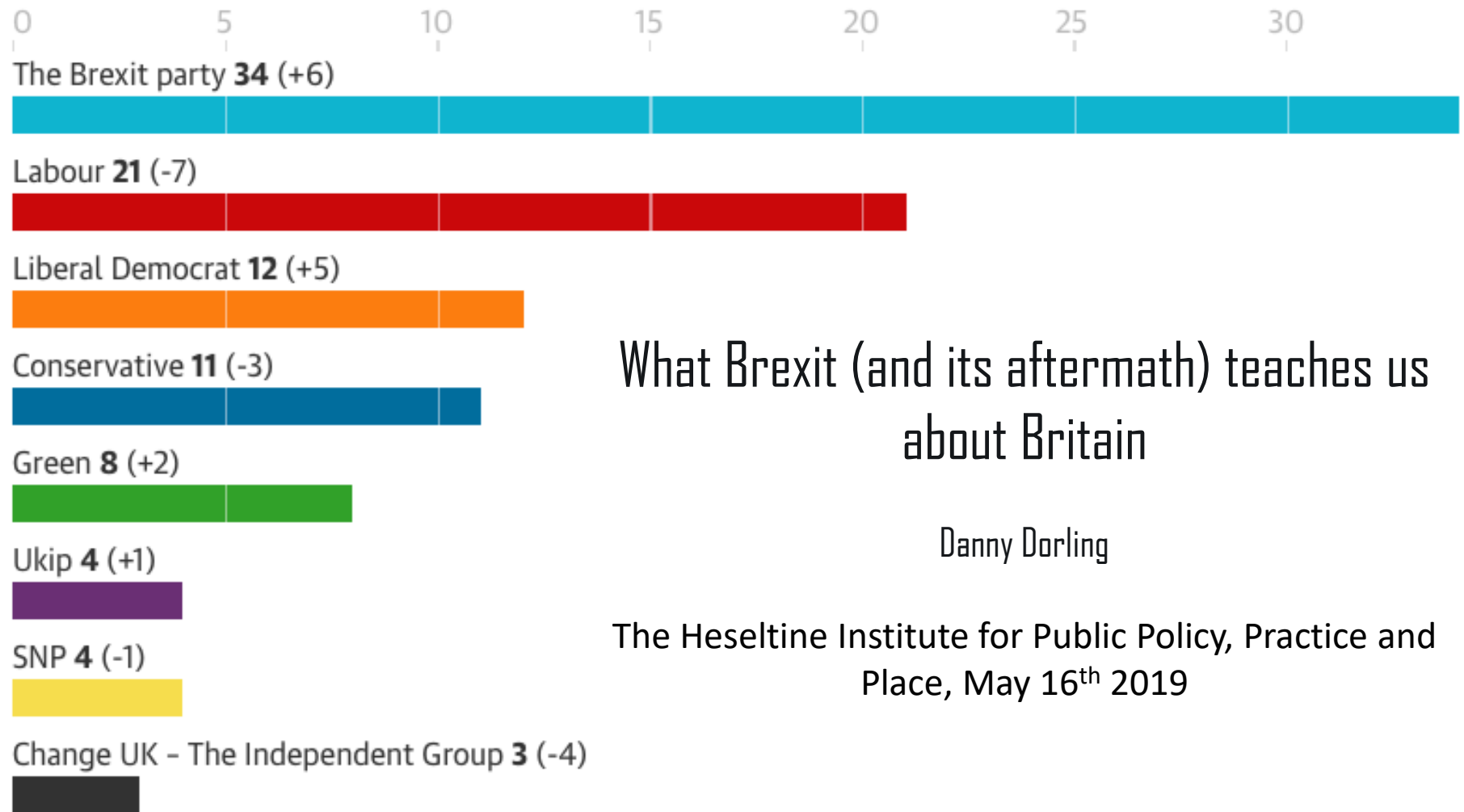


# The Brexit party also continues to gain a lot of traction in the lead-up to the European elections

European election voting intention, change since 23 April

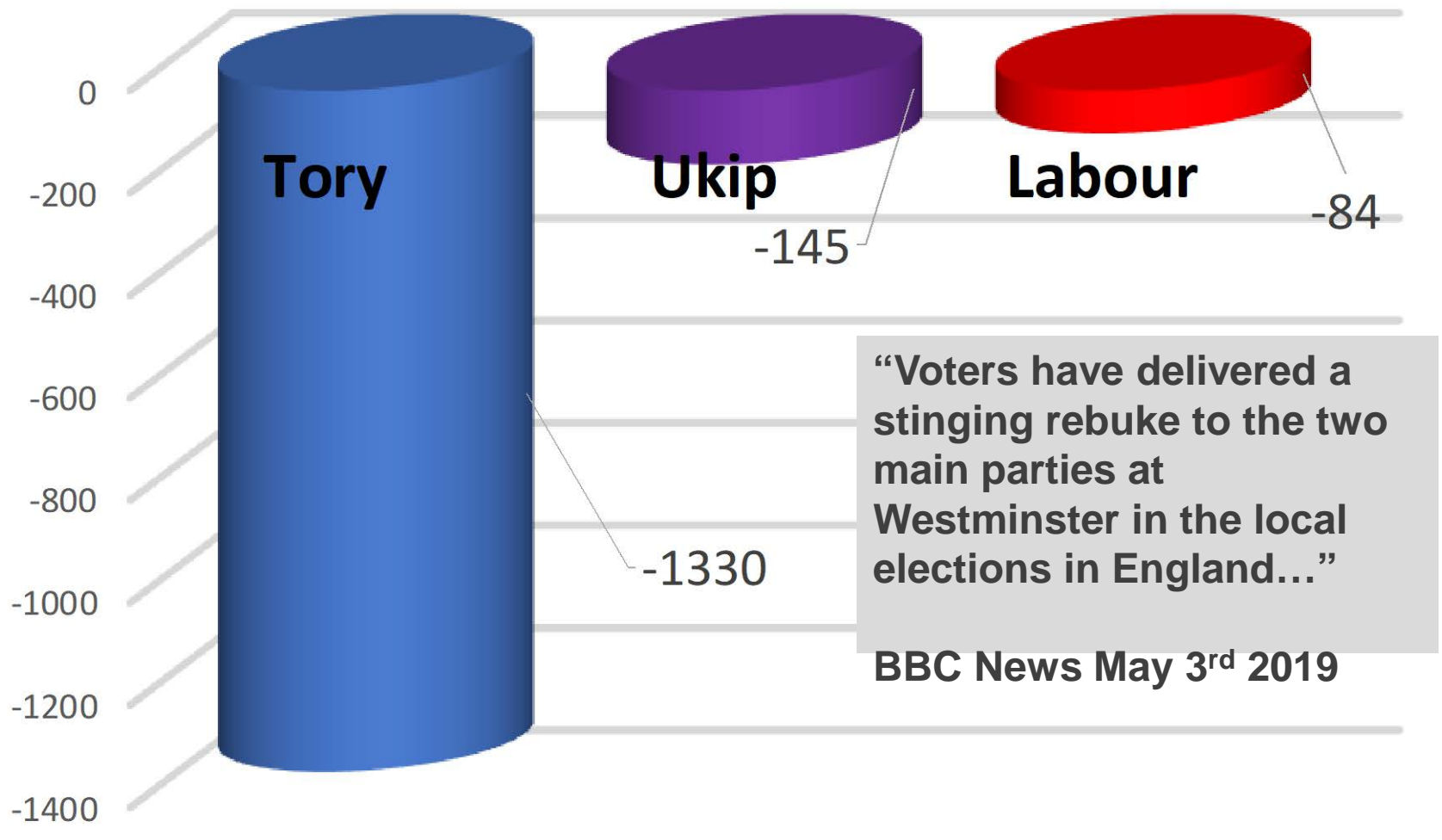


What Brexit (and its aftermath) teaches us about Britain

Danny Dorling

The Heseltine Institute for Public Policy, Practice and Place, May 16<sup>th</sup> 2019

# Seats lost in May 2019 local elections



Source: <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-politics-48091592> (as of May 5<sup>th</sup> 2019)

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Whatever happens next, Britain will be – and has already been – inevitably diminished by the Brexit vote. There is no welcoming group of countries ready to swiftly embrace new trading relationships with us.

And yet, there is hope. In this wide-ranging and thoughtful analysis, Dorling and Tomlinson argue that if Britain can reconcile itself to a new beginning, there is the chance to carve out a new identity. *Rule Britannia* is a call to leave behind the jingoistic ignorance of the past and build a fairer Britain, eradicating the inequality that blights our society and embracing our true strengths.

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**RULE BRITANNIA**  
DANNY DORLING & SALLY TOMLINSON

**B<sup>b</sup>**

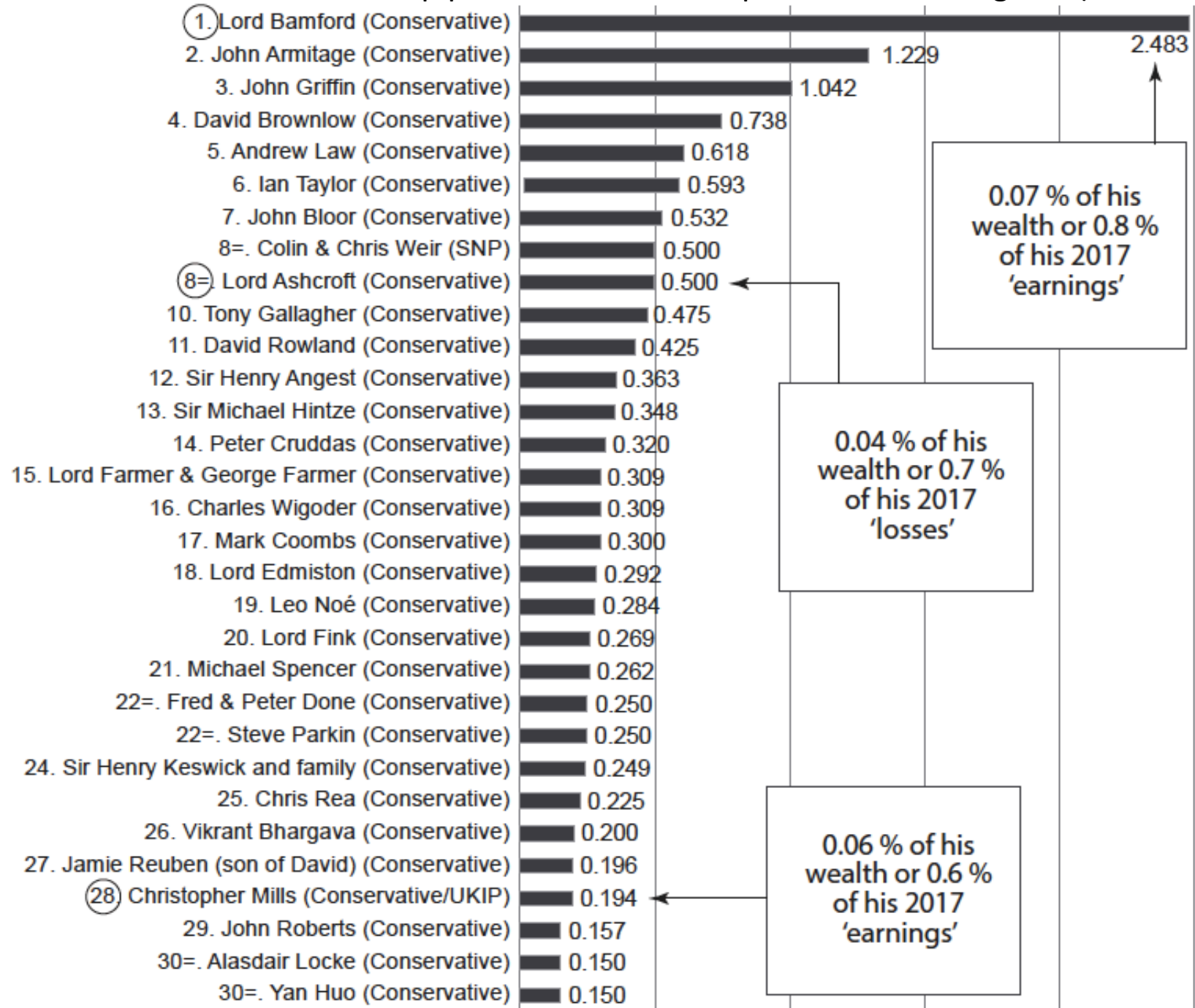
**BREXIT AND THE END OF EMPIRE**

# RULE BRITANNIA

**DANNY DORLING & SALLY TOMLINSON**



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"Britannia : I can no longer offer shelter to fugitives.  
England is not a free country".

1. 1906





James Gillray del.

*The Plum-pudding in danger — or — State Epicures taking up Petit Souper.*  
*"the great Globe itself and all which it inherit" is too small to satisfy such insatiable appetites.*  
*vide Mr W-d — & remember his my Father's Regent*





By Joseph P. Kelly



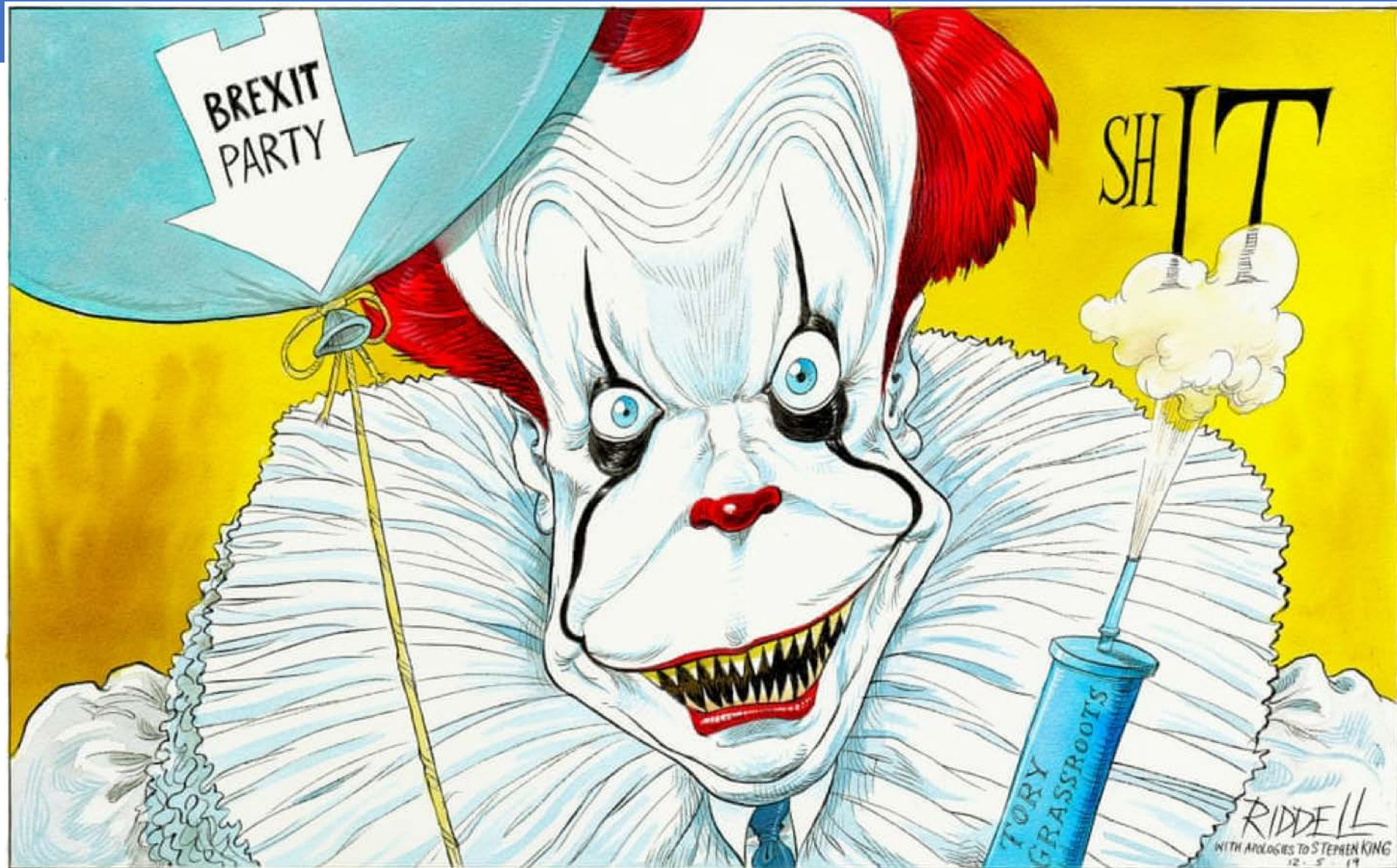
I CAN HONESTLY SAY, WITH-  
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and not worry about which  
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or companies  
know I'm there



Data from the school census  
is provided to third parties  
including the media  
and private companies.

School census: refuse to answer  
nationality and country of birth  
questions by May 18th







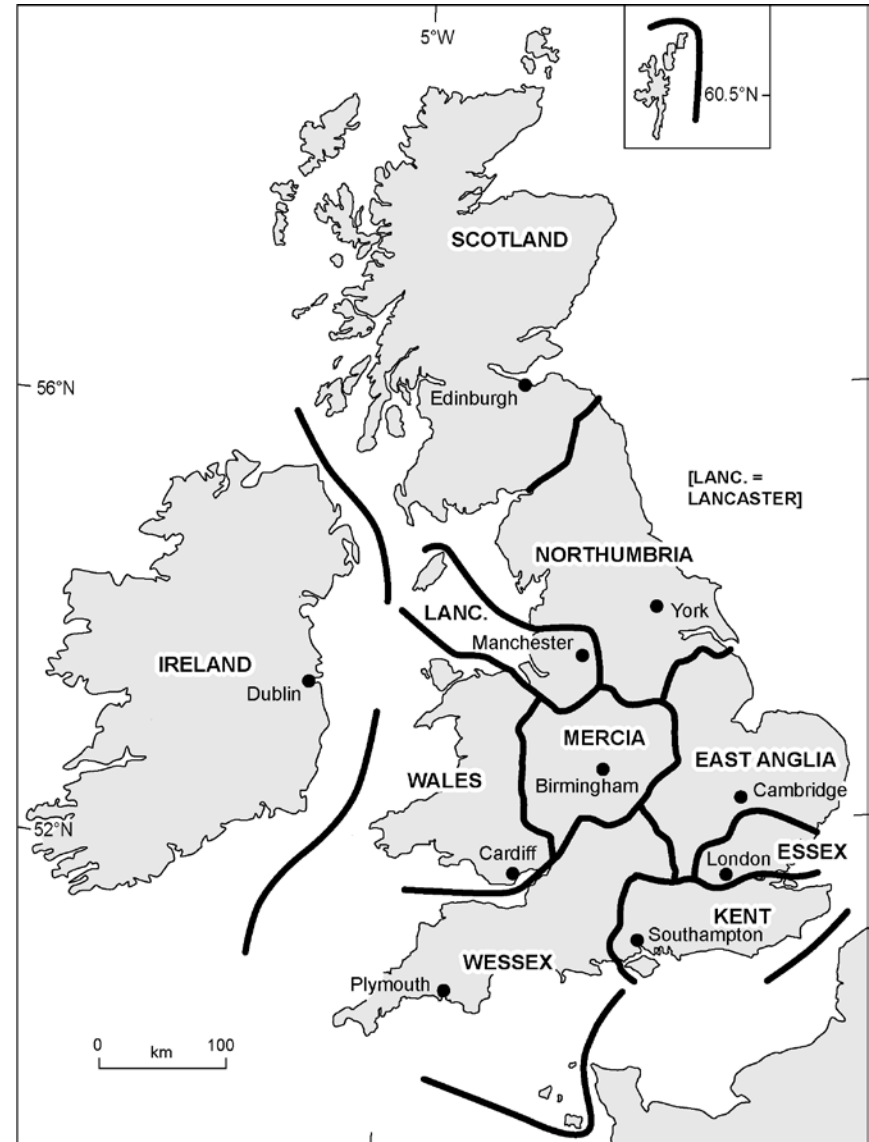






## Mathew Elliott

Editor-at-Large [@BrexitCentral](#) & Senior Political Adviser to Shore Capital. Former CEO of [@vote leave](#), NDtoAV and [@the tpa](#)



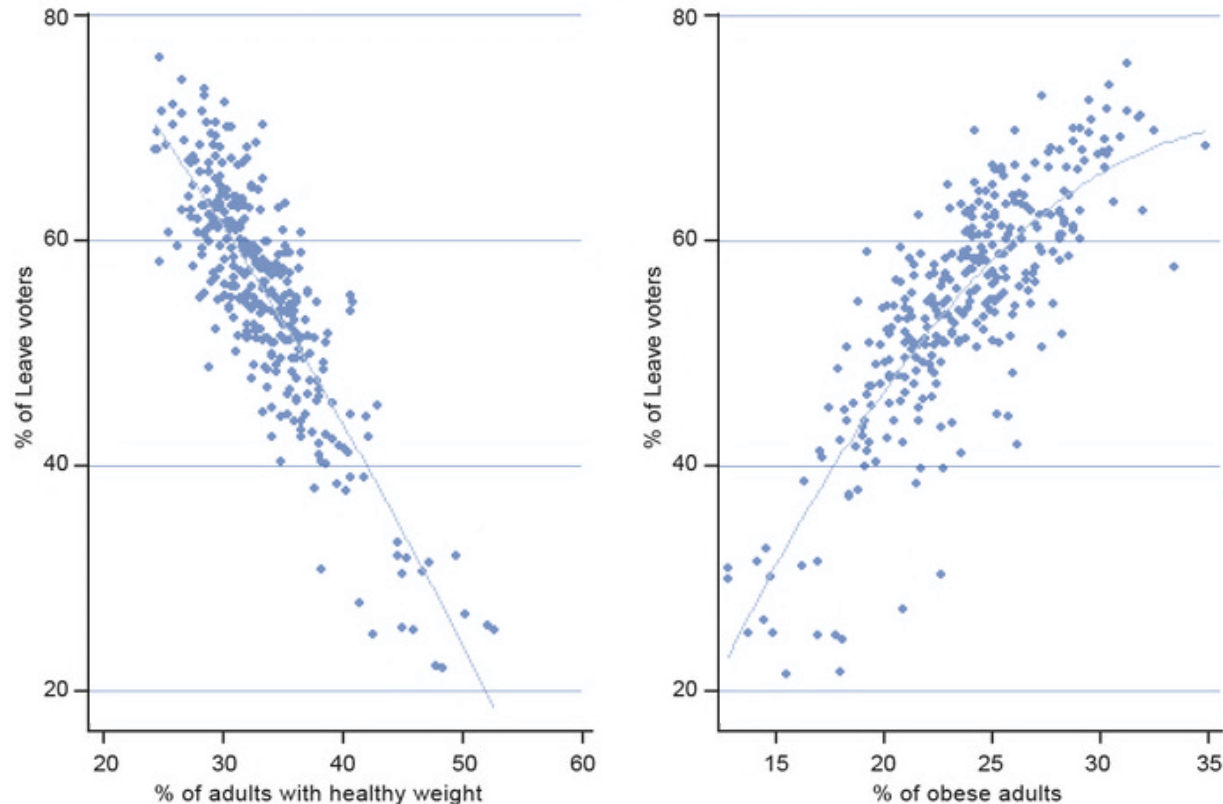
Source: Heineken, Alfred (Freddy) H. (1992) The United States of Europe, A Eurotopia? Amsterdam: De Amsterdamse Stichting voor de Historische Wetenschap.



## **Dominic Cummings**

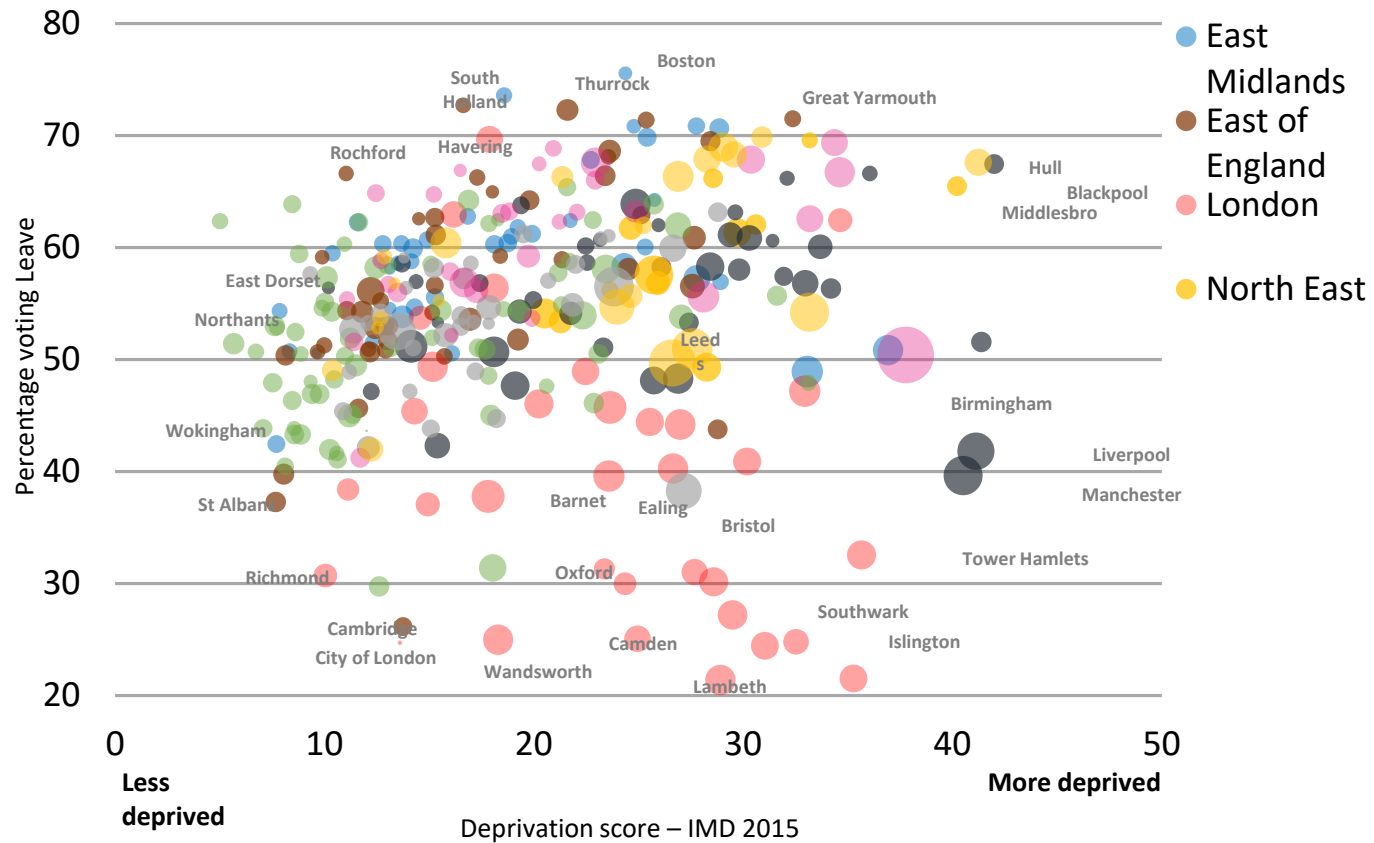
Campaign Director of Vote Leave – alum of Exeter College (Oxford, est. 1315) and Durham school (private boarding school for pupils aged between 3 and 18 years, established 1414).

# Referendum outcome and body weight, England and local area percentages



*Originally titled: "The weight of Brexit: Obese adults leading the way out of Europe"*

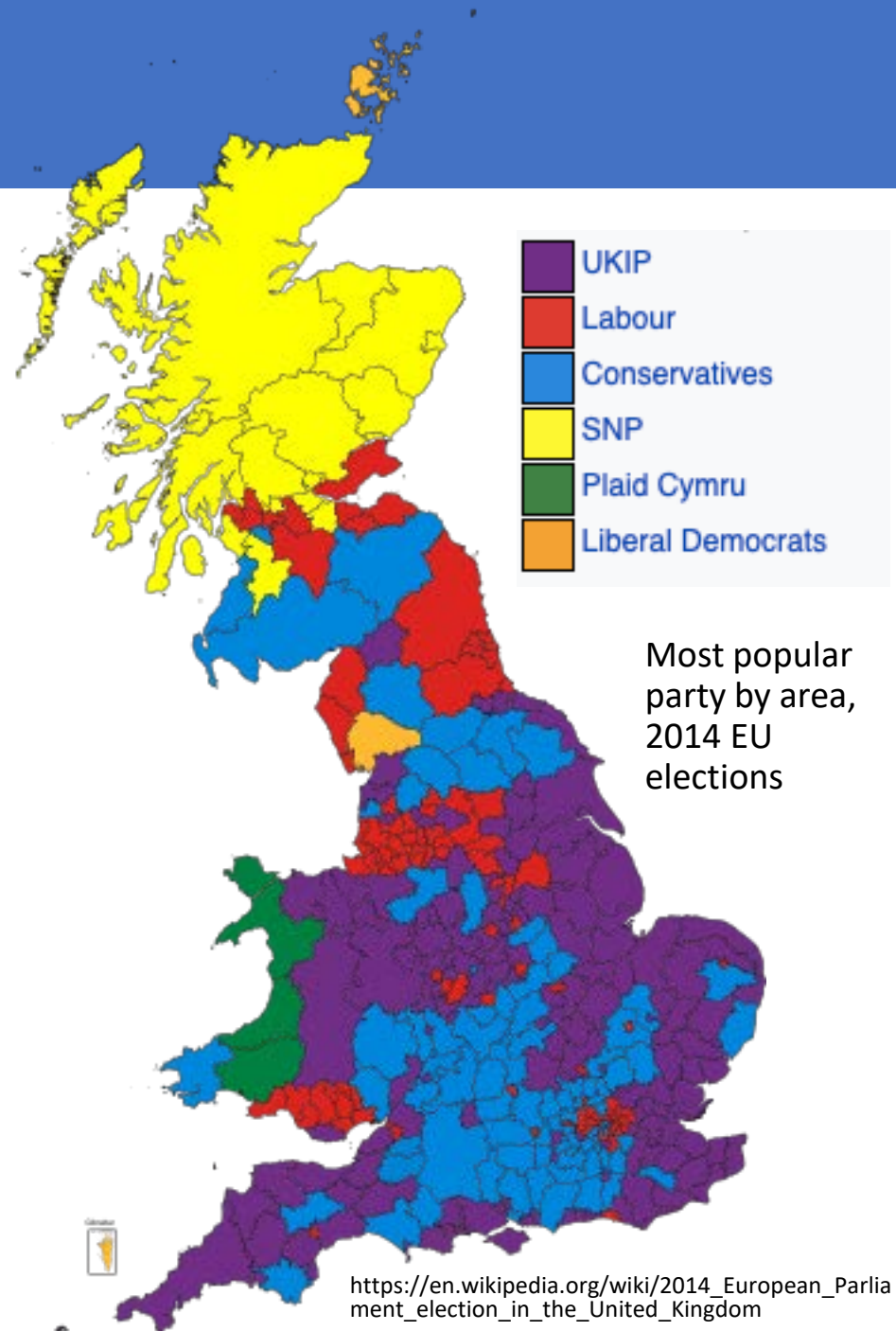
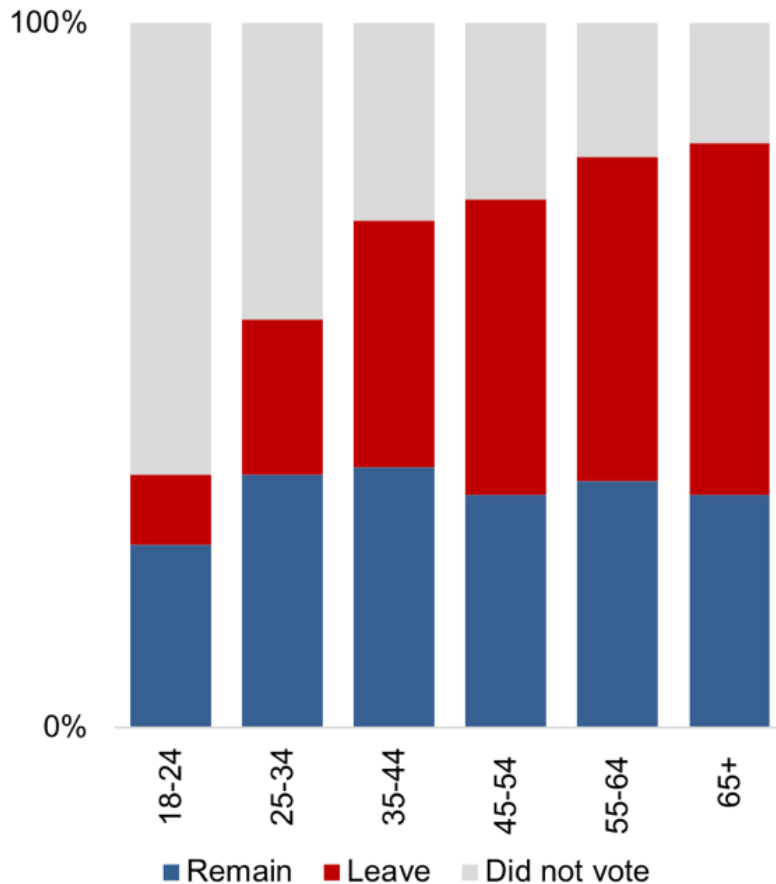
# What can explain Brexit?





# Who really voted for Brexit?

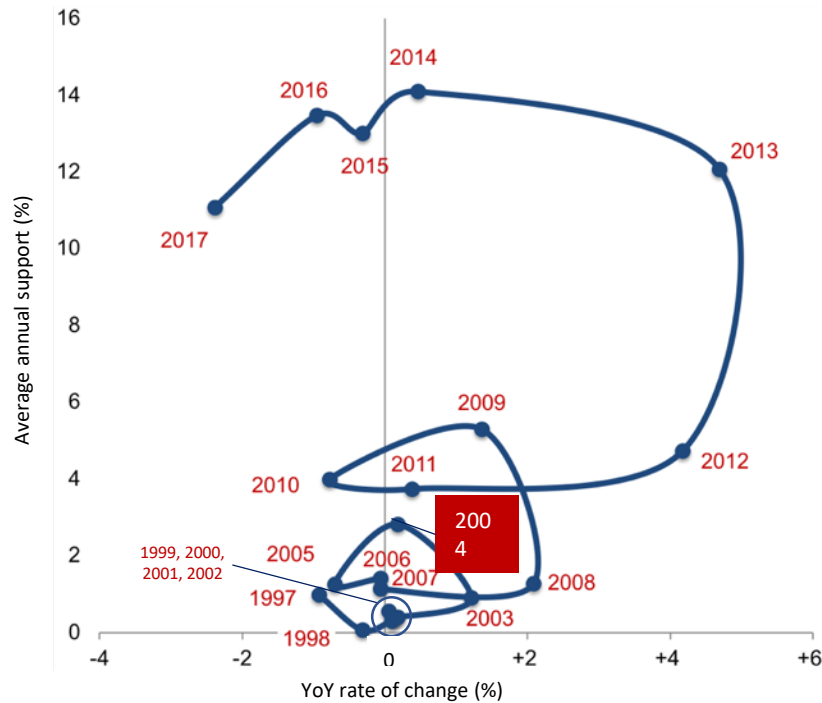
Voting by age group in 2016 EU referendum



# The rise of the right, pre-Brexit

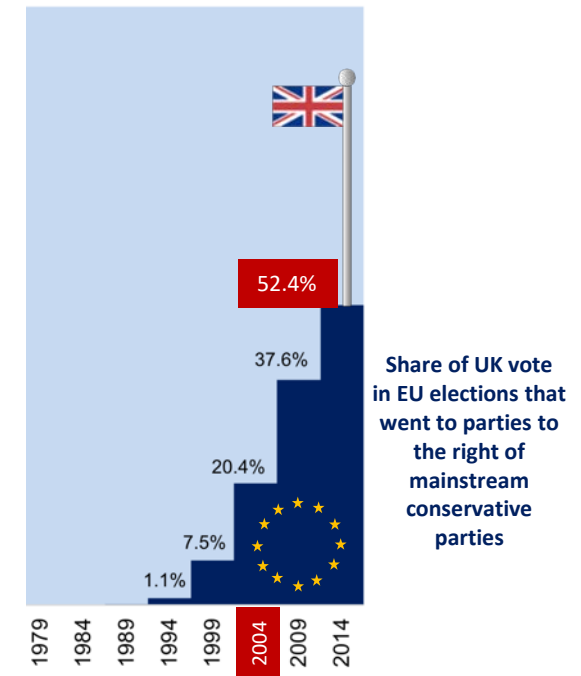
## Westminster election voting intentions

Domestic support for UKIP and other far right parties

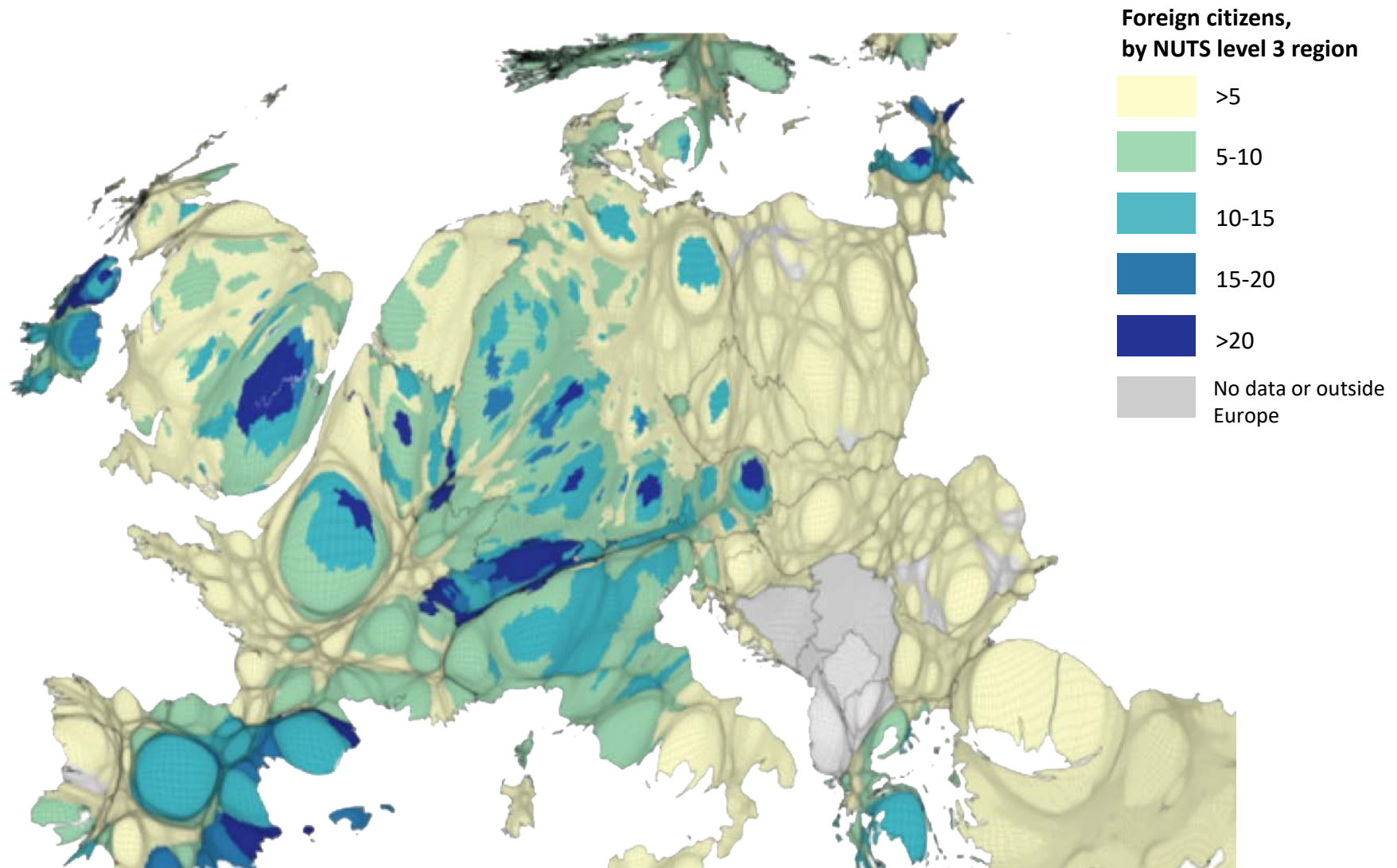


## EU election voting by UK

Support for far right parties in EU



# Cross-border migration in Europe 2014



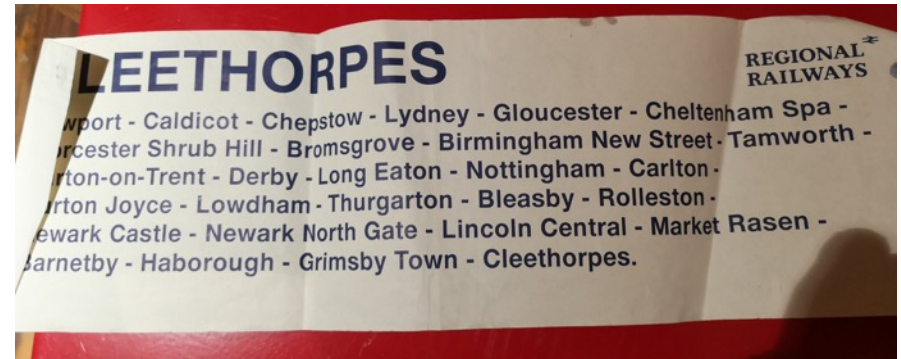
Source: D. Ballas, B. Henning, D. Dorling, *The Social Atlas of Europe 2014*





# Voting geography

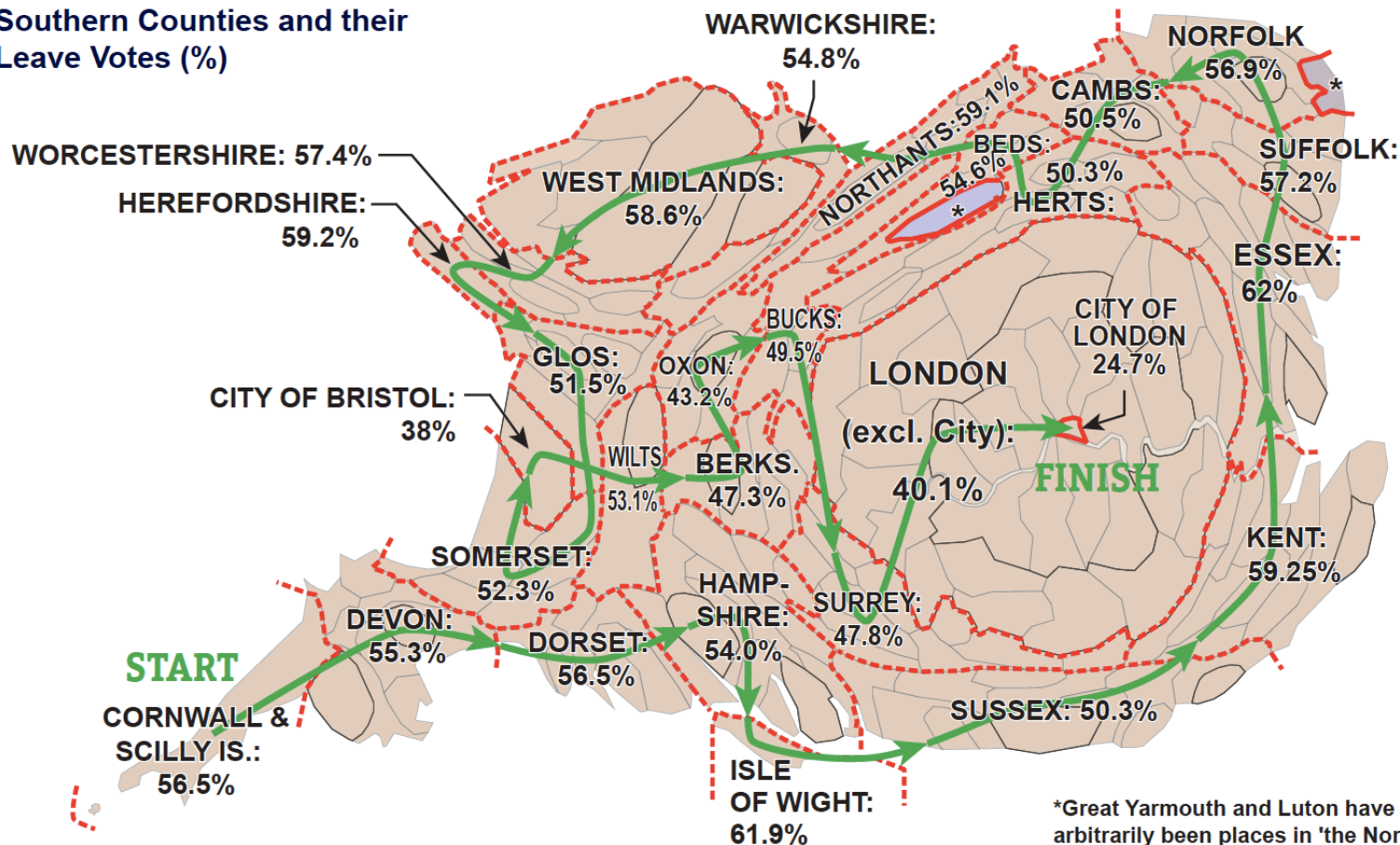
Areas which most often voted Leave  
were the areas with fewest immigrants



# The Brexit way – stops along the way

## The Brexit Way

Southern Counties and their  
Leave Votes (%)



\*Great Yarmouth and Luton have arbitrarily been places in 'the North' – it makes no difference to the overall result of the South having more Leave votes.



**ANTI-CORNWALL: Leave 56.6%**  
181,359 (of 459,201)

**Ashfield**  
(70% – 46,720)

**Nottingham**  
(51% – 61,343)

## KEY

**Ashfield** = voting district

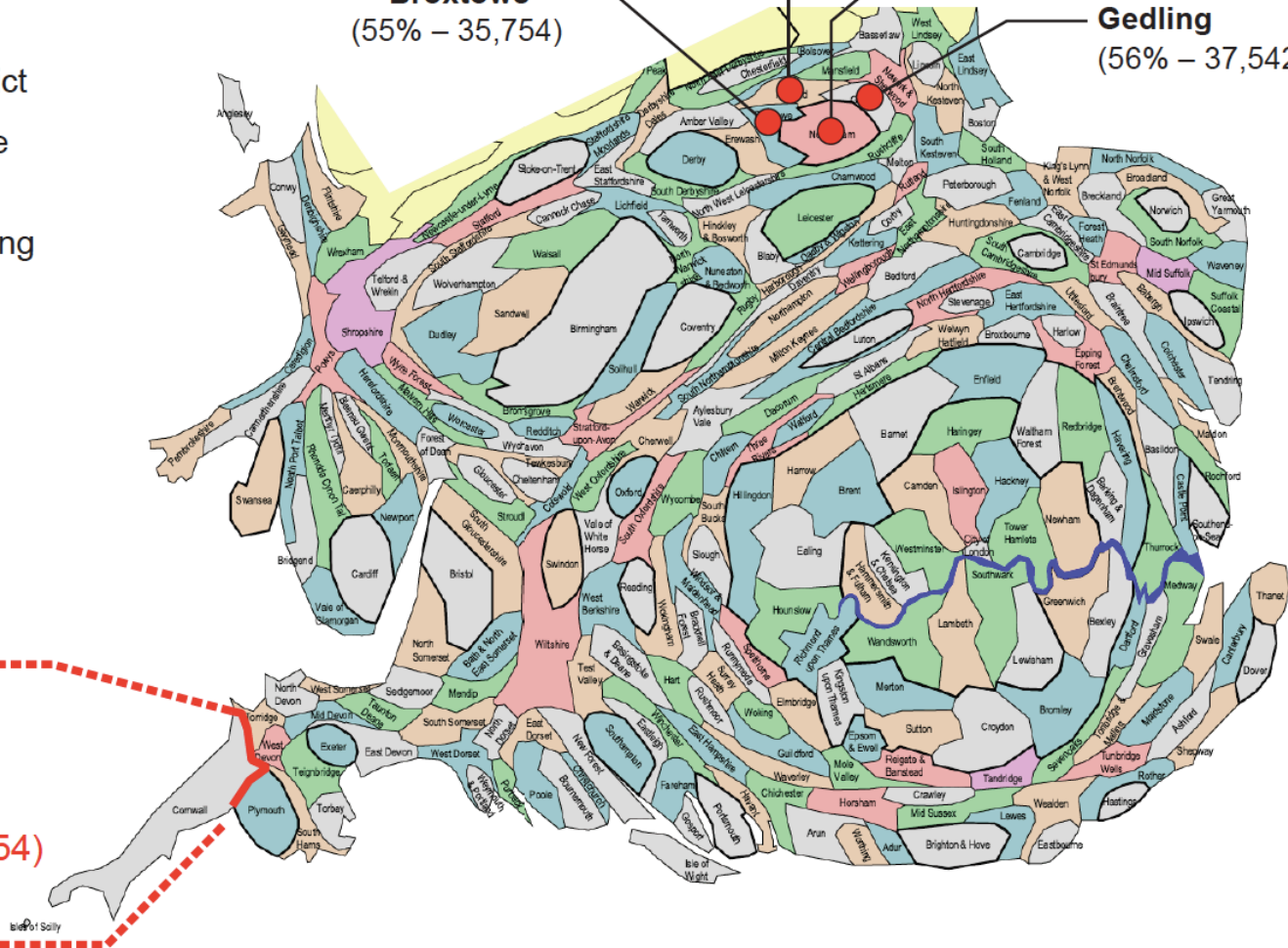
(70%) = % Leave vote

(46,720) = number of  
people voting

**Broxtowe**  
(55% – 35,754)

**Gedling**  
(56% – 37,542)

**CORNWALL:**  
**Leave 56.5%**  
183,286 (of 421,554)



### Gateshead

(57% –  
58,529)

### Co. Durham

(58% – 153,877)

### Denbighshire

(54% – 28,117)

**ANTI-DEVON: Leave 55.5%**  
372,521 (of 941,887)

### Eden

(53% –  
16,911)

### South Lakeland

(47% –  
30,800)

### Flintshire

(56% –  
48,930)

### Conwy

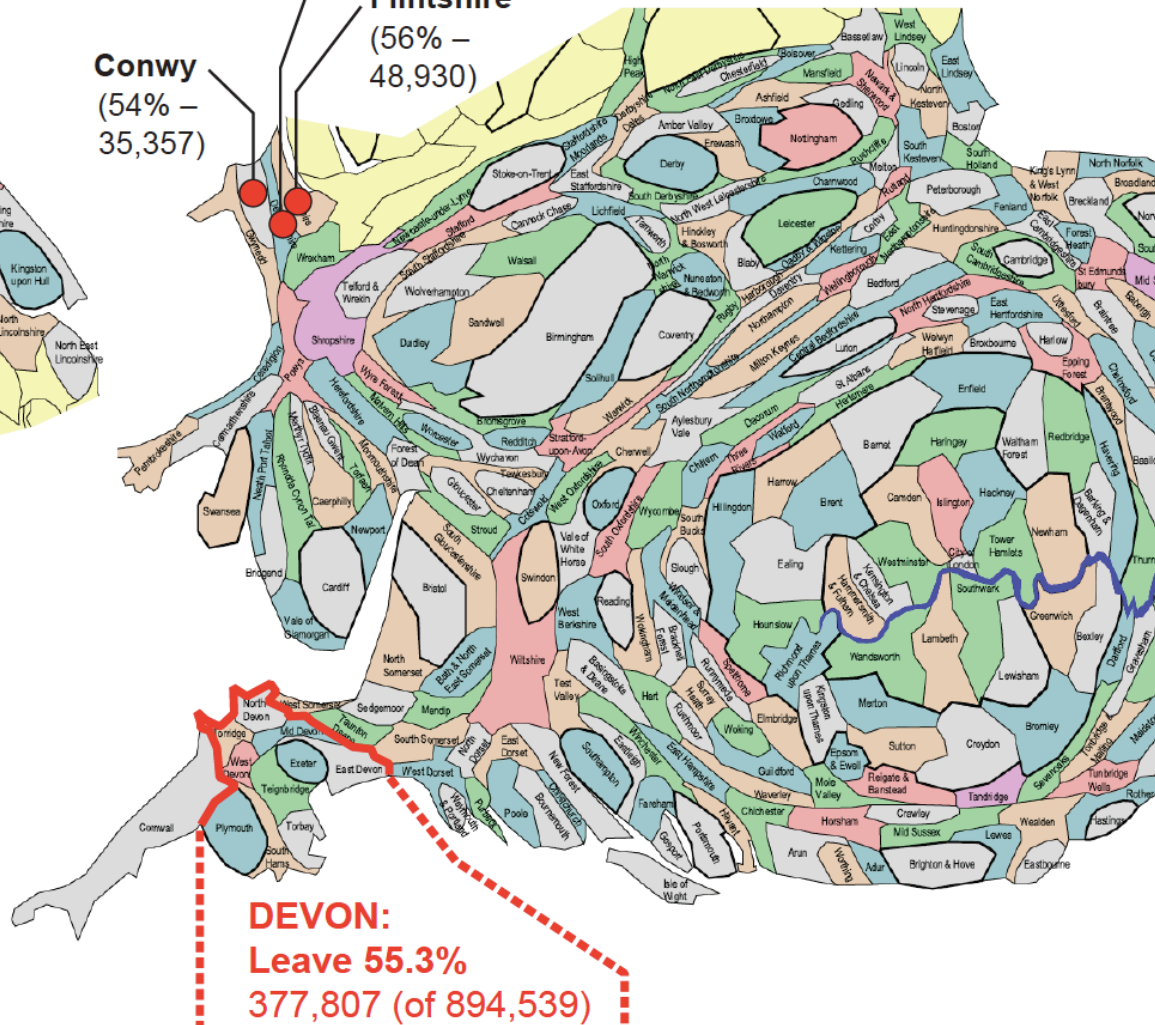
(54% –  
35,357)

### KEY

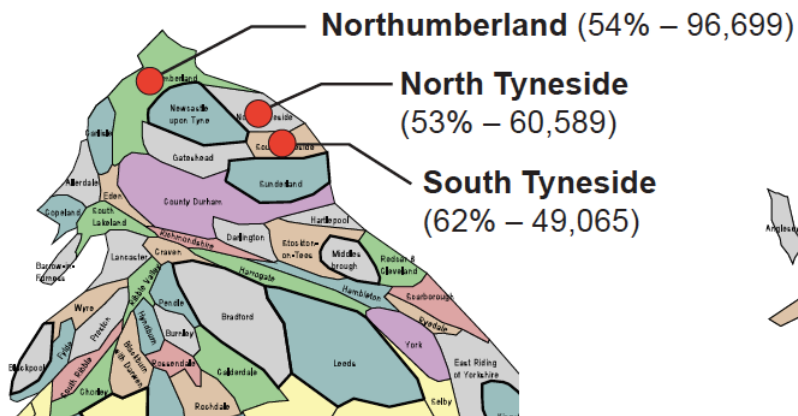
**Co. Durham** = voting district

(58%) = % Leave vote

(153,877) = number of  
people voting





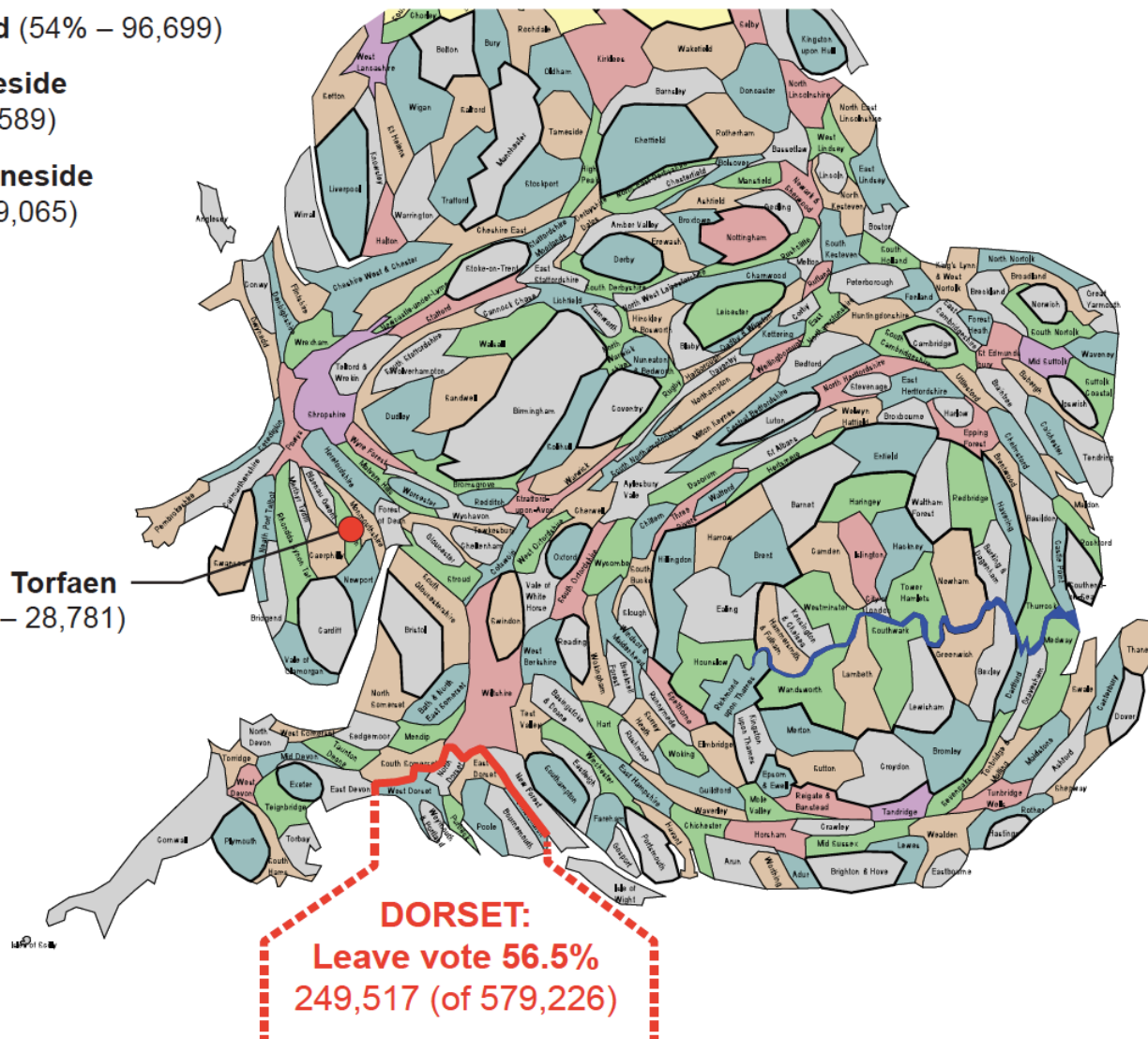


**ANTI-DORSET:**  
**Leave 56.1%**  
**235,134 (of 582,339)**

**Torfaen**  
**(60% – 28,781)**

### KEY to 'ANTI'

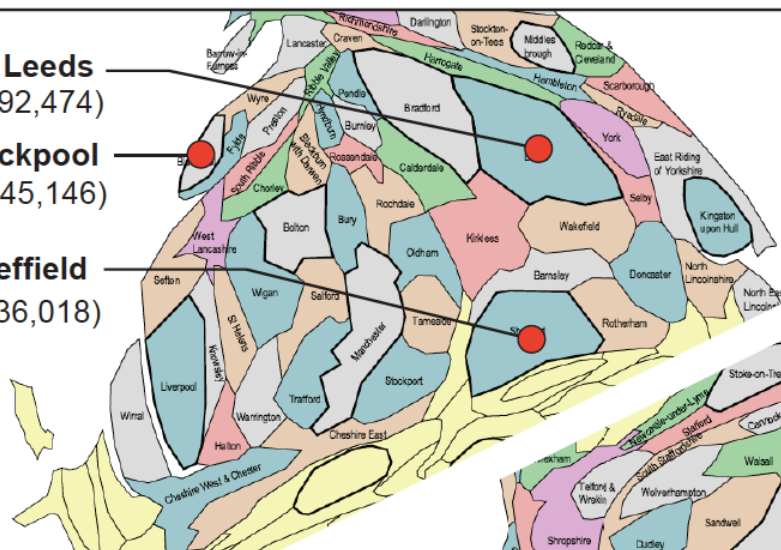
**North Tyneside** = voting district  
 (53%) = % Leave vote  
 (60,589) = number of people voting



**Leeds**  
(50% – 192,474)

**Blackpool**  
(67% – 45,146)

**Sheffield**  
(51% – 136,018)



**Merthyr Tydfil**  
(56% – 16,291)

### KEY

**Derby** = voting district

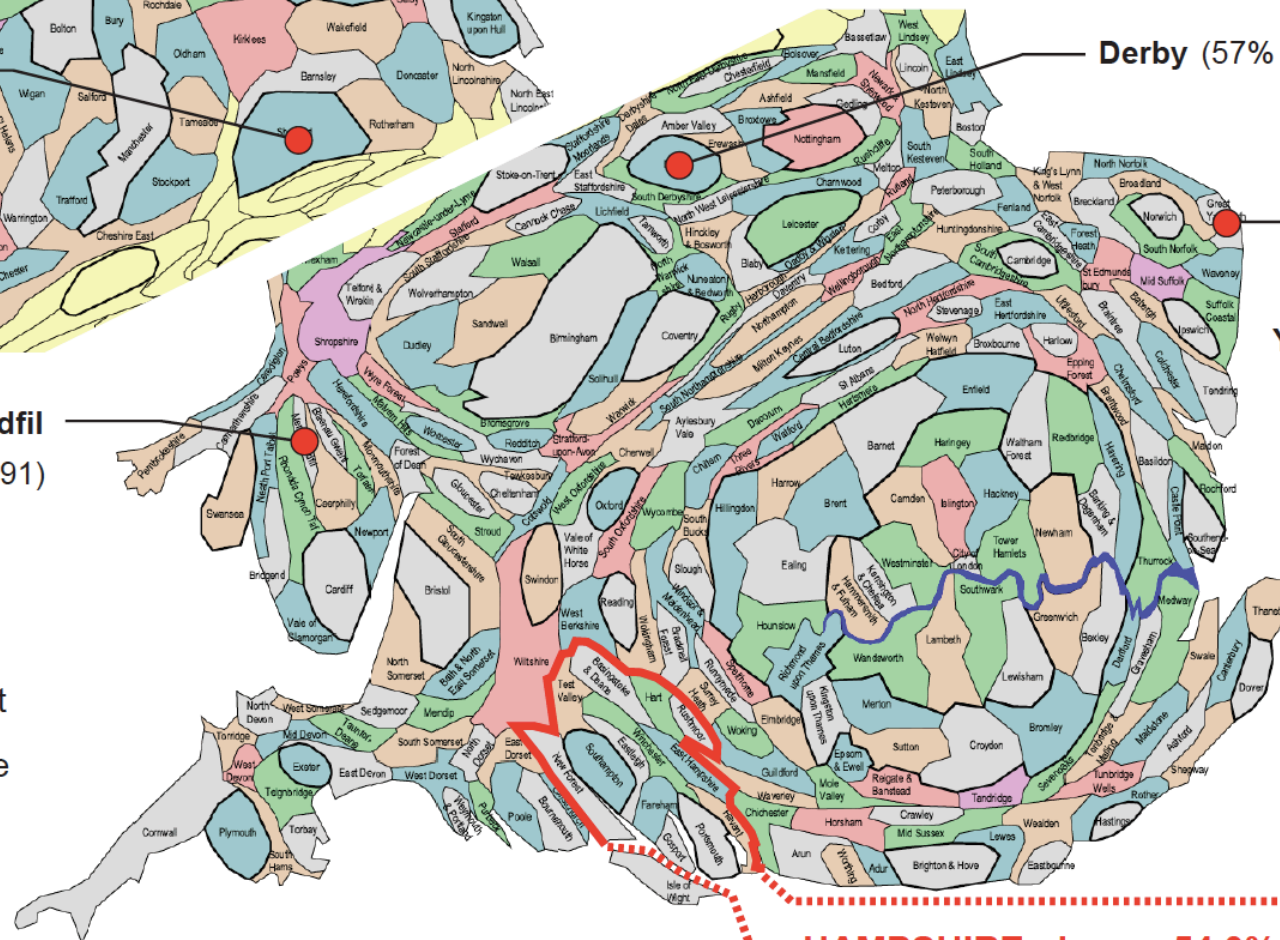
(57%) = % Brexit vote

(69,043) = numbers of  
people voting

**ANTI-HAMPSHIRE: Leave 53.7%**  
494,816 (of 1,328,528)

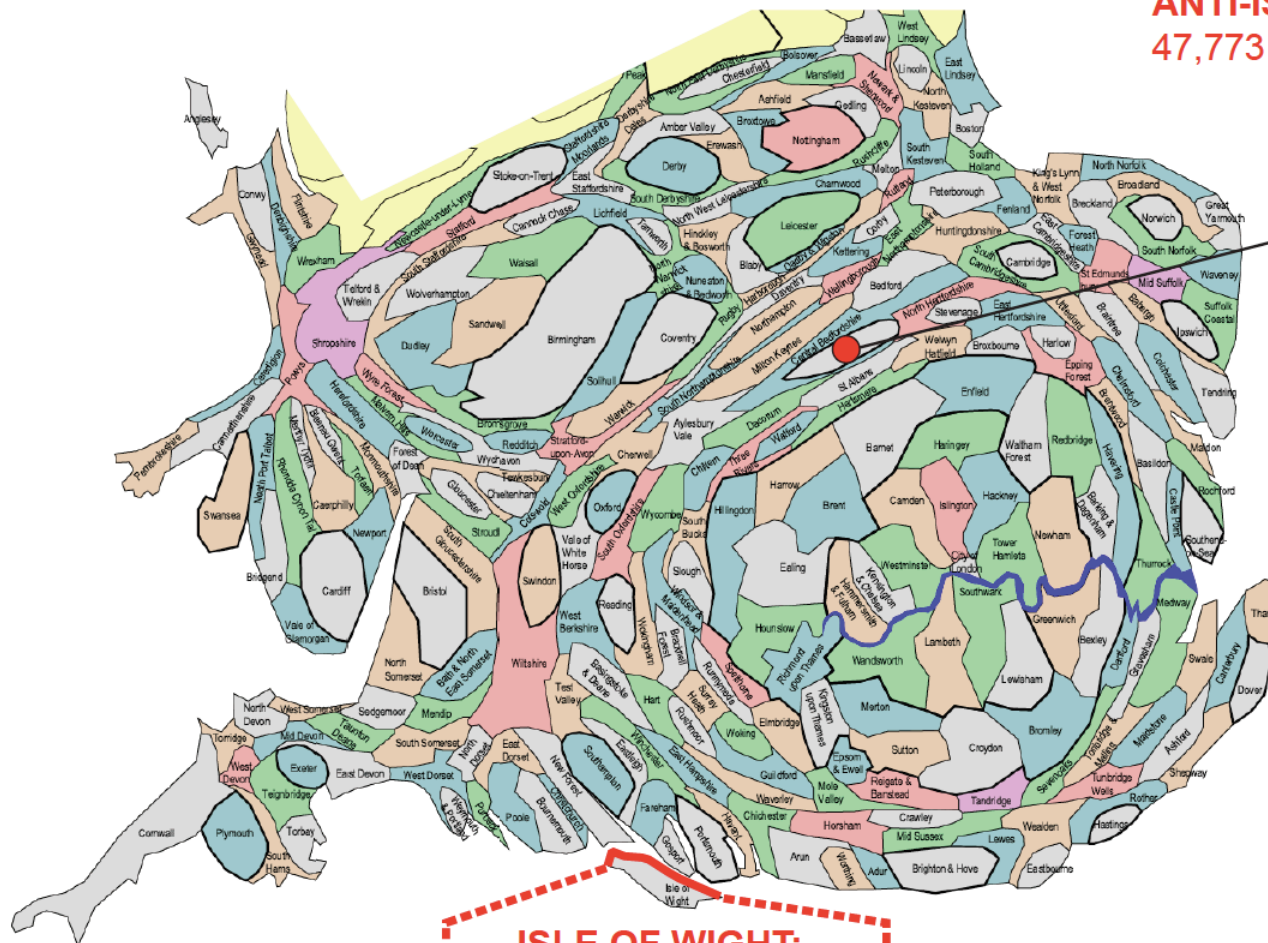
**Derby** (57% – 69,043)

**Great  
Yarmouth**  
(72% –  
35,844)



**HAMPSHIRE: Leave 54.0%**  
546,267 (of 1,324,506)





**ANTI-ISLE-OF-WIGHT: Leave 56.5%**  
47,773 (of 127,612)

**Luton**  
(57% - 47,773)

## KEY

**Luton** = voting district  
(57%) = % Leave vote  
(47,773) = number of people voting

**ANTI- SUSSEX: Leave 52.6%**  
**471,374 (of 1,370,740)**

**Aberdeen**  
 (39% – 40,729)

**Dundee**  
 (40% – 26,697)

**Glasgow**  
 (33% – 84,474)

**Doncaster**  
 (69% – 104,260)

**Amber Valley**  
 (60% – 44,501)

**North Lincolnshire**  
 (66% – 58,915)

**North East Lincolnshire**  
 (70% – 55,185)

**East Lindsey**  
 (71% – 56,613)

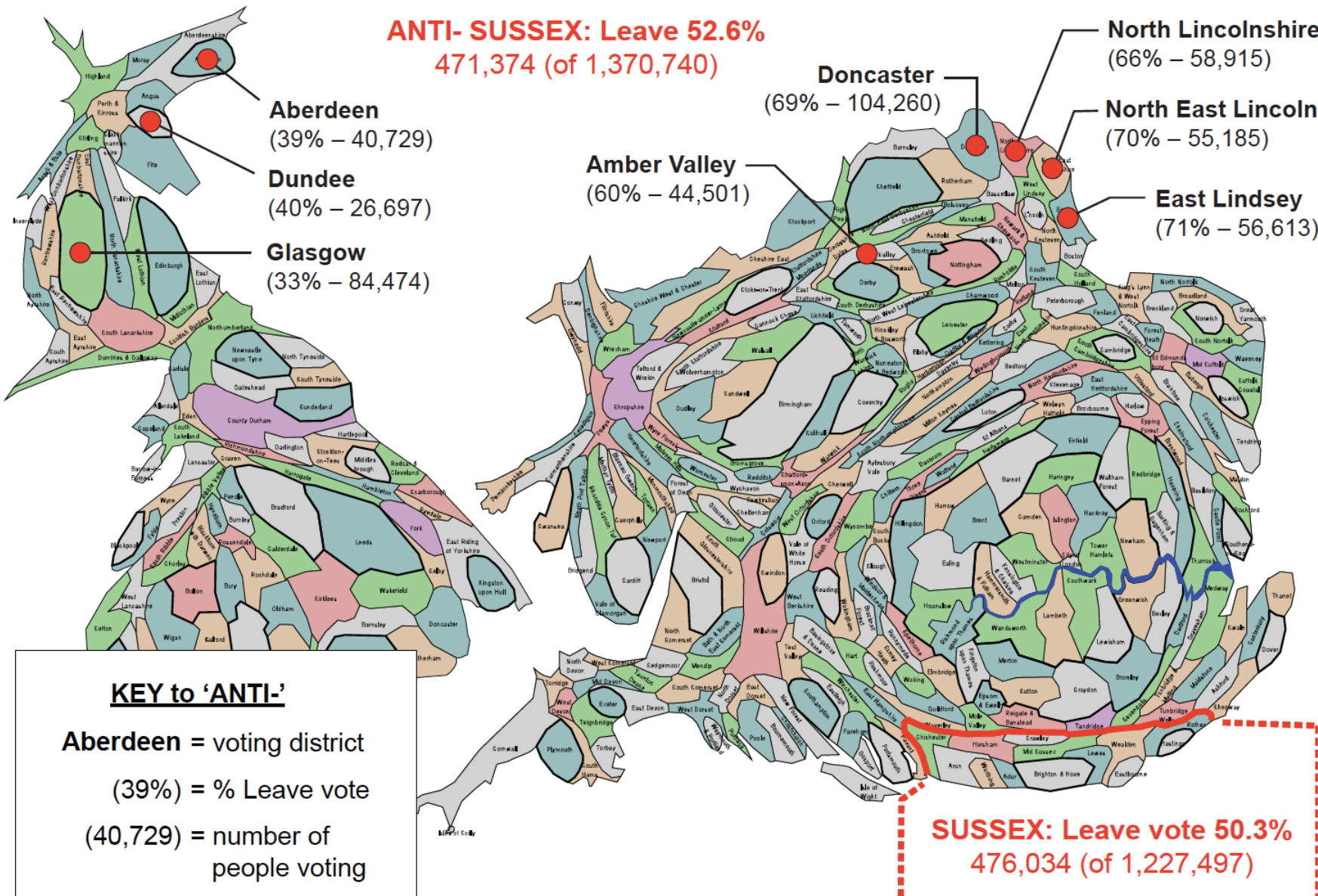
**KEY to 'ANTI-'**

**Aberdeen** = voting district

(39%) = % Leave vote

(40,729) = number of  
 people voting

**SUSSEX: Leave vote 50.3%**  
**476,034 (of 1,227,497)**





**ANTI- KENT: Leave 59.22%**  
(574,205 of 1,457,775)

**Isle of Anglesey**  
(51% – 19,333)

**Stoke-on Trent**  
(69% – 81,563)

**Chesterfield**  
(60% – 34,478)

**Bradford**  
(54% – 123,913)

**Preston**  
(53% – 34,518)

**Salford**  
(57% – 62,385)

**Sunderland**  
(61% – 82,394)

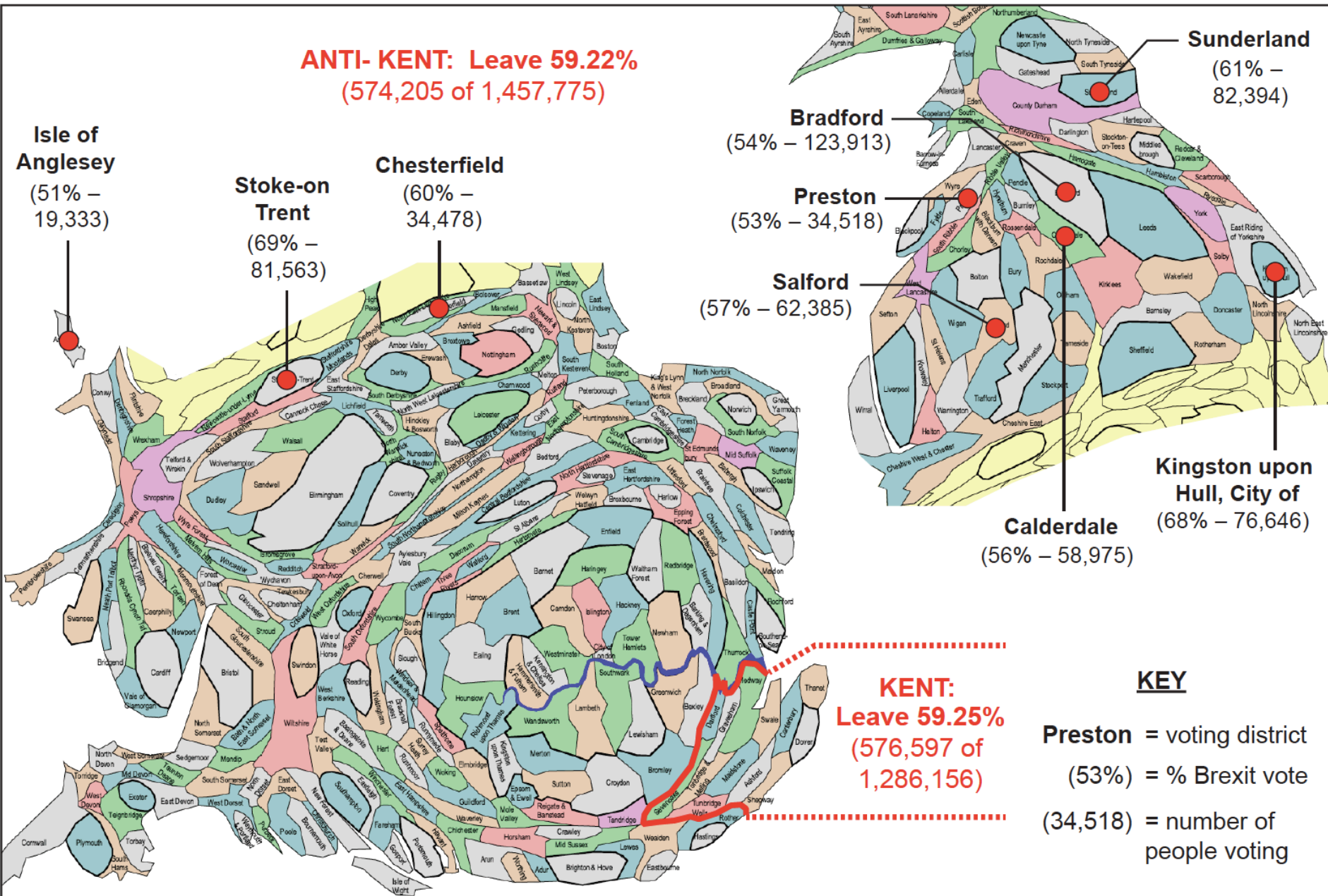
**Kingston upon Hull, City of**  
(68% – 76,646)

**Calderdale**  
(56% – 58,975)

**KENT:**  
**Leave 59.25%**  
(576,597 of 1,286,156)

# **KEY**

**Preston** = voting district  
(53%) = % Brexit vote  
(34,518) = number of people voting



**Blaenau Gwent**  
(62% – 21,587)

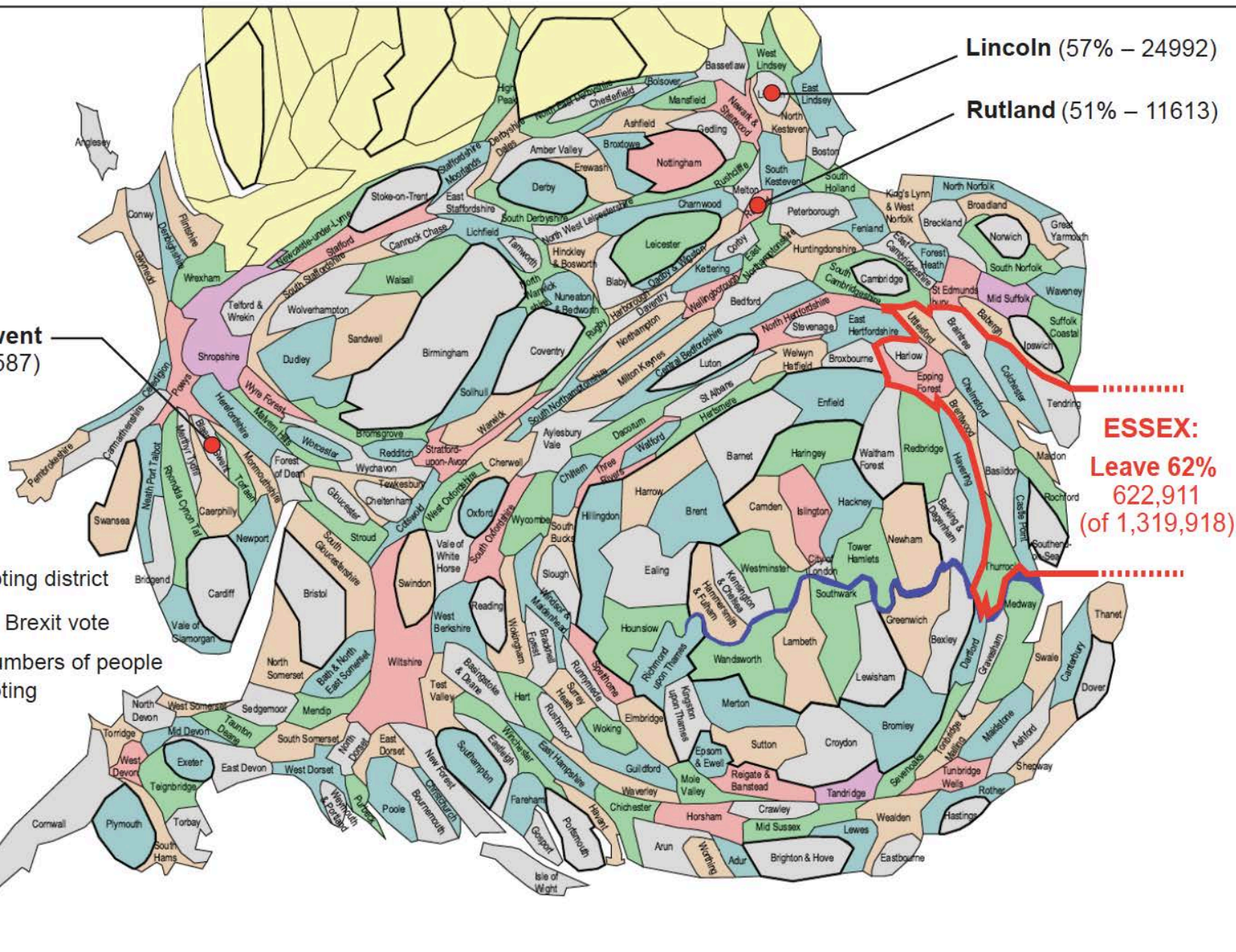
### KEY

**Lincoln** = voting district  
(57%) = % Brexit vote  
(24992) = numbers of people  
voting

**Lincoln** (57% – 24992)

**Rutland** (51% – 11613)

**ESSEX:**  
Leave 62%  
622,911  
(of 1,319,918)







**ANTI- SUFFOLK:**  
**Leave vote 50.7%**  
**202,086 (of 559,249)**

**Burnley (67% – 28,854)**

**Chorley (57% – 36,098)**

**Fylde (57% – 26,317)**

**Neath Port Talbot**  
**(57% – 43,001)**

**Cardiff (40% – 67,816)**

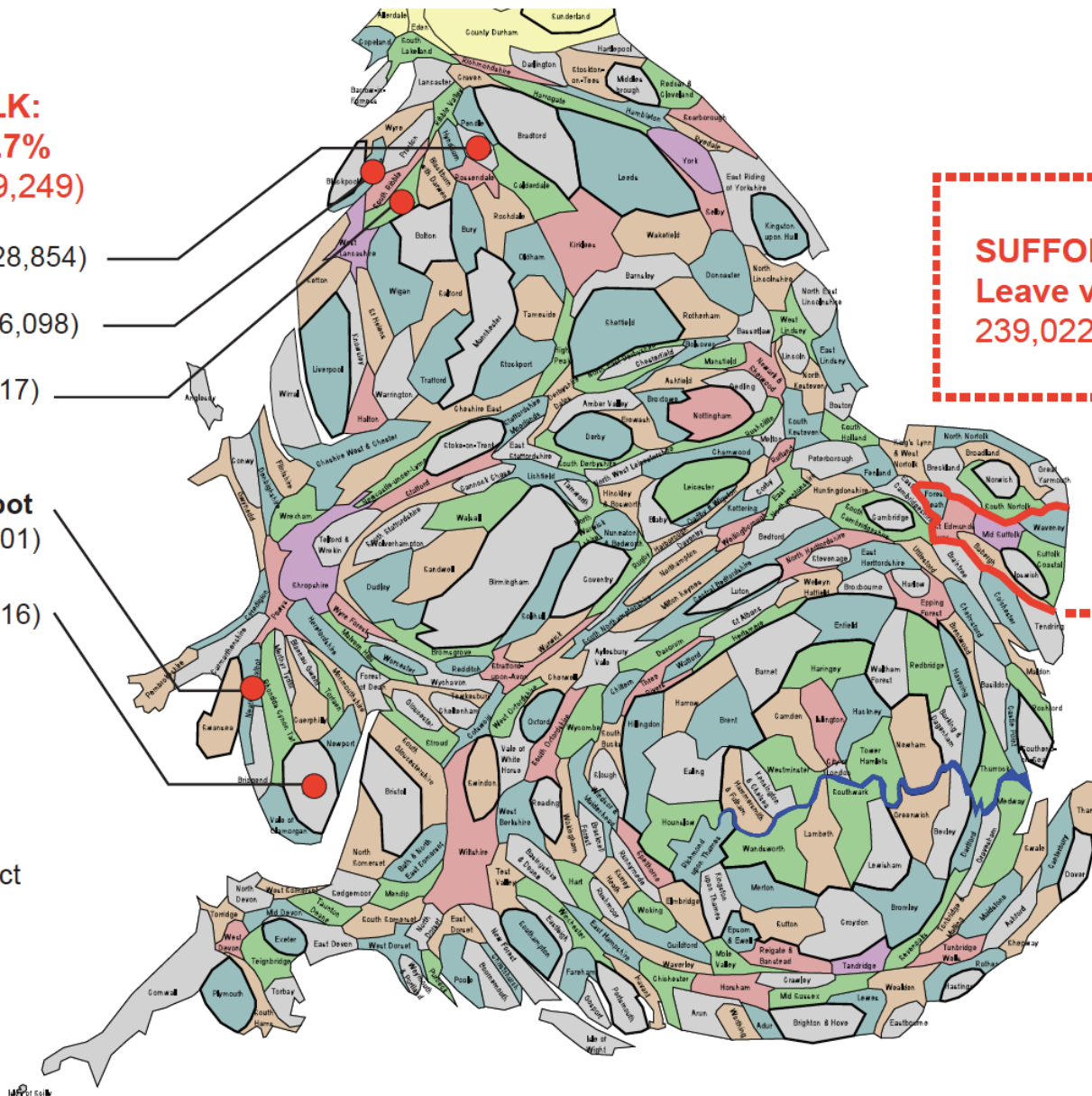
## KEY

**Burnley** = voting district

**(67%)** = % Leave vote

**(28,854)** = number of  
 people voting

**SUFFOLK:**  
**Leave vote 57.2%**  
**239,022 (of 548,788)**





**ANTI- NORFOLK: Leave 52.4%**  
**232,302 (of 606,928)**

**Shetland Islands**  
 (43% – 5,315)

**Moray**  
 (50% – 23,992)

**Stirling**  
 (32% – 15,787)

**Midlothian**  
 (38% – 17,251)

**Scottish Borders**  
 (42% – 26,962)

**West Lindsey**  
 (62% – 33,847)

**North Kesteven**  
 (62% – 42,183)

**Bolsover**  
 (71% – 29,730)

**North East Derbys.**  
 (63% – 37,235)

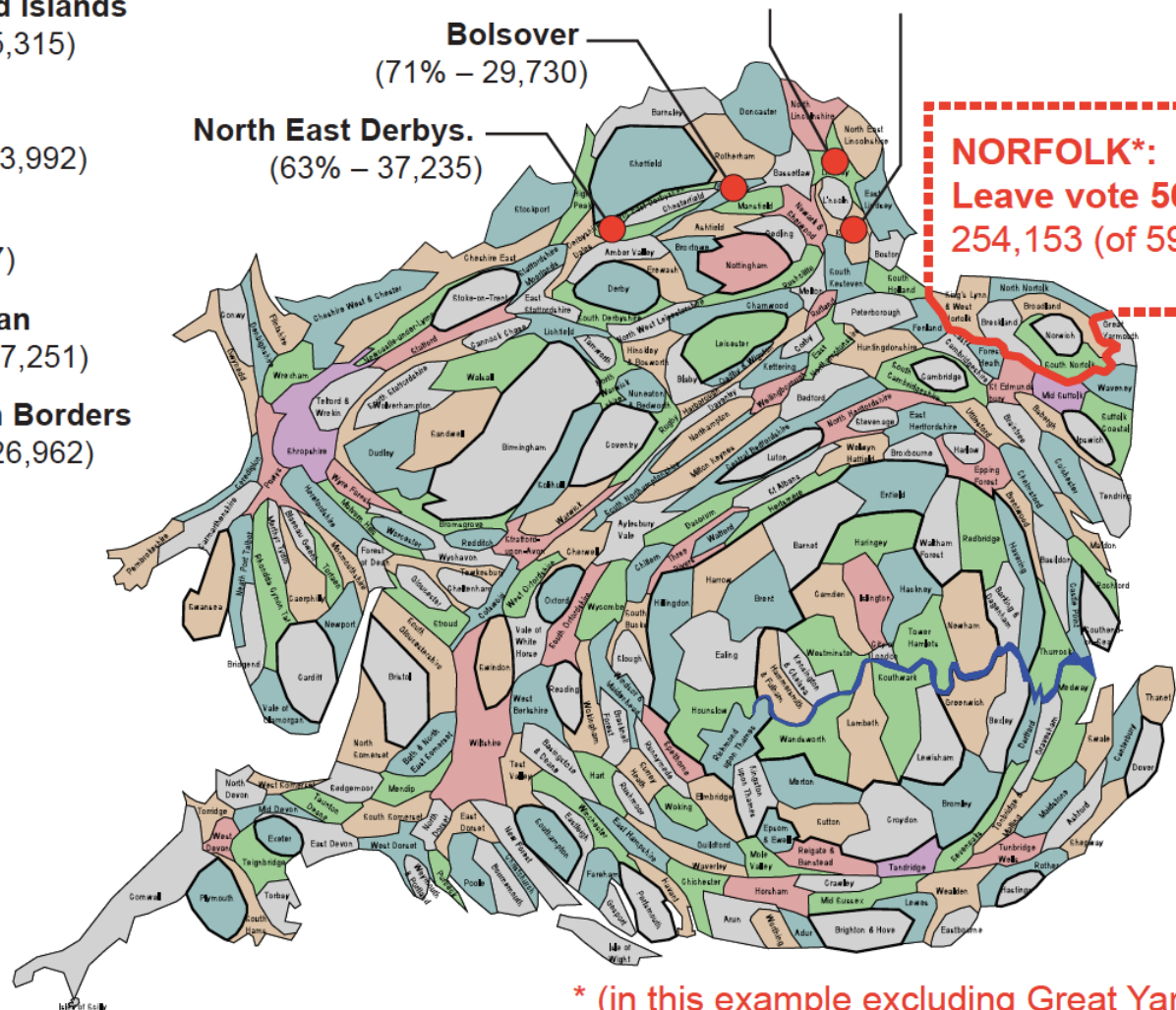
**NORFOLK\*:**  
**Leave vote 56.9%**  
**254,153 (of 593,678)**

# **KEY to 'ANTI-'**

**Moray = voting district**

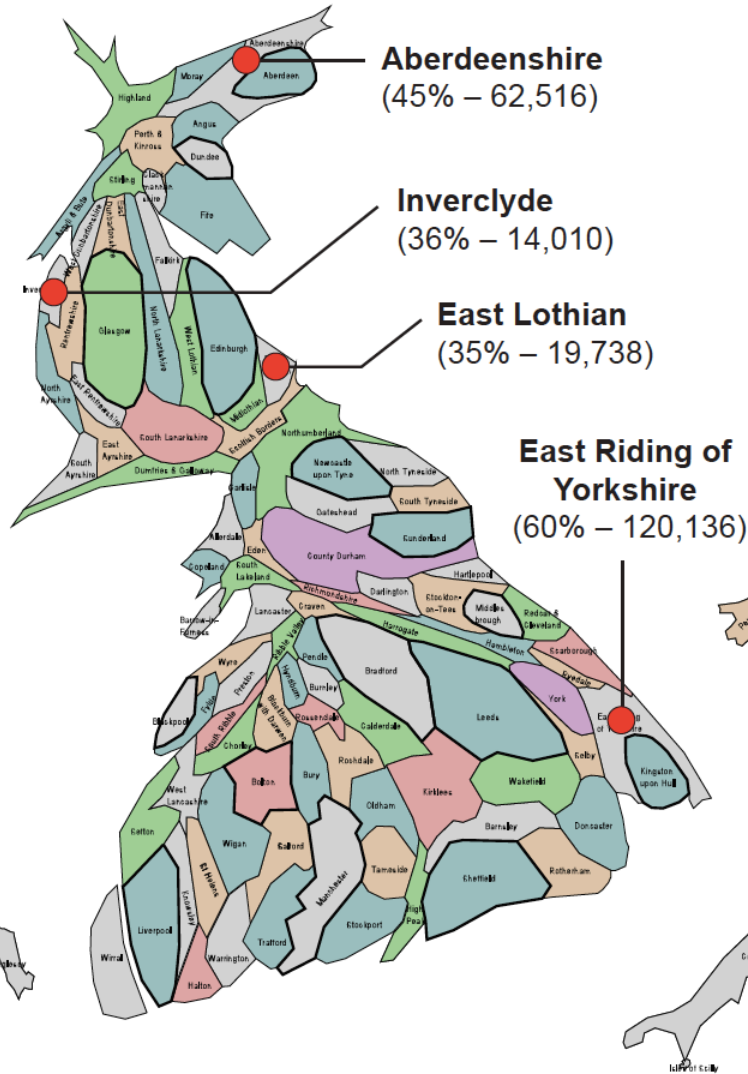
**(50%) = % Leave vote**

**(23,992) = number of people voting**



**\* (in this example excluding Great Yarmouth)**

**ANTI- CAMBRIDGESHIRE: Leave 50.1%**  
 216,400 (of 599,268)



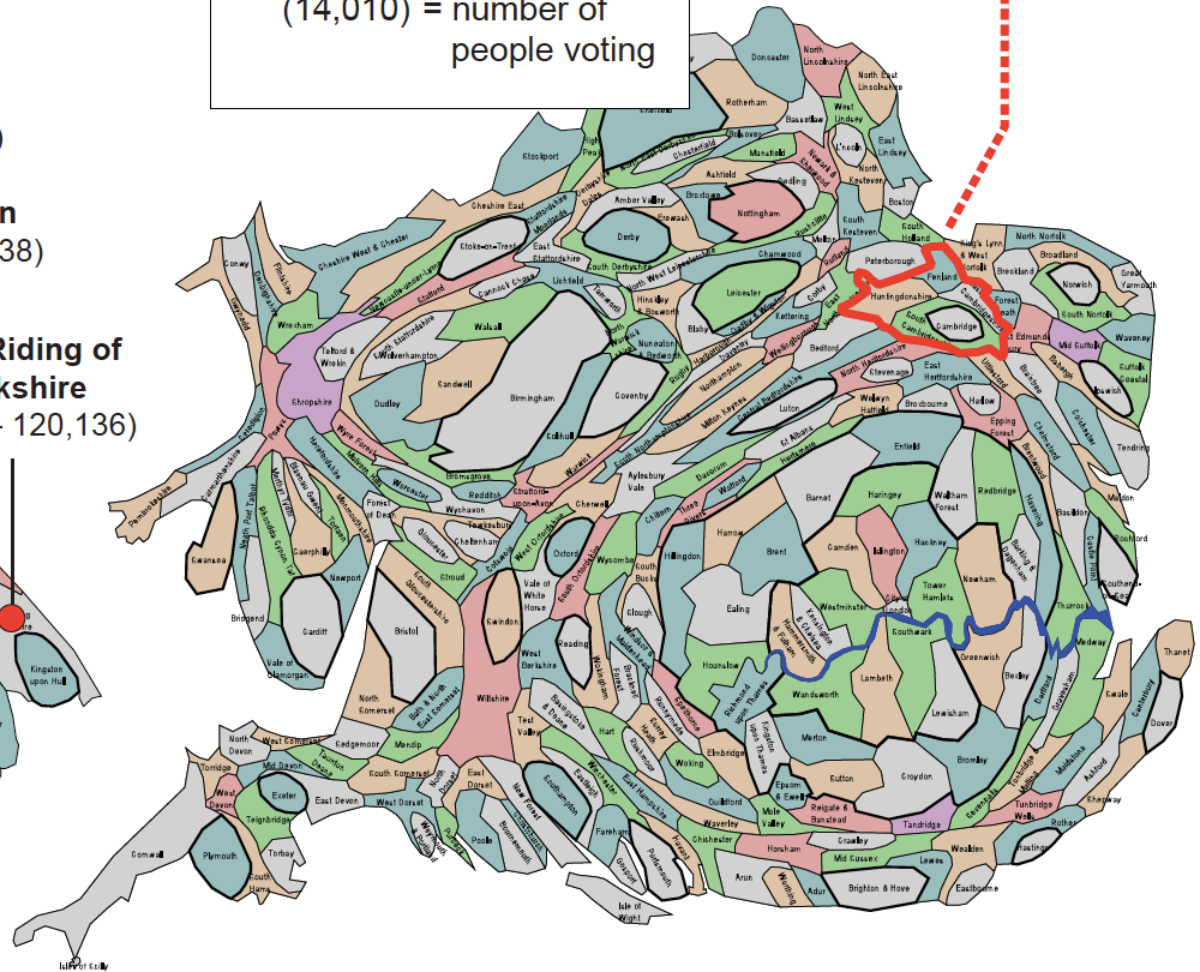
**KEY to 'ANTI-'**

Inverclyde = voting district

(36%) = % Leave vote

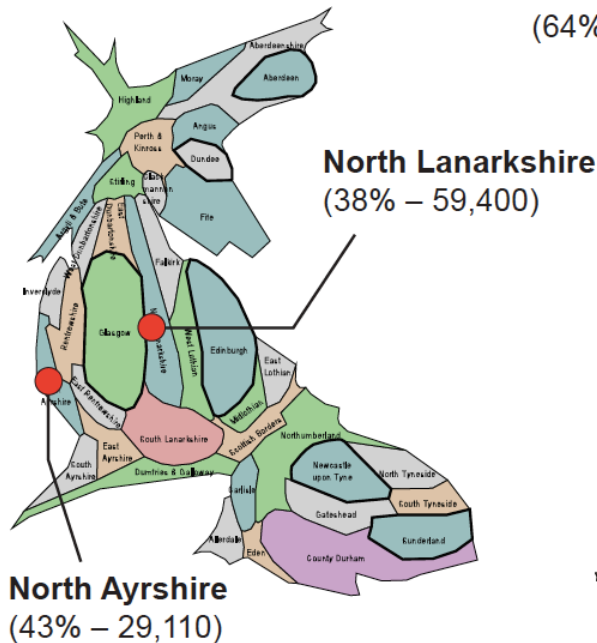
(14,010) = number of people voting

**CAMBRIDGESHIRE:**  
 Leave vote 50.5%  
 221,650 (of 578,198)





**ANTI- HERTFORDSHIRE: Leave vote 55.1%**  
309,006 (of 841,217)



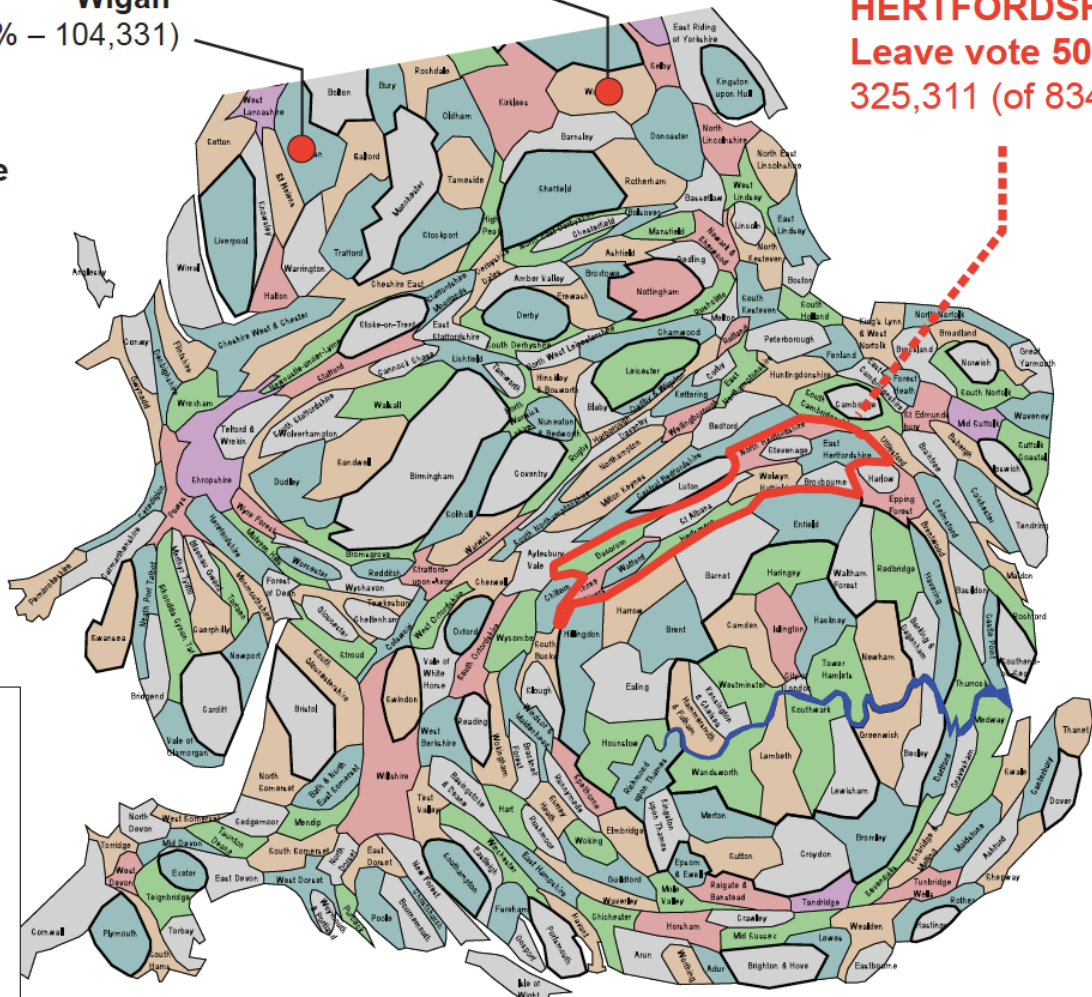
**KEY**

**Wigan** = voting district  
(64%) = % Leave vote  
(104,331) = number of people voting

**Wigan**  
(64% – 104,331)

**Wakefield**  
(66% – 116,165)

**HERTFORDSHIRE:**  
Leave vote 50.3%  
325,311 (of 834,434)





**ANTI- BEDFORDSHIRE: Leave 51.0%**

**122,734 (of 337,742)**

**BEDFORDSHIRE:**

**Leave vote 54.6%**

**133,703 (of 323,534)**

**Highland**

**(44% – 55,349)**

**Clackmannanshire**

**(42% – 10,736)**

**Telford and Wrekin**

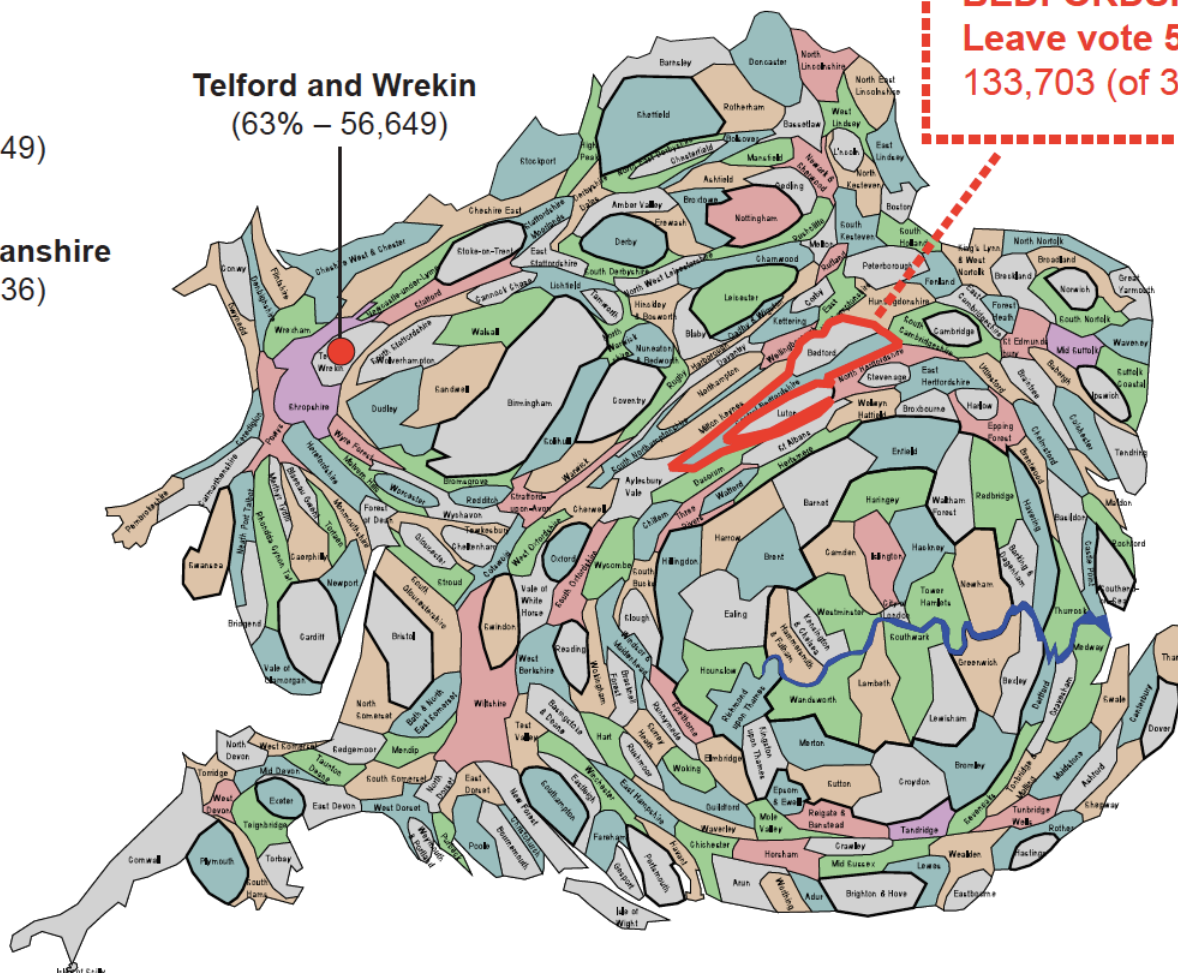
**(63% – 56,649)**

**KEY to 'ANTI-'**

**Highland** = voting district

**(44%)** = % Leave vote

**(55,349)** = number of  
people voting





## KEY

**Caerphilly** = voting district

(58%) = % Leave vote

(53,295) = number of  
people voting

**ANTI- NORTHAMPTONSHIRE:**

**Leave 54.4%**

**227,397 (of 583,545)**

**Caerphilly** (58% – 53,295)

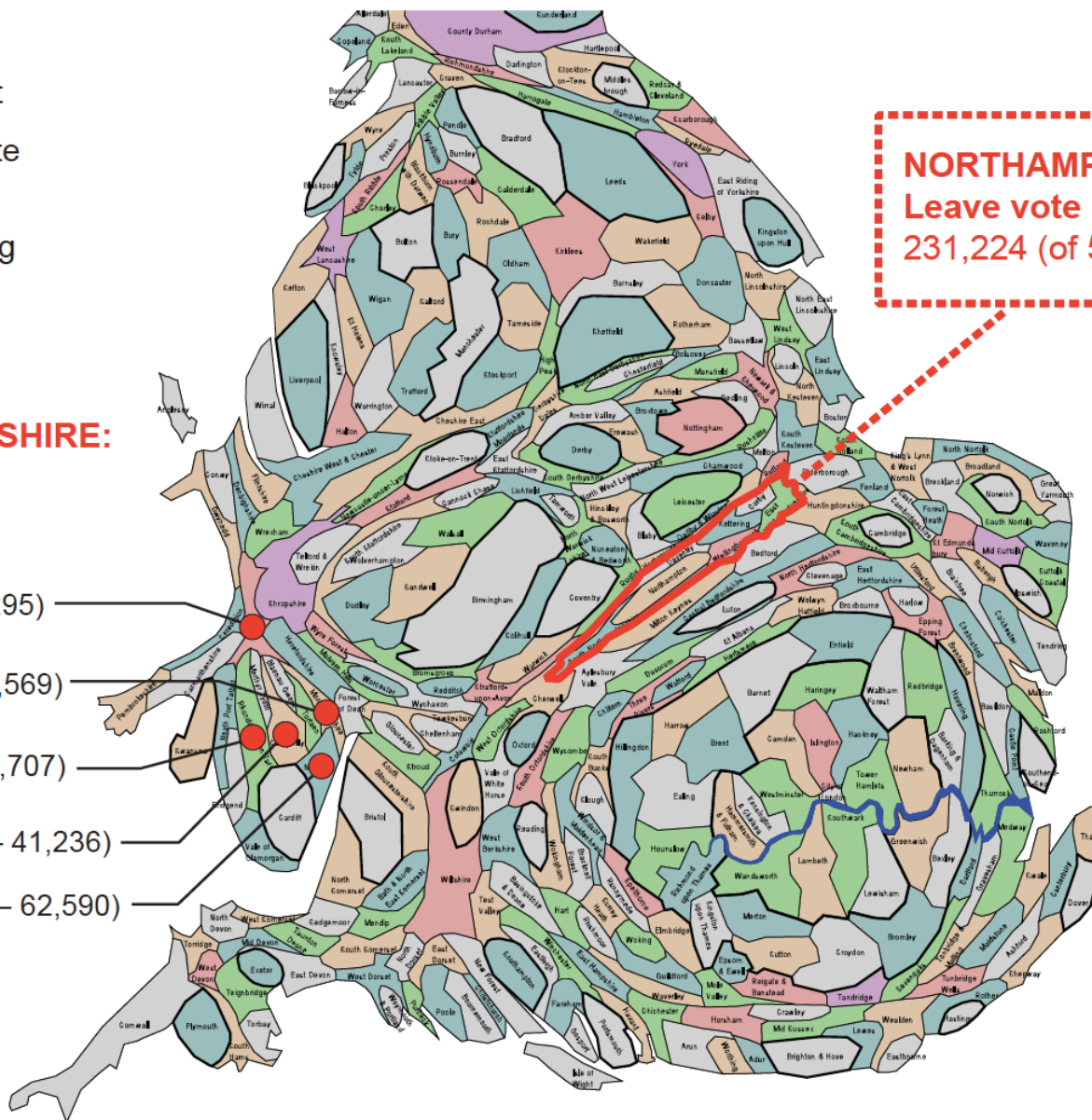
**Monmouthshire** (50% – 27,569)

**Powys** (54% – 42,707)

**Newport** (56% – 41,236)

**Rhondda Cynon Taf** (54% – 62,590)

**NORTHAMPTONSHIRE:**  
**Leave vote 59.1%**  
**231,224 (of 514,050)**



## ANTI- WARWICKSHIRE:

Leave vote 48.2% | 154,245 (of 448,886)

Sefton (48% – 71,176)

Wirral (48% – 83,069)

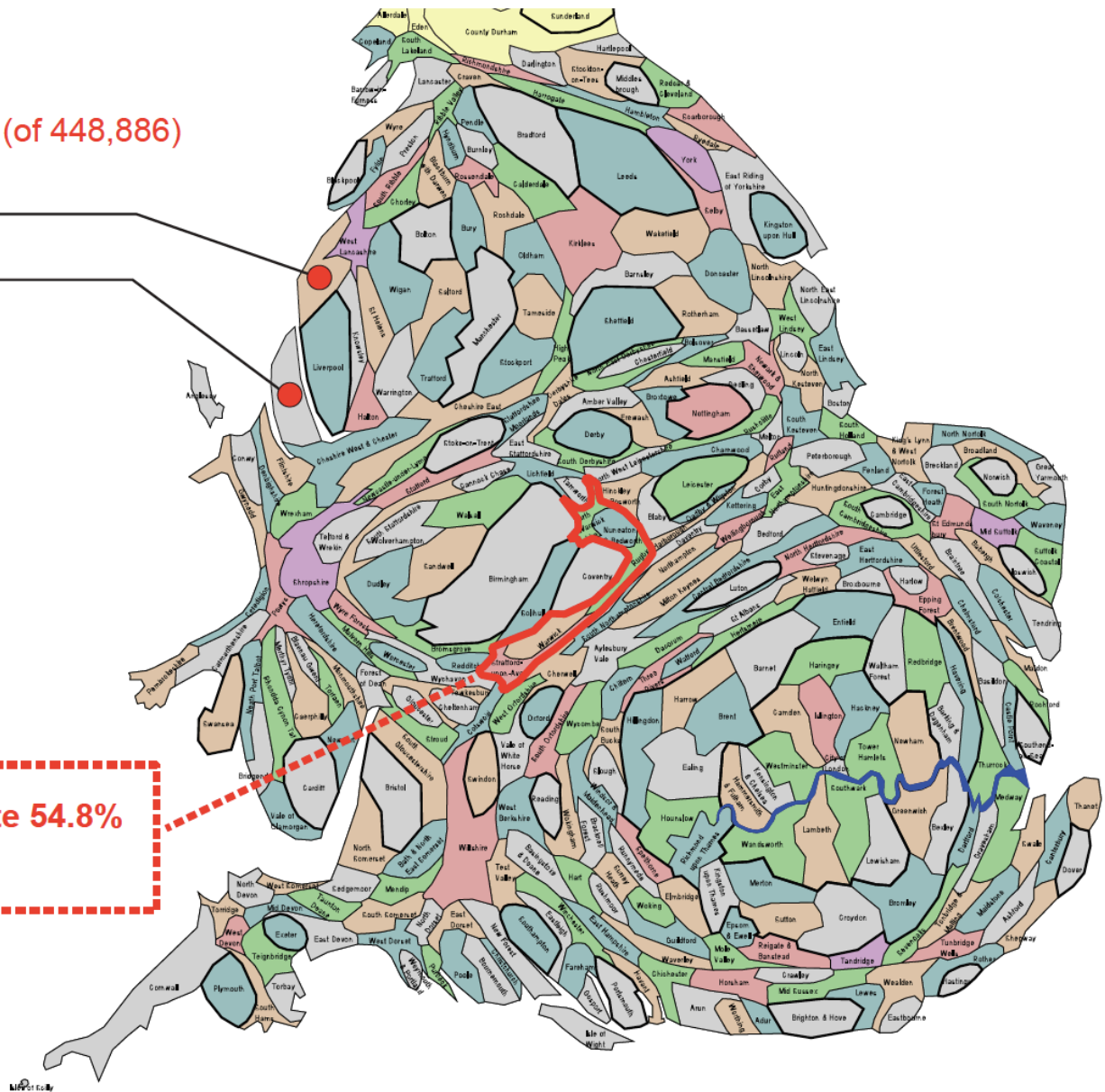
### KEY

Sefton = voting district

(48%) = % Leave vote

(71,176) = number of  
people voting

**WARWICKSHIRE: Leave vote 54.8%**  
179,138 (of 419,018)





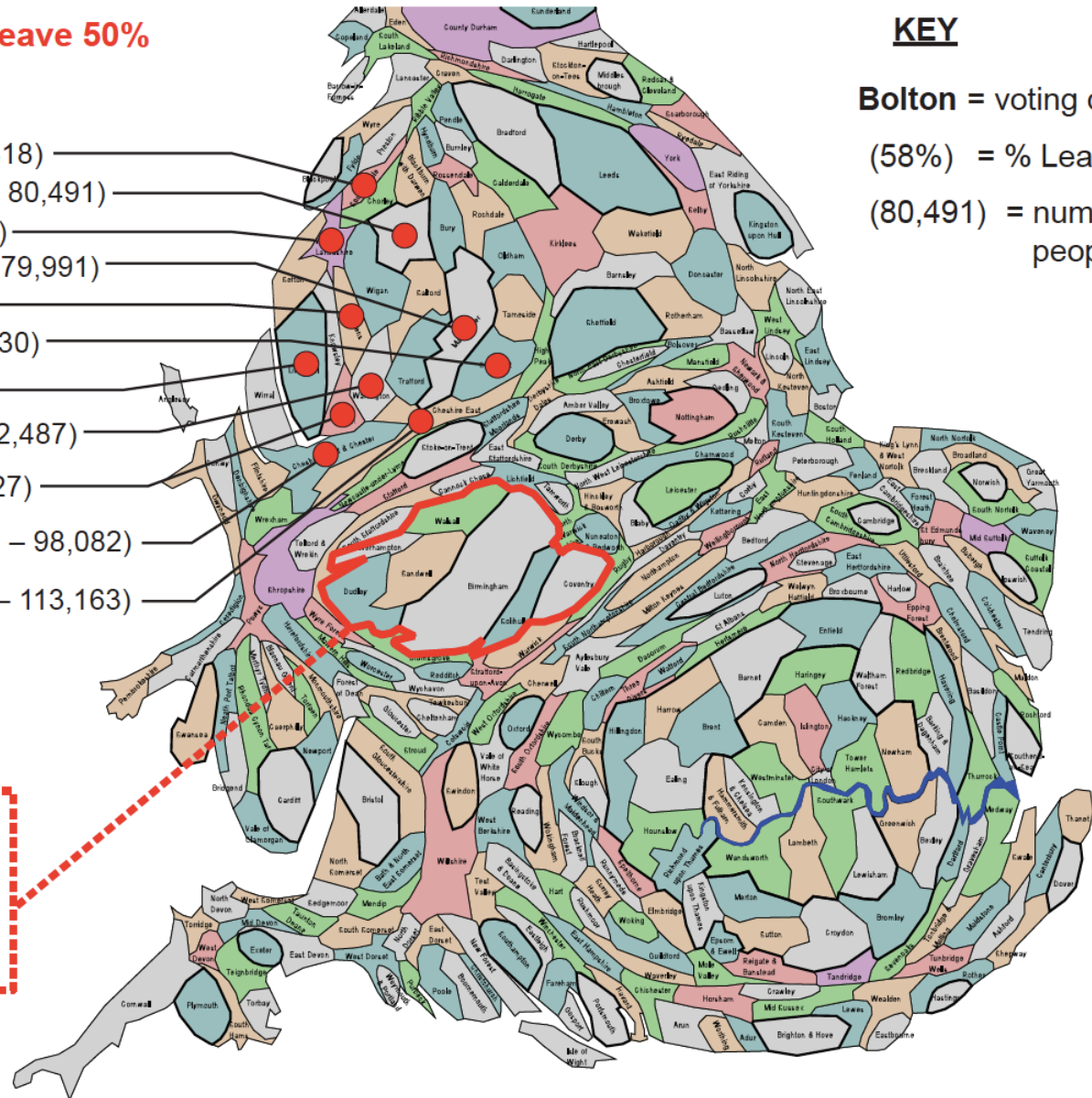
# ANTI- WEST MIDLANDS: Leave 50% 761,570 (of 2,178,928)

- South Ribble (59% – 37,318)
- Bolton** (58% – 80,491)
- West Lancashire (55% – 35,323)
- Manchester (40% – 79,991)
- St Helens (58% – 54,357)
- Stockport (48% – 77,930)
- Liverpool (42% – 85,101)
- Warrington (54% – 62,487)
- Halton (57% – 37,327)
- Cheshire West & Chester (51% – 98,082)
- Cheshire East (51% – 113,163)

## KEY

**Bolton** = voting district  
(58%) = % Leave vote  
(80,491) = number of people voting

**WEST MIDLANDS:**  
Leave vote 58.6%  
763,333 (of 1,924,541)



## KEY

Wrexham = voting district

(59%) = % Leave vote

(41,544) = number of people voting

## ANTI- WORCESTERSHIRE:

Leave vote 53.6% | 189,739 (of 478,177)

Wrexham (59% – 41,544)

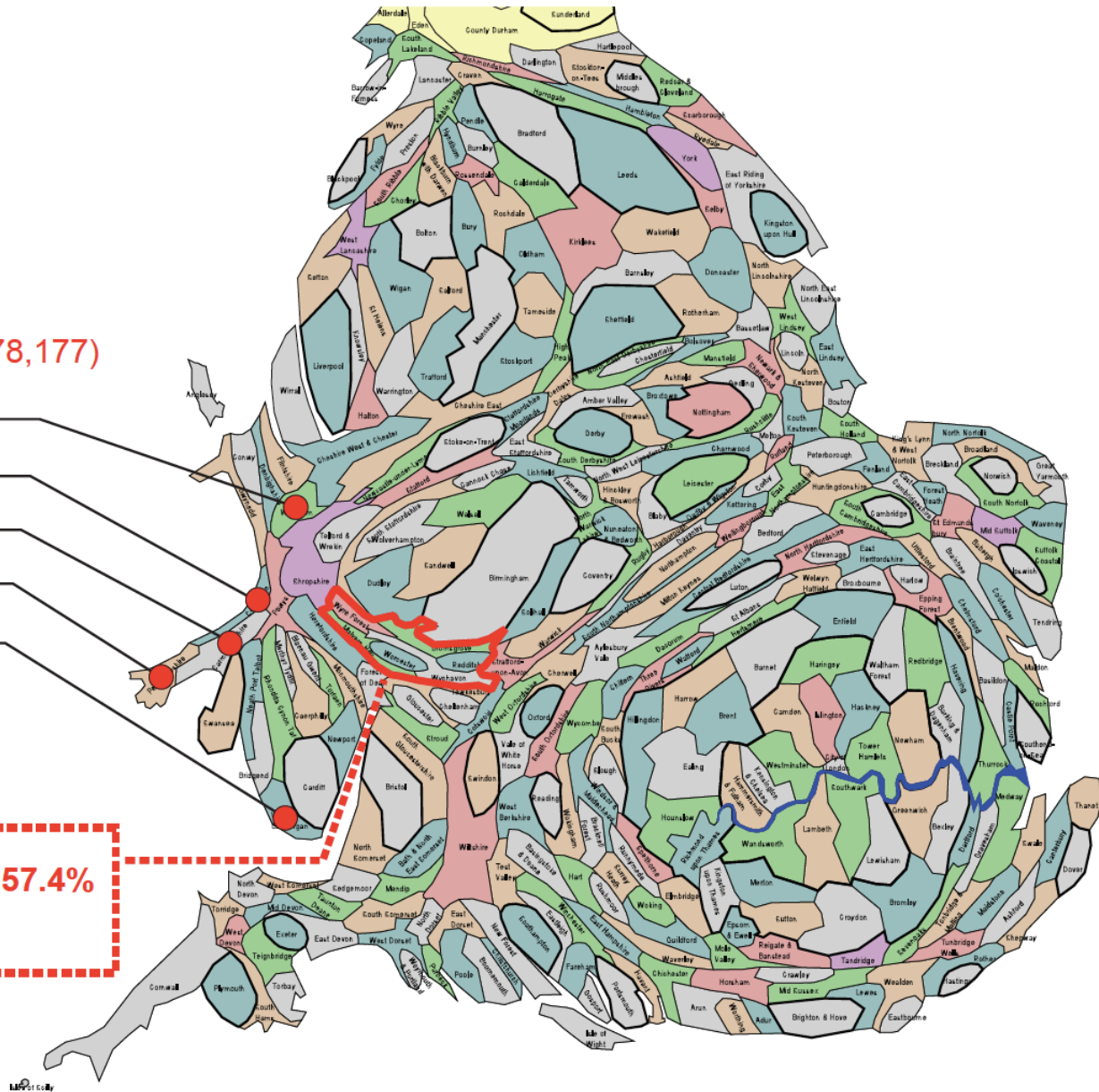
Ceredigion (45% – 18,031)

Carmarthenshire (54% – 55,381)

Pembrokeshire (57% – 39,155)

Vale of Glamorgan (49% – 35,628)

**WORCESTERSHIRE: Leave vote 57.4%**  
196,143 (of 441,316)





## KEY

**Trafford** = voting district

(42%) = % Leave vote

(53,018) = number of people voting

### ANTI- HEREFORDSHIRE:

Leave vote 42.3%

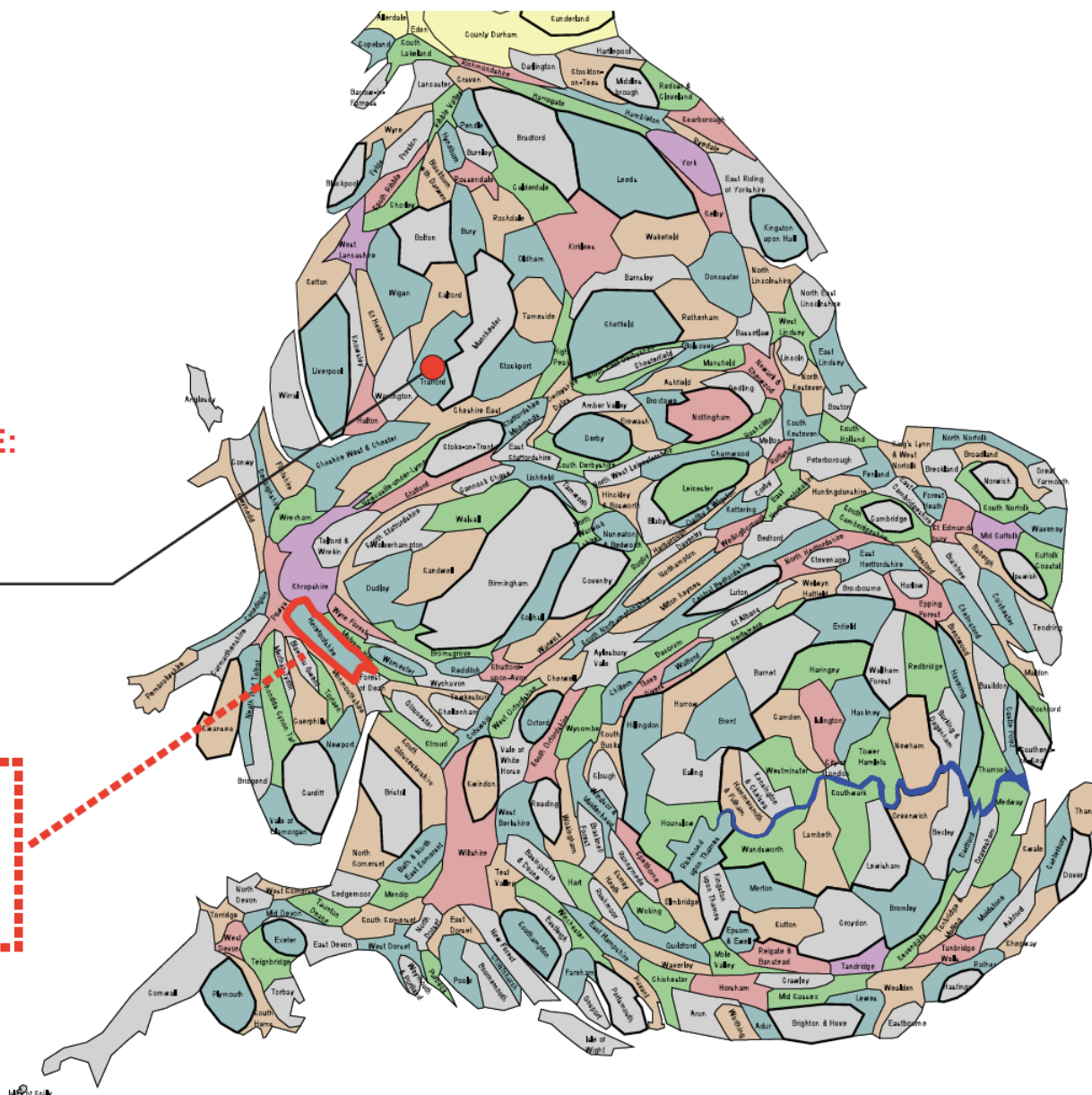
53,018 (of 165,294)

Trafford (42% – 53,018)

### HEREFORDSHIRE:

Leave vote 59.2%

64,122 (of 138,247)



## ANTI-GLOUCESTERSHIRE:

Leave vote 51.6%

258,690 (of 716,171)

Newcastle-upon-Tyne

(49% – 63,598)

Kirklees

(55% – 118,755)

Charnwood

(54% – 50,672)

Gwynedd

(42% – 25,665)

## KEY

Kirklees = voting district

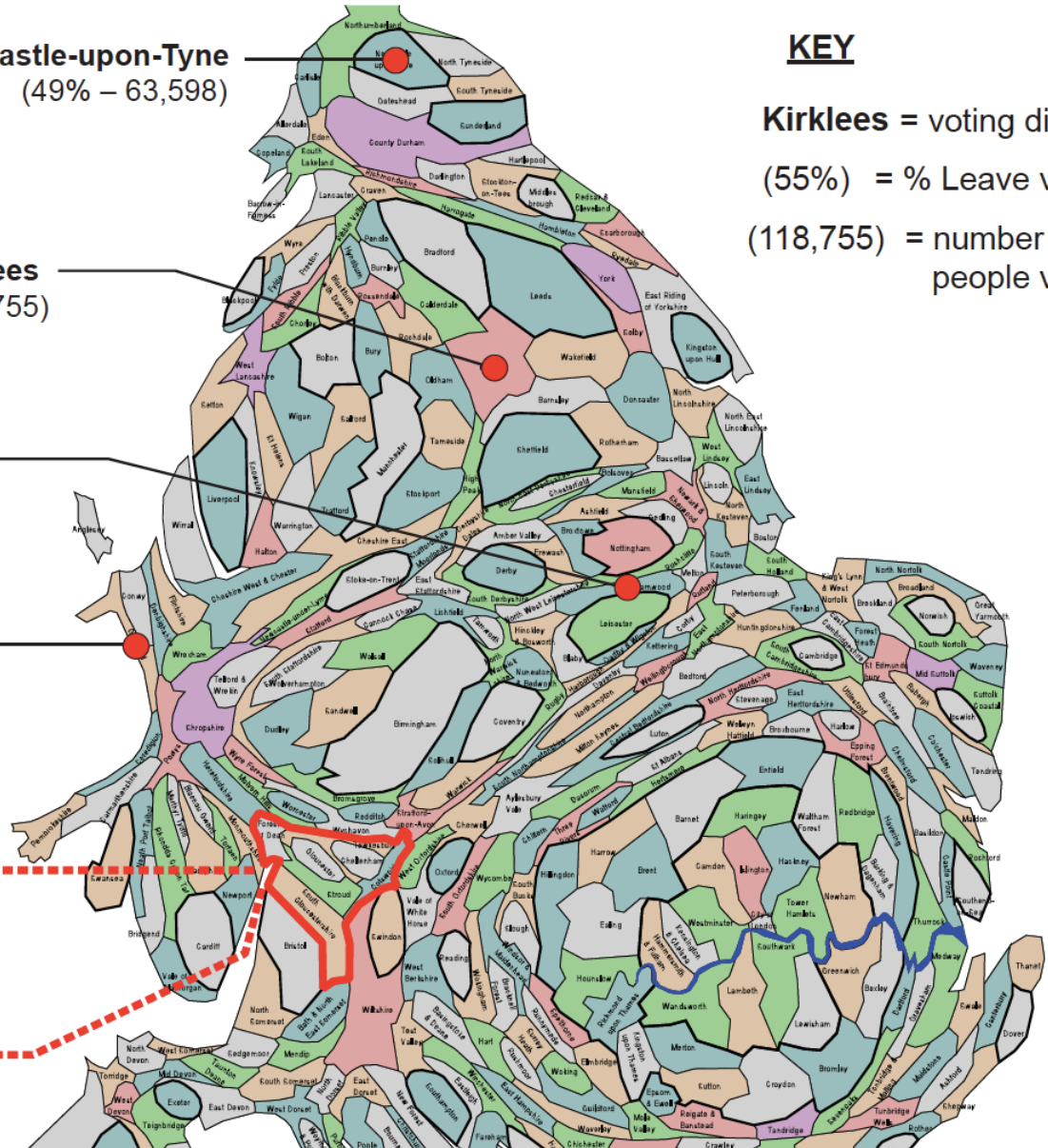
(55%) = % Leave vote

(118,755) = number of  
people voting

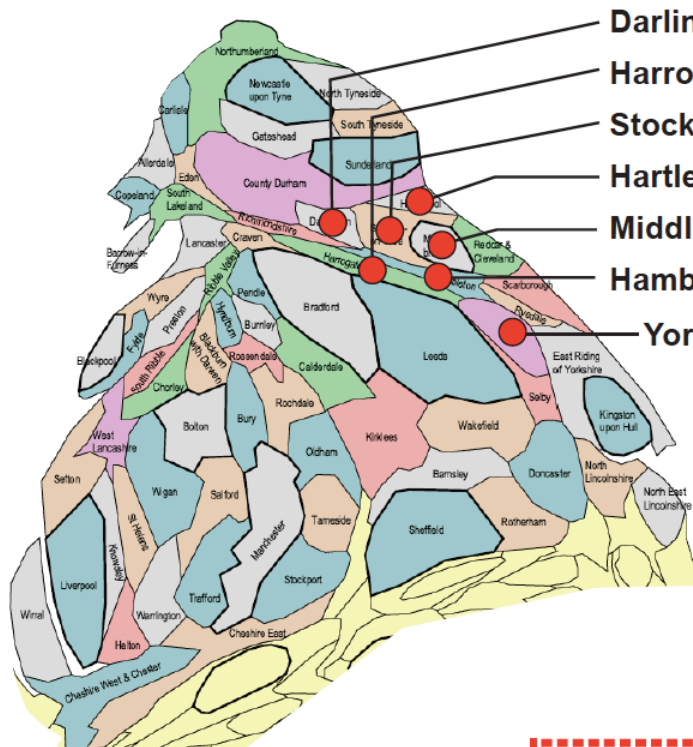
## GLOUCESTERSHIRE:

Leave vote 51.5%

269,356 (of 680,415)







**Darlington** (56% – 30,994)

**Harrogate** (49% – 46,374)

**Stockton-on-Tees** (62% – 61,982)

**Hartlepool** (70% – 32,071)

**Middlesbrough** (65% – 40,177)

**Hambleton** (54% – 29,502)

**York** (42% – 45,983)

**ANTI-SOMERSET: Leave 55.0% – 287,083 (of 729,378)**

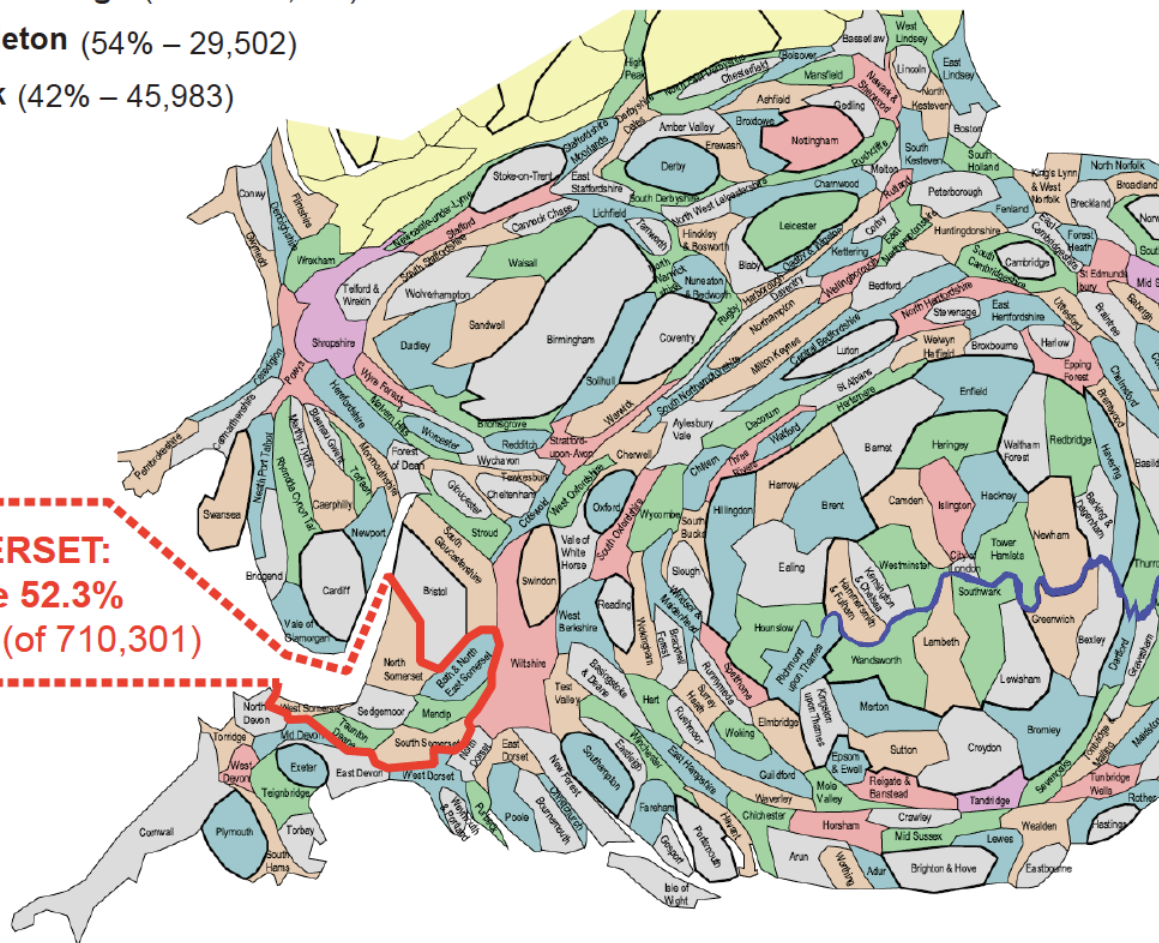
**SOMERSET:**  
**Leave 52.3%**  
**– 288,122 (of 710,301)**

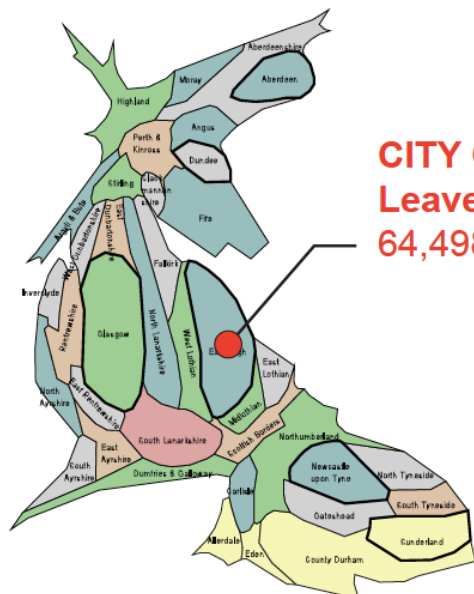
## KEY

**Hartlepool** = voting district

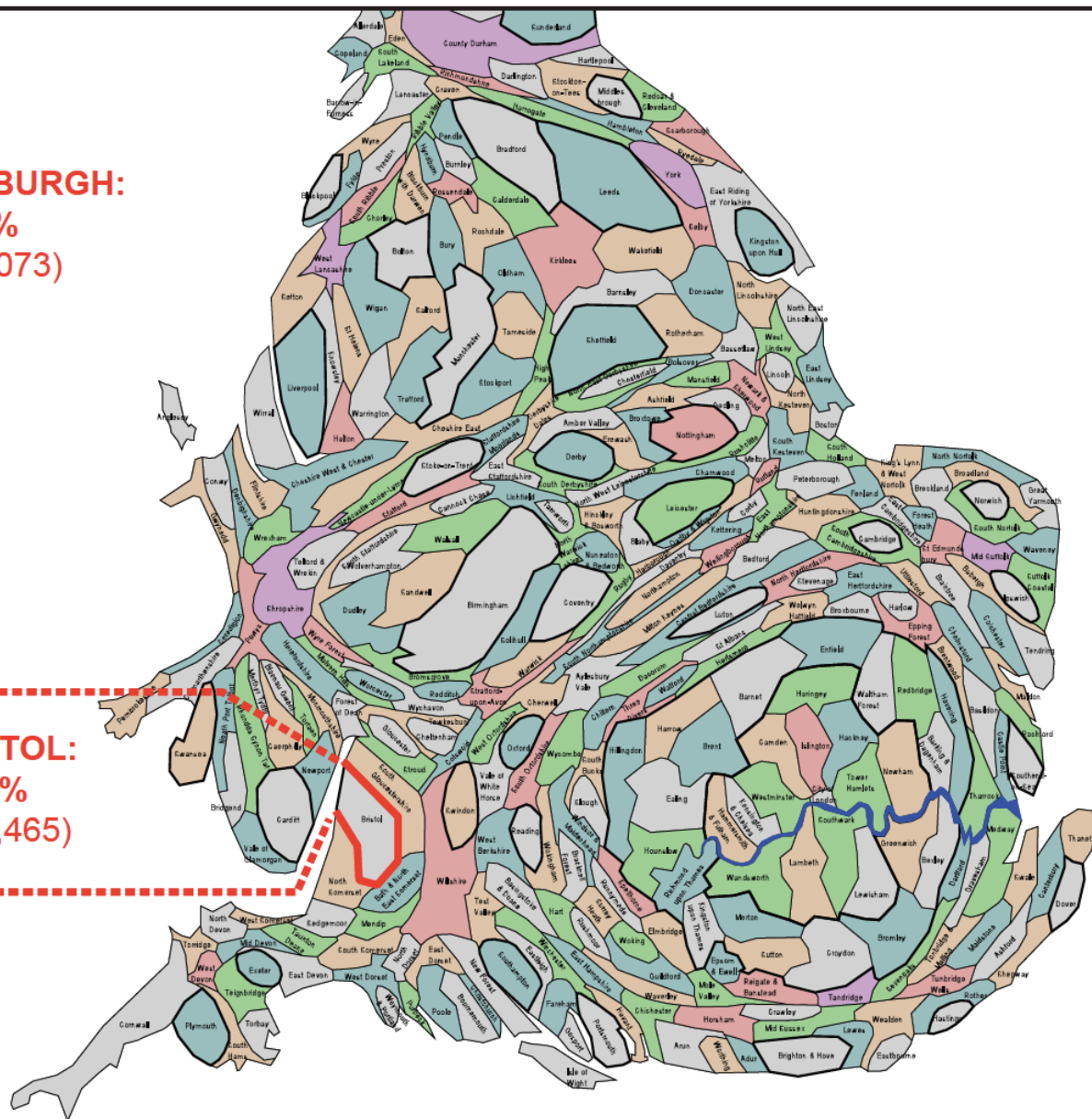
(70%) = % Leave vote

(32,071) = number of  
people voting



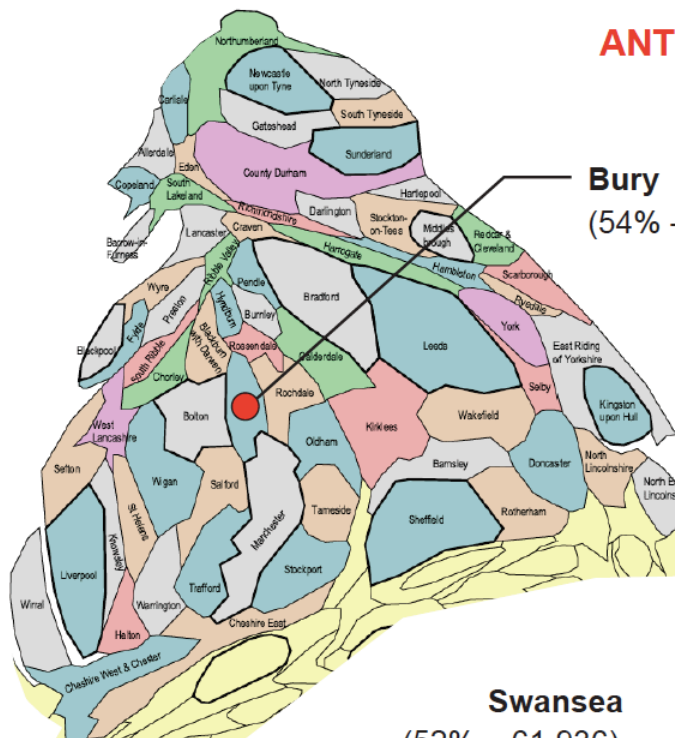


**CITY OF EDINBURGH:**  
 Leave vote 26%  
 64,498 (of 346,073)



**CITY OF BRISTOL:**  
 Leave vote 38%  
 87,418 (of 312,465)





**ANTI-WILTSHIRE: Leave 52.5% –  
212,799 (of 558,940)**

**Bury**  
(54% – 54,674)

**High Peak**  
(51% –  
27,717)

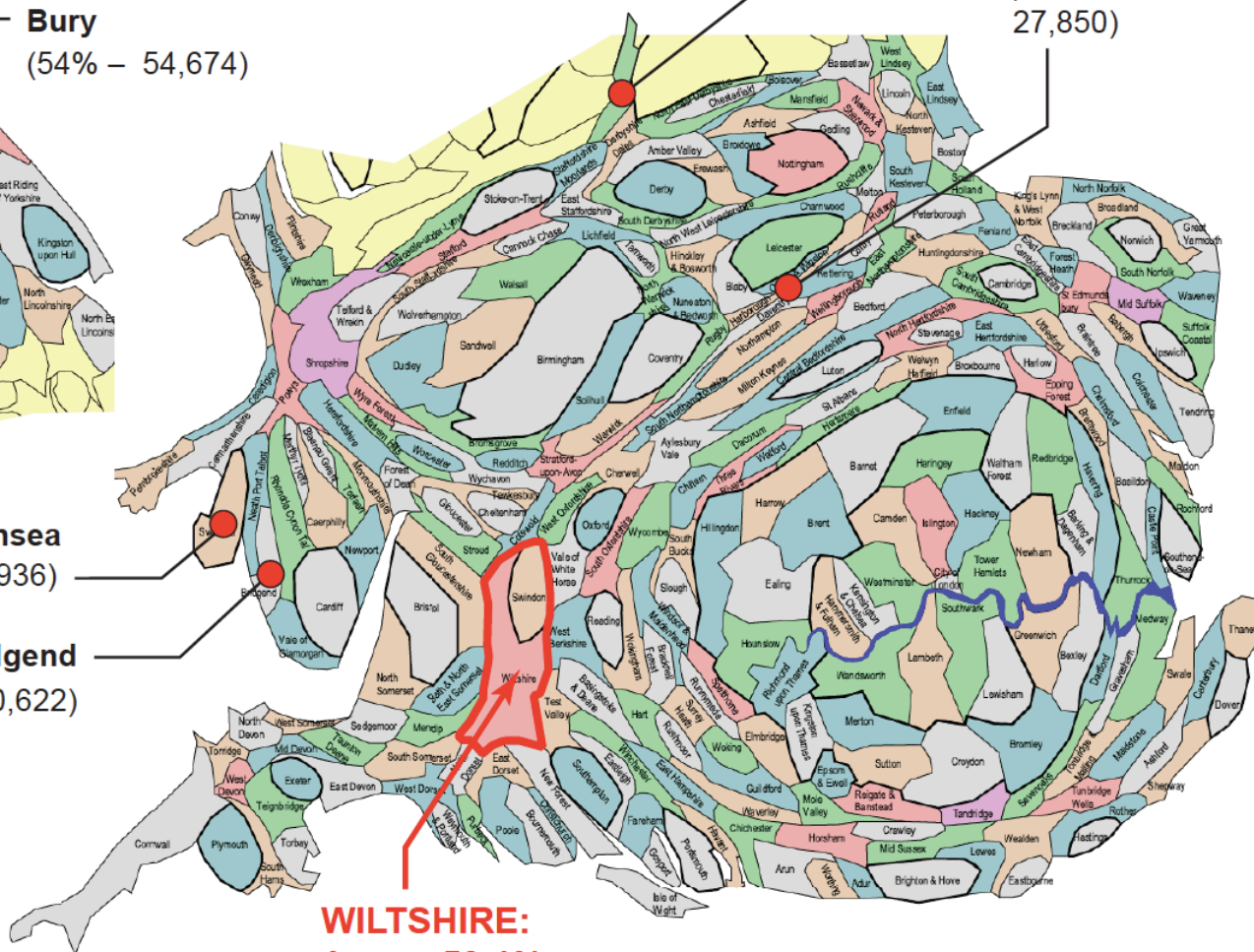
**Harborough**  
(51% –  
27,850)

**Swansea**  
(52% – 61,936)

**Bridgend**  
(55% – 40,622)

## KEY

**Swansea** = voting district  
(52%) = % Leave vote  
(61,936) = number of  
people voting



**WILTSHIRE:**  
**Leave 53.1%**  
**– 213,382 (of 515,515)**

# ANTI- BERKSHIRE: Leave 49.4% 214,599 (of 617,796)

## KEY to 'ANTI'

**Barnsley** = voting district  
(68%) = % Leave vote  
(83,958) = number of  
people voting

**Perth and Kinross**  
(39% – 31,614)

**East Dunbartonshire**  
(29% – 17,840)

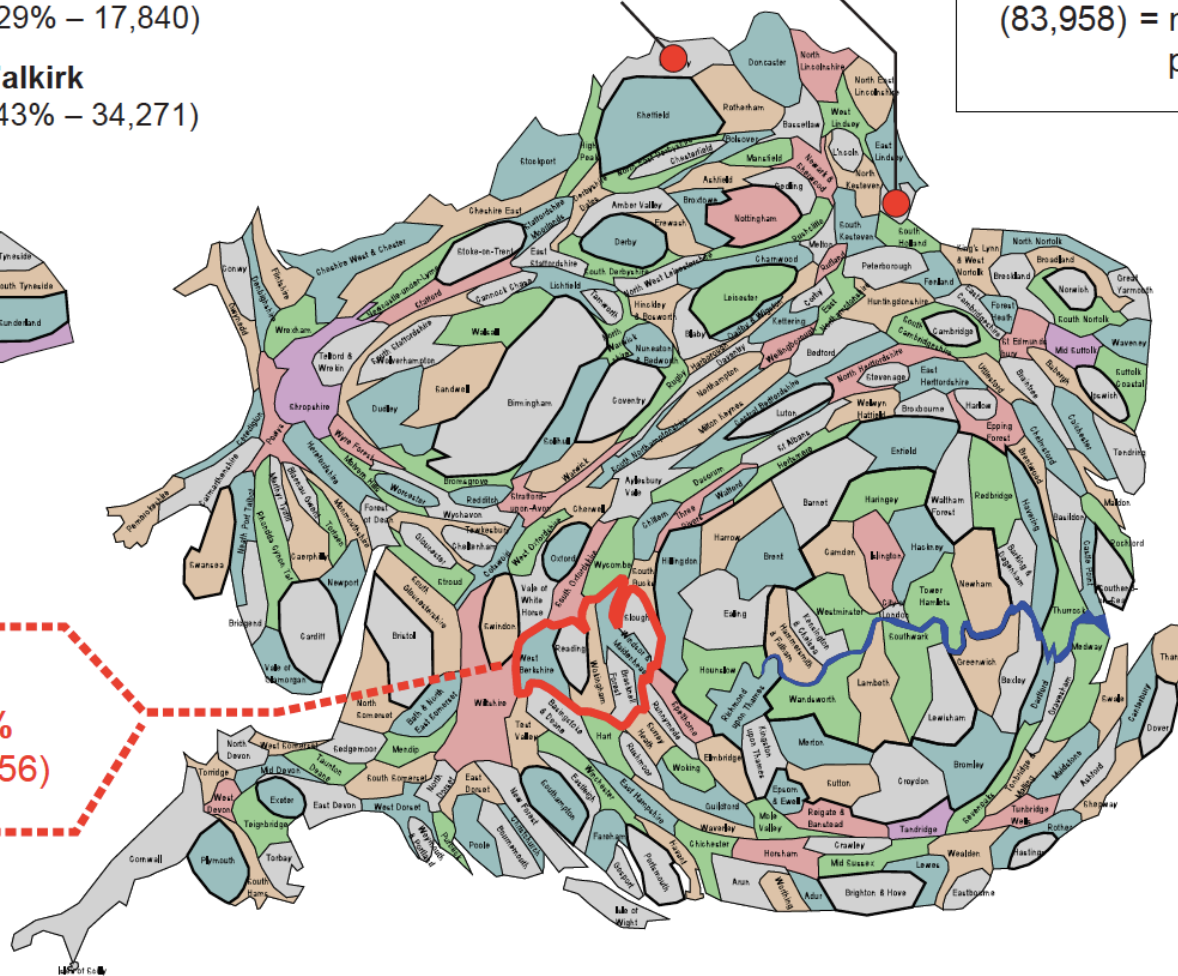
**Falkirk**  
(43% – 34,271)

**Boston**  
(76% – 22,974)

**Barnsley**  
(68% – 83,958)

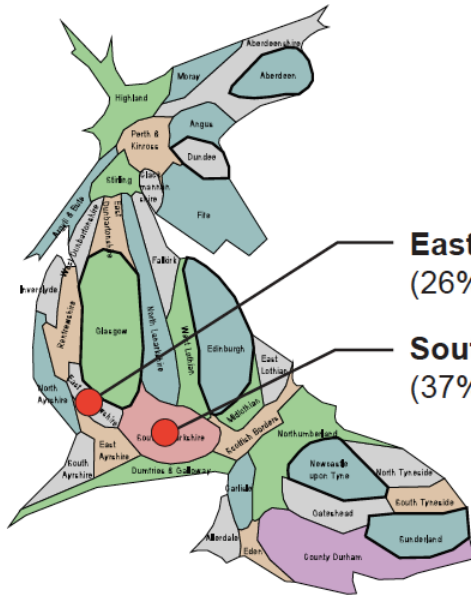
**East Ayrshire**  
(41% – 23,942)

**BERKSHIRE:**  
Leave vote 47.3%  
220,927 (of 617,656)





# ANTI- OXFORDSHIRE: Leave 45.9% 157,175 (of 488,542)



**East Renfrewshire**  
(26% – 13,596)

**South Lanarkshire**  
(37% – 60,024)

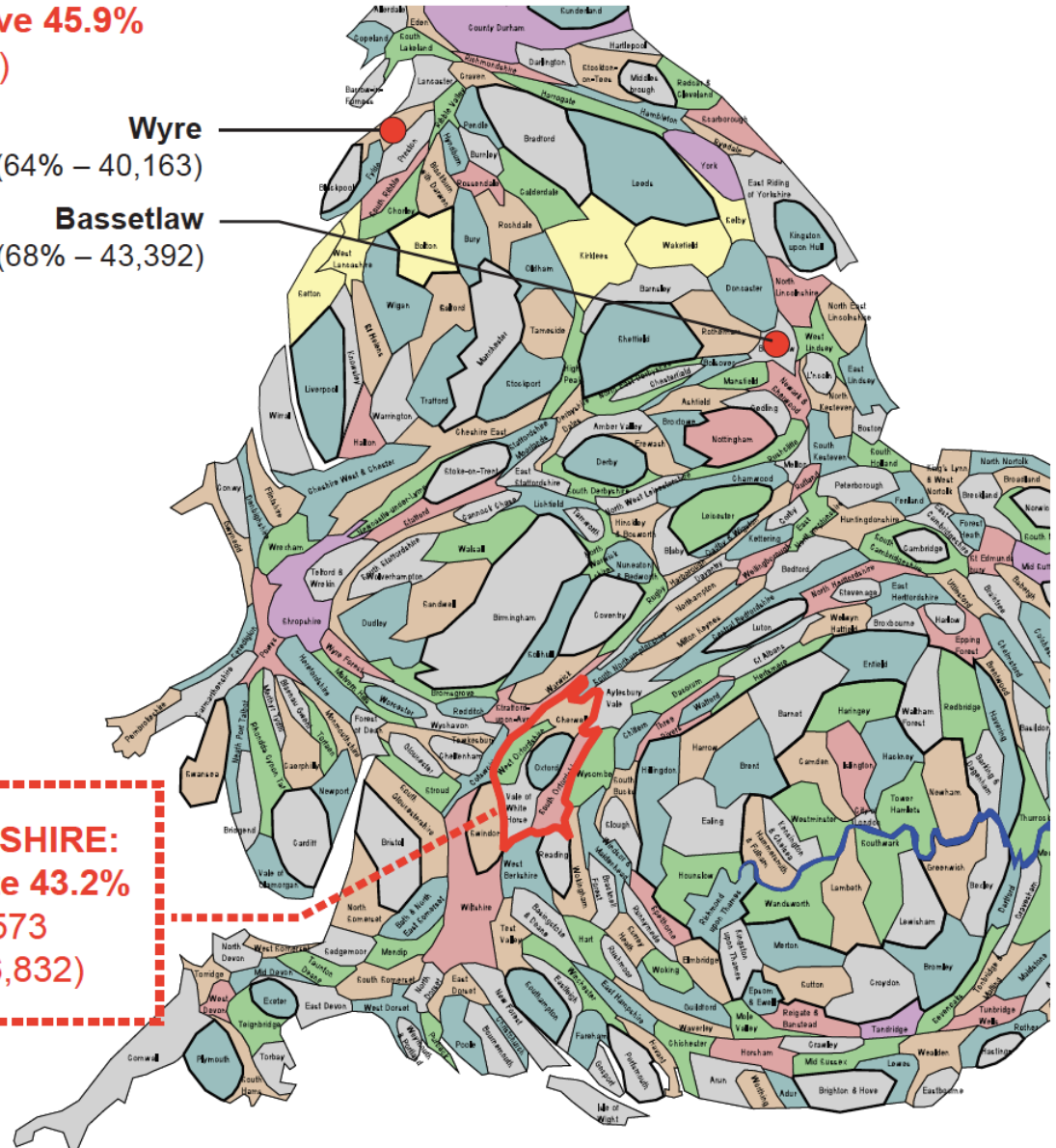
## KEY to 'ANTI'

**Wyre** = voting district  
(64%) = % Leave vote  
(40,163) = number of people voting

**Wyre**  
(64% – 40,163)

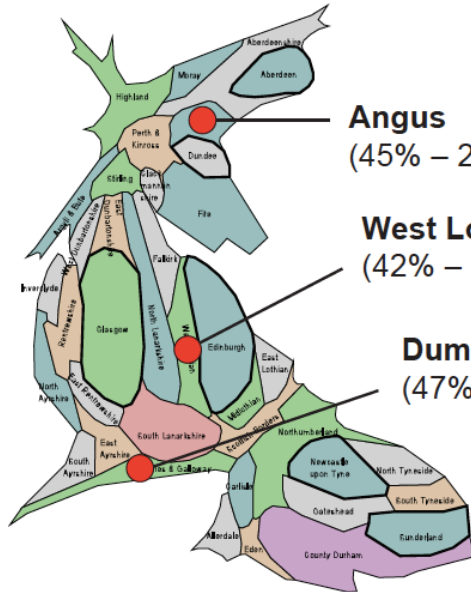
**Bassetlaw**  
(68% – 43,392)

**OXFORDSHIRE:**  
Leave vote 43.2%  
163,573  
(of 486,832)



## ANTI- BUCKINGHAMSHIRE:

Leave 51.2%  
201,847 (of 565,839)



**Oldham**  
(61% – 65,369)

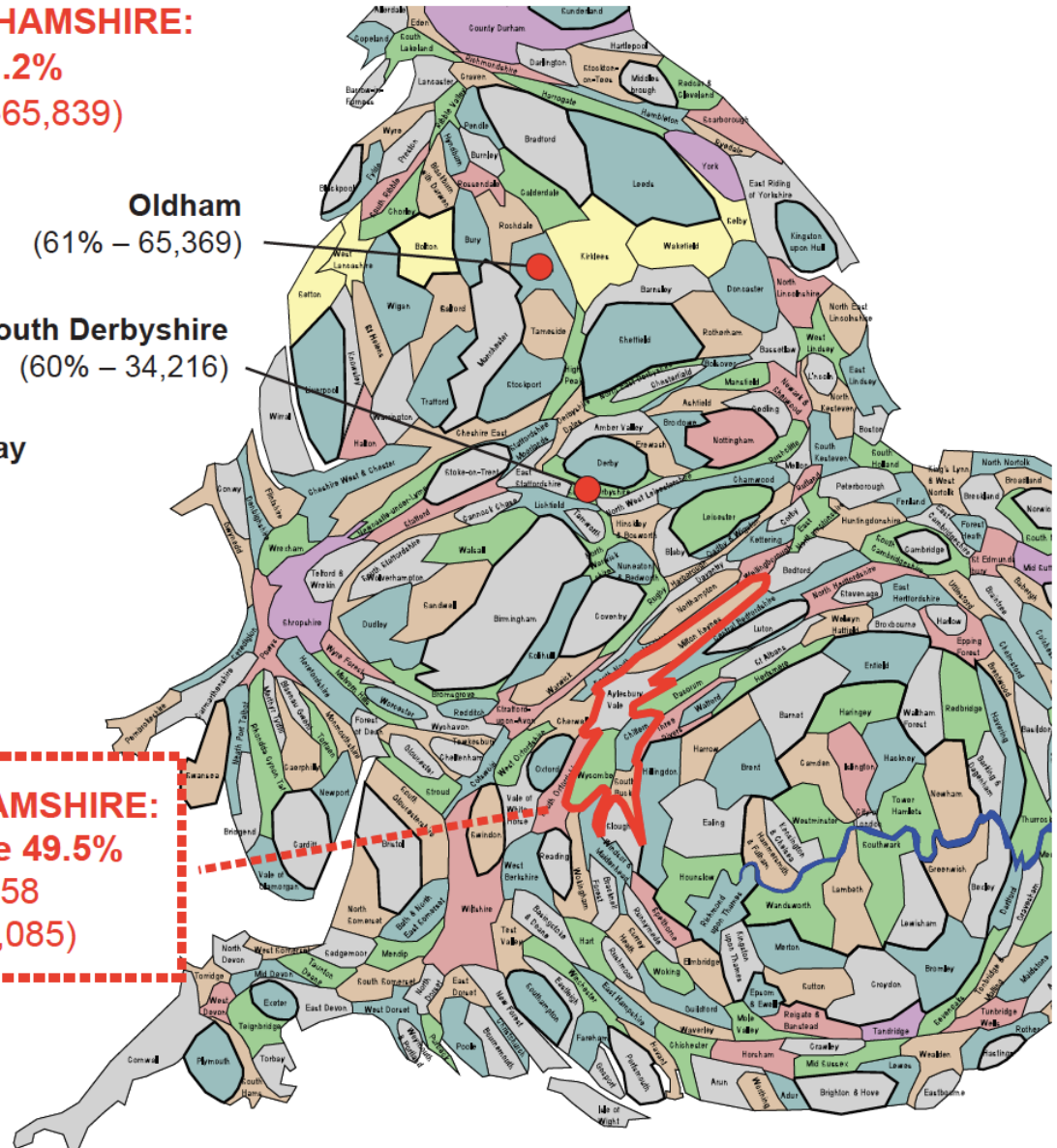
**South Derbyshire**  
(60% – 34,216)

## BUCKINGHAMSHIRE:

Leave vote 49.5%  
213,558  
(of 561,085)

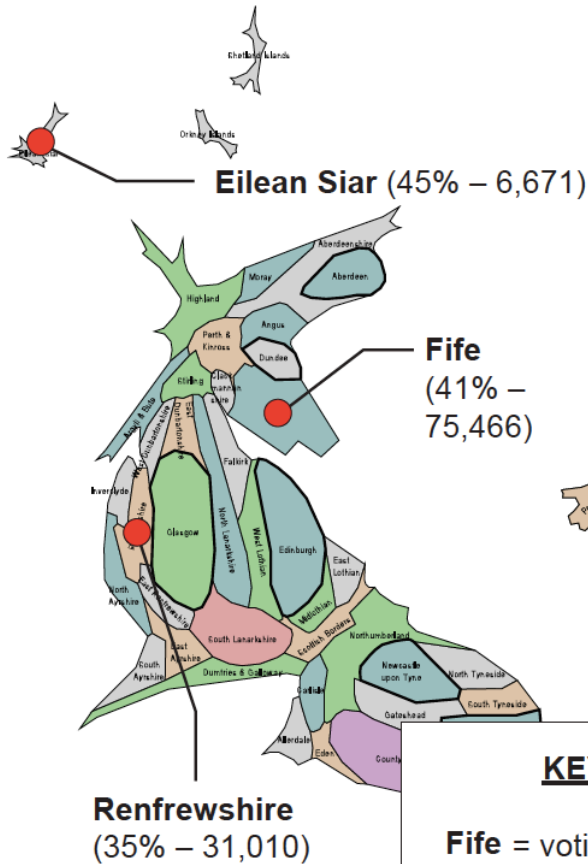
### KEY to 'ANTI-'

**Oldham** = voting district  
(61%) = % Leave vote  
(65,369) = number of  
people voting



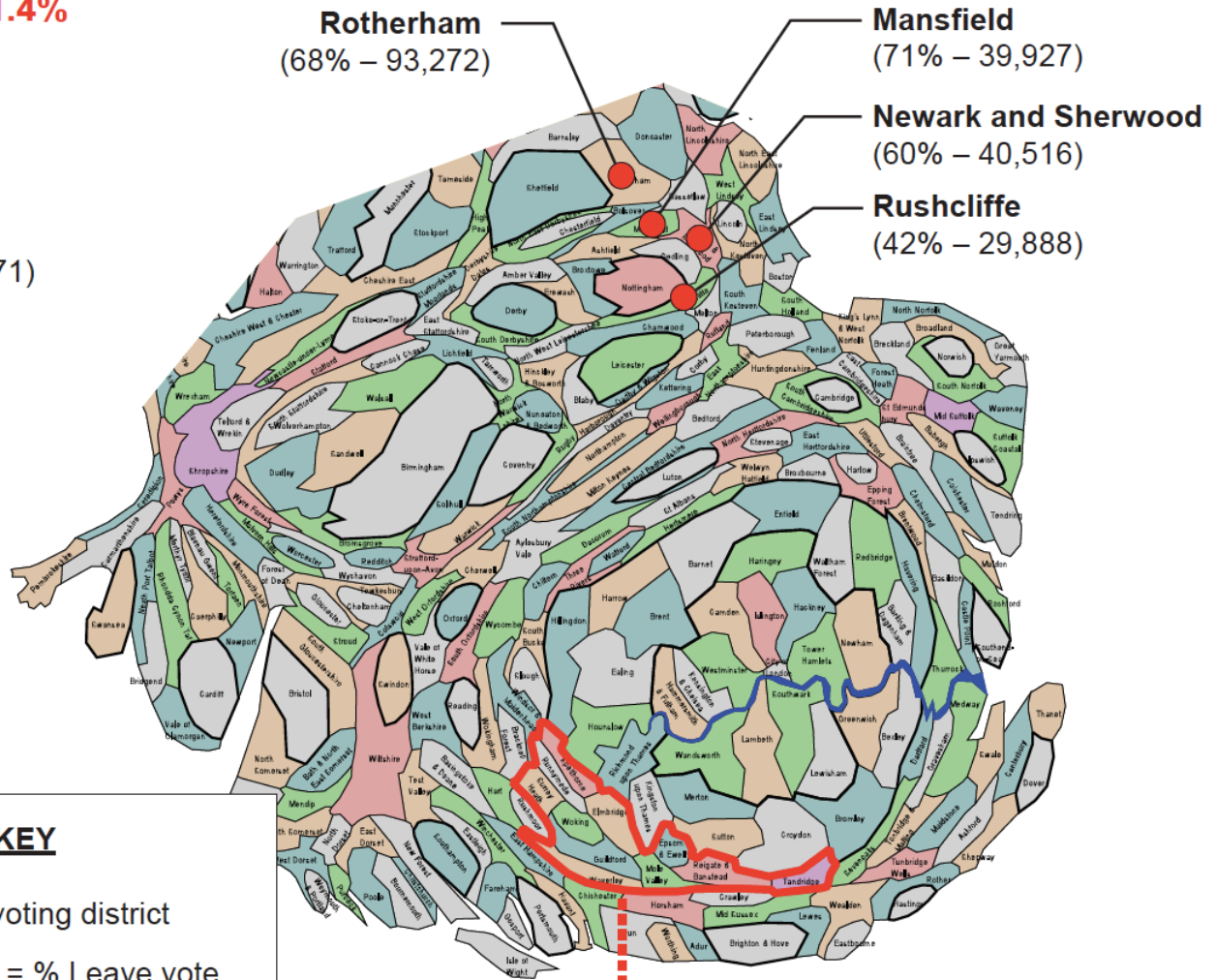


**ANTI- SURREY: Leave vote 51.4%**  
 316,750 (of 870,534)



**KEY**

**Fife** = voting district  
 (41%) = % Leave vote  
 (75,466) = number of people voting

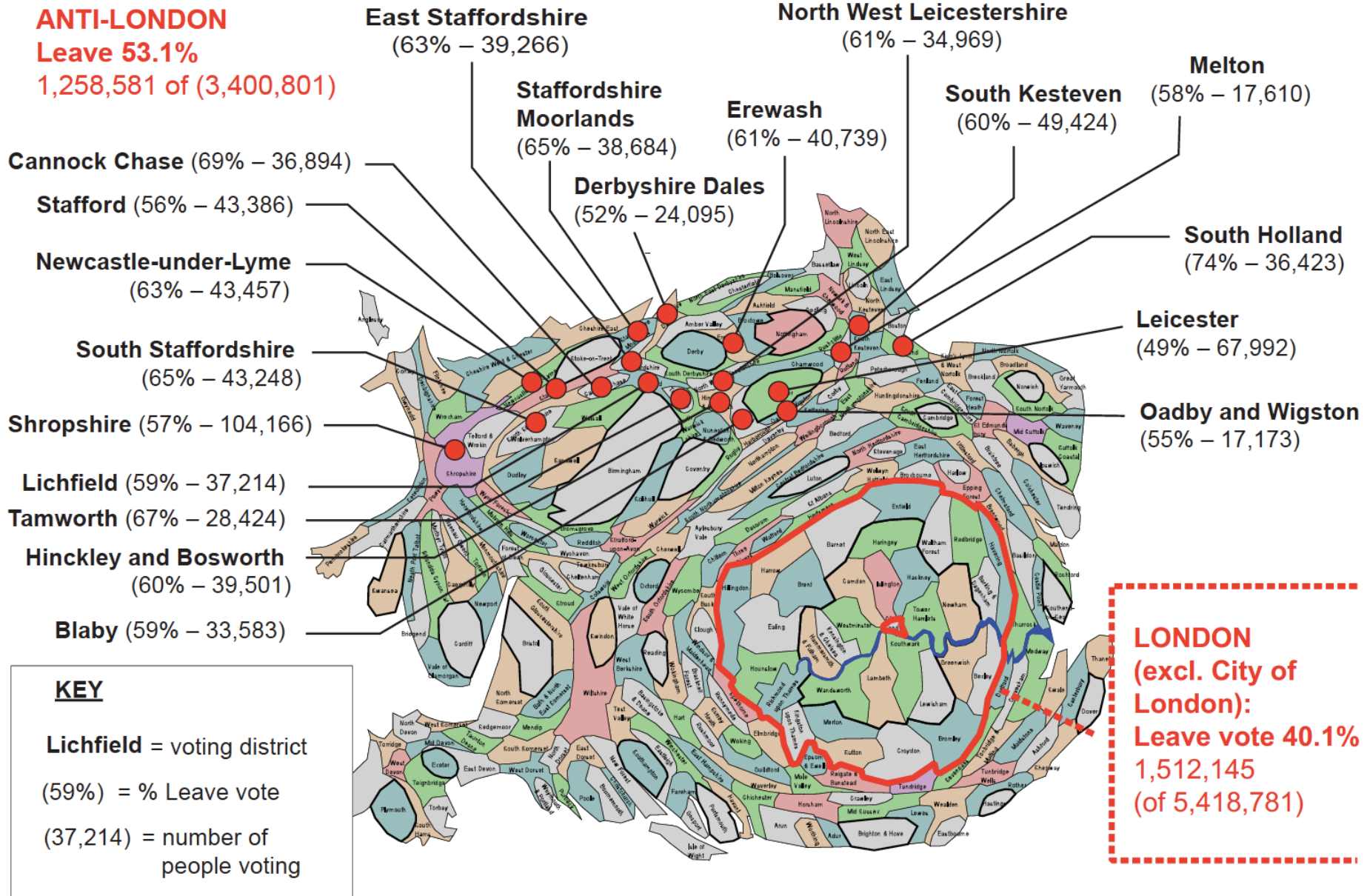


**SURREY:**  
**Leave vote 47.8%**  
 321,836 (of 851,828)

## ANTI-LONDON

Leave 53.1%

1,258,581 of (3,400,801)





## ANTI-LONDON (cont'd)

Leave 53.1%

1,258,581 of (3,400,801)

### KEY

**Tameside** = voting district

(61%) = % Leave vote

(67,829) = number of  
people voting

**Orkney Islands** (37% – 4,193)

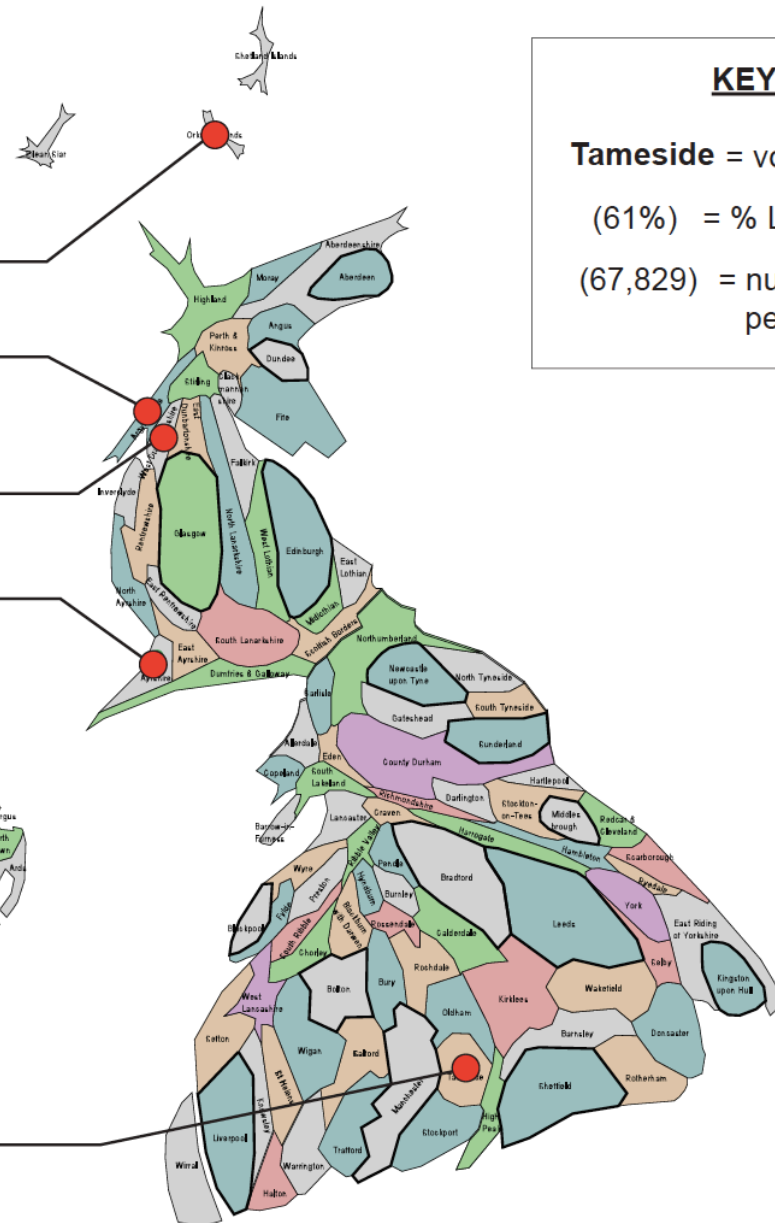
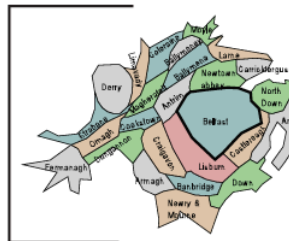
**Argyll and Bute** (39% – 19,202)

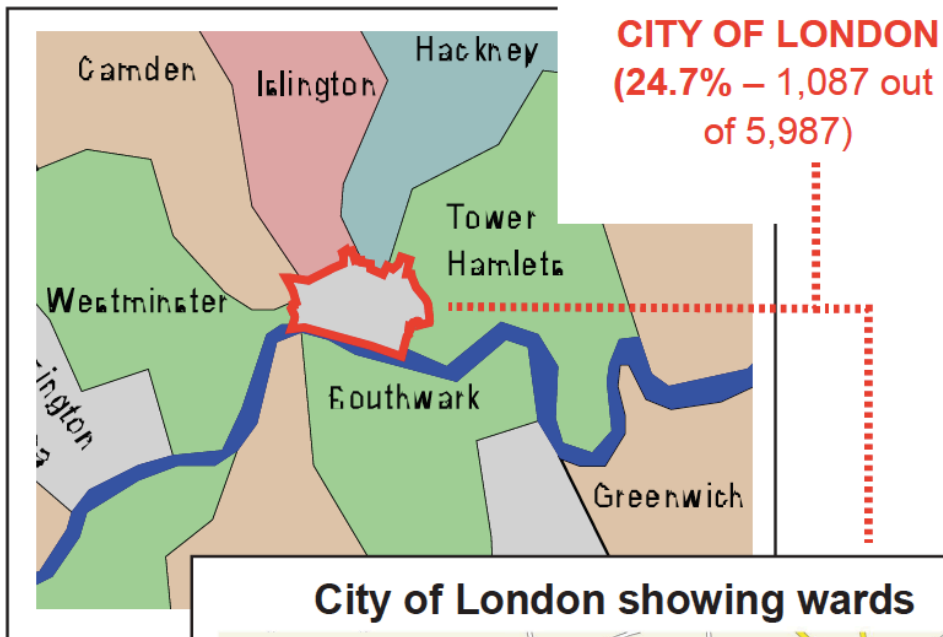
**West Dunbartonshire** (38% – 16,426)

**South Ayrshire** (41% – 25,241)

**Northern Ireland**  
(44% – 349,442)

**Tameside** (61% – 67,829)





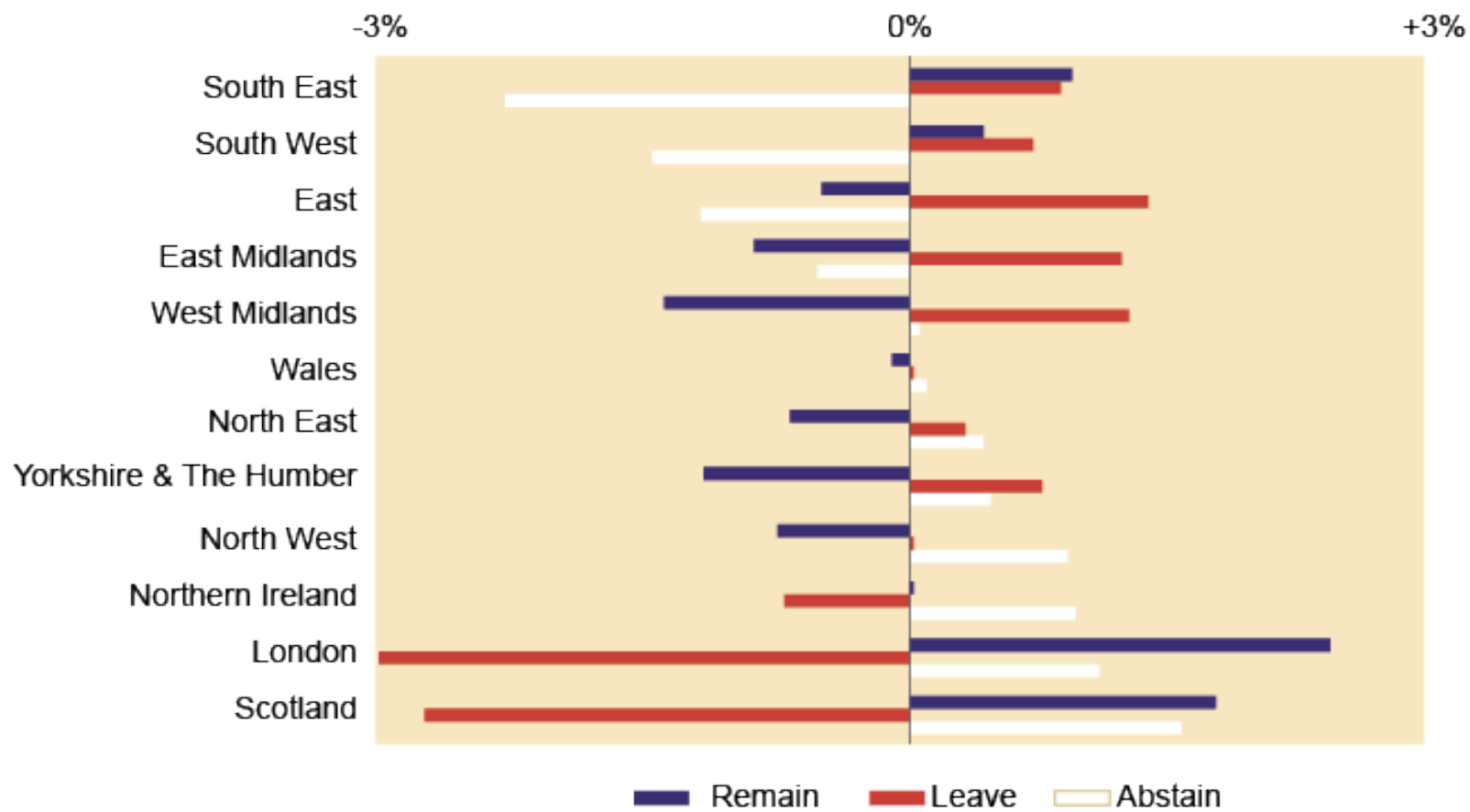
**ANTI-CITY OF LONDON**  
(4.1% – 823 out of 24,119)





# Brexit voting by region

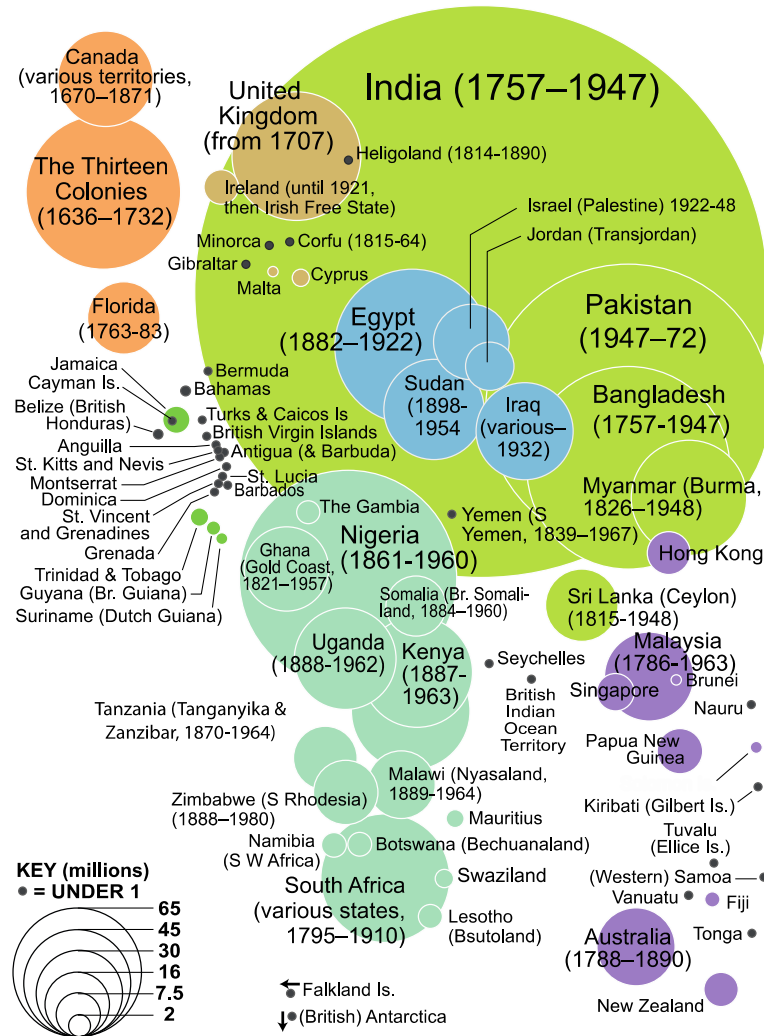
Deviation of the region's voting from its share of electorate



Source: In Focus, The 2016 EU Referendum, Hennig & Dorling

# The British Empire – fact and fantasy

The Empire with area in proportion to current population



- The British Empire was largest in the world, with highest GDP from 1851-1900
- In British schools little is taught about its demise and affect on the rest of the world
- Britain's last colony was surrendered in 1997



Source: Populations from United Nations



Nuneaton, 2019

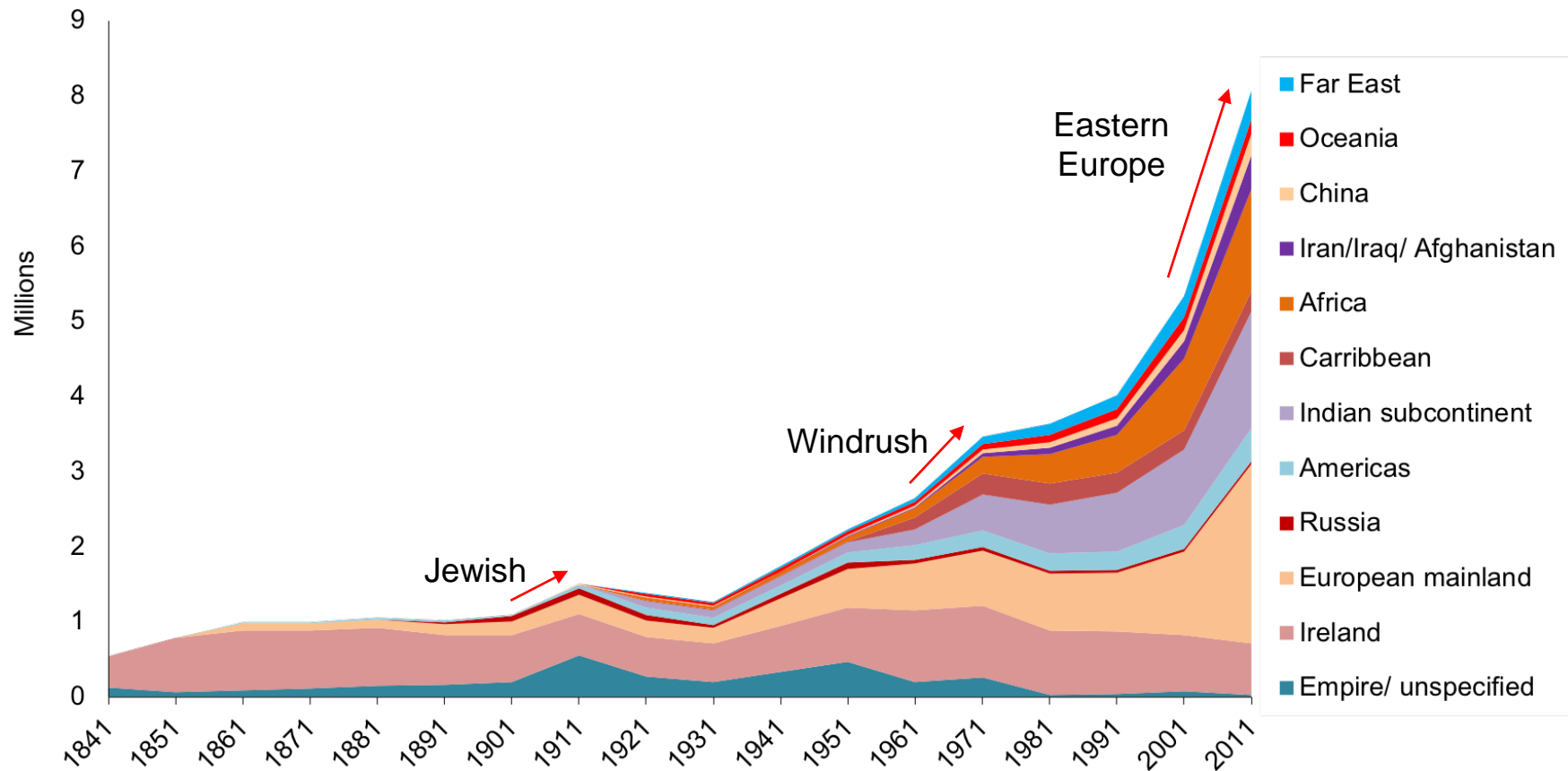


# Why do we protest so badly? Perhaps we can blame the empire?



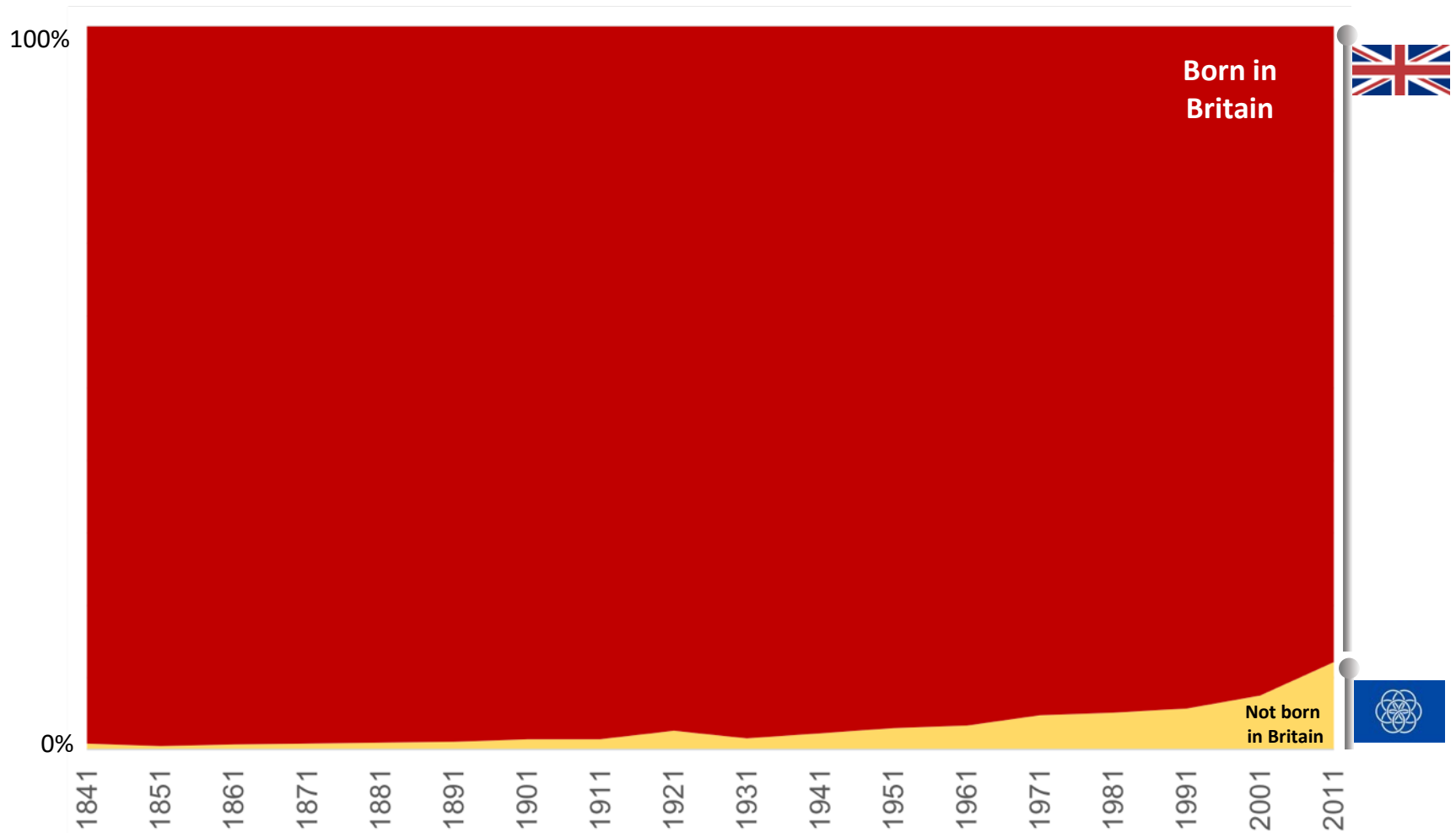
- Almost half of all French adults have been on a lawful protest
- In Spain, Italy and Denmark, well over a third of adults have protested
- Even the Germans protest twice as much as we do, at 30%
- Just under 15% of adults in the UK, or 1 in 6 people, have been on a protest
- Could this be further evidence of our stiff upper lips, another legacy of the Empire?

## Inward migration has been rising in UK as part of global trend





# Migration to Britain in context

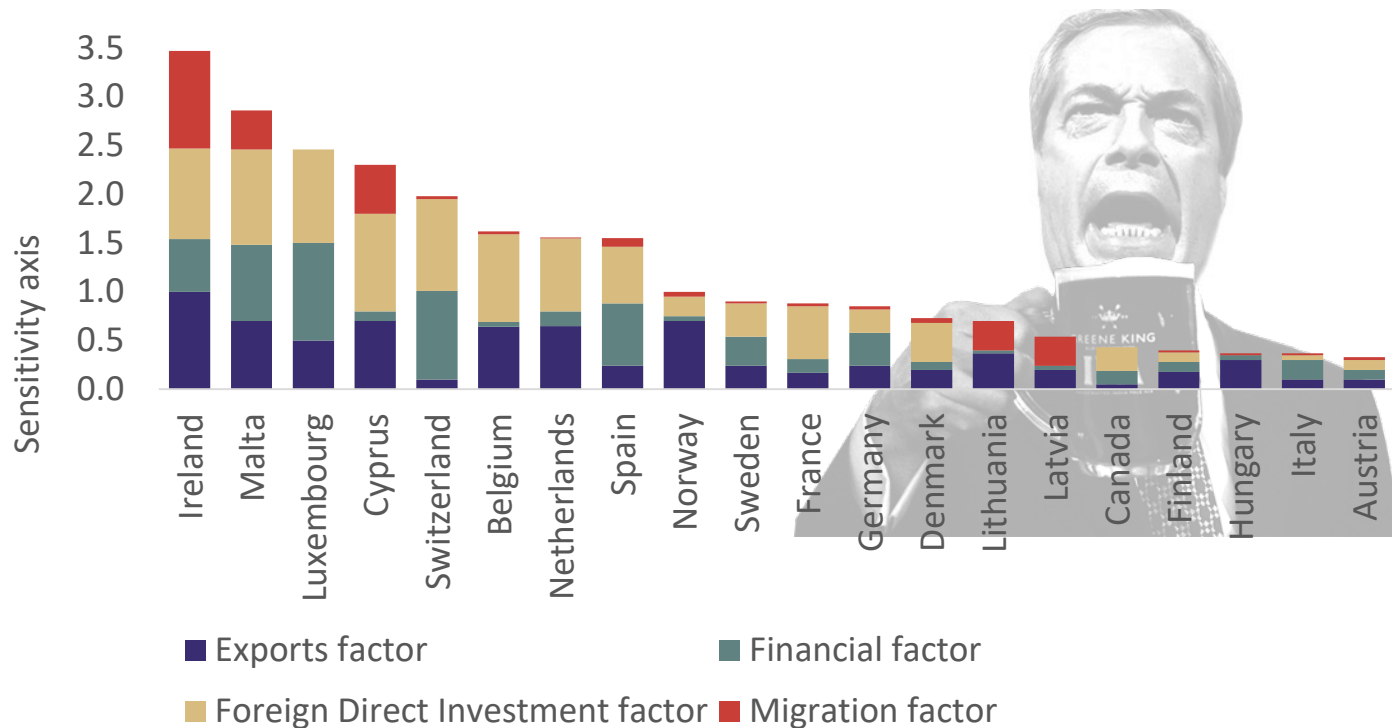


# Oxford and Folkestone 2019



# Brexit sensitivity

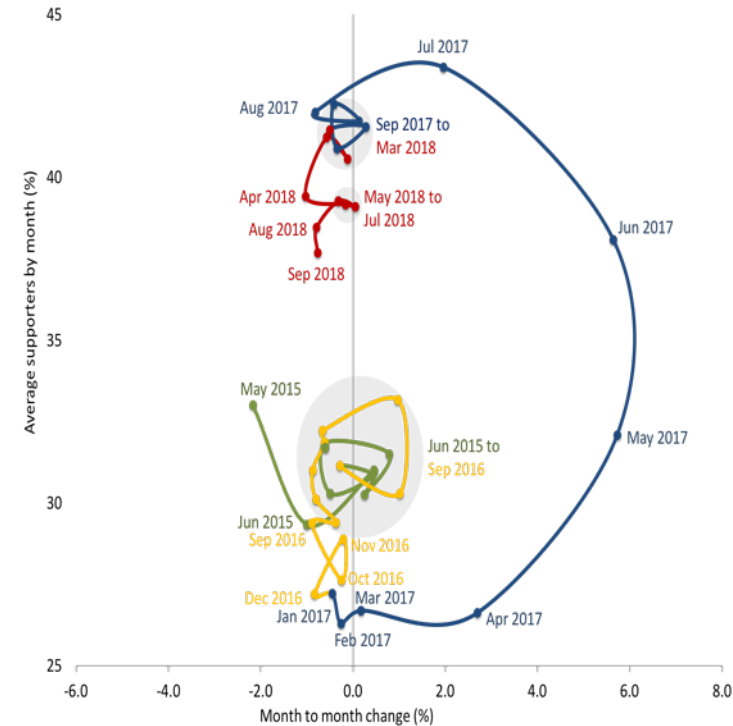
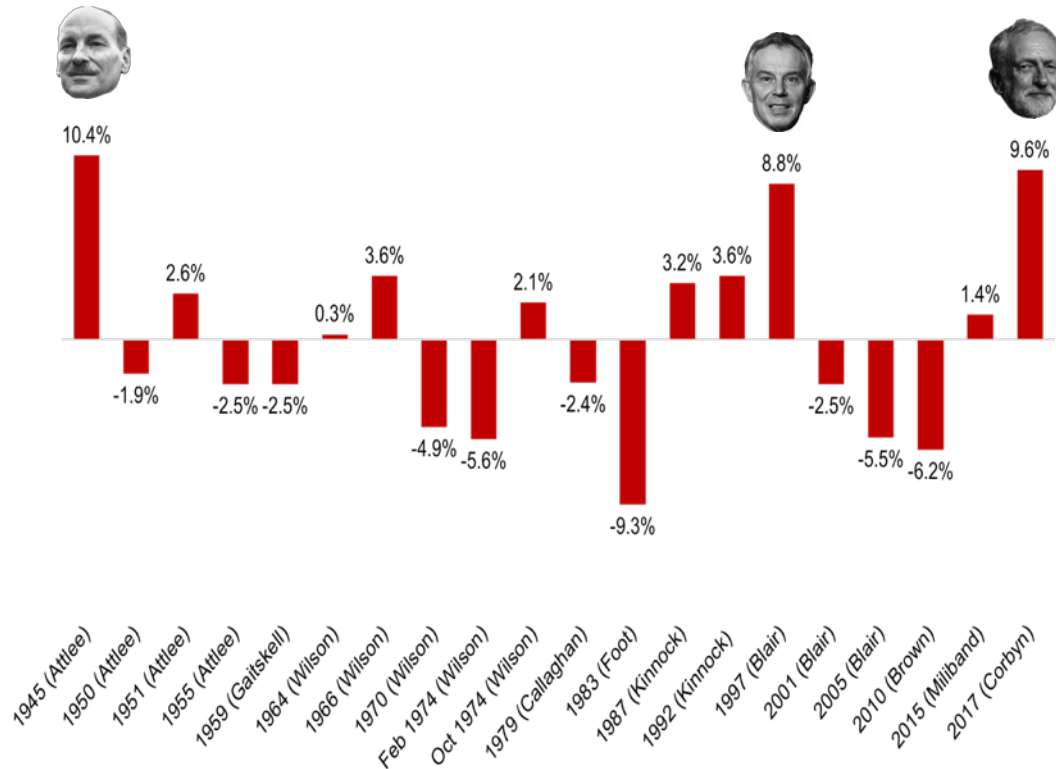
Other than the UK, it is small countries like Ireland, Malta, Luxembourg, Cyprus and Switzerland that have the most to lose post-Brexit







# Jeremy Corbyn gives Labour its biggest share increase since 1945



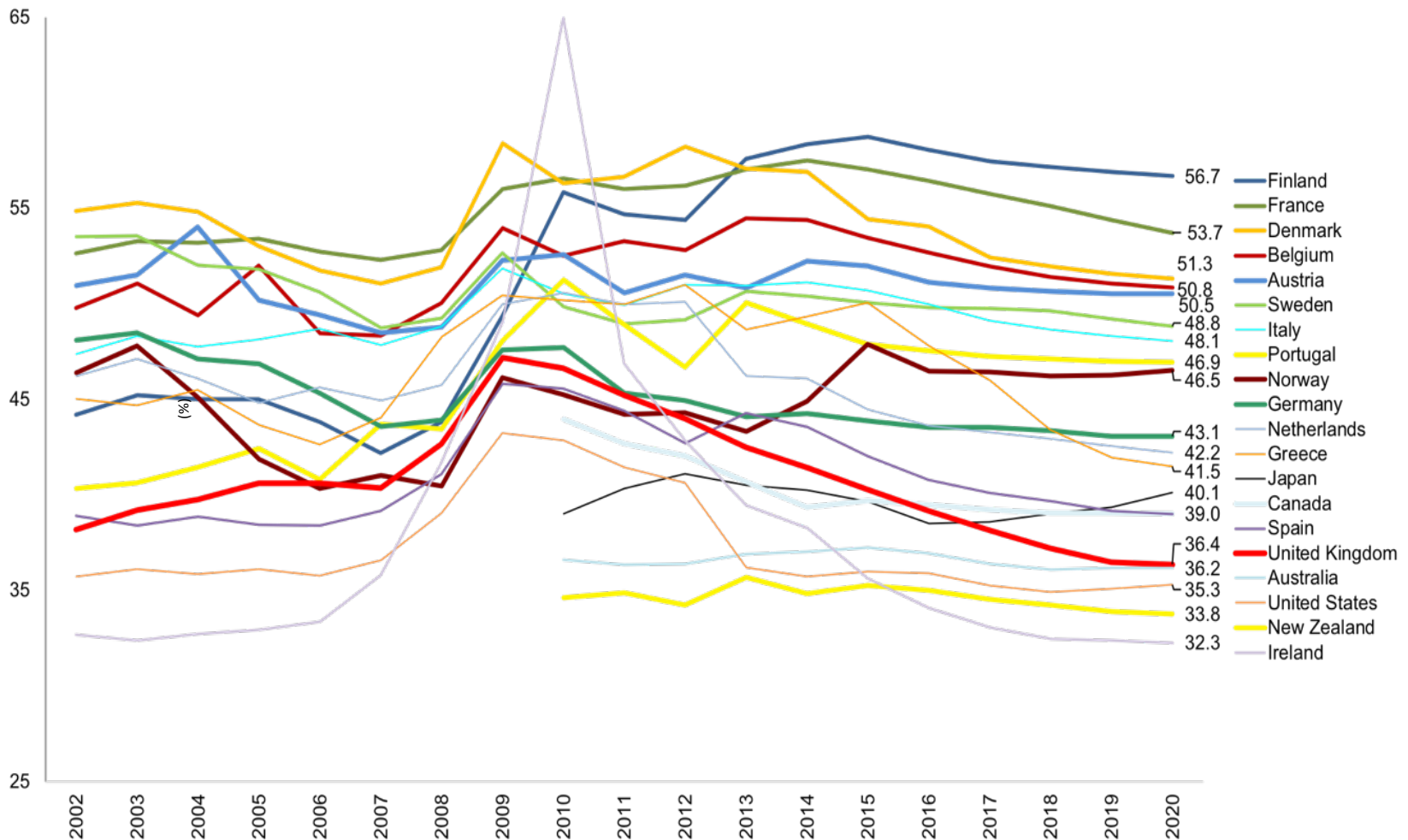


Now we are beginning to see where we live very differently





# State spending in the 20 richest countries as % GDP – some perspective

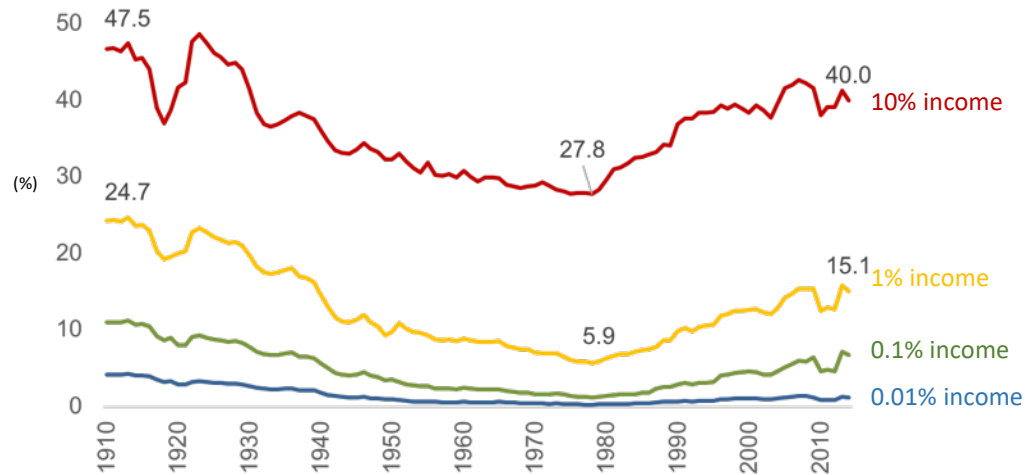
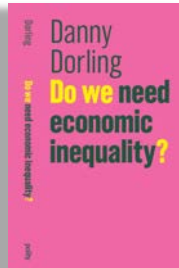


- The Conservatives want to bring state spending down to 36%; Jeremy Corbyn's Labour wants to raise it to 38%. This is still very low in the context of other rich countries.



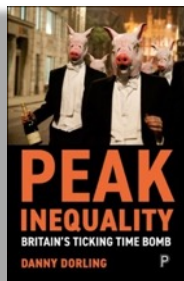
# The fall and rise of inequality...

Despite closing the equality gap for 60 years after WW1...



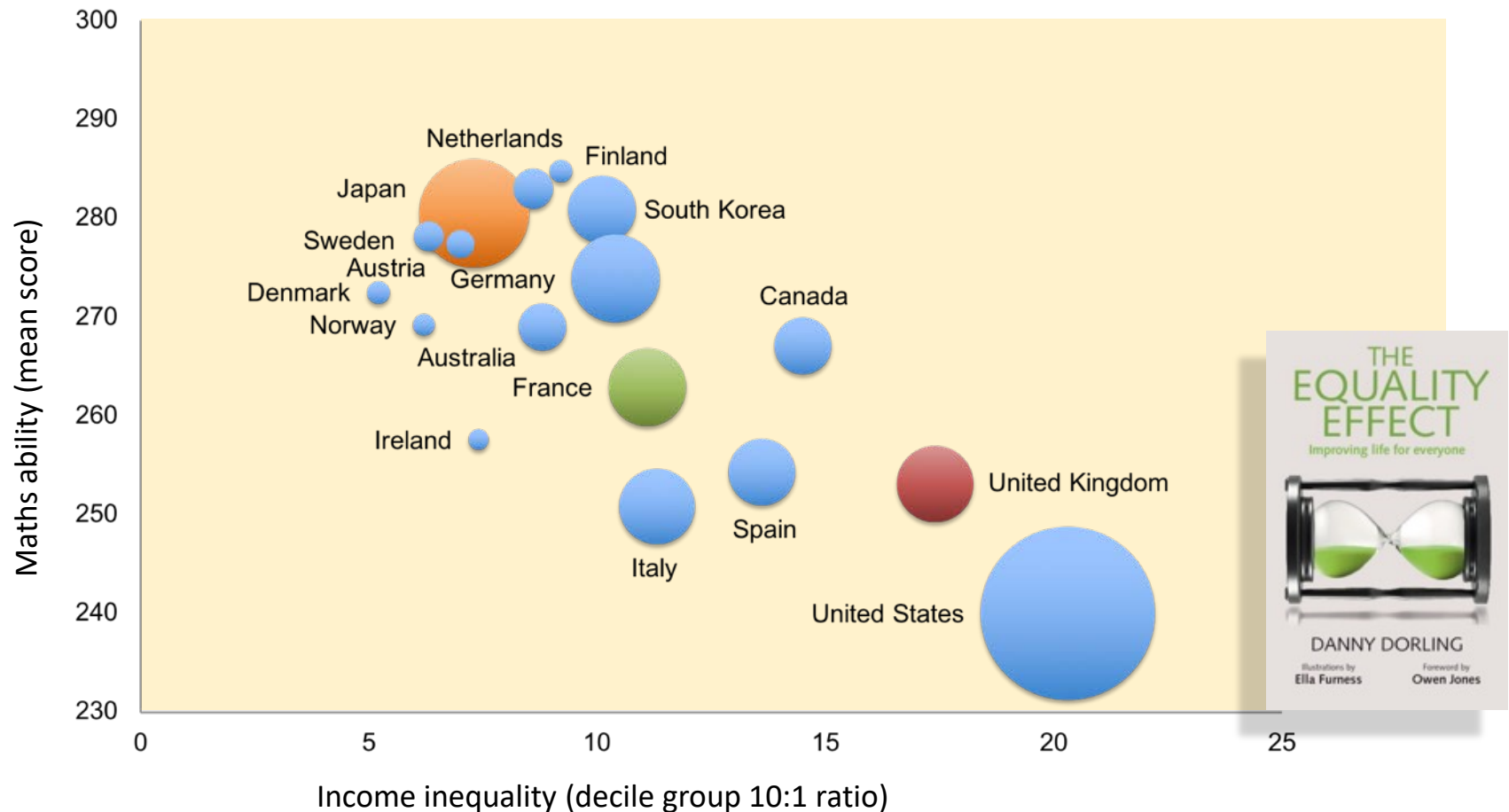
Highest rise in inequality in Europe since the 1970s

...we are among the most unequal OECD states in the world today



Gini Coefficient of income inequality, OECD countries, 2015

# Inequality and 16-24 year-old's maths ability (2012)





**Final thought** The lights are not going out all over Europe 😊 Brexit is part of something bigger



"Essential reading for all trying to navigate the choppy waters of post-Brexit Britain."

RUPA HUQ MP

"Exquisite and timely ... A rich but rare mix of profound analysis and hope for something better."

NEAL LAWSON, CHAIR OF COMPASS

"A much-needed mirror through which Britain and what it means to be British is explored with razor-sharp nuance and detail."

SHAISTA AZIZ, JOURNALIST, WRITER AND STAND-UP COMEDIAN

Things fall apart when empires crumble. This time, we think, things will be different. They are not. This time, we are told, we will become great again. We will not.

In *Rule Britannia*, Danny Dorling and Sally Tomlinson argue that the vote to leave the EU was the last gasp of the old empire working its way out of the British psyche. Fuelled by a misplaced nostalgia, the result was driven by a lack of knowledge of Britain's imperial history, by a profound anxiety about Britain's status today, and by a deeply unrealistic vision of our future.

Whatever happens next, Britain will be – and has already been – inevitably diminished by the Brexit vote. There is no welcoming group of countries ready to swiftly embrace new trading relationships with us.

And yet, there is hope. In this wide-ranging and thoughtful analysis, Dorling and Tomlinson argue that if Britain can reconcile itself to a new beginning, there is the chance to carve out a new identity. *Rule Britannia* is a call to leave behind the jingoistic ignorance of the past and build a fairer Britain, eradicating the inequality that blights our society and embracing our true strengths.

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**BREXIT AND THE END OF EMPIRE**

# RULE BRITANNIA

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