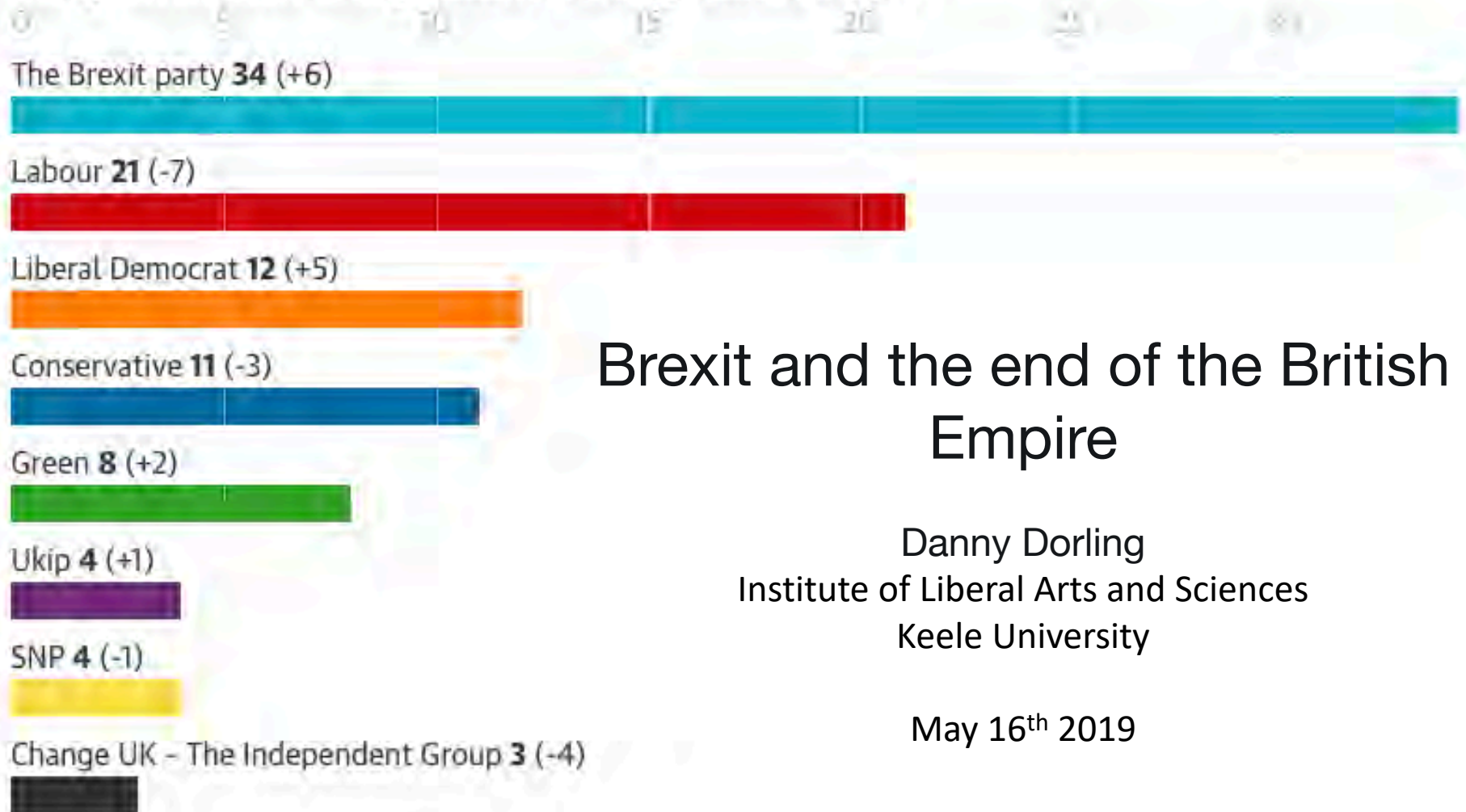


The Brexit party also continues to gain a lot of traction in the lead-up to the European elections

European election voting intention, change since 23 April

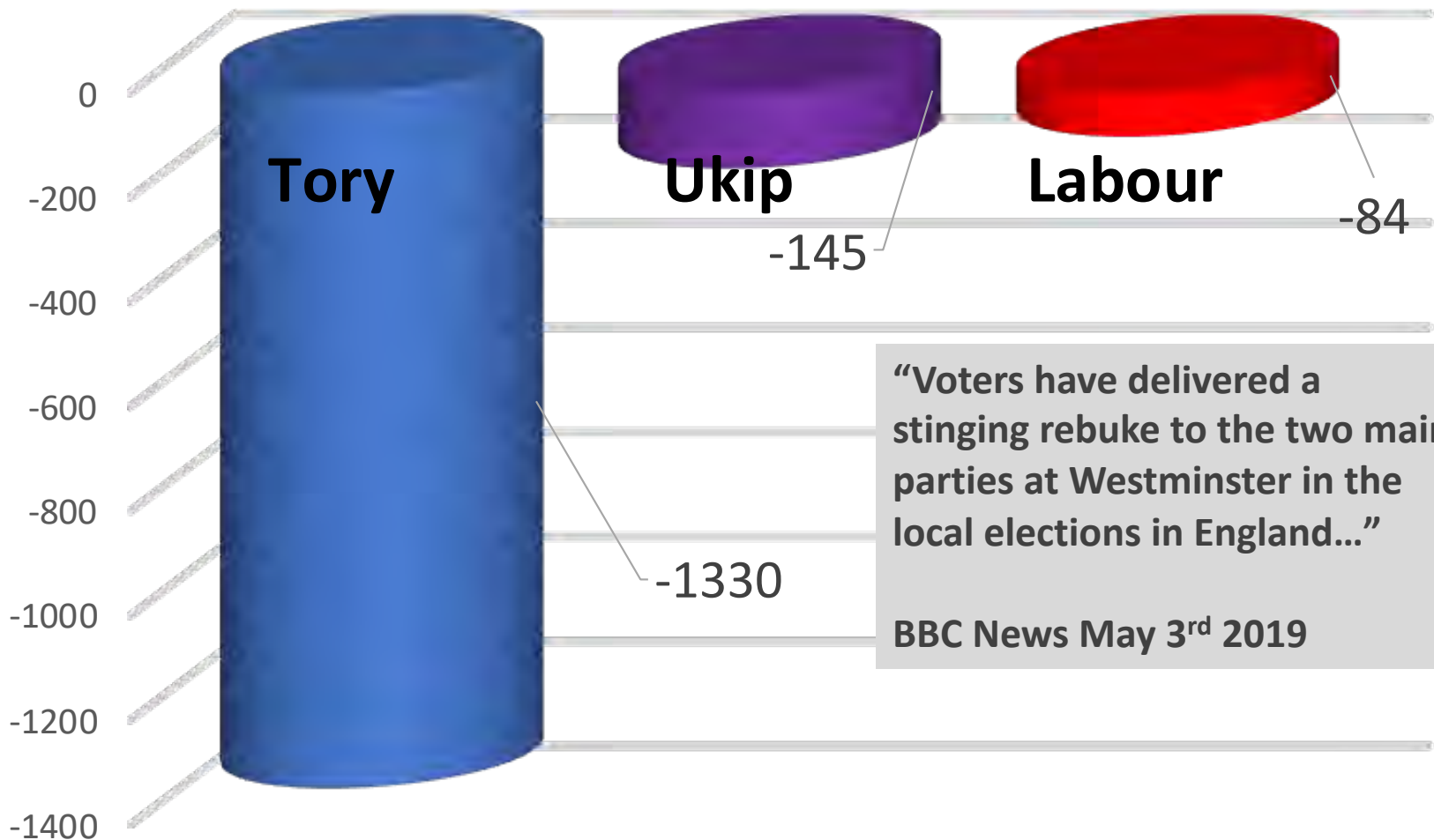


Brexit and the end of the British Empire

Danny Dorling
Institute of Liberal Arts and Sciences
Keele University

May 16th 2019

Seats lost in May 2019 local elections



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

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

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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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RULE BRITANNIA
DANNY DORLING & SALLY TOMLINSON

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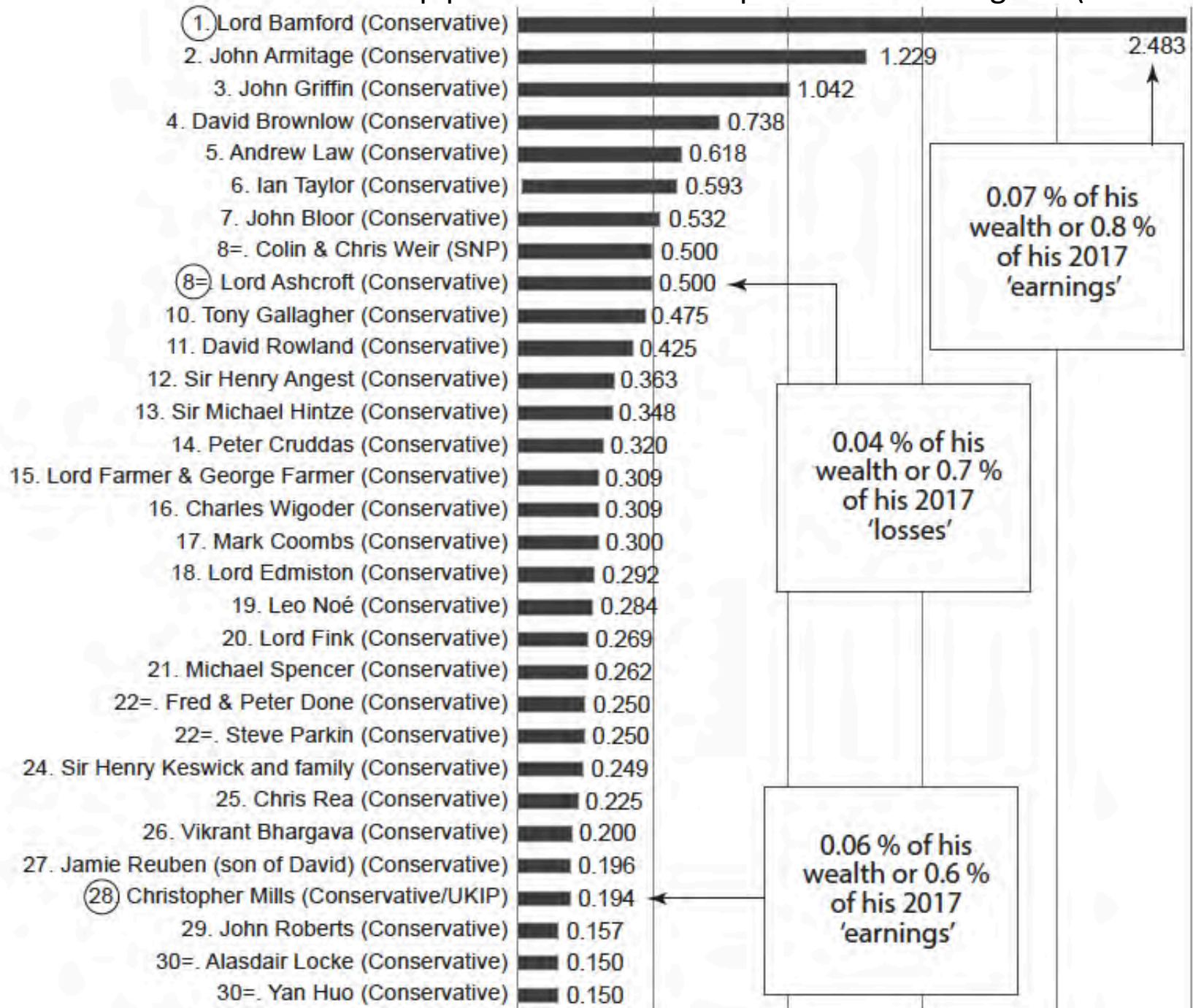
BREXIT AND THE END OF EMPIRE

RULE BRITANNIA




DANNY DORLING & SALLY TOMLINSON

Top political donors – all parties – millions given (2017-2018)





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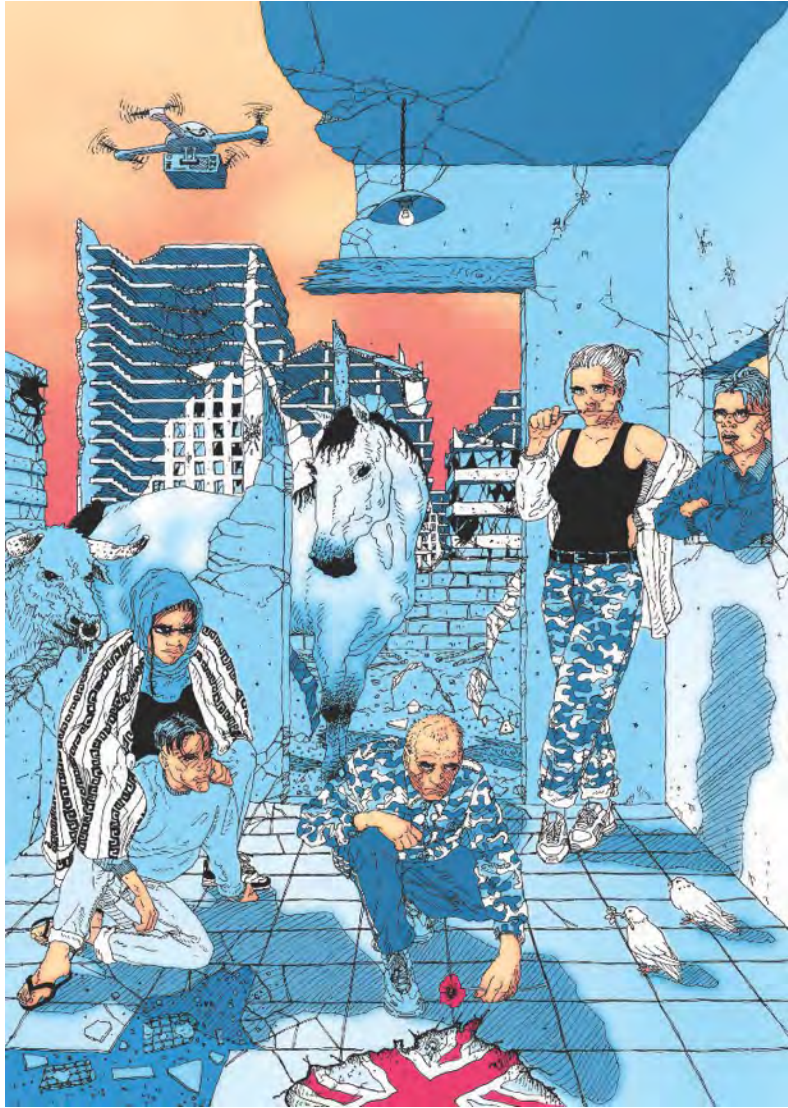
"Britannia: I can no longer offer shelter to fugitives.
England is not a free country".

1. 1906



J. Gillray del.

The Plum-pudding in danger — or — State Epicures taking in Petit Souper.
 "the great Globe itself and all which it inherit" is too small to satisfy such insatiable appetites.
 vide Mr W. d. — 8 eccentrics in my Political Regent.



By Joseph P. Kelly

3590-21-11-13- belltoons.co.uk

I CAN HONESTLY SAY, WITH-
-OUT FEAR OF CONTRADICTION,
THAT WE HAVE **NEVER**
USED CO-OP!!



©Steve Bell 2013

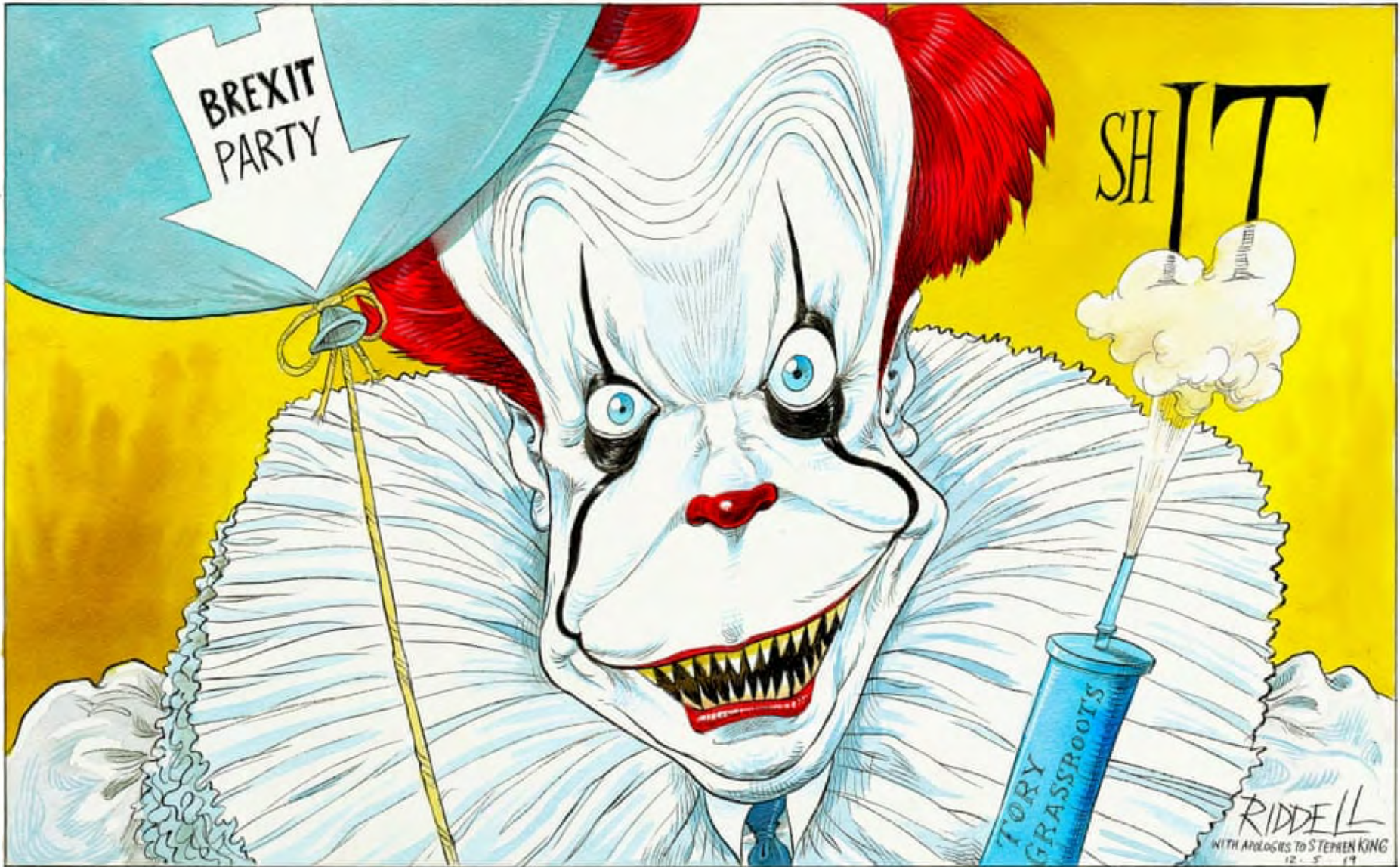
BREXIT
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WITH APOLOGUES TO STEPHEN KING
12.5.17





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illegally?**



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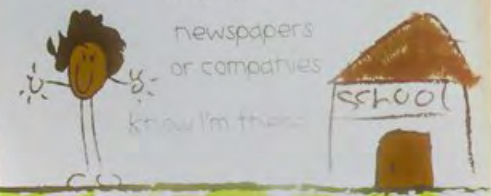
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36 Elephant & Ca



I have the right to go to school
and not worry about which
newspapers
or comics
I know I'm tired



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

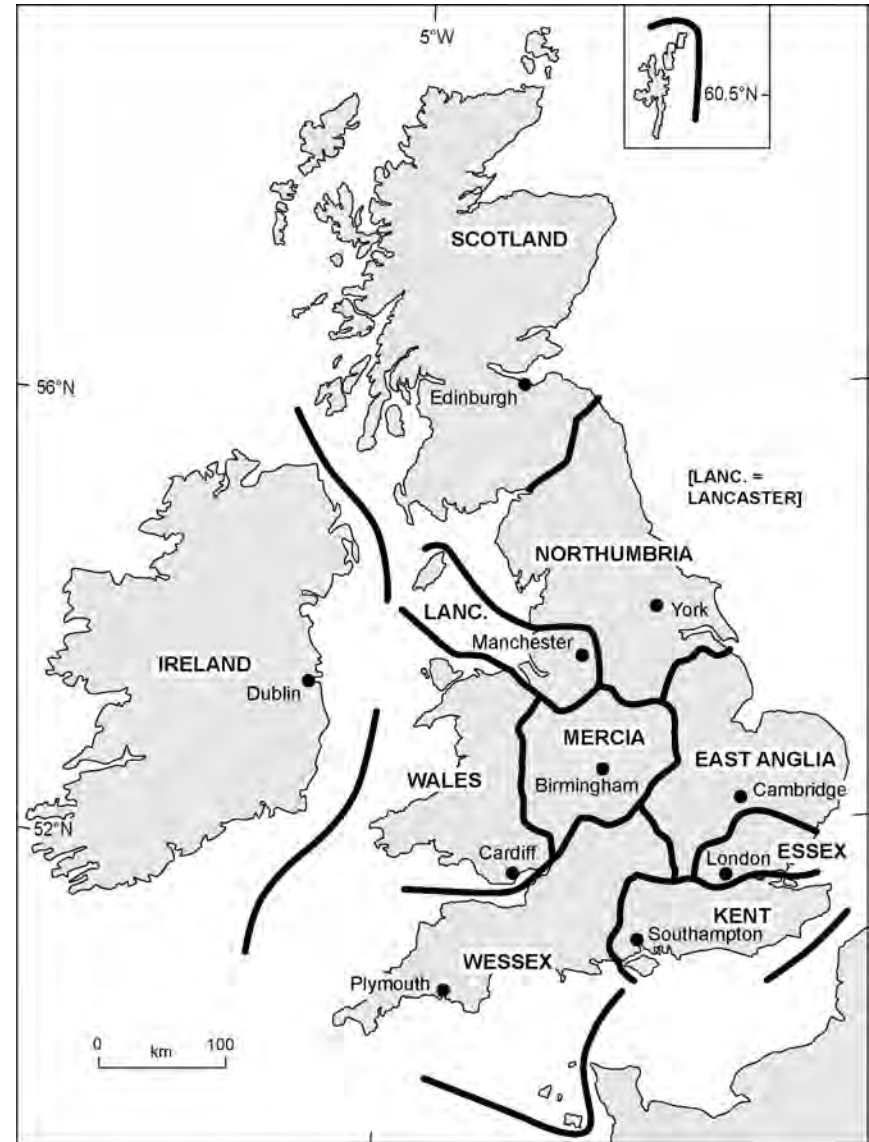






Mathew Elliott

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



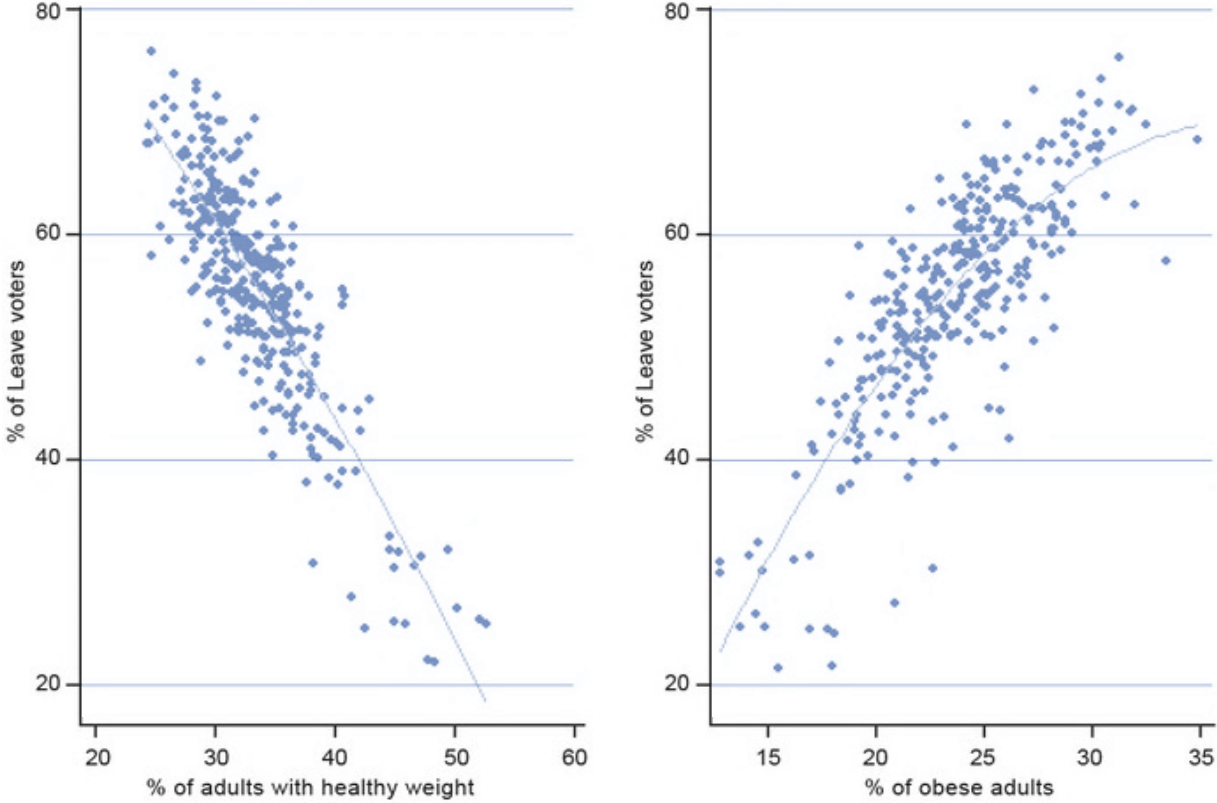
Source: Heineken, Alfred (Freddy) H. (1992) *The United States of Europe, A Eurotopia?* Amsterdam: De Amsterdamse Stichting voor de Historische Wetenschap.



Dominic Cummings

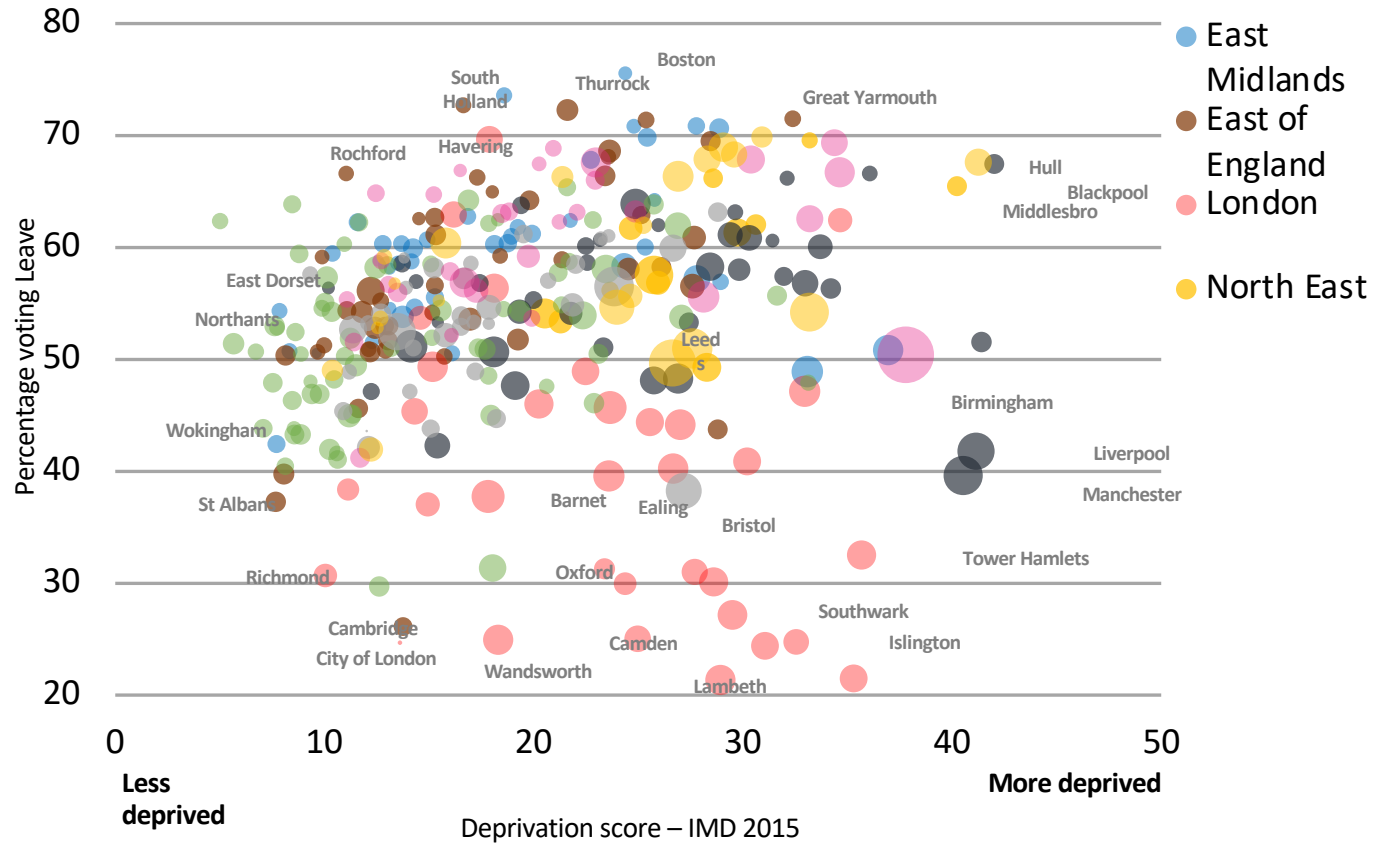
Campaign Director of Vote Leave – alum of Exeter College (Oxford, est. 1315) and Durham school (private boarding school for pupils aged between 3 and 18 years, established 1414).

Referendum outcome and body weight, England and local area percentages



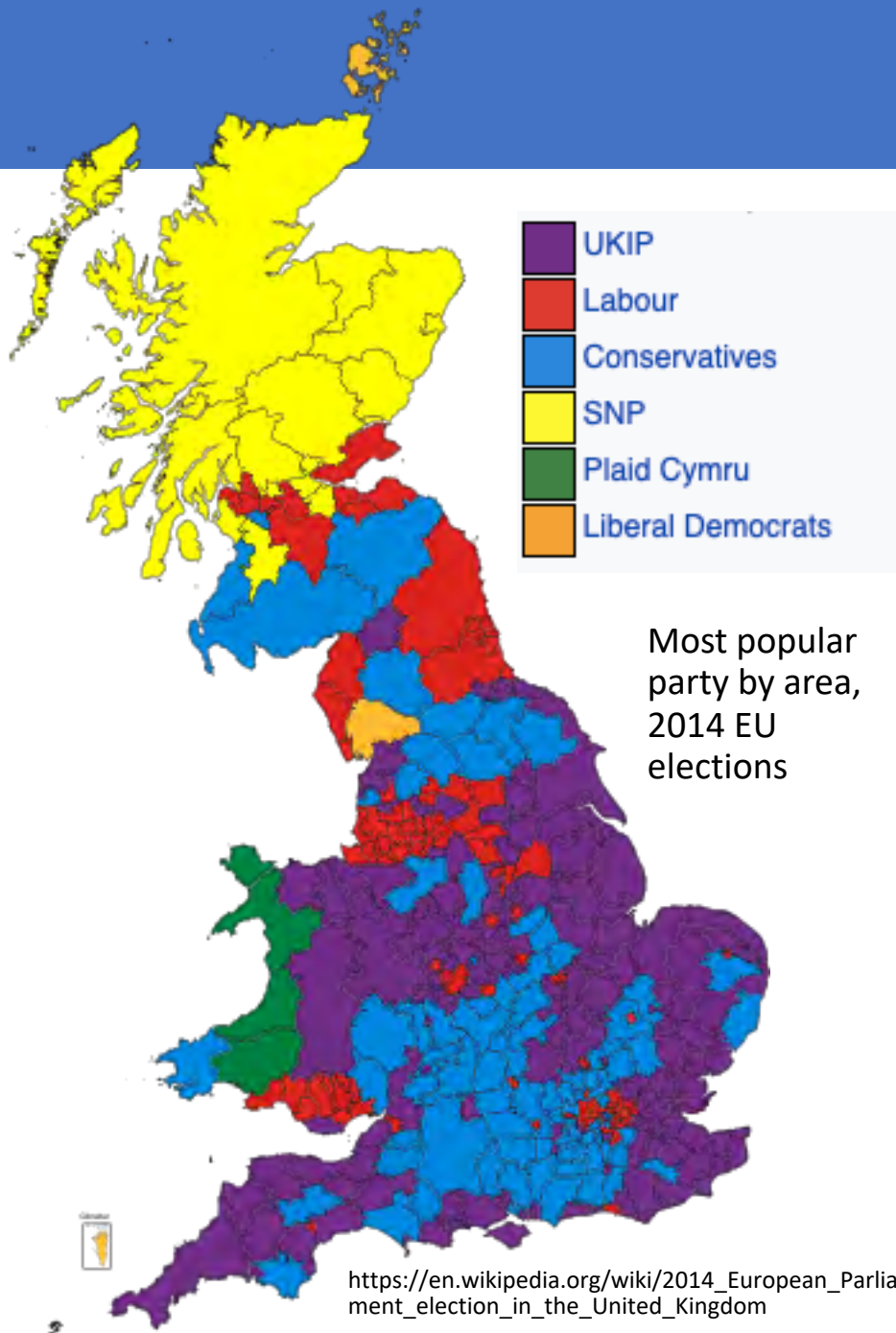
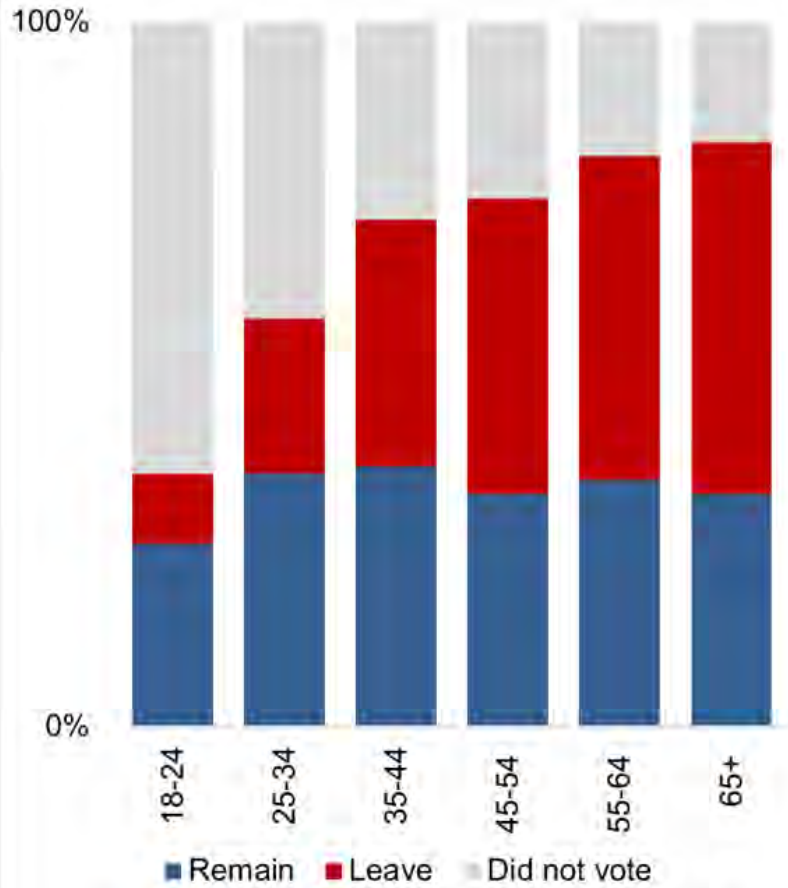
Originally titled: “The weight of Brexit: Obese adults leading the way out of Europe”

What can explain Brexit?



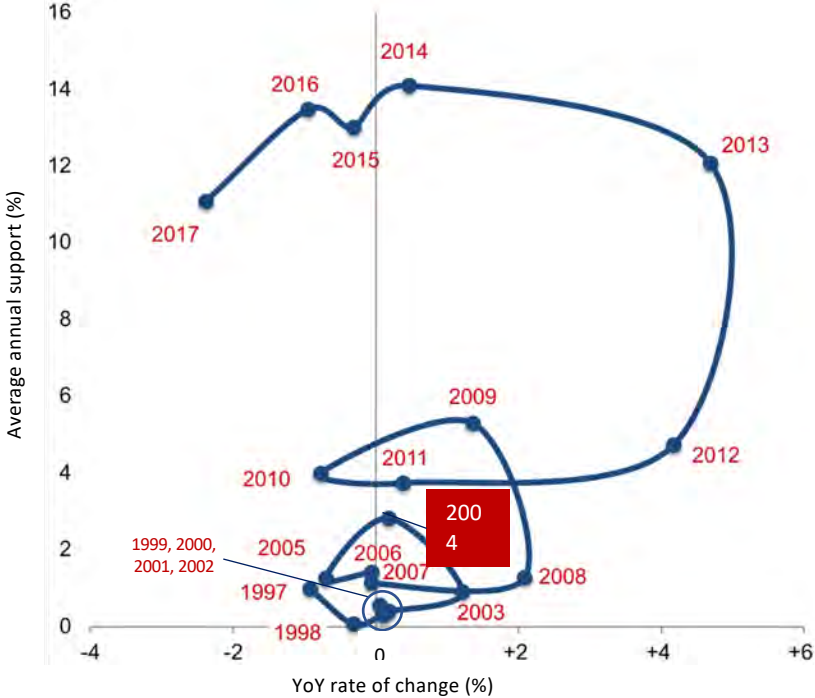
Who really voted for Brexit?

Voting by age group in 2016 EU referendum

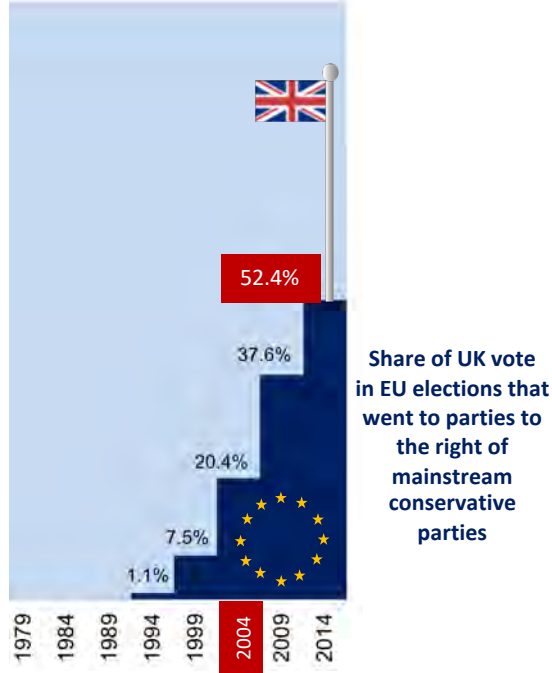


The rise of the right, pre-Brexit

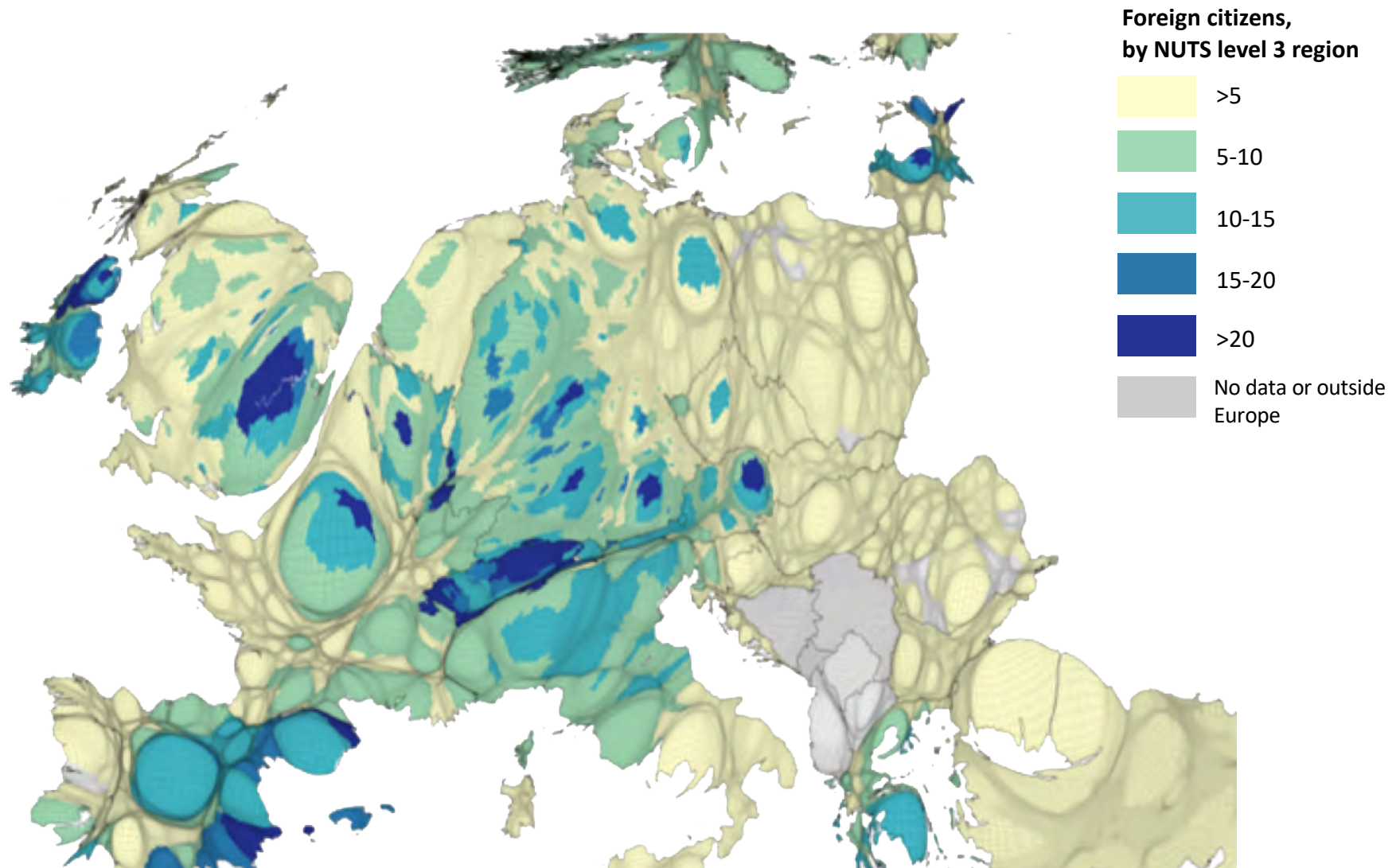
Westminster election voting intentions
Domestic support for UKIP and other far right parties



EU election voting by UK
Support for far right parties in EU



Cross-border migration in Europe 2014

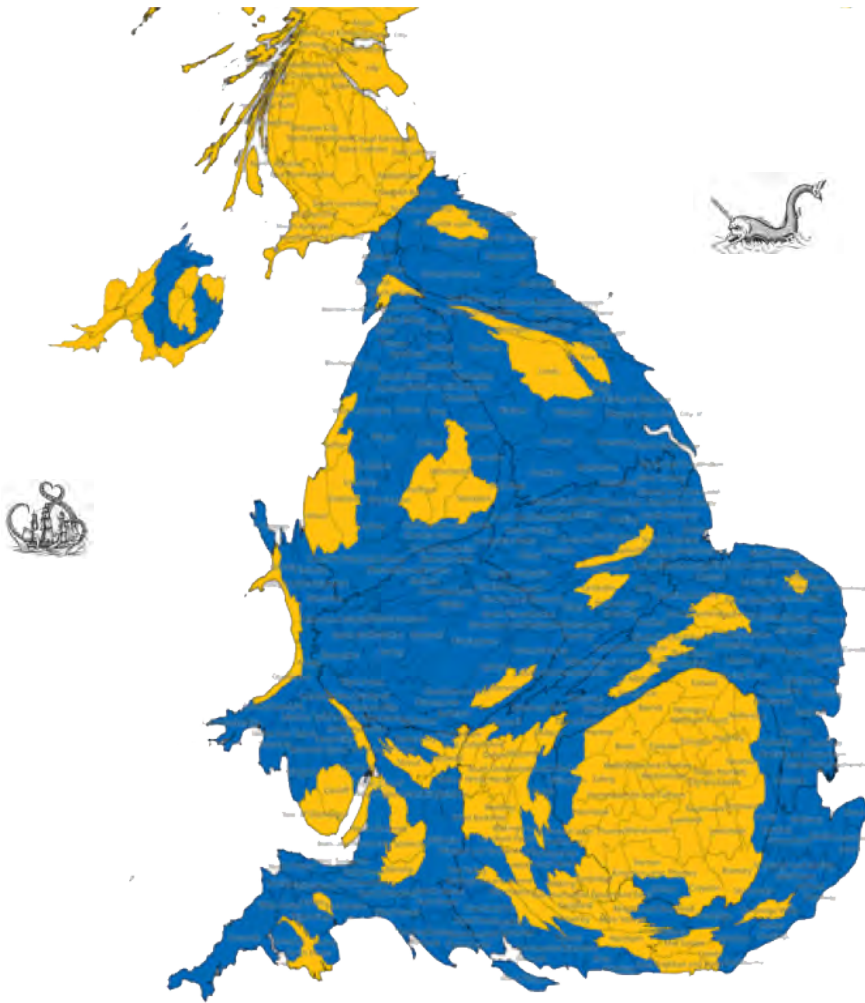


Source: D. Ballas, B. Henning, D. Dorling, *The Social Atlas of Europe 2014*



Voting geography

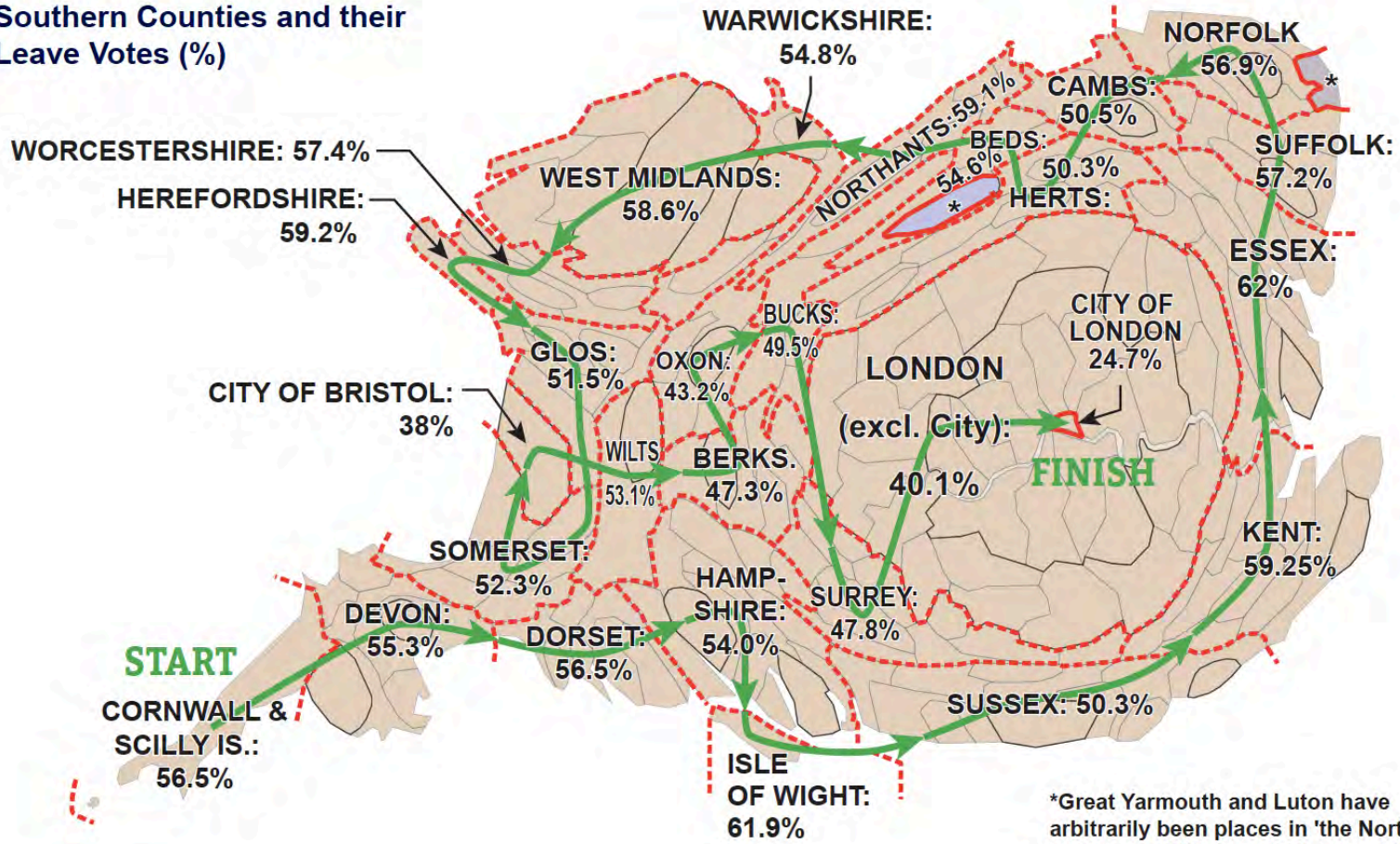
Areas which most often voted Leave were the areas with fewest immigrants



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)

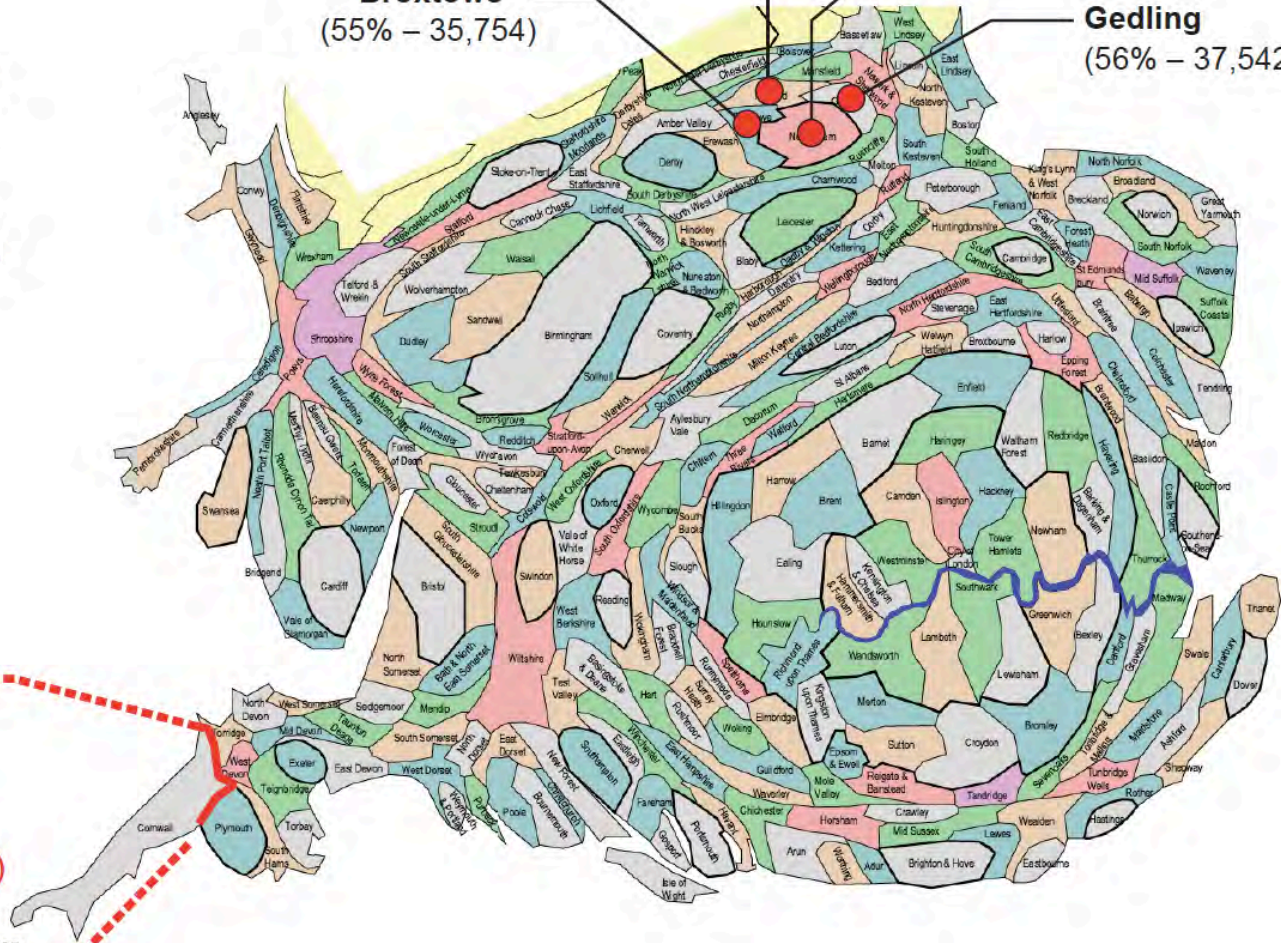
Nottingham
 (51% – 61,343)

Broxtowe
 (55% – 35,754)

Gedling
 (56% – 37,542)

KEY

Ashfield = voting district
 (70%) = % Leave vote
 (46,720) = number of people voting



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

Gateshead
(57% – 58,529)

Eden
(53% – 16,911)

**South
Lakeland**
(47% – 30,800)

Co. Durham
(58% – 153,877)

Denbighshire
(54% – 28,117)

Flintshire
(56% – 48,930)

Conwy
(54% – 35,357)

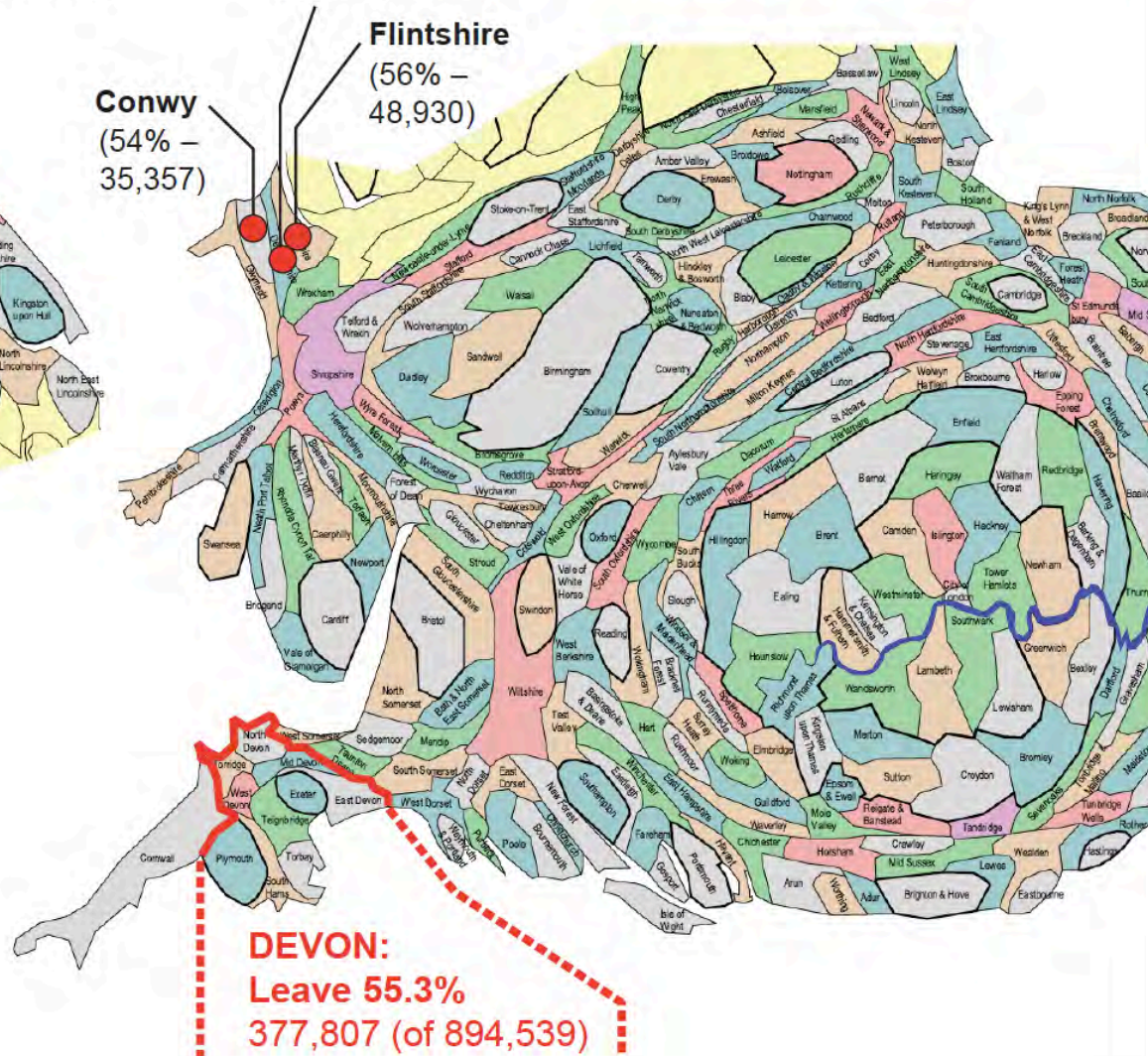
ANTI-DEVON: Leave 55.5%
372,521 (of 941,887)

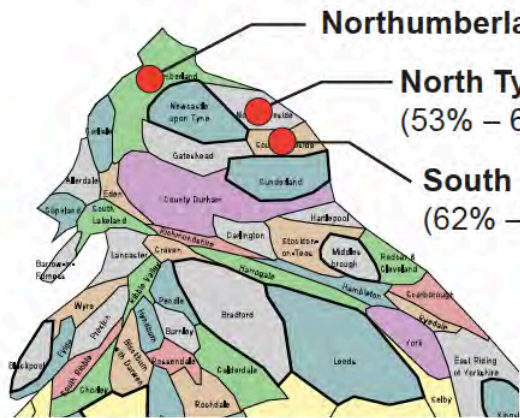
KEY

Co. Durham = voting district

(58%) = % Leave vote

(153,877) = number of people voting





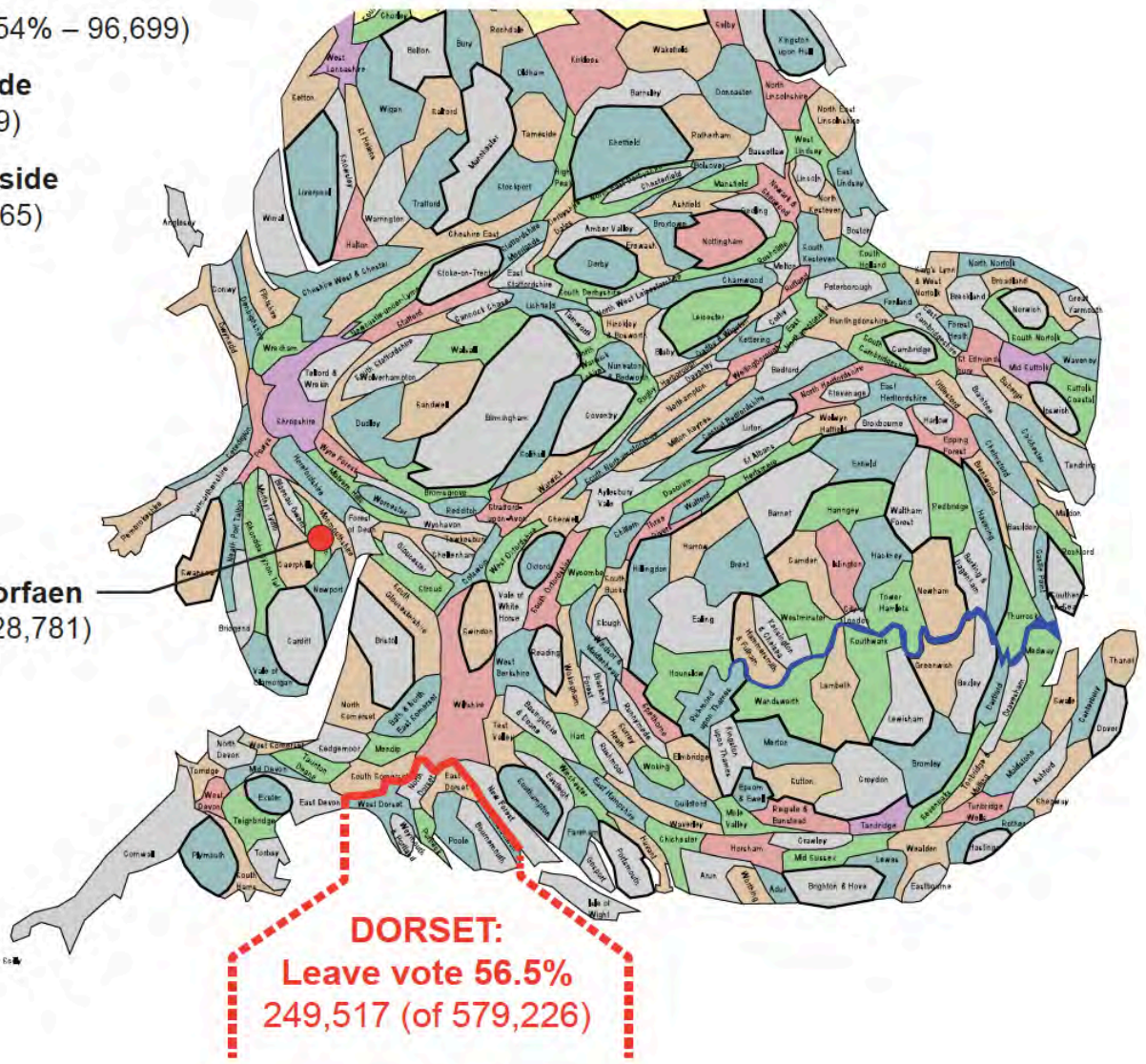
Northumberland (54% – 96,699)

North Tyneside (53% – 60,589)

South Tyneside (62% – 49,065)

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

Torfaen (60% – 28,781)



**DORSET:
Leave vote 56.5%
249,517 (of 579,226)**

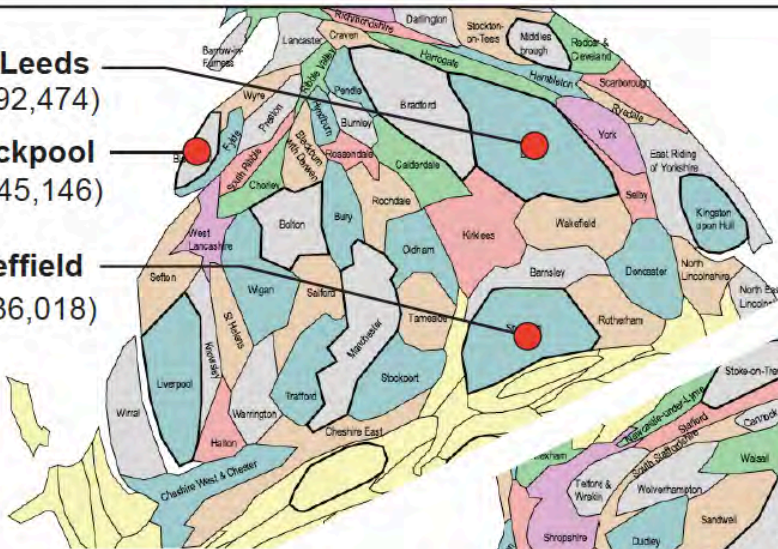
KEY to 'ANTI'

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)

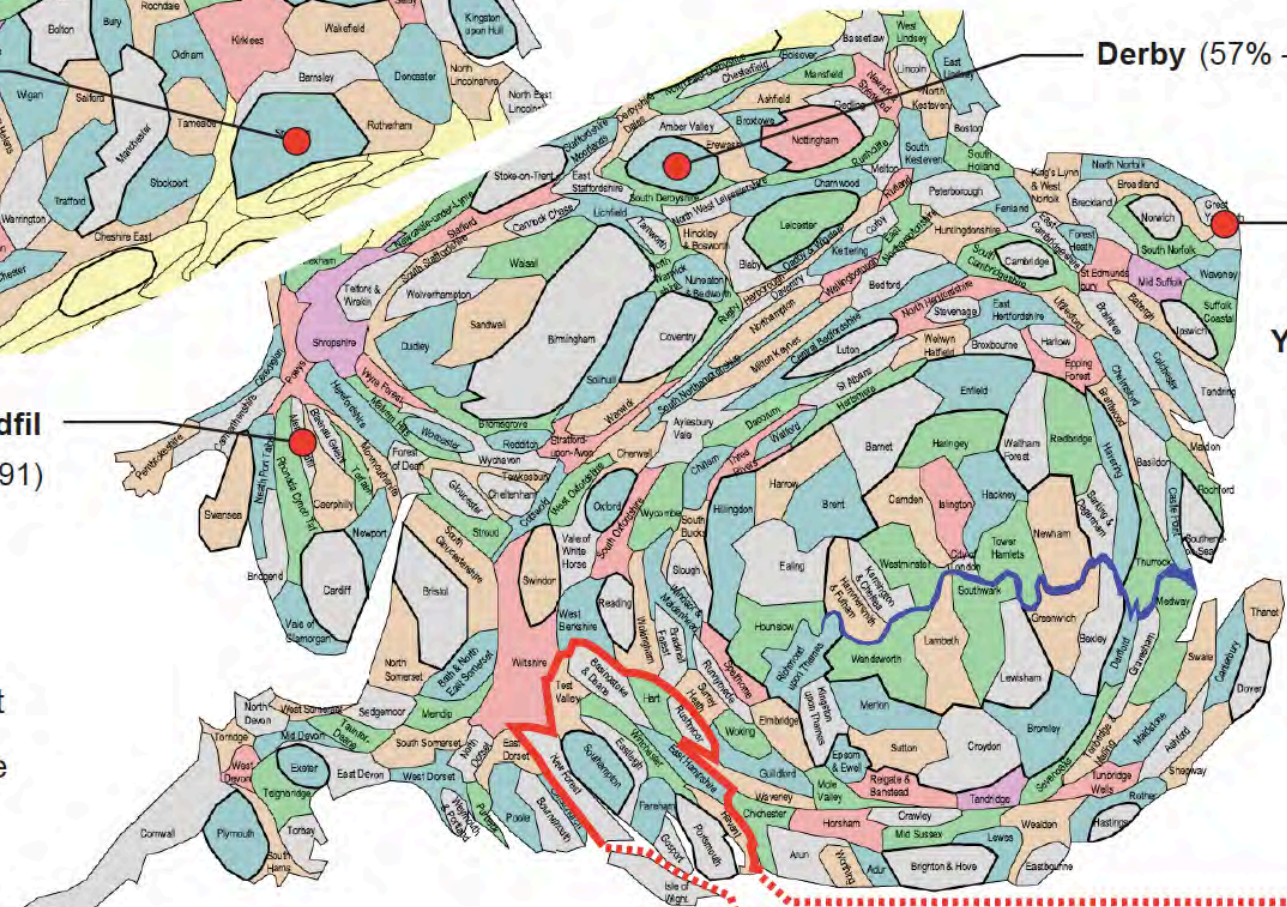


ANTI-HAMPSHIRE: Leave 53.7%
494,816 (of 1,328,528)

Derby (57% – 69,043)

Great Yarmouth
(72% – 35,844)

Merthyr Tydfil
(56% – 16,291)



KEY

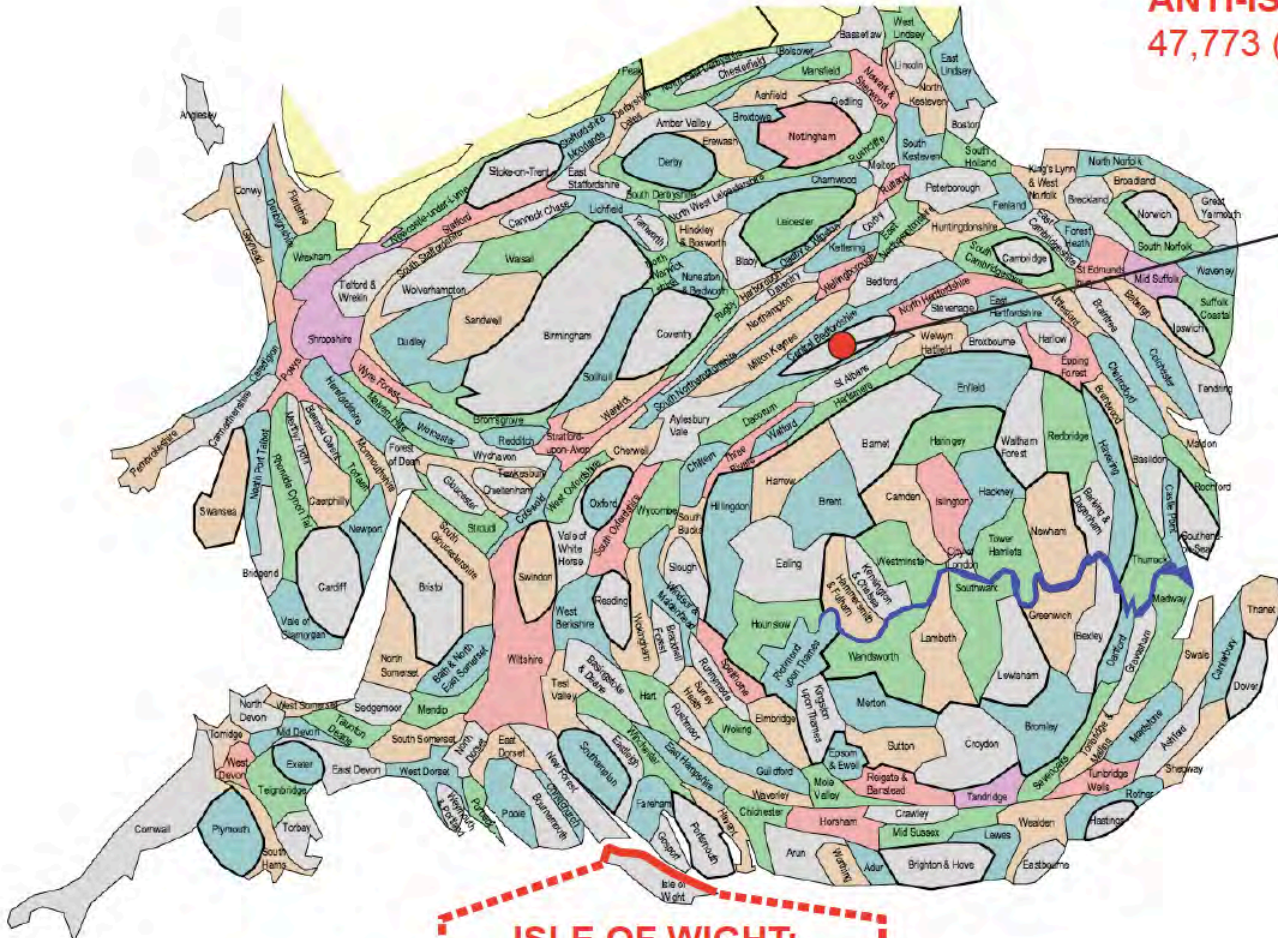
Derby = voting district

(57%) = % Brexit vote

(69,043) = numbers of people voting

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)



ISLE OF WIGHT:
 Leave 61.9%
 49,173 (of 109,844)

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)

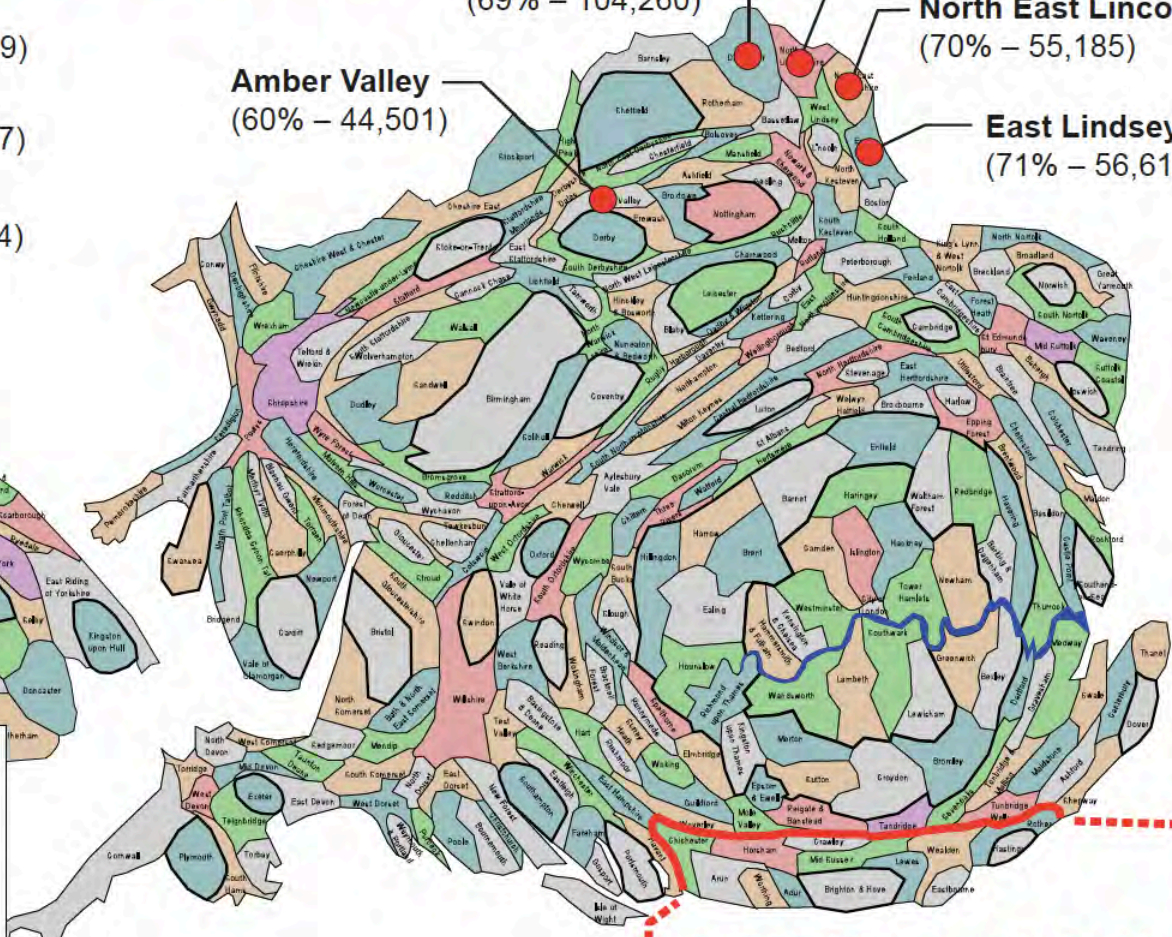
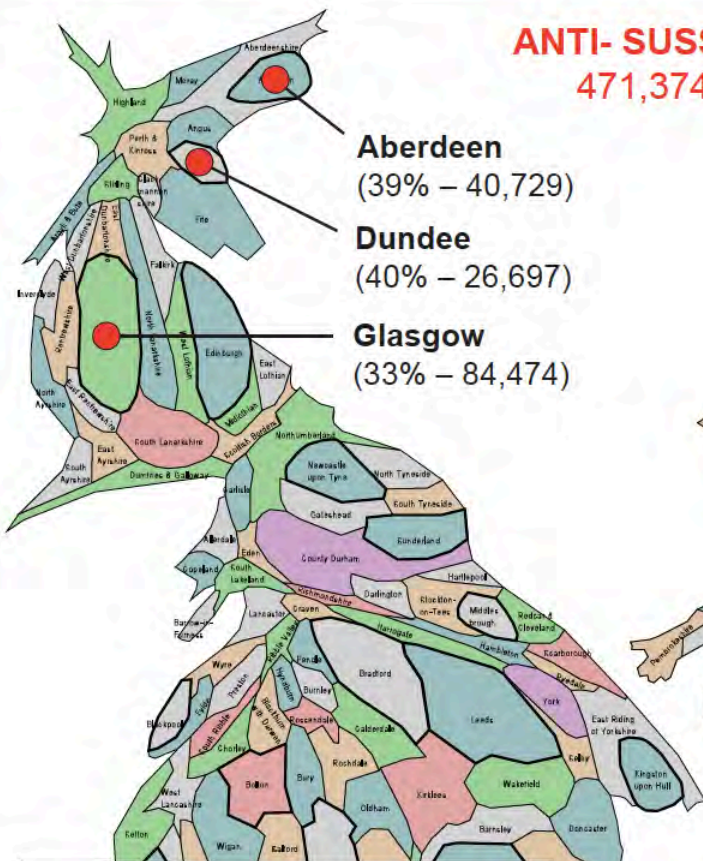
Doncaster
 (69% – 104,260)

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)

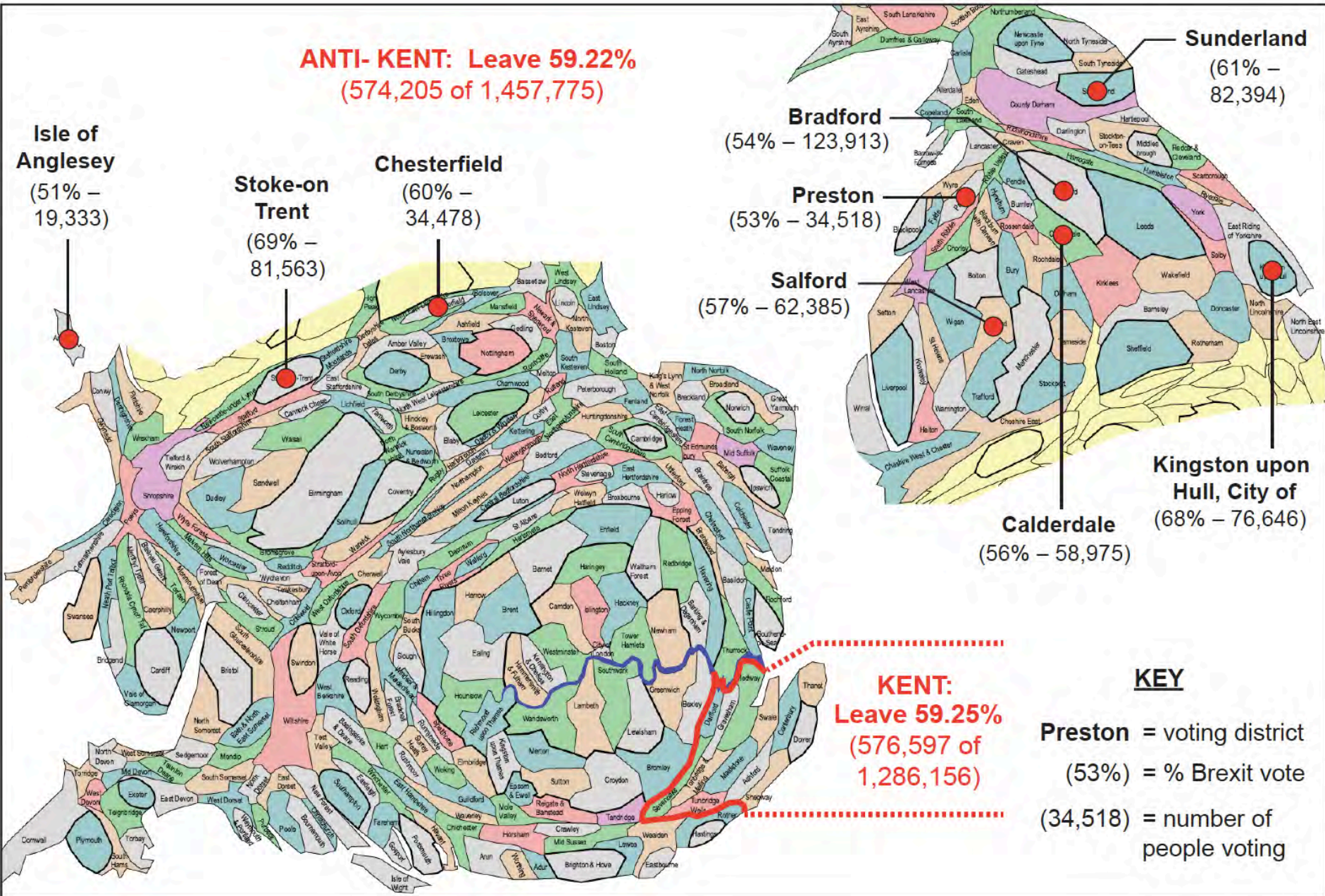
Kingston upon Hull, City of
 (68% – 76,646)

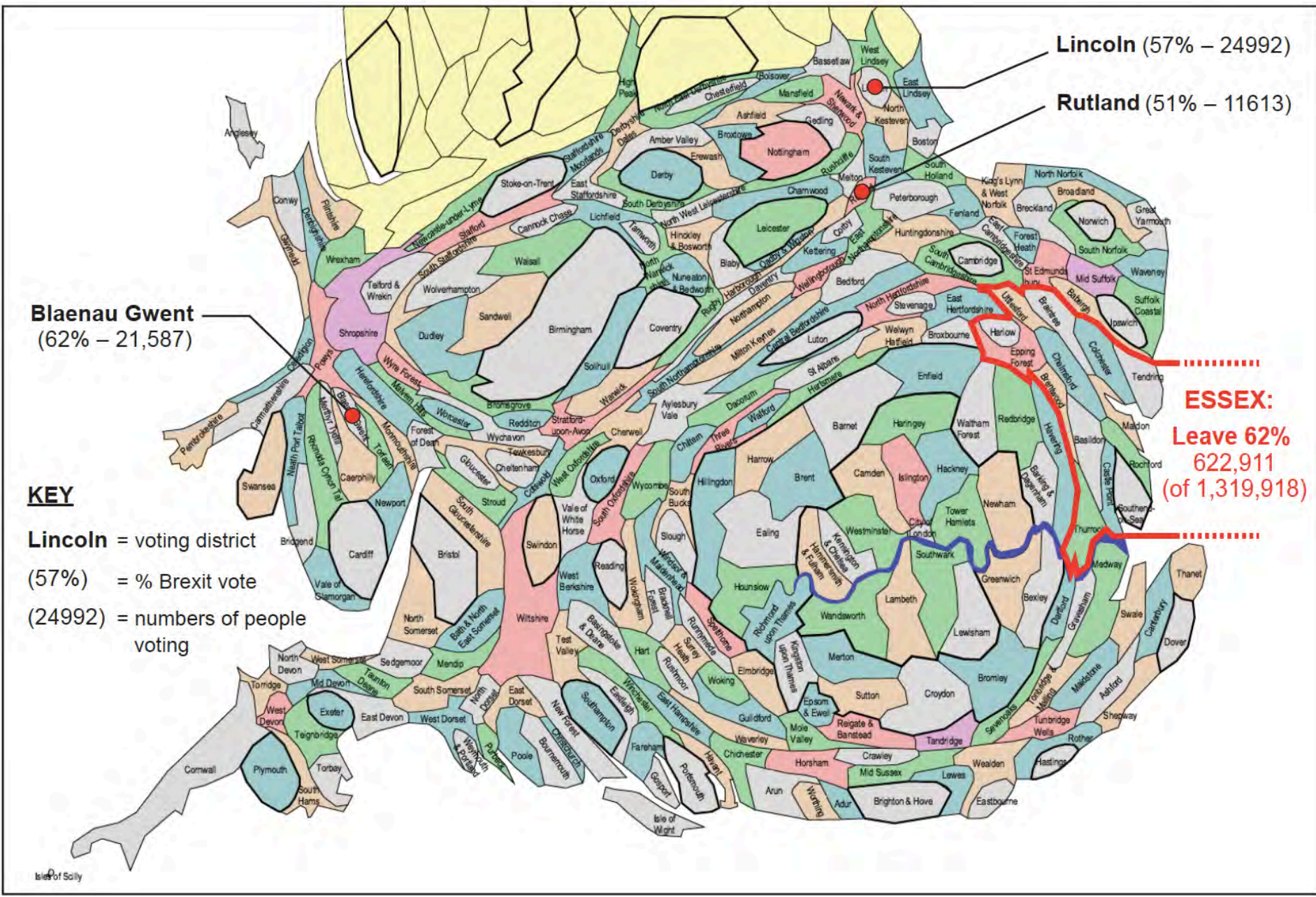
Calderdale
 (56% – 58,975)

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)

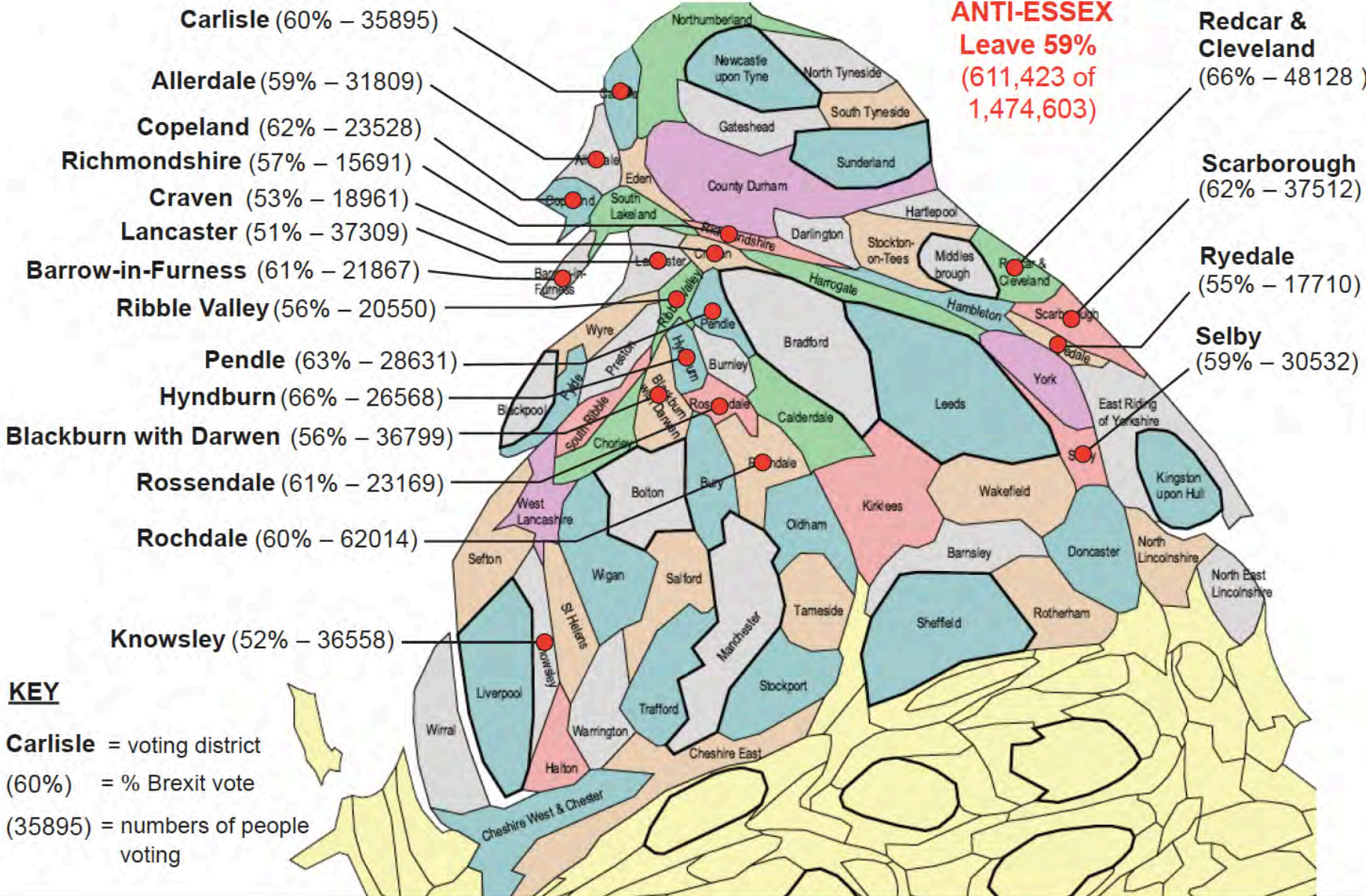
Lincoln (57% - 24992)

Rutland (51% - 11613)

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

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

**ANTI-ESSEX
Leave 59%
(611,423 of
1,474,603)**



KEY
Carlisle = voting district
 (60%) = % Brexit vote
 (35895) = numbers of people voting

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)

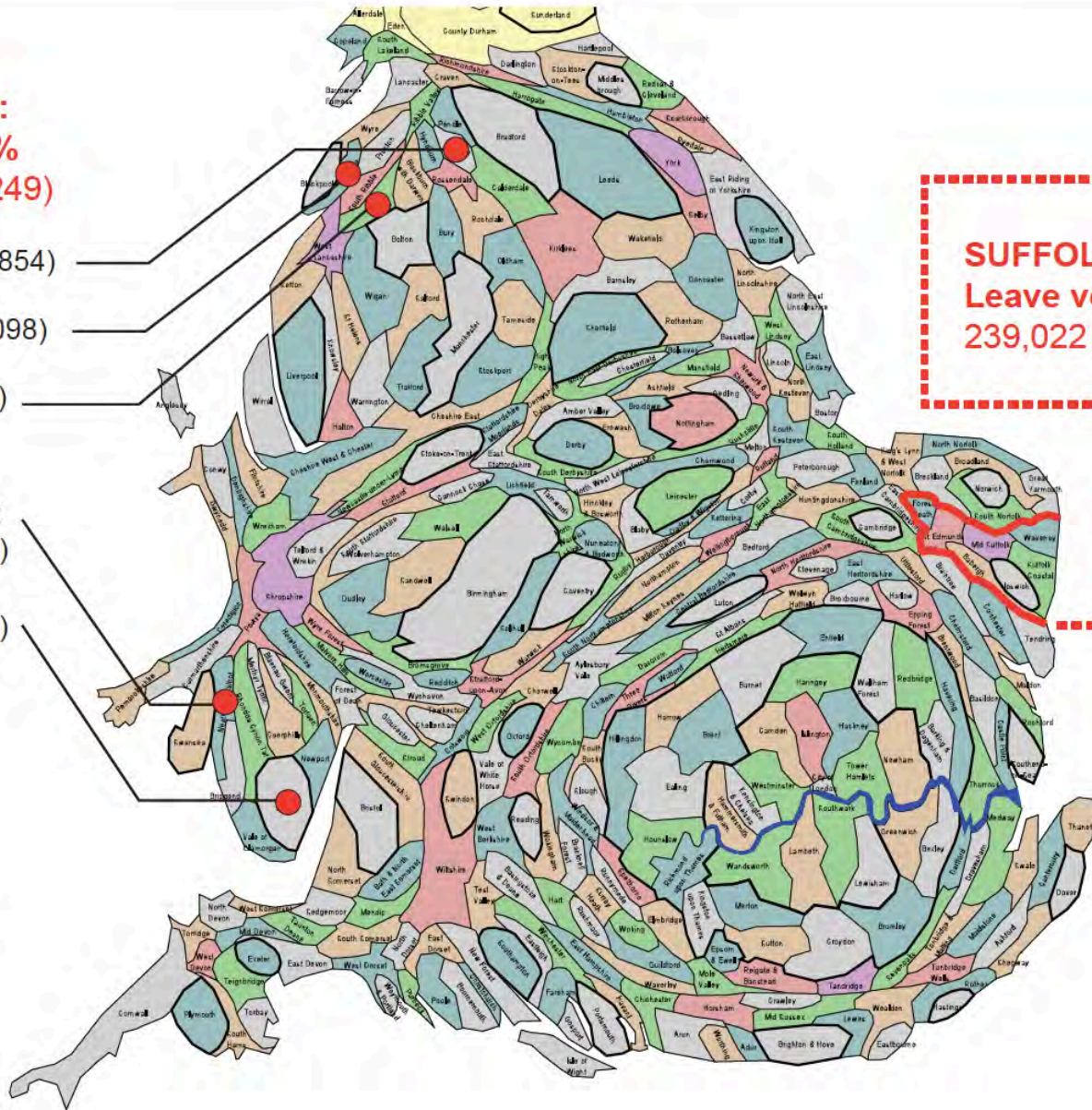
SUFFOLK:
 Leave vote 57.2%
 239,022 (of 548,788)

KEY

Burnley = voting district

(67%) = % Leave vote

(28,854) = number of people voting



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)

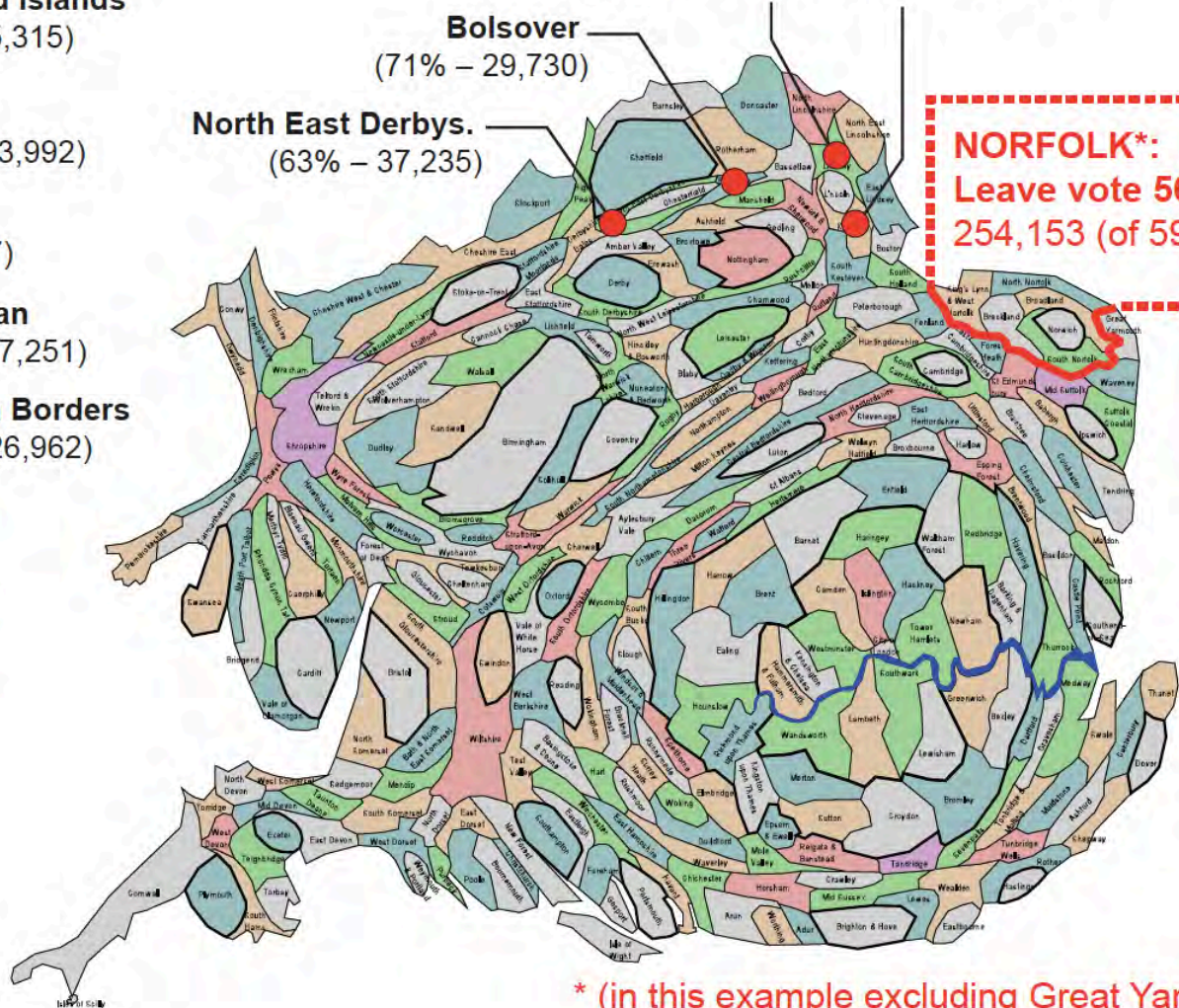
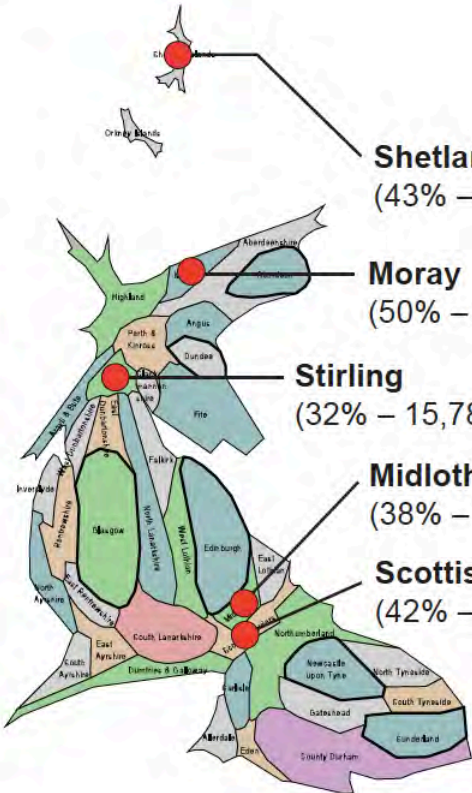
West Lindsey
 (62% – 33,847)

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

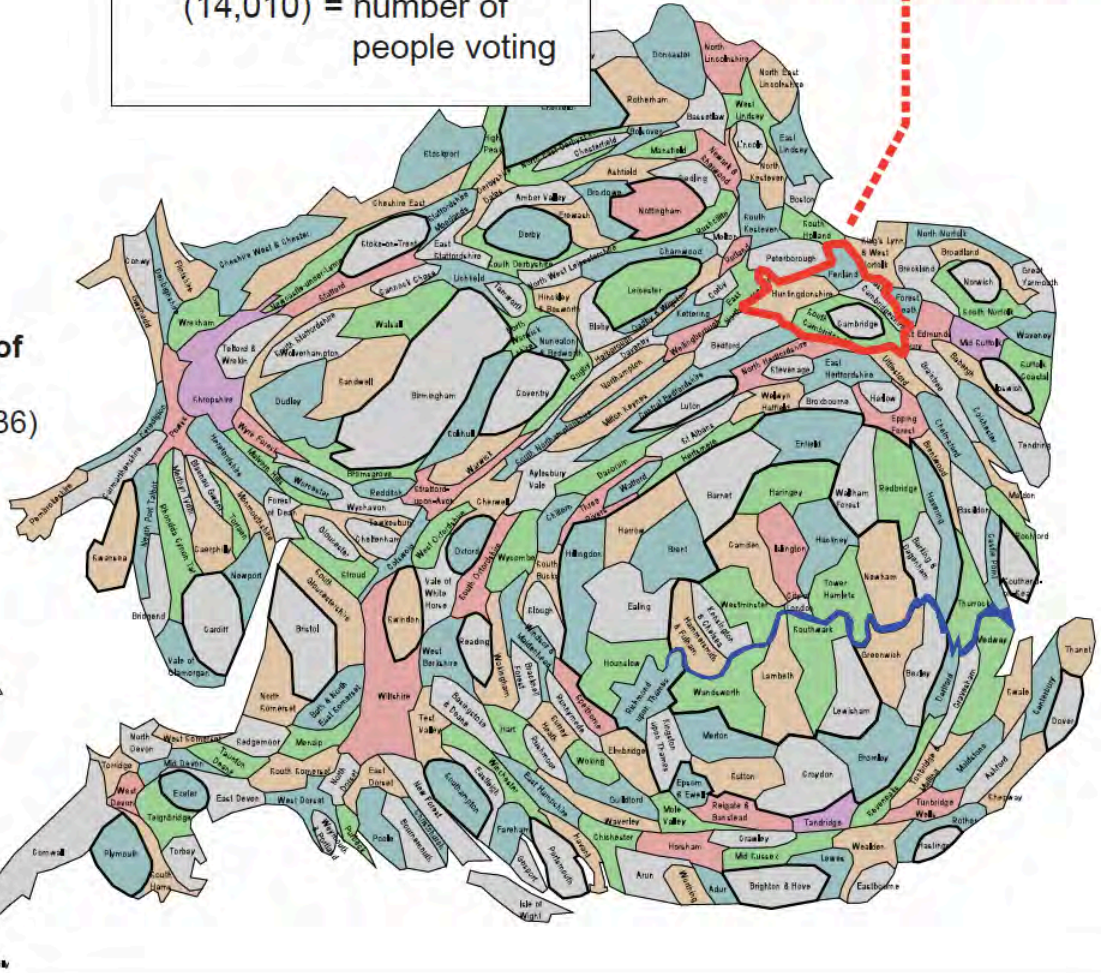
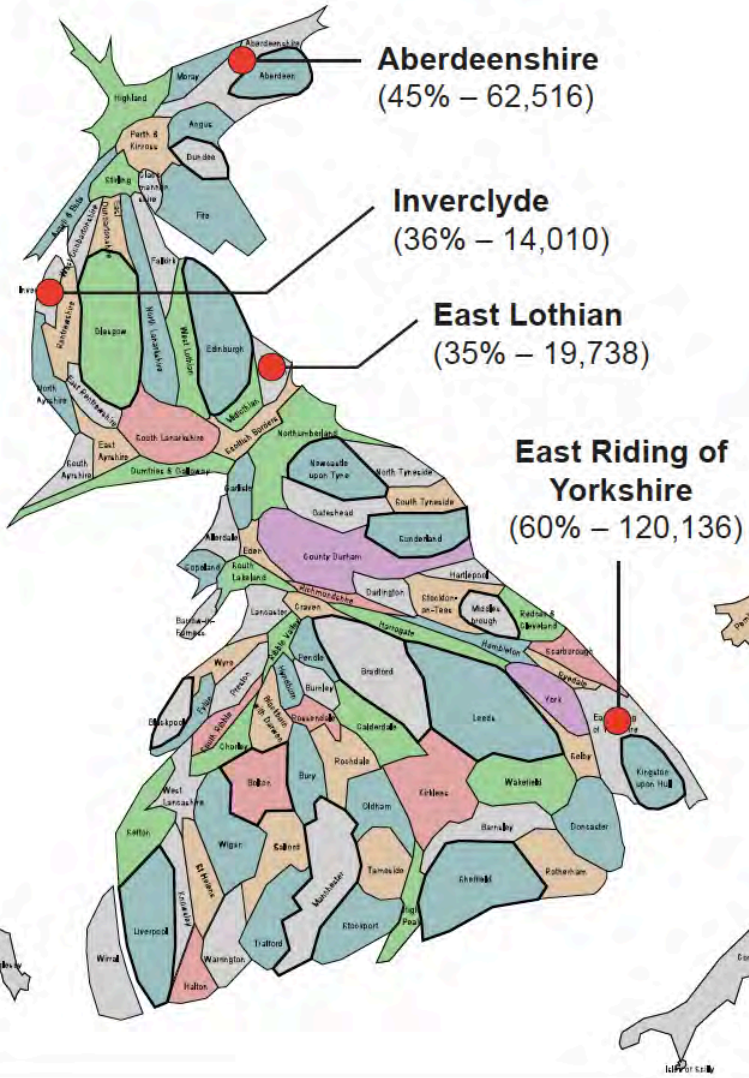
(23,992) = number of people voting

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

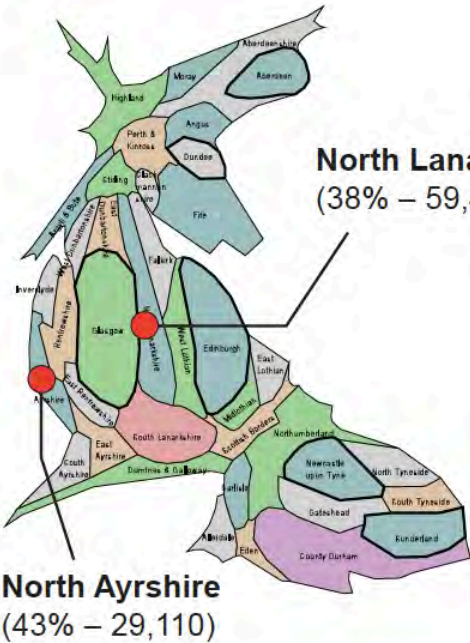
ANTI-CAMBRIDGESHIRE: Leave 50.1%
216,400 (of 599,268)

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)



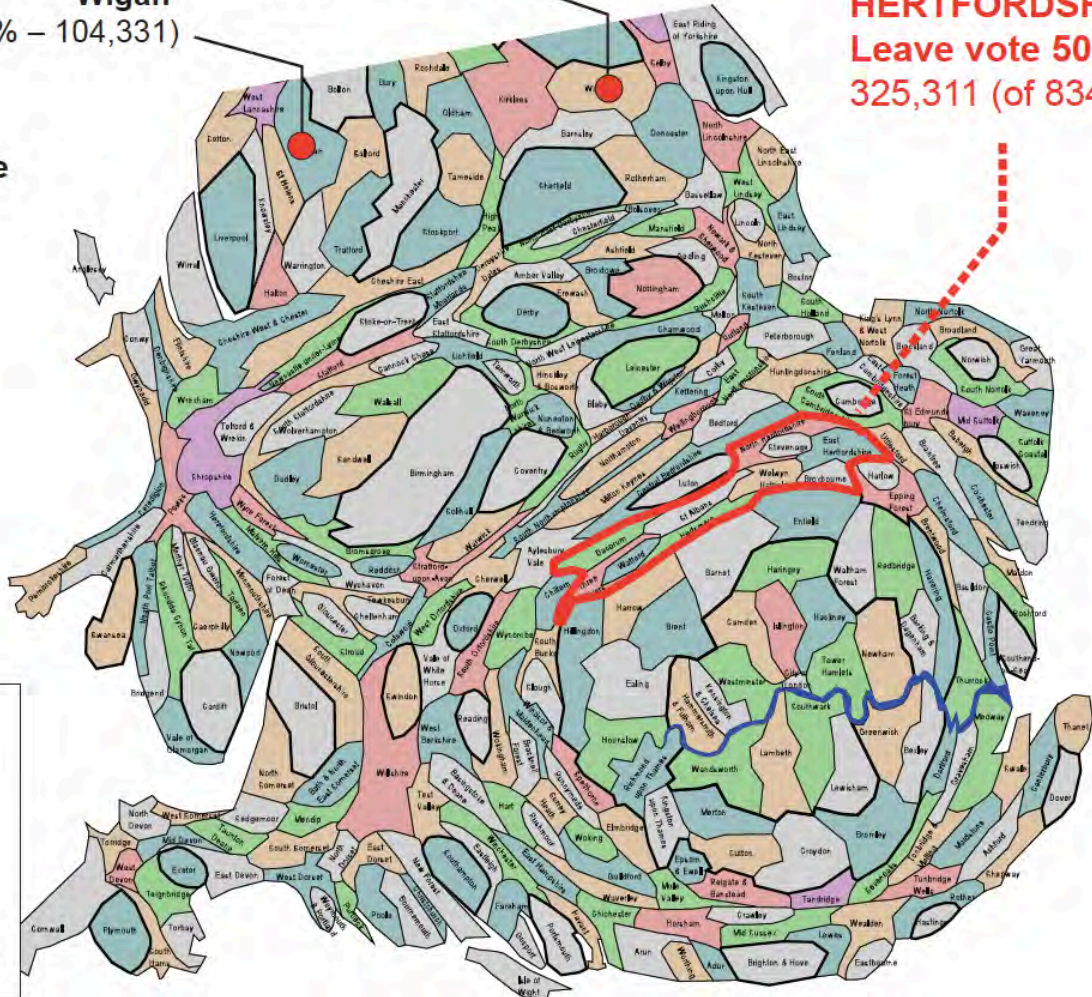
ANTI- HERTFORDSHIRE: Leave vote 55.1%
309,006 (of 841,217)



Wigan
 (64% – 104,331)

Wakefield
 (66% – 116,165)

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



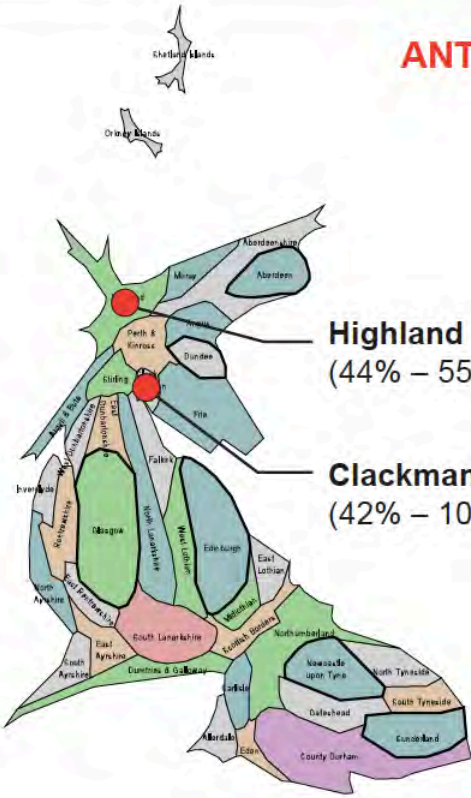
KEY

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

ANTI-BEDFORDSHIRE: Leave 51.0%

122,734 (of 337,742)

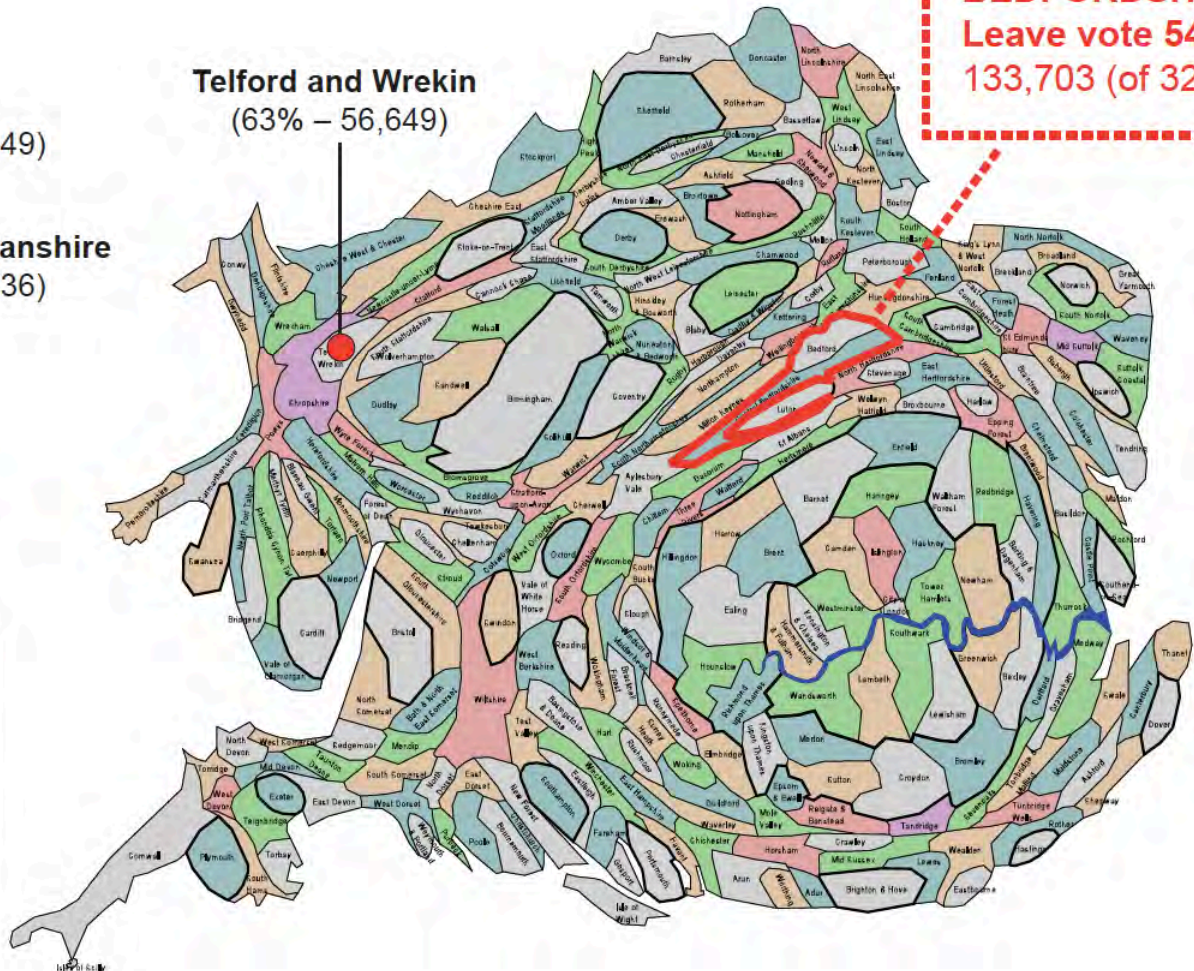
BEDFORDSHIRE:
Leave vote 54.6%
133,703 (of 323,534)



Highland
(44% – 55,349)

Clackmannanshire
(42% – 10,736)

Telford and Wrekin
(63% – 56,649)



KEY to 'ANTI'

Highland = voting district

(44%) = % Leave vote

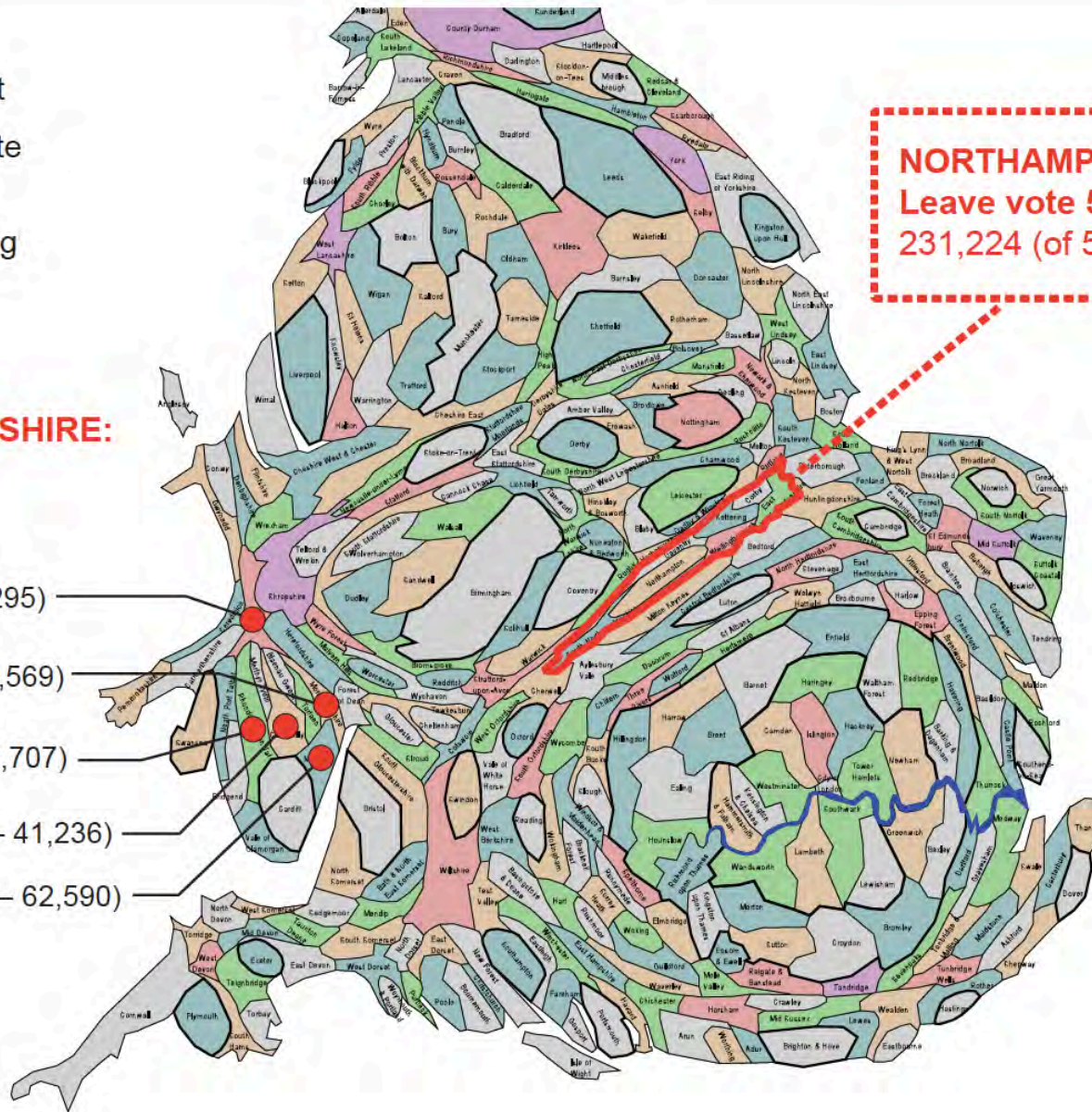
(55,349) = number of people voting

KEY

Caerphilly = voting district
(58%) = % Leave vote
(53,295) = number of people voting

ANTI- NORTHAMPTONSHIRE:
Leave 54.4%
227,397 (of 583,545)

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



Caerphilly (58% – 53,295)

Monmouthshire (50% – 27,569)

Powys (54% – 42,707)

Newport (56% – 41,236)

Rhondda Cynon Taf (54% – 62,590)

ANTI- WARWICKSHIRE:

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

Sefton (48% – 71,176)

Wirral (48% – 83,069)

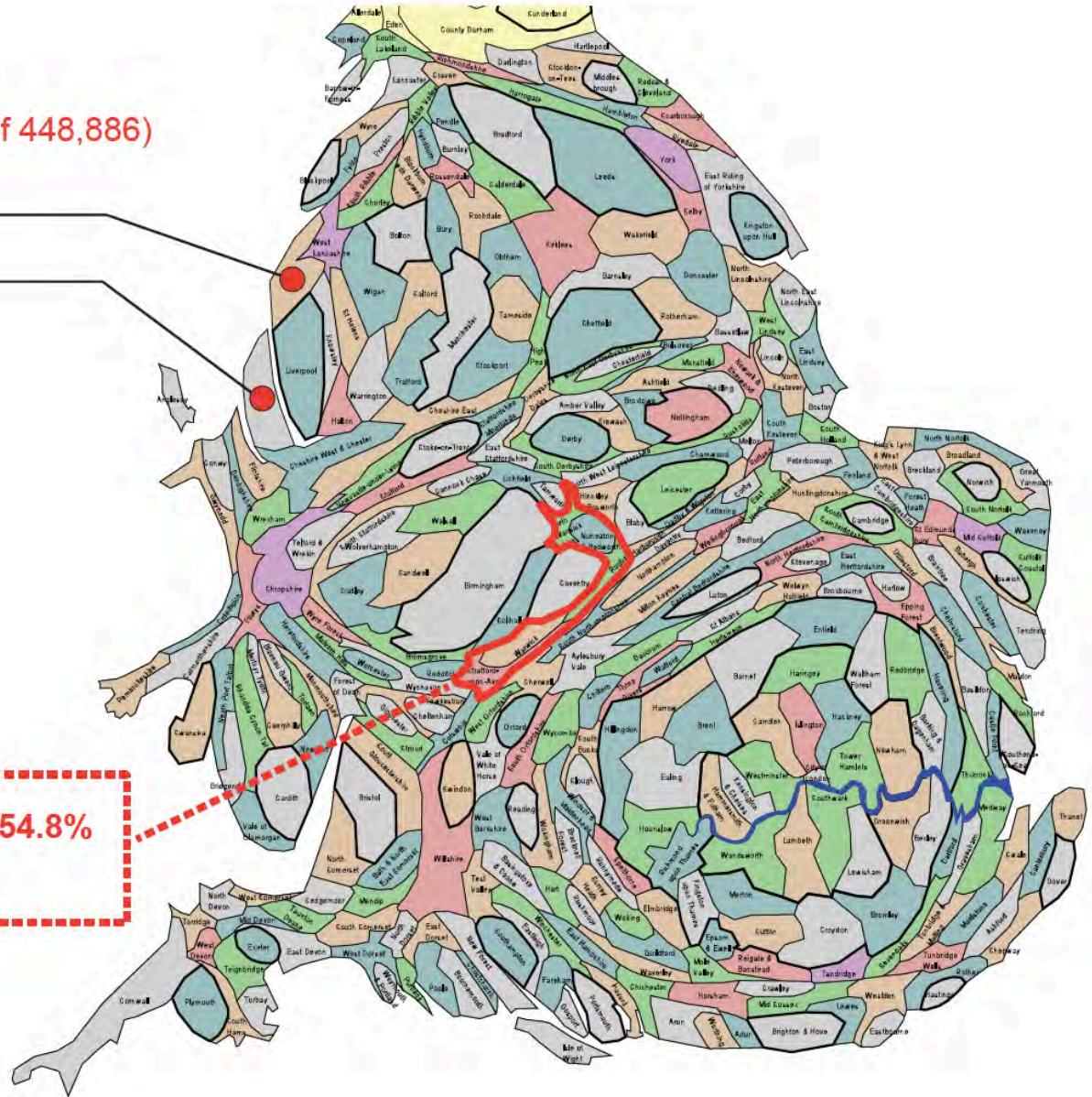
KEY

Sefton = voting district

(48%) = % Leave vote

(71,176) = number of
people voting

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

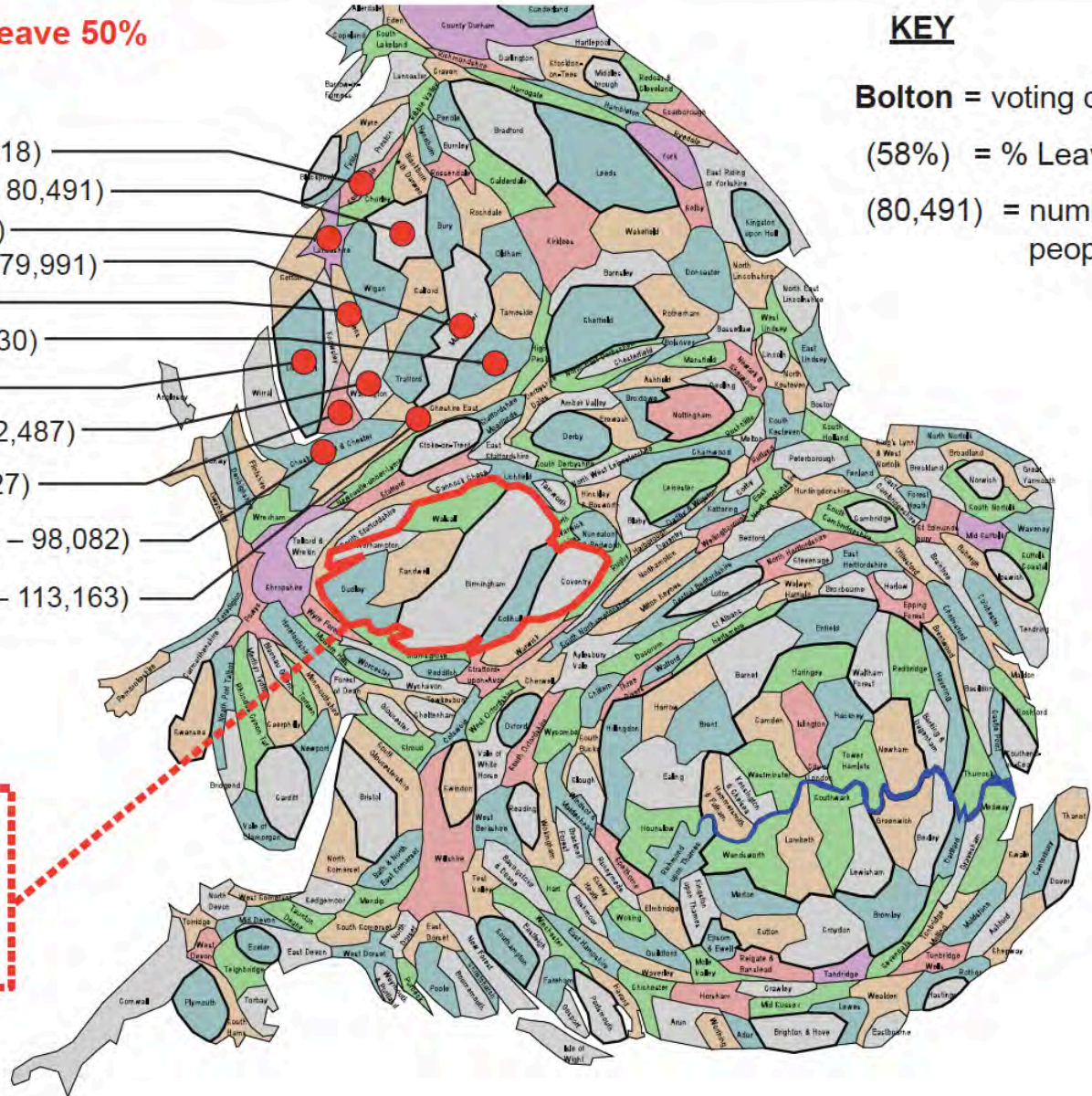


ANTI- WEST MIDLANDS: Leave 50%
 761,570 (of 2,178,928)

- 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)

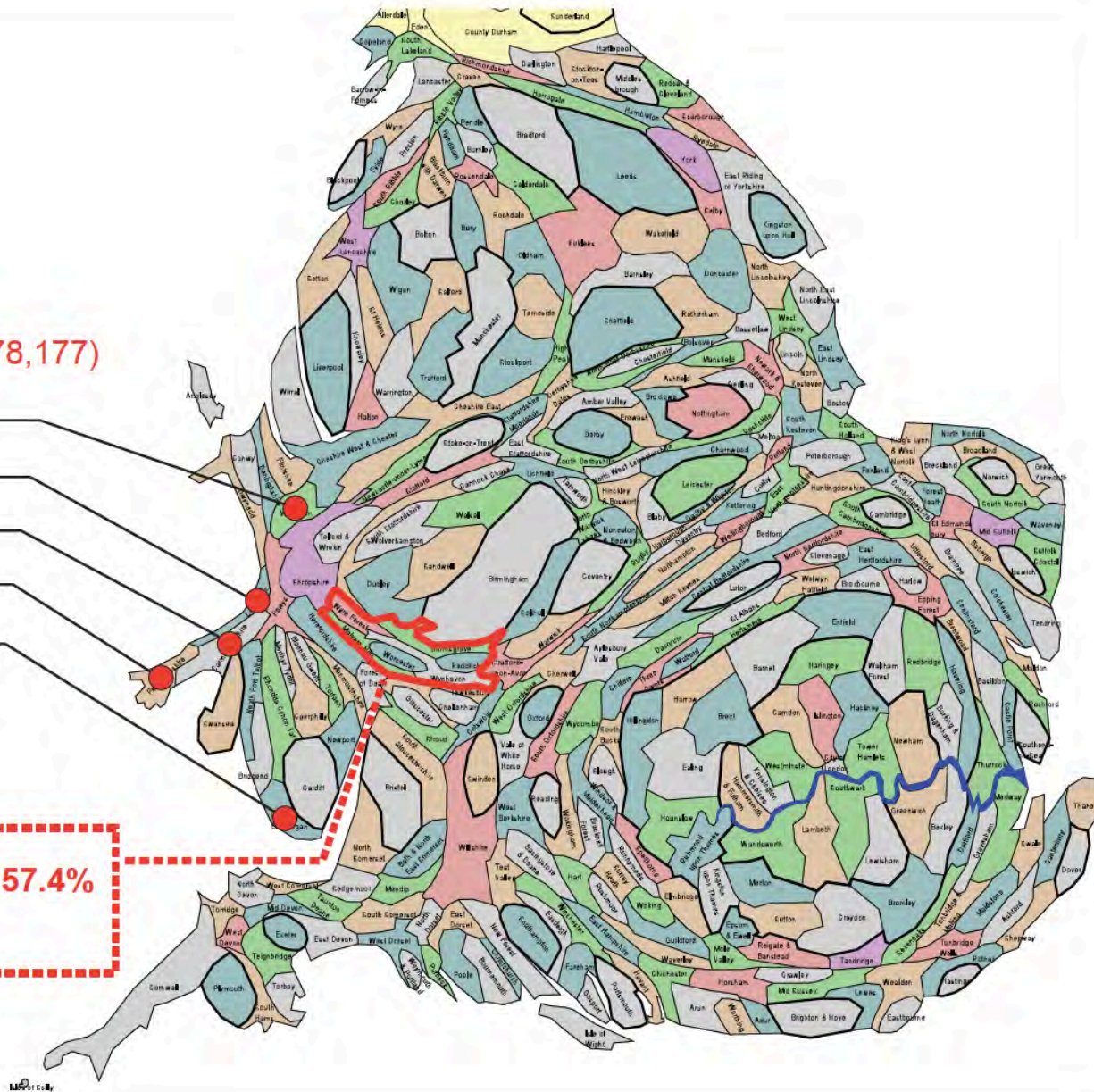
Ceredigion (45% – 18,031)

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%

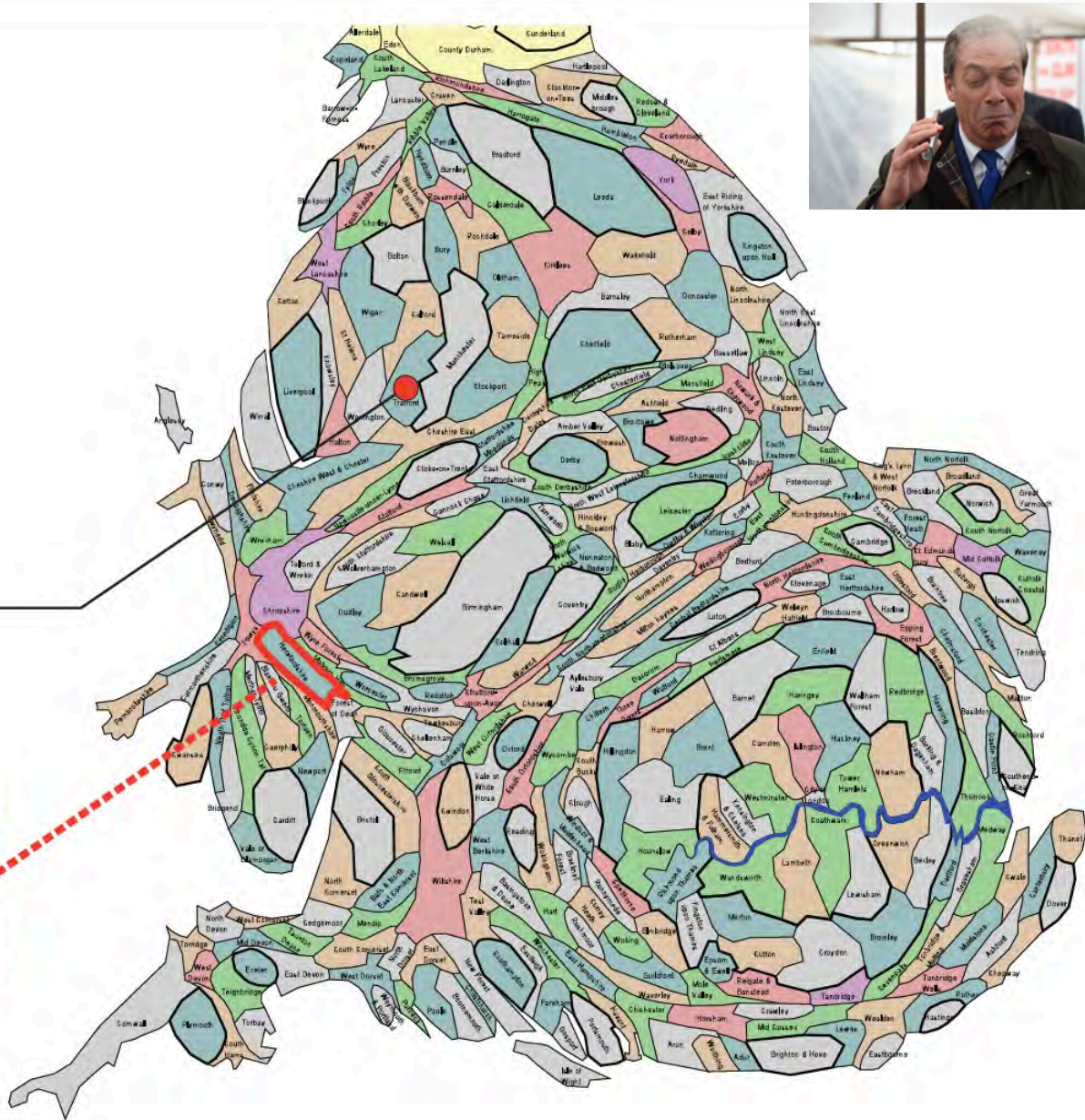
53,018 (of 165,294)

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)

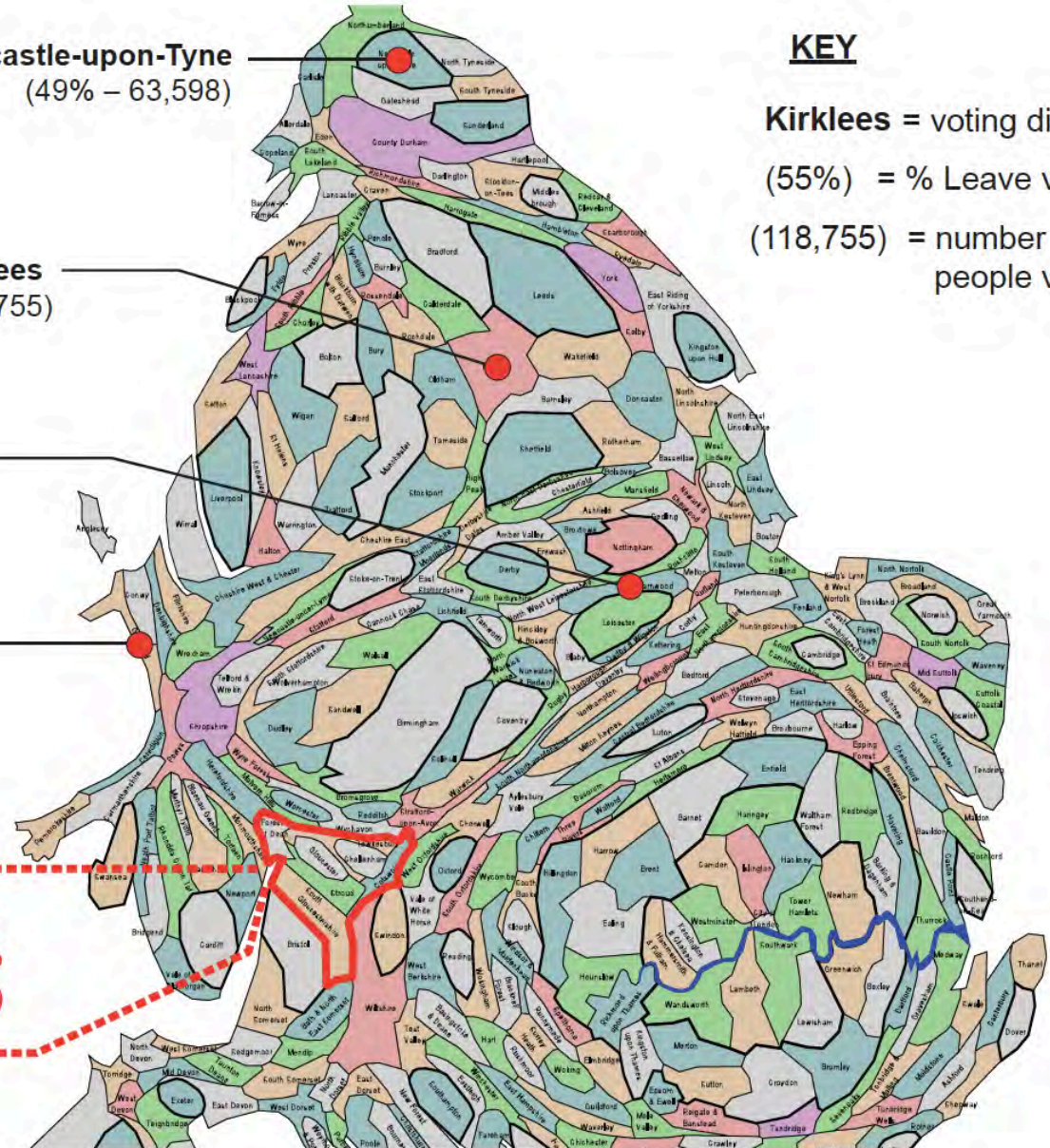
Charnwood
 (54% – 50,672)

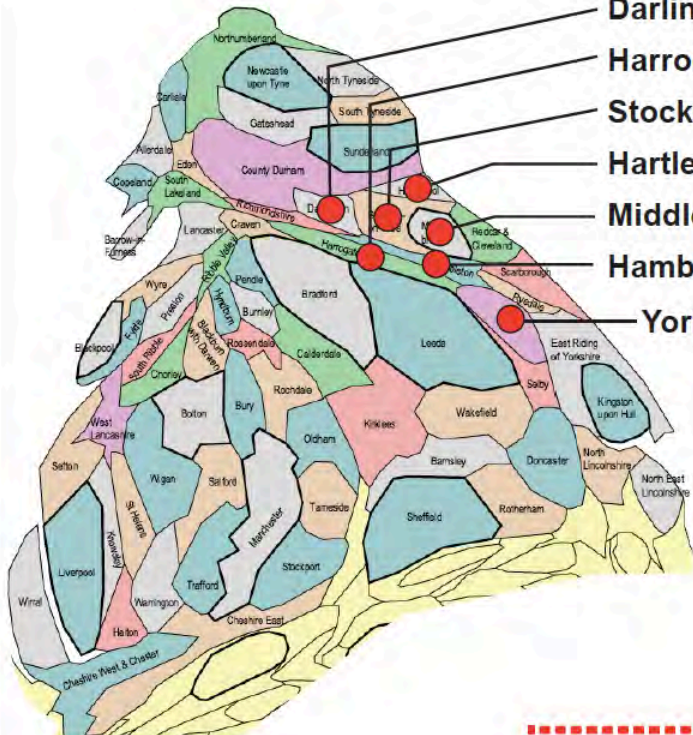
Gwynedd
 (42% – 25,665)

KEY

Kirklees = voting district
 (55%) = % Leave vote
 (118,755) = number of people voting

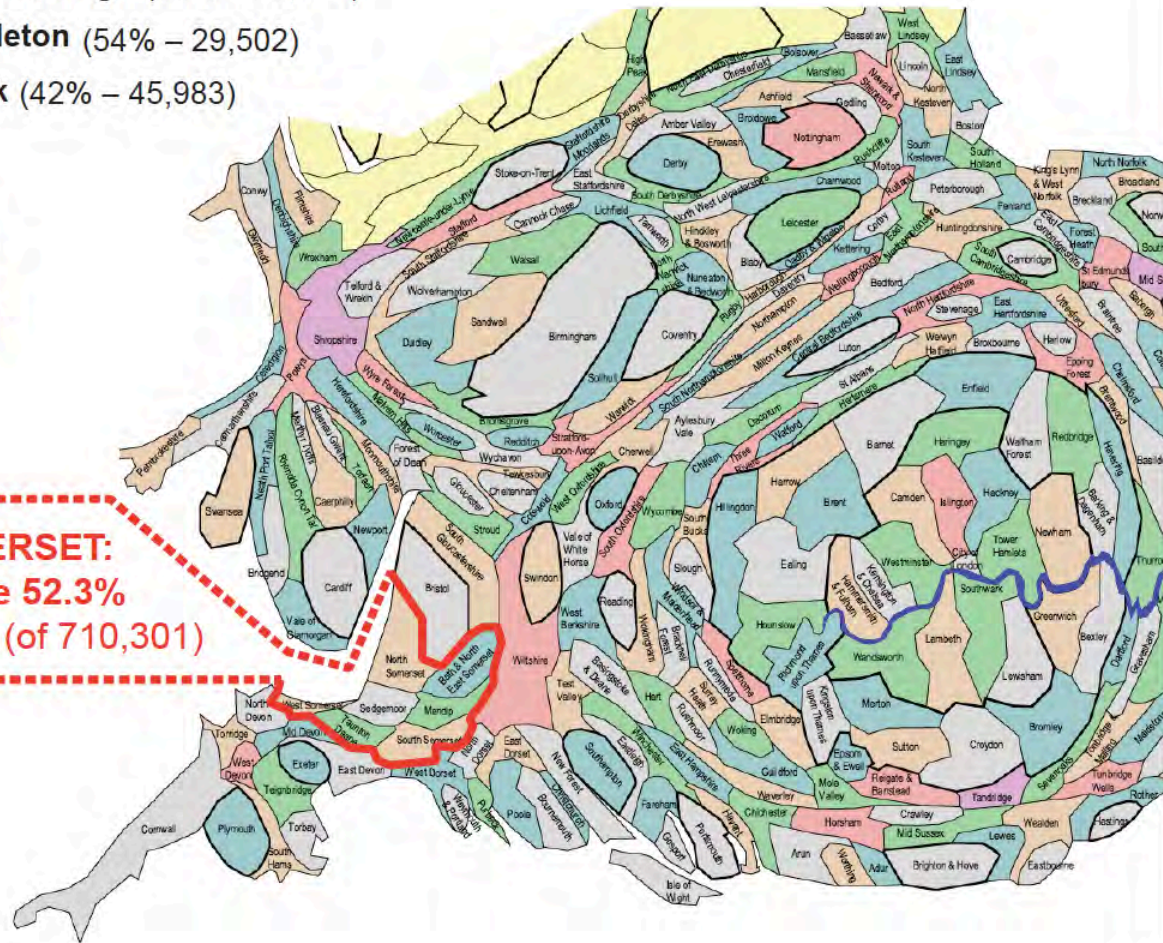
GLOUCESTERSHIRE:
 Leave vote 51.5%
 269,356 (of 680,415)





- 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)

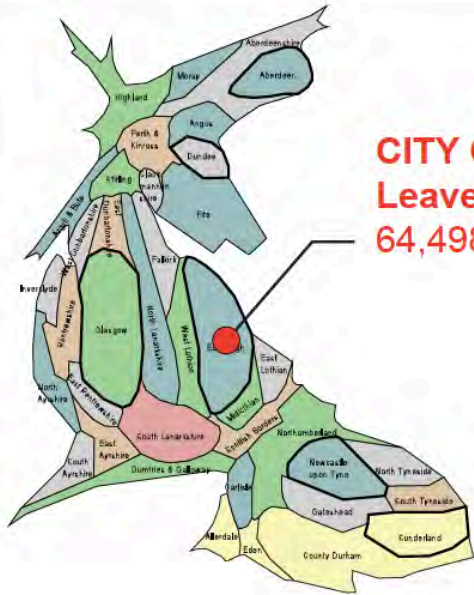
ANTI-SOMERSET: Leave 55.0% – 287,083 (of 729,378)



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

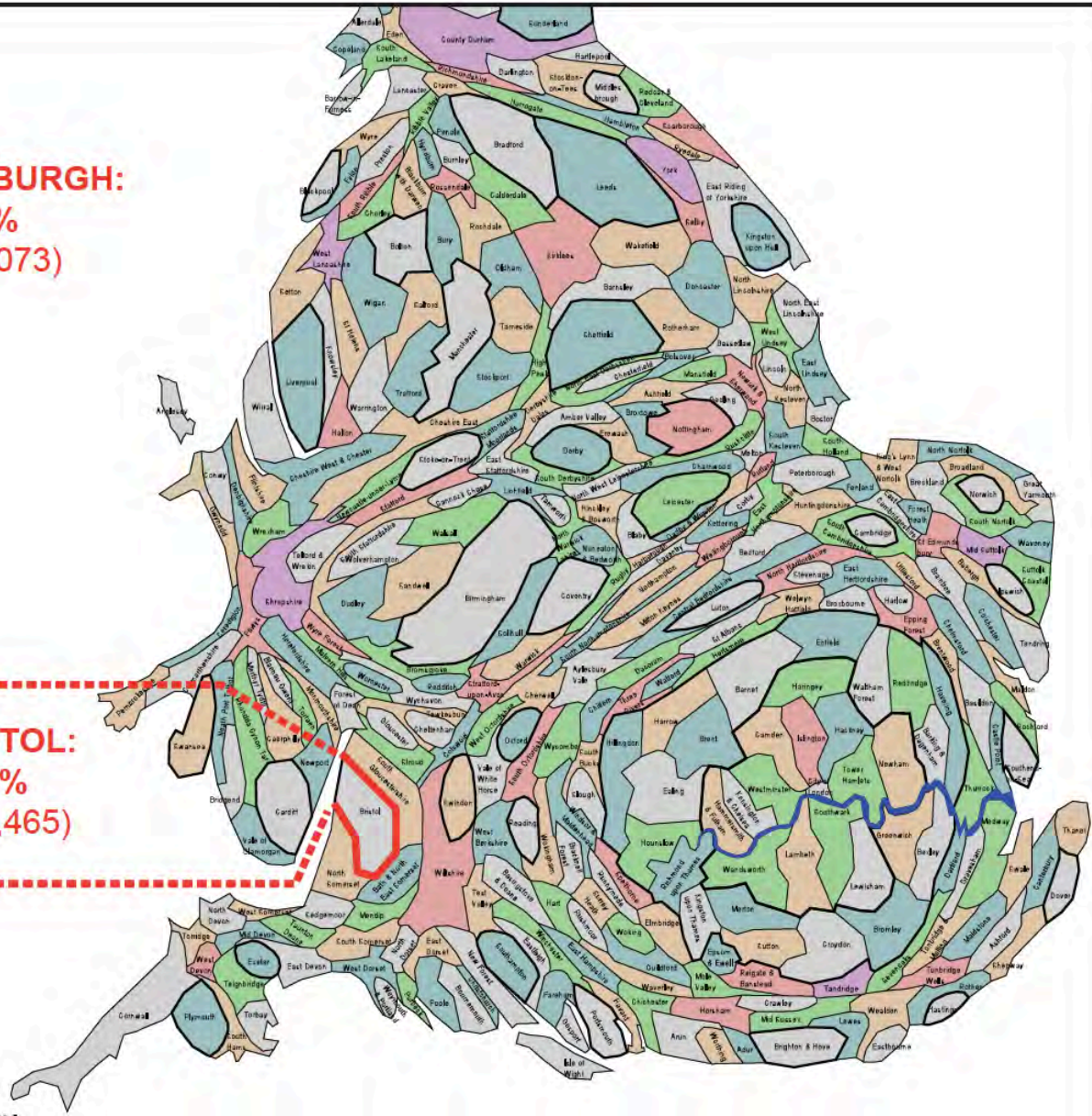
KEY

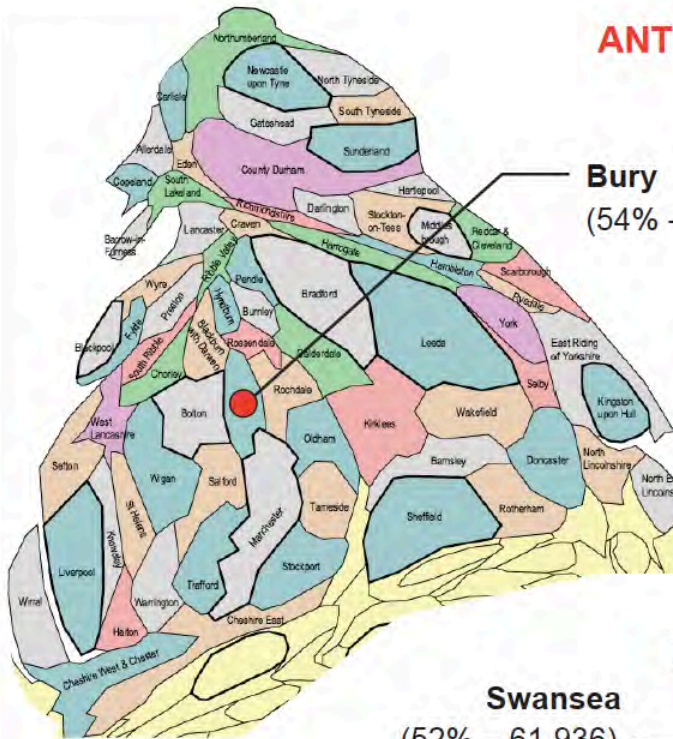
- Hartlepool** = voting district
- (70%)** = % Leave vote
- (32,071)** = number of people voting



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)

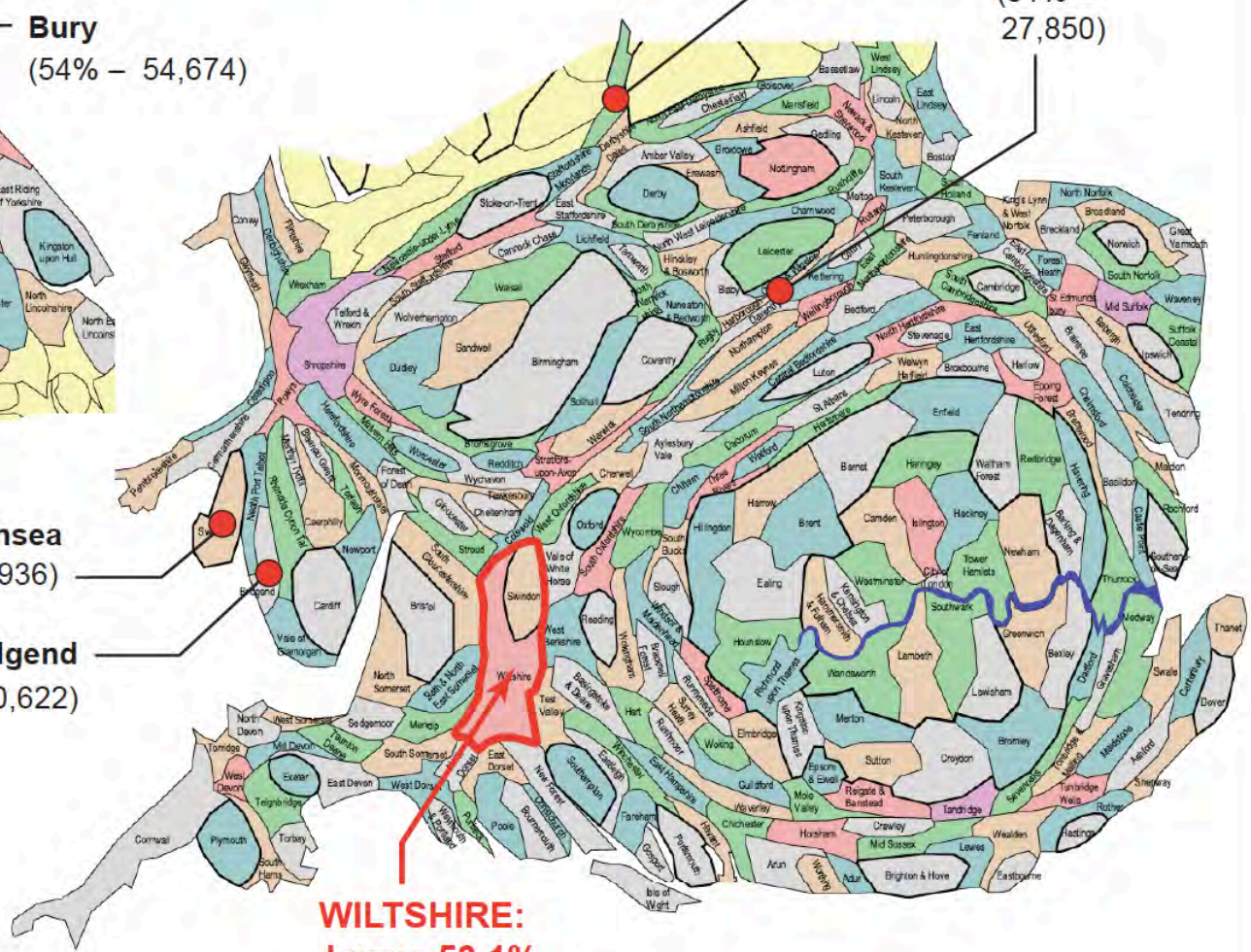
Harborough
(51% – 27,850)

Swansea
(52% – 61,936)

Bridgend
(55% – 40,622)

KEY

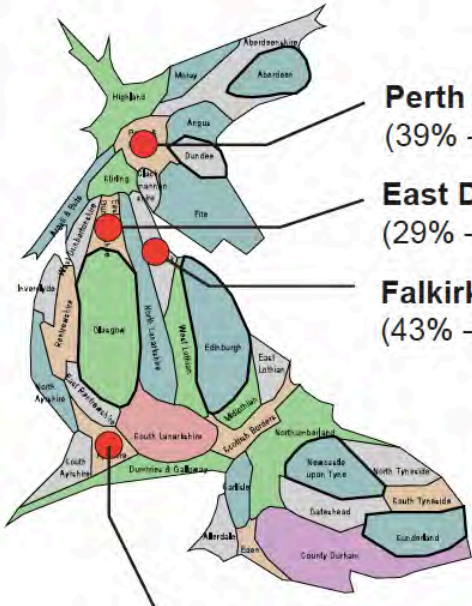
- Swansea** = voting district
- (52%) = % Leave vote
- (61,936) = number of people voting



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)

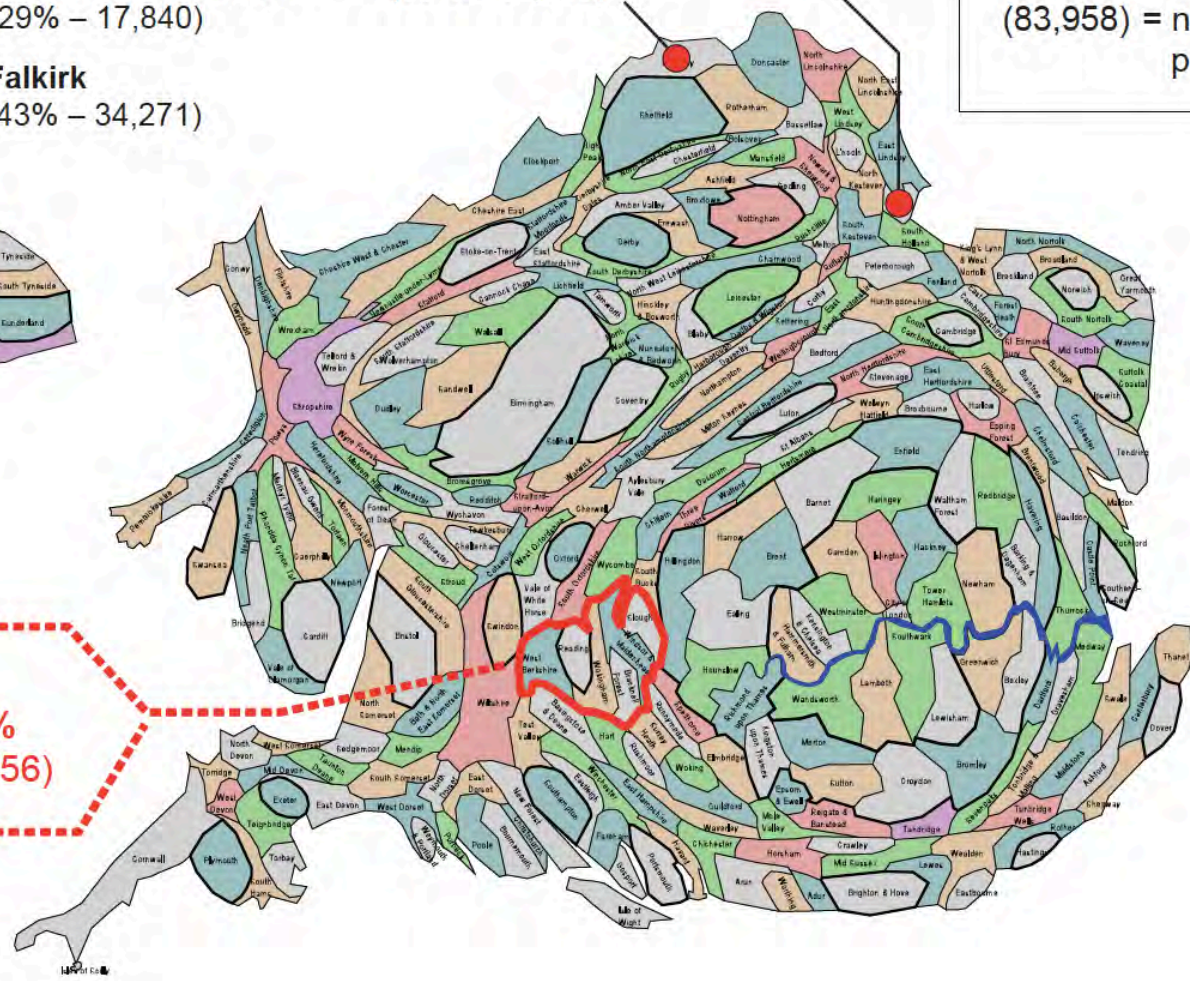
East Dunbartonshire
 (29% – 17,840)

Falkirk
 (43% – 34,271)

East Ayrshire
 (41% – 23,942)

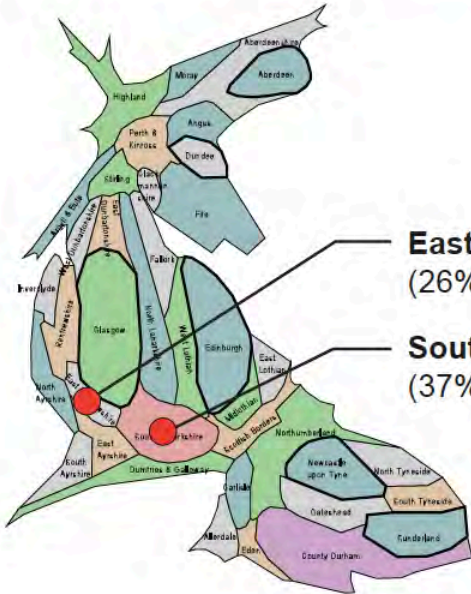
Barnsley
 (68% – 83,958)

Boston
 (76% – 22,974)



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

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

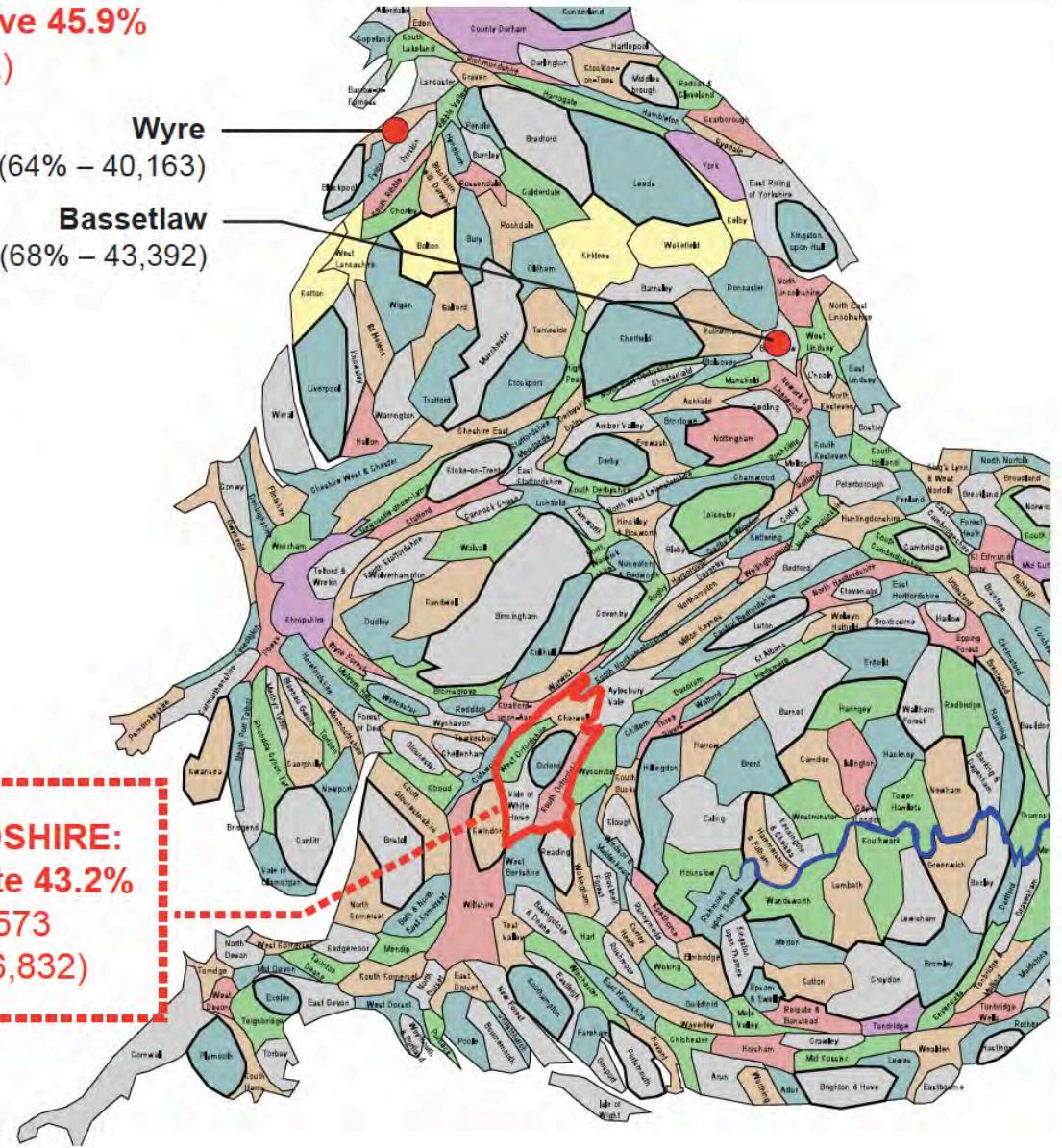


East Renfrewshire
 (26% – 13,596)

South Lanarkshire
 (37% – 60,024)

Wyre
 (64% – 40,163)

Bassetlaw
 (68% – 43,392)



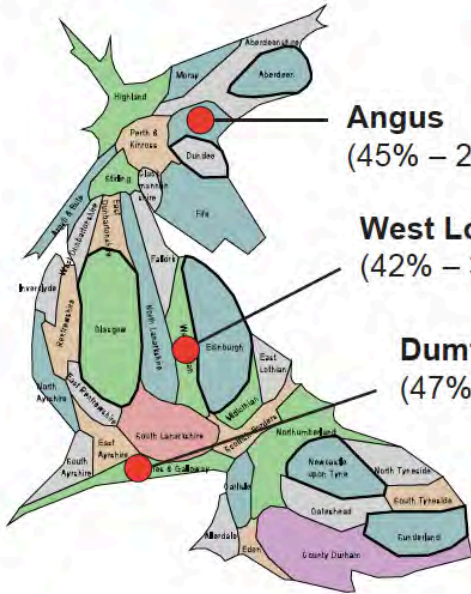
OXFORDSHIRE:
Leave vote 43.2%
163,573
(of 486,832)

KEY to 'ANTI-'

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

ANTI- BUCKINGHAMSHIRE:

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



Angus
(45% – 26,511)

West Lothian
(42% – 36,948)

Dumfries and Galloway
(47% – 38,803)

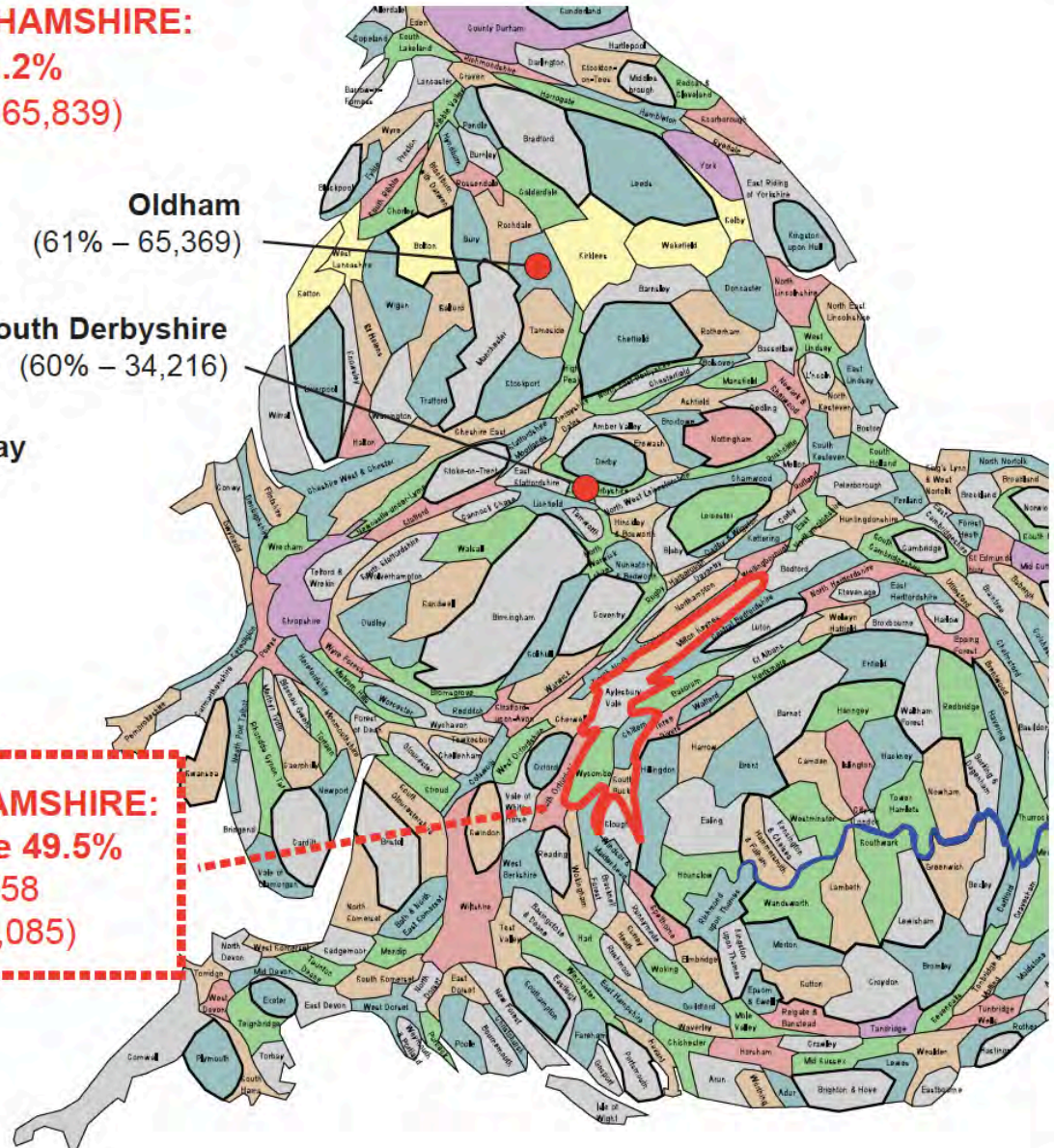
Oldham
(61% – 65,369)

South Derbyshire
(60% – 34,216)

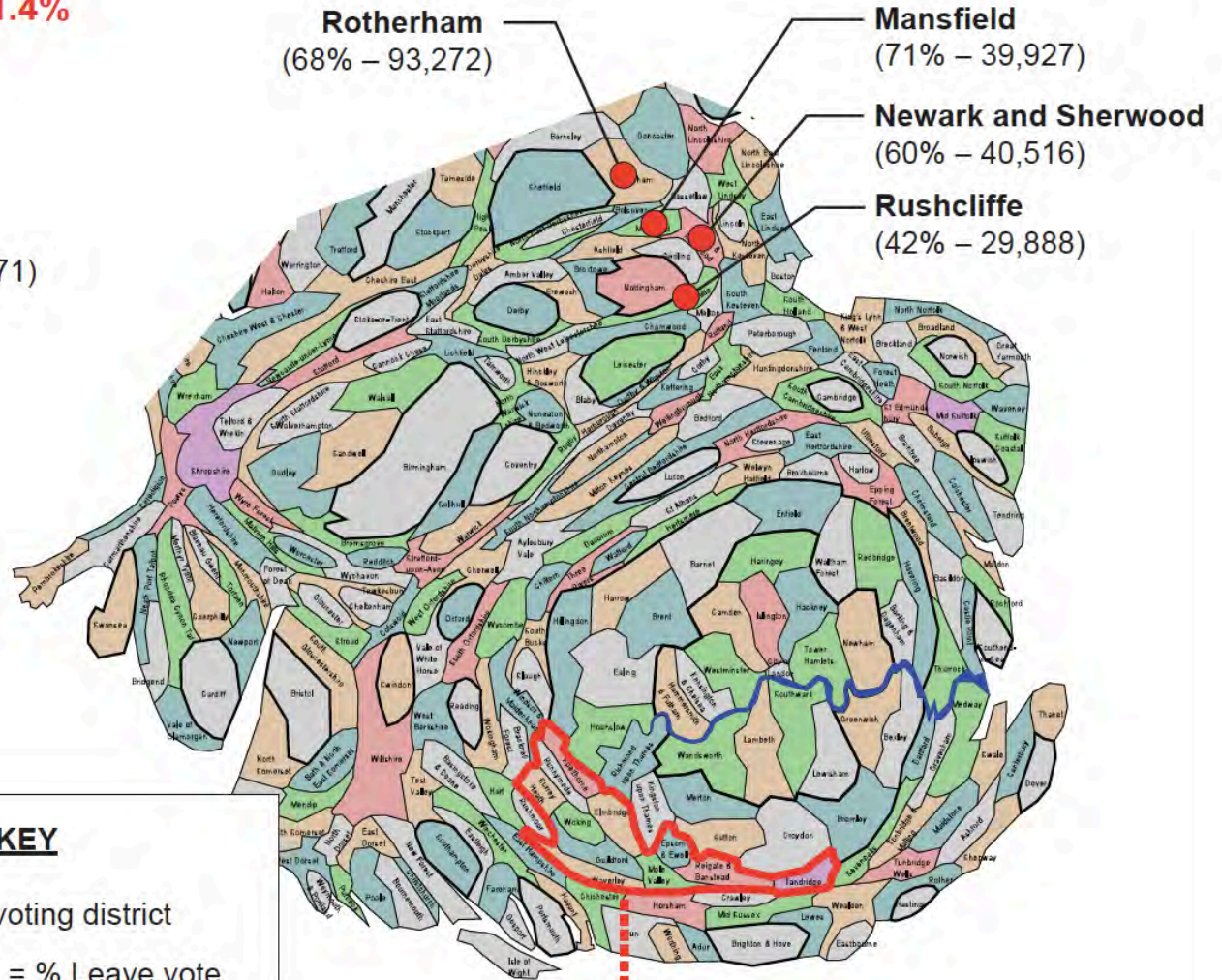
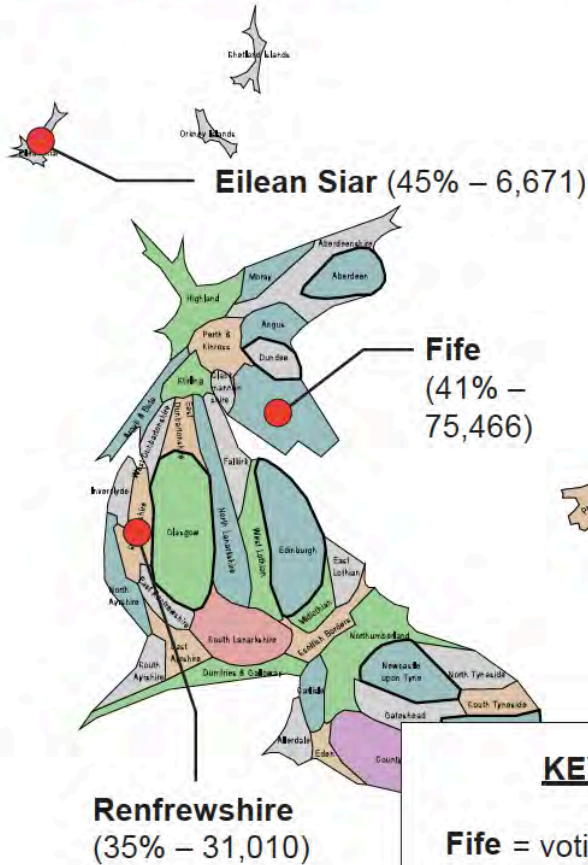
BUCKINGHAMSHIRE:
Leave vote 49.5%
213,558
(of 561,085)

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)

East Staffordshire

(63% – 39,266)

North West Leicestershire

(61% – 34,969)

Melton

(58% – 17,610)

Staffordshire Moorlands

(65% – 38,684)

Erewash

(61% – 40,739)

South Kesteven

(60% – 49,424)

Cannock Chase (69% – 36,894)

Stafford (56% – 43,386)

Newcastle-under-Lyme

(63% – 43,457)

South Staffordshire

(65% – 43,248)

Shropshire (57% – 104,166)

Lichfield (59% – 37,214)

Tamworth (67% – 28,424)

Hinckley and Bosworth

(60% – 39,501)

Blaby (59% – 33,583)

Derbyshire Dales

(52% – 24,095)

South Holland

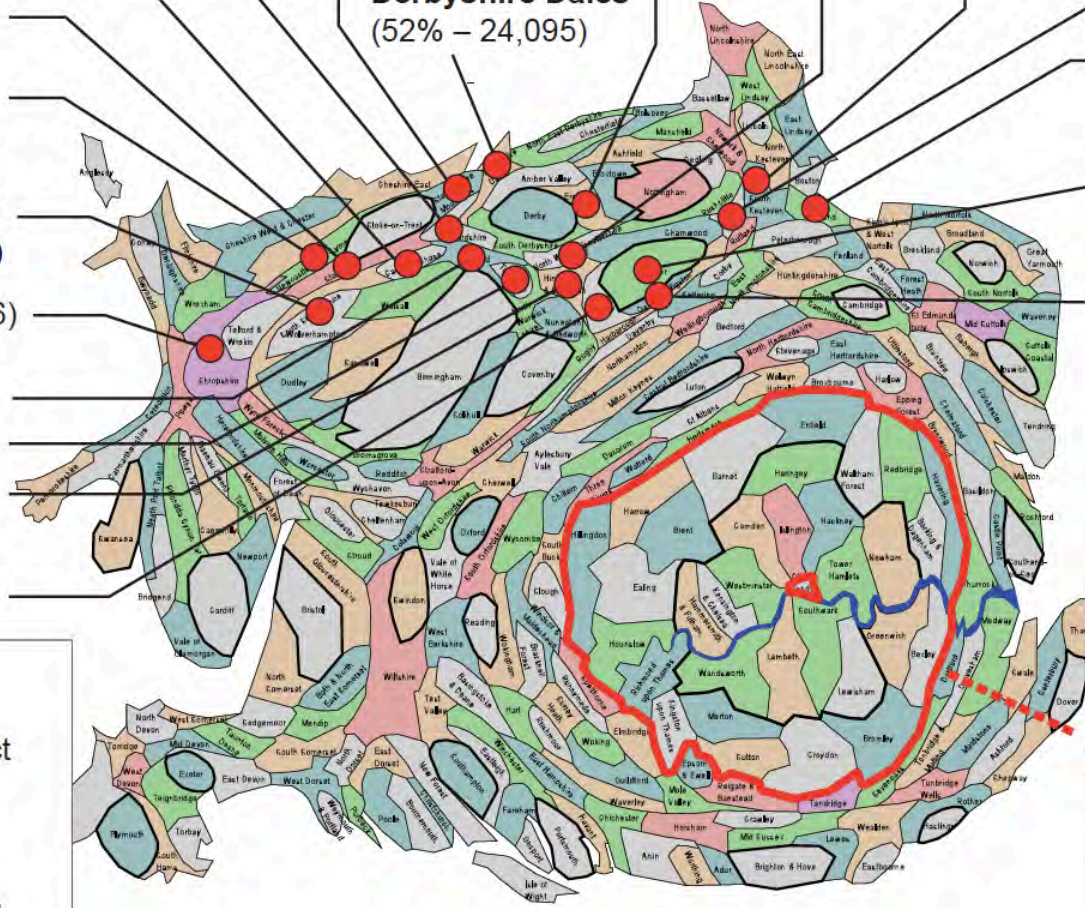
(74% – 36,423)

Leicester

(49% – 67,992)

Oadby and Wigston

(55% – 17,173)



KEY

Lichfield = voting district

(59%) = % Leave vote

(37,214) = number of people voting

LONDON

(excl. City of London):

Leave vote 40.1%

1,512,145

(of 5,418,781)

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)

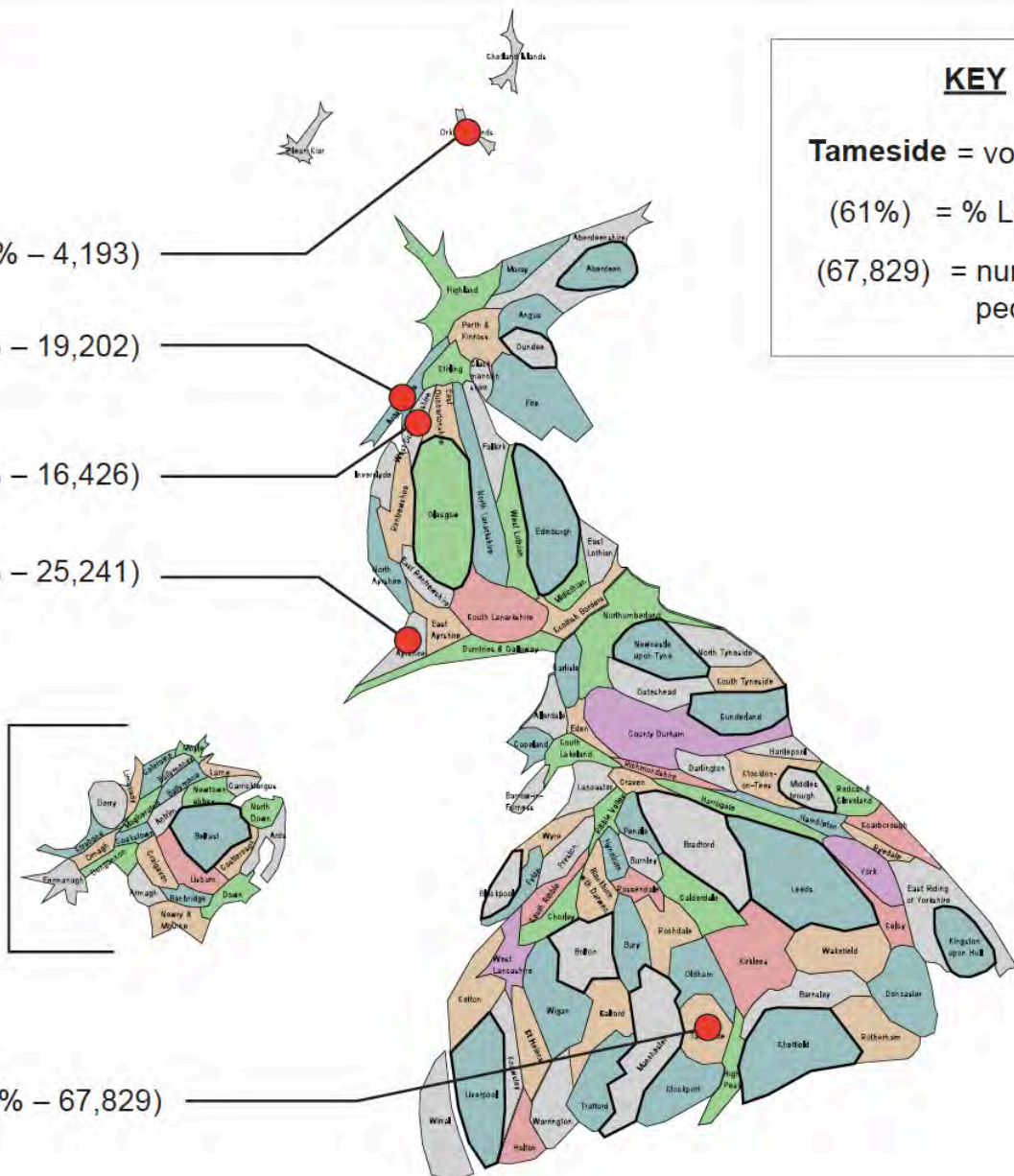
Argyll and Bute (39% – 19,202)

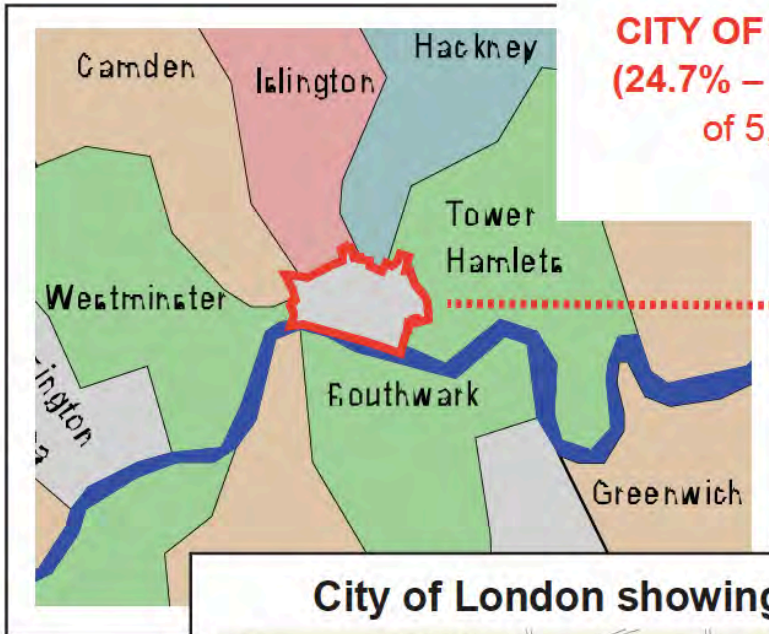
West Dunbartonshire (38% – 16,426)

South Ayrshire (41% – 25,241)

Northern Ireland
(44% – 349,442)

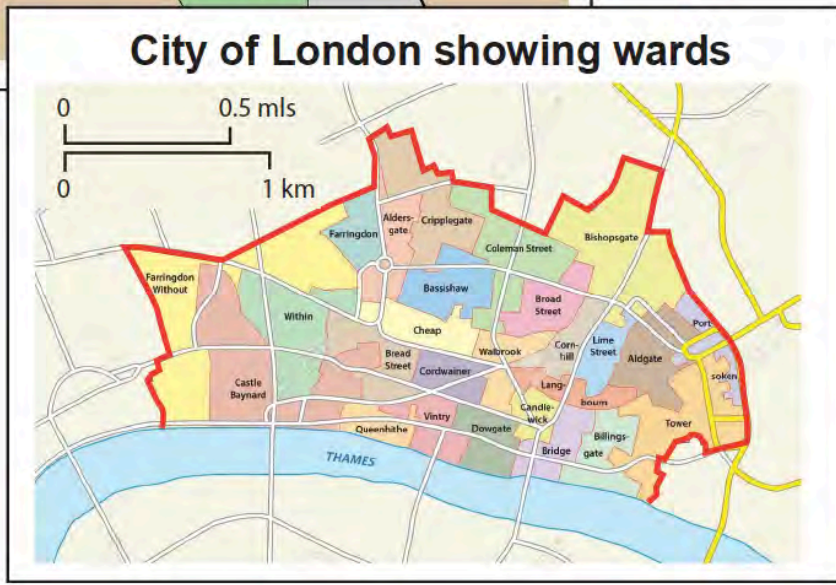
Tameside (61% – 67,829)





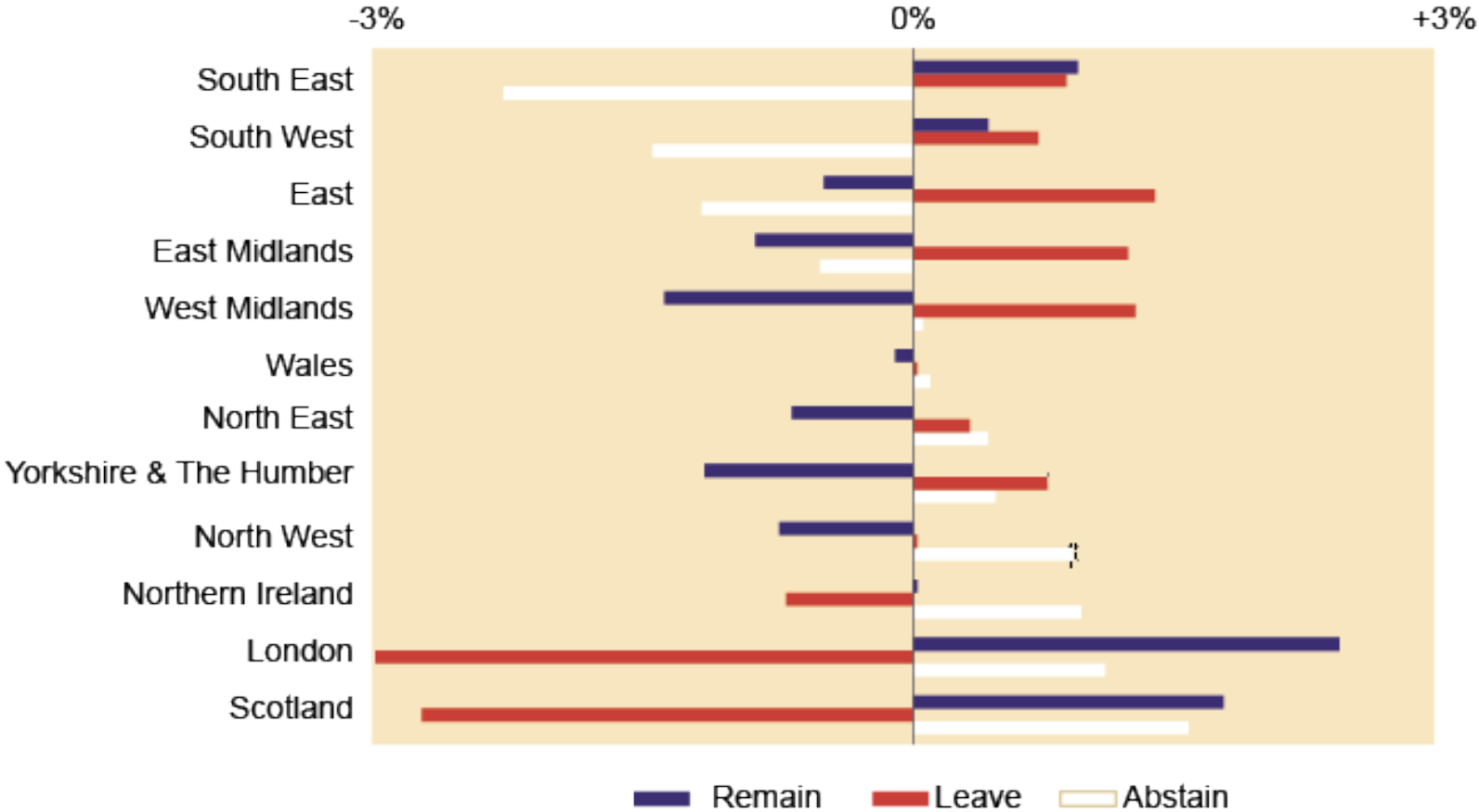
CITY OF LONDON
 (24.7% – 1,087 out of 5,987)

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



Brexit voting by region

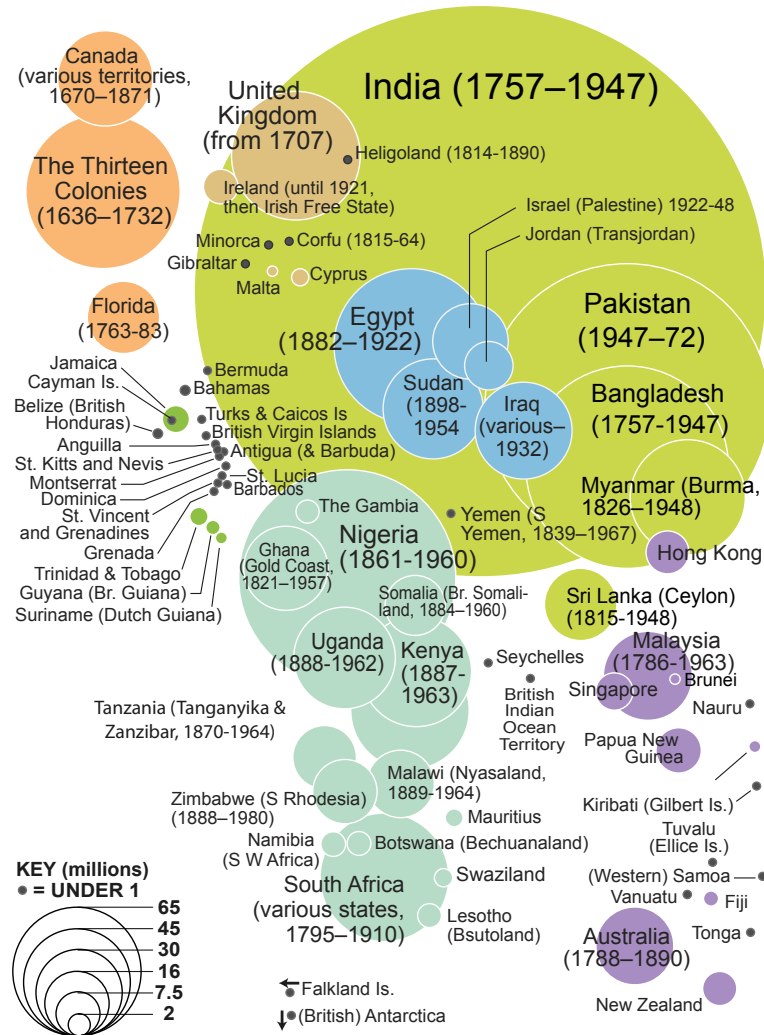
Deviation of the region's voting from its share of electorate



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?

Migration to Britain in context

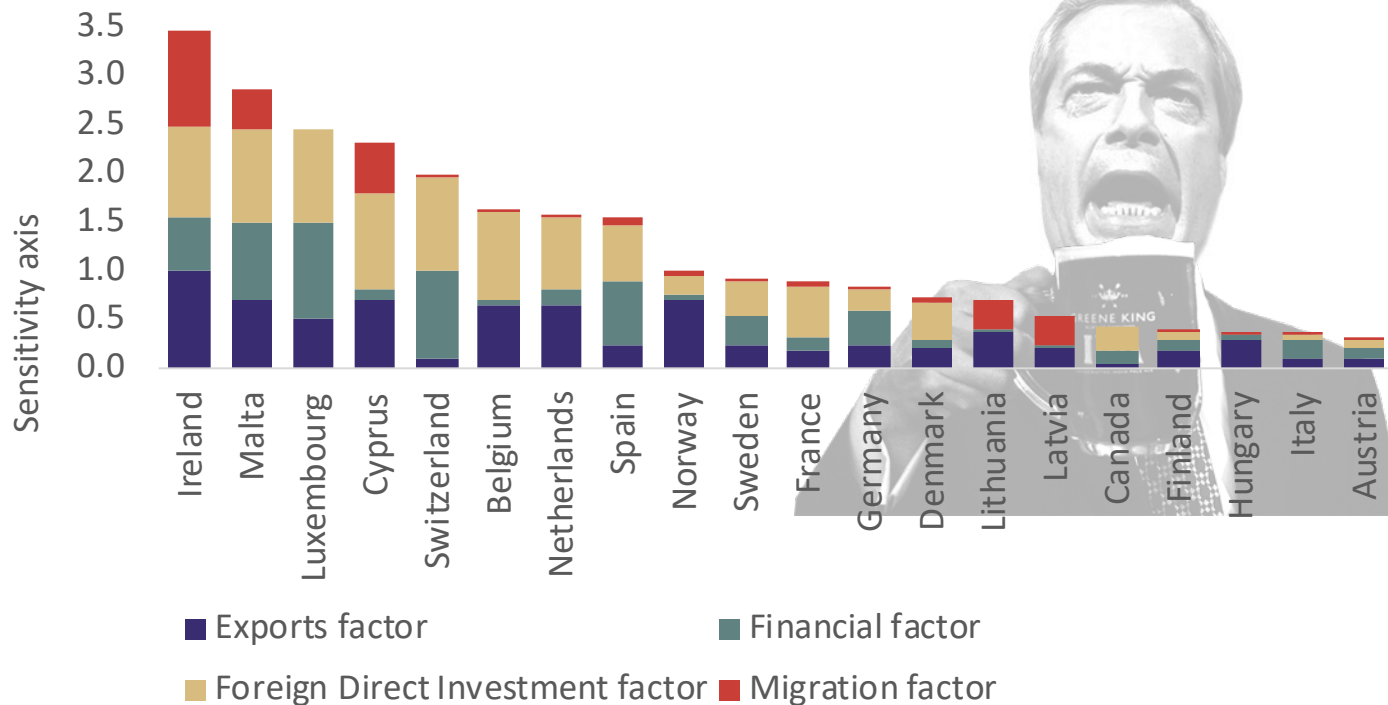


Oxford and Folkestone 2019



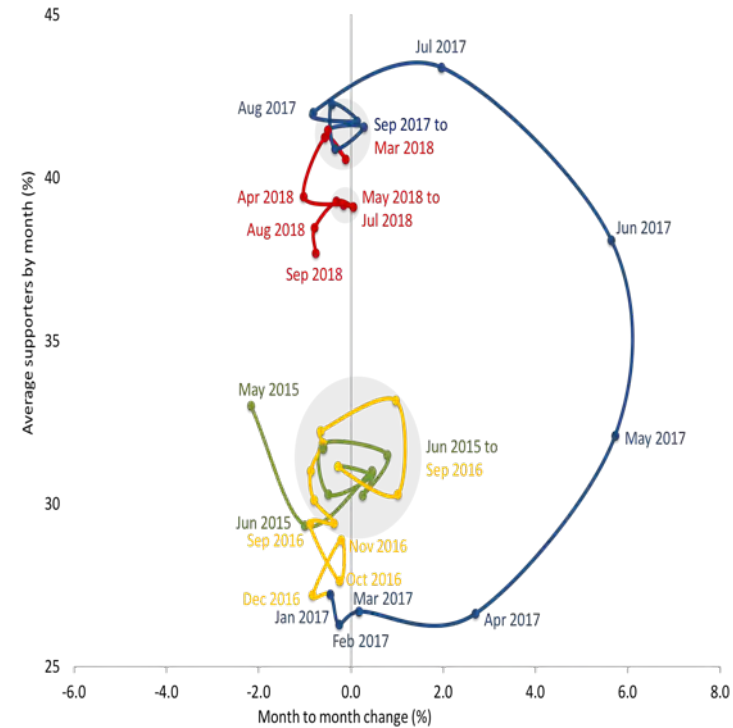
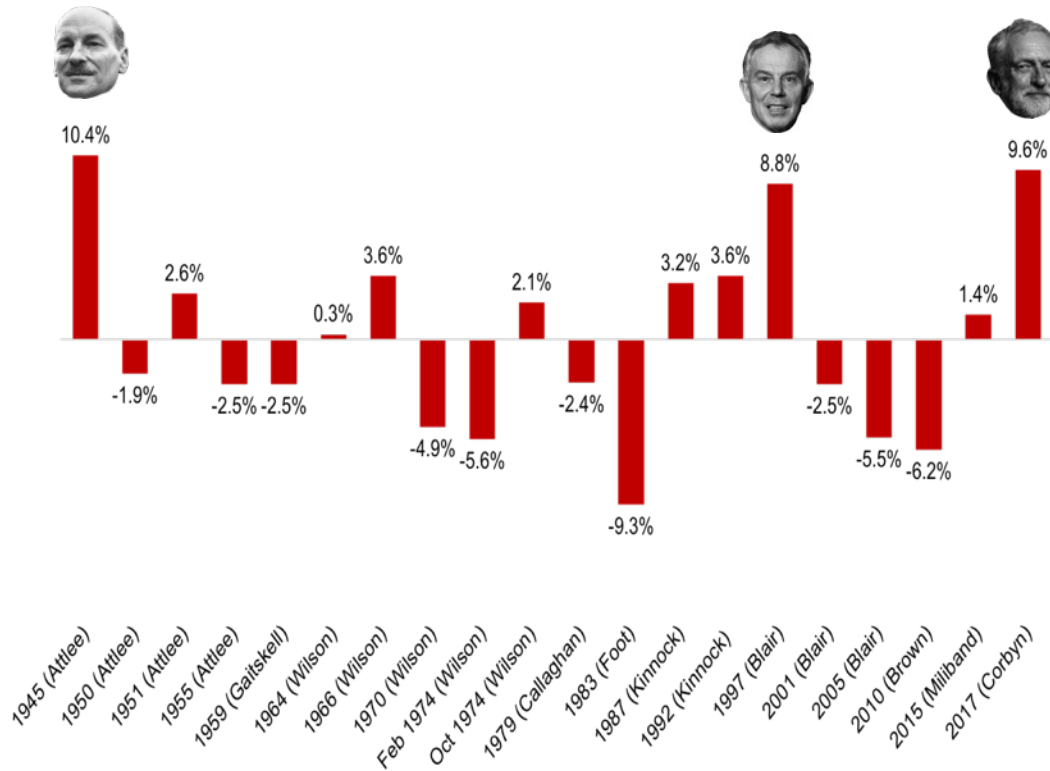
Brexit sensitivity

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

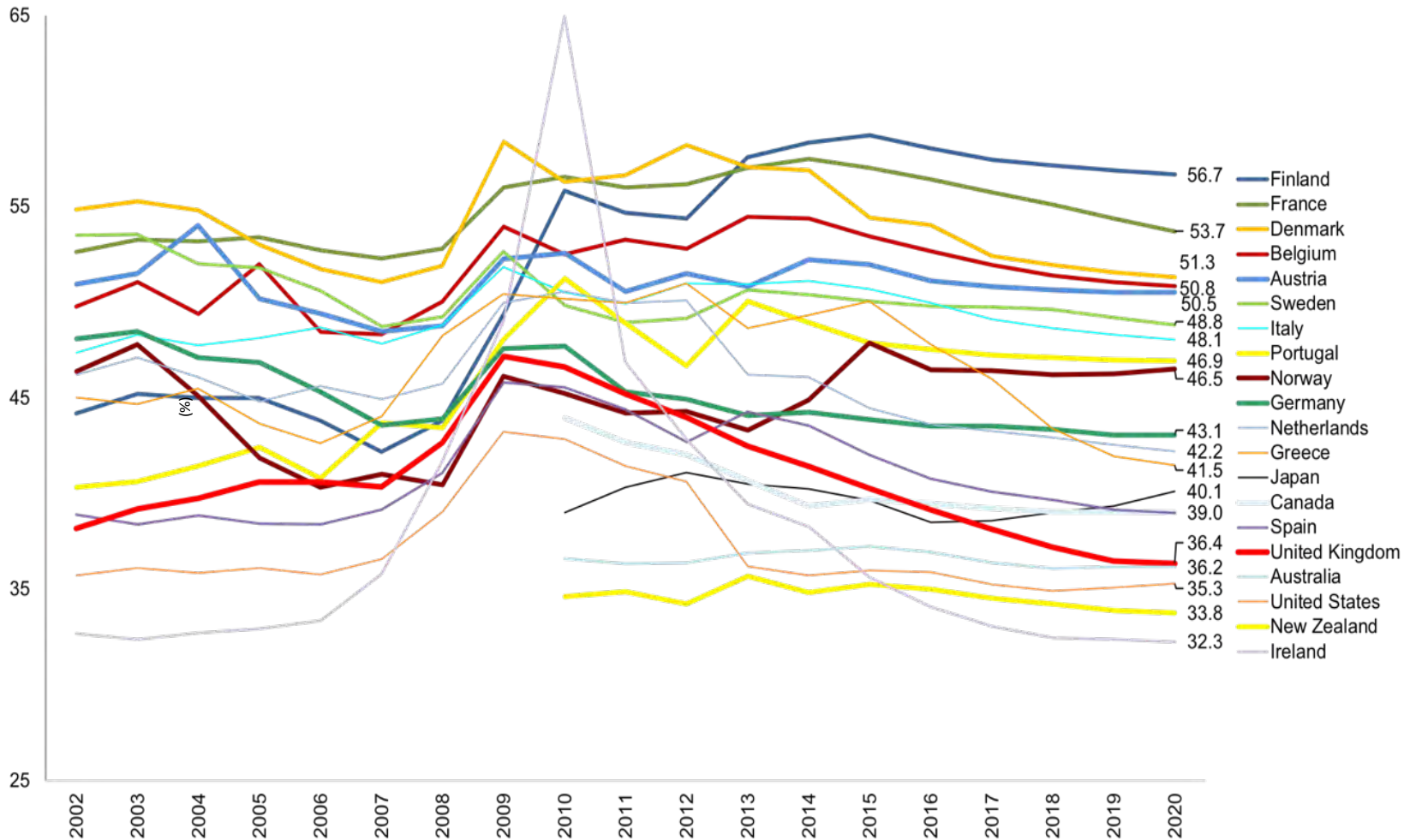


- Conservative share of vote rose by 5.5 in 2017, but the Labour share rose by 9.6
- Change at the 2017 election was as great as that in 1945, after 2 years rather than 10

Now we are beginning to see where we live very differently



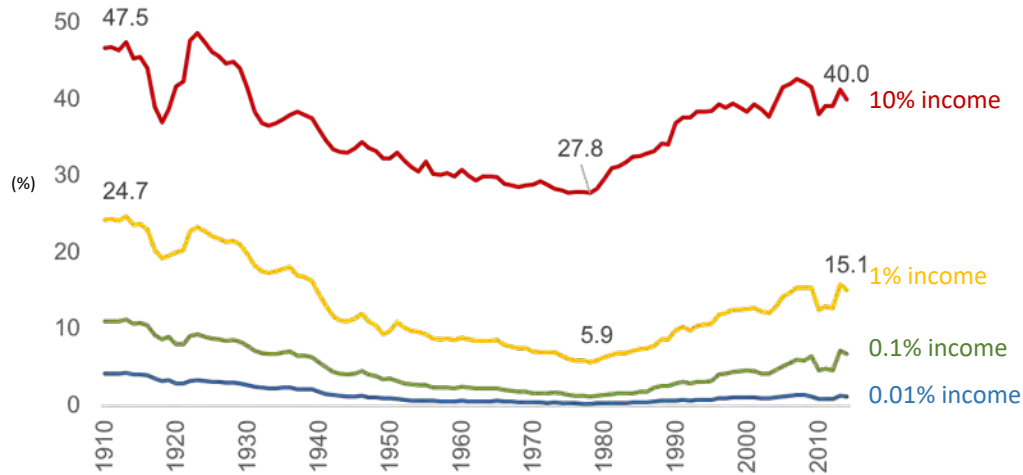
State spending in the 20 richest countries as % GDP – some perspective



- 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.

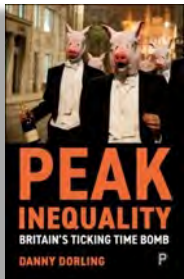
The fall and rise of inequality...

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



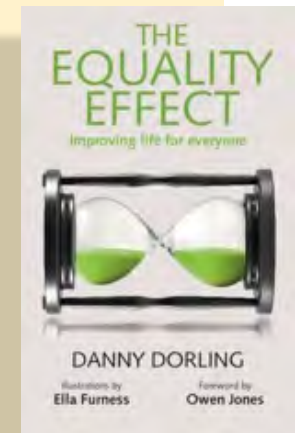
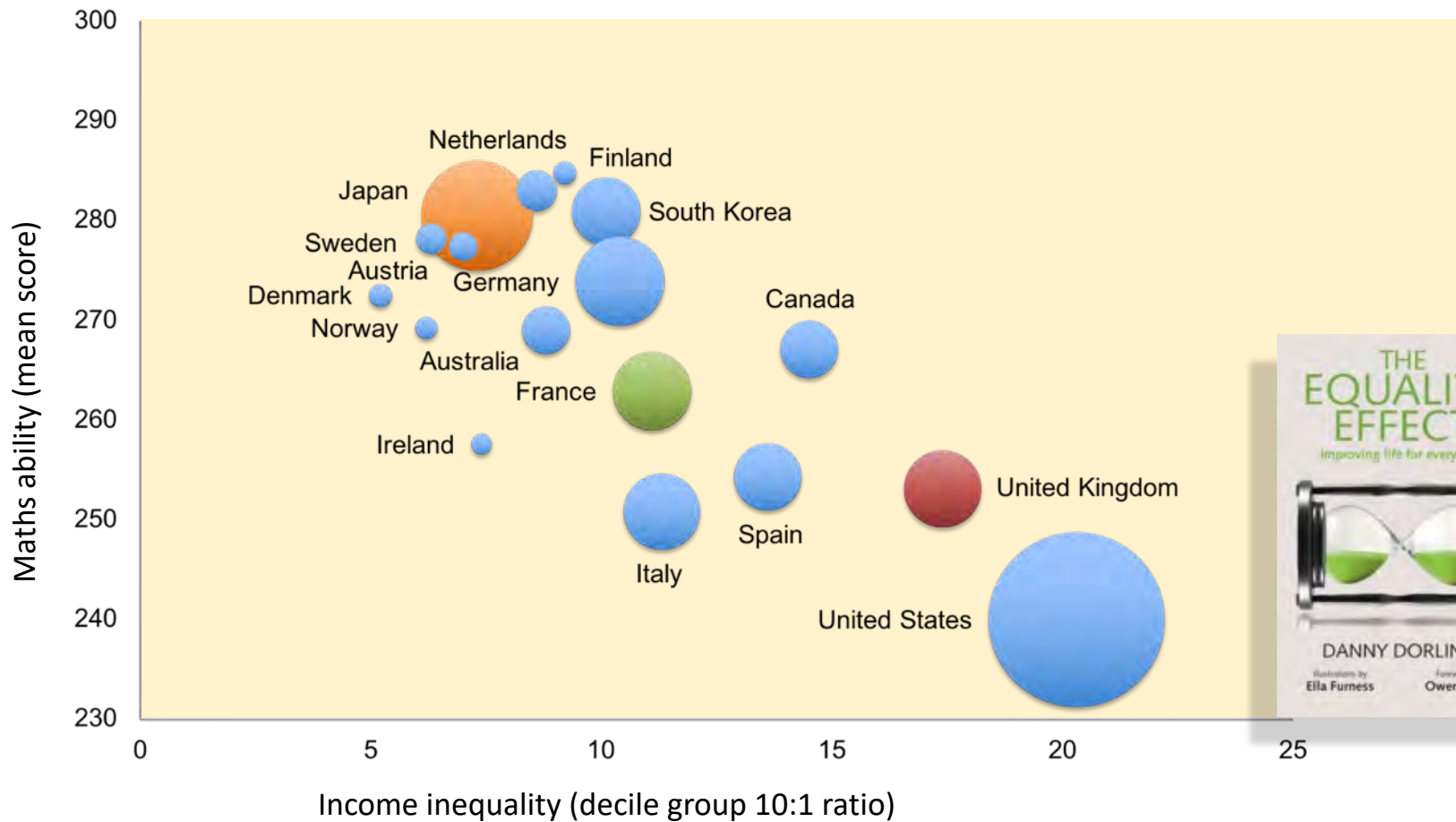
Highest rise in inequality in Europe since the 1970s

...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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RULE BRITANNIA
DANNY DORLING & SALLY TOMLINSON

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BREXIT AND THE END OF EMPIRE

RULE BRITANNIA



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