Mind the Gap: Brexit & the Generational Divide
Brexit: Dividing the Nation?
The Brexit vote revealed multiple divisions:

- North
- England
- Poor
- South
- Scotland
- Rich
- Old
- Young
How big was the generation gap?

How Britain voted

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>By demographic</th>
<th>Remain</th>
<th>Leave</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>48%</td>
<td>52%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>48%</td>
<td>52%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>48%</td>
<td>52%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18-24</td>
<td>73%</td>
<td>27%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25-34</td>
<td>62%</td>
<td>38%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35-44</td>
<td>52%</td>
<td>48%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45-54</td>
<td>44%</td>
<td>56%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55-64</td>
<td>43%</td>
<td>57%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65+</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>60%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AB</td>
<td>57%</td>
<td>43%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C1</td>
<td>49%</td>
<td>51%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C2</td>
<td>36%</td>
<td>64%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DE</td>
<td>36%</td>
<td>64%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Where the gaps are widest

Of the 30 areas with the...

- most elderly people, 27 voted Leave
- fewest graduates, 28 voted Leave
- most people identifying as English, all 30 voted Leave

Source: Census 2011
1. Did a lower voter turnout amongst younger voters cause the Brexit generation gap?
2. Did a higher educational attainment amongst younger voters cause the Brexit generation gap?
3. Did different values amongst younger voters cause the Brexit generation gap?
1. Did a lower voter turnout amongst younger voters cause the Brexit generation gap?

A. YES

B. NO
1. APATHY GAP: Lower age, lower turnout?

Source, Dorling, Stuart and Stubbs, ‘Brexit, inequality and the demographic divide’, LSE Brexit Blog
Closing the Brexit voter ‘gap’?

Brexit ‘apathy gap’ less significant than initially thought

18-24: 64%
25-39: 65%
40-54: 66%
55-64: 74%
65+: 90%

Source, Opinium Poll commissioned for LSE
1. Did a higher educational attainment amongst younger voters cause the Brexit generation gap?

A. YES
B. NO

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A people divided

The strongest correlation between the vote for Leave and any key demographic measure is with the share of people holding a degree. But even here, regional patterns are clear: London Boroughs stand out in the tail on the right, with higher education and low Leave numbers. Scotland follows the overall national trend but is shifted as a whole towards Remain.

London
Scotland
Other

Share of vote for Leave

Havering was by far the most pro-Leave area of London. It also has the lowest share of people with degrees.

Central London Boroughs have the highest degree numbers and voted overwhelmingly for Remain.

Scottish areas show the same overall correlation, but underlying support for Remain pushes their Leave results down.

Correct as of 06:30 on June 24
Source: Press Association, UK Census
Graphic by John Burn-Murdoch / @burnmurdoch

Source, FT Data http://blogs.ft.com/ftdata/2016/06/24/brexit-demographic-divide-eu-referendum-results/
Younger voters are better educated

Source: Census 2011, Office for National Statistics. Other qualifications and apprenticeships are excluded. Levels 1-2 = GCSE; Levels 3-4 = A Level/Degree
1. Did different values amongst younger voters cause the Brexit generation gap?

A. YES
B. NO

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**GAP in values?**

Do you think of each of the following as being a force for good, a force for ill, or a mixed blessing?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Topic</th>
<th>Leave</th>
<th>Remain</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>How did the people who thought the following were a force for ill vote?</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Multiculturalism</td>
<td>19%</td>
<td>81%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social liberalism</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>80%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feminism</td>
<td>26%</td>
<td>74%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Green movement</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>78%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Globalisation</td>
<td>31%</td>
<td>69%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The internet</td>
<td>29%</td>
<td>71%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Capitalism</td>
<td>51%</td>
<td>49%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Immigration</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>80%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| **How did the people who thought the following were a force for good vote?** |       |        |
| Multiculturalism                   | 71%   | 29%    |
| Social liberalism                  | 68%   | 32%    |
| Feminism                           | 60%   | 40%    |
| The Green movement                 | 62%   | 38%    |
| Globalisation                      | 62%   | 38%    |
| The internet                       | 49%   | 51%    |
| Capitalism                         | 51%   | 49%    |
| Immigration                        | 79%   | 21%    |
3. Younger = Less Eurosceptic

Source: British Election Study
Younger = less hostile to immigration

Twice as many 18-34 year olds think immigration has been good for their area than those aged over 55

Overall, would you say that EU immigration has been good or bad, or has had no impact on the following.... The area where you live

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Good</th>
<th>Bad</th>
<th>No impact</th>
<th>Don't know</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>GB Total</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>31%</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>18%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18-34</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td>27%</td>
<td>31%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35-54</td>
<td>47%</td>
<td>44%</td>
<td>45%</td>
<td>49%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55+</td>
<td>51%</td>
<td>19%</td>
<td>51%</td>
<td>45%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ABC1</td>
<td>49%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>49%</td>
<td>45%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C2DE</td>
<td>45%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>45%</td>
<td>45%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Base 8,257 GB adults, aged 18+, interviewed by telephone, 19/11-14 June 2010.
Younger = less inclined to right-wing populism

Authoritarian populism in the UK: age breakdowns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age Group</th>
<th>Liberal left</th>
<th>Liberal centre-right</th>
<th>AP centre</th>
<th>AP right</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>18 to 29</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30 to 39</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40 to 49</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50 to 59</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60+</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
So what did cause the Brexit Generation Gap?

WISERD’s Young People and the EU Referendum Project identify 3 key factors:

1. Weaker attachments to traditional British institutions
2. Access to more high quality education
3. Non-traditional conceptions of national identity
WHAT DOES THIS MEAN FOR MILLENNIALS IN POST-BREXIT BRITAIN?
The tyranny of the old

Probability of voting "Remain" in EU referendum among middle-class with an "A-level" education
By age and region*, %

- English hinterland†
- London & Wales
- Scotland

Age Group | Median Age | Remain | Leave | Life Expectancy | Average number of years they have to live with the decision
---|---|---|---|---|---
18-24 | 21 | 64% | 24% | 90 | 69
25-49 | 37 | 45% | 39% | 89 | 52
50-64 | 57 | 35% | 49% | 88 | 31
65+ | 73 | 33% | 58% | 89 | 16

Sources: YouGov; The Economist
*Based on a 5,500 sample
†England excluding London

Polling Date: YouGov, 16/18 people, 17-19th June 2016
Life Expectancy based on ONS pension planner life expectancy estimator
Average 65+ year old was estimated to be 73 using ONS age distribution data
Those who were undecided or wouldn't say have been excluded

Those who must live with result of the EU referendum the longest want to remain.
YOU STOLE OUR FUTURE FROM US
Gaps inside the generation?

Millennials from poorer social classes with lower incomes were roughly 13% more likely to vote leave than those in the middle class.
BREXIT NEGOTIATIONS
WHAT DO YOU WANT?
MILLENNIALS & EDUCATION

• **Pre Brexit**: EU citizens -- right to work, live and study in any other member state.
• Free movement of labour -- fundamental pillar of the single market.
• In UK students part of immigration figures.
• **Post-Brexit vote**: UK HE -- exposed.
• 90% of HE sector voted to remain.
• No firm assurances from government.
• Uncertainty about fee levels, participation in exchange programmes, research funding.
Should the right for British under 30s to live, work and study across the EU be maintained post-Brexit?

A. YES
B. NO

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Is it time to stop the preferential access to UK higher education for EU citizens?

A. YES

B. NO

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• Between 1993 and 2015:
  • the foreign-born population in the UK more than doubled from 3.8 million to around 8.7 million.
  • the number of foreign citizens increased from nearly 2 million to more than 5 million.

• Poland, India and Pakistan are the main three foreign countries of birth in the UK accounting respectively for 9.5%, 9.0% and 5.9% of the UK’s foreign born population, followed by Ireland (4.5%) and Germany (3.3%).

• Migrants tend to be young when they arrive, typically as young adults coming for work or study, or as children accompanying their parents.

• Migrant youth tend to have lower educational achievement when they start school, but they make faster progress and so the gap is largely eliminated by age 16.

• Young migrants are more likely to have degree-level qualifications than the UK born.

• Employment outcomes for young migrants vary depending on their country of origin, gender, and age at arrival in the UK. EEA migrants have high employment rates but are overrepresented in low-skilled work; non-EEA migrants are overrepresented in high-skilled jobs but have lower employment rates.

• International students who remain in the UK after their studies have more favourable labour market outcomes than the average across the foreign-born population.

• It is too early to predict the impact of Brexit on the numbers and outcomes of young migrants living in the UK, although several future scenarios involve a shift in the balance of future migration towards people from non-EU countries.
Should the British government guarantee the rights of all EU citizens to remain in the UK after Brexit as per the House of Lords amendment to the EU Notification of Withdrawal Bill

A. YES

B. NO

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Should EU migrants in UK / UK migrants in EU be represented on both sides of the negotiating table?

A. YES
B. NO

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The Referendum on the United Kingdom’s membership to the European Union brought into the socio-political domain issues of immigration, nationality and belonging.

**Britishness**

Brexit was about Britishness, who is British, and who *deserves* to be part of the United Kingdom.

From a sociological lens, there is interplay of national identity as well as an attempt to re draw and re establish social boundaries, between the majority and the minority group.

**Divisions and Social Boundaries**

A divided Kingdom?

- The British and Non-British
- Generational
- Geographical
- Class
- Socio-economics
- Intersectional?
Has the vote for Brexit shown that we are a divided nation?

A. YES
B. NO
Going forward which ONE of the following GAPS do you think we should prioritise in order to bridge these divides?

A. Generation gap
B. Socio-economic gap
Assumption exists that populism is rejected by young

71% of under-25s (that voted) voted Remain

Under-30s in US strongly pro-Clinton

Different trends in continental Europe: both right and left-wing populists with high support among youth
  - SYRIZA; Podemos youth backed; Constitutional referendum in Italy NO
  - Front National support among younger demographic

Variables which determine support for populists amongst youth
  - Employment rates (Greece, Spain, France have among highest youth unemployment in Europe; UK among lowest)
  - Education levels: university educated youths backed Remain; less likely to vote
  - Others to be discussed....
Is populist rhetoric attractive to Millennial voters?

A. YES
B. NO
1. By 2020, the House of Commons should ensure that everyone can understand what it does.

2. By 2020, Parliament should be fully interactive and digital.

3. The 2015 newly elected House of Commons should create immediately a new forum for public participation in the debating function of the House of Commons.

4. By 2020, secure online voting should be an option for all voters.

5. By 2016, all published information and broadcast footage produced by Parliament should be freely available online in formats suitable for re-use. Hansard should be available as open data by the end of 2015.

Available at: http://www.digitaldemocracy.parliament.uk/
[Accessed 07/03/17].
“There has been no progress made towards the headline recommendation of introducing online voting by 2020...”

https://webrootsdemocracy.files.wordpress.com/2017/01/democracy-2-0-report.pdf [Accessed 07/03/17].
“There would have been an extra 1.2m votes cast by young voters in the EU referendum if we had been able to vote online, according to a new YouGov survey.

Of 18-24 year olds who failed to vote in the last election, almost half of those polled said they would have done so if they had been able to vote online. Three in ten non-voting 25-34 year olds said the same.”

[Accessed 07/03/17].
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Agree or strongly agree</th>
<th>Disagree or strongly disagree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>42%</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The use of social media improves the democratic process by encouraging more open discussion and greater access to the political debate</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41%</td>
<td>18%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I feel that I understand better the issues and debates that have characterised the general election campaign</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41%</td>
<td>24%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I feel that I understand better what the parties stand for</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41%</td>
<td>22%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I feel I am more engaged in the political debate</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39%</td>
<td>19%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I feel more likely to vote</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Available at: https://www.demos.co.uk/wp-content/uploads/2016/10/Demos-Rise-of-Digital-Politics.pdf
[Accessed 07/03/17].
Should digital democracy take a broader view of participation than simple online voting?

A. YES
B. NO
ON 23RD JUNE 2017...JOIN THE CROWD!

- LSE will launch a new crowdsourcing project
- Under 35s across UK and EU are invited to come together to discuss and agree their vision for the future of UK / EU relations
- Final recommendations sent to Parliaments in London and Brussels