

# The Brexit vote and social discontent: a diagnosis, but no cure.

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If you're born poor, you will die on average 9 years earlier than others.

If you

system

If you

else

If you

profession

If you

merit

If you

own

(...)



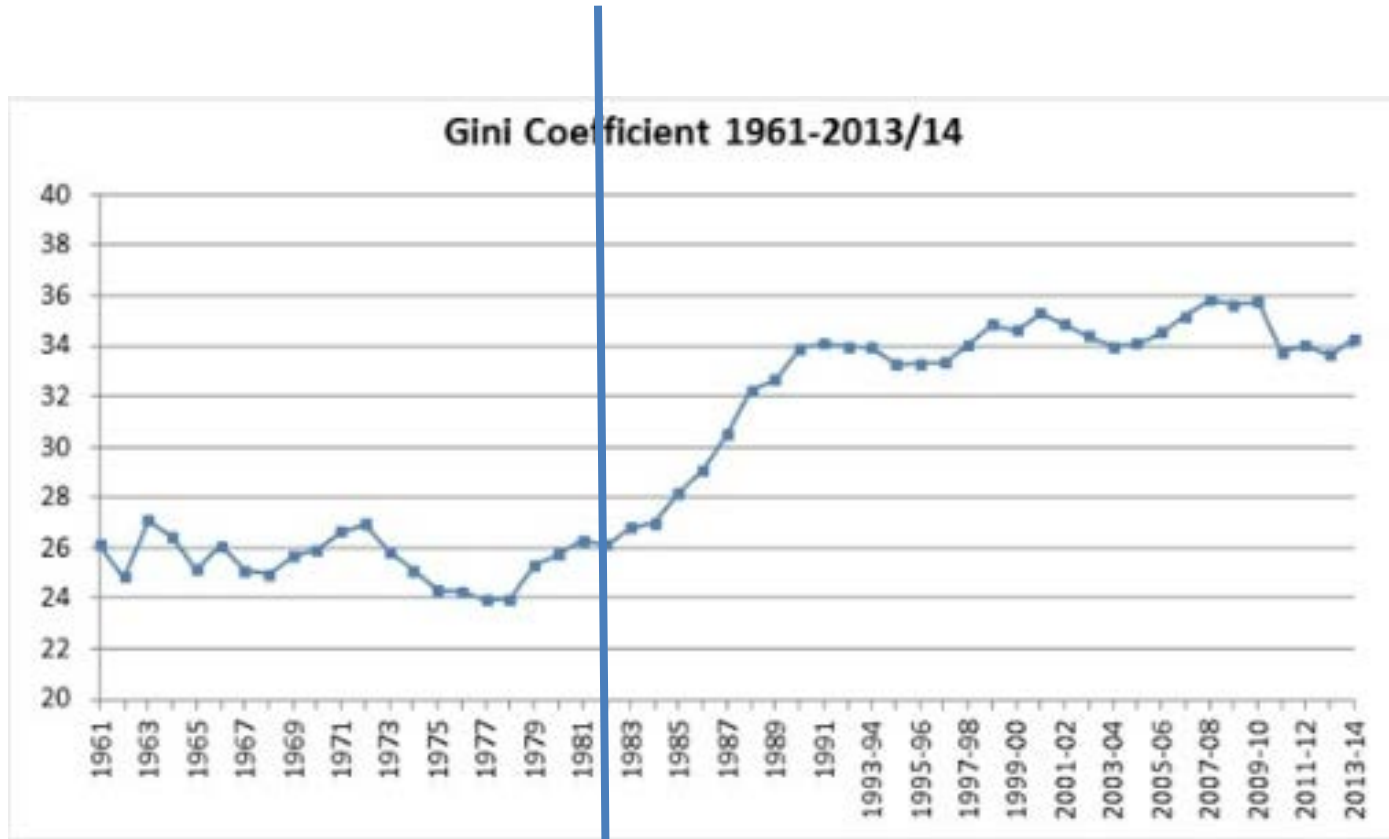
Theresa May PM, 13 July 2016

I know you're working around the clock, I know you're doing your best, and I know that sometimes life can be a struggle. The government I lead will be driven not by the interests of the privileged few, but by yours.

# 2016: the year that liberal internationalism was rejected

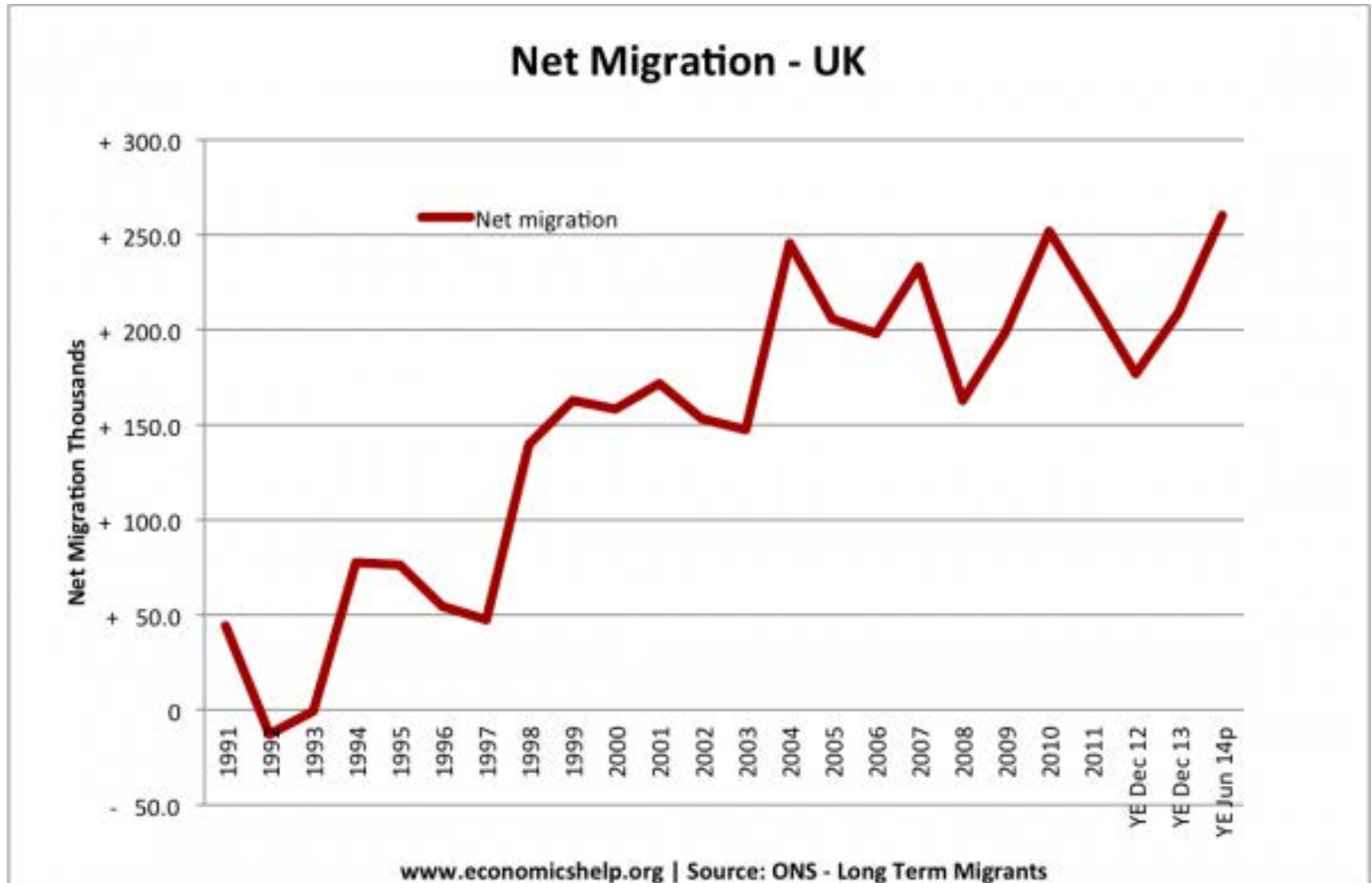
- Britain at the forefront of **globalisation** since the 1980s...
- ...coupled with a **deregulated labour market**...
- ...and increasing **social liberalism**.
- Should Brexit be considered a protest vote against all – or parts – of the above? If so: how can the politicians respond?

# Social inequality over time



Source: <https://www.equalitytrust.org.uk/how-has-inequality-changed>

# The influx of immigration



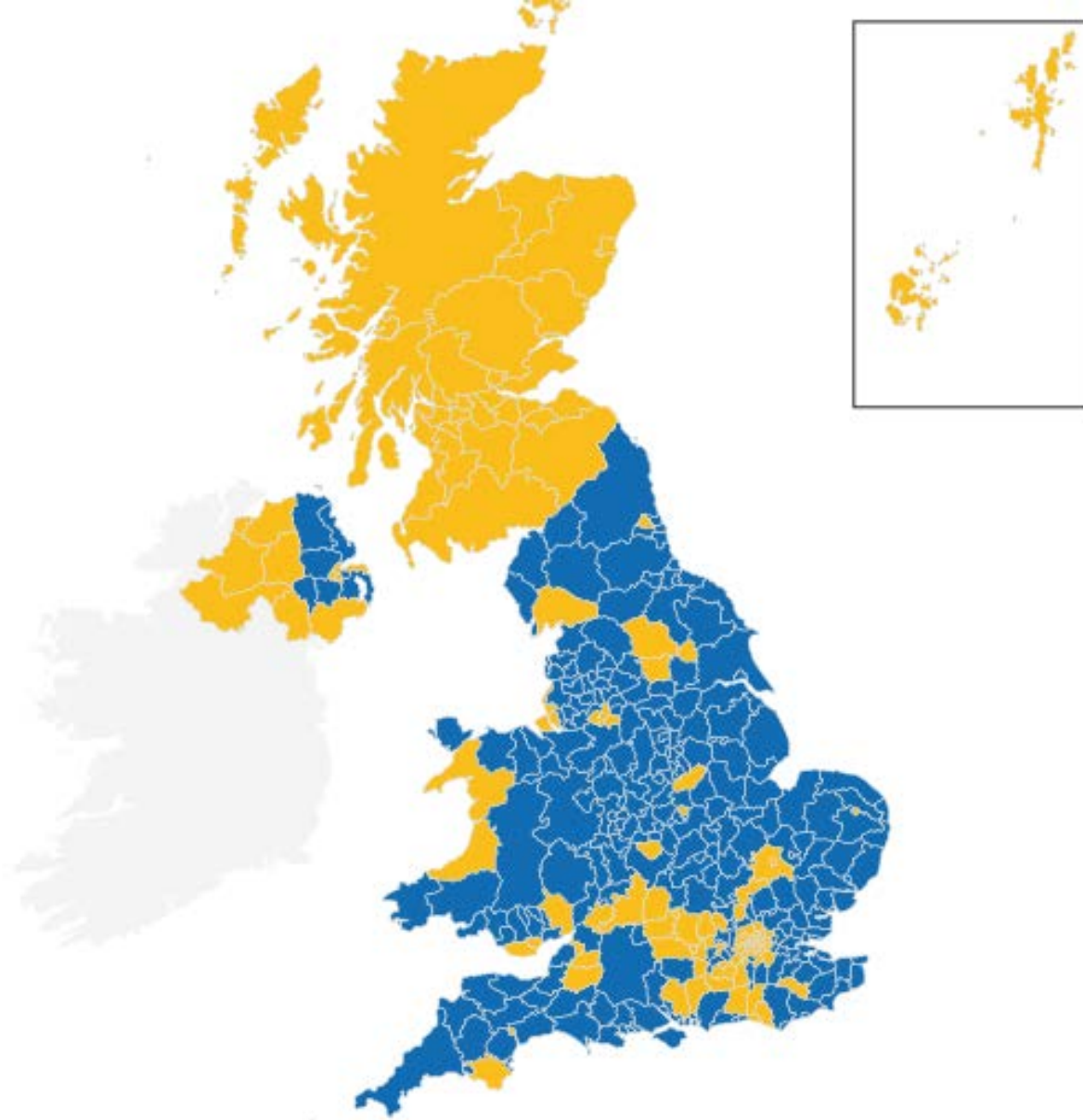
# What was Tory Euroscepticism grounded in?

## Classic Euroscepticism

- **democratic deficit** (only legitimate authority is that which resides in the UK Parliament).
- **inefficiency of the EU** (waste of resources, unnecessary regulation).

## But adding fuel to EU sceptics in Britain:

1. A sense of **crisis**; the perception that the EU can no longer manage, that the Union adds to the dangers.
2. Concerns about **excessive immigration** and a desire to regain *control of our borders*.



Key: ■ Majority leave ■ Majority remain

## ***Territorial divide: Leave percentage across different regions***

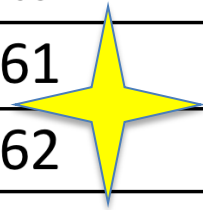
UK	51.8	North East	58.0
England	53.4	North West	53.7
Scotland	38.0	Yorks & Humber	57.7
Wales	52.5	East Midlands	58.8
N. Ireland	44.2	West Midlands	59.3
		Eastern	56.5
		London	40.1
		South East	51.8
		South West	52.6

- Seven of the 10 areas with the highest share of Remain were in London. (from Lambeth 78%).
- Also note: Edinburgh 74% for Remain; Belfast West 74.1%.



# ***Social divide: Leave percentage across gender, class, education, age***

	%		%
Men	53	Aged 18-24	39
Women	51	Aged 25-49	47
		Aged 50-64	61
AB	39	Aged 65+	62
C2DE	65		
		2015 Con	61
GCSE or lower	70	2015 Lab	35
Degree	32	2015 LibDem	32
		2015 UKIP	95



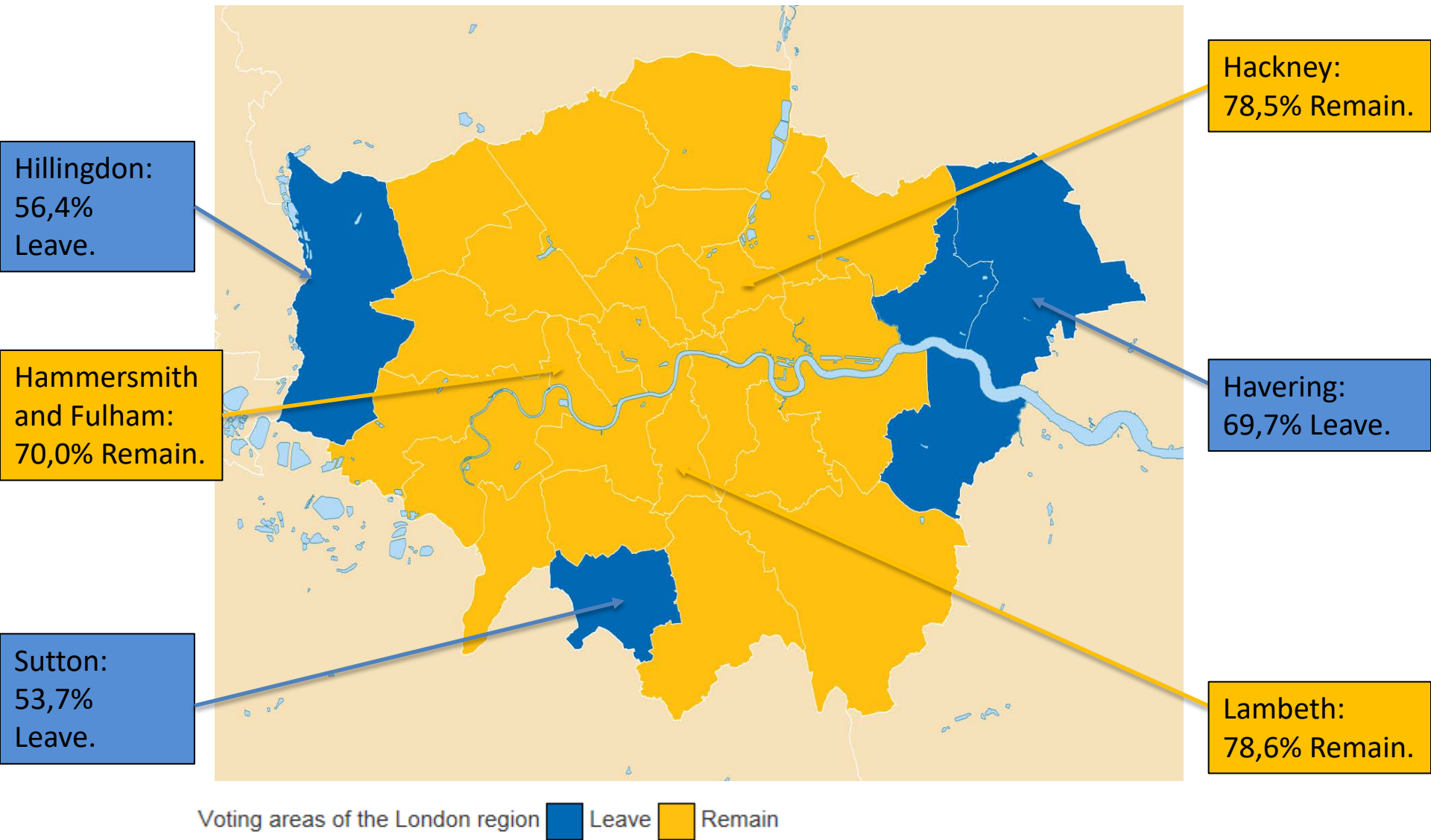
## **The stereotypical Leave voter**

- Living in non-urban area (surprisingly often in the Midlands or North).
- Ethnicity: White British.
- Low education, age 50+.
- Party affiliation 2015: Conservative or UKIP.

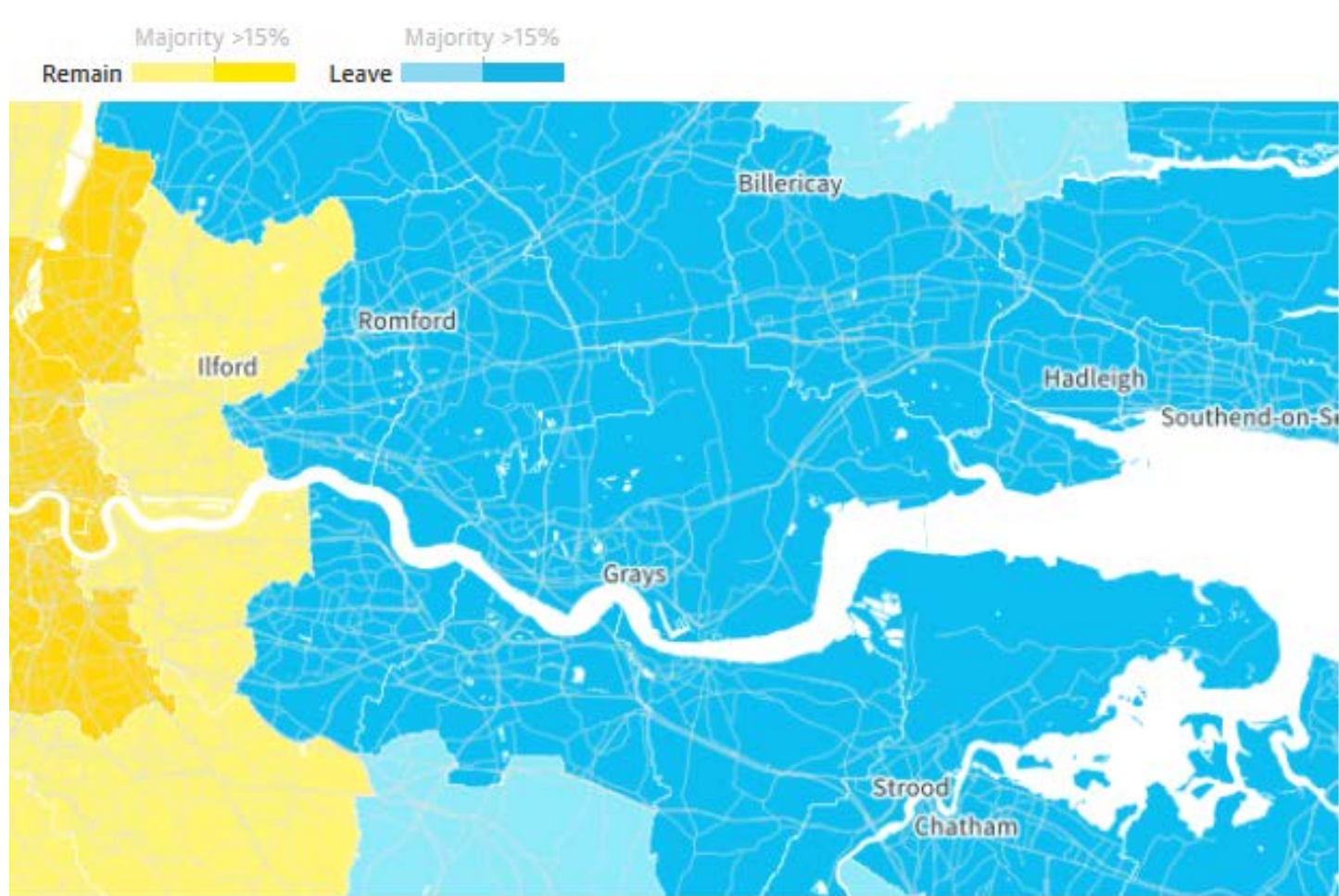
## **The stereotypical Remain voter**

- Living in urban area (or Scotland).
- Mixed ethnicity.
- High education, young age.
- Party affiliation 2015: Labour, Lib Dems, Greens (or SNP).

# London



# Thames Estuary



# Whatever the doctor prescribed: is Brexit the cure?

- Leaving the EU will hardly change the economic structures of post-industrial Britain:
  - ⇒ an unhealthy reliance on financial services and consumer debt.
  - ⇒ an oversized low-skilled, poorly paid service sector.
  - ⇒ a deregulated labour market permitting a race to the bottom.
- But after all, that was never the aim of Conservative Eurosceptics.

## An overarching dilemma

- Conservative Euroscepticism is grounded in a desire to maximise trade but to minimise...
  - a) unwanted migration
  - b) unwanted EU regulation (and EU influence as such)
  - c) budget contributions

In general: avoid Europe, but make an economic success of it.

## **Classic tenets in 21st century clothing**

Full circle back to an empire of free trade?

Britain a great power in its own right?

Return to the paradigm of undisputed  
sovereignty of Parliament?



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