

European Institute LEQS Annual Lecture 2016

# Should We Stay or Should We Go?



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*Chair, LSE*



Hashtag for Twitter users: **#LSEBrexitVote**



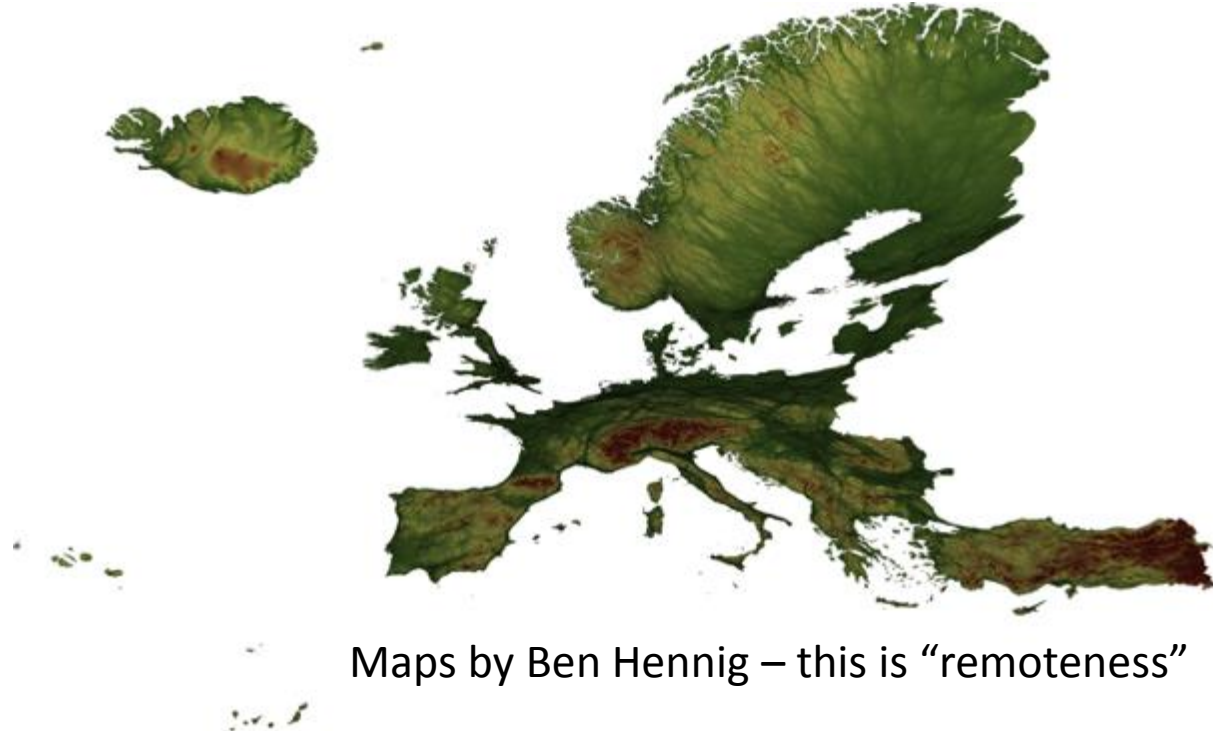
# The EU - 'Should we stay or should we go?'

Annual “Europe in Question” lecture,  
LSE, May 10th 2016

Danny Dorling

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and the  
Environment

University of Oxford



## OBAMA'S SCARY BEDTIME STORY



And then your  
little country left  
the EU and was  
*never* heard of  
again

What is a  
confused  
young  
person to  
believe?

Private Eye 29<sup>th</sup> April 2016  
Cover of issue 1417, Image of small  
boy blurred to protect anonymity 😊

# The UK has the widest inequality in the EU.

The best-off 10% take 28% of all income, half of that is taken by the 1% best-off.

Sources: OECD (2015), UNU-WIDER (2014), UNDP (2014), UNSD (2015), Eurostat (2014)

<http://www.statisticsviews.com/details/feature/8493411/Understanding-Income-Inequality-and-its-Implications-Why-Better-Statistics-Are-N.html>



THE MAN AT THE TOP:  
"Equality of sacrifice - that's the big idea friends!  
Let's all step down one rung!"



United Kingdom	28.0
Portugal	25.9
France	25.3
Greece	25.1
Italy	24.7
Spain	24.4
Ireland	23.8
Germany	23.5
Switzerland	23.2
Netherlands	22.4
Sweden	21.9
Austria	21.6
Finland	21.5
Belgium	20.8
Denmark	20.8
Norway	20.6
Slovenia	20.0

“The official  
‘Remain’ campaign  
feels lame and is  
lacking in passion.”

Posters courtesy of Wolfgang Tillmans -the first  
non-English person awarded the Turner Prize

<http://www.dezeen.com/2016/04/26/wolfgang-tillmans-eu-referendum-posters-anti-brexit-campaign-uk-remain/>



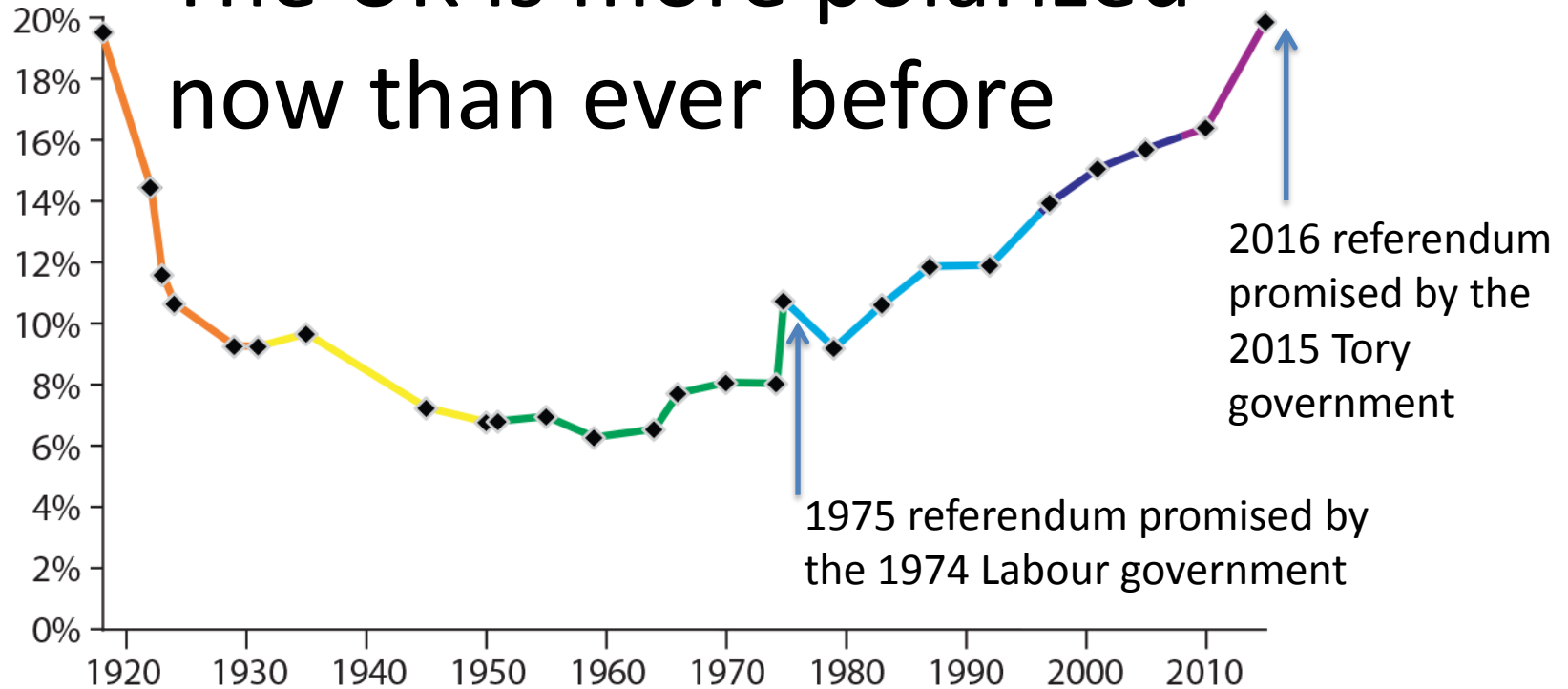
For 60 years  
the E.U. has  
been the  
foundation  
of peace  
between  
European  
neighbours.

Say you're in if you're in. This  
one's important:  
If the UK leaves Europe it'll  
send a strong message to  
haters of European values.  
It's not about 'same old' but  
about pulling through  
together.

Register to vote  
before June 07

After  
centuries of  
bloodshed.

# The UK is more polarized now than ever before



*Note:* The statistic being measured is the segregation index of Conservative votes across all British seats at each general election. The proportion is the minimum number of voters who would have to be moved across constituency boundaries to ensure that within each parliamentary constituency the Conservatives received exactly the same share of the vote.



EU 28 states, candidate states, pre-candidate, EEA, EMU and Schengen area... coloured by year of entry (rainbow scale)

## WHO WANTS TO LEAVE

“I ONCE ASKED RUPERT MURDOCH WHY HE WAS SO OPPOSED TO THE EUROPEAN UNION.

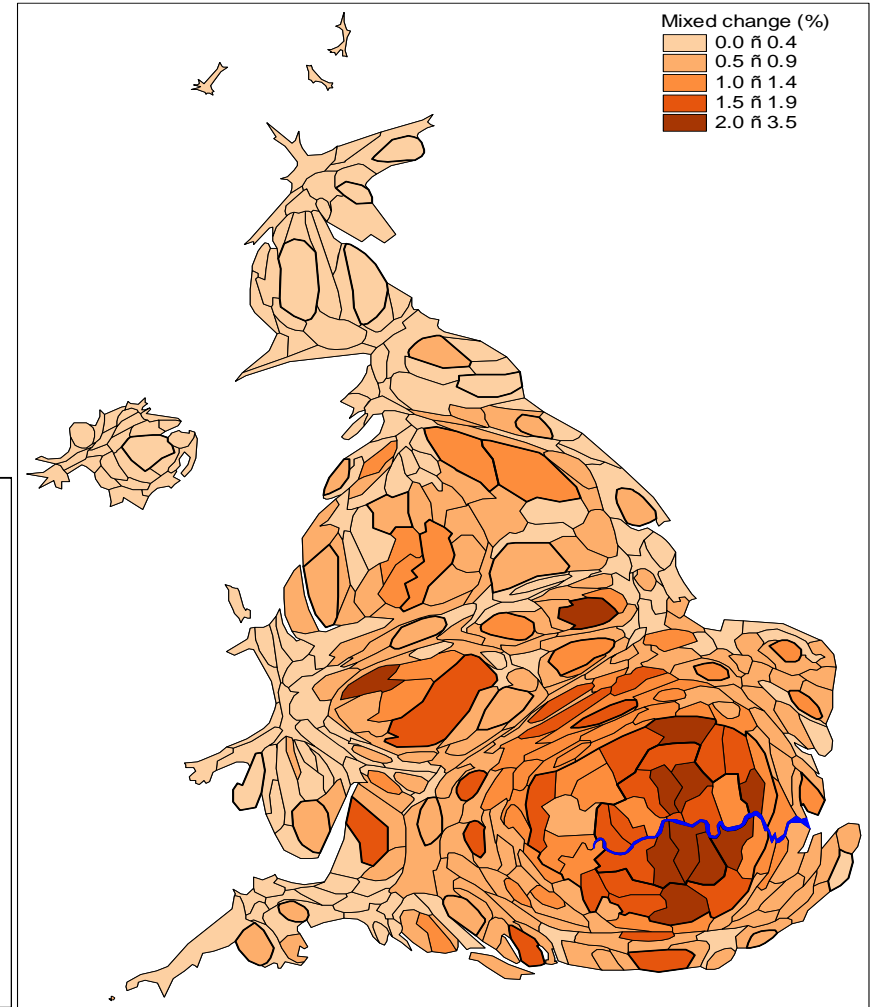
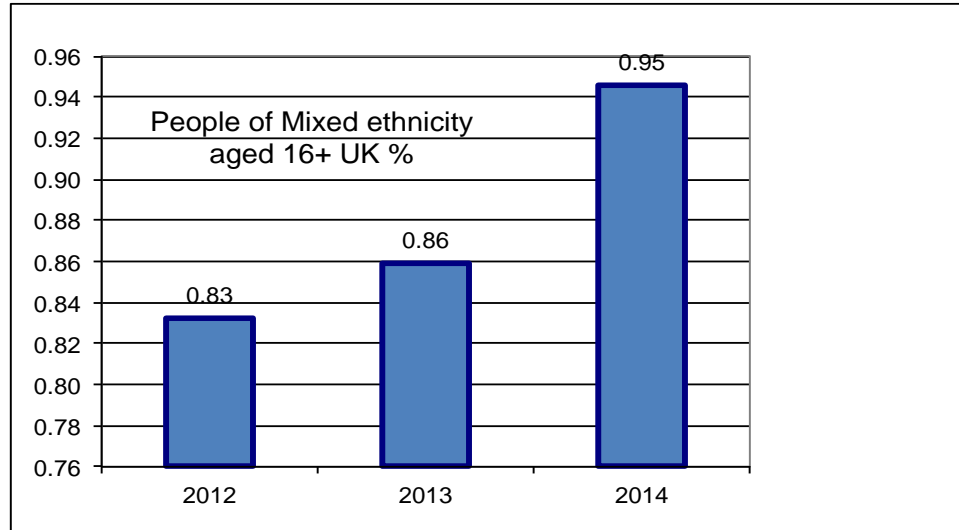
‘THAT’S EASY’ HE REPLIED.

‘WHEN I GO INTO DOWNING STREET THEY DO WHAT I SAY; WHEN I GO TO BRUSSELS THEY TAKE NO NOTICE.’

In order to vote you have to register before  
7th of June at [www.gov.uk/register-to-vote](http://www.gov.uk/register-to-vote)

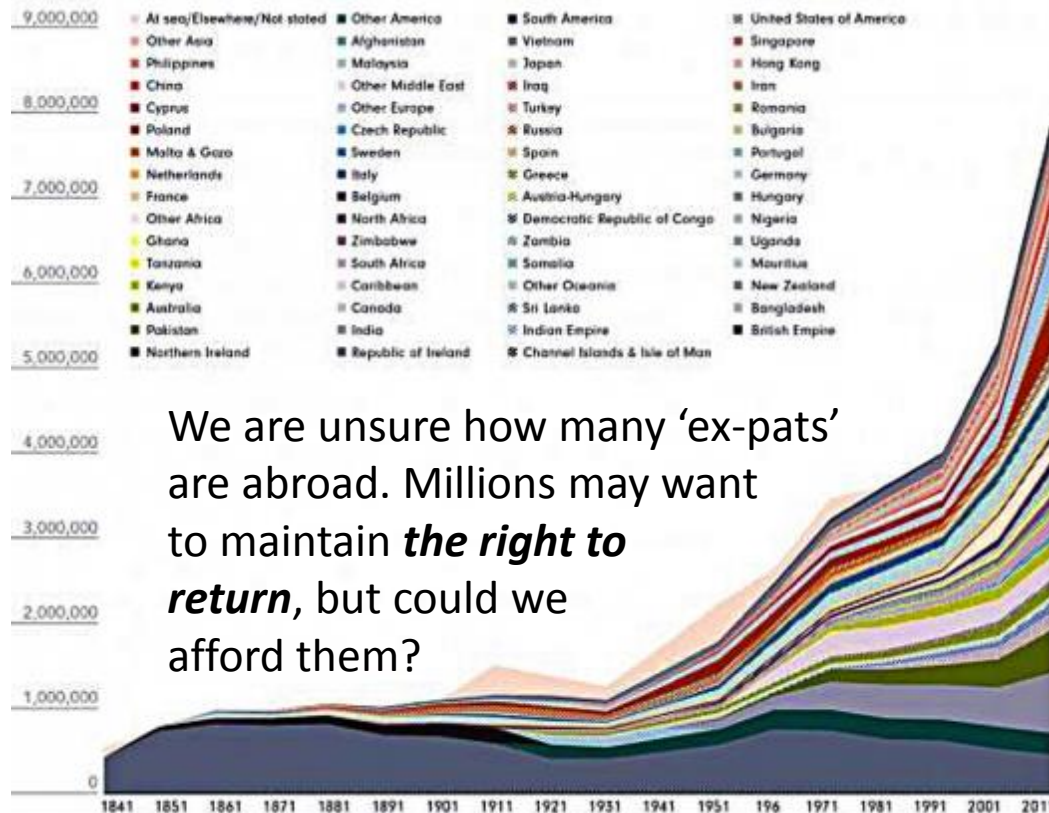


The UK is splitting between a London commuter-belt, and an archipelago of often economically declining cities. But all the time the population is mixing. In this case ethnically:





# 'mobility' to the UK 1841-2011 – the issue?



We are unsure how many 'ex-pats' are abroad. Millions may want to maintain *the right to return*, but could we afford them?

## Rupert Murdoch can buy the British government.

<https://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/politics/rupert-murdoch-buys-the-british-government-the-best-reason-to-stay-in-the-eu-yet-1054672886>

Say you're in if you're in. This one's important:  
If the UK leaves Europe it'll quit the largest peace  
project in human history. It's not about 'same old'  
but about pulling through together.

Register to vote before **June 07**

## But not a union of 28 countries.

# the UK fares unfavourably in the EU in terms of health, education, housing...

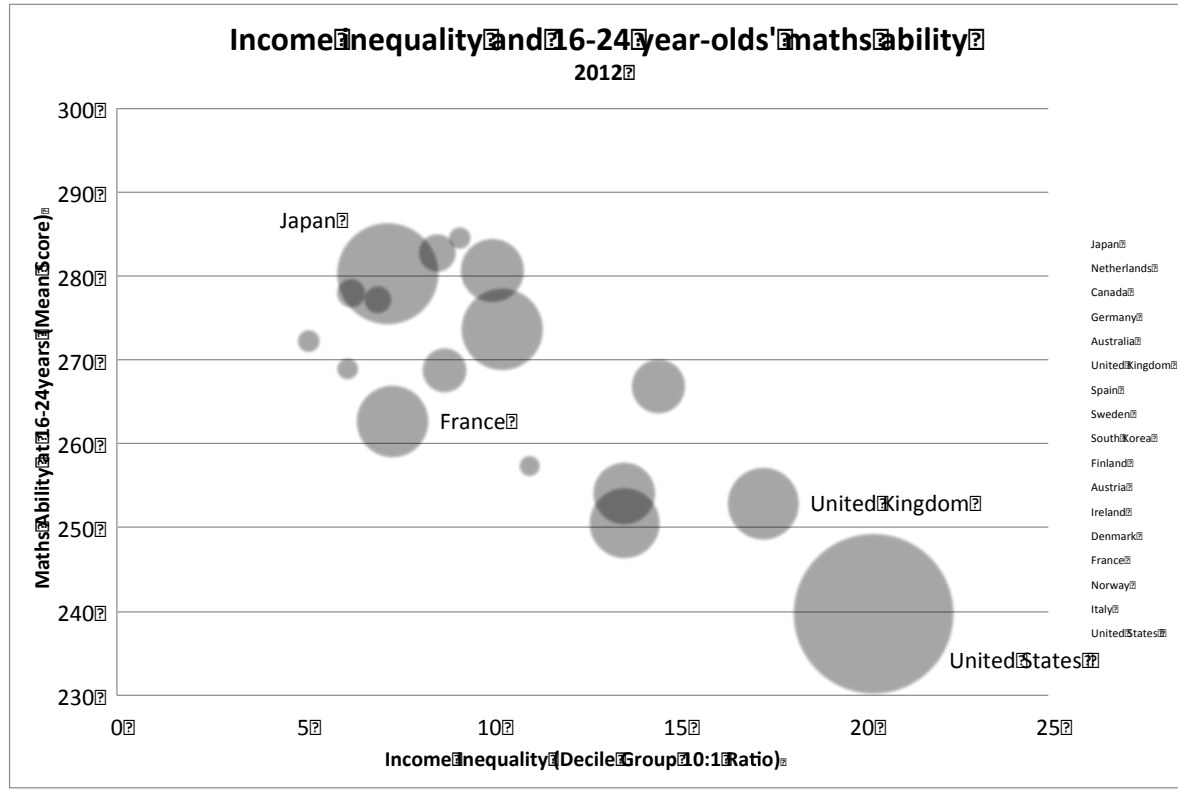
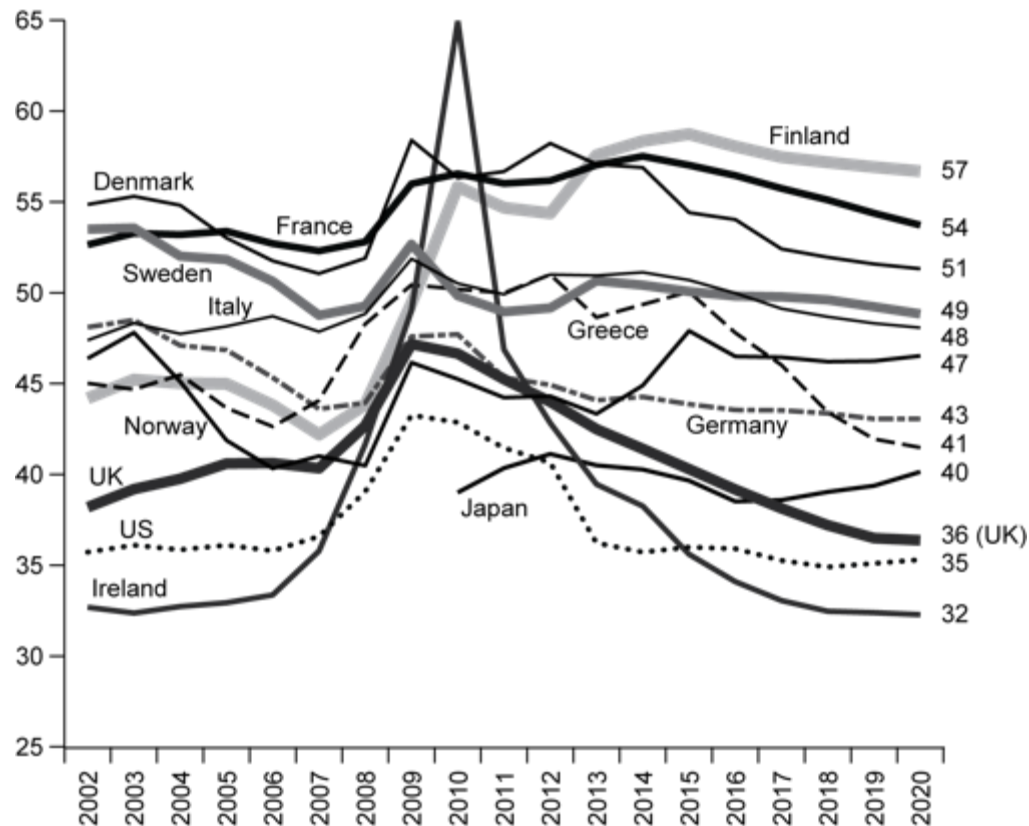


Figure 2: State spending as a proportion of GDP, twelve rich countries  
2002–2020 (%)



Source: The 2010, 2012 and 2015 IMF database, projections after 2014

# What is lost is lost forever.

Say you're in if you're in.  
This one's important:  
If the UK leaves Europe  
it may spell the end of  
the largest peace project  
in human history. It's not  
about 'same old' but  
about pulling through  
together.

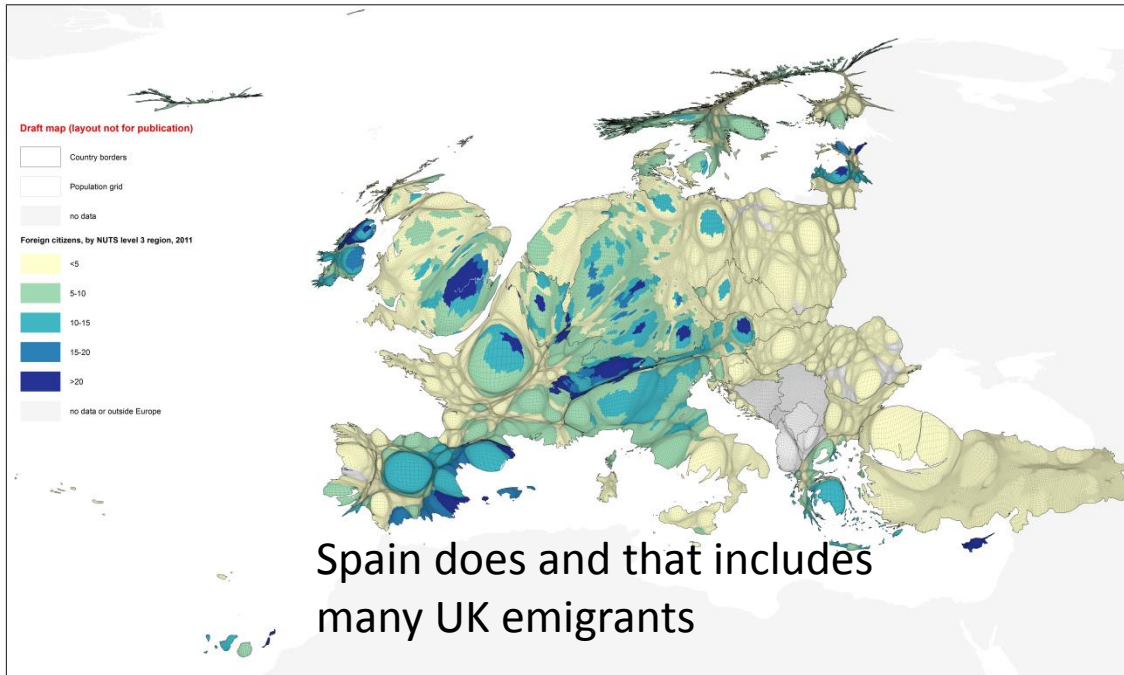
Register to vote  
before **June 07**

# The NHS is very efficient and very poorly resourced – despite the UK having a large banking sector – **why?**

Of the twelve affluent nations compared in the figure above, the UK is one of the very lowest in spending on health. Only Greece and Italy spend (slightly) less per person when private and state health spending are combined. Elsewhere in Europe health spending per person is twice as much in Switzerland as in the UK in 2013, and it was 81% higher in Norway, 59% higher in the Netherlands, 49% higher in Germany, 41% higher in Denmark, and 27% higher in France. The UK commits less money per head than any comparable country to healthcare.

See page 139 of “A better politics” (2016: LPP): <http://londonpublishingpartnership.co.uk/a-better-politics/>

Outside of London and Oxford  
the UK does not have a high  
proportion of 'foreign born'  
(2014)

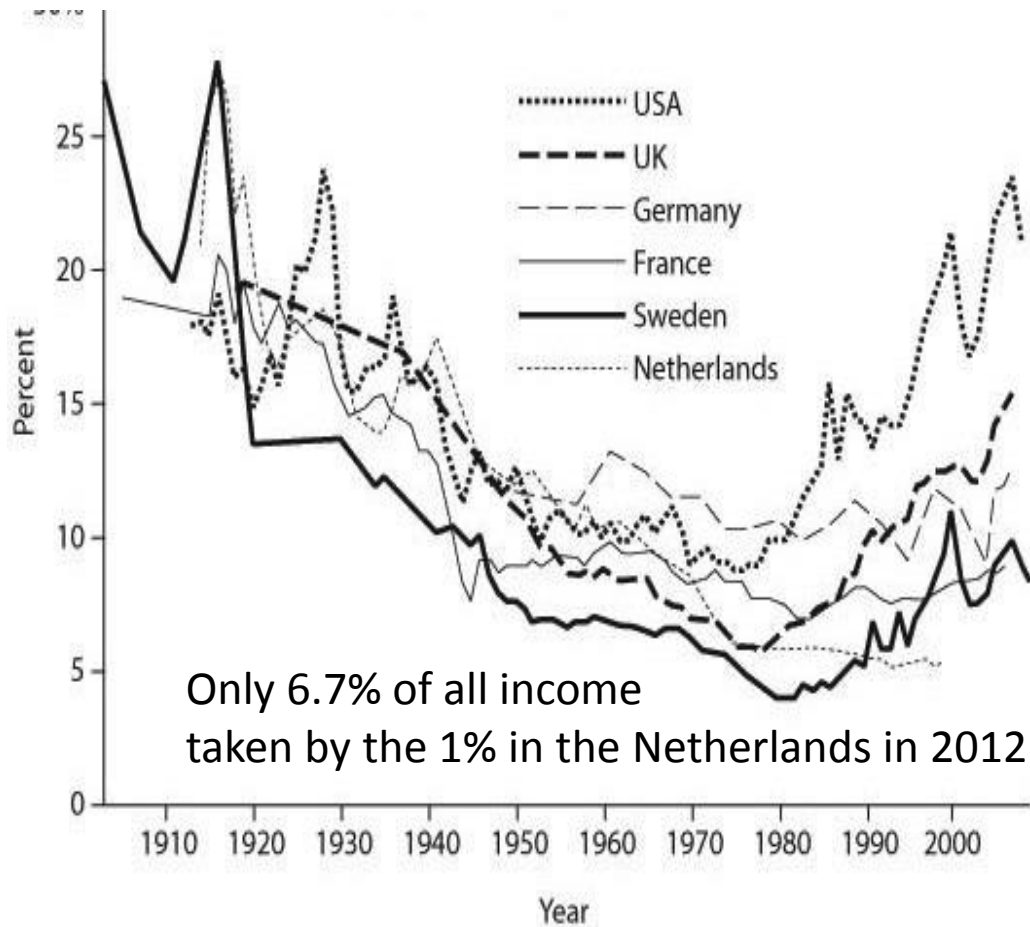


**This vote is not about  
bureaucracy.**

**Not about things that  
don't work well, that  
are still flawed.**

**This vote is about  
our core values,  
about saying yes or no  
to democracy, human  
rights and solidarity.**

**Pick your side.**

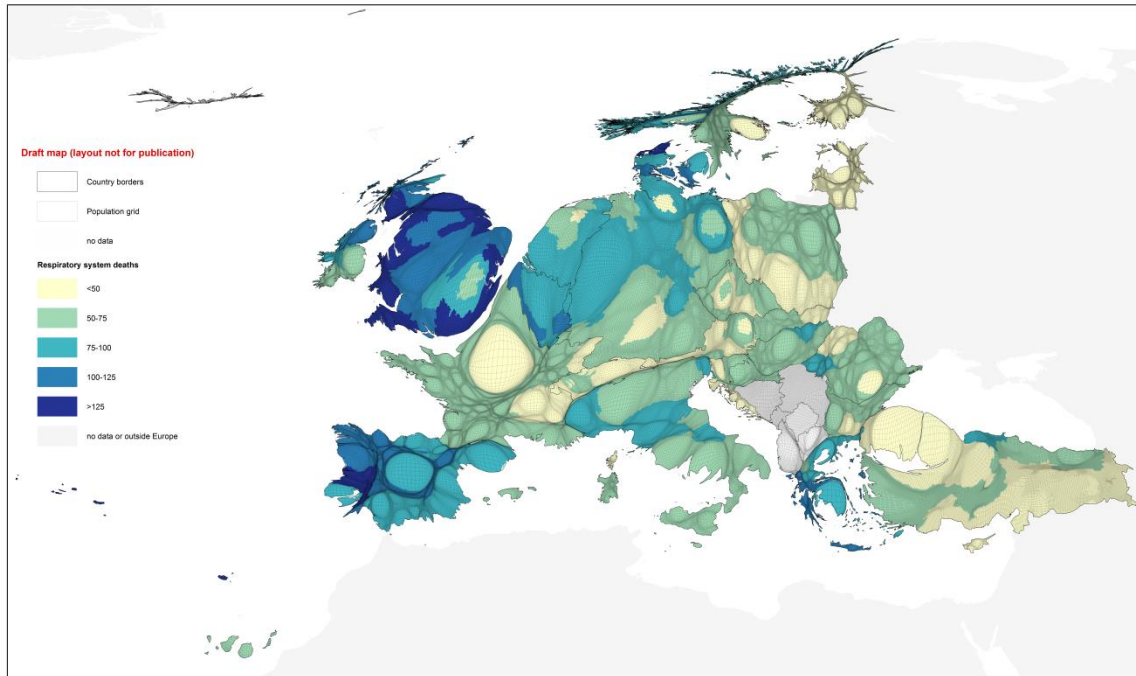


Source: Atkinson, Piketty and Saez, 2012

It was not the EU that made us less equal, creating the social problems that result from growing inequality.



Our health is poorer than in much of the rest of Europe. See: respiratory disease death rates in recent years per 100,000 people per year (esp. 2015):



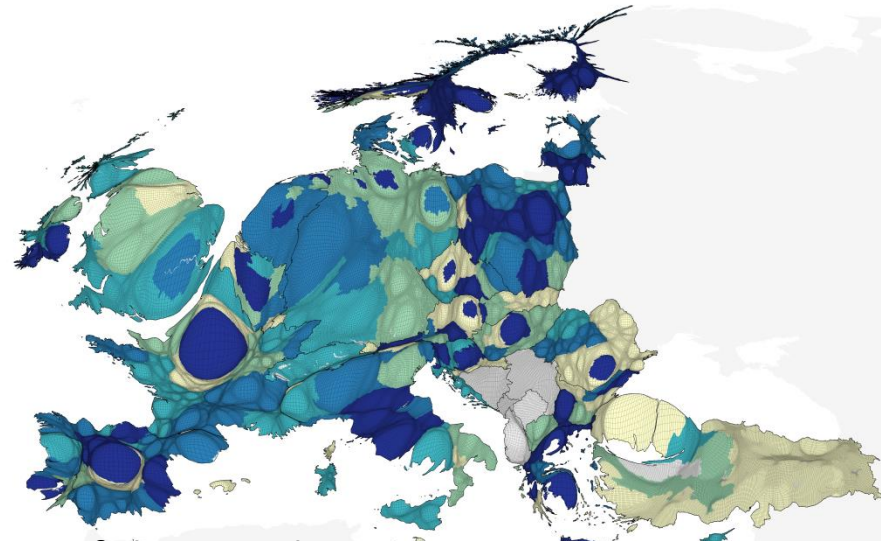
THE E.U. IS A BIG  
TRADING CLUB IN  
WHICH THE MEMBERS  
SET THE RULES.  
IF WE LEAVE, WE WILL  
STILL HAVE TO  
FOLLOW THE RULES,  
BUT WE WILL HAVE NO  
SAY IN MAKING THEM.

HAVE YOUR SAY.

The E.U. referendum is on the 23rd of June.  
**But** in order to vote you have to register until  
**June 07** at [www.gov.uk/register-to-vote](http://www.gov.uk/register-to-vote)

It helps those who promote inequality to blame our EU membership for so much that is wrong in our society.

But the EU did not demand that we charge £9000 a year plus interest to go to university, which results in so few going as compared to the rest of Europe recently:



Proportion of the population at university in 2010.  
Dark blue is the highest rate, not found in the UK.

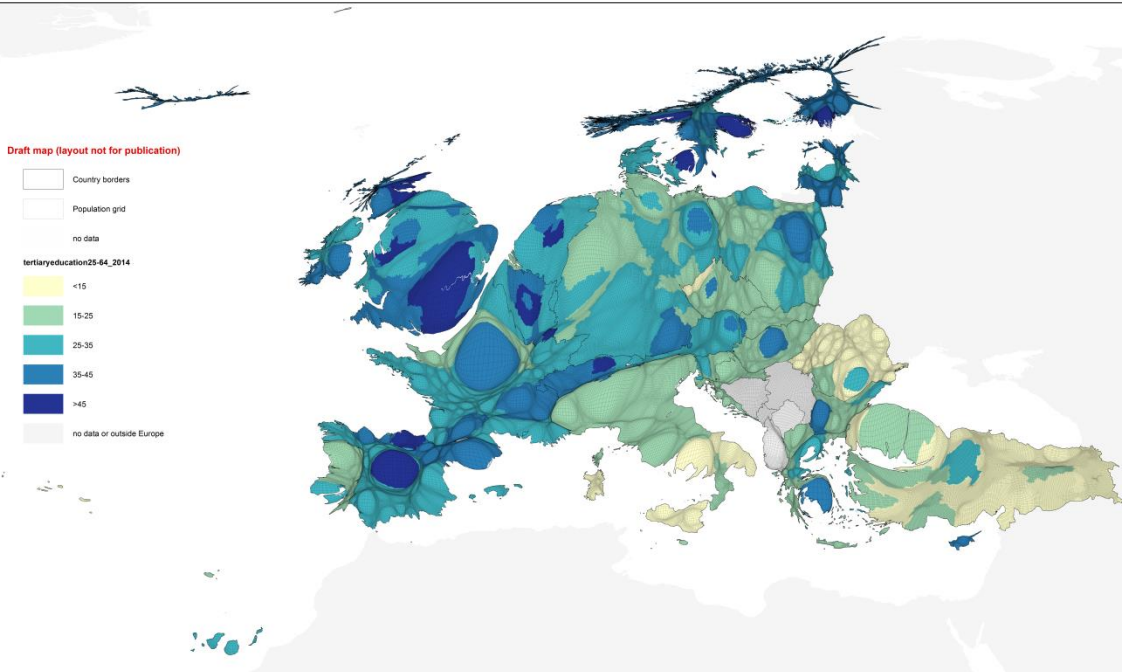
# We do far better for postgraduate students (aged 25+, PhDs...)

MY FATHER'S POLISH,  
MY MUM'S FROM SPAIN,  
I STUDIED IN BERLIN,  
NOW LIVE IN THE UK.

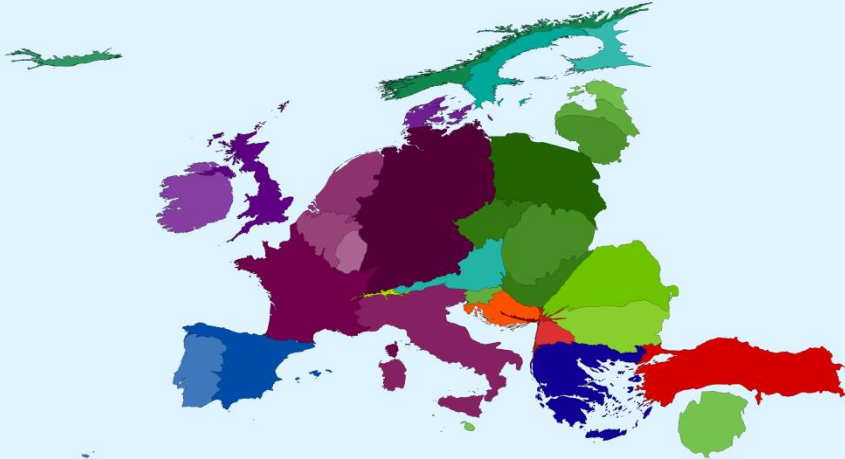
IT'S NEVER BEEN A  
HASSLE TO DO SO.

AND I DONT WANT IT  
TO BE.

COUNT ME IN.



Staying will not necessarily solve our problems, but leaving will not be a panacea either.



Countries sized by outgoing students in 2012

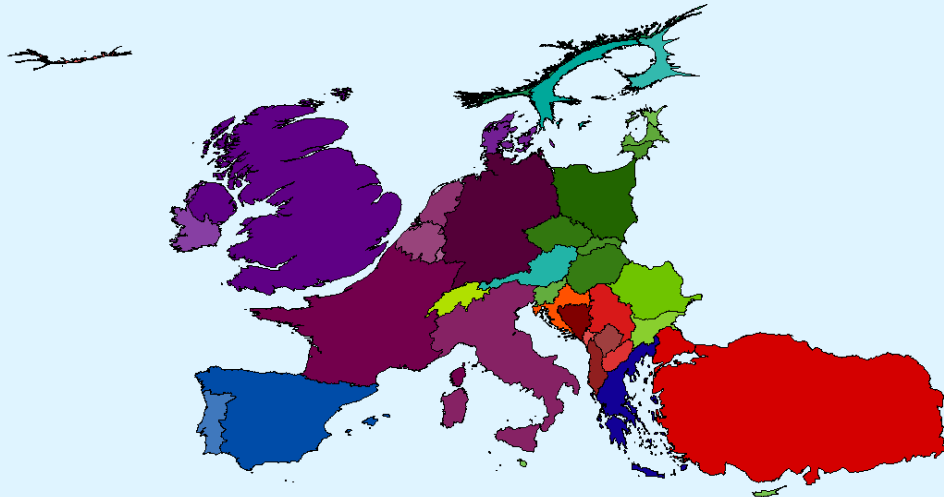


Countries sized by incoming students in 2012



# Are you afraid of losing your national identity/culture?

## Map of: “Very much afraid (2008)”



... Countries sized by the number of people who said they were “very afraid” in 2008...

Very much afraid

Top five (%)

Turkey	38.5
United Kingdom	34.7
Kosovo	28.5
Ireland	26.5
FYR Macedonia	22.0

Bottom five (%)

Estonia	9.7
Lithuania	7.4
Norway	6.6
Netherlands	6.1
Slovakia	5.8

**The EU has brought peace to 28 member states.  
In Poland or Hungary the EU is seen as the last defence against their authoritarian governments.  
Don't leave them alone.**

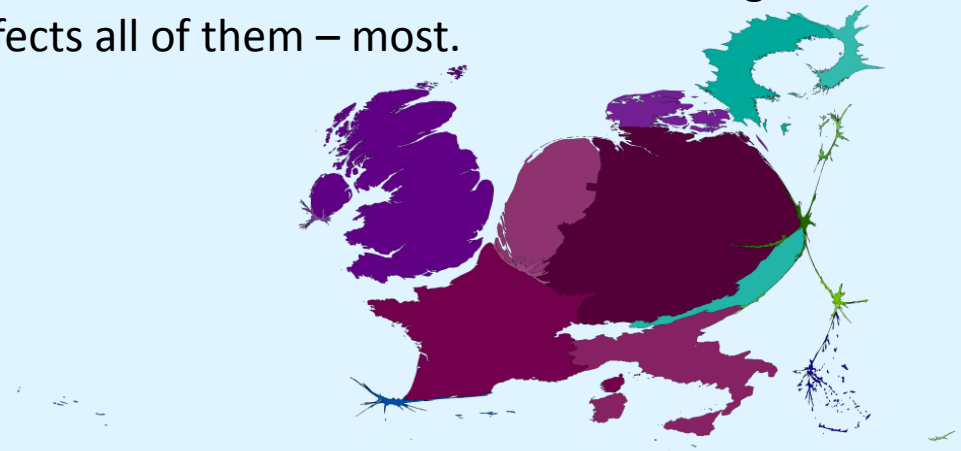
**Cooperation, not confrontation.**

# Who pays in the most and who votes?

- And why does anyone who had a vote in the 1975 European Economic Community Referendum have a second vote now? Anyone aged 60+
- Why do 16 and 17 year olds, non-British and Irish EU Citizens living in the UK, and prisoners get no vote? It effects all of them – most.

Top five (Euros per resident population)

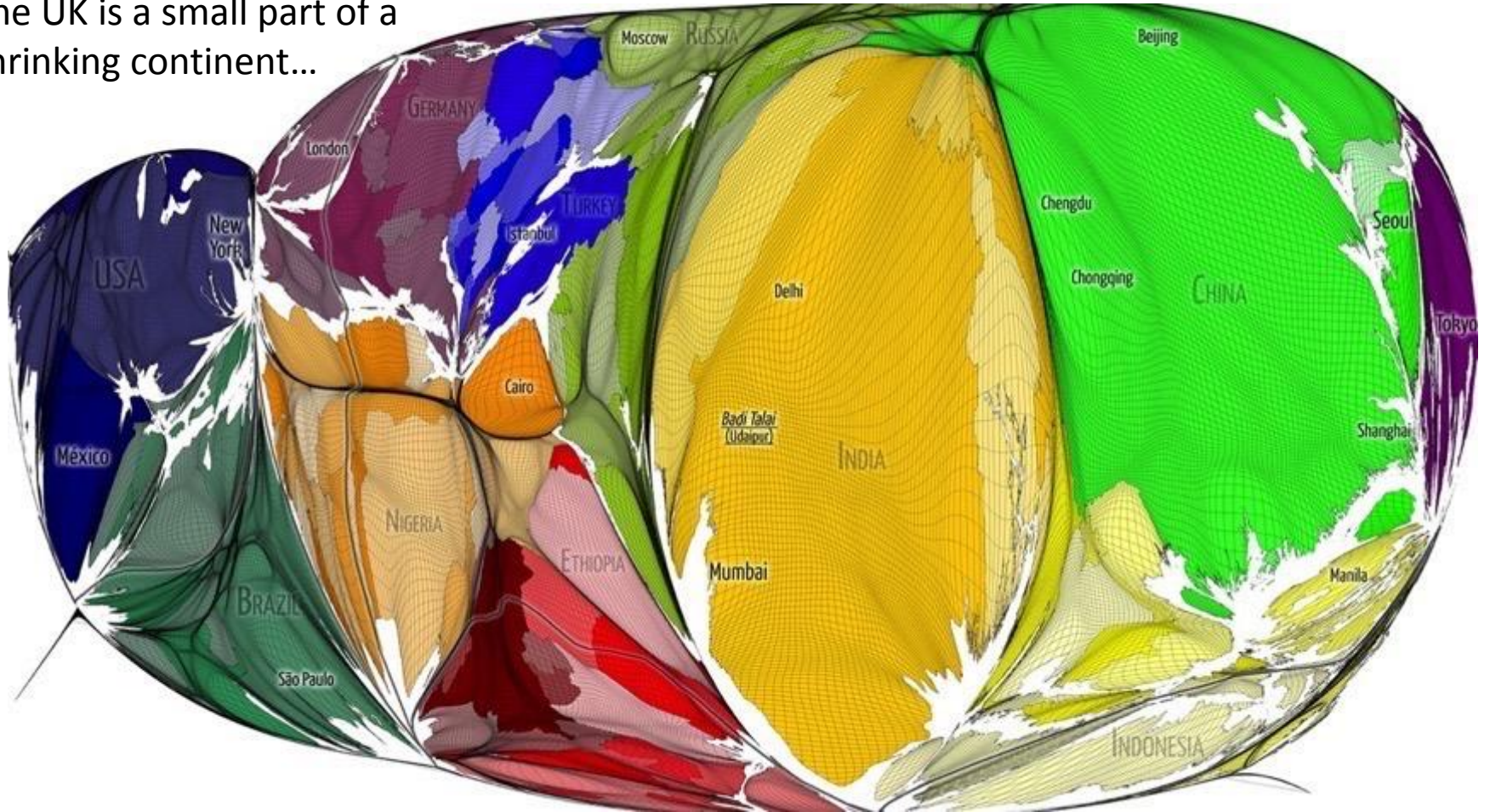
Sweden	263.22
Denmark	259.70
Netherlands	254.42
Germany	201.76
United Kingdom	166.80



Countries sized by the amount of funds going (net) into the EU budget (2013)

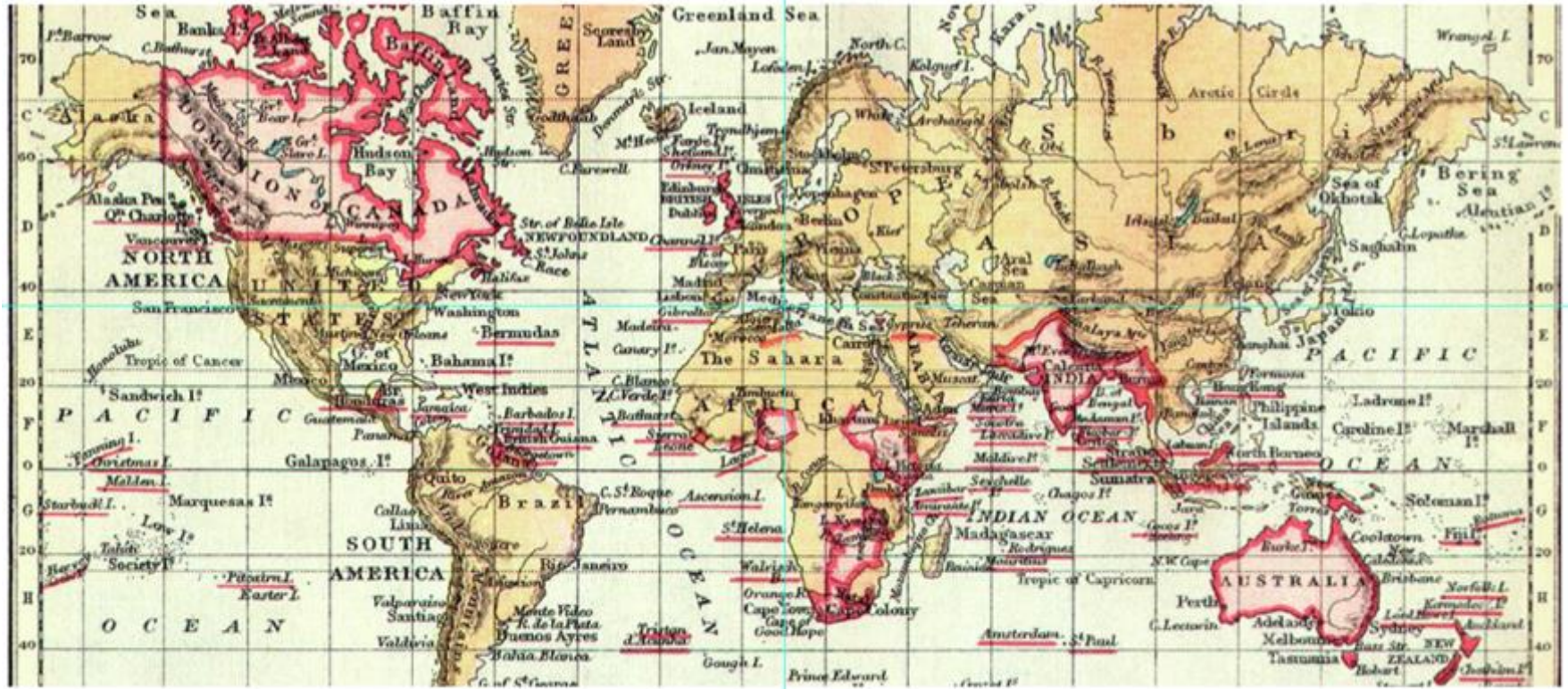


The UK is a small part of a  
shrinking continent...





# The pink bits of 1897 are no more



"Pink Bits 1897" - <http://www.britishempire.co.uk/maproom/pinkbits1897.htm>

# We shed a tear in 1997 .. and left...



Politics is difficult for a country that no longer rules the seas. (Although we keep our tax havens close at hand still).

But, from national shame at Suez to the embarrassment of the Panama papers, the UK is stumbling forward towards normality and finding the route hard to follow, because it is rarely travelled – few countries have to adapt to no longer being central.



And so we try to keep the children out again, as some tried in 1939, despite our continent shrinking in population



*And despite our complicity with what lead to exodus. ....We send gunboats again. Photograph by Dimitris Ballas, taken April 3<sup>rd</sup> 2016, Mytilini, Lesvos, Greece.*

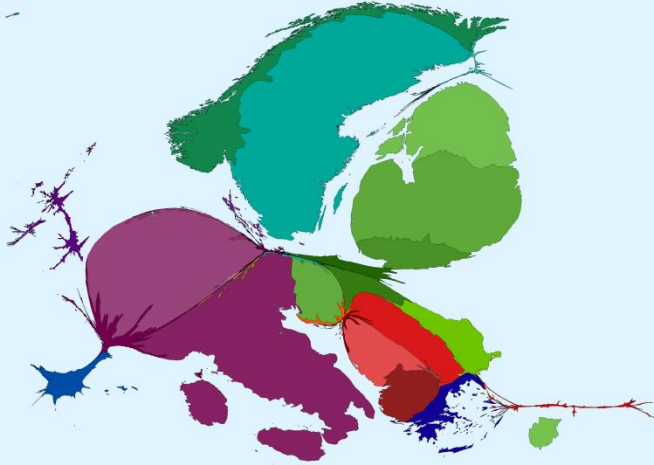


*Photograph by Phil Jones, super-hero cape supplied by Sheffield University students who were visiting the camp as part of a Geography field-trip. Photograph taken with parents' permission.*

# Predicting voting begins with Eurovision

Sing along tonight  
with the chorus of  
the UK' entry:

....You're not alone  
– we're in this  
together...



Map shows  
Votes 2015 (UK 5 –  
Sweden 365)

“Joe and Jack”: Jake Woolford aged 20 is from Stoke-on-Trent, whilst Joe Shakeshaft aged 21 is from Ruthin, Wales. Tonight: live from 8pm from Stockholm in Sweden is the first semi-final of the Eurovision Song Contest: “Eighteen acts take to the stage, but only ten will make it through to the grand final on Saturday.” (May 16<sup>th</sup> final)

<http://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/profiles/5cfG17v5GF5q9gL9mHh8Q2C/united-kingdom>



There is to be a new voting  
system of 2016: Organisers  
say this will create a more  
dramatic finish as the  
winning song will only be  
revealed at the end.

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