. ... World War One forced unions to deal with the issue of women's work. The scale of women's employment could no longer be denied and rising levels of women left unmarried or widowed by the war forced the hands of the established unions.

In addition, feminist pressure on established unions and the formation of separate women's unions threatened to destabilise men-only unions. The increase in female trade union membership from only 357,000 in 1914 to over a million by 1918 represented an increase in the number of unionised women of 160 per cent.

However, the war did not inflate women's wages. Employers circumvented wartime equal pay regulations by employing several women to replace one man, or by dividing skilled tasks into several less skilled stages. In these ways, women could be employed at a lower wage and not said to be 'replacing' a man directly. By 1931, a working woman's weekly wage had returned to the pre-war situation of being half the male rate in more industries.

Finally, some historians believe that the war was a key element in the granting of the franchise to women over the age of 30 years who held property in 1918. But it was not until 1928 that women over the age of 21 were finally allowed to vote. In effect, this meant that in 1918, 8.5 million women were enfranchised, or 40 per cent of the total number of women. In 1928, this was boosted to 15 million, or 53 per cent of total number of women.

[2]
THE NINETEENTH-CENTURY ROOTS OF THE SUFFRAGISTS
Source:
http://www.bl.uk/learning/histcitizen/21cc/struggle/suffrage1/suffragists.html

In 1866, a group of women organised a petition that demanded that women should have the same political rights as men. The women took their petition to Henry Fawcett and John Stuart Mill, two MPs who supported universal suffrage. Mill added an amendment to the Reform Act that would give women the
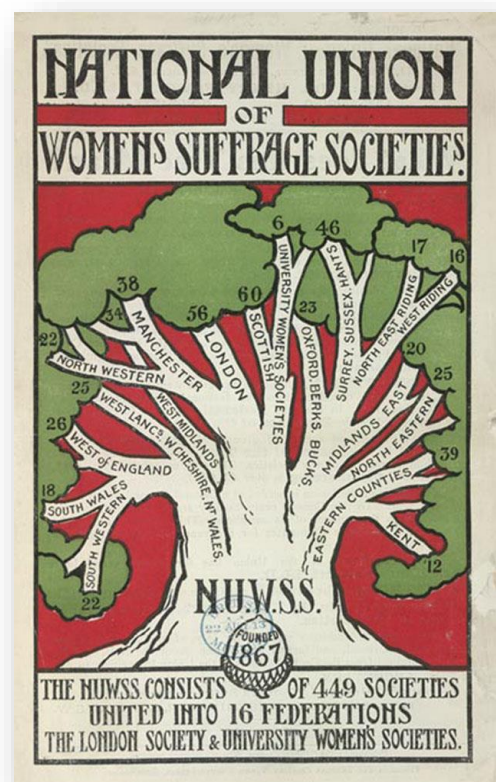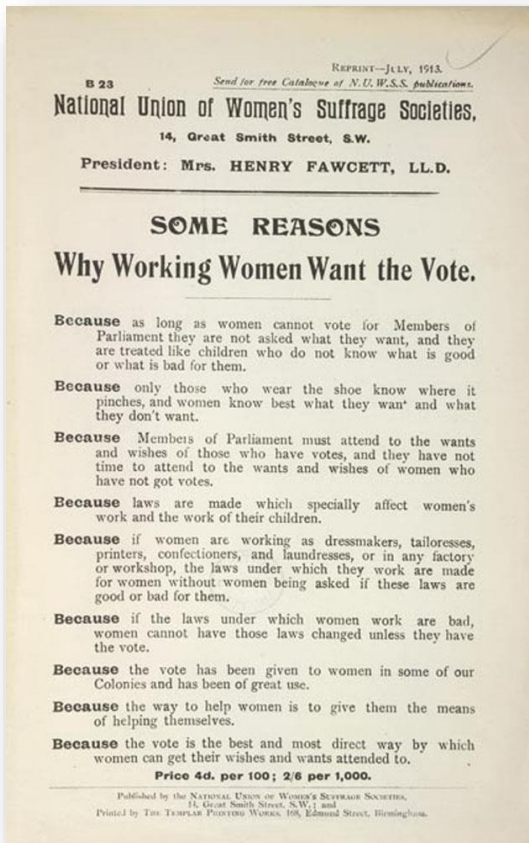
same political rights as men. The amendment was defeated by 196 votes to 73.

In the wake of this defeat the London Society for Women's Suffrage was formed. Similar Women's Suffrage groups were formed all over Britain. In 1887, seventeen of these individual groups joined together to form the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies (NUWSS).

The NUWSS adopted a peaceful and non-confrontational approach. Members believed that success could be gained by argument and education. The organisation tried to raise its profile peacefully with posters, leaflets, calendars and public meetings.

Steps towards equal rights came with the Married Woman's Property Acts of 1870, 1882, and 1884 (amended again in 1925). These enabled women to keep their property and money after marriage, where previously it was the automatic property of their husbands.

The denial of equal voting rights for women was supported by Queen Victoria who, in 1870 wrote, 'Let women be what God intended, a helpmate for man, but with totally different duties and vocations'.

TASK. Read texts [3] and [4], and answer the following questions:

1. What happened to Britain's international standing after World War One? Did this situation change after the Second World War?
2. What happened for the first time in the 1920s?
3. How did the situation evolve for Britain after 1947 in Asia, Africa, and the Middle East. List the main episodes and describe the most important events.

[3]

OVERVIEW: BRITAIN, 1918 - 1945
By Rebecca Fraser

The expense of World War One destroyed British global pre-eminence. Territorially the British empire was larger than ever. In the Middle East, Britain and France had divided most of the former Ottoman Empire between them. But the underlying reality was that Britain could no longer afford to build the bases or ships to defend its empire as it had before 1914. It was the United States' overwhelming industrial might that had swung the balance against Germany during the war, and it was the American president whose ideas defined the peace.

Gandhi, leader of Indian independence, standing outside 10 Downing St. In 1930

The years between the world wars were Britain's last hurrah as the great imperial power it had been for the previous 200 years. This was a period of retraction abroad and social reform at home. A limited number of women were allowed to vote in 1918, but by 1927 all women over the age of 21 could vote and Britain had universal suffrage for the first time in history. The electorate trebled, bringing in the first government under the Labour party (first in 1924 and then again in 1929) to represent the views of the working class.

The late 1930s saw crisis follow crisis for Britain. In 1936, the new king Edward VIII, who wished to marry his American mistress Mrs Wallis Simpson, was persuaded to abdicate in favour of his brother the duke of York, who took the throne as George VI. In India, 100,000 people were imprisoned for taking part in the Indian leader Mohandas Gandhi's civil disobedience campaigns for Indian independence. Nevertheless, Britain was reluctant to lose the centre of her imperial trade.

After the Second World War, the British Empire turned into a shadow of its former self. Anti-colonial feeling and independence was in the air among British possessions in Africa and Asia. After 1945, the Pacific Rim countries made treaties with America to protect them, for it was American troops who had saved Australia from invasion by the Japanese.

[4]
BRITAIN, THE COMMONWEALTH AND THE END OF EMPIRE
By Dr. John Darwin
Source: http://www.bbc.co.uk/history/british/modern/endofempire_overview_01.shtml

The collapse of British imperial power - all but complete by the mid-1960s - can be traced directly to the impact of World War Two. The catastrophic British defeats in Europe and Asia between 1940 and 1942 destroyed its financial and economic independence, the real foundation of the imperial system. It also erased the old balance of power on which British security - at home and abroad - had largely depended. Although Britain was one of the victorious allies, the defeat of Germany had been mainly the work of Soviet and American power, while that of Japan had been an almost entirely American triumph. Britain had survived and recovered the territory lost during the war. But its prestige and authority, not to mention its wealth, had been severely reduced. The British found themselves locked into an imperial endgame from which every exit was blocked except the trapdoor to oblivion.

An early symptom of the weakness of the empire was Britain's withdrawal from India in 1947. During World War Two, the British had mobilised India's resources for their imperial war effort. They crushed the attempt of Mahatma Gandhi and the Indian National Congress to force them to 'quit India' in 1942. Nonetheless, in an earlier bid to win Congress support, Britain had promised to give India full independence once the war was over. Within months of the end of the war, it was glaringly obvious that Britain lacked the means to defeat a renewed mass campaign by the Congress. Its officials were exhausted and troops were lacking. But the British still hoped that a self-governing India would remain part of their system of 'imperial defence'. For this reason, Britain was desperate to keep India (and its army) united. These hopes came to nothing. By the time that the last

Lord Mountbatten, last Viceroy of India, with Lady Mountbatten and Mahatma Gandhi in the 1940s

viceroy, Lord Louis Mountbatten, arrived in India, Congress and its leader Jawaharlal Nehru had begun to accept that unless they agreed to partition, they risked a descent into chaos and communal war before power could be transferred from British into Indian hands. It was left to Mountbatten to stage a rapid handover to two successor governments (India and Pakistan) before the ink was dry on their post-imperial frontiers.

Britain was now overshadowed by the United States and Soviet Union, its domestic economy had been seriously weakened and the Labour government had embarked on a huge and expensive programme of social reform.

In the 1950s, British governments struggled to achieve this post-war imperial vision. They had already reinvented the Commonwealth in 1949 in order to let India remain a republic, overturning the old rule that the British monarch must be head of state in a Commonwealth country. … By the end of the decade, things were not going well. Staying in the Middle East had led step-by-step to the confrontation with President Gamal Abdel Nasser in Egypt, and the disastrous decision to seek his overthrow by force in collusion with Israel. The 1956 Suez Crisis was a savage revelation of Britain's financial and military weakness and destroyed much of what remained of Britain's influence in the Middle East. … Britain's position as the third great power and 'deputy leader' of the Western Alliance was threatened by the resurgence of France and West Germany, who jointly presided over the new European Economic Community (EEC). Britain's claim on American support, the indispensable prop of imperial survival, could no longer be taken for granted. And Britain's own economy, far from accelerating, was stuck in a rut.

[In the 1960s, and] to avoid being trapped in a costly struggle with local nationalist movements, Britain backed out of most of the remaining colonies with unseemly haste. As late as 1959, it had publicly scheduled a degree of self-government for Kenya, Uganda and Tanganyika. All became independent between 1961 and 1963. British leaders gamely insisted, and no doubt believed, that Britain would remain at the 'top table' of world power - a status guaranteed by its nuclear deterrent and its continuing influence in the ex-colonial world, and symbolised by the Commonwealth which the ex-colonies had joined. … Meanwhile the British economy staggered from crisis to crisis and the burden became unsustainable. Devaluation of the pound in November 1967 was followed within weeks by the decision to withdraw Britain's military presence east of Suez.

When Britain finally entered the European Community in 1973, the line had been drawn under Britain's imperial age. But the ending of an empire is rarely a tidy affair. The Rhodesian rebellion was to last until the late 1970s, Britain fought a war to retain the Falkland Islands in 1982 and Hong Kong continued, with tacit Chinese agreement, as a British dependency until 1997. The British at home had to come to terms with an unforeseen legacy of their imperial past - the large inflow of migrants, mostly from South Asia. In the 21st century, old imperial links still survive, particularly those based on language and law, which may assume growing importance in a globalised world. Even the Commonwealth, bruised and battered in the 1960s and 1970s, has retained a surprising utility as a dense global network of informal connections, valued by its numerous small states. As the experience of the empire recedes more deeply into Britain's own past, it has become the focus of more attention than ever from British historians.

THE 19TH-CENTURY LIBERAL TRADITION – SOCIAL AND POLITICAL CONTINUITY AND CHANGE IN ENGLAND AFTER THE SECOND WORLD WAR

As Britain lost its traditional international standing, at home the post-War Labour governments embarked on an ambitious project of social reform. These policies were the continuation of the reforms that had been implemented late in the nineteenth century and during the early decades of the twentieth century. The result was the establishment of a comprehensive welfare system, which improved health and education, and also provided an overall system of social protection for the unemployed and other sectors of society that could be undergoing duress. As Britain retreated from its imperial positions abroad, back at home the immigrants that originally came from its global dominions—

all of whom enjoyed special status as British citizens—contributed to the emergence of a new a multicultural, racially mixed society. In spite of the economic crises, the post-war years and their harsh austerity were left behind and a new generation came to replace those who had to fight through the First and the Second World Wars. This new generation would soon contribute to bring about significant social and cultural changes that would change the face of England.

TASK. Read text number [5] and answer the following questions:

1. Which changes had taken place—according to the text—between the 1930s and the 1960s?
2. What does the text mean by this expression 'the British must be Greeks in a world in which the Americans were the Romans'? How does this describe the situation of post-imperial Britain in the new global geopolitical situation?

[5]

'The nineteenth-century liberal tradition had not disappeared but the political parties continued to be divided primarily on economic issues. **The Labour party supported greater equality helped by state action and on the whole it had inherited Mill's belief in giving people a wide range of freedom in issues where their actions did not affect other people**; **the Conservative party stood for greater individual freedom to prosper in a less controlled economic system, but it was more likely to say that certain moral principles ought to be expressed in legislation on crime even if it did mean restricting people's freedom of action**. At the beginning of the century the moral attitudes of the unenfranchised people at the bottom of the social scale were less restrictive than those of the classes concerned about respectability who made up the great bulk of the electorate. By the 1930s the ideal of respectability was accepted throughout society, but by the 1960s it was much less universally accepted and some sections of the middle class, especially around London, were consciously uninhibited and regarded freedom from restraint as a good thing for its own sake. The greater freedom, or laxer sense of social discipline, showed itself in fashions and styles.

(…)

England in the mid 1960s set the fashions for the young and provided stars for popular entertainment. It was not quite what Macmillan had meant when he said the British must be Greeks in a world in which the Americans were the Romans, but the Greeks had been entertainers for the Roman Empire, and it looked for a moment as though the English were going to take up the same role by providing popular singing groups such as the Beatles and women's fashions for the young such as the mini-skirt. This was not likely to give complete satisfaction to anyone in England; the people who worried about the country's role in the world were serious-minded men and women who wanted the country to be influential in some more dignified way, and the young people who set the new fashions were much less interested in the question. They had grown up in a country which was not in fact a great power, and they probably did not expect it to go round behaving as one. Life would have been easier for political leaders if there had been a more widespread relaxation of the feeling that the world's

problems, wherever they might be, were problems for the British government to solve. But even though people realized that British power was less than in the past, there were still pressures for England to take an interest in faraway places.'

(T. O. Lloyd, *Empire, Welfare State, Europe. English History 1906-*1992, Oxford University Press, 1993, pp. 403-4)

THE SIXTIES AND BEYOND: CHANGING TRENDS AND POP CULTURE: FROM THE ROLLING STONES AND THE BEATLES TO THE SEX PISTOLS' 'GOD SAVE THE QUEEN'

In the 1960s London became a fashionable city. This was the decade of 'swinging London', when the English capital led the world in fashion and also in music. After absorbing the influence of American R&B (Rhythm & Blues), and Rock'n Roll, young English musicians started to produce their own music, which would in turn become a global phenomenon. If in unit 7 we saw how the cultural influence went from Britain to the United States, during the middle of the 20th century, Britain came first under the influence of the youth culture of America, and then relaunched it to the rest of the world after giving it its own particular spin.

The post-war period saw high birth rates in the West (not just in the USA or the UK) which in the sixties led to a majority of young people who were politically restless, who did not have to go through the austerity years of the post-war period, and who were relatively affluent consumers. On both sides of the Atlantic, the sixties saw the cultural apotheosis of the baby boomers: affluent and fun-loving, but also idealistic and free from the prejudices of traditional moral and social standards, this generation produced a significant cultural change that has come to define to a large extent the world we live in.

The 1960s created two of the most successful post-war British products in popular culture: music and fashion. In the realm of fashion, this was the decade of new and groundbreaking (frequently outrageous too) designs. If there is an outfit that represents the fresh, young and

Twiggy, the iconic model of the sixties, wearing a design by Mary Quant

liberating spirit of the sixties, it is the mini-skirt, which scandalized traditional moralists, with the designer Mary Quant and the model Twiggy as its most representative icons. In this section we shall look at some texts that deal with the Rolling Stones, one of the most important groups in the 1960s. The Stones represented a new type of Englishness, uninhibited and full of provocation. By becoming an international phenomenon, they outgrew their British origins to become first a typical trans-Atlantic, Anglo-American phenomenon, and consequently, a global one.

This translational dimension of groups like the Rolling Stones exemplifies the evolution of Englishness, and they constitute an interesting case study of how the cultural changes of the sixties recycled previously established ideas about the national character, now within an international trans-Atlantic dimension. They prove that in today's world few phenomena represent the global preeminence of Anglo-American popular culture as clearly as Rock'n Roll does. These were tendencies, fashions and attitudes that were promoted for the first time in the sixties. In that respect, our current musical and youth culture is the offspring of the rebellious provocations of the sixties: the spirit of rebellion and social outbreak has been successfully tamed, assimilated, and put at the service of international corporations which use sophisticated techniques of advertising and marketing to manufacture the icons of youth, sexual liberation, and a rebellious spirit as very profitable commodities.
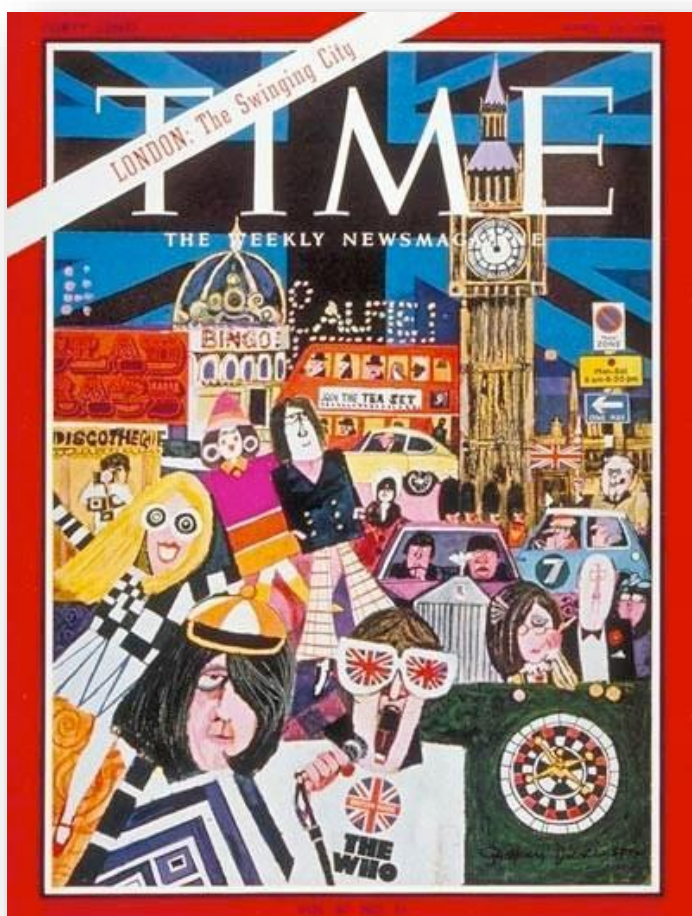
The situation changed in the seventies: after growing out of the post-war slump into the affluence of the sixties, the West went through a serious economic crisis after 1973 (the so-called oil crisis) that produced inflation and unemployment. The disenchantment of the younger generation found an outlet in punk rock: a cynical, violent, and radical movement that rejected the pacifism and feel-good mood of the hippy movement. Punk is best exemplified by the Sex Pistols, whose provocative emergence coincided with the 25th anniversary of Queen Elizabeth's coronation. They epitomized the disenchantment of the new generations, its nihilistic impulse, and its cynical pursuit of fame and money under the guise of a radical, alternative popular musical movement.

HISTORY OF LONDON. SWINGING SIXTIES: CAPITAL OF COOL
Source: http://www.history.co.uk/explore-history/history-of-london/swinging-london.html

TASK. Read text [6] and summarize the main factors, and the main players who turned London into the 'world capital of cool' in the 1960s

[6]
For a few years in the 1960s, London was the world capital of cool. When Time magazine dedicated its 15 April 1966 issue to London: the Swinging City, it cemented the association between London and all things hip and fashionable that had been growing in the popular imagination throughout the decade.

London's remarkable metamorphosis from a gloomy, grimy post-War capital into a bright, shining epicentre of style was largely down to two factors: youth and money.

The baby boom of the 1950s meant that the urban population was younger than it had been since Roman times. By the mid-60s, 40% of the population at large was under 25. With the abolition of National Service for men in 1960, these young people had more freedom and fewer responsibilities than their parents' generation. They rebelled against the limitations and restrictions of post-War society. In short, they wanted to shake things up…

Added to this, Londoners had more disposable income than ever before – and were looking for ways to spend it. Nationally, weekly earnings in the '60s outstripped the cost of living by a staggering 183%: in London, where earnings were generally higher than the national average, the figure was probably even greater.

This heady combination of affluence and youth led to a flourishing of music, fashion, design and anything else that would banish the post-War gloom. Fashion boutiques sprang up willy-nilly. Men flocked to Carnaby St, near Soho, for the latest 'Mod' fashions. While women were lured to the King's Road, where Mary Quant's radical mini skirts flew off the rails of her iconic store, Bazaar.

Even the most shocking or downright barmy fashions were popularised by models who, for the first time, became superstars. Jean Shrimpton was considered the symbol of Swinging London, while Twiggy was named The Face of 1966. Mary Quant herself was the undisputed queen of the group known as The Chelsea Set, a hard-partying, socially eclectic mix of largely idle 'toffs' and talented working-class movers and shakers.

Music was also a huge part of London's swing. While Liverpool had the Beatles, the London sound was a mix of bands who went on to worldwide success, including The Who, The Kinks, The Small Faces and The Rolling Stones. Their music was the mainstay of pirate radio stations like Radio Caroline and Radio Swinging England.

Creative types of all kinds gravitated to the capital, from artists and writers to magazine publishers, photographers, advertisers, film-makers and product designers.

But not everything in London's garden was rosy. Immigration was a political hot potato: by 1961, there were over 100,000 West Indians in London, and not everyone welcomed them with open arms. The biggest problem of all was a huge shortage of housing to replace bombed buildings and unfit slums and cope with a booming urban population. The badly-conceived solution – huge estates of tower blocks –

and the social problems they created, changed the face of London for ever. By the 1970s, with industry declining and unemployment rising, Swinging London seemed a very dim and distant memory.

THE ROLLING STONES
Source: Colin Larkin, ed. *Encyclopedia of Popular Music*, 4th ed.

TASK. Read text [7] and answer the following questions

1. What sort of music influenced the two main founders of the Rolling Stones? What does this say about the cultural origins of their music?
2. Why did some people find the Rolling Stones shocking (when compared, for instance, with The Beatles)?
3. Which is the Rolling Stones's most famous song, and one of their greatest hits? What does it say about them, according to the text?

[7]

Originally billed as the Rollin' Stones, the first line-up of this immemorial English 60s unit was a nucleus of Mick Jagger (b. Michael Philip Jagger, 26 July 1943, Dartford, Kent, England; vocals), Keith Richards (b. 18 December 1943, Dartford, Kent, England; guitar), Brian Jones (b. Lewis Brian Hopkin-Jones, 28 February 1942, Cheltenham, Gloucestershire, England, d. 3 July 1969, Hartfield, Sussex, England; rhythm guitar) and Ian Stewart (b. 18 July 1938, Pittenweem, Fife, Scotland, d. 12 December 1985; piano).

Mick Jagger and Keith Richards were primary school friends who resumed their camaraderie in their closing teenage years after finding they had a mutual love for Rhythm & Blues and particularly the music of Chuck Berry, Muddy Waters and Bo Diddley.

Their first record was promoted on the prestigious UK television pop programme *Thank Your Lucky Stars*. After supporting the

The Rolling Stones in the Sixties

Everly Brothers, Little Richard, Gene Vincent and Bo Diddley on a Don Arden UK package tour, the Rolling Stones released their second single, a gift from John Lennon and Paul McCartney entitled 'I Wanna Be Your Man'. The disc fared better than its predecessor climbing into the Top 10 in January 1964. That same month the band enjoyed their first bill-topping tour supported by the Ronettes. The early months of 1964 saw the Rolling Stones catapulted to fame amid outrage and controversy about the surliness of their demeanour and the length of their hair. This was still a world in which the older members of the community were barely coming to terms with the Beatles neatly-groomed mop tops. While newspapers asked 'Would you let your daughter marry a Rolling Stone?', the quintet engaged in a flurry of recording activity which saw the release of an EP and an album both titled *The Rolling Stones*. The discs consisted almost

The Rolling Stones in their sixties

exclusively of extraneous material and captured the band at their most derivative stage. Already, however, there were strong signs of an ability to combine different styles. The third single, 'Not Fade Away', saw them fuse Buddy Holly's quaint original with a chunky Bo Diddley beat that highlighted Jagger's vocal to considerable effect. The presence of Phil Spector and Gene Pitney at these sessions underlined how hip the Rolling Stones had already become in the music business after such a short time.

There was an ugly strain to the Rolling Stones' appeal which easily translated into violence. At the Winter Gardens Blackpool the band hosted the most astonishing rock riot yet witnessed on British soil. Frenzied fans displayed their feelings by smashing chandeliers and demolishing a Steinway grand piano. By the end of the evening over 50 people were escorted to hospital for treatment. Other concerts were terminated within minutes of the band appearing on-stage and the hysteria continued throughout Europe. A return to the USA saw them disrupt the stagey *Ed Sullivan Show* prompting the presenter to ban rock 'n' roll groups in temporary retaliation.

1965 proved the year of the Rolling Stones' international breakthrough and three extraordinary self-penned number 1 singles. 'The Last Time' saw them emerge with their own distinctive rhythmic style and underlined an ability to fuse R&B and pop in an enticing fashion. America finally succumbed to their spell with '(I Can't Get No) Satisfaction', a quintessential pop lyric with the still youthful Jagger sounding like a jaundiced roué. Released in the UK during the 'summer of protest songs', the single encapsulated the restless weariness of a band already old before its time. The distinctive riff, which Keith Richard invented with almost casual dismissal, became one of the most famous hook lines in the entire glossary of pop and was picked up and imitated by a generation of garage bands thereafter.

There was also some well documented bad boy controversy when Jagger, Jones and Wyman were arrested and charged with urinating on the wall of an East London petrol station. Such scandalous behaviour merely reinforced the public's already ingrained view of the Rolling Stones as juvenile degenerates.

The Rolling Stones in the seventies, at their transatlantic best

SEX PISTOLS BIO
These are excerpts from the history of the Sex Pistols (taken from their official website at http://www.sexpistolsofficial.com/bio/)

TASK. Read texts [8] and [9], and answer the following questions

1. Which is the main source of inspiration for the Sex Pistols, according to the text?
2. What sort of music did they reject? Which music inspired them?
3. How did the Sex Pistols gain popular notoriety? Do you think that this sort of behaviour has become an easy strategy to gain attention?
4. What sort of events were triggered by the release of their single 'God Save the Queen'? When was this record launched?
5. Text [8] is taken from the website of the Sex Pistols, so in a way, we can say that they are telling their own story. Text [9] is from a different source: how does text [9] describe punk rock? Which are its main features?
6. Is there any contrast between the descriptions of punk in text [8] and text [9]?

[8]

Amidst the chaos that was the Sex Pistols, it's often overlooked just what a great band they are, and what great records they made. The Sex Pistols are no ordinary band; their story is long and complicated, and not without its casualties. Without them popular culture in the last 30+ years would be very, very different. The Pistols didn't just kick down doors; they kicked them off the wall. For a band who (really) only released one album and four singles, they spawned a sea of imitators; and still do to this day. Not bad for a band that supposedly couldn't play. Yeah right! The Sex Pistols could certainly play; one listen to their ferocious slab of raw rock and roll will soon tell you that.

Despite claims from New York, the Sex Pistols are the true originators of punk; no one else had their attitude, balls, or honesty. The Pistols were inspired by anger and poverty, not art and poetry. *"An imitation from New York, you're cheese and chalk…"*

There never was a punk movement. There was the Sex Pistols and there was the rest. The Sex Pistols ARE punk; the rest are "punk rock". Big difference…

The band that would become the Sex Pistols originally began in 1972 when school-friends Steve Jones and Paul Cook decided to form a band; Glen Matlock later joined in 1974. Disillusioned by the bloated

progressive-rock and hippie music scene of the time, the fledgling Pistols took their musical inspiration from the 60s mod and rock n roll of The Who and The Small Faces. However, it wouldn't be until 1975 and the arrival of John Lydon that the band took on a whole new level. Steve Jones had spotted someone who looked *"a bit different"* in Malcolm McLaren's clothes shop. Bernie Rhodes, one of McLaren's associates, spotted the same guy on London's Kings Road; complete with hacked green hair and a homemade "I HATE Pink Floyd" T-shirt. Sacrilege at the time.

December 1st, 1976 changed the Sex Pistols and the music scene forever. After the group Queen had to cancel at short notice, EMI booked the Pistols to appear on the 'Today' TV show, hosted by one Bill Grundy. A notorious drunk, Grundy had no time for these young upstarts. Treating the Pistols and their entourage with nothing short of thinly veiled contempt, he proceeded to goad them into swearing. Pre-empted by an apparent slip from Rotten, Steve Jones called Grundy's bluff and launched into a stream of F-words. Unbeknownst to the band, the show was being broadcast live throughout London. Not that it would have stopped them anyway. Grundy was one of the first people to learn not to fuck (sorry, rude word) with the Sex Pistols… The following day the Pistols were headline news up and down the country. "Punk-Rock", as it had been christened, had reached the masses. By early January 1977, EMI had buckled to internal pressure and sacked the Pistols. Honoring their £40,000 contract in full.

A&M Records became the Pistols' new label, and their next single was to be 'God Save The Queen', John Rotten's alternative National Anthem. To announce the A&M deal, the band staged a mock signing outside Buckingham Palace. However, after a drunken celebration at the A&M offices – and probably another mixture of cold feet – the band soon found themselves without a record deal yet again. Only ten days after they signed to A&M, the Sex Pistols were sacked! Finding them £75,000 richer in the process. The next record company headhunt ended with them reluctantly signing to Richard Branson's Virgin Records in May 1977. Just in time for the Queen's 25th Silver Jubilee. The nation was gripped by Royal fever. The Queen was a national treasure. Everyone loved her, everyone except the Sex Pistols. Or did they? *"We love our Queen…"*

The release of 'God Save The Queen' sent shockwaves up and down the country. The band also had a perfect collaboration with Jamie Reid on artwork. This was Britain 1977 long before Diana, Fergie, Edward and the likes had exposed the Monarchy for what they were. No one had ever spoken up so publicly about them. The nation was up in arms. Government Members of Parliament even called for the band to be hung at London's Traitors' Gate!

Since the Bill Grundy controversy, the band had been public enemy #1, but that all paled into insignificance by the protest that met them after Jubilee week. Even though it technically out-sold the Number 1 record of the week – 'The First Cut is the Deepest' by Rod Stewart – 'God Save The Queen' peaked at Number 2. The powers-that-be refused to acknowledge it but the Sex Pistols *were* Number 1. This wasn't a conspiracy theory, this was for real.

On the album's release, more controversy surrounded the band when police took exception to its title being displayed in a shop window. The band were charged with the obscure Indecent Advertising Act of 1889! "Bollocks" is a slang name for testicles; however, the Pistols' lawyer

proved that it was actually derived from a nickname for clergymen! Bollocks was legal!
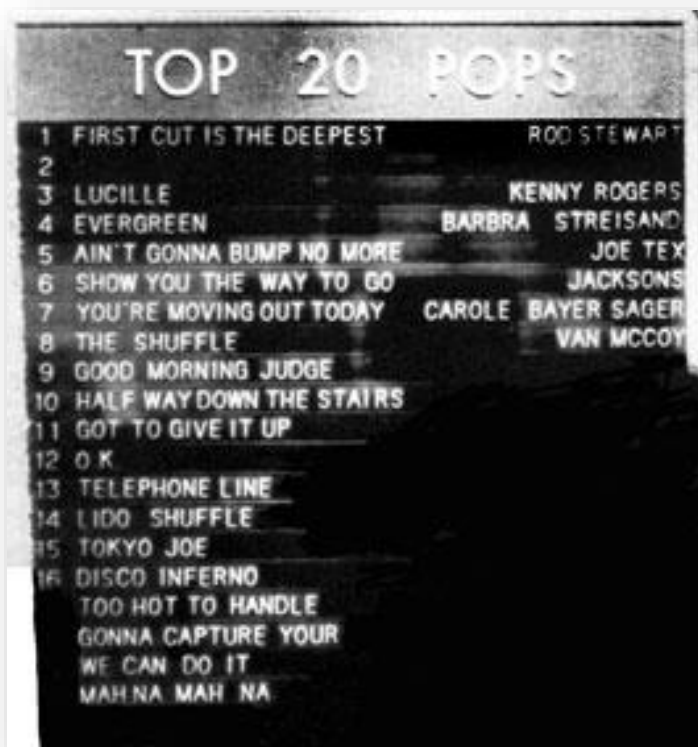
The 1977 Top of the Pops Chart, during the Queen's Silver Jubilee, when the Sex Pistols released their single 'God Save the Queen', which was banned from the airwaves, and also airbrushed from the list—where it should have been listed as number two, a position that here appears blank.

PUNK MUSIC.
(Source: *Oxford Encyclopedia of the Modern World*, ed. by P.N. Stearns)

[9]

Punk music—more commonly known as **punk** rock—is a form of popular music with origins in the United States and United Kingdom, though wider influences can also be traced across a number of underground scenes in Australia and Europe. Often described as antiestablishment and nihilistic, in fact **punk** embraced a wide range of styles and codes, including shock tactics, political protest, calls for social change, satire, and black humor. **Punk** came to international prominence between 1976 and 1977, with a host of new groups playing their own brand of fast, simple, and loud rock 'n' roll music, harking back to what they saw as the original ethos of rock music in the 1950s and 1960s, which had been replaced by slick musicianship and production values. Well-known early **punk** groups include the Ramones, the Sex Pistols, the Damned, and the Clash, though the movement spawned a host of new artists around the world over the ensuing decades, in turn influencing groups such as Green Day, Rancid, and the Offspring in the 1990s.

The **punk** movement between 1977 and 1984 represented a distinctive period in the development of British youth culture, and was to have far-reaching consequences worldwide. Paralleling earlier generations and youth movements, notably the 1960s mod movement and the underground hippie scene of the early 1970s, **punk**'s implicit "anyone can do it" ideology and overtly nihilistic attitude toward the music industry resulted in a deluge of independent, do-it-yourself records, concerts, and networks of activity, threatening to disrupt, albeit temporarily, the commercial stability of the popular music business.

GOD SAVE THE QUEEN – ANARCHY IN THE UK – QUEEN ELIZABETH'S SILVER JUBILEE

TASK. Read texts [10], [11] and [12]. Listen to the songs too

1. Describe the celebrations of Queen Elizabeth's Silver Jubilee and compare with the spirit and the lyrics of these two songs by the Sex Pistols. For an account of the events of the day the Queen's Silver Jubilee was celebrated, in parallel with the Sex Pistols's own 'celebration' on a boat sailing down the river Thames, see the BBC website 'This day in history' (June 7 1977) - http://news.bbc.co.uk/onthisday/hi/dates/stories/june/7/newsid_2562000/2562633.stm

[10]
SEX PISTOLS – ANARCHY IN THE UK
http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=LOy8zvmIgvo

Right now ha, ha!

I am an anti-Christ
I am an anarchist,
Don't know what I want
But I know how to get it.
I wanna destroy the passer by
'Cos I wanna be anarchy,
Ho dogs body

Anarchy for the UK
It's coming sometime and maybe
I give a wrong time stop a traffic line.
Your future dream is a shopping scheme
Cause I wanna be anarchy,
It's in the city

How many ways to get what you want
I use the best I use the rest
I use the NME[1].
I use anarchy
'Cause I wanna be anarchy,

It's the only way to be

Is this the MPLA
Or is this the UDA
Or is this the IRA[2]
I thought it was the UK
Or just another country
Another council tenancy.

I wanna be an anarchist
(Oh what a name)
And I wanna be an anarchist
(I get pissed destroy)

[11]
SEX PISTOLS – GOD SAVE THE QUEEN
http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yqrAPOZxgzU

God save the queen
The fascist regime
They made you a moron
Potential H-bomb

God save the queen
She ain't no human being

Johnny Rotten, the Sex Pistols lead singer, during their 1977 Riverboat performance, which coincided with the celebrations of Queen Elizabeth II's Silver Jubilee

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[1] The NME (pronounced as the noun 'enemy') was also the New Musical Express, a popular music magazine.
[2] The MPLA was the *Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola* (in Portuguese), i.e. the People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola; the UDA was the Ulster Defence Association (a Northern-Irish Protestant Movement) and the IRA was the Irish Republican Army: these were all paramilitary groups that resorted to violence to defend their ideas.

There is no future
In England's dreaming

Don't be told what you want
Don't be told what you need
There's no future, no future,
No future for you

God save the queen
We mean it man
We love our queen
God saves

God save the queen
'Cause tourists are money
And our figurehead
Is not what she seems

Oh God save history
God save your mad parade
Oh Lord God have mercy
All crimes are paid

When there's no future
How can there be sin
We're the flowers in the dustbin
We're the poison in your human machine
We're the future, your future

God save the queen
We mean it man
We love our queen
God saves

God save the queen
We mean it man
And there is no future
In England's dreaming

No future, no future,
No future for you
No future, no future,
No future for me

No future, no future,
No future for you
No future, no future
For you

[12]
DESCRIPTION OF THE QUEEN'S SILVER JUBILEE, 1977
Source: the Official Website of the British Monarchy
(http://www.royal.gov.uk/HMTheQueen/TheQueenandspecialanniversaries/TheQueensSilverJubilee1977.aspx)

In 1977 The Queen's Silver Jubilee was marked with celebrations at every level throughout the country and Commonwealth.

The actual anniversary of The Queen's accession on 6 February 1952 was commemorated in church services throughout that month. The Queen spent the anniversary weekend at Windsor with her family and the full jubilee celebrations began in the summer of 1977.

On 4 May at the Palace of Westminster both Houses of Parliament presented loyal addresses to The Queen, who in her reply stressed that the keynote of the jubilee was to be the unity of the nation.

During the summer months The Queen embarked on a large scale tour, having decided that she wished to mark her jubilee by meeting as many of her people as possible. No other Sovereign had visited so much of Britain in the course of just three months - the six jubilee tours in the UK and Northern Ireland covered 36 counties. The home tours began in Glasgow on 17 May, with greater crowds than the city had ever seen before. The tours continued throughout England and Wales - in Lancashire over a million people turned out on one day - before culminating in a visit to Northern Ireland.

Queen Elizabeth during the celebrations of her Silver Jubilee in 1977

Official overseas visits were also made to Western Samoa, Australia, New Zealand, Tonga, Fiji, Tasmania, Papua New Guinea, Canada and the West Indies. During the year it was estimated that The Queen and The Duke of Edinburgh travelled 56,000 miles.

The climax of the national celebrations came in early June. On the evening of Monday 6 June, The Queen lit a bonfire beacon at Windsor which started a chain of beacons across the country. On Tuesday 7 June, vast crowds saw The Queen drive in the Gold State Coach to St Paul's Cathedral for a Service of Thanksgiving attended by heads of state from around the world and former prime ministers of the UK.

Afterwards The Queen and members of the Royal Family attended a lunch at the Guildhall, in which The Queen made a speech. She declared, "My Lord Mayor, when I was twenty-one I pledged my life to the service of our people and I asked for God's help to make good that vow. Although that vow was made in my salad days, when I was green in judgement, I do not regret nor retract one word of it."

An estimated 500 million people watched on television as the procession returned down the Mall. Back at Buckingham Palace The Queen made several balcony appearances. Street parties and village parties started up all over the country: in London alone 4000 were reported to have been held.

The final event of the central week of celebrations was a river progress down the Thames from Greenwich to Lambeth on Thursday 9 June, emulating the ceremonial barge trips of Elizabeth I. After The Queen had opened the Silver Jubilee Walkway and the new South Bank Jubilee Gardens, the journey ended with a firework display, and a procession of lighted carriages took The Queen back to Buckingham Palace for more balcony appearances to a cheering crowd.

THE QUESTION OF NATIONAL IDENTITY. CHANGES IN THE TRADITIONAL HISTORY OF ENGLISH CULTURE AND CHALLENGES FOR THE 21ST CENTURY.

The coincidence of the official celebrations of the Silver Jubilee with the release of 'God Save the Queen' by the Sex Pistols epitomizes the sort of challenges that traditional English values and culture faced towards the end of the 20th century. These challenges have intensified as we entered into a globalized, multicultural 21st century. The following two texts describe these changes, and point to the possible evolution that English culture may undergo in the future.

[13]
TRADITIONAL ENGLISH NATIONAL IDENTITY: CHANGES AND CHALLENGES

1. Why are the forces of global capitalism described as 'homogenizing'?
2. Why are the forces of mass emigration and immigration described as 'heterogenizing'?
3. Identify and describe the following, in the light of what we have studied in this course so far. Why does the text list them as common projects in the past idea of Britain?
    a. Empire
    b. Parliament
    c. Monarchy
    d. Protestantism
    e. The spirit of the Blitz
    f. The welfare state
    g. Social democracy
4. What sort of national identity was fostered by the Falklands War? Why is it associated with Churchill?
5. What sort of national identity did Margaret Thatcher have, which is described in the text both as 'as an alternative national identity or as an alternative to national identity'? Why do you think it is described thus? Explain.
6. How did the death of Princess Diana trigger another new type of national identity? Describe the new type of national identity, and its difference from previously held views about the English character. Was there a certain political dimension to this 'new sense of national character'?
7. What do opinion polls say about people's sense of identity, and the fate of national identity? What sort of conclusions does the text provide regarding the contrast between national identity and universal values?

"Over the last twenty-five years, journalists, intellectuals and politicians have continued to chart—and decry—the remorseless decay of British 'national identity'. They have also continued, if anything with mounting purposefulness, to try to reverse it. It seems sometimes as if the only point on which the 'chattering classes' of all political and ideological stripes agree is that British national identity has diminished, is diminishing, and ought to be increased. The alleged sources of decay are multiple and slightly contradictory. In the background are the internationally homogenizing forces of global capitalism (in certain versions, American capitalism), and the heterogenizing forces of mass emigration and immigration. These affect everyone in the west and are, at least, therefore not a peculiarly British affliction. For Europhobes especially, the rise of a sense of Europeanness threatens national identity across the Continent, although there is less evidence of this Europeanness in Britain than elsewhere.

Britain is also thought to suffer from some identity problems peculiar to itself. Although Britain has not in fact broken up as had been widely predicted since the 1970s, the idea of Britain apparently has. The common projects represented in the past by the idea of Britain—empire, Parliament and monarchy, Protestantism, the spirit of the Blitz, the welfare state, social democracy—all have been discredited. The Scots and the Welsh are going their own way, leaving the English on their own and uncertain of 'who they are'. Often it is said that the English have never had a very strong sense of 'who they are' because they have been hiding for so long behind these largely institutional constructs of 'Britishness'

(…)

Margaret Thatcher had a strong conviction that Britain needed a kind of cultural revolution in which a restored national identity would play a leading role. Of the three different versions with which Thatcher became associated over the next decade the most obvious was a traditional Tory patriotism that she had inherited from, among other influences, Churchill and Powell, and in which she believed much more intuitively than her immediate predecessors in the Conservative leadership. Although in the first years of her premiership it was not at all clear how she might rebuild patriotic attachment to traditional institutions, in 1982 she found, fortuitously or not, the ideal vehicle in the Falklands War. Mobilization for this war and celebration of the victory afterwards at least temporarily fixed the people's loyalties onto some traditional national institutions—the armed forces, mostly, but also Parliament, though not the monarchy—and restored for a time a sense of common purpose in pursuit of traditional British values—self-determination, support for the underdog, resistance to bullying, perseverance in adversity.

(…)

Margaret Thatcher had another agenda which was, if anything, more prominent and which could be viewed either as an alternative national identity or as an alternative to national identity: her strong streak of individualism, manifesting itself in policy as a hostility to economic collectivism but also to collectives of all sorts. Her most notorious statement of this part of her philosophy came in a September 1987 interview with *Woman's Own* magazine where she lambasted people for looking to 'Government' or, worse, 'society' for solutions to their personal problems '[W]ho is society?' she demanded. 'There is no such thing! There are individual men and women and there are families and no government can do anything except through people and people look to themselves first'. In Thatcher's own view, this individualism was perfectly compatible with patriotism and with a specifically English—Tory variety that went back to Edmund Burke. The state provided a fundamental, possibly minimal, moral order within which the 'little platoons' of individuals, families and voluntary organizations got on with the business of living otherwise unmolested and unmobilized.

(…)

Another fortuitous event seized upon by New Labour to promote a new sense of national identity was the death of Princess Diana in late summer 1997, and most particularly the public reaction to her death. Towards the end of her life the mass media had already been portraying Diana as an alternative national character in waiting, 'the People's Princess' with the common touch, a natural expressiveness and emotionality, to counterpoise the stiffness, formality and traditionalism of her husband and mother-in-law (a rerun, it might be thought, of the Angry Young Man campaign against the 'gentleman', although with a very novel appeal to women). The intense emotional release that was held to characterize the national reaction to her death merged this characterization of the princess with the characterization of the nation. For his part, Tony Blair did his level best to merge this characterization of the nation with his own 'New Britain'

(…)

There is a good deal of evidence that people in Britain today, while continuing to feel pride in 'Britain', do not 'identify' themselves with it as they might once have done. On those rare occasions when people are asked not how they identify with their country but whether they identify with their country, their answers are not always very positive. A 1996 survey asked people what were 'the most important components of identity': the most common answers were 'my principles and values' (66 per cent), 'my interests' (61 per cent), 'being a parent' (59 per cent), 'emotions and feelings' (57 per cent), 'circle of friends' (55 per cent), and 'my intelligence' (52 per cent), with national identifications just behind. When asked what was 'most important to your sense of self-identity', only 'being a parent' was mentioned by even half of respondents, and nation came far behind, around 20 per cent, clustering with many other bases of identity. Condor's studies into the meanings of 'England' and 'Britain' have been inhibited by the reluctance of many of her respondents, especially the young, to identify with either. In one sample of students, a fifth said they had no national identity at all and 70 per cent said that it was not very important to them. A majority of a sample of skilled workers from the north-west also said that national identity was of uncertain personal significance to them.

If these quantitative measures have not been matched by qualitative investigations, that may have a lot to do with the investment of social scientists and journalists in the presence rather than the absence of national identity. People continue to display a commitment to certain values—individuality, diversity, tolerance, fair play, the rule of law—that have in the past been coded as 'English' or 'British'. But the same values have in the past also been coded as universal human values, and may now be re-emerging in that form. Whereas once a commitment to universal human values seemed easier and more authentic when conceptualized as 'peculiarly' English, now defining these values as 'English' makes them seem more problematic and less sincere. The whig 'progress narrative', which saw universal values being realized most perfectly in national contexts, has to some extent been displaced by a new 'progress narrative', which sees universal values being realized on a global scale. After national character, after nation—humanity, just as the Enlightenment imagined things before national character? Maybe so. Yet history is full of surprises."

(Excerpted from Peter Mandler, *The English National Character. The History of an Idea from Edmund Burke to Tony Blair*. New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2006, pp. 229-242)

Supporters of the English rugby team

TASK: Read text [14] and answer the following questions:

1. Why does Diane Abbott say that 'From the days when the Norman French invaded Anglo-Saxon Britain, we have been a culturally diverse nation'? Go back to our unit 1, and explain this statement.
2. What does the author of the text say about slavery? How does this agree with the traditional Whig view of history, and with the traditional narrative of English cultural and political identity?
3. What does she say about empire? How, and in which terms, does her account challenge received narratives of colonization?
4. What does the text say about the history of popular music in the 20th century? Compare with the previous texts on the development of British pop music in the sixties.

[14]
MULTI-RACIAL BRITAIN
By Diane Abbott MP

As a woman of African descent, I have got used to the surprise on some people's faces when they find out I am also a British MP. For some people, it is a surprise that I am British at all. Particularly if they are not themselves from Britain and have never heard my name.

For millions of people all over the world, Britain is the land of tradition, the Royal Family, Beefeaters, Bobbies on the beat and, above all, white people. In much of middle America, it comes as a shock for them to hear that there any black people in Britain at all. But even if people can get their head around the idea that I might be British, the notion that I could be an MP often perplexes them.

An MP? Surely, I can see their eyes say, a British MP must be white. There are many lifetimes of war, conquest, history, literature, culture and myth behind the idea that Britain is a racially pure society. And in the study of history, myth is just as important as reality. But the racial purity of the British has always been a myth.

From the days when the Norman French invaded Anglo-Saxon Britain, we have been a culturally diverse nation. But because the different nationalities shared a common skin colour, it was possible to ignore the racial diversity which always existed in the British Isles. And even if you take race to mean what it is often commonly meant to imply - skin colour- there have been black people in Britain for centuries. The earliest blacks in Britain were probably black Roman centurions that came over hundreds of years before Christ. But even in Elizabethan times, there were numbers of blacks in Britain. So much so that Elizabeth I issued a proclamation complaining about them. Throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth century, black people make fleeting appearances in the political and cultural narrative of the British Isles. Black people can be seen as servants in the prints of Hogarth. And in many paintings of the era. In Thackeray's 'Vanity Fair', Ms Schwartz, the West Indian heiress is obviously supposed to be of mixed race. She is gently mocked but her colour is not otherwise remarked on.

British schoolchildren are taught about the abolition of slavery. They hear less about the key role that slavery played in the British economy in the eighteenth century. Britain was the centre of the triangular traffic whereby British ships took goods to Africa which were exchanged for slaves which the same British ships transported to the Caribbean and North America before returning home. The majority of these slaves worked in the plantations of the Caribbean and North America. But some came to Britain to be personal household servants. Over time, they inter-married with native born Britons. It would be interesting to know how many British people who consider themselves racially pure have an African slave generations back in their family. And, of course, between the wars, black seamen turned ports like Liverpool and Cardiff into multi-racial areas. Yet there was tendency for the black areas of these seaports to be cut off from the rest of the city. It was possible until not so long ago to visit Liverpool for the day and not be aware it had a sizeable black community. Such was the de facto segregation that still existed.

Diane Abbott is a Labour Member of Parliament

So in the literal sense, multi-racialism is nothing new. Britain has always been a multi-racial society. What is new is the visibility of its racial diversity. And what is newer still is a willingness to accept that all the races can have parity of esteem. For a long time, even when it was acknowledged that there were people of different racial origin within the British Isles, there was an assumption that the white race and culture was, and should, be dominant.

The creed of racial superiority was very much part and parcel of the culture of the empire. The British Empire was built on a theory of racial inferiority. The great Victorian writer and poet, Rudyard Kipling, wrote extensively on the supposed superiority of the British and talked about 'lesser breeds without the law'. It was the alleged superiority of the non-white races that supposedly legitimised taking over their countries and subordinating them to second class status. So even until quite recently British text books talked about Europeans 'discovering' countries like America, Australia and the source of rivers like the Nile. Whereas in fact there were plenty of non-white people who were in America and Australia all along who knew perfectly well where the source of the Nile was. And until recently writers talked about the Europeans bringing civilisation to Africa and the Indian sub-continent. As if these countries had not seen highly sophisticated Empires and societies long before the Europeans came.

When you read in the old textbooks about the supposedly civilising mission of the British, one is reminded of the comment of Gandhi. He was asked what he thought about British civilisation. He paused for a long time and then said thoughtfully 'It would be a good idea'. So fixed in the British mind, was the racial inferiority of the people whose lands they took over that for a long time archaeologists believed that the sculpture and carvings of the city of Benin in Nigeria could not have been done by black people. And similarly that the great 'lost' city of Zimbabwe in southern Africa could not have been built by black men. In direct line of descent of that kind of thinking is Prince Phillip's idea that poor quality electrical work must have been done by Indians.

To have a genuinely multi-racial society there needs to be genuine economic equality between the races. I do not believe that you can talk about a multi-racial Britain or anywhere else unless there is a measure of economic empowerment for all groups within Society. This means making sure that there is genuine equality of opportunity in education for all races. And that the barriers for black and ethnic minority advancement in business and in the profession are taken down. But economic empowerment for minorities is a necessary precondition but not sufficient to bring about a genuinely multi-racial society. Because nationhood and society is as much about ideas as anything else, the role of culture, literature, philosophy and the arts in building a mult-racial society is key. The first step is that the influence of black and ethnic minorities in the culture of a country like Britain is properly acknowledged.

There is no doubt the history of twentieth century popular music is very much the history of African music as it has been mediated through North America. There is almost no sort of pop music that doesn't owe something to black American influence. And in art, the influence of African art has long been acknowledged on modern abstract painters like Picasso. More recently, the literary establishment has been willing to acknowledge the contribution of black and ethnic minority writers like Ben Okri, Alice Walker, Gabriel Garcia Marquez, Arundathi Roy, Salman Rushdie and Nobel prize winning Toni Morrison. And at the level of popular culture, different races have enriched British life greatly.

There is no doubt that the presence of ethnic minorities in Britain and much more foreign travel have transformed the British diet for the better. Noticeably fish and chips have been overtaken by curry as the most popular British takeaway. For many years, Britons have got used to seeing black athletes like Linford Christie representing them internationally. And much of the famous "Cool Britannia" that mix of music and fashion which is admired internationally derives from different ethnic street styles. We are also seeing an unprecedented level of intermarriage between the races. It is noticeably more common to see mixed race couples in Britain than in the U.S. which has had a larger black population for longer. There can be no doubt that as more and more British either have a black person in their family or at least knows someone that has a black person in their family, ideas about the desirability of racial purity will have to be examined by even the most die hard conservative.

So multi-racialism is easy to talk about but hard to achieve. Britain is a more open, more multi-racial society than ever before. And one where different races and cultural influences are beginning to be positively acknowledged and given equal respect. We have come some way but there is still further to go. Martin Luther King dreamed of an America where a man's character would be more important than the colour of their skin. I suspect that we will know that Britain has become a genuinely multi-racial society, when the skin colour of a British MP is no more significant than the colour of their eyes.

Somalian-born athlete, Mo Farah, who won the 10,000 metres gold medal at the 2012 Olympic Games for England. This picture, and the text below, is taken from an article published in the Mail Online (a conservative newspaper), titled 'How glorious, after years of our national identity being denigrated, to see patriotism rekindled'. The journalist proudly proclaimed:

"In many ways, the most heartening moment of the Games came at Mo Farah's post-race press conference, when an African journalist asked him whether he would rather have competed for Somalia, where he was born. 'Look, mate,' Farah said firmly. 'This is my country. When I put on the Great Britain vest, I feel proud. Very proud.' Farah — whose victory in the 10,000 metres was, for me, the defining and most emotional moment of the Games — came to this country from Somalia at the age of eight. He did not speak a word of English. But here he was, a proud Londoner and a proud Briton, suffused with joy after winning in front of his home crowd. What better symbol could there be of a united, inclusive country in the post-imperial age? What better advert for British identity: confident and colour-blind? What better answer to those who insist that Britishness is dead, and multi-culturalism is the future? And what better rebuke to the narrow-minded nationalists who want to break up our country and reduce it to a handful of petty fragments?"

Source: http://www.dailymail.co.uk/debate/article-2186815/The-rebirth-Britishness-How-glorious-years-national-identity-denigrated-patriotism-rekindled.html#axzz2KKhww54S

Final task: what do you think, in view of what we have read so far, this excerpt can tell us about the current state of British identity?

TASK: Read text [15] and answer the following questions:

1. What consequences would an independent Scotland bring about in Britain?
2. What was the situation in Britain around the 1950s and 60s?
3. What role did the welfare state play in this situation, according to the text?
4. What had provided the union, historically, with stability, up until 1973, when Britain joined the European common market?
5. Which other sort of identities and components were in competition with each other during the 20th century, in England, Scotland and across the United Kingdom?
6. What sequence of events has led to the current situation?

[15]
SCOTTISH NATIONALISM AND THE SCOTTISH REFERENDUM

How history turned against Tory-voting Scotland
When the unionists won a famous election victory in 1955, the SNP was an irrelevant sect. Then came Thatcher and the 1980s
Tom Devine – *The Guardian*, Sunday 14 September 2014

In four days' time, we may see the end of Britain as we and our ancestors have known it for generations. If some of the polls are to be believed, Scotland the nation will once again become a sovereign nation state. It is difficult to overestimate the colossal historical significance of such an extraordinary development.

Its consequences for the British archipelago and Britain's place in the world will be incalculable for many years to come. A third of the UK land mass will immediately cease to be British territory. "South Britain" beckons as the presumptive name for the remainder of the UK. Even if the no campaign manages to achieve a narrow victory, the crisis in the union will continue unabated. The evidence to date suggests that Westminster politicians do not yet possess the imaginative capacity to deal with it.

All this presents a major intellectual challenge for the historian. Little more than a generation ago, in the 1950s and early 60s, the union could not have been more secure. The Scottish Unionist party (only becoming the Conservative party in Scotland in 1965) had won a famous and overwhelming victory in the general election of 1955. The SNP at the time was but an irrelevant and eccentric sect rather than a mainstream political party. Indeed, despite the mythology of Red Clydeside, Scotland had voted mainly for the Tories in the 1920s and 1930s. The Labour landslide victory of 1945 can be seen as an aberration in that context.

The memory of the collective British sacrifice of the second world war lived on for the postwar generation in comics, books and films. The empire, in which the Scots were so fundamentally involved, started to dissolve with the independence of India in 1947. Yet, contemporaneously, the welfare state was established and soon became the new sheet anchor of the Anglo-Scottish union. Nationalisation of key industries further strengthened the idea of a British-wide collective economic enterprise.

Yet all this can be seen in retrospect as the quiet before the storm. Winnie Ewing's surprise victory for the SNP at the Hamilton byelection of 1967 was a small but significant portent of what was to come. By then, and even more so in subsequent decades, the age-old stability of the union state was being undermined by developments both within Britain and beyond.

The crucial historic importance for Scotland of maintaining free access to English markets ceased to be of such importance when the UK joined the European common market in 1973. A primary factor affording the union stability had long been the perception of a collective existential threat from a foreign foe: France and Spain in the 18th century, Nazi Germany and a nuclear-armed Soviet Russia in the 20th. The end of the cold war removed the fear of the Other, although whether that will return depends in the future on Putinesque sabre-rattling and Islamist fanaticism.

A shared English and Scottish commitment to Protestantism in the past had provided much of the ideological glue of union. This is no longer so in the age of secularisation. The Church of Scotland has lost two-thirds of its membership since the 1960s. That working-class Protestant culture of the Kirk, the Boys' Brigade and Rangers Football Club, long a bulwark of unionism and the Tory vote, is in decay. With that has withered the old sectarian voting patterns, of Protestants supporting the Conservatives and Catholics giving automatic allegiance to Labour.

That sectarian electoral pattern, especially significant in the west of Scotland, derived from the age-old hostilities between Protestant and Catholic that had reached a crisis between the wars, when the Church of Scotland leadership petitioned the UK government to prohibit Irish Catholic immigration. That policy failed but left deep scars. As late as the 1970s, labour market discrimination against Catholics remained endemic in several economic sectors.

Working class adherence to the two political parties most committed to the union left little space for the growth of nationalism. Moreover, Catholics had at that time a profound suspicion of the SNP, believing it to be dominated by Presbyterians, as well as having a few notorious bigots in its senior ranks.

The experience of Scotland in the 1980s is a critical factor in this narrative. Between 1976 and 1987 the nation lost nearly a third of its manufacturing capacity. The great heavy industries that had made Scotland's global economic reputation over more than a century disappeared in a matter of a few years. A post-industrial economy did emerge in the 1990s, but the crisis left behind a legacy of social dislocation in many working class communities and created a political agenda north of the border in marked contrast to that of the south of England. Rightly or wrongly, the devastation was blamed on the Conservative governments led by Margaret Thatcher. Scotland soon became a Tory-free zone in electoral terms. Another bastion of the union passed into history.

Equally fundamentally, state involvement and public spending became even more important to many Scots, in some parts of the west, accounting for as much as three-quarters of the local economy. As Lord Sumption, justice of the supreme court, argued in a notable 2013 lecture, these levels of public expenditure inevitably had profound effects on attitudes to the state in Scotland, which differ significantly from "the rather more equivocal view of the state taken by most Englishmen". Herein lay much of the basis of the divergence in political cultures and voting patterns that has emerged between the two nations, imposing much stress and strain on the union.

It is also the root of those Scottish political attitudes that seem to favour Scandinavian-type social policies, and which strongly oppose neoliberal market economics, associated in the public mind with the alien ideology imposed during the Thatcher years. Despite the mythology, the nation only became leftwing in its electoral choices during recent decades – and this transformation in large part derives directly from the experience of the 1980s.

The foundation of the Scottish parliament in 1999 and the referendum were not directly linked causally. But the parliament did eventually become the vehicle for a transformed SNP to gain political power and then trigger the referendum process. As old Labour became New Labour, the SNP adopted left-of-centre policies of considerable appeal to the electorate. Its reputation for competent government was established during the first minority administration. This, then, became the basis of the historic SNP victory in 2011.

There may well be a no vote on Thursday. But a victory for unionism will be far from decisive or definitive. Nearly half the Scottish electorate will almost certainly vote yes and may not be easily satisfied by post-referendum devo max concessions that are also likely to further fuel resentments south of the border. If the yes campaign wins, Britain will never be the same. Three centuries and more of political union between England and Scotland will be consigned to history. It's the possible end of an old political union rightly thought by many Scots to be no longer fit for purpose.