Disbanding the tribes:
What the referendum told us about Britain
(and what it didn't)

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1. *Introduction: Why Leave Won*

On 23rd June 2016, Britain voted to leave the European Union, by 17,410,742 votes to 16,141,241. It was a closely contested referendum campaign. Even as the polls closed, nobody could be sure which way the decision would go. Leave won a narrow but decisive victory – yet could easily have narrowly lost the referendum too.

It was a referendum where the campaigns mattered. A campaign that ended in a narrow 52% to 48% verdict could easily have resulted in a 49% to 51% decision the other way around. The political consequences would have been very different, in terms of our membership of the European Union, though the challenges of responding to the economic, political and social divides illuminated by the referendum would have been pretty similar.

Indeed, if you had told those leading either campaign, a month before polling day, that there would be over 16 million votes for Remain, both sides would have guessed that that would be enough to deliver a narrow victory to stay in. That would have been the case, had turnout remained similar to the 65% level of the General Election. But almost three million more people cast a vote in the 2016 referendum than the General Election a year earlier, boosting turnout to 72%, the strongest level of participation in a UK-wide vote since 1992. This expanded electorate was crucial to Leave's million-plus vote margin of victory - contrary to prevailing assumptions about how turnout could affect the outcome. A distinctively low turnout, if half of the electorate stayed at home, might have helped Leave too, since it had a more motivated and mobilised core support.

Remain strategists spent much of the campaign worrying about differential turnout and did succeed in getting most 'soft Remain' leaners, who had taken part in the General Election, to see that voting in the referendum mattered as much. Leave won in large part because it helped to expand the electorate. Many people cast their first ever vote in the referendum, or their first vote for a quarter of a century. Those who were returning to the ballot box after a long period of not bothering voted heavily for Leave[i].

So the referendum proved what is often disputed: that voting does make a difference. That the vote to Leave, on that distinctively high turnout, was a democratic choice is something that even many of those most disappointed by the result must acknowledge. Yet the vote and its aftermath also show how democratic politics can be divisive when big issues are at stake. Politics is about how we make collective decisions for our society and, by definition, not everybody can get everything that they want. A democratic society also depends for its cohesion on how we handle big, sometimes foundational disagreements; about how those who voted for the losing side handle that disappointment; and about how the victors reach out to those who supported their opponents in the campaign.

The vote divided Britain by class, education and region. The choice polarised those at different ends of debates about sovereignty and identity, immigration and internationalism. But neither Leave nor Remain voters were a homogenous group: while there were clear trends, both were made up of voters of different ages, social class and political leanings. Regions with similar socio-economic characteristics voted very differently to each other. Voters prioritized the issues and arguments that were important to them personally.

They made a pragmatic choice too about the question on the ballot paper: whether being in the European Union continued to be the best way to pursue Britain's interests and values. The British had never been entirely convinced by the European project, having joined it late and for more transactional reasons than other members of the club. Yet the majority had remained 'stay-in sceptics' across those four decades, on the grounds that the frustrations and downsides were a price worth paying for the economic benefits.

Remain lost in 2016 because its trump card – the economic risks of leaving – did not prove quite enough to secure a majority, even though many people agreed it was uncertain and unclear what a leave vote would mean. While Remain made a clear and, to many, persuasive case that there would be economic risks involved in the process of leaving the club, that became almost the sole focus of the campaign. The campaign did much less to try to secure a vote of confidence in the long-term benefits of remaining in, nor to engage with the broader themes of identity, belonging and sovereignty that were also important to voters.

"Trust the experts" had proved a winning approach in the previous referendum forty years ago – but a broad elite consensus proved less effective in the less deferential Britain of 2016. Those bemoaning a descent into "post-truth politics" risk missing the point. People didn't necessarily doubt that the experts had expertise in the subjects on which they are experts. People heard the advice from the International Monetary Fund, the Bank of England, the Treasury and the commanding heights of the FTSE 100 about the economic impacts. But those warnings did not feel, particularly to those who are struggling economically and have little sense that they have much to lose, like a compelling reason to cast their own vote for the status quo, giving Westminster and Brussels a signal to carry on with more of the same.

So Remain won the referendum argument when it was talking to graduate Britain - but lost the argument when it wasn't. Levels of education in Britain today are higher than they have ever been, with one in four people having been to university, so that was never going to be enough to win a majority verdict. The generation gap in the referendum voting reflects, to a large extent, the distribution of education across different generations. But it would be patronising to claim that people didn't understand what was at stake. The argument for the economic benefits of the single market was important – but the trade-off with the ability to control immigration split voters down the middle. Leave's core argument for control and for change proved more tangible and compelling than the case for British influence by having a seat at the table of the multilateral club.

Leave did win the argument on immigration – where Remain struggled to engage, because its strategy was to change the subject as quickly as possible, meaning it never set out any clear plan to manage immigration better. Leave campaigners got it both right and wrong for the majority on immigration, striking a chord with the public when Michael Gove, Gisela Stuart and Boris Johnson were talking about control, and the benefits of migration for Britain. Most people wanted immigration debated fully in the referendum – yet two-thirds of people worried about the tone that the debate took. The warnings about Turkish migration were considerably more polarising, and it is clear that Nigel Farage's controversial 'Breaking Point' poster will have repelled more support than it gained.

The Leave majority does amount to a public vote of no confidence in how governments have handled immigration over the last decade. It reflects a public perception that governments did not predict or adequately prepare for the scale and pace of immigration, and proved they did not have a grip by making and breaking promises that were impossible to keep. But there is clear evidence in these post-referendum findings that such frustration with governments and politicians does not equate to a xenophobic anti-migrant majority vote. The post-referendum attitudes evidence is clear that strong majorities want future policies to manage immigration and its impacts better, not to close the borders. 84% of people – across both Remain and Leave – think it is vital to let European nationals in Britain know that they are welcome to stay.

What happens next?

Britain will leave the European Union. All attempts to prevent that outcome are likely to fail – because there will be a strong public and political view, shared by many of those who wish the outcome had been different, that what people voted for must be respected. So Brexit will mean Brexit – but there will now be many new debates at home, and negotiations abroad, to determine what Brexit means. Defining and delivering Brexit is the biggest challenge faced by the British state since 1945 and it will surely dominate the agenda of the Government and of Parliament, while Prime Minister Theresa May remains determined that her Government is not defined by Brexit.

Government ministers including Boris Johnson and Liam Fox will be sent abroad to make the case that Britain's decision to leave the European Union does not mean that it is withdrawing from the world. Their task will be to negotiate constructively with European governments and deepen engagement with the world beyond the EU too. That approach will resonate with many Leave voters, and reassure many Remain voters too: but promoting this global vision of Britain depends on winning the argument at home too. Those making the case for Britain remaining an outward-looking nation need to show how the benefits can be spread across regions and classes much more strongly than at present.

A core challenge for post-Brexit politics must also involve deepening the public

conversation about immigration. The referendum did give people a voice on an issue about which, they felt, they do not usually get to have a say. The vote should be the start, not the end, of deepening public engagement with the choices that we now make. Those who want to secure political consent for migration will need to make a public case about how to manage the pressures and to secure the gains of immigration, and how that connects to the One Nation debates about opportunity and integration in Britain.

Finally, it will be essential to open up the debate about Brexit across and beyond party politics if it is to address the social and political divisions of post-referendum Britain. So far, Brexit has had immediate, enormous and dramatic political reverberations – with the resignation of the Prime Minister and dramatic leadership contests in almost every political party. The first weeks of Brexit have been addressed primarily through the lens of party politics. A government with a slender majority will need to engage beyond its own party to build secure foundations – but the new Prime Minister should also now set out this Autumn how getting Brexit right can be a national project, not a party political one.

2. Public attitudes and political outcomes

There was much disagreement between supporters of Leave and Remain, but it would be wrong to describe the referendum as one in which the two entrenched sides in a culture war finally got to slug it out in battle. More than four in ten voters started off undecided and waited to see what both sides had to say before making their minds up.

New ICM polling, conducted for British Future over the weekend immediately after the referendum vote, finds that a quarter (26%) of voters only decided for Leave or Remain during the final four-week campaign, split evenly between the two sides, with another 16% saying they decided before the campaign started. 58% had made up their minds before that, saying they were 'always going to vote this way'.

Both campaigns faced criticism, including from among their own supporters, for the tone, the tactics and the arguments they used – or the concerns that they failed to engage.

Tone of the two campaigns
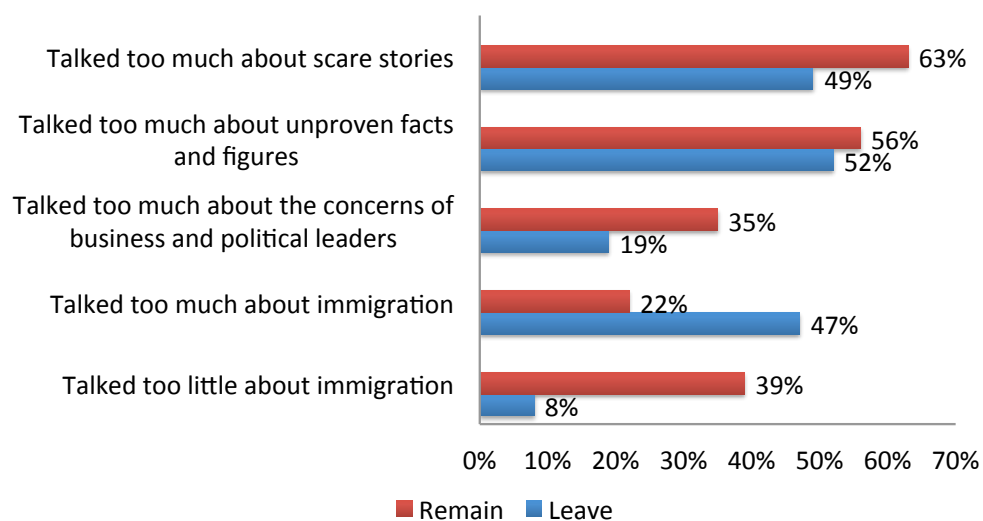
Source: ICM poll for British Future June 2016

Nearly two-thirds (63%) of people thought that Remain focused too much on scare stories, including half (50%) of those who backed the campaign to stay in the EU - perhaps underlining that Leave's 'project fear' message resonated more strongly than warnings about the economy. A majority (56%) thought Remain talked too much about unproven facts and figures, including 41% of people who voted to stay in the EU.

Half the public (52%) thought that the Leave campaign talked too much about unproven facts and figures, including a third (32%) of Leave voters and three-quarters (75%) of Remainers. A similar number (49%) felt that Leave focused too much on scare stories, including nearly three in ten Leave voters (28%). Around a third (37%) of people thought that Leave had too little to say about the economy, including a quarter (25%) of people who voted Leave.

Remain was perceived as being too focused on the concerns of business and political leaders by third (35%) of all voters, including a fifth (20%) of those who voted to stay in the EU. This problem was only emphasized by Remain's choice of messengers – the PM and Chancellor, business leaders and economic experts – who failed to connect with the everyday concerns of those lower-paid voters for whom the economy was not working out so well.

There was shared disappointment, too, with the tone in which the referendum debate discussed immigration. Around two-thirds (64%) of people felt that the referendum campaign became 'dangerously overheated' in this respect, with a third feeling this 'very strongly'. A majority of Leave voters (52%) and UKIP supporters (53%) agreed that the debate on immigration in the campaign became dangerously overheated, with 80% of Remain voters feeling this way.

"The tone of the immigration debate became dangerous overheated"
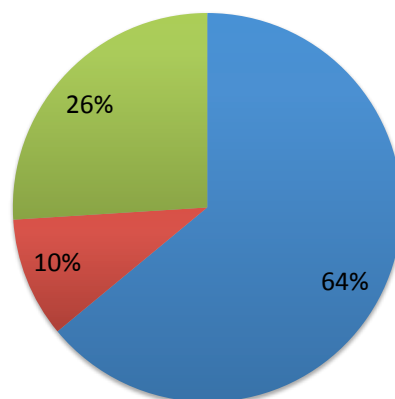
Source: ICM poll for British Future June 2016

Around two-thirds of the public (64%) felt that the referendum campaign risked creating prejudice and division, with half (50%) of Leave voters in agreement. 61% of Remain voters felt this very strongly.

For many, that was epitomized in the 'Breaking Point' poster, launched by UKIP's Nigel Farage towards the end of the campaign, showing a long line of thousands of Syrian refugees.

Most people (55%) thought that the poster went too far. Remain voters felt this most strongly, with 82% saying it overstepped the mark. But around a third (30%) of all Leave voters felt the same. It also divided those 'undecided Leavers' who only made up their minds to vote Leave during the campaign – 49% of them felt the poster went too far, more than the 42% who thought it was a fair way to make a point.

Crucially, though, it wasn't enough to make them change their minds about which way to vote. Overall, 62% of Leave voters felt that the poster was a fair way to make a point, with over a third (37%) of the general public in agreement. Just 12% of Remain voters agreed.

Only a quarter of the public (26%) felt that the tone of debate on immigration during the referendum was sensible and didn't cross over into prejudice. 42% disagreed, and 21% strongly so. Only 37% of Leave voters (and 44% of UKIP supporters) thought that the campaign was sensible and didn't cross over into prejudice.

But nearly half the public (48%) thought that politicians were scared to talk about immigration for fear of offending sensibilities, rising to 63% of Leave voters. Only a fifth (21%) of the public and one third (34%) of Remain voters disagreed. Clearly, voters on both sides of the referendum question recognized the need for a national conversation about immigration. But they wanted a debate, not a polarised shouting match – and a debate that was not tarnished by prejudice.

It would be a mistake to characterise the UK's referendum decision to leave the EU, however, as being only about immigration. It was, for sure, a key issue - certainly for Leave, which focused on it extensively in the closing weeks of the campaign - but our ICM research confirms what other polls had also shown: that sovereignty was the deciding factor for most Leave voters. 54% of Leave voters said that 'taking power back from Brussels' was the main reason they voted as they did, more than double the 24% who cited immigration as their number one reason.

The 'take back control' message, repeated by all the spokespeople of the Leave campaign, clearly hit home. Remain lacked a soundbite that would compete with it. For some voters, of course, that 'control' may have been control over borders and immigration - though probably not for the 22% of Leave voters who told ICM their side had talked too much about immigration during the campaign.

Just as there were Eurosceptics who wanted to hear less about immigration, there were Europhiles who felt their side needed to have more to say about it. Around three in ten (28%) Remain voters felt this way, rising to 37% of those who were undecided at first and only made up their minds during the final campaign period. Overall, four in ten people (39%) and a majority of Leave voters (53%) thought the Remain campaign talked too little about immigration.

These findings offer some counterbalance to the narrative of a 'divided nation', one in which attitudes to immigration (or even to race) represent the dividing line. With over a fifth of Leavers wanting to hear less about immigration, and nearly a third of Remainers wishing their side had engaged more on the issue, there is more common ground among voters, on both sides of the referendum debate, than people think.

There was certainly a correlation between voters' opinions on immigration and the way they voted in the referendum – but this wasn't the only determining factor.

ICM asked our representative GB sample of 2,400 people to characterise their views on immigration as a 1-10 score, with 10 meaning they see immigration as an entirely positive thing and 1 as entirely negative. Those who feel more strongly that immigration has not been good for Britain – scoring it between 1 and 3 - voted predominantly for Leave, by 72% to 20%. This group was also twice as likely to say that they did not vote, with 7% saying they didn't cast a ballot, compared to just 3% of the more pro-migration group.

The Remain campaign never really managed to connect with those voters who felt most anxious about immigration and saw leaving the EU as a way to get the numbers down. Immigration was always going to be one of the key issues of the referendum, not least because the high immigration numbers from free movement was one of the few tangible ways in which voters could understand the impact of Britain's EU membership on the country. Engaging these anxieties about immigration was challenging for a Remain campaign fronted by David Cameron, whose failed policy to reduce net migration to 'tens of thousands' had already undermined public trust in the Government's ability to control immigration. This was followed by a second exercise in over-promising and under-delivering with a renegotiation 'deal' that failed to offer the emergency brake or cap that had been initially suggested.

But Remain could have offered a more evidence that it was listening to voters' immigration anxieties, and a more coherent response to them, than it did. Instead it tried to change the subject to the economy wherever possible; it suggested that the reforms to welfare access for EU migrants secured by David Cameron would have a significant impact on numbers; and Remain advocates responded to real-life concerns about pressures on jobs, school places and housing with abstract and intangible arguments about net contribution from EU migrants which left much of the more sceptical public cold.

Remain's arguments on EU immigration resonated with the younger, educated, metropolitan voter - who was already confident that immigration brings benefits to to the UK and, crucially, was already likely to support Remain. In this it was successful - those who feel that immigration has been good for Britain, scoring it 8-10 out of 10, preferred Remain by 76% to 19%. Unfortunately for Remain, it needed to do a little more than shore up its existing support in order to win the referendum.

It is instructive, also, to look at those who bucked the trend on immigration attitudes. One-fifth (20%) of those who feel strongly that immigration has been bad for the country still voted to stay in an EU with free movement of people – most likely because they felt Out still looked too risky for the economy. And a fifth of people who feel confident about the benefits of immigration to Britain still voted to Leave, in the hope that they could take back control of decision-making from Brussels while still remaining open to the world.

So while the referendum vote did polarize to a significant extent over attitudes to immigration, there were significant minorities at either pole who didn't conform to type. And the middle 50% of the country - who give immigration a score of between 4 and 8 out of 10 - split pretty much down the middle: 44% voted to Remain while 46% voted to Leave the EU. It was this group that broadly reflected the majority views of Britain as a whole.

Most of the British public takes a nuanced view of immigration – that while it creates pressures that need to be managed, it also brings benefits to the country too. Three quarters (74%) of people agree that "*Immigration brings pressures as well as gains and our decision to Leave the EU gives us a chance to change the system. What we need now is a sensible policy to manage immigration so we control who comes here but still keep the immigration that's good for our economy and society, and maintains our tradition of offering sanctuary to refugees who need our protection*".

Voters who disagree on whether Britain should or shouldn't have voted to leave the European Union can agree on this balanced proposition about what Brexit should mean for future immigration policy. 84% of Leave voters and 69% of Remain voters agree with it; 84% of Conservative voters and 82% of UKIP voters do too. Overall, only 8% of the public disagree.

They also agree that the status of EU citizens already living in the UK was not on the ballot paper in the referendum. 84% of the British public supports letting EU migrants stay – including three-quarters (77%) of Leave voters. Among Conservatives, support for protecting the status of EU citizens in the UK and UK citizens in Europe is higher still at 85%, with 78% of UKIP supporters in agreement. Just 16% of the public think that EU citizens should be required to leave the UK and that UK citizens in Europe should return home.

Nationally, the attitudes and concerns underpinning the referendum vote are not black-and-white. There were graduates who voted for Brexit and pensioners who wanted to stay in the EU; Remain voters who wanted their concerns about immigration answered and Leave voters who worried that the immigration debate became overheated and went too far; and even in those areas that voted strongly to get out, around 40% of people still wanted to stay in. Indeed, as we explore in the next chapter, the local picture was more nuanced still.

3. *A patchwork, not a polarisation*: mapping the Leave vote

Introduction

On 23 June 2016 some 52% of voters cast their ballot in favour of leaving the European Union. Many different factors influenced decisions made at the ballot box, and those who voted Leave do not form a homogeneous social group. For some, the referendum decision was a vote of no confidence in elites and the Government, or in the EU as the best way to pursue the UK's interests; for others, their view about the UK's loss of sovereignty was the overriding factor informing their vote. The Brexit decision was also a vote of no confidence in the Remain campaign and the vision that it articulated for Britain.

For many people, their trust in the Government to manage immigration was a deciding factor in the choice that they made on 23 June. ICM polling for British Future suggests that among Leave voters, 24% stated that the main reason for their choice was that a Leave vote was "better for dealing with the level of immigration coming into the country". The same poll indicated that the most important reason for voting Leave was to take control back from Brussels.

In the days since the referendum, numerous commentators have argued that the Leave vote shows a country that is deeply divided, by age and by social class, as well as geographically and on the benefits of immigration. This narrative pits young and cosmopolitan London against the deprived post-industrial north with a population struggling to come to terms with ethnic diversity. Certainly, there were some clear socio-economic, demographic and geographic patterns in the referendum results and the extent to which immigration influenced voter choices. Multi-cultural city centres and university towns usually voted to remain in the EU, while outer-city suburbs and prosperous, rural shire counties voted to leave. Parts of England and Wales that have seen the decline in their traditional extractive and manufacturing industries also voted Leave, some of them by a large margin.

Some of the strongest support for Leave came from the towns and villages of the Fens, the agricultural heart of England. Here there has been a rapid increase in the number of EU migrants over the last 20 years, but without the infrastructure to support this population change. The large Leave vote in the Fens appears to be strongly associated with concerns about the local impact of migration. But in many parts of the UK, there appears to be little correlation between the rate of change in migrant numbers and the propensity of districts to vote Leave, even when multicultural city centres are excluded. The high Leave vote in the "left behind" post-industrial areas appears to reflect a broader range of voter concerns: about life chances and opportunity as well as the impact of globalisation on jobs and communities. In these parts of Britain the Leave vote was a reflection of concerns about immigration, but also many other social changes.

Voter patterns were also much more complicated than simple geographical divides. When broadly similar areas were compared – whether they were suburbs, shire counties or post-industrial areas - there were often significant variations in the Leave

vote, as well as concerns about immigration between areas. This patchwork suggests that some areas are better able to accommodate changes brought about by immigration than others. Post-Brexit, immigration and integration policy needs to be responsive to these different geographies.

Voting patterns

Across the UK, London, Scotland and Northern Ireland voted to remain in the EU, while Wales and the eight other English regions voted to leave. Table One sets out regional and national differences in the vote across the UK, as well as the range of votes in each area. The overall turnout was 72.2 %, some 6.1 percentage points higher than the 2015 general election.

Table One: EU Referendum results by region and nation

Region/Nation	Leave vote (%)	Remain vote (%)	District with highest % Leave vote	District with lowest % Leave vote	Difference between district with highest and lowest Leave vote (%)	% of districts where the Leave vote lay between 40% and 60%
Eastern	56.5%	43.5%	72.7% (Castle Point)	26.2% (Cambridge)	46.5	56%
East Midlands	58.8%	41.2%	75.6% (Boston)	42.4% (Rushcliffe)	33.2	51%
London	40.1%	59.9%	69.7% (Havering)	21.4% (Lambeth)	48.2	36%
North East	58%	42%	69.6% (Hartlepool)	49.3% (Newcastle)	20.3	50%
North West	53.7%	46.3%	67.5% (Blackpool)	39.6% (Manchester)	27.9	63%
South East	51.8%	48.2%	65.4% (Gravesham)	29.7% (Oxford)	35.7	79%
South West	52.6%	47.4%	63.2% (Torbay)	38.3% (Bristol)	24.9	84%
West Midlands	59.3%	40.7%	69.4% (Stoke-on-Trent)	41.2% (Warwick)	28.2	47%
Yorkshire and Humberside	57.7%	42.3%	North East Lincolnshire (69.9%)	42% (York)	27.2	57%
England	53.4%	46.6%	75.6% (Boston)	21.4% (Lambeth)[ii]	54.2	61%

Northern Ireland	44.2%	55.8%	62.2% (North Antrim)	21.7% (Foyle)	40.5	55%
Scotland	38%	62%	49.9% (Moray)	25.6% (Edinburgh)	24.3	50%
Wales	52.5%	47.5%	62% (Blaenau Gwent)	40% (Cardiff)	22	95%

In every region and nation of the UK there is a variation in the size of the Leave vote, with the spread of the vote largest in the East of England. However, in 61% of electoral districts in England, and 245 (62%) out of 395 districts across the UK, the range of votes for Leave (or Remain) fell between 40% and 60% .

In everyday terms, in 245 out of 395 electoral districts the average person could easily expect to meet approximately the same number of people who voted differently from them in their main local high street. This challenges the narrative that the referendum has shown that the UK is an increasingly divided nation.

Much post-referendum analysis has largely focused on associations between the Leave vote and a small range of factors: social grade, education, ethnicity, age, region/nation of residence and previous voting patterns. Polling data suggests that being over 65, identifying as of white ethnicity, having no post-secondary education, being of social grades C2, D and E and living in the East Midlands and Eastern England were associated with a higher likelihood of voting Leave[iii].

As previously discussed, ICM research for British Future[iv] suggests that of those who decided to vote Leave, immigration was second only to issues of sovereignty, "to take power back from Brussels[v]", in influencing their referendum decision. The same poll suggests that sovereignty becomes a more significant reason for voting to leave the EU as voters get older.

However, some of these factors in themselves - age or region of residence, for example - may not be directly associated with a propensity to vote Leave, or the likelihood that such a decision has been primarily influenced by concerns about immigration. Rather, a range of inter-related mediating factors may influence the likelihood of a person voting Leave or voting Leave because of immigration. For example, the over-65 population may be more likely to vote Leave because there are fewer graduates in that age cohort. Here education is a mediating factor influencing voter choice.

Regression analysis enables us to isolate and control for the impacts of some of these mediating factors on the propensity to Vote Leave. Langella and Manning (2016) show that a ten percentage point *increase* in the share of graduates in a district's population is associated with a 11.2 percentage point *reduction* in the Leave vote[vi]. The same analysis shows that other district level characteristics, such as the age distribution of the population and the rate of change of the overseas-born population between 1991 and 2001, had a much smaller impact on the Leave vote[vii].

The Leave vote by area typology

In addition to analysis of referendum results from the perspective of individual characteristics, a number of commentators have looked at voting patterns spatially and across different geographical areas. University towns and cosmopolitan city centres voted to remain in the EU, while outer city suburbs, commuter towns and rural shires usually voted to Leave.

Some of the strongest support for Leave came from the towns and villages of the Fens, with four of the top ten biggest Leave votes coming from this area (Table Two). Here, turnout was high and the size of the Leave vote was certainly influenced by concerns about EU migration. Annual Population Survey data for 2014 suggests 99,000 EU migrants in the districts that make up the Fens excluding the many short-term migrants from Eastern Europe and Portugal who have come as seasonal workers. In Boston, for example, the population of EU nationals at the time of the 2001 Census numbered 495 people, less than 1% of the population. Ten years later, in Census 2011, there were 7,865 EU nationals living in Boston, some 12.2% of the population. While Boston is exceptional in the scale of population change, South Holland, Fenland and Peterborough council areas also saw a growth in their overseas born population of more than 100% between 2001 and 2011.

Such a large population increase in a sparsely populated area has had a major social impact, as well as putting pressures on public services such as healthcare and education. While all the local authorities concerned have devoted significant time and resources to dealing with this change, they have all faced many challenges in managing the impact of migration. A working group set up by Boston Borough Council notes:

> *Changes are noticeable by all. There has been an emergence of European convenience stores serving not only the transient population but the European families who have made Boston their home. Birth rates have increased locally and school admission numbers have gone up significantly. Many languages are now spoken in the town. There is no doubt that the scale of in-migration we have experienced means that Boston is now a very different place today than it was a few years ago. The change is viewed positively by some and neutrally or with concern by others. Community tensions have increased and are reflected by how parts of our community feel towards other parts. There is a strain on local services and we are often the subject of high media interest because of the impacts that migration has had locally[viii].*

Between 2008 and 2010 the Government administered two funds to help public services manage the local impacts of migration: the Exceptional Circumstances Grant for schools and the Migration Impacts Fund. The former grant ran between 2008 and 2011, but was only awarded to four local authorities in its last year of operation because the threshold to trigger payment was set very high.

Funded from visa fees, the Migration Impacts Fund was a grant of £50 million that aimed to help public services cope with rapid population change. However, it was not perceived as reaching frontline services such as GPs' surgeries, accident and emergency departments and local authority regulation of private rental accommodation (housing conditions and pressures on the NHS often become a focus of concerns about immigration). The Migration Impacts Fund was eventually abolished in 2010. Those who want immigration policy to work for everyone need to address the impact of large-scale migration flows into areas such the Fens. If the Government reconsiders a Migration Impacts Fund, it must be seen as reaching frontline public services.

Table Two: Top 20 Leave voting areas

Voter district	Region	Percentage Leave vote	Area typology
Boston	East Midlands	75.6%	Fenland – intensive agriculture and market town
South Holland	East Midlands	73.6%	Fenland – intensive agriculture and market town
Castle Point	East of England	72.7%	Outer city suburb/exurb, with loss of traditional industry
Thurrock	East of England	72.3%	Outer city suburb/exurb, with loss of traditional industry
Great Yarmouth	East of England	71.5%	Seaside town
Fenland	East of England	71.4%	Fenland – intensive agriculture and market town
Mansfield	East Midlands	70.9%	Loss of traditional industry
Bolsover	East Midlands	70.8%	Loss of traditional industry
East Lindsey	East Midlands	70.7%	Fenland – intensive agriculture and market town
Ashfield	East Midlands	69.8%	Loss of traditional industry
Havering	London	69.7%	Outer city suburb/exurb
Hartlepool	North East	69.6%	Loss of traditional industry
Tendring	East of England	69.5%	Seaside town

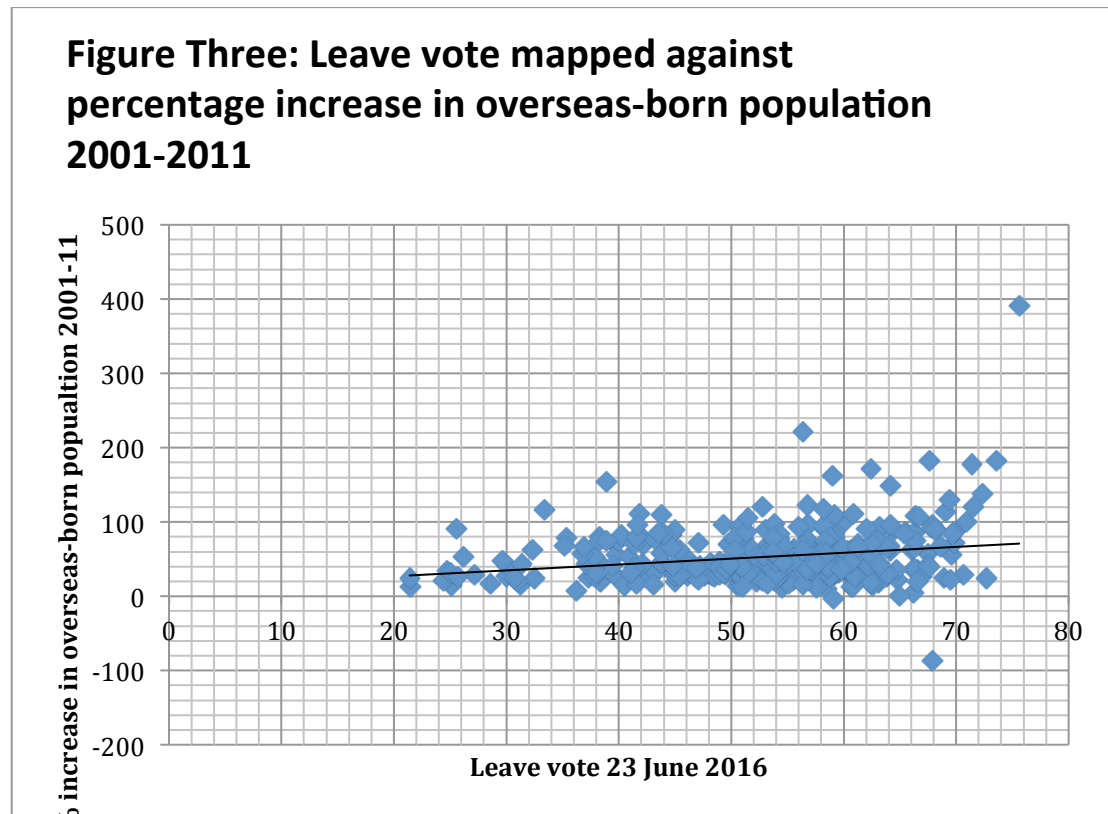| Voter district	Region	Percentage Leave vote	Area typology
Stoke-on-Trent	West Midlands	69.4%	Loss of traditional industry
Cannock Chase	West Midlands	68.9%	Loss of traditional industry
Basildon	East of England	68.6%	Outer city suburb/exurb, with loss of traditional industry
Harlow	East of England	68.1%	Outer city suburb/exurb
Walsall	West Midlands	67.9%	Outer city suburb/exurb, with loss of traditional industry
Bassetlaw	East Midlands	67.8%	Loss of traditional industry
Dudley	West Midlands	67.6%	Outer city suburb/exurb, with loss of traditional industry

The "left behind" areas

While a big increase in the rate of international migration into the Fens appears to be associated with a Leave vote in this area, across Britain as a whole there appears to be little correlation between the rate of change in migrant numbers and the propensity of districts to vote Leave, even when multicultural city centres are excluded (Figure Three). Nowhere was this trend more evident than in the North East of England, with an estimated population of 24,000 people born in the EU's 2004 and 2007 accession states, the lowest proportion of any region or nation of the UK[ix].

Parts of England and Wales that have seen the decline in their traditional extractive and manufacturing industries also voted Leave, some of them by a large margin (Table Two). Research has established that there are real public concerns about immigration in such areas, although the actual increase in the number of migrants is much smaller than in southern and eastern England – usually because there are fewer job vacancies in such areas for migrants to fill. Here, concerns about immigration appear much more bound up with a push-back against globalisation and its attendant loss of sovereignty, as well as the failure of regional development to guarantee prosperity to all sectors of society[x].

Perceptions that high levels of EU migration has led to wage depression appears to be more prevalent in parts of Britain that have lost their traditional industries than elsewhere[xi xii]. Clearly, concerns about immigration play out differently in the various

parts of Britain. Addressing anxieties about immigration in the "left behind" parts of Britain will also require politicians to confront issues such as regional industrial policy, as well as employment and skills.

Figure Three: Leave vote mapped against percentage increase in overseas-born population 2001-2011

Pearson's r = 0.22
Sources: Referendum results, Census 2001 and Census 2011

The rural shires of England

The majority of rural unitary and district council areas were another block that voted Leave, although the size of the Leave vote was generally smaller than in the Fens and the deprived parts of the Midlands and northern England. Indeed, in England only 20 rural or partly rural electoral districts voted to remain in the EU, the majority of which were located in London's commuter belt. Large swathes of prosperous, rural England – Devon, Dorset, Wiltshire, Herefordshire, Shropshire and Northamptonshire – all voted to Leave.

Within the county of Dorset, the Leave vote stood at 57.6 in West Dorset, 56.4 % in North Dorset and 51 % in West Dorset. All of these districts have seen increased recent immigration, although, at 5.1 % of the population, the proportion of those born abroad is far below the UK average of 13 % [xiii][xiv]. However, international migration into Dorset is more frequently from outside the EU or from its pre-2004 member states than it is from the 2004 and 2007 accession countries. Nor can the Leave vote be a reaction by "left behind" populations: child poverty rates[xv], for example, are far below the national average. While there are cultural and economic

concerns about immigration in Dorset, these alone do not account for the Leave vote.

Analysis of the issues raised in the local press and selected online neighbourhood forums indicate that the referendum vote was influenced by a wide range of factors: sovereignty, the burden of regulations, the level of subsidies to Brussels, trade benefits and the impact of immigration. In Dorset, the impact of migration on the availability and price of private rental accommodation appeared to be a particular concern of potential Leave voters who expressed views about immigration.

Place-based resilience

Looking at the Leave vote through the prism of individual characteristics or area typologies does not fully explain local differences in the referendum results. When broadly similar areas were compared, there was sometimes a significant difference in the Leave vote. For example, in the Fens, 73.6% of voters opted for Leave in South Holland but in the neighbouring district of South Kesteven, also in the Fens, the leave vote was 59.9%. Some 69.4% of voters in Stoke-on-Trent opted for Leave while in Knowsley, which shares many local characteristics, just 51% did so. Both areas have experienced changing economic fortunes and loss of traditional industries, yet Knowsley appears much more comfortable with the EU, including free movement.

Within a given district, a large range factors had the potential to influence voters' choices – individual beliefs, family traditions, the opinions of peers, the views of local political leaders, a person's experiences in their neighbourhood and work, as well as their interpretation of the national news stories and politics. Attitudes about the EU, the referendum campaign and immigration are thus formed as a consequence of a person's local and national experiences[xvi][xvii].

The anthropologist Sandra Wallman's concept of place-based capability may provide some explanations of different individual responses to immigration[xviii]. She argues that people who live in broadly similar areas often respond differently to the changes brought about by international migration. Those who live in 'open' or resilient communities – both rich and poor – may find it easier to accommodate newcomers than people who live in 'closed' areas.

Features of resilient and open communities include good transport links in and out of the area, a mixed economy and a mixture of housing types. Wallman also argues that social networks, as well as dominant local narratives about "us" and "them" and "belonging", influence the extent to which an area is open or closed. Social networks that span dissimilar groups – bridging social capital – tend to make an area more open, as does a local identity that is not defined by ethnicity or birth but is inclusive of newcomers. These factors may account for the differences in the Leave vote between South Holland and South Kesteven, and between Knowsley and Stoke-on-Trent (Table Four).

South Holland is a predominantly rural district, with its administrative headquarters in Spalding, the only large town in the area. Transport links out of the area are poor.

The area is a major producer of cereals and vegetables, which support a large food packing and processing industry. In recently years, growing demand for processed or pre-packed food, the intensification of farming and the introduction of 'just-in-time production' has created a demand for low-skilled labour that cannot be met from the local area. Just-in-time production, where food is not produced to be kept in storage, rather to meet the exact amount demanded by a supermarket, requires labour flexibility. If demand is high, additional temporary workers are needed, who are often supplied by employment agencies. Alternatively, a business may hire the workers themselves, but on zero-hours contracts where the employer does not guarantee work and just pays for the hours that are completed. These changes have all generated a significant number of insecure and low-paid jobs, many of which have been filled by EU migrants. By 2011, 7.9% of the population of this district were those born in EU countries other than the UK (Table Four).

In contrast, South Kesteven is a more populous area with three significant market towns: Stamford, Grantham and Market Deeping. Although it is still part of the Fens, a smaller proportion of jobs are concerned with food production. There is a larger proportion of skilled jobs in the area and median pay is higher. Transport links out of the area are also better than in South Holland. South Kesteven thus has more characteristics of an open and resilient area.

Table Four: Social indicators in South Holland, South Kesteven, Knowsley and Stoke-on-Trent

	South Holland	South Kesteven	Knowsley	Stoke-on-Trent
Population 2015	90,400	138,900	147,200	£251,600
Leave vote %	73.6%	59.9%	51.6%	69.4%
Referendum preference of local MPs	John Hayes = Leave	Nick Boles = Remain John Hayes = Leave Stephen Philipps = Leave	All Remain	All Remain
Percentage of working age population in employment, 2015 (GB = 73.6%)	75.3%	76.0%	68.8%	68.2%
Percentage employed in elementary jobs (GB = 10.8%)	14.9%	9.5%	11.5%	15.4%

Median gross weekly pay 2015 (GB = £529.60)	£443.70	£475.3%	£474.90	£433.10
Percentage of adult population with qualification at Level 4 and above (GB = 37.1%)	24.8%	38.1%	22.5%	24.3%
% population born within the EU, excluding UK, Census 2011 (UK = 4.2%)	7.6%	4.0%	1%	2.1%
% born outside the EU, Census 2011 (UK = 8.4%)	2.0%	2.8%	1.4%	6.2%

Sources: Census 2011, Annual Survey of Hours and Earnings 2015, Annual Population Survey 2015.

Although the size of their Leave votes differed by 17.8 percentage points, both Knowsley and Stoke-on-Trent have both experienced the downside of a globalised economy. Knowsley has seen a reduction in motor industry jobs at Halewood; while in the six towns that together form Stoke-on-Trent, globalisation has undercut the steel works and many jobs in its iconic ceramics have been lost to the Far East. Tristram Hunt, one of the three local Labour MPs, states:

 "[The Potteries have] *suffered hammer blow after hammer blow as the very foundations of the city – social and communal as much as economic - were stripped away... These devastating economic changes – combined with ineffectual municipal leadership - fostered a widespread sense of anger towards the political classes, and a deep feeling of nostalgia for the lost certainties of the past.*"[xix]

These economic conditions provided an ideal breeding ground for the British National Party whose members had five city council seats in 2010. Although the BNP no longer holds any seats, it has left activists in the majority Labour Party lacking confidence in their ability to hold a conversation about the impact of immigration on the city.

Certainly, in Stoke-on-Trent, the Leave vote and concerns about immigration are bound up with a reaction against globalisation. But there are cultural and historical factors that also impact on the openness of the area. Stoke-on-Trent has a fiercely English and working class identity, which often struggles to be inclusive of

outsiders[xx]. As a port city, and with longstanding Irish and black communities, the Scouse identity of Knowsley may be more inclusive of new arrivals compared with identities in the Potteries. Knowsley also has good transport links into the centre of Liverpool – a further feature of an open and resilient community that finds it easier to adapt to change.

Place-based differences in the Leave vote also occurred in the more prosperous rural shire counties (Table Five). Braintree and Chelmsford are neighbouring district council areas, within the county council of Essex. Some of the strongest support for Leave came from this county, which also has UKIP's only MP (Table Two). Yet there was an 8.3 percentage point difference in the Leave vote between Braintree and Chelmsford.

Chelmsford has lost traditional industries in recent years, including a substantial electronics sector, but employment and median earnings are still above the national average. While culturally and geographically part of Essex, Chelmsford has many of the features of an open and resilient district – a mixed economy, mixed tenure neighbourhoods, good transport links and a long history of immigration into the area.

Table Five: Social indicators in Braintree and Chelmsford.

	Braintree	Chelmsford
Population 2015	150,400	172,600
Leave vote %	61.1%	52.8%
Referendum preference of local MPs	James Cleverly = Leave Priti Patel = Leave	Simon Burns = Remain Sir Alan Haselhurst = Remain John Whittingdale = Leave
% of working age population in employment, 2015 (GB = 73.6%)	79.6%	79.0%
% employed in elementary jobs (GB = 10.8%)	9.3%	9.3%
Median gross weekly pay 2015 (GB = £529.60)	£592.10	£602.60
% of adult population with qualification at Level 4 and above (GB = 37.1%)	27.5%	33.7%
% population born within the EU, excluding UK, Census 2011 (UK = 4.2%)	2.9%	2.7%
% born outside the EU, Census 2011 (UK = 8.4%)	3.0%	4.9%

Sources: Census 2011, Annual Survey of Hours and Earnings 2015, Annual Population Survey 2015.

Conclusions

Overall, there are some clear geographical differences in the scale and nature of the Leave vote across the UK, but not the stark polarisation that some commentators have described. Leave voters are diverse demographically, socio-economically, politically and in relation to the area where they live. While immigration was a major factor in voters' decisions, it was certainly not the only factor. Additionally, concerns about immigration play out differently in different parts of the UK.

Nevertheless, the referendum result raises important questions for those concerned with immigration policy. Over the next four years, as the UK leaves the EU and afterwards, there will be many changes to immigration policy. Given the referendum result, it is politically unlikely that freedom of movement will be retained in its current form and the Government will have to decide how to treat future EU migration. Whatever policy changes the Government makes, it will have to win public agreement for them - and the Leave vote clearly illustrates the importance of doing so. But local differences in the Leave vote show that there is no one-size-fits-all approach to gaining this consent, which needs to be responsive to the different geographies of Britain.

In the Fens, managing the local impact of migration on public services is a policy issue that needs to be addressed. Addressing anxieties about immigration in the "left behind" parts of Britain will require politicians to address issues such as regional growth policy, as well as employment and skills.

But gaining public support for immigration requires more than dealing with the structural impacts of migration and globalisation. Understanding what makes an open and resilient community suggests ways forward, with shared and inclusive identities an important aspect of community resilience. Post-Brexit, we need to move towards neighbourhoods that can adapt to change, and to a country where we are no longer "them" and "us", but enjoy shared local and national identities.

4. *Why it's time to dissolve the 48% and 52% tribes*

British voters went to their local primary schools and village halls on June 23rd to cast their ballots in the EU referendum. 72% of us turned out – and the campaign ended with a narrow, but decisive, victory for leaving the EU, by a majority of over a millon votes.

Neither side was adequately prepared for the outcome. David Cameron's government had made no preparations for the possibility of defeat, while the winners lacked a clear plan for leaving the EU. Many Remain supporters had been lulled into hope by the unfounded confidence of the markets and the bookmakers that they had done just enough to win a close referendum race. Prominent Leave figures from Nigel Farage to Boris Johnson had prepared how they planned to respond to a narrow defeat, but had to scramble to respond to a victory instead.

The shock result saw a surprising outpouring of emotion on the Remain side of the referendum. It was surprising because there had been precious little emotion over the previous weeks of a campaign also entirely focused on the economic risks of leaving the EU. Indeed, there had been precious little emotion in the previous four decades of British engagement in the European club, largely seen as a transactional economic relationship, joining a common market while remaining without being comfortable with the political idea of ever-closer union that animated the founders of the European project.

In the days after the referendum, the banner was raised of a new 48% tribe, with new twibbons to add to Twitter profiles, Facebook appeals to sign petitions or attend rallies, even a new "Newspaper for the 48%", for a trial period at least. The 48% knew what they wanted – that Britain shouldn't leave the European Union – even if a majority had voted for it. There appeared to be no shortage of ideas about how Brexit could be blocked. Barristers petitioned the courts to stop the government acting on the referendum. Backbench politicians suggested that Parliament could use its judgement to reject the result of a merely advisory referendum. Journalists suggested that a new political party could be formed and sweep to power by harnessing the energy of the angry 16 million. Campaigners collected four million signatures to have another referendum, arguing it would only be fair to offer a chance for second thoughts to the great many voters on the other side who they imagined must already be regretting their part in this terrible mistake.

Completing the grieving cycle: from anger and denial to bargaining and acceptance.

From the inside, those involved saw the 48% as a vibrant new social and political movement, while acknowledging that its theory of change for reversing the referendum result was very much a work in progress. From outside, the shocked response looked more like the early stages of the grieving process – denial and anger after the lost vote.

There are strong arguments for taking that grieving cycle on through the next stages

– depression, bargaining and acceptance – difficult though this would be for those most committed to a Remain vote.

The truth is that none of the ideas to block Brexit look at all viable. The idea of blocking the referendum in the courts lacks any sound legal basis in Britain's uncodified constitutional system; instead there is a serious risk of simply toxifying the public reputation of the ex-Remain camp as being dominated by an out-of-touch elite who simply cannot accept the result of a democratic vote. The idea of a Parliamentary rejection of Brexit, on the grounds that the referendum was only advisory, is even more tone-deaf to how the public thinks about democratic legitimacy. In practice, it will fail to appeal to many MPs who advocated for Remain, but who know that their constituents will expect them to respect the choice that the public made, both in principle and as a matter of electoral self-preservation. There should be a House of Commons vote on Brexit, even if the Government holds the executive powers to trigger article 50 of the Treaty of the European Union without one, but those who hope this might halt the process are daydreaming.

A good democratic argument can be put that a General Election should take place before the UK has formally completed its departure from the European Union. But those who see this is a route to reverse Brexit seriously underestimate just how difficult it would be to elect a government on a pro-EU ticket. The current political turmoil within the main opposition party makes it difficult to predict whether or when the British public will next be offered any viable alternative to a Conservative government – and the electoral geography of the referendum would much exacerbate that difficulty for any party or alliance running on a 'reverse Brexit' manifesto. More than seven out of ten Parliamentary constituencies had a Leave majority. Those who want to make the principled case for EU membership have every democratic right to keep making the argument, but they are unlikely to prevail.

There are important gains too if the 48% can reach the bargaining and acceptance stage. Those who backed Remain face a choice between trying to reverse the referendum result to prevent Brexit - and almost certainly failing - or seeking to influence the type of Brexit we get. It will certainly be very difficult to do both. The large, defeated minority would find that they could have significant chances to influence the form that Brexit might take, but that this will depend on their first accepting that it is going to happen.

The chance to dissolve the 52% tribe as well
If the 48% tribe stays mobilised – and thinks it might ask the same question again – then the motley coalition of the 52% would have to stick together too, ready to refight the last war. If that doesn't happen, then Leavers with different views of what Brexit might mean will need to form new alliances, both within and beyond their side of the referendum. The ex-Remain choice to dissolve the 48% tribe would break up the 52% tribe too, by accepting that Brexit is going to happen and seeking new alliances to give them an influential voice in the big post-referendum debates about what Brexit means at home and abroad.

Though the Remain 48% spanned the mainstream political spectrum from Greens and Corbynistas to Cameron loyalists in the Conservative party, arguably the Leave coalition was broader still. Parts of the UKIP core vote and old lefties who had stuck with Tony Benn's view of the EU voted alongside City of London libertarians who imagined Britain as a new Singapore. Some Leavers have been triumphalist in victory; while others like the liberal Eurosceptic MEP Dan Hannan, have stressed that a narrow victory creates a responsibility to reach out across the referendum divide and seek a Brexit deal that accommodates the priorities of the 52% but accommodates the concerns of those who voted Remain too. *"Just as Leavers need to acknowledge that we have only a limited mandate,"* writes Hannan, *"So Remainers must acknowledge which way the vote went. Only then will it be possible to work together on a new deal with Brussels."*[xxi]

Naturally, different people and groups among the 48% and the 52% are going to be interested in different aspects of what the Brexit debate means. Westminster politicians, business and think-tankers will pore over the details of different Brexit models. These will have crucial impacts on questions from the economy to immigration. But debates about how far the EEA model can be modified, the pros and cons of relying on WTO trade rules and whether the Westminster debate reflects what other European governments are likely to agree, are not going to have a mass popular appeal.

There will not be street marches to secure the single market in services, or to protect passporting for financial services, however important those issues might be for the UK economy. But many people will want to engage in the debate about what changes after Brexit could mean for the causes they care about: employment rights and environmental protections; how Britain can play its full role on global issues like defence and international development; and how welcoming we are to those who seek to come here to do business, learn at our universities or work in our economy. Those 48%ers who remain fixated upon proving that we are going to hell in a handcart post-Brexit are unlikely to be part of these conversations, yet their voices in support of an internationalist, open and outward-looking post-Brexit Britain are needed now more than ever.

Progressive dilemmas: confusing two different 48% tribes

48% of voters preferred Remain to Leave in the 2016 referendum. 48% of voters in England also voted in 2015 for parties other than UKIP or the Conservatives. But that is not one 48% tribe – it comprises two different, shifting and temporary alliances.

Of the 16 million voters in the Remain 48%, around 4.5 million voted Conservative in 2015. Calling for a 'progressive alliance,' made up of a united left-liberal-Green flank, to mobilise the 48% around a plan to remove the Conservatives from office is not likely to be the most effective appeal.

Of the 15 million who voted for 'progressive parties' in May 2015, about a third went

on to vote for Leave in the referendum. This was true of SNP, Liberal Democrat and Green as well as Labour voters. So the idea of a political realignment, founded on the referendum result, may be more problematic than its proponents might think. Many of the voters to whom it would hope to appeal might not want to come to the party. In fact, that crossover vote of 'Remain progressives' amounts to just a third of the electorate – with mixed views too of the priority or urgency of the European Union.

For some, it won't matter that the 48% doesn't exist, or may only be half of its purported size. Tim Farron of the Liberal Democrats has spotted the gap in the market for a "Cosmopolitan Ukip", a liberal and urban mirror party to Nigel Farage's populist insurgency, responding to defeat by stealing the slogan "give us our country back". When Farron says "we are the 48%", he may well mean "we were the 8% in May 2015 and we would love to be the 16% next time that Britain goes to the polls".

That may be good party tactics, and it may help to build a broader liberal base for progressive campaigns too. But liberal causes should take care that they do not become defined and confined by being part of a minority tribe, when they will need to reach a majority too.

Scotland's 'two unions' dilemma

Some parts of the 48% can claim to represent both the majority and minority view. Scottish Remain voters can point out that they may be part of a 48% minority at a UK-wide level, but that they were in the Scottish majority, part of the 62% in Scotland.

However, Scotland is affected by the UK-wide EU referendum majority because 55% of Scots voted to stay in the United Kingdom in September 2014. But the Brexit vote does mark a significant change in the deal for which Scotland voted, given that the Better Together campaign argued that independence would risk Scotland's EU membership, while remaining in the UK would secure it.

Nicola Sturgeon's government has committed to explore every option open to Scotland, seeking to explore how Scotland might maintain its EU membership. It will be impossible for Scotland to remain in the EU, or return to the EU after Brexit, unless it becomes an independent country - except in the highly improbable event of the UK as a whole changing its mind about Brexit.

The EU referendum result makes it more likely that the question of independence will be put again to the Scottish public at some point, though the post-Brexit debate will also be different from that of 2014. An independent Scotland would surely now need to introduce its own currency, for example, and to consider whether to join the Euro, rather than proposing a currency union with the UK.

Whether Scotland remains in the post-Brexit UK will depend on what a majority of Scots want, and which union Scots decide matters more to them. But the influence of the 48% over the Brexit deal could influence Scotland's choice too. The relationship the UK chooses to have with other EU countries post-Brexit, such as on the issue of access to the single market, could well affect which of the two unions most Scots decide matters more when they next come to make that choice.

Causes need majority support, not a minority tribe

Those who want to defend values of tolerance and internationalism will expect to do so with majority support. After Brexit, it will be important to entrench social values in British society, and show that a vote to leave the European Union in 2016 certainly does not entail turning the clock back to the country that we were before 1972. There is no reason why the progress that Britain has made on equal opportunities for women in society, on gay rights and on the reduction of racism in our society over those decades should not be sustained outside the European Union.

One of the first big political decisions about getting Brexit right has been how we treat the 3 million EU citizens currently living in Britain. This is not an issue that sets the 16 million against the 17 million. Indeed, it turns out to be a cause not of the 48% but of the 84% of the public who are happy to say to Europeans in Britain: 'this is your home and you continue to be welcome here'. Voters across the Leave-Remain divide are united against a toxic, racist and deluded minority who believe that the referendum vote gives them a licence for prejudice, hate speech and street racism. Yet neither the 48% nor the 52% can do this alone: to uphold and entrench the majority social norms against racism that we strengthened and deepened over the last 40 years, we need to work together.

Some political issues are central to the contest between political parties at elections. Others are uncontested and are not at stake as the political pendulum swings – they form the foundations underpinning equal citizenship in our democratic society. If we want that to be the case for our shared support for equality and opposition to racism, prejudice and discrimination, then it is essential to maintain broad and sustained majority support for them.

This September, the issue of refugee protection will also return to the agenda, as people remember the first anniversary of the death of Aylan Kurdi and the image that galvanised a sense of empathy among many people in Britain. Since our tradition of offering protection to those who need sanctuary long pre-dates Britain's membership of the EEC, it will outlast our membership of the EU too. Research shows that welcoming refugees is a source of pride for seven out of ten Britons. So this autumn, it needs to be clear that the invitation to uphold that tradition is not going out to just one side of the referendum, or any single party political tribe. Instead, the clear message should be that everybody is invited to come together and stand up for Britain being a country proud to welcome refugees.

Democracy and elitism

Professor Vernon Bogdanor (who voted Remain) wrote recently in The Times: "*The arguments against accepting the legitimacy of the outcome of the referendum are similar to those used in the 19th century against extending the franchise. Were they to succeed, the poorer members of the community might well begin to ask whether democracy has anything at all to offer them; and that would indeed be a very dangerous development.*"

The 48% does contain most of Britain's graduates but few of those who left school with no educational qualifications, who strongly preferred Leave. But it is curious to take too much pride in doing best among those with most educational qualifications and worst among those with fewest, given that the task in the referendum was to secure majority consent in a society where we have a universal adult franchise, not one restricted to university graduates.

That is a big reason why "trust the experts" failed in the referendum. People didn't necessarily doubt their expertise on the subjects they were talking about. But many voters didn't necessarily think that this expert advice was in their interests. As we wrote in January's *How (not) to talk about Europe*:

"Reeling off intangible figures about GDP and telling people that the EU is good for them will mean little to people who understand the economy primarily in terms of their personal finances and job security. 'It seems to be working out very well for you' is a much more likely conclusion. That is only made worse by the message being delivered by a corporate CEO in an expensive suit, with a view of the Square Mile from the boardroom window in the background."

Many, though far from all, of those who chose Leave in this referendum were from a group that has been termed 'the left behind' – older, white, non-graduates who have felt few of the benefits of the societal and economic changes of the last 40 years and have been at the sharp end of globalisation and Britain's post-industrial decline.

The referendum illuminates the long-term growing divergence between the politics of social justice and those of identity and belonging – and the need for much broader geographical and cross-class reach of those pursuing progressive coalitions. There will be no successful defence of liberal 'open society' values without engaging a much broader coalition than is achieved by the polarising frame of 'open versus closed', which pits the confident, liberal minority against the nativist, left behind minority - but also leaves most of the public unpersuaded by either camp.

A more successful strategy will require liberals to engage with both the gains *and* the pressures of 'open'; to be able to respond constructively to legitimate concerns about the impacts of immigration on public services, jobs and culture; and to engage with the values and interests of blue-collar and non-graduate audiences. If we are to secure majority consent for the values of an open and fair society, we need to do so together and ensure that it works fairly for everyone.

Even on a disagreement this big, we – Leave and Remain, old and young, graduate and non-graduate, metropolitan and provincial - still have more in common than that which divides us, to quote a maiden speech that tragically gained a new poignancy with the murder of its author, Jo Cox MP. "Build bridges, not walls" has long been a slogan of internationalists. But preserving and strengthening the 48% and 52% tribes will not build a bridge, it will build a wall. It is time to tear it down.

5. Notes and references

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[ii] Excludes Gibraltar.

[iii] See, for example, Lord Ashcroft polling of 12,369 adults on 23 June 2016 http://lordashcroftpolls.com/2016/06/how-the-united-kingdom-voted-and-why/#more-14746.

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6. About British Future

British Future is an independent, non-partisan thinktank engaging people's hopes and fears about integration and migration, opportunity and identity, so that we share a confident and welcoming Britain, inclusive and fair to all. The organisation did not take a position on which way people should vote in the EU referendum.

Since British Future's founding in 2012 we have conducted research on public attitudes to these issues in the UK, projecting our findings publicly to inform national debate.

Our attitudinal research has contributed to national discussions on issues including how attitudes to immigration affected the 2015 General Election; ethnic minority voting behaviour; immigration from the European Union; attitudes to international students in the UK; Englishness and what it means to the English; the hopes and fears of first-time voters; and racism, discrimination and national identity in modern Britain.