Universidad de **Valladolid**

FACULTAD de FILOSOFÍA Y LETRAS
DEPARTAMENTO de FILOLOGÍA INGLESA
Grado en Estudios Ingleses

TRABAJO DE FIN DE GRADO

The EU Referendum:
The Role of **Socio-Economic** Factors
in Voting Behaviour, Illustrated in the London
Boroughs of Lambeth and Havering

Daniela Cernit

Tutor: Anunciación Carrera de la Red

2016-2017

ABSTRACT

Following the United Kingdom's decision of leaving the European Union, much speculation emerged on the possible causes of this majoritary preference. Previous studies indicate that in general, this election depended highly on demographic, economic and community characteristics, but scarce research has been conducted on a smaller scale. This dissertation attempts to test their conclusions by looking at two boroughs in London whose 2016 referendum results were strongly opposed: one the one hand, Lambeth, one of the most 'pro-remain' areas in the nation and, on the other hand, Havering, one of the strongest 'leave' supporters. After analysing several aspects from the population, the economy, the environment and the governance of each place between 2011-2016, the results suggest that the demographic profile and the political and ideological preferences could be correlated with the referendum results, whereas economic indicators and social issues do not appear to have impacted on the electorate's choice.

Keywords: Brexit, EU referendum, Lambeth, Havering, European Union, voting behaviour.

RESUMEN

Tras conocerse la decisión tomada por el Reino Unido de abandonar la Unión Europea, se ha especulado mucho con respecto a las posibles causas de la preferencia mostrada por la mayoría. Los estudios hasta ahora indican que, por lo general, el resultado se vio influido por características demográficas, económicas y regionales, pero existen pocas investigaciones centradas a nivel local. El objetivo de este trabajo es poner a prueba sus conclusiones en dos barrios de Londres que en el referéndum del año 2016 mostraron resultados totalmente opuestos: Lambeth, una de las zonas del país con mayor porcentaje de votos a favor de permanecer en la Unión Europea, y Havering, cuyos resultados reflejaron lo contrario. Tras analizar la población, la economía, el entorno y la política en ambos lugares en el período 2011-2016, se concluirá, que el perfil demográfico y las preferencias políticas e ideológicas de la población parecen haber sido más decisivos, mientras que la economía y los problemas sociales no parecen haber tenido mucha influencia en dicho voto.

Palabras clave: Brexit, referéndum europeo, Lambeth, Havering, Unión Europea, comportamiento electoral.

Contents

1. Introduction

Should the United Kingdom (UK) abandon the European Union (EU) or should it maintain its membership? On 23 June 2016, a referendum was held in England, Wales, Scotland, and Northern Ireland in order determine the national will on this question. According to the Electoral Commission, 382 local authorities casted their ballot, with a total result of 48.1% of the participants in favour of staying in, and 51.9% against such idea. In contrast to this, 59.9% of Londoners declared their approval on the EU membership and 40.1% did the opposite.[1] The overall results perplexed not only the British media, but also the international community since most of the polls predicted the 'remain' side to triumph, as it indeed happened in London. As a consequence, many publications arose trying to elucidate what led the British electorate to ballot one way or another, providing a general analysis mostly on countries, regions and cities. Nevertheless, scarce literature has been found on more specific areas such as London and even smaller geographical units as in the case of boroughs. Therefore, this dissertation will attempt to complete this picture by studying the voting behaviour in two boroughs in London: Lambeth and Havering. The reason for this choice is simple: when ranking the different local authorities from the most 'pro-remain' to the most 'pro-leave' area, both represented end opposites not only at a regional level but also at a national one. In particular, Lambeth gathered 78.6% of votes in favour of staying in, and thus became the second strongest supporter against 'Brexit' in the UK. Contrarily, Havering was one of the areas with the strongest 'leave' share, as 69.7% of the electors opted for withdrawing from the EU, nearly 20 points above the national average.[2]

Therefore, the aim of this paper is, first, to ascertain the possible reasons for this staggering difference, as both boroughs are part of London but differ greatly in the voting behaviour, and then, to test the applicability to their cases of conclusions so far reached on the referendum results on a national scale. For this purpose, an analysis of four different

---

[1] The Electoral Commission, 'EU Referendum Result Visualisations', *The Electoral Commission* (The Electoral Commission, 2017) <https://goo.gl/yeJcwt> [accessed 11 June 2017].

[2] Financial Times, 'EU referendum results', *Financial Times* (The Financial Times, 2016) <https://goo.gl/URf5xA> [accessed 28 November 2016].

socio-economic aspects will be conducted so as to possibly determine their role in this decision: population, economy, communal and political factors.

To this effect, the methodology followed three main stages. First of all, there was a compilation of statistical data from both places from 2011 to 2016 taken from different public institutions such as the Lambeth Council, Havering London Borough and the Office for National Statistics and also from independent organisations and think-tanks. A wide range of sources were used and masses of data had to be processed by the author in order to present the aggregation of different data sets in the most coherent and comparable fashion. Secondly, the information gathered was examined and classified in tables and graphs, including figures from England and the UK in some occasions. A subsequent analysis was conducted by establishing parallelisms and discrepancies between the two areas, followed by a critical interpretation, in light of the arguments used during the campaigns. Finally, the author's interpretations of the results obtained were set against the conclusions reached by the previous literature on this topic, confirming, rejecting and adding new hypotheses to the already existing ones.

As for the structure, a general summary of the main arguments held by the 'remain' and the 'leave' campaigns will be provided in the beginning, followed by a literature review of works exploring the causes and consequences of deciding to leave the EU. Next, there will be a description of the demographic composition of the London boroughs of Lambeth and Havering in terms of population, ethnicity and immigration, followed by an outlook on business, the labour market and housing as economic factors, then, an overview of social problems such as crime, homelessness and personal wellbeing, and a final discussion on governance. Finally, the results encountered will be exposed and discussed against the common arguments used in the political debates and alongside the outcome of published studies on the national return.

Thus, this dissertation will attempt to determine the role of the aforementioned socio-economic factors in the London boroughs of Lambeth and Havering, suggesting that age, demographic diversity, education attainment and political preferences were key drivers in the

EU referendum vote, whereas immigration, environmental issues and the economy did not seem to have had a significant impact on the voters' choice.

2. Background

The relationship between the UK and the EU has been an ongoing matter of concern ever since the UK joined the European Economic Community (EEC) in 1973. Two years later, the first national referendum was held in the nation so as to determine the attitude of the British citizenry on staying within this union, with 67.2% of the population approving on remaining part of it and 32.8% disagreeing.[3] In spite of this popularly approval, a second referendum took place forty-one years later, where more than half of the British voters rejected the idea of staying a member of the current EU.

Prior to the 2015 General Elections, David Cameron, leader of the Conservative party and UK's Prime Minister at that moment, promised to hold a referendum on this question, should his party obtain the majority of the votes. This occurred in view of the fact that one of the most Eurosceptic and extremist right-wing group candidates, the United Kingdom Independence Party (UKIP), was experiencing a huge popularity increase and attracting many Conservative voters by promoting radical ideas such as defending the UK's exit from the EU.[4] After the Conservatives won the General Elections and the referendum event was made official, two antithetical sides emerged around a possible 'Brexit'. On the one hand, there was the 'remain' campaign, claiming that Britons were 'stronger, safer, and better off in Europe' and on the other side, the 'leave' campaign stated that the UK should 'take back control.'[5] From the very beginning, both of them tried to persuade British citizens to adopt one position or another by exposing facts, experts' predictions and personal opinions, mainly concerning economy, immigration and sovereignty.

As a matter of fact, there was no certainty about the economic costs of leaving the EU, but both sides agreed on the fact that should this happen, the national economy would

---

[3] David Butler and Uwe Kitzinger, *The 1975 Referendum* (London: Macmillan, 1976), pp. 263-267 <https://goo.gl/QgVRq2> [accessed 5 January 2017].

[4] Roland Flamini, 'The UK Independence Party: Euroskeptics Rattle Cameron', *World Affairs*, 176.2 (2013), 35–41 <www.jstor.org/stable/43554778> [accessed 13 June 2016].

[5] *BBC's EU Referendum 'Great Debate', full version (21Jun16)* [Youtube video], 23 June 2016 <https://goo.gl/ViF9oU> [accessed 5 December 2016].

undoubtedly undergo discernible changes. The difference, though, lay on the fact that whereas pro-Europeans believed the UK would benefit from it, anti-Europeans were convinced that it would result in unrepairable financial losses for the country. For instance, the former claimed that being part of the EU benefitted the commercial relations between both its members and the rest of the world due to the open market and mutual trade deals and that withdrawing from this union would result in a damage of trade, job losses, and a salary decrease. 'Leavers', however, alleged that Britain was a potential customer and future favourable trade deals could be reached between both parts.[6] Moreover, they complained about the elevated price of such membership and denounced the fact that the UK contributed more to the European economy than vice versa. For instance, one of the arguments they used was that in 2015, 8.6 billion British pounds were spent in Europe, which could have been used for national purposes, such as reinforcing the National Health System.[7]

Another topic under discussion was immigration. Although the UK is not part of the Schengen area, it is bound by the freedom of movement European law that allows citizens from its member states to move and work freely within the rest of EU countries. This has caused an enormous immigration growth over the last years – especially from Eastern and Southern Europe – and raised the number of EU nationals working in the UK to 2.15 million in 2016.[8] For Eurosceptics, 'heavy EU migration burdens taxpayers, drives up welfare spending, strains public services like health and education and aggravates the housing crisis', therefore, the best way to curb it would be by leaving and taking control of the borders.[9] 'Remainers', however, retorted that the UK benefitted from EU immigration since they tend to be younger, more educated and contribute to the economy by paying taxes.

---

[6] *BBC's EU Referendum Great Debate*.

[7] Full Fact, 'The UK's EU Membership Fee', *Full Fact*, 28 March 2017 <https://goo.gl/hCuzdm> [accessed 29 April 2017].

[8] Alan Travis, 'Number of EU Migrants Working in UK Rises to Record Level', *The Guardian,* 18 May 2016, <https://goo.gl/iZLj6g> [accessed 9 December 2016].

[9] Zanny Minton Beddoes, 'The Brexit Briefs: Our Guide to Britain's EU Referendum', *The Economist* (2016), p. 7 <https://goo.gl/uGC1Jq> [accessed 6 December 2016].

In addition to this, freedom of movement was also seen as a hazard to national security for those who campaigned for 'Brexit' for it makes it easier for terrorists and criminals to enter the country. Contrary to them, Sadiq Khan, current mayor of London and 'in' campaigner, maintained that the UK was safer inside the EU due to its quick and highly efficient cooperation between its state members.[10]

Likewise, sovereignty was also a subject that concerned British citizens when tackling this debate. On the one hand, 'leavers' complained that the UK must abide numerous laws and regulations that are imposed from the outside and not made in the national parliament. In fact, 'pro-leavers' claimed that 65% of the British legislation was produced in Brussels and complained that it was undemocratic that such high percentage of laws were passed and imposed to British citizens by members from the European Commission that British nationals had not voted for.[11] However, other sources such as *The Economist* remarked that it is the Council of Ministers, composed of national governments that adopt these laws, together with the Elected Parliament.[12] On the other hand, 'remainers' objected that it was precisely because of the EU membership that the UK had a say on these rules and leaving would not prevent it from being exposed to European legislation since it would still affect future political and economic relations. Therefore, quitting the EU would imply a loss of political power and influence rather than enhancing national sovereignty.[13]

Having considered the main arguments used by both campaigns before the referendum day, it is necessary to explore the representation of the 'Brexit' phenomenon in the different informative sources.

---

[10] *BBC's EU Referendum Great Debate.*

[11] '20 Reasons You Should Vote to Leave the European Union', *The Telegraph,* 22 June 2016 <https://goo.gl/3Euynt > [accessed 19 December 2017]; *BBC's EU Referendum Great Debate.*

[12] Minton Beddoes, *The Brexit Briefs*, p.5.

[13] *BBC's EU Referendum Great Debate.*

3. On 'Brexit': A Literature Review

Ever since the first time the EU referendum was mentioned, newspapers, scholars, politicians, economists and experts from different areas reacted to it considering not only its national but also its international possible impact.

Certainly, the press has been one of the most involved means of communication before, during and after the referendum day. Some of the articles opted for a neutral position and exposed an objective coverage of the facts involving 'Brexit' whereas in other cases the intention was to persuade the reader to adopt one position or another. Statistics show that 41% of the referendum press articles favoured the 'leave' campaign, with newspapers such as the *Daily Express*, the *Daily Mail* and *The Sun* as strongest supporters. Contrarily, the *Daily Mirror*, *The Guardian* and *The Financial Times* belonged to the 27% group of 'pro-remain' newspapers. The remaining percentage either adopted no specific position or included mixed and/or undecided articles.[14] As for the topics, half of the articles were about the referendum vote and the campaigns whereas 42% of them focused on the arguments used by both sides with the economy as the greatest concern, followed by sovereignty, immigration, regulations and security, with apprehensive predictions coming from the 'remain' side and optimistic ones coming from the 'leave' campaign.[15]

The second group of sources dealing with this topic is composed of informative studies and reports elaborated by private and public institutional organizations that mostly explore the consequences of leaving the EU but also of surveys that attempt to uncover the reasons of the EU referendum outcome, as in the case of Lord Ashcroft's polls.[16]

---

[14] David A.L. Levy, Billur Aslan and Diego Bironzo, 'UK Press Coverage of the EU Referendum', p. 5, *Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism* <https://goo.gl/KgroxE> [accessed 16 June 2017].

[15] 'UK Press Coverage of the EU Referendum', p. 20.

[16] Lord Ashcroft, 'How Did This Result Happen? My Post-Vote Survey', *Lord Ashcroft Polls*, 9 June 2017 <https://goo.gl/8zucw6> [accessed 22 June 2017].

Nevertheless, the problem of the British fitness in the EU was already questioned in the past. Back in 2012, a report written by the think-tank the Centre for European Reform already explored the relationship between the UK and EU throughout time and contemplated the possibility of a future public election on such membership. After the referendum day was officially announced, most of the institutions and think-tanks have focused on the repercussions of a possible withdrawal from the EU, mostly at economic and political levels. Parallel to this, public and official institutions such as the British Government and the House of Commons Library produced more authoritative content on this topic. In fact, both include a database with explanatory information regarding 'Brexit' such as news, research briefings and reports that explore the relationship between the UK and the EU and the possible aftermath of this event, among others.[17]

Apart from the media and institutions, scholars have also showed interest on this topic by contributing to the existing literature with academic papers. Once again, before the referendum, their focus was the possible consequences of such political rupture, but after the official results of the votes were published, much bibliography emerged on the underlying reasons of wanting to exit the EU in relation to the profile of the voters. An example of this are Becker and others, who find that the factors that had the most significant impact on the EU referendum vote were education, the industrial activity and demographical features. Immigration, fiscal cuts and housing problems also affected voters, but mostly those who had lower wages or were unemployed.[18] Likewise, Arnorsson and Zoega reached similar conclusions when researching the EU referendum voting patterns and argued that the 'leave' vote was highly associated with areas with less economic prosperity, people aged over 65 and higher immigration levels.[19] Further academic sources seem to agree with these ideas, as

---

[17] Department for Exiting the European Union, 'Brexit', *Gov.uk* <https://goo.gl/QpQubd> [accessed 20 June 2017]; UK Parliament, 'Background to the UK's EU Referendum 2016', *UK Parliament Website* <https://goo.gl/nrHR4y> [accessed 20 June 2017].

[18] Sascha O.Becker, Thiemo Fetzer, and Dennis Novy, 'Who Voted for Brexit? A Comprehensive District-Level Analysis', *Centre for Economic Performance*, 1180 (2017) <https://goo.gl/HZDrHu > [accessed 15 December 2016].

[19] Agust Arnorsson and Gylfi Zoega, 'On the Causes of Brexit', *Working Papers in Economics and Finance*, 1605 (2016) <https://goo.gl/fFFL4N> [accessed 19 December 2016].

in the case of Hobolt, which confirms that older, unemployed and less educated people were more likely to have voted for 'leave' in contrast to younger, more skilled and financially stable voters, who were more inclined to approve on the EU membership. In terms of geography, urban areas were more prone to have voted for 'remain' whereas rural and post-industrial towns where the majority of the population belonged to the working classes supported the exit from the EU.[20]

Having said this, there seems to be a consensus on the factors influencing the electorate to ballot one way or another in the EU referendum: the demographic profile of the voters, the economy and immigration were the most mentioned topics not only during the pre- referendum debates but also in the subsequent research on the voting behaviour. A look of this variables, together with other socio-economic aspects in the specific case of Lambeth and Havering, may help test their reliability.

---

[20] Sara Hobolt, 'The Brexit Vote: A Divided Nation, a Divided Continent', *Journal of European Public Policy*, 23.9 (2016), 1259-1277 <http://eprints.lse.ac.uk/id/eprint/67546> [accessed 19 January 2017].

4. A Socio-Economic Analysis of Lambeth and Havering, 2011-2016

4.1 A Brief Overview of Lambeth and Havering

Located south of the Thames river and opposite the City of Westminster and the City of London, Lambeth encompasses twenty-one wards that are grouped in six town centres: Norwood, Brixton, Clapham, Stockwell, Streatham and North Lambeth.[21] Nowadays, it is the place of residence of over 300,000 people from a diverse ethnic, geographic and cultural background and its population continues to rise each year due to the arrival of immigrants from all over the world. It is a largely residential borough mostly composed of working-age people, many of which are skilled and commute to the centre every day for working purposes. This has made this place very dynamic with numerous buildings, venues, activities and visitors and its connection to central London has helped in its economic development though there is still social inequality, especially in areas like Brixton.[22]

Covering an area of 111,369 km^2, Havering is the third largest borough in London by size. It is located in East London and has a population of around 250,000 inhabitants divided in 18 wards with Romford, Hornchurch and Upminster as main towns.[23] In spite of having undergone a process of industrialisation, especially after the First World War, it still preserves its century-long greenery with numerous landscapes and recreational areas. Its boundaries changed over time and were finally established as a London borough in 1965.[24] It is therefore, a relatively young borough which is progressively growing due to its proximity

---

[21] Guy's and St Thomas' Foundation Trust, 'Equality and Equity Health Profiles and Demographics in Lambeth/Southwark', *Guy's and St Thomas* <https://guysandstthomas.nhs.uk/resources/about-us/equality/objectives/local-equality-demographics.pdf> [accessed 11 June 2016].

[22] Lambeth Council, 'State of the Borough 2016', *Lambeth*, p. 9 <https://goo.gl/dxnsEn> [accessed 17 April 2017].

[23] London Borough of Havering Public Health Service, 'This is Havering, 2016: A Demographic and Socio-Economic Profile', *Havering Data Intelligence Hub*, pp. 8-10 <https://goo.gl/TKQ96z> [accessed 13 April 2017].

[24] Hibbert and others, *The London Encyclopaedia*, p. 389.

to central London as well as the arrival of new immigrants. In spite of this, the mean age of its residents is older than London's and it displays less diversity than most London boroughs as well with a majority of white British born inhabitants.[25] As for the economy, most of its economic activity occurs in Romford, which is its administrative town and also where most of the nightlife takes place. Moreover, Havering is currently part of the London Riverside regeneration plan, which aims at modernising and industrialising several areas in East London along the Thames river as well as creating new homes and job posts.[26]

---

[25] The London Borough of Havering, 'Demographic and Diversity Profile of Havering's Population 2015', *Havering London Borough* <https://goo.gl/8rpQdj> [accessed 7 May 2017].

[26] Aurora Horwood, *The London Riverside Plan: Just a Drop in the Ocean?* [online blog] <https://goo.gl/bHrN1J> [accessed 8 May 2017].

4.2 Demographics

Considering that the characteristics of the voters were frequently associated with their voting attitudes, this chapter will examine and compare three demographic aspects in Lambeth and Havering in order to possibly verify their political implications on the EU referendum: population, ethnicity and immigration.

4.2.1 Population

With an approximate population of 325,407 and 12,137 inhabitants per km^2, Lambeth is one of the most densely populated boroughs in London and in England.[27] It is also one of London's youngest districts, with an 80% of population of working age (16-65) and more than a half of it below the age of 50. Because of this, a great number of its locals are temporary residents and the number of inflows and outflows are high. The Lambeth Council claims that only 50% of Lambeth's inhabitants have remained a resident after five years and that 12% of the locals leave each and are replaced by other 12%.[28]

On the other hand, in spite of its large size, Havering is one of the least densely populated areas within Greater London, with just 2,230 inhabitants per km^2 and a total of 250,477 residents (2016). [29] It is also one of the oldest boroughs in London in demographic terms. Unlike Lambeth, around half of its population **is** above 40, which makes it a place mostly composed of families and retired people. During the last decades of the twentieth

---

[27] Greater London Authority, 'Round Ethnic Group Population Projections, 2014', *London Datastore* <https://goo.gl/ysU3G5> [accessed 13 May 2017]; Greater London Authority, 'Land Area and Population Density, Ward and Borough, 2014', *London Datastore* <https://goo.gl/t9zTf6> [accessed 18 May 2017].

[28] Lambeth Council, *State of Borough 2016,* p. 15.

[29] Greater London Authority, 'Round Ethnic Group Population Projections, 2014'; 'Land Area and Population Density, Ward and Borough, 2014'.

century, Havering suffered from a population loss, but this has recently changed as London's suburbs developed and migration levels increased.[30]

In regard to this, figure 1 below illustrates the different age categories in both regions and includes statistics for London and Great Britain as general references. It can be observed that Lambeth is home to fewer children, teenagers and older people than the rest, as the most numerous group is composed of people aged 20-39. Regarding the youngest collective, all areas show similar results, with Lambeth the lowest and London the highest percentages. The 20-39 group is much more pronounced in Lambeth, followed by London, Great Britain and finally Havering. The contrary happens with the two oldest groups, with Havering presenting the highest levels, following the national trends, and Lambeth the lowest.

Figure 1. Population per age bands in 2015 (%)
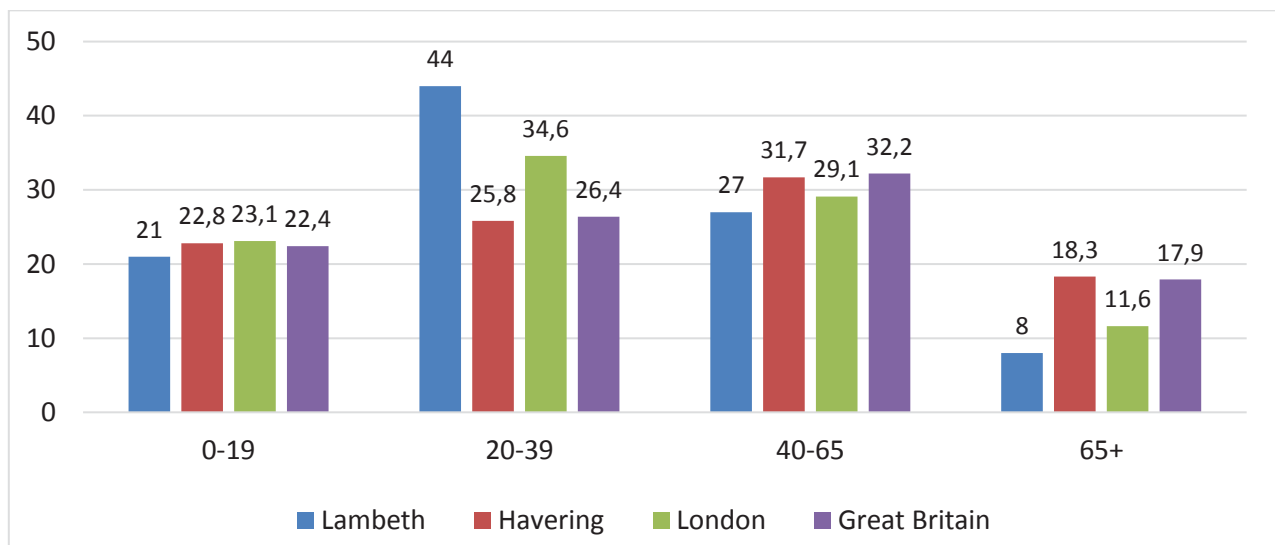
Created by the author from Invest in Havering, 'Population Estimates: Local Authority Based by Five Year Age Band', *Invest in Havering* <https://goo.gl/9Yt1Cb> [accessed 16 May 2017]; Lambeth and Southwark's Public Health Intelligence Team, *Lambeth Demographic Factsheet* (May 2015) <https://goo.gl/PMjLjk> [accessed 10 May 2017].

---

[30] London Borough of Havering Public Health Service, 'This is Havering' pp. 5-22.

Hence, it can be concluded that there is a significant difference between these two zones regarding the age profile as the former hosts more young people and the latter's population is older. Generally speaking, Lambeth manifests similar results to London, whereas Havering resembles more Great Britain's projections.

Furthermore, it is also estimated that the population grows at a faster pace in Lambeth not only due to a higher number of immigration inflows, but also due to a larger number of annual births as residents in this area are younger. This is also manifested in the average age of the boroughs, as Havering (40.3) is more than five years older than Lambeth (34.4), and also than London (35.9) and the UK as a whole (39.6).[31]
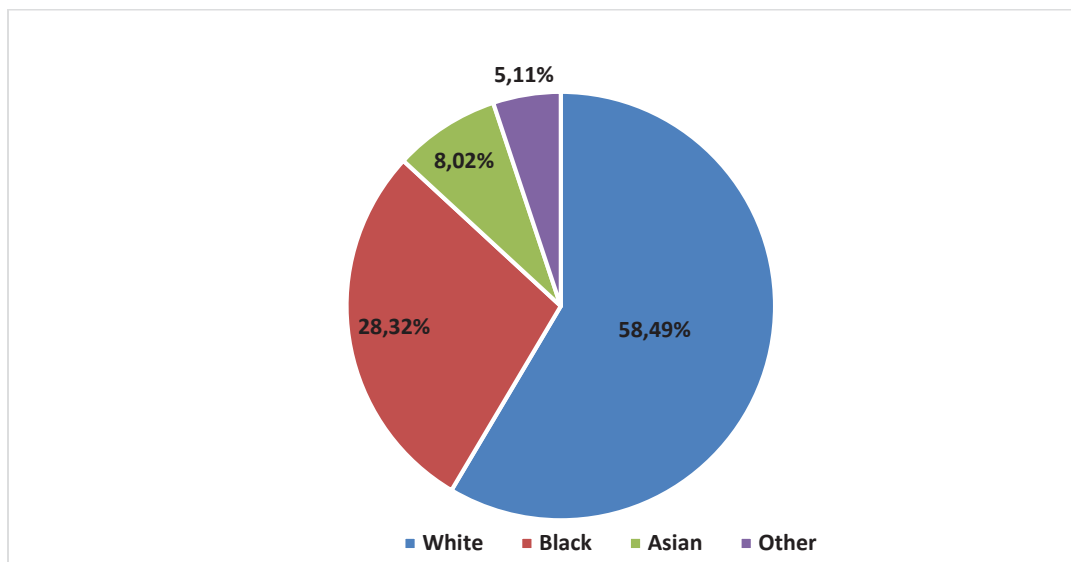
---

[31] Greater London Authority, 'London Borough Profiles and Atlas, 2016', *London Datastore* <https://goo.gl/KcMq7o> [accessed 24 June 2017].

4.2.2 Ethnicity

As stated before, Lambeth is one of the most assorted districts in London, with people coming from different social and racial backgrounds, as illustrated in figure 2.

Figure 2. Lambeth's ethnic composition (2016)

Created by the author with data from Greater London Authority, 'Round Ethnic Group Population Projections, 2014', *London Datastore* <https://goo.gl/ysU3G5> [accessed 15 April 2017]

Note: Numbers may not add exactly 100% due to rounding.

According to the GLA projections for 2016, white people accounted for around 60% of the population in contrast to a 40% composed of the BAME community, that is, black, Asian, and minority ethnic groups. Taking into account that white people also include foreign residents, the percentage of British locals in this area drops to less than 40% of the overall population. Therefore, the remaining 20% is composed of white people coming from European, American or Australasian backgrounds. With respect to the BAME community, the black group is the most abundant, with African, Caribbean and other black people

constituting a total of 28.32% of Lambeth's population. The Asian community is next in number, with a total 8.02%, encompassing Indians, Chinese, Pakistani, Bangladeshi and people originating from other Asian countries. The remaining 5.11% is composed of other BAME ethnicities. All ethnic profiles show a majority of people aged 0-45, which strengthens the idea of Lambeth as a young borough.[32]

Havering, on the contrary, differs greatly in its ethnic profile, with a vast majority of white population (84.23%) and a reduced group of residents belonging to the BAME citizenry (15.77%). The black community is the second largest (7.54%), followed by the Asian (6.98%) and other races (5.11%), as depicted in figure 3.

Figure 3. Havering's ethnic composition (2016)

Created by the author with data from Greater London Authority, 'Round Ethnic Group Population Projections, 2014', *London Datastore* <https://goo.gl/ysU3G5> [accessed 15 April 2017].
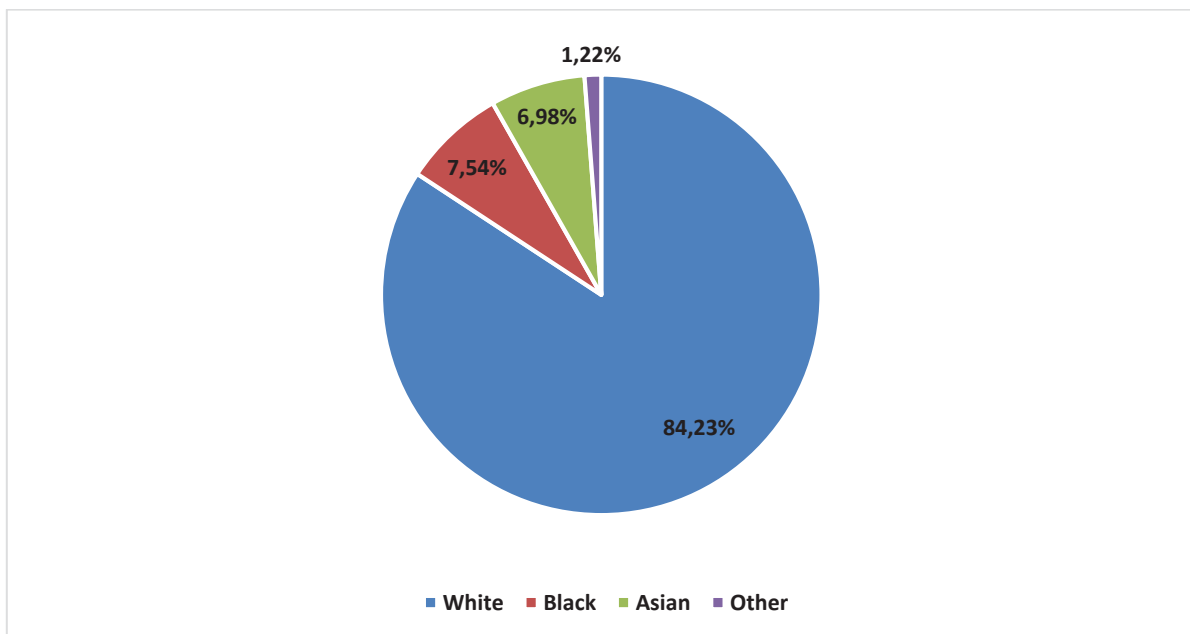
Note: Numbers may not add exactly 100% due to rounding.

---

[32] Lambeth Council, 'State of the Borough 2016', pp. 24-29.

Generally speaking, it is noticeable that Lambeth is more heterogeneous than Havering, for it shows less racial diversity. A more detailed breakdown of the different ethnic groups can be seen in table 1, which establishes a comparison between these places. Except for the Indian group, which is more numerous in percentage in Havering, and the Bangladeshi community, which has same percentage, all ethnicities are more present in Lambeth than in Havering with respect to the total population.

Table 1. Ethnic profile comparison

Ethnic group	Lambeth		Havering	
	Population	%	Population	%
White total	190,322	58.49	210,978	84.23
British				
Irish				
Other White				
BAME Total	135,085	41.51	39,499	15.77
Black Caribbean	27,084	8.32	3,558	1.42
Black African	35,990	11.05	9,997	4.00
Black Other	29,151	8.95	5,323	2.12
Indian	4,885	1.50	7,007	2.79
Pakistani	3,119	0.95	2,250	0.89
Bangladeshi	2,253	0.69	1,734	0.69
Chinese	4,815	1.47	1,581	0.63
Other Asian	11,128	3.41	4,970	1.98
Other	16,660	5.11	3,079	1.22
Total	325,407		250,477	

Created by the author with data from Greater London Authority, 'London Borough Profiles and Atlas, 2016', *London Datastore* [accessed 24 April 2017] <https://goo.gl/KcMq7o>; Greater London Authority, 'Round Ethnic Group Population Projections, 2014', *London Datastore* <https://goo.gl/ysU3G5> [accessed 23 April 2017]; Lambeth Council, 'State of the Borough 2016', *Lambeth* <https://goo.gl/dxnsEn> [accessed 25 April 2017].

Note: Numbers may not exactly add 100% due to rounding.

4.2.3 Immigration

Immigration has always been a common phenomenon in the UK for historic, cultural and especially economic reasons. The Migration Observatory from the University of Oxford asserts that the number of immigrants in this country have almost tripled over the last 20 years. However, it is not equally distributed as half of the foreigners usually settle in London.[33] Consequently, Lambeth and Havering are also affected by international arrivals but numbers vary considerably when they are compared.

With respect to this, the two tables below comprise the population changes in both boroughs due to international immigration. On the one hand, table 2 reveals that immigration levels have progressively augmented in both places in most of the cases, especially over recent years. Nevertheless, there is a significant contrast in terms of quantity as the total number of inflows in Lambeth is around ten times higher than Havering's with respect to the total amount population.

Table 2. International migration: number of inflows per year

	2011-2012	2012-2013	2013-2014	2014-2015	Total	% of the population
Lambeth	7,405	7,461	7,100	9,200	31,166	10.00
Havering	731	730	1,139	1,080	3,680	1.53

Created by the author with data from Greater London Authority, 'Migration Indicators, 2016', *London Datastore* <https://goo.gl/Y7wF86> [accessed 16 May 2017].

On the other hand, it is important to bear in mind that London is a cosmopolitan and dynamic spot. As a consequence, immigrants from this area are more likely to change home than those living anywhere else, mostly due to job opportunities or housing prices. In this

---

[33] Carlos Vargas Silva and Cinzia Rienzo, 'Migrants in the UK: An Overview', *The Migration Observatory at the University of Oxford*, 21 February 2017 <https://goo.gl/qKk2pt > [accessed 17 May 2017]

regard, Lambeth also presents a higher level of total outflows from 2011 to 2015 – five times as many as Havering – as table 3 manifests.

Table 3. International migration: number of outflows per year

	2011-2012	2012-2013	2013-2014	2014-2015	Total	%
Lambeth	4,710	4,204	4,455	4,602	17,971	5.79
Havering	465	459	466	476	1,866	0.78

Created by the author with data from Greater London Authority, 'Migration Indicators, 2016', *London Datastore* <https://goo.gl/Y7wF86> [accessed 16 May 2017].

In addition to the previous two charts, table 4 provides information on net international immigration, that is to say, the result of subtracting the number of outflows from the number of inflows as an indicator of the foreign population that is incorporated to the existing one. The final outcome suggests that except for Lambeth in the 2013-2014 period and Havering in the 2014-2015 one, both areas experimented a growth over time with immigration rates doubling during this four-year period. Similarly to the previous charts, Lambeth prevails over Havering in terms of net migration as well.

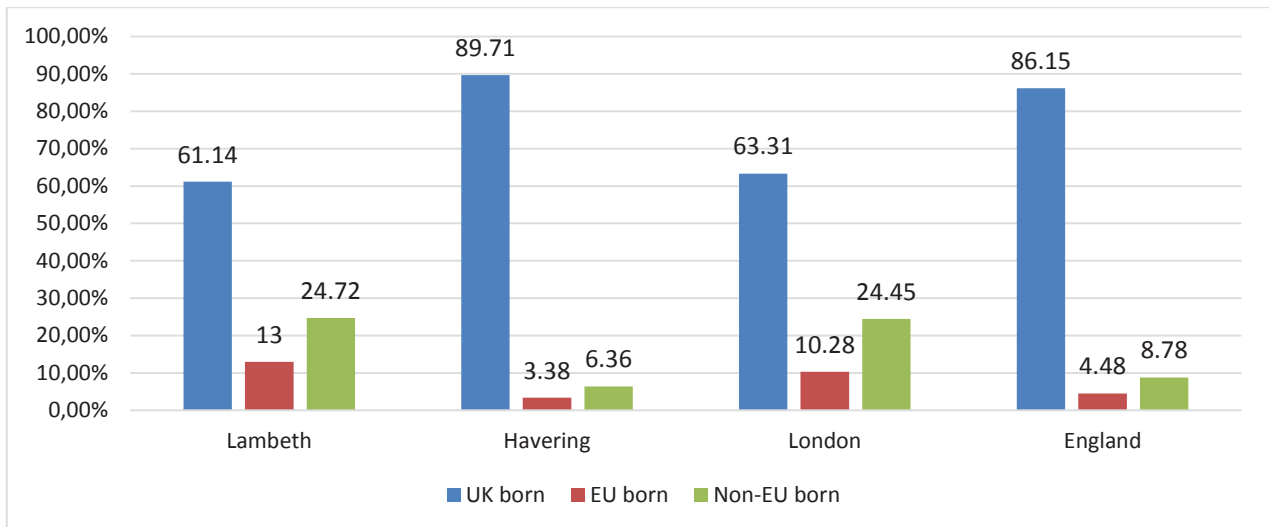Table 4. International immigration: net immigration

	2011-2012	2012-2013	2013-2014	2014-2015	Total	%
Lambeth	2,695	3,257	2,645	4,598	13,195	+4.25
Havering	266	271	673	604	1,814	+0.75

Created by the author with data from Greater London Authority, 'Migration Indicators, 2016', *London Datastore* <https://goo.gl/CPZjYB> [accessed 16 May 2017].

All in all, it is remarkable that the numbers of international arrivals were higher in Lambeth than in Havering regarding inflows, outflows and net immigration in all time intervals and thus, foreign residents increased with 4.25% in the former and just 0.75% in the latter during the 2011-2015 period.

Concerning the birthplace of the residents as of 2011, figure 4 portrays the ethnic diversity of both areas, although numbers differ as the 'white citizens' category also includes immigrants and the 'UK-born' section comprises citizens of all races. Regarding this, Havering is characterized by the highest rate of UK-born residents, exceeding Lambeth, London and even England. Lambeth, on the contrary, evinces the lowest share of UK-born population, proving once again to be even more diverse than London in general. Likewise, the numbers of EU natives follow the same pattern in the four regions, with Lambeth topping the list, followed by London, England and Havering. Finally, the non- EU category displays similar results in Lambeth and in London, whereas Havering's scores are significantly lower, even below the national levels. All in all, non-EU born citizens are more numerous in all areas than EU immigrants.

Figure 4. Population by origin 2011 (%)

A more detailed view of the origin of the population can be seen in table 5, which features a breakdown of the inhabitants in the four regions, including the different non-UK places other than EU countries. The selected data reflects that EU immigrants are the most numerous in both boroughs with more presence in Lambeth. Africans and Asians are the next largest communities but all in all, EU natives are less abundant than non-EU ones in all cases. However, recent statistics show that regarding the 2014-2015 period, the largest number of arrivals in these places came from European countries. Lambeth received more people from Spain, Italy and Portugal, respectively whereas the majority of newcomers in Havering were of Romanian, Lithuanian and Bulgarian citizenship.[34]

---

[34] Greater London Authority, 'London Borough Profiles and Atlas, 2016'.

Table 5. Population by country of Birth (2011)

	Lambeth	%	Havering	%	London	%	England	%
Total population	303,086		237,232		8,173,941		53,012,456	
UK-born	185,337	61.14	212,840	89.71	5,175,677	63.31	45,675,317	86.15
European Union countries	39,420	13.00	8,025	3.38	840,940	10.28	2,375,441	4.48
Africa total	28,878	9.52	6,331	2.66	621,613	7.60	1,290,611	2.43
Middle East and Asia	14,543	4.79	6,602	2.78	966,990	11.83	2,529,137	4.77
The Americas and the Caribbean	25,320	8.35	1,850	0.77	326,280	3.99	663,091	1.25
Antarctica and Oceania	6,248	2.06	363	0.15	84,661	1.03	179,200	0.33

Created by the author with data from Greater London Authority, 'London Borough Profiles and Atlas, 2016', *London Datastore* <https://goo.gl/KcMq7o> [accessed 10 May 2017]; UK Census Data, 'London, 2012', *The UK Census Data Website* <https://goo.gl/pKg1CH> [accessed 14 May 2017.

Note: Numbers may not add up 100% due to rounding and the exclusion of Non- EU countries and as they displayed very low rates that could not be represented on the previous graph.

In addition to this, it is important to highlight that internal migration levels have been higher in Havering than in Lambeth over the last years. For instance, *The Telegraph* asserts that during the 2013-2014 period, the former scored +0.91% and the latter -0.59% on this category. Internal migration is defined as the movements that take place between places across UK. Thus, it comprises UK residents from any nationality. On this respect, Lambeth

internal outflows are probably due to housing costs and the contrary happens in Havering, which receives more internal migrants as it is cheaper than other parts in inner London.[35]

In short, the collected demographic information reveals a meaningful dissimilitude between Lambeth and Havering in terms of age, race and country of origin, mirroring the first significant difference between the electorate in both places.

---

[35] Laurence Dodds, 'Immigration by Local Authority', *The Telegraph* < https://goo.gl/nG1D73 > [accessed 13 May 2017].

4.2 Economy

As mentioned before, the economy was one of the central aspects when disussing the presumable repercussions of leaving the EU, especially in the case of the 'remain' campaign. Therefore, a second aspect to be evaluated is the financial profile of each region so as to obtain a more accurate portrait of the standards of life of their population and subsequently, its possible impact in their voting attitudes. Thus, data regarding business activity, employment and housing will be discussed in this section.

4.2.1 Business

Due to its strategic location near the City of London, where most of the economic activity in the capital occurs, Lambeth is an economically developed area with an estimated Gross Value Added (GVA) of 10,316 million pounds in 2014. Havering's industrial sectors contributed to London's economy with an estimate total of 5,157 million pounds during the same period, half of the former's GVA.[36] This difference is also manifest in table 6 and its graphic representation in figure 5, which compare the establishment of new enterprises from 2011 to 2015 in these regions. As table 6 indicates, not only businesses were more abundant in Lambeth than in Havering over the years, but they also grew at a faster pace. For instance, during the first two years Lambeth doubled Havering in number, but from 2013 to 2015 the proportion was much higher, with the former displaying almost five times as many new enterprises as the latter.

---

[36] Gordon Douglass, 'Regional Gross Value Added Estimates for London by Different Geographies, 1997-2014', p.14, *Mayor of London and London Assembly* <https://goo.gl/3EgQaW> [accessed 14 June 2017].

Table 6. Newborn enterprises over time

	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015
Lambeth	1,555	1,945	4,255	5,115	5,570
Havering	890	1,005	1,085	1,460	1,485

Created by the author with data from Karen Watkins, 'Business Demography', *Office for National Statistics* <https://goo.gl/QXNcX6> [accessed 19 May 2017].

This growth is graphically illustrated in figure 5, which shows the disparity between the two boroughs as well as their evolution throughout time. It can then be concluded that both places indicate a positive economic development during this period, but Lambeth is without doubt more financially active and prosperous than Havering, which exhibits a slower business expansion and a more static economy.

Figure 5. Newborn enterprises over time
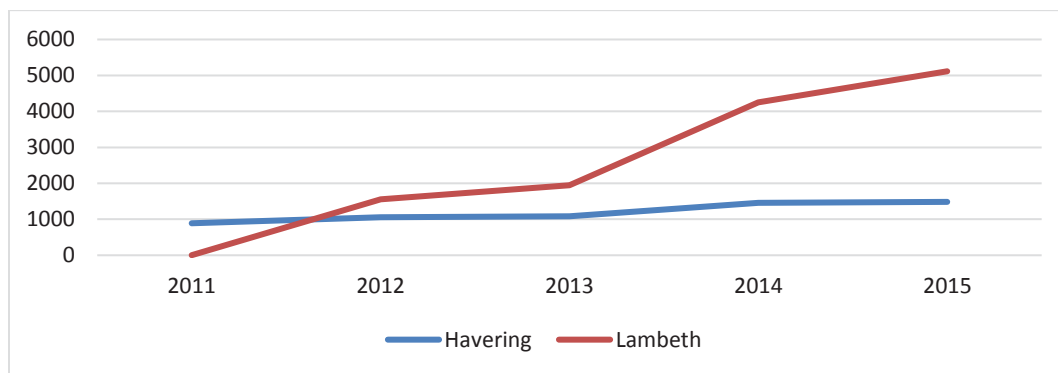
Created by the author with data from Karen Watkins, 'Business Demography', *Office for National Statistics* <https://goo.gl/QXNcX6> [accessed 19 May 2017].

4.2.2 Labour Market

Apart from the business activity, employment data from both boroughs are compiled in table 7 further down, including London, England and the UK as references. Surprisingly, Havering presents the lowest unemployment levels, below Lambeth, London and the UK whereas Lambeth stands on the other side of the rank, with an unemployment rate of 6%. The job density indicator makes reference to the relationship between the number of job posts and the number of residents. For instance, a job density rate of 1 would mean that there is a job post per person.[37] Strikingly, this indicator does not seem to be correlated with the unemployment statistics in this case, as there seems to be more job opportunities in Lambeth than in Havering in spite of the fact that the latter employs more people than the former.

As for the economic sectors, except for the education field, Havering's workers tend to perform less skilled jobs than Lambeth's. For instance, Lambeth displays higher rates of employees in healthcare, information, communication, administrative services, science and technology, whereas Havering employs more labour force in vehicles repair, transportation or construction than the former.[38] In terms of academic training, it is remarkable that Lambeth comprehends much more educated working age people than Havering – around twice as much – which could also be a determinant factor for the quality of employment and therefore, the working conditions, earnings and satisfaction of employees. Nevertheless, both places seem to score a similar average salary as the gross annual pay section describes, with Lambeth's rate slightly above Havering's and both regions placed above the national indicators, as reflected in table 7.

---

[37] Office for National Statistics, 'Jobs and Job Density, Borough', *London Datastore* <https://goo.gl/yvvqxE> [accessed 14 June 2017].

[38] Office for National Statistics, 'Labour Market Profile', *NOMIS: Official Labour Market Statistics* <https://goo.gl/uX8xrY> [accessed 18 May 2017].

Table 7. Labour market statistics (2015)

	Havering	Lambeth	London	England	UK
Unemployment rate (2016)	4.4	6	5.7	-	4.8
Job density	0.60	0.76	0.98	0.84	0.83
Working age people with no qualifications	10.5	6.2	7.3	8.4	8.8
Working age people with degree or equivalent and above	26	65	49.9	36.7	36.9
Gross annual pay	£32,274	£33,341	£33,203	£27,869	£27,645

Created by the author with data from Office for National Statistics, 'Labour Market Profile', *NOMIS: Official Labour Market Statistics* <https://goo.gl/uX8xrY> [accessed 5 May 2017]; Greater London Authority, 'London Borough Profiles and Atlas*, 2016'*, *London Datastore* [accessed 24 June 2017].

Furthermore, tables 8 and 9 indicate the income of each area by place of residence, that is, the average earnings of people who live in that place, and the average income by place of work, that is, the wages of the people who work in each area, respectively. On the one hand, it is noticeable that both boroughs have better scores than the national average but worse than London. This way, Havering's residents earn more than Lambeth in terms of weekly pay but the contrary happens when it comes to the hourly pay. On the other hand, results vary when it comes to earnings by place of work, which displays a more significant salary gap between these two regions both on the weekly and the hourly pay, with Havering's scores below Lambeth, London and even England's.

Table 8. Earnings by place of residence for full time workers (2016)

	Havering	**Lambeth**	**London**	**England**	**UK**
Gross weekly pay	£622.9	£613.8	£632.4	£544.7	£541
Hourly pay	£15.73	£16.35	£16.44	£13.73	£13.66

Created by the author with data from Office for National Statistics, 'Labour Market Profile', *NOMIS: Official Labour Market Statistics* <https://goo.gl/uX8xrY> [accessed 5 May 2017].

Table 9. Earnings by place of work for full time workers (2016)

	Havering	**Lambeth**	**London**	**England**	**UK**
Gross weekly pay	£542.3	£635.1	£670.8	£544.2	£540.2
Hourly pay	£13.65	£17.05	£17.56	£13.71	£13.64

Created by the author with data from Office for National Statistics, 'Labour Market Profile', *NOMIS: Official Labour Market Statistics* <https://goo.gl/uX8xrY> [accessed 6 May 2017].

In other words, both areas' workers and residents earn less than the London average and but there is a distinction between local residents and local workers, with similar numbers in the former and Lambeth's residents earning more in the latter. As employees often commute from other areas to their workplace, earnings by place of work might reflect the economic prosperity of the businesses placed in each borough whereas earnings by place of residence might be an economic indicator of the population's wealth. Therefore, the first indicator is more representative when it comes to voting as the electorate is usually registered to vote in their hometown, but it does not suggest any significant differences between the two places.

4.2.3 Housing

Parallel to the wages of the residents, it is also necessary to examine the expenditure on accommodation so as to obtain a more accurate picture of the final income of the locals. As table 10 illustrates, it is indisputable that prices have grown both locally and nationally, although numbers vary depending on the area. In terms of price itself, Lambeth's properties are the most expensive, followed by London, Havering, England and the UK. These variations might be explained in reference to density and location. For instance, Lambeth's high prices could be due to its high density and consequent demand for accommodation as well as a result of its proximity to the centre. The contrary seems to happen in Havering, with lower prices resulting from its location in outer London and its poor density. Overall, Lambeth's housing costs have been the most elevated in all cases and also experienced the highest growth – a rate of +169% compared to Havering's +154%.

Table 10. Average housing price throughout years

	June 2011	June 2012	June 2013	June 2014	June 2015	June 2016
Havering	£221,986	£220,177	£224,958	£257,606	£284,547	£341,873
Lambeth	£304,481	£333,273	£351,150	£435,515	£467,797	£515,650
London	£285,906	£306,823	£324,518	£387,182	£419,474	£477,454
England	£174,838	£178,696	£182,088	£197,951	£209,874	£231,039
UK	£167,753	£170,049	£172,655	£187,077	£196,802	£215,182

Created by the author with data from HM Land Registry, 'UK House Price Index for: United Kingdom', *UK House Price Index* <https://goo.gl/VSxdhB> [accessed 2 May 2017].

Figure 6. Variation in housing price throughout years in thousands of pounds
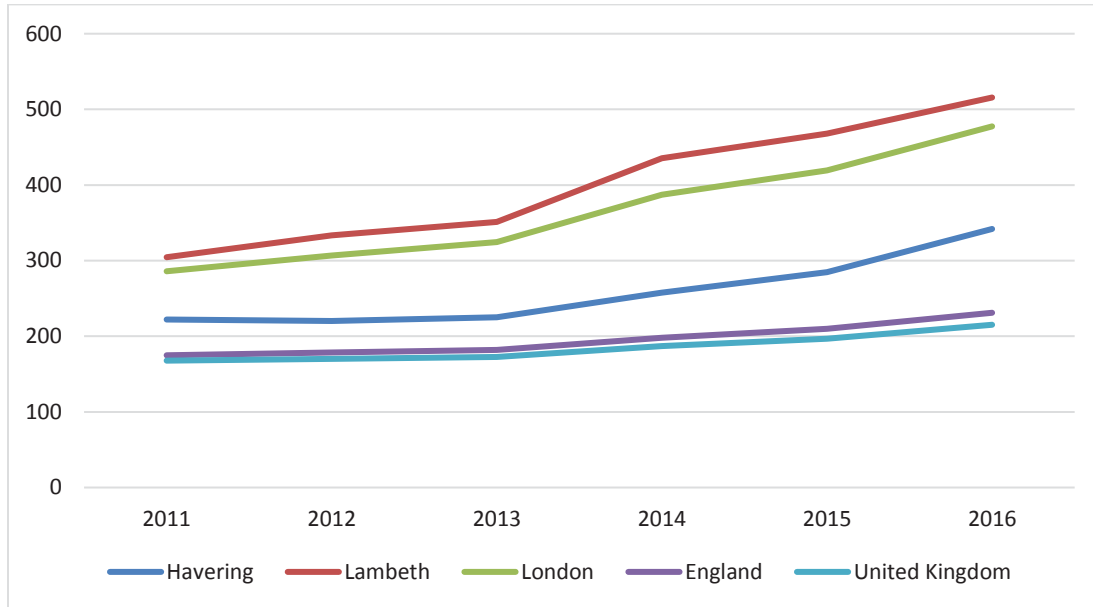
Created by the author with data from HM Land Registry, 'UK House Price Index for: United Kingdom', *UK House Price Index* <https://goo.gl/VSxdhB> [accessed 2 May 2017].

Having considered the economic characteristics above, it can be said that there is an alternation of economic prevalence depending on the subject under analysis. On the one hand, Lambeth is more productive as far as business activity concerns and this is reflected in the salary of its employees (earnings by place of work) and also in its GVA. However, the final income of its population (earnings by place of residence) is considerably lower than Havering's as housing prices are much more elevated in the former. Havering, on the other hand, is characterised by less skilled workers and less job density and yet, its unemployment rate is lower. Therefore, the selected data do not seem to highlight any meaningful difference in the final income of the residents as the outstanding difference appears to lie on the profile of the employees and the predominant economic activities of each area.

4.3 Community

Apart from economic and demographic characteristics, other aspects must be considered so as to obtain a more accurate portrait of the boroughs under examination in relation to some environmental issues that might have had a connection with the referendum choice, either directly or indirectly. For this purpose, crime, homelessness and wellbeing will be discussed in the following paragraphs.

4.3.1 Crime

As a matter of fact, London is one of the places with the highest crime rates in the UK and the neighbourhood of Lambeth shows similar crime patterns. The numerous riots that occurred over the last thirty years are an example of the social unrest this area has recently experienced. Back in 1981 and later in 2011, several incidents between black residents and the police led to continuous protests, which finally turned into violent uprisings that left around four hundred civilians injured and countless material damages.[39]

Nowadays, Lambeth's crime ratio is still one of the most prominent in London, contrarily to Havering, which is regarded by the police as a safe environment.[40] This is reflected in the statistics from the 2011-2016 period, which indicate that during this time, 172,603 infractions were committed in Lambeth and 81,298 in Havering – 4.55% and 2.14% of the total offences in London, respectively. Both places have experienced a small increase in comparison with the previous year, with Lambeth showing slightly worse results. Nonetheless, the crime rate, which is a more accurate indicator as it estimates the number of incidents per one thousand people, also suggests that Havering is a safer and more tranquil area, as the table below exhibits.

---

[39] Kieran Connell, 'Riots Don't Happen Without a Reason', *The Guardian*, 10 August 2011 <https://goo.gl/cZAxG5> [accessed 13 May 2017].

[40] The London Borough of Havering, 'Crime in Havering Down Significantly'*, Havering London Borough,* 3 March 2014 <https://goo.gl/ny7wDZ> [accessed 19 May 2017].

Table 11. Crime statistics

	Lambeth	**Havering**	**London**
Total crimes 2011-2016	172,603	81,298	3,789,887
Variation from 2014-2015 to 2015-2016	+0.60%	+0.54	+0.22%
Crime rate 2016 per thousand population	108.83	70.50	-

Created by the author with data from Metropolitan Police, 'Crime Data Dashboard: London', *Metropolitan Police* <https://goo.gl/c7EHnt> [accessed 18 May 2017]; Metropolitan Police, 'Crime in Havering Compared with Crime in Other Similar Areas', *Police.UK* <https://goo.gl/wBVFDR> [accessed 19 May 2017].

Detailed crime data for the 2015-2016 period can be seen in table 12, where once again, Lambeth prevails over Havering in most of the offences except for the domestic crime and anti-semitic crime categories, where they are more frequent in the latter in relation to the total population. It is remarkable that the number of offences related to ideology is more frequent in Lambeth, although this does not necessarily mean that locals in this area are less tolerant of others, as these data only reflect where they occurred and not the offenders' place of residence. All in all, Havering accounted for just 2.30% of the total offences in the capital, whereas Lambeth represented 4.62% of them, twice as much as the former.[41]

---

[41] Percentages calculated by the author based on data from table 12.

Table 12. Number of Offences 2015-2016

	Havering	Lambeth	London
Homicide	1	0	104
Violence against the person	6,097	10,661	234,930
Rape	117	327	6,314
Other sexual offences	258	546	11,181
Robbery	336	1,256	23,062
Burglary	1,857	3,102	68,737
Gun crime	74	124	2,385
Motor vehicle crime	1,812	3,053	79,164
Domestic crime	2,324	2,719	74,389
Racist & religious hate crime	309	640	16,836
Homophobic crime	33	155	2,034
Anti-semitic crime	4	2	514
Islamophobic crime	11	48	1,204
Total crimes	**17,588**	**35,307**	**763,410**

Created by the author with data from Metropolitan Police, 'Crime Mapping', *Police.UK* <https://goo.gl/c6wkib> [accessed 13 April 2017].

Generally speaking, Havering is a safer area to live in than Lambeth, probably due to the fact that it is located in Outer London whereas Lambeth is a busier and a more populated

zone, accordingly, incidents are more likely to happen. Other influential factors may include the multicultural nature of this borough resulting in racial confrontations and the progressive increment in the immigrant community, which has often been linked to an increase in the criminal activity. In fact, the Metropolitan Police highlights that during 2014, most of the lawbreakers and victims in Lambeth were aged between 20-29 and more than half of the offenders were from black background.[42] Therefore, the demographic composition could also be a determinant factor for crime as Lambeth features higher proportions of both young and foreign residents.

4.3.2 Homelessness

Like crime, vagrancy is another issue that affects the English capital. Statistics show that in 2016, more than 250,000 people lacked accommodation in England, 8,059 of which were located in London.[43] The reasons leading a person to lose their dwelling are myriad and complex, oftentimes resulting from personal circumstances, environmental factors or a combination of both. Shelter, a charity that aims at tackling this phenomenon, asserts that personal causes include a lack of education, mental health problems, delinquency, familiar disputes and substance abuse, among others. Nonetheless, external elements such as unemployment, elevated housing costs and inefficient policies are also among the risk factors.[44] Hence, homelessness statistics should not be overlooked as they may reveal socio-economic problems affecting these two London boroughs, which will be compared hereunder.

Disturbingly, in 2016, 32 of the top 50 places with residents at risk of becoming homeless were London boroughs, with Lambeth and Havering among them. The former was

---

[42] Sara Wood and others, 'Violence Profile: Lambeth', *Public Health Institute, Liverpool John Moores University*, p. 5, December 2014 <https://goo.gl/UkQcZs> [accessed 16 May 2017].

[43] Patrick Butler, 'More than 250,000 People in England are Homeless, Says Shelter', *The Guardian,* 1 December 2016 <https://goo.gl/wRdFBC> [accessed 20 May 2017].

[44] Shelter, 'What Causes Homelessness?', *Shelter* <https://goo.gl/BEbtUJ> [accessed 20 May 2017].

in the 17th position with a total of 5,529 people in temporary accommodation and a rate of one homeless person per 57 residents whereas Havering occupied the 27th place with 1,939 people seeking provisional accommodation and a homelessness rate of 1/128.[45] Additionally, figure 7 provides information on rough sleeping over the past years, which refers to the amount of people spending the night in the street. In terms of quantity, both Havering and Lambeth present lower trends than London, albeit the latter's levels are higher than the former's until 2015. From 2015 to 2016, however, the situation changes as Lambeth's levels drop and Havering's significantly increase. Overall, the numbers indicate that even if rough sleeping has augmented in Havering, homelessness seems to be a bigger problem in Lambeth.

Figure 7. Rough sleeping throughout years
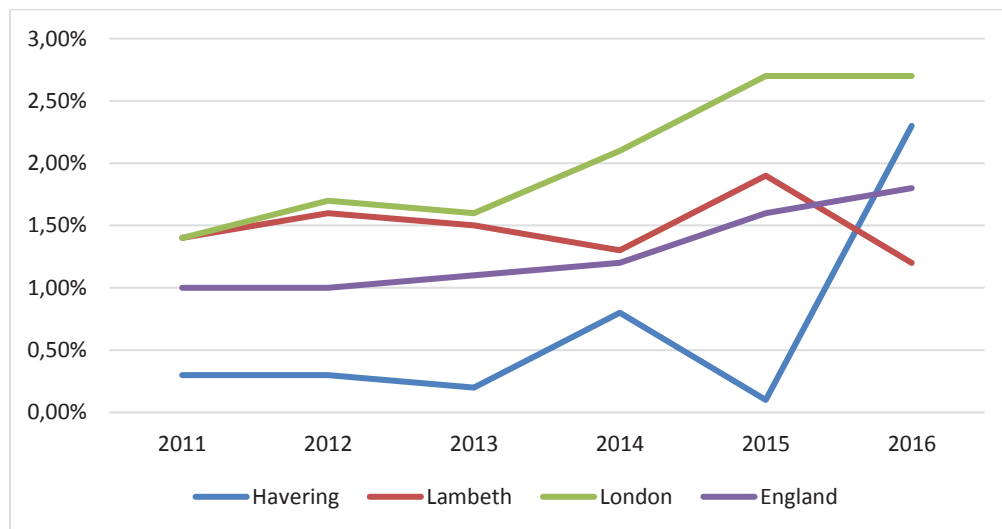
Created by the author with data from Noel Dempsey and Cassie Barton, 'Local Authority Homelessness Statistics (England)', *UK Parliament Website* <https://goo.gl/Wt9NkR> [accessed 24 May 2017].

In addition to the aforementioned factors, the progressive rise of immigration inflows has also been linked to an augmentation in homelessness. As *The Guardian* maintains, immigrants are more vulnerable in this respect, for the labour market is less accessible to

---

[45] Vicky Shaw, 'England's Worst 50 Homelessness Spots Revealed as Study Finds 255,000 people Have no Permanent Home', *The Independent,* 1 December 2016 <https://goo.gl/NqCHXP> [accessed 23 May 2017].

them in many of the cases.[46] Table 13 shows that although most of the rough sleepers are UK nationals in all areas, almost half of them are foreigners in the case of London. Similar patterns can be seen in Lambeth but not in Havering, who displays a minimum amount of international rough sleepers. It is also outstanding that most of the rough sleepers come from EU countries in the three areas and especially in Lambeth, probably due to the fact that it encompasses more EU immigrants than Havering does.

Table 13. Rough sleeper profile (2016), per hundred

	Havering	Lambeth	London	England
From the UK	83	65	57	78
From outside UK	17	35	43	22
EU-countries	8	29	31	17
Non-EU countries	8	6	12	5

Created by the author with data from Noel Dempsey and Cassie Barton, 'Local Authority Homelessness Statistics (England)', *UK Parliament Website* <https://goo.gl/Wt9NkR> [accessed 24 May 2017].

Note: Numbers may not totally add 100% due to rounding.

---

[46]Mark Moody, 'The Growing Problem of Foreign National Homelessness', *The Guardian,* 13 April 2002 <https://goo.gl/MN7sXd> [accessed 26 May 2017].

4.3.3 Wellbeing

Apart from safety and homelessness, a third aspect to be looked at is the psychological state of the residents in order to possibly ascertain whether it could have been reflected in the voting decision or not. Table 14 gathers information from the Annual Population Survey, in which the welfare of the population was classified in a rank from 1 to 10, being 1 the lowest and 10 the highest value.

Table 14. Wellbeing statistics (2011-2014)

	Lambeth	Havering	London	England
Happiness	7.2	7.21	7.24	7.33
Anxiety	3.53	3.28	3.29	3.03
Life Satisfaction	7.14	7.39	7.30	7.45

Created by the author with data from Greater London Authority, 'London Borough Profiles and Atlas, 2016', *London Datastore* <https://goo.gl/KcMq7o> [accessed 21 May 2017].

Surprisingly, there is little difference between Lambeth and Havering in most of the cases as the results are positive in both areas. Yet, Lambeth seems to be the least satisfied and happy neighbourhood and the most anxious one as well in spite of being a more economically developed place, which contrasts not only with Havering but also with London and England as a whole. As the general nature of the variables does not denote any particular factor determining happiness, anxiety and life satisfaction, these indices might result from personal elements but also from environmental ones such as unaffordable housing prices or an elevated crime rate, as might be the case of Lambeth.

In short, the statistics gathered in this chapter hint to the fact that Lambeth is a more precarious zone than Havering in terms of safety and homelessness and that this difference

might have a slight impact on the psychological state of its residents when compared to Havering.
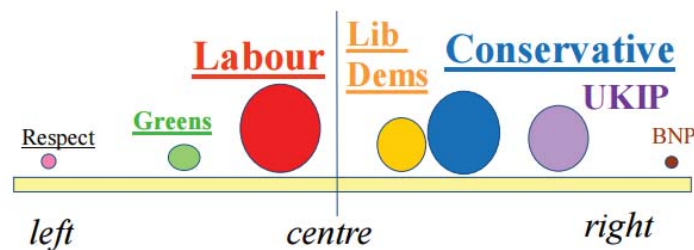
4.4 Governance

Ideology is another aspect to be considered as the preference for a party may designate the needs of a given society. For this reason, the outcomes of the different elections will be examined in this section, together with a brief description of the ideas advocated by five of the main political parties: the Conservative party, the Labour party, the UKIP, the Liberal Democrat party and the Green party.

4.4.1 The Role of Political Parties in the EU Referendum Vote

To begin with, it is necessary to outline the ideological position of each one of these five political parties. This classification can be seen in figure 8, where it can be observed that whereas the Labour and the Liberal Democrats are closer to the centre, and therefore more moderate, the Greens are more left-wing, the Conservatives are centre-right and and the UKIP are placed towards the right end, representing one of the most radical parties.

Figure 8. Classification of the main political parties in the UK

Reproduced from Patrick Dunleavy, 'The UK Party System and Party Politics. Part II: Governance, Ideology and Policy' (London: London School of Economics and Political Science, 2017) <https://goo.gl/UBf8eF> [accessed 21 May 2017].

What are the implications of this positioning in relation to the aforementioned socio-economic characteristics? First of all, it is remarkable that immigration has been a matter of concern among the British population over the last decades and this has been reflected in the campaigns of all parties. On the one hand, whereas the Conservative and the Labour collectives promised to reduce immigration and to impose harder requirements on foreigners willing to claim social benefits, this issue was regarded in a more tolerant way by the Liberal Democrats and especially by the Green party, who even advocated refugees' rights and less border controls. The UKIP was the party who opposed international inflows the most, endorsing tougher restrictions such as a considerable immigration mitigation as well as a selection of foreigners according to the needs of the British labour market, border reinforcements, refugee banishments and limitations to the benefits system. Hence, in terms of immigration acceptance the Green party was the most welcoming, followed by the Liberal Democrats, the Labour party, the Conservatives and finally the UKIP.[47]

Secondly, the relationship with Europe was oftentimes another central topic in all political debates. Out of the parties under discussion, the Liberal Democrats were the most Europhile group and advocated the permanence of the UK in the EU, together with the free movement of people and goods within a single market and a customs union.[48] At the opposite end of the scale there was the UKIP, which openly proclaimed Britain's necessity to withdraw from the EU and regain control over all national matters.[49]

Regarding the Conservative party, although it was David Cameron who initially promised to hold a referendum, he openly declared to support the EU membership and campaigned on its favour, asserting that the terms and conditions between both parts should

[47] 'Manifesto Watch: Where Parties Stand on Key Issues', *BBC News,* 23 February 2015 <https://goo.gl/178fDa> [accessed 21 May 2017]; Michael Wilkinson, 'Election 2015 Policies Guide: Summary of Comparisons', *The Telegraph,* 7 May 2015 <https://goo.gl/zwTZYY> [accessed 21 May 2017].

[48] Liberal Democrats, 'Liberal Democrat Manifesto 2017: Change Britain's Future', *Liberal Democrats* <http://www.libdems.org.uk/manifesto> [accessed 22 May 2017].

[49] UKIP, 'The UKIP Manifesto 2015', *UK Independence Party* <http://www.ukip.org/manifesto2015> [accessed 21 May 2017].

be renegotiated and more power should be granted to the national government.[50] However, over time, a great number of Conservatives proclaimed their support towards leaving the EU – a total of 42%, almost half of the constituents – in contrast to just 24% who wanted to remain and 34% who were unsure.[51] On the contrary, the Labour party declared to be pro-European in spite of the fact that its leader Jeremy Corbin voted against the UK's integration in the European Economic Market back in 1975, claiming in the present that the EU needs to be remodeled but that staying a member is more advantageous for the British nation.[52] Similarly, the Green party was also supportive towards the EU membership, but it acknowledged the need for a referendum and for European reform.[53] In this manner, a classification from the most Europhile to the most Eurosceptic party would situate the Liberal Democrats first, followed by the Greens, the Labour party, the Conservatives and finally the UKIP.

Having said that, it is crucial to examine the preference for each of these parties in Lambeth and Havering in order to obtain a picture of the public attitudes and ideologies of the citizens in each area. For this purpose, three different elections will be discussed hereunder, with a main focus on the local and the European elections.

---

[50] The Conservative Party, 'The Conservative Party Manifesto 2015', *Conservatives* <https://goo.gl/U2UuQQ> [accessed 22 May 2017].

[51] Ben Riley-Smith, 'Twice as many Tory Local Chairmen Back Brexit than Staying in EU, BBC Survey Reveals', *The Telegraph,* 6 March 2016 <https://goo.gl/H8A9Mc> [accessed 24 May 2017].

[52] Tom Moseley, 'In Quotes: Jeremy Corbyn and the EU Referendum', *BBC News,* 14 April 2016 <https://goo.gl/ru6f2E> [accessed 22 May 2017].

[53] The Green Party of England and Wales, 'For the Common Good: General Election Manifesto 2015', *Green Party* <https://goo.gl/CSK9sR> [accessed 22 May 2017].

4.4.1.2 Local Elections

The local elections took place on 22 May 2014 with the aim of choosing the council across 161 local authorities in England.[54] In Lambeth, less than half of the electorate participated, with an approximate turnout of 35%, less than the London average of 39% and significantly less than Havering's 43.1%. Whereas the Labour party massively succeeded in Lambeth (50.7%) and in London (37.1%), it just reached 13.7 % in Havering. Something similar happened with the Liberal Democrats and the Greens, which were more voted in Lambeth than in Havering, where the UKIP and the Conservatives succeeded the most, as figure 9 represents.

Figure 9. Local election results (%)
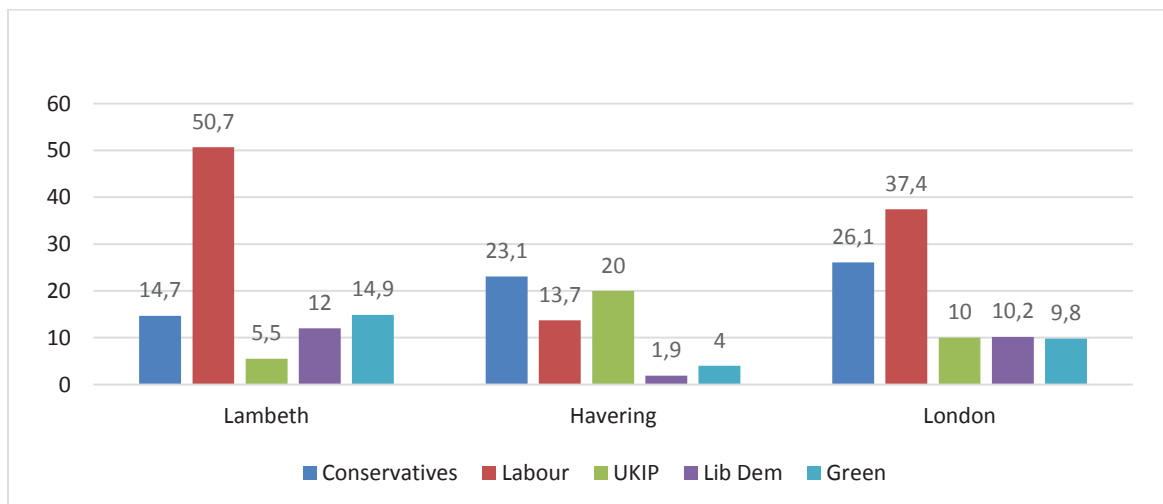
Created by the author with data from Gareth Piggott, 'London Borough Council Elections (2014)', *London Datastore* <https://goo.gl/R1JXWJ> [accessed 25 May 2017].

---

[54] Colin Rallings and Michael Thrasher, 'Local Elections in England May 2014' (Plymouth: Elections Centre, Plymouth University, 2016) <https://goo.gl/ApU1NK > [accessed 21 May 2017].

4.4.1.3 EU Parliament Elections

Just like the local elections, the European Parliament voting was scheduled on 22 May 2014 with the purpose of choosing 73 of the 751 members of the European parliament that correspond to the UK.[55] In this case, the general turnout was similar with a total of 37% in Lambeth, 43% in Havering and 37.4% in London. The outcome was more contrasting as the Labour party reached almost half of the electorate's votes in Lambeth, followed by the Green party whilst in Havering the most prominent ones were the UKIP and the Conservatives.[56]

Figure 10. European Parliament elections results (%)
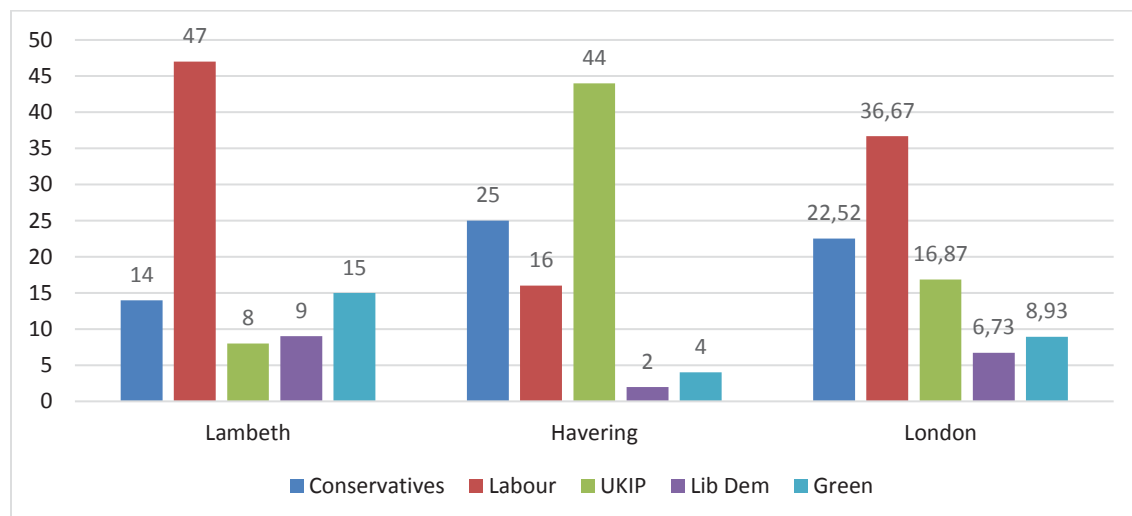
Created by the author with data from Lambeth Council, 'Elections Results by Party: European Election 2014', *Lambeth* <https://goo.gl/QNAa6o> [accessed 10 May 2017]; 'London: European Parliament Constituency', *BBC News* <https://goo.gl/X6ExSf> [accessed 17 May 2017]; The London Borough of Havering, 'European Election 2014: Thursday, 22nd May, 2014', *Havering London Borough* <https://goo.gl/qvuHpb> [accessed 13 May 2017].

---

[55] Government Digital Service, 'Types of Election, Referendums and Who Can Vote', *Gov.uk* <https://goo.gl/t2LjVE> [accessed 22 May 2017].

4.4.1.4 General Elections

 Apart from the local and the European elections, there were also General Elections in 2015, in which each constituency balloted for the person they wanted to be represented by in the UK Parliament. In this case, the turnout was higher both in Havering (70%) and Lambeth (63%) and the results showed similar trends to the ones stated previously. That is to say, the Conservatives and the UKIP topped the ranks in the former and the Labour party was the most elected in the latter with more than half of the constituents' support.[57]

Having considered these results, it can be concluded that there is a clear inclination towards the most Eurosceptic political groups in the case of Havering, which is strongly pronounced in the outcome of the European elections. The contrary happens to Lambeth's voters, which seem to prefer the most pro-European candidate groups in all cases. In relation to the political views of each of them, it could be argued that there is a strong ideological contrast between these two London boroughs as the former is more accepting in terms of immigration and European integration and the latter feels more reluctant about it.

---

[57] The London Borough of Havering, 'Election Results: General Elections', *Havering London Borough* <https://goo.gl/cyGCdG> [accessed 10 May 2017]; Lambeth Council, 'General Election 2015: Thursday 7 May 2015', *Lambeth* <https://goo.gl/QHzNur> [accessed 23 May 2017].

Note: it was not possible to collect separate and detailed data from the 2015 General elections for Lambeth and Havering since the results were published for each constituency and not for each borough.

5. The 'Brexit' Question: What Lambeth and Havering May Help Explain

Previous literature regarding this topic indicates that there seems to be a general consensus on the potential factors motivating the British electorate to opt for leaving the EU in demographic, economic and political terms.

First of all, with respect to demographic characteristics, older people, especially those aged 65 and above, have been linked to a stronger inclination towards Euroscepticism. Arnorsson and Zoega suggest that a possible explanation for this is the fact that this generation may have a preference for the British political situation before entering the EEC in 1973.[58] Moreover, it has been argued that national identity also plays an important role on this attitude. According to a survey carried out by The Independent, most of the people aged over 65 identified themselves as being 'English', rather than 'British'. Interestingly, they also found that the former were more likely to vote 'leave' than the latter, which denotes that a strong sense of Englishness not only is frequent among the older generations, but it is also a hindrance to European integration.[59] In contrast, juveniles were more approving of the EU for they saw it as an asset in economic, working and commercial terms.[60] Taking this into account, it can be inferred that one of the explanatory reasons of the voting results in Lambeth and Havering is the age of their population, as 65% of the former's inhabitants are younger than 40 and over 50% of the latter's are 65 and above.

Secondly, studies indicate that voting patterns also differ depending on ethnicity. As a matter of fact, it is estimated that the black community was the least sympathetic to abandoning the EU (27%), followed by the Hindu, Chinese and Muslim groups (30%), Asians and mixed-race residents (33%) and finally white-born citizens, with more than half

---

[58] Arnorsson and Zoegga, 'On the Causes of Brexit'.

[59] Paul Whitely and Harold D Clarke, 'Brexit: Why Did Old Voters Choose to Leave the EU?' *The Independent*, 26 June 2016 <https://goo.gl/2QwPNG> [accessed 25 May 2017].

[60] Matt Henn and Darren Sharpe, 'Young People in a Changing Europe: British Youth and Brexit 2016', in *EU Referendum Analysis 2016: Media, Voters and the Campaign,* ed. by Daniel Jackson, Einar Thorsen and Dominic Wring (Poole, UK: The Centre for the Study of Journalism, Culture and Community, Bournemouth University, 2016), 108-109 (p. 108) <https://goo.gl/LB9BcU> [accessed 27 May 2017].

of them favouring the 'Brexit' phenomenon (53%).[61] A reasonable explanation for this is that the 'leave' campaign adopted an anti-immigration approach, something that would go against the values of the descendants of immigrants. The white race, on the other hand, appeared to be more conservative, nationalistic and averse to a political and economic union. In this light, it is also conceivable to connect the difference in the ethnic composition of Lambeth and Havering to the difference in their voting results. As seen in section 4.1.2, ethnic minorities account for almost half of the former's demographic composition, whilst Havering's residents are predominantly white.

Strongly connected to ethnicity there is the immigration matter. As stated before, limiting and reducing the numbers of international arrivals was a top priority and one of the central arguments 'leavers' continually resorted to. On the one hand, the massive mobilisation of Syrian refugees to the west, together with the terrorist attacks that repeatedly took place in different European cities over the last years have arguably boosted the anxiety levels of the British population and affected their perception on foreigners. What is more, these two phenomena have often been linked together and used by Eurosceptics as an argument for increasing border controls and adopt stricter immigration policies.

On the other hand, the progressive arrival of Eastern European nationals following the expansion of the EU has also proved to be a matter of concern among British nationals. Although many studies highlight the positive effect of the immigrant labour force, the negative impact of international influxes has frequently been underlined during the referendum campaign. For instance, immigrants have often been accused of aggravating the housing crisis, profiting from the benefits system, stressing the public services supply and diminishing national wages.

With this in mind, it would be expected for Lambeth to feel more reticent than Havering towards maintaining open borders for European arrivals as immigration is much more prominent in the former. Strikingly, the referendum results do not seem to agree with

---

[61] Harry Lambert, 'EU Referendum Result: 7 Graphs that Explain How Brexit Won', *The Independent,* 24 June 2016 <https://goo.gl/FAVZtW > [accessed 27 May 2017].

this vision. What could possibly explain this difference? Firstly, polls indicate that the national perceptions of the numbers and consequences of immigration are distorted among the British population. For example, a survey conducted several days before the referendum shows that British nationals thought EU immigrants constituted 15% of the total UK population – an equivalent of 10.5 million people – when the actual number is 5%, an amount of 3.5 million people. [62] Secondly, previous research suggests that immigration is more likely to be seen as a threat when the immigrant community is more skilled than the native one and vice versa.[63] Likewise, public surveys indicate that around 60% of the individuals with a degree consider international influxes as a positive economic contributor, in contrast to just 17% of the uneducated population, who think it is detrimental for the UK's economy.[64] Therefore, Lambeth's higher levels of educated residents may be an explanatory factor for more tolerance towards foreigners.

Along with the aforesaid aspects, many experts claim that the economic characteristics of the electorate also determined their voting choice. Socially speaking, financially stable citizens such as professional and managerial highly skilled workers were more prone to vote for 'remain', whereas the middle and lower classes together with unemployed, retired and inactive individuals more inclined to disapprove on EU membership. Contrarily, those who had a mortgage were more predisposed to vote for 'remain', whereas homeowners with no mortgage and thus, more financially stable were more likely to disdain the EU.[65] This contrasts sharply with the previous indicator, as it suggests that the economic situation does not always correlate to the political attitude and thus, other external factors might have contributed to their choice. Nonetheless, this trend

---

[62] Arnorsson and Zoega, 'On the Causes of Brexit', p. 22.

[63] Anna Maria Mayda, 'Who Is against Immigration? A Cross-Country Investigation of Individual Attitudes toward,' *The Review of Economics and Statistics*, 88.3 (2006), 510-530 <http://www.jstor.org/stable/40043013> [accessed 25 May 2017].

[64] 'British Attitudes Harden Towards Immigrants', *The Guardian,* 17 June 2014 <https://goo.gl/sgFqom> [accessed 25 May 2017].

[65] Jacqueline O'Reilly and others, 'Brexit: Understanding the Socio-Economic Origins and Consequences', *Socio-Economic Review*, 14.4 (2016), 807-854 (p. 811) <https://goo.gl/mTcvGR> [accessed 18 May 2017].

seems to partially apply to Lambeth and Havering, for the former has more educated workers and larger amounts of menial employees can be found in the latter. The unemployment rate – although slightly higher in Lambeth – is still relatively low and its economy has proved to be more flourishing, with more business enterprises being established each year and a higher job density. Nevertheless, the combination of lower wages and significantly higher housing costs in this place might indicate that the population does not necessarily profit from better living standards. Accordingly, it can be stated that the labour market and the education of the population are the strongest factors when it comes to predicting the voting behaviour. Rural areas were said to be more Eurosceptic than metropolitan ones, and that seems to also apply to this case when looking at the general picture for Havering is not as industrialized and cosmopolitan as Lambeth is.

Furthermore, economists argue that crime is more eminent in places where the population is less educated.[66] However, this does not seem to correlate in the case of the selected boroughs, as Lambeth has both more graduates and more delinquency than Havering, too. In addition to this problem, there is the homelessness issue, which is again more pronounced in the former. According to the Brixton Advice Centre, the major causes for homelessness in Lambeth include the crisis of housing supply, the elevated accommodation prices and the cutbacks in social benefits.[67] As stated before, immigration flows have also been linked to an increase in both homelessness and crime as they are more economically vulnerable. Thus, based on these statements, it would be expected for Lambeth to have a more negative attitude towards EU immigration for it hosts significantly more EU immigrants, more EU homeless individuals and more rough sleepers than Havering, where most of the roofless people are from British origin. Furthermore, the racial tensions that took place prior to Lambeth's riots would also reinforce this idea. Parallel to this, it would also be expected to find remarkable wellbeing contrasts between both places, with Havering's 'pro-leave' preference indicating the general dissatisfaction of the population, either in economic,

---

[66] Lance Lochner, 'The Impact of Education on Crime, Health and Mortality, and Civic Participation', *Vox*, 17 October 2011 <https://goo.gl/7sPu4C> [accessed 23 May 2017].

[67] James Hopkirk, 'Homelessness and the Housing Crisis in Lambeth'*, Brixton Advice Centre*, June 2016 <https://goo.gl/acR47D> [accessed 19 May 2017].

social, political or personal terms but once again, little difference was found. Personal wellbeing has proved to determine the voting behaviour in many cases, with the happiest people conforming to the political situation and the more discontent ones manifesting their dissatisfaction.[68] However, neither one of these expectations have been confirmed in this case, which hints to the fact that homelessness, crime and wellbeing did not determine the EU referendum voting patterns in the selected boroughs.

The political preferences of the population have also proved to be correlated with the EU referendum outcome. In light of the election results discussed in the previous chapter, it can be stated that there is a strong connection between the support of each party in both places and their vision on the European membership. That is to say, the most pro- European parties obtained the majority of the votes in Lambeth and the most Eurosceptic ones succeeded in Havering. The turnout difference can be explained in terms of demography, as the youth and ethnic minorities tend to get less involved in politics than older voters and British white people. [69] This resulted in a lower participation in Lambeth as it contains more residents from the first groups and a higher one in Havering for it encompasses more white British citizens and more aged voters.

Gathering all the aforementioned characteristics, it can be concluded that the voting difference in Lambeth and Havering seems to be mostly a matter of demography and political preference and that being exposed to more immigration, crime, homelessness and unemployment does not necessarily correlate to being more dissatisfied with the UK staying in the EU.

---

[68] Federica Liberini, Eugenio Proto and Michela Redondo, 'Happiness and Voting', *Vox*, 15 November 2013 <https://goo.gl/SfqZoi> [accessed 3 June 2017].

[69] Rakib Eshan, 'Ethnic Minorities are More Likely to Support the EU – but Less Likely to Vote in the Referendum', *The Conversation*, 15 June 2016 <https://goo.gl/JQNBwH>; Abhinay Muthoo, 'Why Aren't Young People Voting?', *Warwick Policy Lab* <https://goo.gl/8VQ6sg> [accessed 3 June 2017].

6. Conclusion

The aim of this study was to find a possible explanation for the contrastive voting results in the 2016 EU referendum in the London boroughs of Lambeth and Havering. The idea was to test on a local level general theories on the causes of 'Brexit' and how deeply rooted in the social and economic reality the voters' decisions may have been. The selected case of Lambeth and Havering seemed promising, since, apart from belonging to Greater London, and displaying a relatively similar socio-economic background, there was a massive difference in their attitudes in the EU referendum. With 78.6% votes for 'remain', the former happened to be the second most Europhile borough in the country, whilst 69.7% of the latter's electorate chose to abandon the EU and became one of the most Eurosceptic areas in the UK.

The main focus of our analysis was placed on the five-year period prior to the ballot, from 2011 to 2016, from a variety of official reports and scientific studies. The study was narrowed down to four key topics that seemed to concern both 'leave' and 'remain' campaigns, namely, immigration and economy, as well as community and political characteristics. The data were collected, processed and checked against existing studies on the possible causes of favouring 'Brexit' and the main findings were as follows.

To begin with, there was a general agreement on the fact that older and less educated people were more prone to vote for abandoning the EU and younger and highly skilled generations felt more positive towards European integration. This has proved to be veridic in Lambeth and Havering as one of the fundamental differences lies in the demographics of both places, with the former encompassing more youth and learned residents and the latter more aged and fewer graduates. Moreover, although little attention had been paid to ethnicity, it was found to play a relevant role in the voting patterns of these two boroughs, too. This way, Lambeth's multicultural citizenry was a second determinant factor for a more positive attitude towards Europe, in contrast to Havering's demographic homogeneity. Nevertheless, a new vision arises in the immigration matter. Contrary to previous studies, this analysis shows that immigration seems to be a greater concern for those who are not exposed to it and not the contrary. Likewise, crime and homelessness do not appear to impinge on the voters'

view of Europe in spite of the fact that they are often associated with immigration, which once again is surprising as Lambeth displays higher levels in both fields. Another unforeseen fact is that wellbeing did not appear to be influential either, which points to the fact that perhaps voters were not as much motivated by their environmental circumstances but they rather pondered the political and economic consequences for the whole country. Nevertheless, a considerably strong correlation has been found between the votes obtained by the different political parties, their views on the referendum and the actual results. That is to say, the parties that had more tolerance towards Europe and immigration were more voted in Lambeth and the opposite happened in Havering, where right-wing extremist parties such as the UKIP had a considerably higher support.

Hence, it appears that the voting behaviour in the case of Lambeth and Havering is not based on their socio-economic situation but it is rather an ideological and demographic matter. Paradoxically, some of the arguments used by the 'leave' side such as the negative impact of the EU on the British economy, the incapacity to control international inflows and the increment of social problems due to high immigration levels did not seem to affect Lambeth's electors as it could have been expected, but it may have persuaded Havering's residents, which is surprising as the immigration, security and homelessness indicators were more favourable in the latter than in the former.

However, it is important to bear in mind that these results are based on limited data from different years and in many cases the numbers were not one hundred per cent accurate, but rather calculations, projections and estimates, with a certain margin of error. Furthermore, other factors such as the desire to improve national sovereignty, the persuasion of the media, or any other personal and environmental circumstances not mentioned in this paper could have also contributed to the outcome. For this reason, further and more extensive research is required in order to dig deeper into the possible explanatory socio-economic elements that might have affected the voters' choice either in this specific case or in relation to other areas, referenda or elections.

All in all, a clear picture emerges when dissecting the referendum voting patterns. The UK does not look as united as its name may indicate when it comes to political preferences, with different social groups opposing each other: younger versus older generations, white British versus multiethnic communities, more rural versus more urban areas, educated versus non-educated citizens, wealthier versus poorer masses and left-wing versus right-wing voters. This suggests that the British society has different needs and visions depending on their socio-economic profile and meeting them is perhaps the biggest challenge the government had, have and will have to face in the future.

7. Appendix: EU Referendum Results by London Borough

EU Referendum
Results by
London Borough

Total result
40.1% | **59.9%**
LEAVE | REMAIN

London-wide turnout
69.8%

	Boroughs	Votes	%
Remain	28	2,225,877	59.9
Leave	5	1,490,111	40.1
Totals	33	3,715,988	

Enfield
44.2% | 55.8%
TURNOUT 69.0%

City of London
32.5% | 67.5%
TURNOUT 64.5%

Barnet
37.8% | 62.2%
TURNOUT 72.1%

Harrow
45.4% | 54.6%
TURNOUT 72.2%

Haringey
24.4% | 75.6%
TURNOUT 70.5%

Waltham Forest
40.9% | 59.1%
TURNOUT 66.6%

Redbridge
46.0% | 54.0%
TURNOUT 67.5%

Havering
69.7% | 30.3%
TURNOUT 76.0%

Hillingdon
56.4% | 43.6%
TURNOUT 68.9%

Brent
40.3% | 59.7%
TURNOUT 65.0%

Camden
25.1% | 74.9%
TURNOUT 65.4%

Hackney
21.5% | 78.5%
TURNOUT 61.1%

Islington
24.8% | 75.2%
TURNOUT 70.3%

Barking and Dagenham
62.4% | 37.6%
TURNOUT 63.8%

Newham
47.2% | 52.8%
TURNOUT 59.2%

Ealing
39.6% | 60.4%
TURNOUT 70.0%

Westminster
30.0% | 70.0%
TURNOUT 69.9%

Tower Hamlets
31.0% | 69.0%
TURNOUT 64.9%

32.5% | 67.5%
TURNOUT 64.5%

H&F
31.3% | 68.7%
TURNOUT 65.9%

K&C
27.2% | 72.8%
TURNOUT 66.1%

Southwark

Greenwich
44.4% | 55.6%
TURNOUT 69.5%

Bexley
63.0% | 37.0%
TURNOUT 75.2%

Hounslow
48.9% | 51.1%
TURNOUT 69.7%

Richmond
30.7% | 69.3%
TURNOUT 82.0%

Wandsworth
25.0% | 75.0%
TURNOUT 71.9%

Lambeth
21.4% | 78.6%
TURNOUT 67.5%

Lewisham
30.1% | 69.9%
TURNOUT 63.0%

Merton
37.1% | 62.9%
TURNOUT 73.4%

Kingston
38.4% | 61.6%
TURNOUT 78.3%

Sutton
53.7% | 46.3%
TURNOUT 76.0%

Croydon
45.7% | 54.3%
TURNOUT 69.8%

Bromley
49.4% | 50.6%
TURNOUT 78.8%

Reproduced by the author from 'EU Referendum Votes: Borough', *London Communications Agency* <https://goo.gl/eGNkyu> [accessed 30 June 2017].

8. Works Cited

'20 Reasons You Should Vote to Leave the European Union', *The Telegraph,* 22 June 2016 <https://goo.gl/3Euynt > [accessed 19 December 2017]

A.L. Levy, David, Billur Aslan and Diego Bironzo, 'UK Press Coverage of the EU Referendum' *Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism* <https://goo.gl/KgroxE> [accessed 16 June 2017]

Arnorsson, Agust and Gylfi Zoega, 'On the Causes of Brexit', *Working Papers in Economics and Finance*, 1605 (2016) <https://goo.gl/fFFL4N> [accessed 19 December 2016]

BBC's EU Referendum 'Great Debate', full version (21Jun16) [Youtube video], 23 June 2016 <https://goo.gl/ViF9oU> [accessed 5 December 2016]

'British Attitudes Harden Towards Immigrants', *The Guardian,* 17 June 2014 <https://goo.gl/sgFqom> [accessed 25 May 2017]

Butler, David and Uwe Kitzinger, *The 1975 Referendum* (London: Macmillan, 1976) <https://goo.gl/QgVRq2> [accessed 5 January 2017]

Butler, Patrick, 'More than 250,000 People in England are Homeless, Says Shelter', *The Guardian,* 1 December 2016 <https://goo.gl/wRdFBC> [accessed 20 May 2017]

Connell, Kieran, 'Riots Don't Happen Without a Reason', *The Guardian*, 10 August 2011 <https://goo.gl/cZAxG5> [accessed 13 May 2017]

Department for Exiting the European Union, 'Brexit', *Gov.uk* <https://goo.gl/QpQubd> [accessed 20 June 2017]

Dodds, Laurence, 'Immigration by Local Authority', *The Telegraph* <https://goo.gl/nG1D73 > [accessed 13 May 2017]

Douglass, Gordon, 'Regional Gross Value Added Estimates for London by Different Geographies, 1997-2014', *Mayor of London and London Assembly* <https://goo.gl/3EgQaW> [accessed 14 June 2017]

Eshan, Rakib, 'Ethnic Minorities are More Likely to Support the EU – but Less Likely to Vote in the Referendum', *The Conversation*, 15 June 2016 <https://goo.gl/JQNBwH> [accessed 3 June 2017]

Financial Times, 'EU referendum results', *Financial Times* (The Financial Times, 2016) <https://goo.gl/URf5xA> [accessed 28 November 2016]

Flamini, Roland, 'The UK Independence Party: Euroskeptics Rattle Cameron', *World Affairs*, 176.2 (2013), 35–41 <www.jstor.org/stable/43554778> [accessed 13 June 2016]

Full Fact, 'The UK's EU Membership Fee', *Full Fact*, 28 March 2017 <https://goo.gl/hCuzdm> [accessed 29 April 2017]

Government Digital Service, 'Types of Election, Referendums and Who Can Vote', *Gov.uk* <https://goo.gl/t2LjVE> [accessed 22 May 2017]

Greater London Authority, 'Land Area and Population Density, Ward and Borough, 2014', *London Datastore* <https://goo.gl/t9zTf6> [accessed 18 May 2017]

Greater London Authority, 'London Borough Profiles and Atlas, 2016', *London Datastore* <https://goo.gl/KcMq7o> [accessed 24 June 2017]

Greater London Authority, 'Round Ethnic Group Population Projections, 2014', *London Datastore* <https://goo.gl/ysU3G5> [accessed 13 May 2017]

Guy's and St Thomas' Foundation Trust, 'Equality and Equity Health Profiles and Demographics in Lambeth/Southwark', *Guy's and St Thomas* <https://guysandstthomas.nhs.uk/resources/about-us/equality/objectives/local-equality-demographics.pdf> [accessed 11 June 2016]

Henn, Matt and Darren Sharpe, 'Young People in a Changing Europe: British Youth and Brexit 2016', in *EU Referendum Analysis 2016: Media, Voters and the Campaign,* ed. by Jackson, Daniel, Einar Thorsen and Dominic Wring (Poole, UK: The Centre for the Study of Journalism, Culture and Community, Bournemouth University, 2016), 108-109 <https://goo.gl/LB9BcU> [accessed 27 May 2017]

Hobolt, Sara, 'The Brexit Vote: A Divided Nation, a Divided Continent', *Journal of European Public Policy*, 23.9 (2016), 1259-1277 <http://eprints.lse.ac.uk/id/eprint/67546> [accessed 19 January 2017]

Hopkirk, James, 'Homelessness and the Housing Crisis in Lambeth', *Brixton Advice Centre*, June 2016 <https://goo.gl/acR47D> [accessed 19 May 2017]

Horwood, Aurora, *The London Riverside Plan: Just a Drop in the Ocean?* [online blog] <https://goo.gl/bHrN1J> [accessed 8 May 2017]

Kurttila, Henri, *Brixton 1981-2011: Rioting, Newspaper Narratives and the Effects of a Cultural Vanguard* (Master's Thesis, University of Oulu, 2014) <http://jultika.oulu.fi/files/nbnfioulu-201403131174.pdf> [accessed 15 May 2017]

Lambert, Harry, 'EU Referendum Result: 7 Graphs that Explain How Brexit Won', *The Independent,* 24 June 2016 <https://goo.gl/FAVZtW > [accessed 27 May 2017]

Lambeth Council, 'General Election 2015: Thursday 7 May 2015', *Lambeth* <https://goo.gl/QHzNur> [accessed 23 May 2017]

Lambeth Council, 'State of the Borough 2016', *Lambeth* <https://goo.gl/dxnsEn> [accessed 17 April 2017]

Liberal Democrats, 'Liberal Democrat Manifesto 2017: Change Britain's Future', *Liberal Democrats* <http://www.libdems.org.uk/manifesto> [accessed 22 May 2017]

Liberini, Federica, Eugenio Proto and Michela Redondo, 'Happiness and Voting', *Vox*, 15 November 2013 <https://goo.gl/SfqZoi> [accessed 3 June 2017]

Lochner, Lance, 'The Impact of Education on Crime, Health and Mortality, and Civic Participation', *Vox*, 17 October 2011 <https://goo.gl/7sPu4C> [accessed 23 May 2017]

London Borough of Havering Public Health Service, 'This is Havering, 2016: A Demographic and Socio-Economic Profile', *Havering Data Intelligence Hub* <https://goo.gl/TKQ96z> [accessed 13 April 2017]

Lord Ashcroft, 'How Did This Result Happen? My Post-Vote Survey', *Lord Ashcroft Polls*, 9 June 2017 <https://goo.gl/8zucw6> [accessed 22 June 2017]

'Manifesto Watch: Where Parties Stand on Key Issues', *BBC News,* 23 February 2015 <https://goo.gl/178fDa> [accessed 21 May 2017]

Mayda, Anna Maria, 'Who Is against Immigration? A Cross-Country Investigation of Individual Attitudes toward', *The Review of Economics and Statistics*, 88.3 (2006), 510-530 <http://www.jstor.org/stable/40043013> [accessed 25 May 2017]

Minton Beddoes, Zanny, 'The Brexit Briefs: Our Guide to Britain's EU Referendum', *The Economist* (2016) <https://goo.gl/uGC1Jq> [accessed 6 December 2016]

Moody, Mark, 'The Growing Problem of Foreign National Homelessness', *The Guardian,* 13 April 2002 <https://goo.gl/MN7sXd> [accessed 26 May 2017]

Moseley, Tom, 'In Quotes: Jeremy Corbyn and the EU Referendum', *BBC News,* 14 April 2016 <https://goo.gl/ru6f2E> [accessed 22 May 2017]

Muthoo, Abhinay, 'Why Aren't Young People Voting?', *Warwick Policy Lab* <https://goo.gl/8VQ6sg> [accessed 3 June 2017]

O.Becker, Sascha, Thiemo Fetzer, and Dennis Novy, 'Who Voted for Brexit? A Comprehensive District-Level Analysis', *Centre for Economic Performance*, 1180 (2017) <https://goo.gl/HZDrHu > [accessed 15 December 2016]

O'Reilly, Jacqueline and others, 'Brexit: Understanding the Socio-Economic Origins and Consequences', *Socio-Economic Review*, 14.4 (2016), 807-854 <https://goo.gl/mTcvGR> [accessed 18 May 2017]

Office for National Statistics, 'Jobs and Job Density, Borough', *London Datastore* <https://goo.gl/yvvqxE> [accessed 14 June 2017]

Office for National Statistics, 'Labour Market Profile', *NOMIS: Official Labour Market Statistics* <https://goo.gl/uX8xrY> [accessed 18 May 2017]

Rallings, Colin and Michael Thrasher, 'Local Elections in England May 2014' (Plymouth: Elections Centre, Plymouth University, 2016) <https://goo.gl/ApU1NK > [accessed 21 May 2017]

Riley-Smith, Ben, 'Twice as many Tory Local Chairmen Back Brexit than Staying in EU, BBC Survey Reveals', *The Telegraph,* 6 March 2016 <https://goo.gl/H8A9Mc> [accessed 24 May 2017]

Shaw, Vicky, 'England's Worst 50 Homelessness Spots Revealed as Study Finds 255,000 people Have no Permanent Home', *The Independent,* 1 December 2016 <https://goo.gl/NqCHXP> [accessed 23 May 2017]

Shelter, 'What Causes Homelessness?', *Shelter* <https://goo.gl/BEbtUJ> [accessed 20 May 2017].

The Conservative Party, 'The Conservative Party Manifesto 2015'*, Conservatives* <https://goo.gl/U2UuQQ> [accessed 22 May 2017]

The Electoral Commission*,* 'EU Referendum Result Visualisations', *The Electoral Commission* (The Electoral Commission, 2017) <https://goo.gl/yeJcwt> [accessed 11 June 2017]

The Green Party of England and Wales, 'For the Common Good: General Election Manifesto 2015', *Green Party* <https://goo.gl/CSK9sR> [accessed 22 May 2017]

The London Borough of Havering, 'Crime in Havering Down Significantly'*, Havering London Borough,* 3 March 2014 <https://goo.gl/ny7wDZ> [accessed 19 May 2017]

The London Borough of Havering, 'Demographic and Diversity Profile of Havering's Population 2015', *Havering London Borough* <https://goo.gl/8rpQdj> [accessed 7 May 2017]

The London Borough of Havering, 'Election Results: General Elections', *Havering London Borough* <https://goo.gl/cyGCdG> [accessed 10 May 2017]

Travis, Alan, 'Number of EU Migrants Working in UK Rises to Record Level', *The Guardian,* 18 May 2016, <https://goo.gl/iZLj6g> [accessed 9 December 2016]

UK Parliament, 'Background to the UK's EU Referendum 2016', *UK Parliament Website* <https://goo.gl/nrHR4y> [accessed 20 June 2017]

UKIP, 'The UKIP Manifesto 2015', *UK Independence Party* <http://www.ukip.org/manifesto2015> [accessed 21 May 2017]

Vargas Silva, Carlos and Cinzia Rienzo, 'Migrants in the UK: An Overview', *The Migration Observatory at the University of Oxford*, 21 February 2017 <https://goo.gl/qKk2pt > [accessed 17 May 2017]

Whitely, Paul and Harold D Clarke, 'Brexit: Why Did Old Voters Choose to Leave the EU?' *The Independent*, 26 June 2016 <https://goo.gl/2QwPNG> [accessed 25 May 2017]

Wilkinson, Michael, 'Election 2015 Policies Guide: Summary of Comparisons', *The Telegraph,* 7 May 2015 <https://goo.gl/zwTZYY> [accessed 21 May 2017]

Wood, Sara and others, 'Violence Profile: Lambeth'*, Public Health Institute, Liverpool John Moores University*, December 2014 <https://goo.gl/UkQcZs> [accessed 16 May 2017]