IN THE AFTERMATH OF THE BREXIT VOTE

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ABSTRACT

Jessica E. Buddi: In the Aftermath of the BREXIT Vote
(Under the direction of Gary Marks)

The British referendum of 2016 resulted in an unprecedented and marked rise in power that Euroscepticism has had across the European Union (EU). Within the United Kingdom (UK), limited information has yet to be fully studied with the intent of understanding the myriad reasons that shaped voting behavior in the recent referendum. Analysis of interview data and application of the three dominant Eurosceptic models: utilitarian, cue-taking, and identity, yields insights into the broader referendum result. Support for UK membership in the EU was particularly common among participants with utilitarian interests, based in part on these voters’ economic relationships buttressed against their knowledge of international politics, and cue-taking behavior. Voting behavior that aligned with leaving the EU was also associated with cue-taking arguments, and a strong British identity. These conclusions help to inform the academic community by illuminating the nature of the arguments surrounding disenfranchised British voters prior to the referendum.
To the three pillars of my life: my husband, my parents, my family; without you I would be lost.

To my husband, Hunter, I couldn’t have done this without you. Thank you my darling for all your support along the way.

Dad, I appreciate you for rescuing me in so many ways. Had you not set me on the right path, I would not be where I am today.

Aunt Joan, you are among the most inspirational women in my life. Thank you for being an eye and an ear during the hardest moments in my life.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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<tr>
<td>BBC</td>
<td>British Broadcasting Corporation</td>
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<tr>
<td>BNP</td>
<td>British National Party</td>
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<td>BREXIT</td>
<td>British Exit</td>
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<td>EU</td>
<td>European Union</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MSN</td>
<td>Microsoft Network</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MBA</td>
<td>Master of Business Administration</td>
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<tr>
<td>NATO</td>
<td>North Atlantic Treaty Organization</td>
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<tr>
<td>NHS</td>
<td>British National Health Service</td>
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<tr>
<td>PM</td>
<td>Prime Minister</td>
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<tr>
<td>SNP</td>
<td>Scottish National Party</td>
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<tr>
<td>UN</td>
<td>United Nations</td>
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<td>US</td>
<td>United States</td>
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<td>UK</td>
<td>United Kingdom</td>
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<td>UKIP</td>
<td>United Kingdom Independence Party</td>
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INTRODUCTION

The result of the 2016 British European Union (EU) referendum vote came as a shock to British society and the rest of the world. The result of the referendum prompted the resignation of Prime Minister (PM) David Cameron and nearly imploded the ruling Conservative coalition government. Virtually every one of voting age were eligible to participate, yielding 71.8 percent turnout, or more than 30 million votes cast. The result of the referendum was to ‘Leave’ the EU with 52 percent voting in favor of BREXIT, as it came to be known, and 48 percent voting to remain a part of the EU. Younger voters, especially those of the millennial generation, voted overwhelmingly for the UK to “Remain” in the EU. Correspondingly, the largest expression of shock over the results came from this younger group of British voters whose lives would be most affected over their lifetimes by an exit from the EU. The referendum that informed the fate of the United Kingdom’s continued membership in the European Union revealed a British society that was divided across geography, socioeconomic status, and generational affiliation on issues concerning EU membership and immigration.

The academic literature on the outcome of the BREXIT vote is limited and varied across a breadth of reasons for understanding voting behavior. As a step toward better elucidating voting behavior of British citizens during the 2016 EU referendum, this research focuses the investigation on forces that shaped voters’ decision, including their background, information sources, and understanding of key BREXIT issues. To identify the key influences of voters’ choices in regard to the referendum, data was collected through open-ended questioning in one-on-one interviews with British nationals qualified to vote in the BREXIT referendum.
This paper proceeds accordingly. The first section discusses the background of the EU referendum in the UK as it aligns with the rise in support for UKIP, and their vehement opposition to Britain’s membership in the European Union. Next, an overview of the current literature on the British EU referendum reveals that research on the outcome of the BREXIT vote is limited in number and focus. The conceptual framework that follows consists of the three dominant Eurosceptic models: utilitarian, cue-taking, and identity. These models are used as a guide in assessing participants’ motivations for exhibiting their chosen voting behavior on the 23rd of June 2016. Thereafter, subsequent sections in this paper use an inductive approach to understand the voting behavior of this study’s respondents and to help frame my research. Lastly, the result and discussion sections of this paper reveal that understanding individuals voting behavior is complex but can be better interpreted using one of three models.

BACKGROUND: IN THE RUN UP TO THE BREXIT VOTE

There has been a lingering demand from sovereigntists within the British citizenry to vote in a referendum to decide the UK’s future membership in the EU since it joined the EU in earnest in 1975. Regarding precipitating causes for the Eurosceptic epidemic in Europe, support for British membership in the EU has waned significantly since the beginning of the Euro crisis in 2008, and has only become a more widely publicized and heated topic in the years following. The integration of European national economies prior to 2008 into a single monetary union ultimately led to significant, unintended negative outcomes for virtually every nation touched by the EU. Chief among the economies effected were the UK, Germany and France. Partly in response to the austerity measures imposed in these major European economies in the wake of the Euro crisis, and associated recession across the greater European continent, the EU has seen
prominent growth in support for Eurosceptic party platforms across a broad array of member states.

The rise in support for far-right Eurosceptic parties has complicated politics in the EU member countries in general, and in the United Kingdom, in particular. Created in 1991, the United Kingdom Independence Party (UKIP) was founded as a single-issue Eurosceptic party. At its core, UKIP embraces an ideology of ‘Hard Eurosceptism,’ which ardently opposes the UK’s membership in the EU. As with other Eurosceptic parties across the EU, an increase in support for UKIP has coincided with the late 2000’s worldwide financial crisis and the European sovereign debt crisis. Recently, as a result of high-profile attacks perpetrated by Islamic extremists, tensions driving the rise of Eurosceptism have been exacerbated by an increase in terrorism fears throughout western Europe.

Adding to the myriad reasons for UKIP’s increase in support is the perception that the Conservative-Liberal Democrat coalition government’s austerity policies have benefited the socio-economic elite, while imposing hardship on ordinary British citizens (Clark and Whitaker, 2016). UKIP places blame for this perception of rising inequality on immigration of EU citizens. Other rhetorical issues in the mainstream narrative surrounding the BREXIT referendum concerned London’s future as a global financial hub, speculation about future trade relations with the rest of the economy, and the UK’s healthcare system finances, as well as an array of additional immediate effects in the wake of the referendum.

To counter the loss of further votes to UKIP in the European Parliament at the time, and in local elections held in 2014 and 2015, governing Conservative Party’s Prime Minister David Cameron promised a 2016 referendum on the UK's continued membership of the EU (Goodwin & Milazzo, 2015, p. 126; Reed, 2016, p. 228). In keeping this promise, an EU referendum was
scheduled to be held in the UK on June 23, 2016. Feeling confident of the result supporting the Conservative Party’s chosen stance to remain in the EU, PM Cameron’s administration imposed no threshold or limitations on the result.

**REVIEW OF LITERATURE**

Much of the scholarly research on the outcome of the EU referendum is limited and conducted through surveys containing questions that were not open-ended and/or occurred just prior to the vote. Research conducted by Goodwin & Heath (2016) reveals that locations with significant public support for a Leave vote corresponded with areas where past support for UKIP was strongest. However, this vote was more polarized along education lines than was previously shown in studies of support for UKIP. An article by Becker et al. (2016) reveals that close association to the manufacturing sector and low income were the more significant drivers concerning voting behavior. Hobolt’s (2016) research, however, does include analysis derived from open-ended surveys, unfortunately, the survey was conducted prior to the EU referendum. Her article reveals that the ‘Leave’ vote was common among less-educated, poorer and older voters, and those who expressed concerns about immigration and multi-culturalism.

**CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK**

Academic literature breaks Euroscepticism into three theories to explain support for, and opposition to, European integration: ‘utilitarian interest,’ ‘national identity’ and ‘cue-taking.’ The utilitarian approach links Euroscepticism to economic interests. Work done by Gabel (1998) reveals that Euroscepticism can best explained by looking at the winners and losers of trade. This theory suggests that persons with more economic, cultural and social capital will
have more possibilities to take on jobs in other countries provided by free market opportunities and therefore are in favor, or not opposed to European integration. On the other hand, low-income and less educated citizens, unskilled workers will be more disadvantaged by European integration (Gabel, 1998; Tucker et al., 2002). The utilitarian interest model assumes that support for European integration is based on the notion that the European Union promotes the economic interests of the individual based on their occupation, and the country based on different industries, but does differently across socio-economic strata.

Cultural attachments to one’s national identity and social distrust in foreigners is another approach that offers important clues about popular opposition to the European Project. Identity theories argue that people who strongly identify themselves by their nationally first, and consider nationality above other characteristics associated with ‘identity’ such as ethnicity, background, or institutional affiliations, tend to be more opposed to European integration (McLaren, 2002; Carey, 2002; Kritzinger, 2003). Hooghe and Marks (2004; 2005) further this argument by urging that national identity should be evaluated as exclusive or inclusive. They posit that individuals who identify exclusively with their nation state will have negative attitudes towards the EU and, alternatively those who are inclusive, such that they relate with multiple national identities, have positive feelings about the European project. An expression of this theory is that individuals who identify as European will support European integration.

An alternative to the ‘utilitarian interest’ and ‘identity’ theories, as an approach in understanding how citizens make choices concerning European integration, is ‘cue-taking’. Anderson (1993) supposes that citizens rarely possess the requisite knowledge or ability to understand the myriad complexities at play in any given issue, especially concerning many aspects of international politics. Therein, Anderson challenges how ‘utilitarian’ one can be at
lower levels of education where the interplay of multilateral agreements and decisions can be
difficult to interpret and understand even for the most educated and knowledgeable of directly
involved individuals. To fill their gap in understanding, individuals lacking direct knowledge or
better understanding of such issues will look to influential people for the contextual information
they need to understand a subject such as European integration. Moreover, citizens are thought
to pay more attention to the national political arena than European politics, and are thereby
influenced by nationally-oriented media and opinions. Anderson (1993) finds that citizens rely
on ‘cues’ and proxies in the national political arena when forming opinions about the EU.

This study attempts to test which of these approaches influenced respondents’ choices
during the British EU referendum. To identify the key effects of voters’ choices, data was
collected in one-on-one interviews through open-ended questioning using questions suited to
the above models. To get a more conclusive picture, the interview protocol included questions
that addressed all three theoretical approaches. For the ‘utilitarian interest’ model, interview
questions included demographic information, feelings about globalization and immigration.
Respondents were also asked to elaborate on issues they found to be most important to their
daily lives and family. To address cultural considerations, the interview protocol included
questions regarding their identity and familial background. To satisfy inquiries regarding the
‘cue-taking’ approach, interview questions included how respondents obtained their news, and
through which sources; political affiliation; attitudes toward political elite, and feelings towards
current policies that were at the forefront of EU referendum campaigns. To assess a given
respondent’s understanding of the workings of the EU, the interview protocol also included
true-false questions related to basic knowledge and common attributes associated with the EU.
Instead of developing a completely new interview protocol, most interview questions were pulled from the European Union’s Public Opinion Analysis sector of the European Commission, Standard Eurobarometer. A copy of the interview protocol for this study can be found in Appendix I.

The control variable in this study was respondents level of education. While this was not an intended characteristic of the study at the beginning, this has helped to inadvertently narrow the focus to better understand how college graduates view European integration.

**METHODOLOGY**

The study is comprised of 10 respondent interviews. The group of respondents included eligible British voters from Great Britain. The selection of these persons was based on the principle investigators access and placement to willing solicited volunteers during a short, 5-month visit to the United Kingdom in the fall of 2016 thru spring 2017. Two of the interviews, however, were conducted in Durham, North Carolina, United States, the principle investigator’s home residence. These respondents were British students on visas pursuing post-graduate education.

The nature of the principle investigator’s visit to the United Kingdom was as a study abroad university student. The participants were in university courses with the principle investigator or family of other participants, and acquaintances. Unexpectedly, all participants ended up having some college education and were located within a locality where a major fixture of society is the town university, and its associated culture.

The group selected is therefore not a representative sample. The small number of people and the fact that they were not selected randomly represents a logistical limitation of this study.
However, there are commensurate strengths with the depth of interviews and the information collected. Moreover, the group consists of varied voting choices; some participants voted to ‘remain,’ while others voted to ‘leave,’ and some individuals even abstained from voting.

**Data Collection**

The collection of data consisted of interviews with each of the study participants. The principle investigator conducted 60 minute, face-to-face, in-depth interviews with each participant. All interviews were conducted by the principle investigator, who is also the author of this paper. Interview questions included demographic, closed- and open-ended questions, as well as clarifying questions when required based on the principle investigator’s discretion, or where requested by the participant. Prior to beginning the interviews, participants signed a consent form and completed a brief demographic questionnaire. All key interview questions were open-ended, to allow participants to talk in depth about each topic. EU knowledge questions were close-ended, true-false style questions. All the interviews were recorded in audio format for later transcription and analysis purposes. Following the interviews, all recordings were transcribed and the original audio recordings were destroyed in accordance with best practices to protect participants’ identities.

Copies of interview transcriptions can be found in Appendix II of this paper. Added to these initial questions was a series of individually adapted sequential questions of the type “tell me more,” “give some examples,” “why?” and so on necessary to seek clarification by the principle investigator.
Analysis and Coding

The interviews were transcribed verbatim and consecutively analyzed according to the constant comparative method. Following these guidelines, the first step of the analysis was axial coding to determine the core of the respondents voting preference. From there, data was examined line by line in order to identify the respondents’ descriptions of thought patterns, feelings, and actions related to the themes mentioned in the interviews. The principle investigator paid close attention to respondents’ explanations of the ‘why’ aspect of each interview question to arrive at a final assessment of the individuals most prominent voting influence. Specifically, how is their explanation framed? How is their reasoning? Do respondents appear to be objective? Objectivity in this case refers to whether respondents site both pros and cons, or both sides to current issues and topics of interest. Finally, how do they arrive at their conclusion?

RESULTS

Voting behavior of respondents (for the purposes of this study) during the UK’s recent referendum can be understood against the background of several interacting factors. The data from this study contribute to the literature by examining manifestations of factors theorized by academics that either support European integration or act as a hurdle to the European project.

The Vote

Three main classes of argument were evident in the interview responses. They were Sovereignty, Economic benefits from the EU, and Cooperation. Other responses included Identity, Voting for the status quo and Uncertainty of leaving the EU. These findings are presented in Table 1, and an explanation of these categories follows:
Table 1. Main reasons for Remain and Leave vote.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reason</th>
<th>Leave</th>
<th>Remain</th>
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<tr>
<td>Cooperation</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Economic/consumer benefits from the EU(^1)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>European identity</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sovereignty(^2)</td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uncertainty of leaving the EU</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voting for the status quo</td>
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**Sovereignty.** Three respondents indicated a vote to ‘Leave,’ and based their arguments on the UK’s lack of national sovereignty as a result of its membership in the EU. While the respondents never used the term ‘sovereignty,’ much of context and some key words revealed their motivation toward the sovereignty case. Often these corollary arguments centered on aversions to perceived reductions in autonomy and control in decision making as a nation because of EU membership.

*Respondent 2:* “I voted leave. And, I voted leave for a number of reasons but predominantly because I felt the UK had lost its autonomy and I wanted that reinstated.”

*Respondent 3:* “I just want to be able to be a little island nation that looks after itself. Not that we can’t have a relationship with the EU outside it, but just to be in control of ourselves, and, yeah, just how we were in the good ole’ days.”

*Respondent 4:* “So, my BREXIT vote would have been anti-institutions-of-Europe and the interference from the European government.”

**Economic Benefits of the EU.** Two respondents indicated a vote to ‘Remain’ because of the economic benefits, such as consumer value related to goods and services afforded by EU membership, and financial relationships only available because of EU membership.

*Respondent 8:* “…I’m a Europhile [I] love the EU, I think it adds a lot of value to consumers…”

\(^1\) *Respondent 10* did not actually vote, however, he indicated that had he voted, he would have voted to ‘Remain.’

\(^2\) *Respondent 4* did not actually vote, however, he indicated that had he voted, he would have voted to ‘Leave.’
Respondent 10: “So I think it falls down largely to what I feel is better for the British economy. So, the economic or the financial side of it, which I think is the biggest one of [the reasons] why I felt that leaving the EU would be detrimental.”

Cooperation. Two respondents voted ‘Remain’ based on the argument that working together makes a country “better off.”

Respondent 7: “…I guess I view it as a beneficial organization for all […] and possibly there are arguments for Britain having benefits for leaving but I think […] the benefit for the larger group is the reason to stay. Membership has a benefit for all members […] but also, beyond being a benefit for Britain. It being a benefit for Britain and it simultaneously being a benefit to the EU to have Britain as a member and I view […] generally everybody is better off, as Britain being part of the EU.”

Respondent 9: “…countries working together is better than countries working alone, so that was broadly […] kind of liberal idea but, just the idea that you’re better off working together…”

Identity. One respondent revealed that amongst many factors, identity was at the forefront of those reasons for voting to ‘Remain’ in the EU.

Respondent 6: “I could say a lot of reasons… if I had to say just one, it would be identity […] so, my family is very much European, before being British […] so, for me identity has to be the most important factor.”

Voting for the status quo. One respondent expressed a preference for remaining solely because they questioned the meaningfulness of the referendum and the change that resulted.

Respondent 1: “Ok, one of the biggest reasons why I voted to remain was because I didn’t think this referendum should have been held in the first place. So, I was voting for the status quo.”

Uncertainty of leaving.

Respondent 5: “…I very much felt that the uncertainty of what would happen if we did leave the EU overrode my perception of the negatives of the EU, and I’m very much of the opinion that you can’t change anything from the outside.”
DISCUSSION

It is possible to apply one of the three Eurosceptic models at the individual level. When paying closer attention to the way in which respondents answered questions and expressed feelings toward important issues and topics, it became apparent that each respondent had their own distinct motivations and influences for voting one way or the other. Where multiple models are noted, a primary model is indicated for each individual participant. Some respondents’ votes can be explained using the ‘identity’ model. Identity was assessed as a core influence with both ‘Remain’ and ‘Leave’ voters. In other cases, it was obvious that others took ‘cues’ from political elites, proxies or the media, and other votes can be explained using the ‘utilitarian interest’ method. Each respondent was analyzed independently and holistically, and then compared to those who voted similarly since no category of reasoning for voting overlapped across ‘Remain’ and ‘Leave’ participants.

Voting for a BREXIT

All ‘Leave’ votes in this study are based on the idea that the UK has lost sovereignty as a result in EU membership. The sovereignty reason can be further broken into arguments about immigration or anti-establishment. Respondent 2 & 3 have arguments that are heavily oriented toward anti-immigration, whereas Respondent 4, believes that the EU is headed toward a more federalist system, which means more control over the UK is expected in the future.

At first glance, it appears that Respondent 2 is taking ‘cues’ from the mainstream anti-immigration rhetoric surrounding the ‘Leave’ EU campaigns, stating that:

“I do have concerns about immigration. Immigration was always high on the agenda on both sides and my concern was that it was out of our control and I wanted a situation reinstated where our government would make the decisions about [it], amongst other key issues.”
However, looking more closely, *Respondent 2* differentiates by seeming well-informed on national and international politics, objective about the costs and benefits of immigration, and of the mind-set that Britain should be a country that is ‘By the Britons, For the Britons,’ stating that:

“…first of all because [the EU] doesn’t have proper foundations, I think the institution is very precarious. And, that is one concern that it could [fail us]… and my other concern is that considering its presenting itself as the European Union, it is very disunited and its disappointing if not outrageous the way it cannot bring its member countries together to properly and fairly deal with things like refugees and common problems, because at the moment, and I think Britain’s own behavior had been appalling in this as well, trying to duck responsibility. I think if this institution exists it shouldn’t – It should be addressing those issues more proper, well, properly. And they are not.”

“…I think there has been too much, there has been a laziness. Instead of sorting out our own problems with our own unemployed youth we have just taken qualified or people prepared to work from Europe where I think we should have been looking at ourselves and how we are mismanaging things, and, equipping our own young people and our own people who we have made redundant [sic] for work. So, I am not against it, I think it’s happened too easily and it’s been laziness […] I think migrants contribute a lot to the country, but, I mean for instance if you look at our health service, which is propped up by people, professional people from all over the world. And, I have a level of gratitude from them for coming and being prepared to work here, however, I think if we managed our own country properly we would be training our own doctors and nurses instead of making it incredibly difficult for them to train and then poaching other countries’ workers. Which I think has a level of immorality about it, and when you think about some of these countries that we are taking professional people from, are less prosperous than us. I think it’s outrageous.”

Moreover, *Respondent 2* identifies as ‘British only,’ is college educated, and was previously employed as a social worker. She is currently retired, owns two homes, one of which she rents to families on holiday in her city, while also renting out the spare rooms in her family home to international students who predominantly attend the local university:

*Respondent 2*: “…I am not anti-immigration I believe immigration can be mutually advantageous I just believe it warrants controlling and both parties should be fully accepting, which we weren’t, prior to the vote.”

*Respondent 4* has similar feelings toward immigration, stating that:

“Immigration, generally, is a good thing as long as it’s managed properly.”
Respondent 4 would have voted to ‘Leave’ because he believes the EU was headed in the direction of a more political union, which means, in his eyes, more supra-national control. He did not vote because he urges that the people who voted ‘Leave’ did not share the same sentiment regarding reasons for a BREXIT, i.e. the anti-immigration argument, stating that:

“…because in my view the people that did vote BREXIT didn’t share any of the reasons why I would have voted BREXIT. So, my BREXIT vote would have been anti-[the] kind of institutions of Europe and the interference from the European government. But it has nothing to do with immigration or all the popular [rhetoric] because I am very much in favor of immigration, and obviously, I am in favor of open relationships with Europe and open borders and free movement of people, but I am not in favor of overarching European institutions [those] kind of international institutions.”

Respondent 4 is a college graduate, is employed in television production, makes a substantial living, and has spent most of his childhood and adult years living in London. He previously worked for the BBC and believes himself to be a very cosmopolitan Briton. Moreover, Respondent 4 is weary of politicians in general, and media bias, in particular, stating that:

“I actually currently get emailed [inaudible] from the Guardian and The Times everyday […] we have four periodicals every week, which I always read […] because of my age and my education, I went to college with a lot of people who are now politicians and we are only like one step removed […] and [Respondent 1]’s3 parents are very political, but I have a very skeptical view of politicians so I don’t believe everything politicians say. Very skeptically, I don’t have a high regard for political [figures]. People hold politicians up to be the very apogees of achievement; I am almost the opposite, or whatever, I have an almost disrespect for politicians. So, I would say I consume a lot of news and that sort of informs my thinking to some extent, but you know I would almost take the opposite of view as to something I read or something that a politician told me just cause it my natural inclination to doubt anything that I am told.”

“…but I would say that the times that I have found myself related to a news story in some way you know I have found a discrepancy between what’s been reported and reality, [is] so vast so that I don’t feel it’s so accurate […] I mean you very quickly realize that there’s one view which can have so many different nuances that are just not covered in the news report […] I think with the BREXIT especially. The BBC was very bad over BREXIT […] the reporting was so biased, and I think being in TV and in the media as a whole tended to be ‘pro-Remain,’ apart from one or two newspapers, but they tended to be ‘pro-Remain’ but they tended to come at it from the view point that anything else was

3 Respondent 1 and Respondent 4 are married. Respondent 1’s parents are British nobility who currently sit in the House of Lords.
complete lunacy and that you had to be a complete ‘nutter’ if you thought that there was any other way to vote.”

When you look at the whole picture, Respondents 2 & 4 appear to be driven by their British identity. These two individuals view themselves to be ‘above the fray,’ wealthy enough to not have to be confronted with the realities of losing their jobs, if say; they were a manufacturer, laborer, farmer or tradesman, to an immigrant who is willing to accept a smaller salary. So much of the mainstream rhetoric surrounding immigration centers on the lower strata of income, and these two respondents are not directly affected by immigration of people from EU member states in a detrimental way. Although, they do understand the reality of being a member of the EU in a globalizing world. Their assessments of current issues and topics appear to be informed and they are self-aware in their decision making beyond the cues they are presented with in everyday media. Moreover, they both acknowledge that there are both pros and cons to globalization, and they believe that the British government has failed at making its own citizens competitive in both the domestic arena and on the world stage. Respondent 2 believes that the UK’s membership in the EU has inhibited its ability to focus on issues in the domestic arena, which is different than the EU being responsible for their problems directly. And, Respondent 4 just does not see any advantage to being tied to the EU

For them personally, the EU offers no added value; because, objectively speaking, they are already successful. Their identity is manifest because they feel that Britons are, in-and-of-themselves, perfectly fine without the EU, and feels immigration in general is a net-positive. Moreover, the respondents believe that the UK is multicultural and believes more bureaucratization, or moving toward federalism is the root of the problem, rather than a potential mechanism for solving broader issues in international relations.
Respondent 3 reveals a different story. She is a 24-year-old from Cornwall with a post-graduate degree and makes a living as a civil servant in a museum. While this respondent seems to express nationalist sentiment in her reasoning toward a ‘Leave’ vote, her conflation of issues, abstract explanations, and her insecurities about her knowledge on current events, issues and facts relating to the EU reveals ‘cue-taking’ behavior. She confesses to knowing very little about any of the topics and admitted that she should have researched the EU prior to the vote, stating that:

“…Well, looking back fairly naively, in sort of broad terms, I just wanted our country to be looking after itself and not… and I know it’s come out that the statistics were bogus and there were fairloads of incorrect stuff that we get this many laws and we can’t deport these criminals because the EU says we can’t.”

Responding to feelings on the statement of ‘My voice counts in the EU.’, she states:

“Negative. I don’t think so. I think, what it appears is you have your elected members of European Parliament who are just, as far as I know, just random MPs that they have chosen to elevate and send them off to Brussels, and they sort of sit in the big halls with loads of other contemporaries from different countries… and they just do god knows what […] Or, maybe I don’t know because I thought, maybe I should have researched before I voted. But I don’t know how it works, but it just seems that unless you have the money unless you are Germany or France or other countries like that and you are sort of seen as the bigger powers in Europe we are always seen as sort of on the edge, like I said because we have that bit of water, we are slightly separate we are just sort of ignored, like Britian! And they only started taking notice of us because we said, ‘let’s have a referendum… see if we really want to be here.’ And they went, “Ahh… no!” That’s probably the only time.”

“…or, maybe I don’t know because I though… may be I should have researched before I voted.”

This respondent received the lowest score concerning the ‘True or False’ questions on knowledge of the EU. Moreover, Respondent 3 conflates voting with both democracy and political systems, as well as intertwining the Schengen Area with the EU’s economic policies of ‘Free movement of people, etc.’ with the Syrian refugee crisis. When the respondent was asked her thoughts on the two most important issues the EU is facing at the moment, she states:
“I supposed the economics and immigration… and they are all linked together. Because they got… this is going to make me sound terrible […] Because they have the open borders and they allow people to go anywhere unchecked, that’s going […] naturally people are going to want to go into certain countries that seem to be more prosperous and stronger economically, like Germany.

Principle Investigator: “And, so, you said briefly: economics and immigration and they are sort of linked together, do you want to expound on that a little bit more?”

“Just so, from the sort of current refugee crisis, they are all coming across and obviously, we to help them out because, I don’t know may be, I am not sure how involved we, as a country, are [involved in the Syrian conflict]. We probably are and just aren’t saying we are bombing the hell out of their homes trying to get all these bad people out, or we say they are the bad people, it’s just a huge mess. And now everybody has come across trying to look for sanctuary safety and we have got to help them and that you [the UK has] money and infrastructure to make [sure] these people are safe and secure in their new land, but that money has got to come from somewhere, where does it come from, who is providing most of this money? And, naturally people seeing Germany and France as the strongest economically, so they are all going to go that way and that’s ultimately why, well, not ultimately, why some people think Britain is a safe place to be. But strong economically, I don’t know think we particularly are but that’s why everybody seems to come across.”

When the Respondent 3 was asked about her feelings concerning the statement: ‘Satisfied with the way democracy works in the UK,’ she equates voting to democracy, stating:

“I would say so, but, I don’t see how we would change it. I can’t think of any ways we could change it to make it better… without spending four or five years of turmoil trying to make it better… and just messing up and just coming up with something worse […] I can’t think of a better way to do it at the moment, I suppose, I can’t see it changing just because the amount of effort because everybody is already voted in however many elections and referendums and things in the country we all know the system what we are supposed to do, we are supposed to go to the ballot box on this day, we know who we are voting for, what party’s stand for and their broad sense of what they are about… and that’s who we vote for and that’s how we [inaudible] with a piece of paper and a pen and we shove it in. I can’t see it really, changing, we had a referendum like on a different way to vote and that was slammed completely, so I think, unless somebody has sort of better ideas, there no need to change it. I think it will just stay as it is, basically.”

It becomes more apparent that Respondent 3 knows very little about the EU and has picked up small snippets of information from the media when she is asked to rank attributes of the EU, stating that:

“[The common agricultural policy] is seven because of my Cornish background. I know that was sort of the main reason why people wanted to leave… and racism. Restrictions on fishing and farming.”
Respondent 4 has mistaken the EU’s agricultural subsidies program with EU environmental regulations.

Finally, Respondent 4 rated her political views as center-right (6 - 6.5). She says that she mainly gets her news on MSN News and will do pointed searches on BBC’s website. She mentioned that she does read physical newspapers which include the Daily Mail and the Metro, “so, the free ones,” she urges. Moreover, she said, “no, not really,” when asked about reading newspapers like the Telegraph or the Guardian.

This respondent is not directly confronted with the realities of globalization, and what it means to be in an economic union, such as the EU. Aside from reconciling the “huge crash in 2008” to the reason why shopping establishments she patronized in her youth no longer existed, she rarely gets specific about national or international politics, and seldom has objective views on popular topics. It appears most of her political knowledge was concerning US politics, and she was merely conflating issues popular in the US presidential election with those concerning the UK, the EU and the BREXIT referendum. Her conjecturing and conflation of specific topics reveals that she has picked up bits and pieces of mainstream anti-immigration rhetoric to form, in her mind, an accurate depiction of contemporary political discourse. To wit, she argues that the UK is not a significant power on the world stage, or in the EU, which conflicts with numerous data points that indicate otherwise across cultural and economic criteria.

Ultimately, she lacks the requisite knowledge necessary to be construed as an informed voter and likely voted in the same manner as her family, or through information she picked up in the media. It is also important to note, she did not vote in the same way that people of the same age and socio-economic strata voted, which was to ‘Remain.’ Finally, her lack in knowledge
about the EU referendum, national and international politics outweighed her ‘English and British’ identity.

I voted ‘Remain’

Respondents that voted ‘Remain’ did so for numerous reasons. The process of ascribing one of the Eurosceptic models, or in this case, support for the EU, was not an easy task. Once the transcripts were analyzed in more detail, respondents’ motivations rose to the surface more quickly. Two distinct themes presented among ‘Remain’ voters: Economic Benefits and International Cooperation. Other drivers included: Voting for the Status quo and European identity. Amid these respondents, however, very few offered examples of how they personally benefited from the EU along economic or cooperative lines.

Respondents 8 & 10⁴ are the two respondents that voted ‘Remain’ in the EU for its economic and consumer benefits. They both offered specific reasons concerning economics benefits offered by the EU and why leaving would have damaging effects, stating that:

Respondent 8: “…for example if you look at how our phone […] mobile phone network providers have changed in the last few years before if you were a Brit and you traveled and you owned a Voda Phone […] and you traveled anywhere within the EU the roaming charges would be really high just because the phone companies can do that and consumers have very little option […] I think it was one of the EU institutions decided a few years ago that they were going to set a cap on that, and so that’s just one example to me on how consumer have benefited from being in the EU.”

Respondent 10: “… So going on the financial side of things, the UK over the past few years, or past […] twenty years, has become much more services-oriented. And, the UK has become a large financial hub. And, one of the reasons why the UK has become a hub is because of its use of trade with the EU, beyond the benefits of the English language, common education systems, etc. And, to leave the EU, can have quite the detrimental effects on ability to give those kinds of financial services to the rest of Europe […] a lot of European currency exchange happens through the UK, particularly with British banks…”

⁴ Respondents are Master of Business Administration candidates at one of the US’s leading business schools.
Respondents 8 and 10 are representative of individuals suited to the ‘utilitarian interest’ model. They are well-informed voters in national and international politics and come from well-to-do families, and are currently successful in their own right. These respondents, however, present interesting cases because of their ethnically diverse backgrounds. Respondent 8 identifies as ‘British only, but also identifies with her ethnic Indian roots, if asked more pointed questions about it. While the respondent was born in the UK, her mother and father immigrated from India when they were young children. Respondent 8 therefore feels ‘British only,’ as she only visits India about once a year, and “doesn’t spend more than two weeks there,” and has “a very strong London identity.”

Respondent 10 identifies as ‘British only,’ however his father and mother are both Indian, and both born in Uganda. His mother immigrated from Uganda to the UK as a child prior to the Indian expulsion, but his father immigrated shortly after the regime change as a refugee. Respondent 10 urges that while he has Indian ancestries, and even though he spent a few years of his childhood in the US, he feels that his British identity outweighs everything else. Most of his extended family live in the UK and his parents grew up in the UK from a young age.

These respondents seem to be well-informed voters, but have habits in reading mostly conservative news publications, which they fully acknowledge as a potential failure to be objective in gathering information to form their opinions. Respondent 8’s favorite newspapers are The Economist and The Spectator. She placed her political affiliation as more conservative (7), but in recent years, she has slowly shifted to the left (now center) as a result in her moving to the US for school (5), stating that:

“…being in the US, that’s maybe triggered that change. […] having spent most of my life in the UK that’s the way things, institutions and the welfare state is built in the UK is the norm for me and then coming here where I feel, there’s much less welfare, there’s no
universal healthcare system, universities are typically very expensive for people. I’ve found myself realizing the value in the state in providing certain goods to people. So, I think may be being here and being exposed to a different way of handling political affairs has softened me ever so slightly to the left.”

Respondent 10 admits he has ‘left-leaning’ political views (4 to 5) as a result in his previous employment with the British National Health Service. However, his interest in economics and finance, and his current studies as an MBA candidate have him interested in reading more news publications like the Financial Times and The Wall Street Journal.

While it is possible to want to categorize these individuals as potentially falling into the ‘cue-taking’ or ‘identity’ groupings, they appear to be knowledgeable of international politics and economics, and are very objective about concepts concerning immigration, trade, and inevitably globalization, stating that:

Respondent 8: “Very positive. I am a very firm believer in globalization. I think whilst there are inequalities that come from globalization, there are always winners and losers. I think the world has seen an increase in wealth that’s unlike any other period of history. And, I think that can be attributed in part to increased trade.”

Respondent 10: “I’m pretty middle of the road on this one. And, the reason why is because, I’ll give you an example. Let’s look at the UK. The ability to have access to foreign doctors in the UK means that the UK healthcare system is sustainable because it’s providing a large number of Spanish and European doctors to fulfill a need in the UK. So, I’m happy that that’s happening. The other side of that is that it’s allowing us to mask the issues within the healthcare system and the shortage of staff because we’re just hiring foreign doctors for the time being while there is a brain drain in the British healthcare system. So, I feel like the immigration from the EU is overall net-positive, but […] it’s allowing us to ignore a lot of the underlying social issues on variations in the financial disparity in the UK because as long as the labor is there we don’t care as upper middle-class. It’s irrelevant to us. But, yet, we completely ignore the implications of the other side. So, I mean, I’m happy with it, but it does have it’s downsides.”

Respondent 10: “You know, I spent a bit of time in the UK working in a town called Margate, which is on the southeast furthest southeast tip of the UK, a large immigrant population. And, one of the towns where some of these far-right parties got a lot of support. I don’t agree with their support but I’m not surprised […] These are communities that have been very traditionally British. You can say, yes, borderline racist. But, it was, these were entrenched communities that have been there for many years; multiple generations have been there. And, you know, we sit in London seeing all the

5 Respondent 8 majored in Political Science at the London School of Economics where she took courses specific to the European Union.
benefits of immigration. We’re seeing, you know, highly-educated people moving in. We’re seeing labor becoming cheaper. And, you know, we can sit there in our £500K homes and see our cost of our labor dropping, and be, ‘oh, good. We’re paying less.’ But, when you go to Margate where that labor is living and working, and we’re seeing families struggle because immigrant populations have suppressed wages. And, you’re seeing people lose their jobs. And, you see entire families struggling to maintain the quality of life they had fifteen years before. Am I surprised by it?”

Respondents 8 & 10 understand both sides to being a member of the EU. They believe the economic benefits for the UK in the long-run outweigh the negatives of EU membership. While these respondents have never had to directly experience the costs of the EU’s immigration policies, they do understand that it is a direct problem for many members of British society. Moreover, these respondents provide very specific examples about current issues and events, while offering objective insight on these matters. Finally, both respondents believe that the EU, and the UK specifically, and should be doing more about helping Syrian refugees.

**Respondent 1** is another voter that is suited to the ‘utilitarian interest’ classification. She identifies as ‘English only,’ believes herself to be very cosmopolitan, but has never been personally faced with the broader implications of immigration of people from other EU member states. However, she fully understands that others in Britain are deeply affected by migrant workers, stating that:

“Positive, because I feel that by people coming here, like in the majority, they are tax payers. They are not here because of our welfare state, because our welfare state, as I described earlier is incredibly difficult now, I mean the benefits system is not something you can just cash in on and sit back and enjoy the party. So, I see immigrants coming from Europe as a positive influence on our society because their hard working, their culturally diverse. So, French people bring a particular, cultural perspective and I like the idea that we’re, I like the idea, I mean I know I feel English and all the rest of it, but, I like the idea of us being a part of a larger body of countries.”

“Yeah, I mean it just depends. You’ve got to delineate between whether they are economic migrants or political asylum seekers. So, I would say that, you know I’ve read a book recently that’s called *The Year of the Runaways*, which is about two Indian men being duped by people back home in India into thinking that when they when they hit England they are going to be able to make enough money to save both their family financial situations in India but when they have got here they have found that they have just been exploited, they have been paid way below the minimum wage, they are illegal
here, they live in shitty terrible accommodations and they basically have no identity because they’re illegals. And that is a really really bad, that’s a kind of terrible face of immigration. When it is illegal and its exploitative. But if, on the other hand, people can come here and make something of what they are doing, fine, fair enough. Although, again, I fear for the competition factor. It’s so difficult!”

Moreover, she acknowledges that the EU has a tremendous set issues as an institution, stating that:

“We got a strong voice from within the EU. Yes, it is a failed project that’s becoming, that’s being tested by the migrant crisis, the economic crisis, and its shown to be weak, but a lot of our laws are underpinned by the EU, and I think, in the kind of political climate generally it’s a good idea not to destroy, but to rebuild and work with it.

“Ok, so the migrant crisis because a very prominent member of the EU is Germany and Germany had this open-door policy for migrants which has back fired because its been, they haven’t been able to organize it in the way they had hope and its had a political backlash as well as a societal backlash. And, also, just as a point of entry, so on the Island of Lesbos, let’s take that as an example in Greece. They haven’t been able to clear migrants at any efficient rate. The EU pledged to the Greek government that they would send immigration officers to the island and the infrastructure to cope with the migrants who are landing there in the 100s every day and they haven’t been able to provide the infrastructure for these migrants or the clearing process. So, I think its demonstrated that the EU, despite being a really like largely bureaucratic organization, when it comes to on the ground organization, it’s really failed.”

Respondent 1 believes that the UK has pervasive issues concerning the benefits system, education system and an urban bias that are unrelated to its membership in the EU, stating that:

“…it’s such a complex problem. So, if you take a Welsh valley city such as Merthyr Tydfil, it’s had now since the mines closed three generations of people with low aspirations, so it’s like a vicious cycle of lack of aspirations and it’s really difficult to know what to do. But where I become particularly frustrated is when someone rings the helpline and says, “I really want to get back to work, I really am trying, you know I am incredibly conscientious and I have never missed a bill payment.” And they are sobbing on the phone because they have literally run out of options and I just think, actually, at some point someone has misjudged the severity of the cuts and they do need to and there are certain elements of the welfare system that just seem to have been knee jerk reactions and not carefully enough thought through and not piloted and it’s all a bit kind of like short term. Like politics is short term, they are not able to think in long enough cycles, so they make these very frequent, quite considerably, you know policy decisions that have quite a considerable impact and from friends of mine who work in government, so you know in the NHS, and directly with government in the foreign service, wherever, they all say it’s all short-term-ist… and they are not looking ahead. I blame a lack of thoroughness on the part of the government.”

“So, the UK faces the issue of its economy being very skewed toward the cities and London in particular. So, I think this country and the politicians keep trying to change
this, but we are over reliant on London to generate the cash. So, London is the financial center, but all our institutions are there, and although the BBC have tried to move out toward Manchester, for example... although they are trying to create a rail network, that cannot be easily changed [London being the epicenter of the UK]."

“So, the core of the competition is, I mean I think it’s essentially the fact that – even when we go to school talks – they say 80 percent of the jobs that your children will do haven’t even been created yet and it just feels like we are just on the threshold of artificial intelligence, this whole idea of machine learning, the fact that you might not even need to work in groups and or offices to the extent that you once did, the fact that the internet is changing everything so much in working practice its just that I feel we are going through a critical juncture, and I am not sure how best to prepare my kids for that. And you know I am not sure our education system is caught up with that, so I think the flipside of that is that I think they should network a bit more and we went to live in Wales and that is quite a microcosm of society and we need to kind of get back in there in order to you know have a place, not me, but my kids have a place.”

*Respondent 1* reads, *The Spectator, The Week, Time, The Times* and *The Financial Times*\(^6\) and rates her political affiliation at a 4. She feels very disappointed in the party she voted for in the last election, stating that:

“What do you know, I find it really hard to follow the party politics here. Because I have never voted with any conviction. I voted for liberal democrats last election but they were never... they completely failed.”

*Respondent 1* provides very specific examples about her understanding of issues that the UK and the EU are facing today. However, she recognizes that certain endemic issues regarding the UK are not necessarily a result in its membership with the EU. Her social strata\(^7\) growing up, current wealth status, occupation, and knowledge, of both national and international politics reveals that her vote to ‘Remain’ in the EU was largely driven by ‘utilitarian interests.’ Despite her upbringing, she is self-aware and grounded; two of her children go to state school, she volunteers often, holds a full-time job, and is fully aware of the economic inequality present in Britain.

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\(^6\) *Respondent 1* reads numerous publications because of the nature of consulting job.

\(^7\) *Respondent 1*’s parents are British nobles (Viscounts) that maintain seats in the House of Lords; Volunteer’s late grandfather was also a Viscount, Member of Parliament and had a seat in the House of Lords.
Respondents 7 & 9 show signs of ‘cue-taking’ voter behavior. Both individuals declared themselves as ‘British only’ and argued that they voted to ‘Remain’ in the EU because international cooperation is more beneficial. The two respondents are enrolled in post-graduate education that focus on international studies, and have lived abroad in China during their undergraduate programs. Each respondent, however, has different indicators that reveal important clues about their voting behavior.

Respondent 7 rates his political ideology between a three and four, mainly speaks through conjecture, siting very few specific examples. He is rarely specific about national politics and he employs broad concepts concerning international security, which is likely informed by his current curriculum.

Respondent 9 self-identifies as “a bit of a lefty,” concerning his political views because he urges that, “there has to be support for the most vulnerable in society.” He seems very knowledgeable about national politics, siting specific names and events, however, despite his major in international relations, he speaks in abstractions concerning international politics, only siting a couple of specific examples. Moreover, a lot of his thought processes are less objective, he rarely ever sites both pros and cons on specific issues. Finally, his views on immigration of people from the EU, globalization, and negative familial experiences seem conflicted:

Respondent 9: “Positive in the sense, […] I have taught some people who are from European member states who live in the UK. And, I like them […] and, I would say largely positive.”

 Principle Investigator: “Ok, the next statement is: Immigration of people from outside the EU. Does that statement evoke either positive or negative feelings? And, why?”

Respondent 9: “Probably more positive, in the argument that like, the, for example, the NHS relies a lot upon people from the Philippines, Doctors from India, Pakistan, Bangladesh that sort of, south Asia area. Yeah, so, from what I understand, its positive thing.”

Principal Investigator: “Ok, how about the statement: Migrants contribution to the UK. Does that statement evoke either positive or negative feelings? And, why?”
Respondent 9: “Again, it depends, yeah, so, obviously, migrants that I just talked about, people who we don’t have the skill set in the UK or you come and genuinely contribute something to our society, that generally positive. Whether, all the migrants that come across… like whether it be from the EU, or whether from elsewhere… I don’t believe that they all contribute, but, yeah.”

Principle Investigator: How about: Globalization is an opportunity for economic growth. Does that statement evoke either positive or negative feelings? And, why?

Respondent 9: “Hmm [laughs] yeah, I’d say probably, more negative.”

Principle Investigator: And, how come?

Respondent 9: “Well, just in the way that I, let’s go back towards my family, for example. My Granddad’s worked in a mill when he was – pretty much all his life – apart from a short period in the military. So, that was a very low skilled work, very simple life, globalization has done away with that, you have to [be] smart, you have to be really on it to succeed in a global world. Which, I kind of feel like is a slightly negative thing, in that, a lot of hard working people are struggling to adapt.”

Principle Investigator: What about the perspective for Asian countries? I am only asking because I know you lived in China.

Respondent 9: “So, I think, China, for example, and I lived in Shanghai, tends to bring in, sort of, the entrepreneurial people who want to work in those kind of global international companies […] then it has been positive for China, because it’s not like, nice to say, but a Chinese kind of work ethic has kind over taken that sort of traditional, sort of, protestant work ethic of the west, or whatever or, like they do kind of like, they are prepared to sacrifice a lot of their life for like, the long hours in the office and that sort of thing and its sort of benefited them in some ways. And there is also smarter business appearing in China, as well.”

Finally, when it came to ranking the attributes about the EU from one (most positive) to eight (least positive) he mentioned, “I don’t know much about [The Common Agricultural Policy] but, I think it’s been good for the UK, so, I am going to go with four.”

Both respondents (7 & 9) acknowledged knowing very little about the European Union institutions, how democracy works in the EU, and where they personally fit in the grand scheme of things, stating that:

Respondent 7: “I don’t know enough about the way that [the EU] works in that sense […] again, my understanding of the EU parliament […] it’s not as good as it should be…”
Respondent 9: “… I have no idea how my voice would [count] [...] again, really not knowing the ends and outs of [the EU] …”

Respondent 7 does not appear to be an informed voter in the domestic arena. Moreover, he seems to only have an abstract understanding of international politics and economics. His current curriculum concerning international institutions and cooperation has probably informed his EU referendum vote. Conversely, Respondent 9 should be construed as an informed voter in national politics, however, he is currently conflicted between his knowledge of domestic issues, familial first-hand negative experiences with globalization, and his studies in international relations. He is not objective because he does not acknowledge that these issues could be interrelated.

Respondent 6 urges that the main reason she voted ‘Remain’ was a result in her European identity. Moreover, when responding to Q7: Do you see yourself as…? And, why? She refers to her German and Polish roots, stating that:

Respondent 6: “European […] and British […] yeah, growing up I always, I have a lot of friends who were Scottish, or Welsh and they very much identified with that aspect of their, I guess, cultural heritage, or background and I’ve never really had that, because I don’t have Scottish, Welsh, Irish descendants and the family that I do have who are English are now European because they moved to Germany […] so its sort of a complicated identity but yeah […] the European […] I mean it has to come from my family, it’s the fact that they all live there and at home we […] with my immediate family we speak English, but if I am in Germany we speak a mix of various languages […] So, its German and English and growing up I spoke Polish with my grandma and […] I think language, which has a lot to do with it as well.”

Respondent 6 is not particularly objective when it comes to the EU, and regularly views the positives of EU membership. Although, she is aware of her ‘utilitarian interest’ as a result in globalization, stating that:

“Positive. […] probably cause I see myself as – when they talk about winners in Globalization, I feel like I have the freedom to move anywhere and do anything and this, for me, it’s about opportunity.”

Respondent 6 shows voting behavior primed by her European identity and ‘utilitarian interest.’ She does not show signs of ‘cue-taking’ behavior as she seems to be a well-informed voter, not
only concerning national politics, but also regarding international relations and the EU. Her knowledge of international politics and economics is likely a result in current European studies curriculum. Moreover, because she has not directly experienced the negative effects from globalization, her views seem to be skewed toward the positive attributes of the UK’s membership in the EU. She is another participant that fails to draw the connection between the winners and losers of globalization, specifically trade in a global perspective, and how EU membership affects members in her own society.

There was not enough substantive information to make a meaningful assessment for Respondent 5. Her responses were kept short and vague and she was not receptive to follow-up questioning.

**CONCLUSION**

After review, it is possible to employ the three competing Eurosceptic models simultaneously when coding responses at the individual level in an appropriately rigorous fashion. Approaching this problem in such a way is important because existing empirical studies based on large volumes of participants mask the real underlying causes of voting behavior. When a study can analyze data at the ground level, we learn that voting behavior is more complex than often cited, but is reducible to these three distinct categories. Despite there being several limitations regarding this study, chief among them is the ability to generalize the individual responses and characterize them as one of the three theories proposed herein.

All respondents were college educated, which assumes a certain level of critical thinking ability. ‘Cue-taking’ voting behavior, for the purposes of this study, occurred according to Anderson’s (1993) hypothesis: when making decisions about international politics voters will
take cues from entities of influence in domestic politics. As observed among the participants in the study, this behavior also arose when individuals were uninformed about national matters and voted the same way their family, peers, or media elites indicated they should have voted. Individuals that knew very little about the EU, and contemporary politics in general, spoke mainly in abstractions, never providing concrete examples. And, in some cases individuals that appeared to know very little about the EU admitted this fact demonstrating a modicum of awareness that their decision was influenced by an external source.

When it came to identity, only one respondent truly felt European and stated explicitly that identification. However, feeling European in her case coincided with her utilitarian interest, which she interestingly admitted. Though, her European identity was a result in ancestral roots vis-à-vis UK’s membership in a European institution. Identity in the ‘Leave’ case did not amount to an anti-foreigner mentality. Rather, identity in these cases manifested a desire to have better national policies in the face of globalization. The nationalist sentiment was subtle in two cases, which ultimately boiled down to wanting better for Britons, even if this meant sacrificing deeper involvement in the EU.

Utilitarian voting behavior was only visible with ‘Remain’ voters. None of the respondents lost their jobs or experienced a significant decline as a result in the UK’s membership in the EU. One respondent, however, was able to reference specific observations across socio-economic classes that demonstrated how globalization’s effects on the UK have been different, and are perceived to be different across those groups. Another respondent urged that his grandfather had had that kind of experience, but wasn’t directly faced with it in his contemporaneous circumstances. He therefore appeared conflicted between his knowledge of familial experiences with globalization and the pressures of his current enrollment in university
education, where voters tended to vote ‘Remain’ because of utilitarian interests. In each case, these respondents sought understanding by weighing the merits of arguments made on both sides, in addition to their own perceptions before coming to a conclusion.

Informed voters were both ‘Remain-ers’ and ‘Leave-ers.’ Most informed voters happened to be utilitarian interest voters, and, in general, voted to ‘Remain.’ Equally, ‘Leave’ voters were informed voters but had a higher propensity towards being ‘Identity’ or ‘Cue-taking’ voters. Cue-takers were, in general, rather uninformed voters. A finding which aligns with Anderson’s theory regarding the influence of political elites on voters’ perceptions on European integration. An obvious exception is Respondent 9 who voted to remain in the EU, but voiced opposition to globalization. While this respondent was informed in national politics and inclined to vote to ‘Leave,’ his ‘Remain’ vote was a likely the result of his proximity to a majority of ‘Remain’ voters.

The result of this work aligns with prevailing theories about the reasons for the BREXIT referendum. While voting behavior has been successfully categorized in the three main categories used here, individual-level analysis demonstrates that while these patterns hold, with regard to a voter’s reasoning and logic, value can be found in exploring individual choices. As a result of this analysis proscriptive measures can be identified to help properly convey accurate information to voters. As this study shows, utilitarian voters benefit from individual exposure to key issues such that they can exercise critical thinking to come to a robust conclusion. Identity voters require affiliation with the broader community context for voting in one direction or another. Conversations oriented towards demonstrating how their in-group is voting is effective at influencing their ultimate choices. ‘Identity’ and ‘Cue-taking’ voters are the most easily manipulated by inaccurate information, but the latter of which often subscribe to the opinions of
those most influential within their information-gathering cycle. This can be to their detriment when it comes to incredibly complex decisions such as the BREXIT referendum. This last category of voters represents the greatest challenge in that there is little active thought put into making decisions. And, based on this study, these voters appear to, at times, actively vote against their best interest because they rely on the preferences of others to determine their choices, rather than their own informed opinions.

One of the greatest challenges to the UK, moving forward, towards actually exiting the EU, is managing the information flow to voters within their political system. It is critical for the ongoing success of this process to identify how best to convey information to voters such that the full weight of their decisions can be felt, and respected. A common thread amongst study participants was the dismay and shock associated with the ultimate outcome of this referendum. That, in and of itself, is a challenge for any democratic political system because such dismay can be disenfranchising for all categories of voters.
APPENDIX I: INTERVIEW PROTOCOL

Demographic Information

Age: 
Gender: 

Marital Status: 
- Single, never married
- Married or domestic partnership
- Widowed
- Divorced
- Separated
- Prefer not to disclose

Are there any children in your household? Age(s)?

Occupation: 
If retired, former occupation?
If student, major?

Do you own your own home or rent? 
Do you own your own business or farm?

Household Income:
- Less than 10,000
- 10,000 to 19,999
- 20,000 to 29,999
- 30,000 to 39,999
- 40,000 to 49,999
- 50,000 to 59,999
- 60,000 to 69,999
- 70,000 to 79,999
- 80,000 to 89,999
- 90,000 to 99,999
- 100,000 to 149,999
- 150,000 or more
- Prefer not to answer

In what type of community do you live?
- Suburban community
- City or urban community
- Rural community
- Other: 

Highest level of education:
- Some high school or less
- Completed high school
- Some college
- Completed college
- Post graduate
- Trade/technical school
Interview Questions

Q1: How did you vote in referendum held in the UK on Thursday, 23 June 2016? Why?
   - Remain in the EU
   - Leave the EU
   - Did not vote (How would you have voted?)

Q2: Where is your news obtained? Through what medium? Mark all that apply.

Television Broadcasting
   - BBC
   - SKY
   - CNN
   - FOX
   - Al Jazeera
   - Other:_________________

News Papers
   - The Daily Telegraph
   - The Times
   - The Guardian
   - The Observer
   - The Financial Times
   - Daily Mail
   - Daily Express
   - The Sun
   - Daily Mirror
   - Daily Star
   - The Morning Star
   - Other:_________________

Q3: How does news or the media factor into your daily life? Growing up?

Q4: Political left-right self-placement: In political matters, people talk of “the left and “the right.” How would you place your views? Why?

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Q5: Based on your answer above, what current British political parties or political elite figures are most closely associated with your placement?
Q6: What about this party/person resonates with you the most? Why?

Q7: Do you see yourself as…? Why?
- English, Scottish, Welsh, Irish, or Other Commonwealth Entity Only
- English, Scottish, Welsh, Irish, Other Commonwealth Entity, And British
- British only
- English, Scottish, Welsh, Irish, other Commonwealth Entity, And European
- European and British
- European only
- Don’t know
- Other

Q8: What do you think are the two most important facing your family (the UK, the EU, the world) at the moment? Why?
- Unemployment
- Immigration
- Economic situation
- Health and social security
- Rising prices/inflations/cost of living
- Pensions
- Government debt
- The education system
- Crime
- Taxation
- Terrorism
- Housing
- The environment, climate change, energy issues
- Other

Q9: Do the following statements evoke positive or negative feelings. Why?
- Immigration of people from other EU member states
- Immigration of people from outside EU
- Migrants contribution to UK
- Globalization is an opportunity for economic growth
- Global climate change is a problem
- My voice counts in the UK
- The UK voice counts in the EU
- My voice counts in the EU
- Satisfied with the way democracy works in the UK
- Satisfied with the way democracy works in the EU

Q10: Which of the following do you think is the most positive (1) result of the EU? Rank.
- The Free Movement of People, Goods, and services within the EU
- Peace among the member state of the EU
- The Euro
- Student Exchange Programs such as Erasmus
- The political and diplomatic influence of the EU in the rest of the world
- The economic power of the EU
- The level of social welfare (healthcare, education, pensions) in the EU
- The common agricultural policy

Q11: For Each of the following statements about the EU could you please tell me whether you think it is true or false?
- The EU currently consists of 28 member states?
- The members of the European Parliament are directly elected by the citizens of each Member State?
- Switzerland is a Member State of the EU?

Q12: If you had the opportunity to vote again today, how would you vote? Why?
APPENDIX II: INTERVIEW TRANSCRIPTS

Respondent 1

Age: 46
Gender: Female
Marital Status: Married
Occupation: Business Consultant
Do you own your own home or rent? Owns two homes.
Household Income: £150,000
Are there any children in your household? Yes. Age(s)? 11, 15, 15
Do you own your own business or farm? No
In what type of community do you live? Urban. Currently lives on the country side in Wales, but, majority of adult years spent in London.
Growing up? Both Rural and Urban.
Highest level of education: Master of Arts

Principle Investigator (PI): Ok, so we are going to start with the interview questions now. First and foremost, did you vote in the referendum held in the UK on the 26th of June 2016?

Respondent 1: Oh, yes. Yes.

PI: So, how did you vote?

Respondent 1: I voted to remain.

PI: You did vote to remain. And what is the biggest reason why you voted to remain? Or, what is one of the biggest reasons?

Respondent 1: Ok, one of the biggest reasons why I voted to remain was because I didn’t think this referendum should have been held in the first place. So, I was voting for the status quo.

PI: Ok. So, I am going to switch gears a bit and I am going to ask about your consumption of news and current events. What news publications do you read or watch? And through which medium, online, hardcopy, television?
**Respondent 1:** Ok, so, I wake up to the Today program on radio 4, which is a radio news program. I look at the BBC news website. I do targeted searches about things that particularly interest me. So, around the referendum I would have been looking at factcheck.org. Which is a fact checking website when Tori pamphlet would come round saying why we should remain, they break down all the policy points and say to what extent they are true. That kind of thing. Otherwise, we subscribe to the Spectator, the Week, Time and we get the Times and Financial Times.

**PI:** So, you would say the Times and the Financial Times are your news papers of choice?

**Respondent 1:** Yes, our news papers of choice.

**PI:** So, growing up would you say that news, current events and politics was a central practice for your family? And on the other side of that, how central is the consumption of news, current events and politics to your family today?

**Respondent 1:** Ok, so my father and my grandfather are very politically minded and then my mother became politically minded. Politics formed a lot of the conversations between me and my parents but I wouldn’t say that they were, that that meant that I have a really strong ideological base, just that yes, we would talk politics as entertainment and particularly my dad.

**PI:** I think you are more of the exception rather than the rule, because a lot of peoples access and placement to politics is through news media outlets.

(Respondent’s parents are British nobles (Viscounts) that maintain seats in the House of Lords; Respondent’s late grandfather was also a Viscount, MP and member of House of Lords)

**Respondent 1:** My father has this kind of this whole approach to life, which is he knows… which is for them they have a real suspicion of the media and always have done. So, they don’t… ok, my mum works on this board for the Times, which ensures editorial independence despite the fact that Murdoch owns it, and she sits on this board that was set up when Murdoch bought the Times, inorder to ensure that. So she is interested in the Times as far her job goes, but basically my parents have a really healthy distrust in the media which they told me about from a very early age.

**PI:** Oh ok, wow! And so what about today, now with you and your interaction with news or media in the family and how does politics play a role? Is this something your family talks about daily? Do you watch the news as a family daily? What does that look like?

**Respondent 1:** Ok, so basically, our children made it really clear that they didn’t want to hear the news when they were young because they found it really upsetting. I remember an earthquake happening and there were cries of children in this earthquake on the radio and they said, “mum, turn it off, I never want to listen to the news.” And they only decided that they were only interested in current affairs in the past two years so when they had been 13 and [her son] 11. So, I would say when they were 11 and 13 they were interested but they really didn’t want to engage with it but [her husband] and I talk about it all the time. Like if we go on a walk everyday I would like to say
that 50 percent of that walk is just talking about what’s going on. Internationally and nationally. I mean we are interested in current affairs definitely.

PI: In political matters, people talk of “the left and “the right.” How would you place your views? And Why? I have a scale of 1 to 10 where 1 is to the left far left and 10 is the far-right. Or you can say you don’t know or abstain from answering.

Respondent 1: 4!

PI: 4, ok, and in your placement there, why? And what party or member of the political elite resonates with that categorization or with you the most? If any?

Respondent 1: Do you know, I find it really hard to follow the party politics here. Because I have never voted with any conviction. I voted for liberal democrats last election but they were never, they completely failed.

PI: Ok, anything else?

Respondent 1: Dunno.

PI: Ok, so we are going to switch gears again and talk about identity.

Respondent 1: Ok.

PI: Ok, next question: “Do you see yourself as English, British, European or a combination of those, how do you identify?” Why?

Respondent 1: I’m English.

PI: What about being considered British?

Respondent 1: No, I am English.

PI: What about being considered European?

Respondent 1: No, not really.

PI: When some asks you about you identity, is European ever a descriptor?

Respondent 1: No, so I am thinking, when I am in Russia, I say, “YA angliyskaya,” “I am an English woman, not “YA britanskaya,” I am a British woman. Because you don’t often identify yourself [in Russia], but I have a lot and I chosen a particular word.

PI: Ok, I am going to move on to questions concerning current issues and the European Union. This question is sort of nested. What are the two most important issues your family is facing at the moment? Why? Then I’ll ask you about the two most important issues the UK is facing at the
moment, then the EU, then the world. Starting with your family. What are the two most important issues your family is facing at the moment? And why?

**Respondent 1:** Ok, an issue for me has always been, and um, I guess we will can get there. For me its class system. So me for example, like I really wanted my kids to grow up in a way that was less class based. So when we moved to Wales the school they go to is quite meritocratic and people come from a quite a wide background to go there even though its VP, But we haven’t been able to escape that kind of thing because what I fear for the future is this whole, the increase in competition and uncertainty. To me they appear less secure than we were growing up. You know have to go above and beyond to get yourself noticed now. And so I fear basically for their security, financially, and I have kind of opted for the option that they actually need to, that I hope we wouldn’t have to go down the privilege route but they have all gone down the, we are pushing then in the direction of privilege and expensive schools and all that because I fear the level of competition is much higher than it may be was even for my nieces and nephews who are in their late 20s

**PI:** Why do you think, this notion of competition, what is the core of that?

**Respondent 1:** So the core of the competition is, I mean I think its essentially the fact that even when we go to school talks they say 80 % of the jobs that your children will do haven’t even been created yet and it just feels like we are just on the threshold of artificial intelligence, this whole idea of machine learning, the fact that you might not even need to work in groups and or offices to the extent that you once did, the fact that the internet is changing everything so much in working practice its just that I feel we are going through a critical juncture, and I am not sure how best to prepare my kids for that. And you know I am not sure our education system is caught up with that, so I think the flipside of that is that I think they should network a bit more and we went to live in Wales and that is quite a microcosm of society and we need to kind of get back in there in order to you know have a place, not me, but my kids have a place.

**PI:** Do you think these are two separate issues? So the idea that you are worried about being competitive in terms of jobs for your children, but then also how that class system factors in, or do you believe that its sort of one in the same?

**Respondent 1:** Its been a really weird one for us because I thought, where as I come from a particular strata of British society, and if we went out, and [my husband] is quite kind of you know, he went to a left leaning college and all this, so he was kind on about them being state educated. So we left the rat race of London thinking it would just be easy to be more sort of level headed in Wales, I mean may be not level headed but beat the system a little bit, but because who comes to stay with us, because of our family roots our kids have already kid of assimilated into our kind of world view and they now look on their Welsh school and think this is just a really small school and [question], “mum, why did you move here.” So I feel like rejected cosmopolitanism but actually really at heart that’s where all our identities are and we need to get back because it was great buying our London flat, it was great taking the kids there, walking them into the market at Shepard’s Bush where there are people there of every creed and color selling from every where, all over the world. Turkish shops… just this multicultural atmosphere and I realize that is actually what I like and what I want for them and we’ve got to kind of reenter the world. But they cant do
any of that if they don’t compete and don’t have a network because how can they you know get back in there when I have taken them out and put them in this rural setting?

PI: Well you know that’s interesting, so I think, and this may be an American nuance, so it’s the idea of going to university is when you break out of the sort small town mentality and you really become cosmopolitan. And so that the age you are finding yourself in a new place and so it coincides with you being competitive on the world stage or in the ‘millennial stage.’ And also figuring out who you are as a person.

Respondent 1: Yes, right, exactly! But you see [my children] have observed that the people who come and stay with us, who are like my old friends come from both my high school and university and the same for [my husband]. So we both made core friends for life, you know ad they have looked around and thought, and its not like I have used those friends to get me places, but this is on an emotional level, they have literally not made those kind of cool friendships that he and I both made through going to school. And I think they just quite want to.

PI: Do you think they are young just yet though?

Respondent 1: Well, yeah, they really are you know. But its also its actually because at their school they don’t teach A level that well. They are not very good at teaching independent thinking. And a lot of the girls doing A level have said to them really I would recommend leaving if you can. So I think quite a few their year are leaving anyway. So I think their following, like 25 of them are leaving.

PI: So what about another issue that your family is facing at the moment?

Respondent 1: Another problem that I worry about for my family is, we don’t have a problem with their security, or um, for me its always been this education dilemma.

Respondent 1: I am trying to set them up as the state is less able to provide to be able to afford a good standard of living. Because I see the state as being less able as they get older to provide health, education, like you are going to have to be more self reliant because its just not going to be the same amount of government spending moving forward.

PI: What about two issues that the UK is facing at the moment?

Respondent 1: So the UK faces the issue of its economy being very skewed toward the cities and London in particular. So, I think this country and the politicians keep trying to change this, but we are over reliant on London to generate the cash. So, London is the financial center, but all our institutions are there, and although the BBC have tried to move out toward Manchester, for example… although they are trying to create a rail network, that cannot be easily changed [London being the epicenter of the UK]. So for example it is so normal for people to spend over a million pounds on a house in London, even if it is not in central London. Whereas for people to spend a million pounds on a house in Wales it has to be… well I mean it has to be a really small percentage of houses in Wales that go for over a million quid. So, and then they found tis statistic out, in Cardiff, there is a really small number of people who pay the higher tax rate, like 3000 people in
the Cardiff area, well in London its 10s of 1000s of people. So distribution of wealth in the country is a real issue. And I think the knock on effect about that is just the cost of living, which is what the Labour party said all last election, the cost of living and the peoples ability to make ends meet is a real problem at the moment and its increasing. When they change the benefits system people will really be struggling to make ends meet. Because I used work last year at the (inaudible) bureau and I used to take lots of calls, from the, I worked on the Welsh helpline. So people from all over Wales were ringing about the changes to the benefits, just saying, “they have just stopped my benefits, they no longer pay it, I am disabled, I haven’t been able to work for 5 years, and they say I am under review, but in the meantime I have nothing to tied me over, luckily I am a member of a church, so they are giving me food.” But you know I don’t understand why it is there don’t seem to be the same cushions for tose kind of people as they used to be. So running out of cash is my big worry.

**PI:** Do you place blame on anyone?

**Respondent 1:** Umm… its such a complex problem. So if you take a Welsh valley city such as Merthyr Tydfil, its had now since the mines closed three generations of people with low low aspirations, so its like a vicious cycle of lack of aspirations and its really difficult to know what to do. But where I become particularly frustrated is when someone rings the helpline and says, “I really want to get back to work, I really am trying, you know I am incredibly conscientious and I have never missed a bill payment.” And they are sobbing on the phone because they have literally run out of options and I just think actually at some point some one has misjudged the severity of the cuts and they do need to and there are certain elements of the welfare system that just seem to have been knee jerk reactions and not carefully enough thought through and not piloted and its all a bit kind of like short term. Like politics is short term, they are not able to think in long enough cycles, so they make these very frequent, quite considerably, you know policy decisions that have quite a considerable impact and from friends of mine who work in government, so you know in the NHS, directly with government in the foreign service, wherever they all say its all short-term-ist… and they are not looking a head. I blame a lack of thoroughness on the part of the government.

**PI:** What about the EU. What are the two most important issues the EU is facing at the moment?

**Respondent 1:** Ok, migrant crisis and an identity crisis.

**PI:** How so?

**Respondent 1:** Ok, so the migrant crisis because a very prominent member of the EU is Germany and Germany had this open door policy for migrants which has back fired because its been, they haven’t been able to organize it in the way they had hope and its had a political backlash as well as a societal backlash. And also just as a point of entry, so on the Island of Lesbos, lets take that as an example in Greece. They haven’t been able to clear migrants at any efficient rate. The EU pledged to the Greek government that they would send immigration officers to the island and the infrastructure to cope with the migrants who are landing there in the 100s every day and they haven’t been able to provide the infrastructure for these migrants or the clearing process. So, I think its demonstrated that the EU, despite being a really like largely bureaucratic organization, when it comes to on the ground organization, its really failed.
PI: So I am going to move on to the next section. I am going make a statement and I would like for you to tell me whether the statement evokes positive of negative feelings, and then tell me why?

Respondent 1: Ok.

PI: So the statement: Immigration of people from other EU member states. Does this statement evoke positive or negative feelings? And why?

Respondent 1: Positive, because I feel that by people coming here, like in the majority, they are tax payers. They are not here because of our welfare state, because our welfare state, as I described earlier is incredibly difficult now, I mean the benefits system is not something you can just cash in on and sit back and enjoy the party. So, I see immigrants coming from Europe as a positive influence on our society because their hard working, their culturally diverse. So, French people bring a particular cultural perspective and I like the idea that we’re, I like the idea, I mean I know I feel English and all the rest of it, but, I like the idea of us being a part of a larger larger body of countries.

PI: How about the statement: Immigration of people from outside EU. Does this statement evoke positive or negative feelings? And why?

Respondent 1: Yeah, I mean it just depends. You’ve got to delineate between whether they are economic migrants or political asylum seekers. So, I would say that, you know I’ve read a book recently that’s called The Year of the Runaways, which is about two Indian men [South Asia] being duped by people back home in India into thinking that when they when they hit England they are going to be able to make enough money to save both their family financial situations in India but when they have got here they have found that they have just been exploited, they have been paid way below the minimum wage, they are illegal here, they live in shitty terrible accommodations and they basically have no identity because they’re illegals. And that is a really really bad, that’s a kind of terrible face of immigration. When it is illegal and its exploitative. But if, on the other hand, people can come here and make something of what they are doing, fine, fair enough. Although, again, I fear for the competition factor. Its so difficult!

PI: How about the statement: Migrants contribution to the UK. Does this statement evoke positive or negative feelings? And why?

Respondent 1: Migrants contribution to the UK is good! Yeah, favorable. As long as my kids can get some jobs! Like its good from my perspective.

PI: How about the statement: Globalisation is an opportunity for economic growth. Does this statement evoke positive or negative feelings? And why?

Respondent 1: Eh, yeah, positive. I think its inevitable so its got to be positive.
PI: How about the statement: Global climate change is a problem. Does this statement evoke positive or negative feelings? And why?

Respondent 1: Negative.

PI: Negative feelings. Why negative?

Respondent 1: Because I think it’s a really fraught issue, in that we can’t, I do agree with the idea that we can’t start peaching to people who are catching up. That they need to reduce their emissions when that wasn’t the set of rules for us. And also, I heard, yesterday [16 November 2016] that carbon emission world wide have stabilized. So, um, I just think on the order of priorities its not the worst, and I also have faith in like, a lesser scale people being able to sort this out rather than it being a big international problem. I mean on a more local level it needs to be changed. I mean its like things like the diesel out of this car [referring to her car – a Volkswagen Jetta] is harmful to lungs, so that should definitely be changed, but when it comes to atmosphere and the effects on the atmosphere I just feel…

PI: So you are talking pollution vis-à-vis carbon emissions.

Respondent 1: Yeah, exactly, I just don’t think there is enough scientific proof, actually.

PI: How about the statement: My voice counts in the UK. Does this statement evoke positive or negative feelings? And why?

Respondent 1: No.

PI: No? Negative?

Respondent 1: But that because of [BREXIT]

PI: How about the statement: My voice counts in the EU. Does this statement evoke positive or negative feelings? And why?

Respondent 1: No. Negative. [Head nods and shoulder shrugs]

PI: How about the statement: The UK voice counts in the EU. Does this statement evoke positive or negative feelings? And why?

Respondent 1: We got a strong voice from within the EU. Yes it is a failed project that’s becoming, that’s being tested by the migrant crisis, the economic crisis, and its shown to be weak, but a lot of our laws are underpinned by the EU, and I think, in the kind of political climate generally it’s a good idea not to destroy, but to rebuild and work with it.

PI: How about the statement: Satisfied with the way democracy works in the UK. Does this statement evoke positive or negative feelings? And why?
**Respondent 1:** No.

**PI:** Why?

**Respondent 1:** Well, because of the inequality. I just think that its really difficult once you built a system to make changes that really will have genuine effects on equality and also just the class system, we are just stuck in it.

**PI:** How about the statement: Satisfied with the way democracy works in the EU. Does this statement evoke positive or negative feelings? And why?

**Respondent 1:** Um, No…

[head nods… shoulder shrugs]

**PI:** Which of the following do you think is the most positive (1) result of the EU? Rank.

- **The Free Movement of People, Goods, and services within the EU** 1
- **Peace among the member state of the EU** 2
- **The Euro** 4
- **Student Exchange Programmes such as Erasmus** 7
- **The political and diplomatic influence of the EU in the rest of the world** 3
- **The economic power of the EU** 5
- **The level of social welfare (healthcare, education, pensions) in the EU** 6
- **The common agricultural policy** 8

**PI:** For Each of the following statements about the EU could you please tell me whether you think it is true or false?

- **The EU currently consists of 28 member states?** True
- **The members of the European Parliament are directly elected by the citizens of each Member State?** Yes. True
- **Switzerland is a Member State of the EU?** No, False.

**PI:** So, in the aftermath of the BREXIT vote, have your perceptions concerning the EU, and the UKs place in the world and in Europe, have your perceptions changed at all?

**Respondent 1:** I am just hoping that we can make the best of it and that we can just muddle along, but I don’t have great faith in the, you know, the splendid profile of the UK or anything like that. I think we will have to huge amounts of concessions to be able to trade and who knows where we will go with the freedom of movement. You know there are divisions within the government over whether they want to agree to freedom of movement or go hard or soft basically and I am not sure which side is winning its not clear. I know that Theresa May appointed three hard-liners but that doesn’t necessarily mean that is going to play out.

**PI:** If you had the opportunity to vote again today, how would you vote? Why?
Respondent 1: The same, yes. For the same reasons.
Respondent 2

Age: 61

Gender: Female

Marital Status: Single, never married

Occupation: Retired

Former Occupation: Training and development and crisis intervention officer (Social Worker)

Do you own your own home or rent? Owns home

Household Income: £36,000

Are there any children in your household? No, grown up

Do you own your own business or farm? Yes, small business

In what type of community do you live? City/Urban

Growing up? Rural

Highest level of education: Undergraduate degree (Bachelor)

Principle Investigator (PI): Did you vote in the referendum held in the UK on the 26th of June 2016? How did you vote? Why?

Respondent 2: I voted leave. And I voted leave for a number of reasons but predominantly because I felt the UK had lost its autonomy and I wanted that reinstated. I also for a long time had had resentment about the way we were taken into the European Union which I believed to be a manipulation. We were levered into it, we were conned into it and I don’t think we should have been in the position that we were in until the vote without having voted positively to be there. So those are the main two things. I do have concerns about immigration, immigration was always high on the agenda on both sides and my concern was that it was out of our control and I wanted a situation reinstated where our government would make the decisions about amongst other key issues. I am not anti-immigration I believe immigration can be mutually advantageous I just believe it wants controlling and both parties should be fully accepting, which we weren’t, prior to the vote. I have

PI: So in terms of the…

Respondent 2: Oh, I have thought of something else.

PI: Oh, sure, go for it...
Respondent 2: The other thing is, I was annoyed about the fact that the EU hasn’t presented full up to date accounts of its financial dealings over its life and I can’t imagine any other large institution that would get away with that without criticism but I think it was absolutely outrageous. I think there was a lot of good came from the EU but there was a huge amount of wastage and when there is so much need in our country and across Europe, and the world, I think it is outrageous that a big institution like that should be constructed that is hugely wasteful and treats its servants so favorably.

PI: So, in your eyes, you believe it is just way too much government, way too much bureaucracy?

Respondent 2: Mmm, absolutely. At great financial cost to all parties. And yet another thing that’s important thing. I am not really infavor of big, I don’t think big works. I am not in favor of big schools, big families, big anything. Because I think the interests of the individual people that are apart of what ever that organization is can’t be heard and their needs cant properly be addressed. And I also think when people are members of a big institution that takes an overriding responsibility and has overriding decision making powers people relinquish some of their sense of responsibility and I think a lot of individuals and countries allow themselves to be carried or bled, reaped rewards from the EU knowing the costs would have to be shared later, rather than the costs falling on their countries’ specifically. And I would name Greece and Ireland as two countries that have behaved in that way. Being generous financially to their business leaders, politicians etc. etc., but in the back of their minds believing the bail out would come from the member countries. So I believe we should be as much responsible for our own individual finances and wellbeing, our family finances well being and our towns finances and well being, our countries finance and well being… and that discouraged such responsibility.

PI: Are you saying that if a country wants to be a part of an international institution like that, you should expect to put in as much as you get out, and those that don’t put in, those countries shouldn’t reap the benefits, I guess? Or is it specific to Ireland and Greece because they came in…

Respondent 2: Umm, right… well, I don’t always believe that you should put in as you take out. But I think you should be putting in as much as you possibly can and behave responsibly… Oh, I’ve got another main point against the EU.

PI: Yeah, sure… what’s that?

Respondent 2: I don’t think it could ever work effectively without solid foundations. And it never had solid foundations because it wasn’t prepared for properly because people didn’t go into knowing what they going in for. Individual countries didn’t do the necessary ground work and for instance I think the fact that member countries now have such different standards of living and different wage levels and … in terms of prosperity, we are not equal I don’t think it could work and I don’t think a single currency couldn’t properly work. So, I am not actually against a European Union but I think it has to be properly prepared for people have to go into it knowing and on an equal basis and not be conned into it.
PI: Ok, that was a lot and I think you touched on some of the issues that I am going to ask you about later on in this interview. So, I am going to do a broad overview of things and then I will ask you about specific issues.

Respondent 2: Ok.

PI: Great, so this next question is concerning the way you obtain news and current events. Most people subscribe to specific news media outlets and prefer obtaining their news through a specific medium… whether that be online or hardcopy newspaper, or television. So, where do you obtain your news and through what medium? And a have a couple of lists of major publications, but if you don’t see your favorite… you can just mention it.

PI: So, I guess, in terms of television broadcasting, what type of news and news medium channels do you find yourself looking at the most?

Respondent 2: Ok, right. BBC, ITV but I will also watch Sky News or CNN or occasionally… if I want news and umm…

PI: So, BBC, Sky, CNN and ITV. Do you watch any regional television stations?

Respondent 2: No.

PI: What about… I was just made aware of… channel 4?... or something?

Respondent 2: Yeah, so that’s kind of like ITV. So, I would watch channel 4, yeah.

PI: Ok.

Respondent 2: But I am not attached to one particular one.

PI: Ok, well that’s a good start… and in terms of newspapers… do you pick up newspapers, or…

Respondent 2: Yeah. I might read the I, I for Independent, The Times, occasionally, the Telegraph, very occasionally The Daily Mail.

Respondent 2: And, the Guardian.

PI: And do you get these through hard copy or do you look at them online?

Respondent 2: No, I’ll buy… but umm, not daily. You know I might buy one a week. But it may be a different one from last week… or the week before.

PI: Ok, great.

PI: So, in terms of political affiliation… Concerning political matters people talk “of the left” and “of the right.” How would you place yourself on a spectrum of that looks like this [shows
Respondent the interview question]. So, where one is on the left and 10 is on the right, or if you
don’t want to answer you don’t have to and if you don’t know… that’s fine too.

Respondent 2: I would put myself in the middle. However, when it comes to individual issues
you might find I’m 2 or 3, or sometimes 7 or 8, depending on… you know, but on average I switch
about in my views as much as the different papers… you know I am not affiliated to any particular
party.

PI: Oh, ok… that was going to be my next question. Which is, if you associated with any particular
party, or closely associated with any party, what would that be?

Respondent 2: No. there isn’t because I… there are things that attract me and repulse me with
each party.

PI: Do you have a political figure that you like in particular? Some one that resonates with you?

Respondent 2: No.

PI: You don’t? ok.

PI: So, this next question is concerning identity. So, do you see yourself as English…?

Respondent 2: I see myself as British.

PI: Do you see yourself as English too? Or a combination? And what about feeling European?

Respondent 2: I am, you see… my family is British, Scottish with some Irish ancestry, not to
mention the other side is French and whatever else we might be, but umm, yeah… the last
generation, my parents lived in Scotland you see, when my sister was born in Scotland, so we
happen to live in England but I don’t… yeah.

PI: You you wouldn’t even day Scottish before British?

Respondent 2: No, no. I would say British.

PI: What about feeling European?

Respondent 2: Nnno.

PI: Ok, British only.

PI: Ok, well I am going to move on. So, concerning current issues… This question is sort of nested.
What are the two most important issues your family is facing at the moment? Why? Then issues
in the UK, then the EU, then the world? Beginning with your family. What are the two most
important issues your family is facing at the moment? And why?
Respondent 2: Umm, barring in mind my family isn’t in the UK…

PI: That’s fine.

Respondent 2: My concerns, I suppose my concerns are… umm… having a comfortable quality of life, which… and a good future. Which encompasses you know employment, finance, home… you know accommodation, everything. So, my worries for them are about their comfortable survival really.

PI: I also have a list here if that helps you think of other things that are important.

Respondent 2: Yeah, some of those I have touched on. But you see there are things on that list that are so important to me you see.

PI: Ok, sure. What about the two most important issues the UK is facing at the moment?

Respondent 2: Right, uh… I think its something about… I think our country has been governed for business. And for the interests of business, and I think most countries are being governed in the interest of business and in the interest of the wealthy, and I think our representatives should be considering the health, wellbeing and future of their populations, not running the country… they should be running the country as a good parent with a family, not as a business. And I am… I mean I am not… I wouldn’t day I am not… I’m not socialist or communist or, but I just think everything is totally skewed the wrong way. Obviously I am aware that business and individual prosperity are strongly linked bias and the emphasis and the… umm… most important, its importance it put by our leaders on business.

PI: In addition to this, do you have another issue?

Respondent 2: What was the question again?

PI: So, the two most important issues the UK is facing at the moment?

Respondent 2: And the other thing is, and this links back to the EU. I don’t think… we can’t be responsible for the world. I mean I think we have to get real and manage the little bit that we can manage with the resources we have got, rather than trying to interfere in other peoples business. Manage their affairs and also taking on… umm… taking responsibility for countries that have… are in a mess because of their own mismanagement. Because we’re not managing our own affairs properly. That’s what we should do first… butt out and look after what could actually look after and make a difference with… yeah.

PI: Ok, that’s a good segue into thinking about the two most important issues the EU is facing at the moment. What are two important issues the EU is facing at the moment, in your eyes?

Respondent 2: I would say… I would say, first of all because it doesn’t have proper foundations, I think the institution is very precarious. And that is one concern that it could… and my other concern is that considering its presenting itself as the European Union, it is very disunited and its
disappointing if not outrageous the way it cannot bring its member countries together to properly and fairly deal with things like refugees and common problems… because at the moment… and I think Britain’s own behavior had been appalling in this as well… umm… trying to duck responsibility. Umm, I think if this institution exists it shouldn’t… It should be addressing those issues more proper…well, properly. And they are not.

**PI:** Yeah, I think that’s one of those things you hear about concerning the refugee crisis.

**Respondent 2:** Yeah, yeah. I think its ridiculous the Greece and Italy are having to take the greatest weight because they are closer to the points of entry. I don’t think… I think it all should be shared and I actually believe whether we are in or out, we need to be involved and take some responsibility.

**PI:** Would you put any caveats on that? One of the things said is that it might be a huge security risk.

**Respondent 2:** Well, in my view… you see I think we should take… think people should be vetted as they come in, I think we should be offering people refuge on a temporary basis, not on a permanent basis. But our membership of the EU hasn’t and the human rights legislation has not allowed us to do that. Umm… and I would, anyone we had a suspicion of, I would… young men for instance, allowed in on the basis that they were tagged and monitored and if they are genuine refugees than they would come and be tagged and be monitored. Umm, but I believe at the same time instead of not allowing people to work I we should allow them to work and contribute and I think we should set up a program which facilitated their participation in employment and just general life.

**PI:** Right, but not to the detriment of the British people?

**Respondent 2:** Well, I think that would reduce the changes of that being detrimental to the British people. Or my view is anyway.

**PI:** Ok, and finally, what are the two most important issues the world is facing at the moment? And why?

**Respondent 2:** Umm, inequality of prosperity, and umm… greed, bad management of resources, trashing of the planet.

**PI:** It sounds like a lot of environmental issues…

**Respondent 2:** And human nature and greed… well, inequality and power and prosperity and mismanagement of our resources.

**PI:** Ok… I am going to move on to the next segment of the interview. Here I am going to make a statement and I want you to tell me if the statement evokes positive or negative feelings and why specifically.
Respondent 2: Ok.

PI: Ok, the first statement is: Immigration of people from other EU member states. Does this statement evoke positive or negative feelings?

Respondent 2: Uh, negative.

PI: Why negative?

Respondent 2: Why. Umm, because I think there has been too much, there has been an laziness. Instead of sorting out our own problems with our own unemployed youth we have just taken qualified or people prepared to work from Europe where I think we should have been looking at ourselves and how we are mismanaging things, And equipping our own young people and our own people who we have made redundant for work. So I am not against it, I think its happened too easily and its been laziness.

PI: Ok, what about the statement: Immigration of people from outside the EU? Does this statement evoke positive or negative feelings?

Respondent 2: Umm… umm… do you know, not, not so negative because I know there has been a certain level of assessment in relation to them getting their visas. So, I may be incorrect in this assumption but I would expect there to be high… some kind of valid reason that they have been accepted.

PI: You talked about this briefly… and you touched on it when we talked about the refugee crisis, what the statement: Migrants contribution to the UK. Does that statement evoke positive or negative feelings? And why?

Respondent 2: Right, so I am not entirely clear about the question.

PI: So, does the statement: Migrants contribution to the UK. Does that statement evoke positive or negative feelings?

Respondent 2: Oh, right… mixed really. I think migrants contribute a lot to the country, but, I mean for instance if you look at our health service, which is propped up by from people, professional people from all over the world. And I have a level of gratitude from them for coming and being prepared to work here, however, I think if we managed our own country properly we would be training our own doctors and nurses instead of making it incredibly difficult for them to train and then poaching other countries’ workers. Which I think has a level of immorality about it, and when you think a about some of these countries that we are taking professional people from, are less prosperous than us. I think its outrageous.

PI: Ok, how about the statement: Globalization is an opportunity for economic growth. Does that statement evoke positive or negative feelings? And why?

Respondent 2: Negative.
PI: Ok. Why negative?

Respondent 2: Why. Umm, because globalization undermines local small industry, family, locality, farms, fisherman. It’s doesn’t matter what you are producing, you can be undercut. Also, globalization encourages use of resources, and pollution from shipping stuff from all over the world basically.

Respondent 2: You know, its totally mad that we import meat and milk products in volume when we can produce them here. And at the same time we are putting our farmers our of work because we are not paying them properly, and we are polluting the world further in the process of doing this.

PI: That’s a really great segue into the very next statement about the environment. So, global climate change is a problem. Does that statement evoke positive or negative feelings? And why?

Respondent 2: Umm, well, I agree with it. It’s a problem. Yeah it evokes negative feelings because the way the world is going with globalization I don’t see how we are going to reverse it. And this notion of continuous growth, which is what all countries seem to be aiming for, is a very unhealthy goal in my opinion.

PI: So, you are saying this race for growth is causing pollution and also the climate change issue?

Respondent 2: Yeah, yeah.

PI: I think that is how a lot of people feel. So, I have a couple more of these statements but they switch gears a little bit.

Respondent 2: Ok, right.

PI: So, does the following statement evoke positive or negative feelings: My voice counts in the UK.

Respondent 2: Umm…no, not really.

PI: So, negative feelings?

Respondent 2: Uh hmm.

PI: Why do you think that is?

Respondent 2: Because nobody is listening. Nobody is going to do anything about it. And uh, to actually make ones self heard, one would have to devote ones life to promoting a voice, as in become a politician. Or do some dramatic protest.

PI: So, when you vote for things like that, do you think it matters?
Respondent 2: I think its important to vote, but the reality is, I mean my vote counts with all the other votes, but my vote, I am just one little person among the millions and millions.

PI: Ok, how about: the UK voice counts in the EU. Does that statement evoke positive or negative feelings? And why?

Respondent 2: The EU. I think it was counting less and less. Its its influence was diminishing. Fine when there was 7 member countries, but, now I think it is crazy.

PI: Its gotten too big?

Respondent 2: Mmm…hm.

PI: So, how about your own voice in the European Union? When you hear that statement, does that evoke positive or negative feelings?

Respondent 2: [Head Nod]

PI: Negative feelings?

Respondent 2: Definitely negative.

PI: And why?

Respondent 2: Because our politicians haven’t got heard, let alone me. As demonstrated by Cameron.

PI: I think you hear that a lot. One of the themes being a democratic deficit in the EU. Which brings me to some of the last statements. Are you satisfied with the way democracy works in the UK?

Respondent 2: No. I would like to see proportional representation.

PI: Oh, so similar to the way they have it in…. I think Ireland has it?

Respondent 2: I don’t think Ireland does. It would surprise me because Ireland is in shambles. Umm, but I would like proportional representation… I would like every person vote to count you know. And I would it to be, and at the moment its zoned and I just think we need a new system totally.

PI: Ok, how about the statement: [Satisfied with] the way democracy works in the EU. Does that statement evoke positive or negative feelings?

Respondent 2: I don’t think it does work in the EU, at all.
PI: Ok, we are done with the positive and negative feelings! We are going to progress onto specifics concerning the EU. I have listed here some attributes of the EU. [Hands list to Respondent]. I would like you to rank them from most positive to least positive using the numbers 1 thru 8.

Respondent 2: I mean well… if they actually happen? For example, Peace among members of the EU, if that was true that would be quite high up. I don’t think it is particularly true because there is conflict. I am mean there is conflict between Britain and France, there’s conflict over imports and exports… there conflict... right, well, let’s have a look.

Respondent 2: But see if that would have been true it would be important… but its not true. [Points to statement concerning ‘Peace among member countries’] Its not true. Its doesn’t… they are not… I don’t think they are particularly positive…

PI: So, if you had to pick one of these things even if you didn’t 100 percent agree with it…

Respondent 2: I would say Erasmus was positive… I mean if Peace Among the member states… I mean if that was true I suppose that would be… well, I suppose its true in that we are not at war with each other, but umm…

PI: Why don’t we start at the bottom and go from there. [LEAST positive is equal to 1]

Respondent 2:
- Free Movement 1
- The Euro 2
- Level of Social Welfare 3
- Common Agricultural Policy 4
- Political and diplomatic 5
- Economic power 6
- Peace among member countries 7
- Erasmus 8

PI: Was that hard for you?

Respondent 2: Mmm…much easier to start with the negative first.

[Laughs from PI and Respondent]

PI: Ok! Almost done! So, this next section was put in here get an understanding of your knowledge of the EU. These questions are either true or false. So, for Each of the following statements about the EU could you please tell me whether you think it is true or false?

Respondent 2:
- The EU currently consists of 28 member states? True
- The members of the European Parliament are directly elected by the citizens of each Member States? False
Switzerland is a Member State of the EU?  False

PI: Ok! Last question! Oh wait… I’d like to go back and briefly talk about the news and media in your life. How about the way you obtained news growing up? Did your family talk about current events and the implications surrounding events publicized in the news? And what about today? Are obtaining the news and current events something you intentionally make yourself do? And finally, what about politics, growing up? Was politics a focal point for you and your family growing up? How about now? Sorry, I know that was a lot? What do you think?

Respondent 2: There wasn’t a lot of political discussion growing up, however, there was strong held political or moral views. For instance, my mother and her family were anti-apartheid, involved in the anti-apartheid movement. Umm… so it wasn’t… there was no discussion, nothing… umm, right, I am not sure where or how I have developed my views apart from… umm, because a lot of what I read and a lot of what I see on the news I disagree with and I actually believe the BBC, which is one of my primary sources of information was biased toward remaining, whereas I was firmly in favor of leaving. But that is one of my major sources of information. So, I think my views are picked up based on everything I have picked up, everything I have read, everything I see with my own eyes and media thrown into the mix with everything else. But I don’t think… umm… I am not sure that… umm… well, I… like I say there’s no political party that I have allegiance to. I don’t think anyone would claim me because I am a bit of this and a bit of that… and a bit of the other.

PI: What about in a social setting today? What would you tend to be talking about? What would be a typical conversation piece for you?

Respondent 2: I don’t know… it might be about world issues, it might be about the EU, but because I meet so many people… well, people were ‘Remain-ers’ who were hugely disappointed, I am aware that I have to be careful about expressing my views because you know its…we’re going to go through difficult times and umm… there is no point rubbing peoples nose in it… and I am not sure people are aware… right… people who wanted to come out like me… I don’t know if people are conscious of how difficult it’s going to be… but I think it’s going to be a lot of pain before we get it sorted out.

PI: So, given another opportunity to vote in the same referendum, how would you vote?

Respondent 2: Same. To Leave.
Respondent 3

Age: 24
Gender: Female
Marital Status: Single
Occupation: Civil Servant at a heritage site/ museum
Do you own your own home or rent? Rent
Household Income: £10000 to £19000
Are there any children in your household? N/A
Do you own your own business or farm? No
In what type of community do you live? Urban
Community growing up? Rural
Highest level of education: Post graduate (Museum Studies)

Principle Investigator (PI): So, first did you vote in the referendum held in the UK on the 26th of June 2016?

Respondent 3: Yeah, yeah I voted.

PI: Would you care to talk about how you voted?

Respondent 3: Yeah, yeah. That’s fine. I voted to leave.

PI: Oh! You did vote to leave! Ok, this is great! I am so excited!

[Laughs]

PI: No, no. Sorry, this is great I love getting a diverse set of perceptions. You know a lot of kids at uni have been raving about wanting to stay… and I am excited about your age group and voting choice.

Respondent 3: Yeah, I bucked the trend, literally.

PI: Yeah, this is so great! So, broadly why did you vote to leave?
Respondent 3: Well, looking back fairly naively… in sort of broad terms… I just wanted our country to be looking after itself and not… and I know its come out that the statistics were bogus and there were fairloads of incorrect stuff that we get this many laws and we can’t deport these criminals because the EU says we can’t. I just want to be able to be a little island nation that looks after itself. Not that we can’t have a relationship with the EU outside it, but just to be in control of ourselves, and yeah… just how we were in the good ole’ days.

PI: We hear a lot about the same things in the US. Especially my dad… he says Regan in the 80s was the best time.

Respondent 3: Yeah, I am just patriotic and so that goes into it.

PI: So, I am going to get into some of the other questions. I will start pretty broadly and later get into some issues you think are important…

PI: So, I want to first ask you about news and current events… I’d like to understand where you get some of your news sources. And then through what medium do you view news and current events.

PI: Where do you get most of your news?

Respondent 3: Predominantly I get… I set my computer’s homepage to BBC News. Particularly when I was at uni… at home we used to buy the newspapers and we would read those every morning… but since moving away and as a student I don’t even use papers. So using Google and BBC News I know roughly about what is going on.

PI: So, BBC is the big one for you, then?

Respondent 3: Yeah, yeah… I… my phone… Because I’ve got a windows phone that is rubbish… I have to have MSN News… so I can’t the BBC app for some reason.

PI: Do you use other sources like Sky or ITV or …

Respondent 3: I would do ITV if it happens… if the news is on before a program I am watching.

PI: Oh, so when you are interested in searching for news its BBC then?

Respondent 3: Yeah, yeah.

PI: Ok, cool…. So, you mentioned really quickly than when you were growing up that your parents would get the newspapers… do you remember what some of those were?

Respondent 3: Yeah, so the Daily Mail… but sort of the run up… when I was living in London was the Metro in the morning and the evening standard on the tube home. So, the free ones…
PI: Or any of the other ones? Like the Guardian, or the Telegraph... or if you get some of the newspapers online?

Respondent 3: No, not really.

PI: Ok... So, typically when you talk about politics people place themselves on the left or on the right on a spectrum. I have an example here [shows Respondent interview question] where left is 1 and 10 is right... or if you don’t know that fine or don’t want to answer that is ok too. Where would you place yourself?

Respondent 3: Oh, yeah... umm... I am more right of center... so probably a 6 or 6 and a half.

PI: So, why do you think that you would call yourself a 6 or 6 and a half? You say right of center... what does that mean to you? Do you have and political entities that have a platform you like and resonate with you more than others?

Respondent 3: Umm, so I did history as a A level and we were doing American politics from Nixon to Clinton and then we had this whole scale ‘where do the policies lie... where you have communism at one end and you’ve got fascism at the other end and Nazis on the other... and “where would you fit?” and sort of pivot figures... and I was just sort of sitting there reading ... and it was sort of “if you agree with this one than you sit on this side or if you agree with that one, you fit on this side.” And I... tick, tick, tick... and that’s where I came out slightly... closer to Regan, Thatcherism... but that is definitely parental influence.

PI: So, you like the neoliberal idea of economics?

Respondent 3: Yeah.

PI: Ok, I am going to move on to the next question... Do you see yourself as... any one of these [Pointing to the interview question]? And why specifically?

Respondent 3: Hmm... if someone came up to me and said, “where are you from?” I’d say, “England.” But you said, “Oh, what nationality are you?” I’d go, “British.” I have no idea why... and I am originally from Cornwall so there’s the whole, “Are you Cornish?” That’s an identity I really don’t want to be associated with.

[Laughs]

PI: Oh! Why is that?!

Respondent 3: No, growing up, Cornish was everything I sort of didn’t want to... though thinking about it... the Cornish nationality sort of multiplied. The Cornish are very much “we are independent.” Kind of like Wales and Scotland. “We have never had kings to rule us!” “We’ve always been independent!” Though there is no way they could ever afford to do that. It’s a very hot topic... so through out the whole Scottish independence and referendum, they were like, “if Scotland goes independent, Cornish will go independent as well.”
PI: So, would you say that…

Respondent 3: I am definitely not Cornish!

PI: What about… would you say you are English first… or British first?

Respondent 3: English first, I think.

PI: Ok…

Respondent 3: Although, I think its one of those things that depends on my mood of the day.

PI: Sure…

Respondent 3: If it’s the six nations than I am obviously English.

PI: Would you identify as English and British?

Respondent 3: Yes.

PI: Ok, what about English, British, European?... or do you identify yourself as being European at all?

Respondent 3: No.

PI: No, not at all? Ok…

Respondent 3: No. It’s the whole island nation things we sort of…

PI: Sure

Respondent 3: We’ve got that little body of water that means we are sort of different from everyone else.

PI: Ok.

Respondent 3: I am sure it doesn’t mean that… but in my mind that’s just…

PI: And so, why do you think you identify being English before British first?

Respondent 3: I am sure its like a historical sporting thing… its just who we are… we go away, we fight wars, we beat people… and… oh… that’s sound really imperialistic and horrible.

PI: No that’s fine… So, based on what you said it sounds like… or at least you said its like… that idea where like if you’re Cornish, you’re still English… but you are Cornish, right?

PI: But its just a region in England, that’s sort of… and they were a bit autonomous… that’s what it sounds like.

Respondent 3: They were a part of something… [inaudible] the parts of what make us Britain.

PI: Yeah… cool. Ok, I am going to move on to the next section of interview questions. This is really a 4 part question. What are the two most important issues that you and your family is facing at the movement, two most important issues the UK is facing, the EU and the world. We are going to break that down and I’ll walk you through the different parts. So, first, what are the two most important issues you and your family are facing at the moment? And why?

Respondent 3: Umm… housing prices. I think I have just accepted that I am not going to be able to afford my own house. It depresses me a little bit but… hey. Which is a bit scary but my house would be nice but its not looking doable.

PI: And what’s another one you think?

Respondent 3: Umm… I suppose unemployment maybe. I think everybody is slightly concerned about that mostly in the later stages of their lives… but… hopefully I don’t have to think about that anytime soon. But, my sisters are doing musical theater at university so… she wants to be a theater actress, so she’s probably got loads of unemployment ahead of her.

PI: Well, I think London has a huge theater scene. Do you want to talk a little bit more about these issues? You mentioned your sister and unemployment, do you think she may not be able to get a good job in the future because of of the nature of her major?

Respondent 3: Quite. Yeah… quite possibly, but I think she learning to adapt already. She’s beginning to see how hard it is.

PI: So she is not oblivious to the…

Respondent 3: No, once she started out she thought, “Oh dear, its going to be a tough ride.” I think she is becoming more adaptable… hopefully she can mold it in to drama teaching, dancing teacher, choreographer, something like that so she’s got avenues there.

PI: So, in terms of the housing prices… do you parents own their own home?

Respondent 3: Yeah, so I think they just paid off their mortgage.

PI: Well, that’s awesome! Yeah, that’s a big deal!

Respondent 3: My dad is ex-military so not like we have ever been destitute.
PI: Ok, well, that’s great! And he was stationed in London… or?

Respondent 3: Oh, no, back in Cornwall there’s a naval base.

PI: Oh, that’s cool. So, he was in the Navy?

Respondent 3: Yeah.

PI: Cool… Yeah, so I was just thinking… so you pay rent right now. Do you think rent is pretty expensive?

Respondent 3: Umm… its… well, I think it depends on where you are. For being 10 minutes up the road from work in somewhere like Bath, with all the amenities included, I think its really good.

PI: Ok.

Respondent 3: Considering I was paying, what my rent here would be for two weeks in London.

PI: Yeah, it seems expensive there.

Respondent 3: Which is crazy.

PI: What about the two most important issues the UK is facing at the moment? Do you think? And I have a list of factors if you want to have a look, if nothing comes to mind right away. Or, if you have something else… that’s great too.

Respondent 3: The economic situation… because that feeds into just about everything.

PI: Ok.

Respondent 3: Because we were in a lot of trouble before the vote and now its just going to get worse… maybe. We don’t know. We haven’t left just yet, but that impacts just about everything and everyone. And I suppose terrorism as well.

PI: Terrorism.

Respondent 3: Its just that everyday I walk into work you see the signing in board and on the front there’s a, “This is the threat level we are at today”… and you’re just ugh [anxious face].

PI: Oh, interesting. Can you talk more about that? Like, what does that encompass? Does somebody update that board or…

Respondent 3: Its linked to all the lots of terror threats in the UK. So, just about every huge vista tracker thing will have ones that start off that there are hardly any threat… like a threat in Bath is really really unlikely and it goes up and up. So, you have like… umm… severe, critical, immediate and you get describes… if you go up a stage then at work we’ve got a sort of …they are not really
public loos, but everyone is allowed to use them… they are at the front of the building before you get to the ticket halls… that if we go up a threat level… we exclude people from using them… you can only use them if you have a ticket for the museum.

**PI:** Oh, interesting… wow!

**Respondent 3:** Yeah, so in the morning its like, “what is the likelihood I am going to get blown up today.” It’s a bit…yeah [anxious face].

**PI:** So, that seems like it is at the forefront of your life right now, but what about what that looked like when you were in school, at uni and growing up?

**Respondent 3:** I did my undergrad at Reading… and it didn’t really… effect me at all.

**PI:** Oh so you have been in this area a bit.

**Respondent 3:** Yeah, so in Reading I didn’t think about it at all. In London, there were times that it got so scary. There was no sort of actual threat and the police had it all undercover and obviously the police weren’t going to tell you that they had it all sorted… but did a couple of crazy things were it got really scary, so it was kind of, “should we go down to remembrance day at the Cenotaph with a million other people?” And we were like stood for half an hour going through the barriers and then you count the snipers on the roof and you just go, “the Queen is going to appear over there, shit could go down, what we going to do? We are probably all going to die!”

**PI:** So, would you say that when you lived in London is when you became a little more conscious of like this terrorism threat? You think?

**Respondent 3:** Oh, yeah.

**Respondent 3:** You try and think, “oh, no its not going to happen at all,” and then you sit in the tube and someone leaves a bag in the corner and everybody is just looking going, “do we get off at the next stop?” And… it will turn out to be nothing because the person just comes back and picks it up and goes, “sorry.” But…

**PI:** Interesting… in terms of economic situation… did you see… I know that you said that you were just graduated school… or how did you go about seeing that first hand in terms of like the UK? So, at the UK level. Did you just notice things getting more expensive or… how did you realize the UK situation… you weren’t really doing that well? When did you come to that realization that the UK as a whole wasn’t doing so well?

**Respondent 3:** A lot of it was through the media but we had that huge crash in 2008 and that’s when you started noticing like your favorite shops disappearing… there was one of the Woolworth’s… a huge part of my childhood, and suddenly that’s gone. And all these change shops we knew and could depend on like BHS is just about to go under and JJB Sports and other places are just like empty shops on the Highstreet. Even in places like Bath and there are streets in London
that you just walk around the and the shops are empty… and you are just like, “oh, oh dear, may
be things aren’t as…”

PI: Talk to me about that one place you mentioned initially. What was it called?

Respondent 3: Woolworth’s. They basically did just about everything. You had your pick n mix
for the cinema… kind of like a supermarket but not quite as much for food, basically it had… if
you needed… if you were planning a party or something… it was, “Ah, I am missing this ‘certain
thing,’ I will just pop down to Woolies and grab it.”

PI: Ok, got it…

Respondent 3: It was one of those kind of shops.

PI: And so that was like a place where you guys would go to frequently? Like in your home town,
or…

Respondent 3: Yeah.

PI: Or is it like a chain?

Respondent 3: It was like a chain, so they had them all over the country and then suddenly a credit
 crunch and the whole thing just collapsed… and now its gone… its replaced by… back in the town
where I went to sort of secondary school is now like a pound shop…

PI: Oh, ok…

Respondent 3: Which is becoming frequent [inaudible] just full of charity shops and pound shops
and bank shops

PI: So sort of cheaper…

Respondent 3: And tattoo shops…

PI: Oh, ok. And what about… what do you think about the two most important issues that the EU
is facing at the moment?

Respondent 3: I supposed the economics and immigration… and they are all linked together.
Because they got… this is going to make me sound terrible…

PI: No, that’s fine. I want your opinions…

Respondent 3: Because they have the open borders and they allow people to go anywhere
unchecked, that’s gonna… naturally people are going to want to go into certain countries that seem
to be more prosperous and stronger economically, like Germany.
PI: And so you said briefly... economics and immigration and they are sort of linked together... do you want to expound on that a little bit more?

Respondent 3: Just so... from the sort of current refugee crisis, they are all coming across and obviously we to help them out because... I don't know may be... I am not sure how involved we as a country are... we probably are and just aren't saying we are bombing the hell out of their homes trying to get all these bad people out, or we say they are the bad people, its just a huge mess. And now everybody has come across trying to look for sanctuary safety and we have got to help them and that you money and infrastructure to make these people are safe and secure in their new land... but that money has got to come from somewhere... where does it come from... who is providing most of this money? And naturally people seeing Germany and France as the strongest economically... so they are all going to go that way and that's ultimately why... well, not ultimately... why some people think Britain is a safe place to be. But strong economically, I don't know think we particularly are... but that's why everybody seems to come across.

PI: Do you mean these people see Britain as a little more stable than an eastern European country, for example?

Respondent 3: Yeah. And you've got this uneven spread of people and resources and not necessarily the money to stabilize everything and its all just getting messy.

PI: Ok, what about the world? I know that seems very intangible because you are just one person. What are the two most important issues you think the world is facing at the moment? And why?

Respondent 3: Umm...uh... in the grand scheme of things, so the big stuff like health and the environment. Cause at the end of the day if there is global warming and we have got to combat that, slow it down, do something about it... its going to take money and resources and a whole load of other things. And health wise... there are loads of countries where people are just dying from really... just colds and flus... things in the western world we got the things to fix.

PI: Right, definitely.

Respondent 3: And those resources just aren’t getting around...which is really sad.

PI: So, a lot of people don’t think climate change is an issue... what do you think about that?

Respondent 3: Possibly...ugh... there was this module that we did at university where they were looking at carbon samples in like the ice [inaudible] to have a look at industrialization throughout time. And in the Roman world there was high levels of pollution...almost akin to what we have in the 18th century and today. I think it exists in some form and the fact that we’ve got cars and planes and everything else spewing out is probably not helping the situation, but whether it is making it as bad as... people... some societies are suggesting... I... umm... its definitely there and we are making some sort of impact... that there are some sort of previous evidence. There are also fluctuations, but obviously we are making it look much bigger and much worse because we are sort of helping it along.
PI: Hmm… got ya…. So, in terms of… so you mentioned the flow… for example you said… like flu and stuff, like people in underdeveloped countries they die from that… who do you think… or if at all… who do you think should help? Or what types of communities, or what players… whether they be countries or… who do you think should help? Or, should anybody help solve some of these health issues?

Respondent 3: Well, I think as humans we have got to help each other out… I don’t know where I got this from… I could be totally wrong…

PI: No, nothing is wrong… these are your opinions and perceptions.

Respondent 3: But, in the sub-Saharan countries where there is loads of corruption so people are sending in aid but its staying in government rooms and the rich are just going “hey… I got all this free stuff!” while all their people are starving underneath them and dying. But again how… without sending in the militia or loads of armed response people to move it all around and therefore sort of uprooting who government and whole infrastructure of countries, how can we do anything about it. Or if its up to people like UNICEF and the Red Cross and people like that, who are completely outside of any particular countries and areas… cause otherwise you just risk making it a lot worse. So there is some obligation there but as to how we can go about it its still needs a bit of work.

PI: Ok, great… I am going to move on to the next section. Its concerning statements and the way they make you feel. So, I am going to read a statement and I want you to tell me whether it evokes positive or negative feelings and why.

Respondent 3: Ok.

PI: Ok, the first statement is ‘Immigration of people from other EU member states.” Does that statement evoke positive or negative feelings? And why?

Respondent 3: Umm…I suppose positive, I don’t have anything against people coming into our country if they are here to work, and like, on the lowest level to pay their taxes, as if they are actually British people, born and raised here working and contributing to society. We have people from the EU that are lovely people… I don’t have anything against them… if you want to come here, that is absolutely fine… but just pay your way and obey our laws… and that’s all. Yeah, I got no problem with people more people coming here.

PI: What about: Immigration of people from outside the EU. Does that statement evoke positive or negative feelings? And why?

Respondent 3: Same again. If you want come here, then work… that’s absolutely fine. I don’t have…

PI: Just contribute?

Respondent 3: Yeah.
PI: How about: Migrants contribution to the UK. Does that statement evoke positive or negative feelings? And why?

Respondent 3: Umm… well, migrants can be anybody… because migrates to different places.

PI: Right.

Respondent 3: So, presumably… if they contribute than that’s fine. Positive.

PI: Ok, Globalization is an opportunity for economic growth. Does that statement evoke positive or negative feelings? And why?

Respondent 3: Well… positive… because the way I understand it… that is sort of like trade agreements, alliances, sharing of resources and information, and making contacts… so we are not just sitting on our little island going, “eww… we are Britain… leave us alone.” And cause actually we are all just people and we are just connected sharing what we know and… well at the moment that’s the only way we are going to get our economic growth back, by trading with other people… because otherwise we are screwed.

PI: Ok, Global climate change is a problem. Does that statement evoke positive or negative feelings? And why?

Respondent 3: It makes me a bit sad because… yes, it is a problem… we’ve got the data to back it up and like people are cutting down trees in the Amazon and all these horrible pictures of green house gasses and stuff in the air… its not good.

PI: Ok, yeah… definitely… how about: My voice counts in the UK. Does that statement evoke positive or negative feelings? And why?

Respondent 3: Hmm…

PI: So, you [Respondent]… does your voice count in the UK? And how does that statement make you feel?

Respondent 3: Umm… I think form the last round of sort of voting elections… I would say… yeah. It feels quite good. Because the referendum vote was different from the way we do things usually… where its just a simple tally of ‘these people said leave’… ‘these people all said stay’… and it all just went like that. Whereas… which they [inaudible] every vote counts… which is how it should be. Ans so… previous…

PI: So you like the idea of referendum because it evokes change immediately? Is that what you mean?

Respondent 3: Umm.. well, everybody has their say… if you vote… that’s the way I have always thought… if you don’t vote and you moan about it… its your fault because you didn’t vote. You can only sort of moan because you went and put the cross in the box and submitted it… because
that’s how democracy works… if you don’t… your vote is your voice… and if you put it in the box then you’ve…

**PI:** That’s similar to what people in the US say… if you don’t vote then you can’t complain…is what they say. Yeah… so… How about: the UK voice counts in the EU. Does that statement evoke positive or negative feelings? And why?

**Respondent 3:** [Laughs] uh…possibly negative… I don’t… I think we are just seen as people who pay in.

**PI:** Yeah? Ok. How about this one: My voice counts in the EU. Does that statement evoke positive or negative feelings? And why? As in [Respondent]’s voice count in the EU.

**Respondent 3:** Negative. I don’t think so. I think… what it appears is you have your elected members of European Parliament who are just… as far as I know… just random MPs that they have chosen to elevate and send them off to Brussels… and they sort of sit in the big halls with loads of other contemporaries from different countries… and they just do god knows what.

[Laughs]

**Respondent 3:** Or, maybe I don’t know because I though… may be I should have researched before I voted. But I don’t know how it works, but it just seems that… unless you have the money… unless you are Germany or France… or other countries like that… and you are sort of seen as the bigger powers in Europe… we are always seen as sort of on the edge… like I said because we have that bit of water, we are slightly separate… we are just sort of ignored, like pfft Britian! And they only started taking notice of us because we said, “let’s have a referendum… see if we really wanna be here.” And they went, “Ahh… no!” That’s probably the only time.

**PI:** Ok…

**Respondent 3:** From my experience.

**PI:** Alright… how about: Satisfied with the way democracy works in the UK. Does that statement evoke positive or negative feelings? And why?

**Respondent 3:** Uhhh… I would say so…hmm… but!... I don’t see how we would change it… I cant think of any ways we could change it to make it better… without spending four or five years of turmoil trying to make it better… and just messing up and just coming up with something worse.

**PI:** Do you think that…now that you guys are leaving the EU… that you think democracy in the way of the UK specifically will get better? You seem to be teetering on the way democracy here.

**Respondent 3:** Umm… I can’t think of a better way to do it at the moment… I suppose… I can’t see it changing just because the amount of effort… because everybody is already voted in however many elections and referendums and things in the country… we all know the system… what we are supposed to do… we are supposed to go to the ballot box on this day… we know who we are
voting for, what party’s stand for and their broad sense of what they are about… and that’s who we vote for and that’s how we [inaudible] with a piece of paper and a pen and we shove it in. I can’t see it really… changing… we had a referendum like on a different way to vote and that was slammed completely… umm… so I think… unless somebody has sort of better ideas… there no need to change it. I think it will just stay as it is, basically.

PI: So, I think you alluded to this next one… Satisfied with the way democracy works in the EU. Does that statement evoke positive or negative feelings? And why?

Respondent 3: I don’t know how democracy really works in the EU. But then again that’s probably sort of media judgment that’s clouding everything… but it just seems like a group of older middle class white men sitting in a room trying to decide the fate of the rest of the continent and it doesn’t really seem to work… unless you’ve got the money to throw at it as they have… sort of, “I have € 2 Million and I can do what I like.”

[Laughs]

PI: Ok, I am going to move on to the next section… we are almost done. I have listed here [shows interview question to Respondent] some attributes of the EU. I’d like you to rank them 1 thru 8, with 1 being the most positive.

- The Free Movement of People, Goods, and services within the EU 3 (Which is good in principle because I get to sit in the EU citizens line.)
- Peace among the member state of the EU 4
- The Euro 8
- Student Exchange Programmes such as Erasmus 2 (In undergrad I actually did Erasmus)
- The political and diplomatic influence of the EU in the rest of the world 5 (I think it does have influence, but possibly not as much as other bodies like the…. I don’t know… the United States… or the common wealth… not that they loads of influence.)
- The economic power of the EU 6 (Because of the Euro goes through so many fluctuations and then there are the bailouts of Greece and the Republic of Ireland.)
- The level of social welfare (healthcare, education, pensions) in the EU 1
- The common agricultural policy 7 (Because of my Cornish background. I know that was sort of the main reason why people wanted to leave… and racism. Restrictions on fishing and farming.)

PI: Ok, Great… The next section are three true and false questions. So, for each of the following statements about the EU could you please tell me whether you think it is true or false?

- The EU currently consists of 28 member states? False
- The members of the European Parliament are directly elected by the citizens of each Member State? False
- Switzerland is a Member State of the EU? False

Ok, here’s the last question…If you had the opportunity to vote again today, how would you vote? Why?
**Respondent 3:** I would still vote the same way. Because, my reasons for leaving would still be the same. I think if you offered that question to everybody in the country, the result would be totally different because when I voted to leave I didn’t expect half of the government to go, “nah, see ya bye!” We went sort of out… it made me so angry… its like… you say you are going to do something… “oh yeah, even if I lose the vote I am going to stay on as Prime Minister and get us through it.” But instead he goes on his way and its just like, “I am just going to resign”… I am just like ugh [Anxious face].

**PI:** So that was frustrating for you?

**Respondent 3:** Yeah, just politicians who promise us all these things… and I am saying like its something new… it totally isn’t… its just sort of one of the biggest shakeups our country has ever seen and you just decide to can it all in. I just seems like they are just in it for themselves… just like, “I am gonna stand on the remain bus and its all going to be fine… because if we actually remain I am going to be… everyone is going to love me.” Its like…its not what its about… they are just using it for their own gain.

**PI:** Yeah, I think you are referring to David Cameron, right?

**Respondent 3:** Yeah, that’s right.
Respondent 4

Age: 48
Gender: Male
Marital Status: Married
Occupation: Television Producer

Do you own your own home or rent? Owns home.
Household Income: £150,000

Are there any children in your household? Yes. Ages? 15, 15, 13

Do you own your own business or farm? No.

In what type of community do you live? Rural Community
Community growing up? Rural Community. But, from 16 to adult lived in London

Highest level of education: University, First Degree.

Principle Investigator (PI): So, first did you vote in the referendum held in the UK on the 26th of June 2016?

Respondent 4: Well… because I didn’t vote.

PI: That’s actually fine. And why didn’t you vote?

Respondent 4: Uh… so it was a combination of [Respondent 1] ripped up my card… cause she thought I would vote the wrong way.

[Laughs]

PI: The wrong way? Because there is a right way? [Laughs]

Respondent 4: Right… exactly! [Laughs]

Respondent 4: But obviously, I could have voted… but… also I was in London… but I could have voted… made the effort to get back in time to vote… had I wanted to.

PI: Sure…
**Respondent 4:** But I wanted… consciously decided not to vote because I didn’t want to vote BREXIT… which is what I probably would have voted.

**PI:** And so, why not vote? And why the BREXIT vote?

**Respondent 4:** Why not vote? Because the… because in my view the people that did vote BREXIT didn’t share any of the reasons why I would have voted BREXIT. So, my BREXIT vote would have been anti… kind of institutions of Europe and the interference from the European government. But it has nothing to do with immigration or all the popular…

**PI:** So, the mainstream rhetoric is why you would have voted…?

**Respondent 4:** No, no…

**PI:** Oh that’s interesting!

**Respondent 4:** Because I am very much in favor of immigration and obviously I am in favor of… you know open relationships with Europe and open borders and free movement of people… but I am not in favor of overarching European institutions… kind of international institutions.

**PI:** Had it been made easier to vote considering what you previously mentioned… would you have voted BREXIT?

**Respondent 4:** I think I would have just not have voted.

**PI:** Do you feel like you have this pressure to… do you know why that is…?

**Respondent 4:** Why would I have abstained?

**PI:** Yeah…

**Respondent 4:** Uh… for those reasons… that I think the BREXIT vote ended up being quite and unpleasant one. But on the other hand… also I… I always object to people telling me how to vote. All the pressure we had from you know… there was a kind of truism that people who were ‘Remainers’ know very few people that were ‘Not Remainers’… and people who were ‘Leavers’ knew very few people that were ‘Not Leavers.’ And so all the pressure that we… all this kind of peer pressure that we come under would have been to vote to Remain.

**PI:** Yeah, sure…

**Respondent 4:** And I always rebel against being told what to do… so I kind of… yeah.

**PI:** Ok, great… I am going to move onto the next section. I’d like to understand how you process news and current events. So, does new play a large part in… the way you obtain news… play a large part in which you vote or perceive politics?
Respondent 4: Uh… yeah… I mean my consumption of politics comes from two angles… I mean one is we do consume a lot of news… we listen to the Today program every morning as our alarm… I read… I actually currently get emailed [inaudible] from the Guardian and The Times everyday… umm… you know we have four periodicals every week… which I always read… but umm… but we do get the…. So umm… but then also… because of my age and my education… umm you know I went to college with a lot of people who are now politicians and we are only like one step removed from like a… but I have a very… and [Respondent 1]’s parents are very political… but I have a very… uh… skeptical view of politicians so I don’t believe everything politicians say… very uh… very very skeptically… I don’t have a high regard for political… you know people hold politicians up to be very… apogees of achievement… I am almost the opposite or whatever… I have an almost disrespect for politicians. So I would say I consume a lot of news and that sort of informs my thinking to some extent, but not… but you know I would almost take the opposite of view as to something I read or something that a politician told me… just cause it my natural inclination to doubt anything that I am… told.

PI: So you said that you were in television production… so you think that that in any way sort of makes you think about the way news is produced?

Respondent 4: Eh, yeah I mean I think… you know the times I have been exposed to…

PI: And I have no idea how news and television production or media production works...

Respondent 4: Well, the times that I have… we know various people… the head of BBC was the best man of a friend of ours… so we know various people who are involved in news production… but I am not personally… but I would say that the times that I have found myself related to a news story in some way… you know I have found a discrepancy between what’s been reported and reality, so vast… so that I don’t feel its so accurate.

PI: I feel that some people have that idea… that there may be a discrepancy… but I don’t think they realize what that actually looks like.

Respondent 4: I mean you very quickly realize that there’s one view which can have so many different nuances that are just not covered in the new report.

PI: In the US, they… a lot of people… sort of, “ok the news said this… we need to take this as gospel.” Like, “why wouldn’t this be the truth?”

Respondent 4: Yeah, I think with the BREXIT especially. The BBC was very bad over BREXIT… you know the… umm… the reporting was so biased… and I think being in TV and in the media as a whole tended to be ‘pro-Remain’… apart from one or two news papers… but they tended to be ‘pro-Remain’ but they tended to come at it from the view point that anything else was complete lunacy and that you had to be a complete nutter … if you thought that there was any other way to vote.

PI: And so, just to be clear… your television production isn’t news related?
**Respondent 4:** No, its fiction and there drama fiction.

**PI:** Yeah, ok… just wanted to make sure I was on the same page. So… in terms of the news that you do in-take what are your ‘go-tos’ in case something comes up?

**Respondent 4:** Umm… well, I would say the Today program in the morning which tends to be fairly good… I mean really four news tends to be good… even if its bias in its coverage there would…you will get… they will be an effort to get some kind of disparity of opinion [might have mean ‘variety’]… on any issue. Uh… you know I always… obviously… I do a bit of internet searching and I find out what’s being said there.

**PI:** Ok, great. I am going to move onto the next section. In political matters, people talk of “the left and “the right.” How would you place your views on a numbered spectrum where 1 is left and 10 is right. Or, you can say you don’t know or if you don’t want to answer, that is okay too. I have an example here for you [shows Respondent interview question].

**Respondent 4:** So, 5 is not actually in the middle then? 5 is actually more left than right.

**PI:** Correct.

**Respondent 4:** So, then I would be some between 5 and 4 probably.

**PI:** So, if you had to equate that number with a party or person that resonates with you the most, who would that be or what party would that be? And why do you think that is the case? Or what do you like specifically?

**Respondent 4:** Well, that’s very tricky because I have a disrespect for most politicians and I don’t…[inaudible] the people that I do like are not necessarily people… you know they are people that tend to be uhh… yeah for example I actually quite like Boris Johnson cause he says things… you know [inaudible] I think he has certain skills which are good. Uh… you know I have quite a fan of Tony Benn and his older statesman years rather than when he was being more of a fire brand… you know so I don’t necessarily think any particular politician [inaudible] you know is… yeah, its tricky.

**PI:** Yeah, ok! That’s ok. I was just trying to get a sense of what that might look like.

**Respondent 4:** Yeah… I don’t know… [inaudible] I don’t think I would like the answer for the person I chose.

**PI:** Ok, no problem. So, I am going to move along to the next question. How do you identify? So in terms of nationality… or when someone asks you, “oh, where are you from?” Do you identigy as as English? Or do you identify as British, or European?

**Respondent 4:** British…

**PI:** So first British?
Respondent 4: Mmmhmm…

PI: Would you say you are British and European?

Respondent 4: No.

PI: So you would just say you are British?

Respondent 4: Mmmhmmm…

PI: Ok. So, I am going to move on to the next question. I’d like to know… what are the two most important issues your family is facing at the moment? And why? I have a list of some things, or you can say other and why [shows list to Respondent].

Respondent 4: Yeah, I would say for us probably education at the moment because its… you know… we are overseeing the state of the children are in and uhh… you know I would say… uhh…

PI: You know have to pick off this list… its just to help… I know its hard for people to think of things…

Respondent 4: Uh… yeah… probably education and … yeah that’s really all I can say…

PI: What about the education? I am assuming you speaking in terms of education with your… the younger cohort… so, your children and not necessarily [spouse], even though see is in her masters…

Respondent 4: Well, I mean… that is a point…though… but I mean… yeah just the fact that its constantly… just the fact that the whole education system has changed… its constantly being changed… and its changing for the children. So, they are going to be under a different exam system than the one that currently exists… its all slightly unknown… and you know whether going to university here or in America or in Europe or whether they get paid or have to pay… you know all these things… [inaudible] its obviously has an effect on our household income.

PI: So, thinking about that and then thinking about how it related to BREXIT do you see any like correlation, or do you think…..?

Respondent 4: No, I think my issues with BREXIT are not related to our family situation…

PI: Ok.

Respondent 4: Apart from the fact… you know we are not effected by… some of the issues.

PI: Ok, what about the two most important issues the UK is facing at the moment? And why?
Respondent 4: Pre-BREXIT?… because the biggest issue at the moment is BREXIT.

[Laughs]

PI: Yeah, ok, pre-BREXIT… that’s a valid point.

Respondent 4: Yeah, I think BREXIT is the biggest issue the UK faces at the moment. I think Cam… I mean I…also have this belief that politicians don’t really drive the agenda… and the agenda is created… you know they sort of surf… surf the agenda if you like… and… that… yeah, the biggest issues facing the UK… I mean immigration is a big issue because its been badly handled but its not… you know… and I think… uuuh… the overall state of the economy has obviously… although, you start to wonder whether what you’ve been told is actually correct. You know… the overall health of the economy.

PI: What do you think about terrorism?

Respondent 4: Uhhh, no… cause when I was growing up… when we were in London… in [my] late teens or whatever… the IRA were bombing stu… and people all over the place… and there would be bombs… quite often you would be on the train station… you’d be evacuated because there was a bomb or a bomb scare… whatever… you know it was regular… it was a regular part of your life.

PI: So, you feel safe more now, obviously, compared to then? Or…

Respondent 4: Yeah, yeah, no I do… I think I never felt that unsafe then…

PI: Oh, that’s interesting…

Respondent 4: You… its like… its not… you’d be very unlucky to be… but in still in any country in the world… apart from Iraq or Afghanistan… to be a victim of terrorism… as pretty unlikely and unlucky situation.

PI: So, you mention that you didn’t like the idea of where the EU was going… I am adlibbing obviously

Respondent 4: Mmmhmm…

PI: … but they were kind of going in a direction you didn’t agree with...

Respondent 4: Yeah, I mean I think that the EU as a project has always been heading towards kind of political integration and uh… you know in some ways it only makes since… you know that’s where its heading… but… you know… ehh… you know I do see… at time I have thought that’s a good way to… that that…that’s good…that’s ultimately the only way for Europe as an entity to stick up to… know you… the super powers of the world… so, America or China or whatever…. But umm… but I think you know when you actually see… how how… I am not sure it has value to be honest.
PI: So, its had its pacifying effect but now…

Respondent 4: Right… its had its pacifying… its unifying effect… but know nowadays its more about [sigh]… you know I don’t think the European project was heading toward a kind of federalist situation… it was heading toward a much more unified… you know…overarching… control situation.

PI: So what do you think the two most important issues the world is facing at the moment? And why?

Respondent 4: Which is really a subset of over population, really…

PI: So from those countries in the billions…

Respondent 4: I think the discrepancy between the rich and the poor is just becoming so extreme now that there’s going to be a massive movement of…

PI: Do you think that was one of the factors that kind of lead you along that line of thinking about BREXIT?

Respondent 4: No, no… not at all.

PI: I know you mentioned briefly that immigration wasn’t a big deal…

Respondent 4: Immigration, generally, is a good thing as long as its managed properly.

PI: Ok, I am going to move on to the next section where I ask about your feelings concerning statements I make. I am going ton read a statement and I want to know if that statement evokes positive or negative feelings and why.

Respondent 4: Ok.

PI: So, Immigration of people from other EU member states. Does that statement evoke positive or negative feelings? And Why?

Respondent 4: Into the UK?

PI: Yeah.

Respondent 4: Yeah, I mean I think that’s positive. Like I said…

PI: Ok, how about: Immigration of people from outside the EU. Does that statement evoke positive or negative feelings and why?

Respondent 4: Yeah, I think that is positive as well. For the same reasons.
PI: Ok, how about: Migrants contribution to the UK. Does that statement evoke positive or negative feelings?

Respondent 4: Yeah, as I said I think it’s a positive thing.

PI: Ok… Globalization is an opportunity for economic growth.

Respondent 4: Yeah… yeah. No, yeah I think it has to be. In terms of the world coming together, I think it’s a good thing.

PI: Ok… Global climate change is a problem.

Respondent 4: I am a climate change deny-er so I don’t believe… negative.

PI: Oh, ok… what is that statement negative? What aspects about it?

Respondent 4: Well, I am not a deny-er… in that I accept… that obviously temperatures are rising… although I don’t believe they are rising in the way people say they are… or they will continue to rise the way they say they are… because I simply don’t believe that we understand… you know we understand the way climate… works. And I don’t think…ehh… I just think people talk a lot of non-sense about it and they really…and so read that in fact the increase carbon dioxide helps with the greening effect and makes things more fertile… there are just a whole lot of nuances that are totally overridden by the general narrative about climate change… which is essentially that climate change is going to destroy the world, which I just don’t believe.

PI: Yeah, I mean there are two totally competing narratives concerning climate change.

Respondent 4: Its some how become this thing that if you don’t… if you disagree with it you are… some how you have to be crazy.

PI: Yeah, absolutely. What about the statement: My voice counts in the UK. Does that statement evoke positive or negative feelings?

Respondent 4: That sounds terrible….

PI: That sounds bad? So, negative?

Respondent 4: Yeah.

PI: And how come… do you think?

Respondent 4: Ehh…. I just think anybody saying that… is probably slightly insane.

PI: Do you think its because of the way that… the voting scheme works…? Or…
Respondent 4: No, I am coming at it from the point of view that if anyone things their voice ought to count and or that really does count is probably diluted.

PI: Ok… how about: My voice counts in the EU. How does that make you feel?

Respondent 4: Oh… its non-sense.

[laughs]

PI: Ok, well I guess these statements get worse then. So: Satisfied with the way democracy works in the UK.

Respondent 4: Uhh… yeah, I mean I mean… Yeah I am satisfied with the way it works just as you are satisfied with it in the US. You know…

[Laughs]

PI: Ok, how about the way democracy works in the EU?

Respondent 4: Yeah, I am not so…

PI: Yeah… I think you touched on this a bit before. Ok, this next sections asks you to rank varying aspects of the EU. Which of the following do you think is the most positive result of the EU? 1 is most positive and 8 is least positive.

- The Free Movement of People, Goods, and services within the EU 2
- Peace among the member state of the EU 1
- The Euro 6
- Student Exchange Programmes such as Erasmus 8
- The political and diplomatic influence of the EU in the rest of the world 3
- The economic power of the EU 4
- The level of social welfare (healthcare, education, pensions) in the EU 5
- The common agricultural policy 7

PI: Ok great… we are almost done.

Respondent 4: Excellent.

PI: Ok, last question… if you had the opportunity to vote again today. How would you vote?

Respondent 4: I think I would be inclined to vote BREXIT if anything.

PI: Ok, great! We are done.
Respondent 5

Age: 22

Gender: Female

Marital Status: Single

Occupation: Student

Major: Contemporary European Studies

Do you own your own home or rent? Lives with parents, but currently rents while away at university

Household Income (parents): Unsure

Are there any children in your household? N/A

Do you own your own business or farm? No

In what type of community do you live? Family home in rural community, but university is in larger towns

Community growing up? Rural

Highest level of education: Bachelor of Arts; currently working toward Master of Arts

Principle Investigator: So, first did you vote in the referendum held in the UK on the 23\textsuperscript{th} of June 2016? And how did you vote?

Respondent 5: I did vote, and I voted to remain.

PI: Can you summarize may be in a few sentences the driving factors in your vote choice?

Respondent 5: Uhh… I think for me… umm… I very much felt that the uncertainty of what would happen if we did leave the EU… umm… overrode my perception of the negatives of the EU… umm… and I I I very much of the opinion that you can’t change anything from the outside.

PI: Oh… ok.. wow. Ok, you’ll get the opportunity to delve further into that as we move forward. I am going to switch gears on you a little bit… I want to talk about the way in which you obtain news and current events. So, in terms of television broadcasting… and then newspapers… so television broadcasting… some examples are the BBC, may be Sky, CNN, you know… thrown in American Fox if you will…. some Al Jazeera or whatever… and then newspapers being sort of the Guardian… what started out as the traditional hardcopy publications. So, in terms of those two
mediums… so, television broadcasting and newspapers… what would you say are the prominent publications that you obtain your news through?

**Respondent 5:** Umm… well, the BBC is a big one, especially… I don’t know if it counts as news… but programs like *Question Time*… umm… and… newspapers… as a physical copy… I would tend to read the Telegraph the most… umm… but also online… the Telegraph, Guardian, Independent.

**PI:** Ok, cool… awesome. So, in terms of growing up and then today how did news and current events play a role in… like… growing up? You know… did your family… you know talk about… “oh you know, this event happened… what does it mean… or what are the larger implications of it” Was news and talking about the news or current events… umm… like a focus for your family?

**Respondent 5:** Uhh… not a huge focus. Umm… my parents did talk about it a little bit but I wasn’t that interested as a child, really.

**PI:** And how about now?

**Respondent 5:** Now I do talk about it a lot with my family and friends, yeah.

**PI:** Ok, in terms of the way in which you access news… would you say its… umm… online mostly?

**Respondent 5:** Mostly online… yeah.

**PI:** Ok… I am going to switch gears on you again. So, when people talk about politics they talk of the “left” and the “right”… umm… and so, I have a spectrum here that I have laid out [shows interview question to Respondent]. So its one thru ten… and there is also the option to not answer this question or you can say you don’t know. And so when you talk about political leaning… where do you think you would place yourself on this spectrum?

**Respondent 5:** In terms of Britain?

**PI:** No, you personally…

**Respondent 5:** Oh no, I mean in terms of my place… as opposed to the US?

**PI:** Umm… Yeah… sure… a lot of people like to look at this in terms of… well, the left may be… well one may be communism and may be 10 might be Nazism or fascism…

**Respondent 5:** Oh… ok.

**PI:** So, its how you would define it… but if you could just let me know how you are defining the left and the right… and we can go from there.
**Respondent 5:** Ok, in terms of one… if one were communism and right were life like neo-nazi… may be a six… I don’t know. I would consider myself the center-right in British politics.

**PI:** Oh, ok… and so if you were to take that placement… and think about a your political ideologies and leanings… is there a party or person in Britain that resonates with your beliefs… can you pin point that party or person?

**Respondent 5:** Umm… may be I have changed my opinion slightly… umm… since BREXIT but I would have said I aligned mostly with the conservatives under David Cameron.

**PI:** Ok, and what about today?

**Respondent 5:** Umm… today… I would be more reluctant to vote for the conservatives… but I suppose they would be the party that is most aligned with my views… but I would probably not vote for them.

**PI:** And, how come? What sort of changed for you?

**Respondent 5:** Uhhh… for me it was the attitude of the politicians in the wake of the BREXIT vote… umm… the change in the party… in terms of… well, its seems very… uhh… there is a lot of animosity at the moment and I don’t really like the confrontational style… the leadership contest for me was quite unpleasant.

**PI:** Ok. Good… I want to ask you about your identity…

**Respondent 5:** Ok.

**PI:** So, when… so in terms of identity… do you see yourself as…? When someone asks you how you see yourself… or where are you from… or what’s your identity… what would you say to that?

**Respondent 5:** I would say British.

**PI:** Ok… I am going to move on to the next section… which makes up the largest portion of the interview. So, what are the two most important issues your family is facing at the moment? And why? I have a list here too… or you can say ‘other’ and elaborate of the other factor.

**Respondent 5:** Umm… well… I suppose the cost of living is always something that will… you know effect any family. Umm… so I guess the cost of living. Umm… maybe… health and social security, I suppose. Umm… I had an aunt who was quite ill recently… so, you know its something that is more personal at the moment… that I see effecting my family at the moment.

**PI:** So… concerning that dynamic… are her needs being met? Are you happy with…

**Respondent 5:** Yeah… she’s recovering.
PI: That’s good. And so… the cost of living to your family… or is there any particular reason why…? That you care to talk about.

Respondent 5: I don’t think its any particular reason… its just something that I think… you know is… if there is economic difficulty then people are… may be as a student that is my view.

PI: Ok… what about the two most important issues the UK is facing at the moment?... you know some hurdles for the UK. And why?

Respondent 5: I would say for me… its finding its position in the world… now. Where’s going to go from being a member of the EU… to wherever it does go. Umm… also, I guess housing… seems to be a big issue… for younger people all around the UK… so I guess I would say housing. I think the cost of house prices are very high.

PI: Is that something you are starting to think about…right now as a student…’am I going to be able to purchase my own home when I graduate’…?

Respondent 5: Yeah, yeah… definitely.

PI: So, what about the EU? What about the two most important issues the EU is facing at the moment?

Respondent 5: Kind of a similar… but from the other side of Britain finding its place… I think the EU needs to put forward a… I don’t know… a way of defining itself and a way of re-rallying members around… because it seems to be losing that European identity… umm… and I suppose… well, immigration seems to be… not… not…that I am saying immigration is a problem, but it seems to be… umm… I don’t know how to say this… trying to… it seems to be causing a lot of disunity and it seems to be a thing that a lot of people are picking up on… whether rightly or wrongly.

PI: Is there any specific types of immigration… are you referring to… sort of the free movement of people or the Euro-crisis right now?

Respondent 5: I would say the Euro-crisis…

PI: Ok… what about the world?

Respondent 5: The world…

PI: I know that’s kind of a big one.

Respondent 5: Umm… the world… well… I suppose… terrorism… seems to be something that’s cropping up… or at least its being reported more and more often… which it seems to be something to think about. And also, uhh… I… would… say… may be… umm… the environment…

PI: Ok…
Respondent 5: Seems to be…

PI: What about it?

Respondent 5: Well, umm… you’ve had a president who denies climate change.

[laughs]

Respondent 5: Which I think is really problematic… when scientists have shown that its… I think that’s a big issue… and yeah.

PI: So, is it the rhetoric surrounding the environment… or is it climate change is happening and that’s a real problem?

Respondent 5: I think that the fact that it seems to be… that people don’t seem to be doing enough to… or… that don’t seem to be recognizing it and I guess the rhetoric around it… yeah.

PI: Ok… cool… the next set of questions… I am going to read you a statement and I want to know if that statement evokes positive or negative feelings… and I want to know why. So, the statement: Immigration of people from other EU member states. Does that statement evoke positive or negative feelings, and why?

Respondent 5: I would say primarily positive… uhh… because… umm… well, I think that a lot of the… umm… a lot of things in the UK depend on immigration… like the NHS… yeah, I would say positive.

PI: Ok… what about: Immigration of people from outside the EU. Does that statement evoke positive or negative feelings and why?

Respondent 5: Again, I would say mostly positive. Umm… because again there are lots of parts of the UK that are really dependent on immigration from other areas.

PI: How about the statement: Migrants contribution to the UK. Does that statement evoke positive or negative feelings and why?

Respondent 5: Umm…I’d say that one is more mixed and I don’t know if that’s because of the way that its portrayed… umm… if you have… Can I look at the question again?

PI: Yeah… yeah… absolutely.

[Shows Respondent the interview question]

PI: yeah… so its this one. [Points to the statement] Migrants contribution to the UK.
Respondent 5: Umm… yeah… I think it’s portrayed a lot as negative in the press… on TV… umm… I don’t know… I guess, positive. I think positive.

PI: Ok, how about the statement: Globalization is an opportunity for economic growth. Does that statement evoke positive or negative feelings, and why?

Respondent 5: Mostly positive… because if you look at the amount of things that we import that we export… I think you kind of need globalization too.

PI: Ok, sure… Global climate change is a problem. Does that statement evoke positive or negative feelings, and why? I know you briefly touched on this before in another question… concerning the world issues. Do you care to talk about the feeling when I’ve… so basically the way it’s worded.

Respondent 5: Yeah, so I would say positive.

PI: You say positive because you agree?

Respondent 5: Yeah, yeah.

PI: And so global climate change specifically… and positive… uhh… why do you think you believe it is a problem?

Respondent 5: Umm… I think… umm… both my parents work in the… uh… nuclear industry… so, talking about energy and climate change is always kind of been… umm… present… I suppose… whether or not I am listening… or… you know it’s just always something they talked about. Umm… and I think you are seeing the effects increasingly on television… in the way that… umm… I can’t remember… somebody said to me that the coastline was losing like a massive area each year… which I think…

PI: In the UK?

Respondent 5: Yeah…

PI: Oh, wow.

Respondent 5: You can see the effects of it. So, I would say…

PI: Did they ever talk about, “hey, this is a thing… this is our perspective”? 

Respondent 5: I guess they have a certain perspective… yeah.

PI: Ok, so, when I say the statement, ‘My voice counts in the UK,’ does that statement evoke positive or negative feelings, and why?

Respondent 5: At the moment it feels quite negative. Because looking at the demographics of the people who voted to leave… it seems to be that its mainly older people. And I think that younger
people are going to be living this situation from a much longer time so, yeah… at the moment it doesn’t seem to count as much as I hope it would.

**PI:** Are you mad at your age cohort for their either not voting in mass or lack of participation… or just you know why… umm… you know why… what that dynamic is… or if they even played a part?

**Respondent 5:** I do find it very frustrating because that is the reason that we are not having as much of a say, because people don’t seem to take an interest… and its quite hard to hear that… you know its their future too… so, its hard to hear that they don’t seem to be invested in it.

**PI:** How about: My voice counts in the EU. Does that statement evoke positive or negative feelings, and why?

**Respondent 5:** Umm… I would actually say quite negative. Because I think the decision process in the EU is so convoluted that its hard to see… you know… your particular vote… having a direct impact.

**PI:** Do you study the European Union?

**Respondent 5:** Yes.

**PI:** Ok, how about: Satisfied with the way democracy works in the UK. Does that statement evoke positive or negative feelings, and why?

**Respondent 5:** Umm… I like that our political system keeps out radical parties from being in government… I think that’s a good thing… but, on the flip side I don’t think its fair UKIP had… I think 13 percent of the vote in the 2015 election… but, one seat… so, in that sense I feel like its becoming a bit more negative.

**PI:** Ok, how about: Satisfied with the way democracy works in the EU. Does that statement evoke positive or negative feelings, and why?

**Respondent 5:** I think there are a lot of problems with democracy in the EU. Umm… which I think could be helped with more education maybe… but at the moment… not that positive and I think that’s why there has been such a backlash against it.

**PI:** Ok, I hear that a lot. Ok, next question completely.

**Respondent 5:** Ok.

**PI:** Umm… so, I am going to ask you to rank these attributes of the European Union. Umm… one being most positive and 8 being the least positive. And I will show you the list so you can decide.

**Respondent 5:** Ok.
- The Free Movement of People, Goods, and services within the EU 3
- Peace among the member state of the EU 7
- The Euro 8
- Student Exchange Programmes such as Erasmus 6
- The political and diplomatic influence of the EU in the rest of the world 2
- The economic power of the EU 1
- The level of social welfare (healthcare, education, pensions) in the EU 4
- The common agricultural policy 5

**PI:** I am going to ask you some true or false questions concerning the EU and then one last section and we will be done.

**PI:** So, True or False?

- The EU currently consists of 28 member states? True
- The members of the European Parliament are directly elected by the citizens of each Member State? True
- Switzerland is a Member State of the EU? False

**PI:** Ok, last question… but before you answer I would like you to reflect on some of the things that we discussed previously. So, if you had the opportunity to vote again today, how would you vote? Why? And I will give you a second to answer.

**Respondent 5:** I would vote remain again. Because I don’t see that any… I don’t see that the government are putting forward viable alternatives… umm… there doesn’t seem to be any clear plan as to what… as to where we are going from here.

**PI:** Do you care to offer up any other words of wisdom? Or any other kinds of opinions?

**Respondent 5:** Uh… not really…

**PI:** Haha… ok, no problem.
Respondent 6

Age: 23

Gender: Female

Marital Status: Single

Occupation: Student

Major: Contemporary European Studies

Do you own your own home or rent? Rent, student accommodation

Household Income (parents): £150,000

Are there any children in your household? No

Do you own your own business or farm? No

In what type of community do you live? Urban

Community growing up? Rural

Highest level of education: Bachelor of Arts. Currently working toward Master of Arts.

Principle Investigator (PI): So, first did you vote in the referendum held in the UK on the 23rd of June 2016? And how did you vote?

Respondent 6: Yeah.

PI: And how did you vote?

Respondent 6: I went to my local polling station which is in my village… like the local village hall… uhh… umm… I went with my brother… and it was his… he’s just turned 18… so it was the first time he could vote… umm… yeah so it was kind of… yeah, I was really nervous… and it was my birthday.

[laughs]

PI: oh, you were nervous?

Respondent 6: Yeah…

[laughs]
PI: And what did you put on your ballot?

Respondent 6: I voted to remain.

PI: Do you know what he voted?

Respondent 6: Remain.

PI: Remain, really? So, it was a family…

Respondent 6: Yeah, well… we’re spec… my dad said he voted Remain but I actually don’t know if he did or not. Yeah…

PI: Oh, interesting. So if you had to narrow down the reason why… like if you had to just put one thing on why you voted to Remain, what would you say that would be? So, sort of why you voted the way you did.

Respondent 6: I could say a lot of reasons… if I had to say just one, it would be identity.

PI: Identity…?

Respondent 6: Umm… and I could talk about job prospects and economic reasons… and kind of political ideals as well.

PI: So, identity… do you want to delve into that a little bit…

Respondent 6: Yeah… So, even though I am British… my background’s quite different. So, my mum is British but grew up in Germany… and she moved there when she was seven… with her whole family. So, all of my mum’s family still live there, like aunts and uncles… cousins… grandparents… and she is the only one that came back to the UK… umm… and I speak German and I didn’t grow up speaking German… but she didn’t teach it to me… so, I did my undergrad in German… and I have lived there… so, my… I’ve very much identify as being partly German, even though I am technically not… as all my family are. My dad is Polish… and is… so my grandma is… was… an immigrant during the war. So, my family is very much European… before being British… I think… so for me identity has to be the most important factor.

PI: Oh, that’s cool… I actually have a question in here concerning identity.

Respondent 6: Oh, ok…

PI: I will be interested to hear more… and your answer too. Ok, I am going to stop there and talking about the referendum for a second.

Respondent 6: Yeah…
PI: But I want to get into the ways in which you obtain news, and media… and sort of how that influences the way you think about… either your daily life or… sort of the political sphere.

Respondent 6: Yeah.

PI: So, in terms of… so, so… broadly… umm… how do you… how would you say you intake news… either through newspapers or… like… online social media… or umm… vis the tele.

Respondent 6: Yeah… there’s like a lot… umm… it depends where I am at the time… cause during… kind of the referendum campaign period I was living at home with my parents… so I had… my mum buys a newspaper for like every other day… umm… often the Guardian…. Umm… and… also, cause they have a TV… I would watch the news daily on TV…

PI: Do you know what news television… what broadcasting…

Respondent 6: Usually the BBC.

PI: The BBC…

Respondent 6: Umm… and then personally… I would… I have on my Facebook… newsfeed. I follow the Guardian, I follow the Independent… umm… I follow the BBC… so that all will come up. I also read German newspapers…

PI: Oh, cool.

Respondent 6: So, like… umm… I… Deutsche Welle is really… I watch YouTube videos sometimes with them… and… umm… uh… I guess… yeah… podcasts as well… I love listening to podcasts. I subscribe to like the Economist… and like UN… and like all these different things. So, I sort of get a variety… or I try to get a variety of different news sources.

PI: Ok, so thinking about the news and growing up… did your parents watch the news a lot… and sort of… get you to kind of watch it and… what did that sort of look like?

Respondent 6: Umm… I actually… I don’t think that my parents were a massive influence… like they… they… in the UK we have break… like BBC Breakfast… which is… umm… we would always actually have that on in the kitchen… but it wasn’t something that we would be forced to watch… if that makes sense… it would be there… in the background and the same… my parent would always sit down at like 10 o’clock and watch the 10 o’clock news… and that was just sort of a thing that happened… but it wasn’t… very… it wasn’t really a shared process… I would say. And I would was… I don’t actually think I was that politically engaged until I was a lot older… umm… probably not until 16… I don’t think I really thought about these different things very much… And, it was more… I think through friends and like external sources that I came to politically aware… rather than my parents.

PI: Ok, Ok… that’s interesting.
Respondent 6: But then….umm… thinking about it… they’ve… we’ve always had newspapers… we’ve always had the news on… its something that’s subliminally been there… but I don’t think…

PI: So, you guys would… umm… would you guys ever engage in conversation about what was going on on the news that’s day… whatever current event was important or anything… do you…

Respondent 6: Yeah, we would… because both my parents are in healthcare. I think predominantly the kind of topics we would speak about in the family were revolving around health and the NHS…were sort of… more in this category, rather than more international topics.

PI: Gotcha…ok.

Respondent 6: Yeah, thinking about it…

PI: I am going to switch gears on you a little bit…

Respondent 6: Ok.

PI: And I am going to talk about your political preferences…

Respondent 6: Yeah…

PI: Umm… so, as you know… people talk about… umm… of the ‘left’ and of the ‘right.’ If you had to place yourself on a spectrum… and I actually have a spectrum…

Respondent 6: Oh… you have…

PI: Here.

Respondent 6: Right.

PI: It’s just a numerical spectrum.

Respondent 6: Right.

PI: And I’ve… its sort done vague… sort of purposeful… umm… if you had to place yourself on this particular spectrum… where would you place yourself, and then why?

Respondent 6: Right. Ok. I find these things quite hard because…

PI: Ok, well, ok… let’s say… umm… left is very communist and we can go ahead and say ten is…right is may be fascist.

Respondent 6: Right, ok.
PI: But if you don’t want to answer you don’t have to, which is 12… and don’t know is… excuse me 12 is don’t know and if you don’t want to answer you can say 11.

Respondent 6: Right. Umm… I would say… probably say between 3 and 4. Like, definitely like more… like left inclined… like inclined to be more left… umm… I would also… yeah… different… yeah different areas and like different policies I think I have slightly varying views but on the whole… the left.

PI: Ok, and so why do you think… umm… why do you think sort of favor that side… of the spectrum?

Respondent 6: Umm… it would go back to… uh… probably my parents and being… my dad working for the NHS… my mum used to work for the NHS. They believe in a free healthcare system… umm… believe in welfare… umm… and yeah, I think that my parents not being in business… especially when I was younger I never had an insight into that side of the free market capitalism side of things… I never really understood it… and I had friends who were businessmen and businesswomen… but it wasn’t something that I was particularly exposed to… ummm…

PI: Did your parents ever express like frustrations at all… just curious?

Respondent 6: With…?

PI: With like that aspect of like the left? The very welfare state?

Respondent 6: Right… umm… yes, like my dad especially is also paradoxical because he loves his job he loves helping people, but at the same time… he talks constantly about the people who are free riding the system and how there are people who don’t deserve to get treated in certain ways and that… yeah its kind of upsetting but then I can understand from his point of view day in day out doing that kind of work that you do get an insight into how it works in reality, I guess.

PI: So, if you were to say… I know this is a really complicated question… I’ve a few people previously… so, thinking about that political spectrum… or at least with that in the back of your mind… if you could… umm… pick a party or… Umm… pick a political elite figure that’s sort of… you can really get on broad with… who you can really… I mean they don’t have to be an elected official right now… just somebody that is in the public eye… who would that be? Essentially, what party or individual resonates with you the most?

Respondent 6: I can tell you who I voted for in the last general election… is that like…

PI: Sure.

Respondent 6: So, I voted Green. Umm… because I went through all the party manifestos and their were all sorts of things online saying who you most a line with depending what your views are and what you believe the system should look like and… umm… this was the first time I’d properly voted because when I was… the last general election was just before my 18th birthday. So, its really the first one I have gotten to really engage. And… umm… yeah… I… I… I very much
I fit in more with the Green party ideology. And then... but then... Natalie Bennett... who is... the head... leader... she wasn’t as charismatic... I think as some of the others... during the election we had all these televised debates and things and I didn’t... so, I would say in general if you were going on like a [inaudible] the Greens... but not because of Natalie Bennett necessarily... umm... I really like Nichola Sturgeon, I think she is really great... like SNP... I almost wish I was Scottish.

[Laughs]

**Respondent 6:** But yeah... its not... I would say in terms of political figures... there is really no one I identify with.

**PI:** Yeah, sure... that’s fine. Ok, ok. So... alright... this is the identity question.

**Respondent 6:** Right.

**PI:** So, its sort of... what do you see yourself as? And then why?

**Respondent 6:** Ok, ok.

**PI:** So, I have some options here... but can you talk a little bit about this identity idea? And you may fit here based on what you said previously [Points to British and European option]. So, who are you? What would be the first thing to spur into mind?

**Respondent 6:** European.

**PI:** European.

**Respondent 6:** And British.

**PI:** Ok, European and British. And so, why... I know we touched on it a bit previously with the German and Polish connection... and so, do you want to delve more into the why aspect of European and British? Instead of being specifically English?

**Respondent 6:** Sure... yeah growing up I always... I have a lot of friends who were Scottish, or Welsh and they very much identified with that aspect of their... I guess cultural heritage... or background and I’ve never really had that... because I don’t have Scottish, Welsh, Irish descendants and the family that I do have who are English are now European because they moved to Germany. So its sort of a complicated identity... umm... thing... but the... yeah, the European... I mean it has to come from my family... it’s the fact that they all live there and at home... we... with my immediate family we speak English, but if I am in Germany... we speak a mix of various languages. SO, its German and English and... umm... growing up I spoke Polish with my grandma... and so its sort of... yeah... I think language, which has a lot to do with it... as well. Umm... and the British... yeah... I...yeah... since BREXIT actually, I have been really... anti anti-English... and been going around like, ‘I’m not British! I’m a European!’ Like, ‘I’m not English! I’m a European!’ It’s definitely changed more recently... whereas before it was perhaps more on a level... but now with BREXIT its forced people to side... and the people who have got
this European identity perhaps have been drawn more into the European… or pushed away from the European… I think its interesting where people have gone with that.

PI: And this is actually not a question… but I was just thinking about it… and we are going to delve into the European Union specifically… but in terms of what the EU means to you… what sort of… what springs to mind?

Respondent 6: European… well, free…

PI: The European Union… or the EU institutions…? What do you think of? Or…

Respondent 6: I think the main thing that comes up first is this idea of like uh… of free movement within the states… the member states… and that’s always been so important growing up… being able to go from one country to the other… umm… and then… the actual institutions themselves are something… I feel that in the UK we have been quite like shaded from… because its not… we haven’t always been so involved in the European Parliament, commission and all these things… but that’s something that by studying politics I have become more aware of… in a formal sense. Whereas growing up it was more this idea, rather than understanding the political processes themselves… if that makes sense.

PI: Yeah. That’s perfect. Umm… so let’s talk about issues. So this next question is nested… and we are actually almost done. So this question is nested and it makes up the…umm… really the ‘meat and potatoes’ of the interview… or may be the more substance of the interview…. And that is… so what are the two most important issues your family is facing at the moment? And then I’ll ask you the two most important issues the UK is facing, then the EU, and finally, the world. So, first, what are the two most important issues your family is facing at the moment? And why?

Respondent 6: Thinking… yeah, I think probably… employment’s quite high up. My dad working as a GP has got a very stable career, but my mum in the pharmaceutical… more like business side of things… is… yeah, its been more unstable… she’s moved a lot from job to job… and with the four of us… cause I’m the oldest… so, all of my…so, my two younger siblings are still in school and we’re all still dependent on my parents… so, at the moment I think… financially its more… we need… there needs to be more of a unit… so that’s something that my mum…I think… with her like job and security in certain places… she’s found it quite stressful and that has passed down onto us… I think, and obviously, I need her money…

[laughs]

Respondent 6: …to finance my Masters… umm… so, yeah… in terms of a familial context… I would say employment and unemployment is one. Umm… another one… education… umm… especially for my younger siblings… they’re facing the higher fees… for university… and then… I guess coupled with like financial stuff. That’s been something that at home I know they are quite worried about. Umm… and… I was the last year where the fees were still £3000, so, I was quite lucky to get in quickly… but umm…and also, the… how we’re educated… I’d say that the… like my parents want us to go to the best universities and they want us to get the best grades we can…
and... umm... so at the... those are the two things that are facing my family... at the moment I am a bit extracted from it cause I am not with them the whole time, yeah.

PI: Ok, awesome... so, let's talk about the two most important issues the UK is facing at the moment. And why?

Respondent 6: Two? [laughs] Do you mean UK as in society or as like a whole entity? Because... if... like politically, I would say like the BREXIT itself is something... is an issue that politicians have to deal with... but then for society... its more like the repercussions that that is going to...

PI: Yeah, so definitely... in that respect its just sort of the United Kingdom... just sort of your country.

Respondent 6: Fragmentation would be one... just the division... like, not necessarily the BREXIT process itself but the... like divides that its either caused or unearthed... I am not really sure... like where the causal links lie... but the... there are a lot of very angry people... and if you force people to come down on one side or the other... you're going to inevitably create these like, fissures in societal ideals...

PI: So, do you think that is a result of the referendum, or at least the result of the referendum?... rather than it being something that existed...

Respondent 6: I think its both... I think that a lot of... a lot of ideas that were preexistent... that have been sort of suppressed because they were socially acceptable... such as hatred of immigrants and like, we have tried to foster this cohesive society where people accept other and all that... my dad for example is... I mean yeah... dad drives me mad... he's an immigrant... like my grandma walked here from Poland... yet he hates all other Poles that have come over since the war... and I just can't understand what that would make you hate... like, you know what I mean... like, your own people... your people that have gone through the same thing that your family has gone through. Umm... and then it goes back to this idea of like threats... and who gets what if you are under pressure and you don't have enough money... for the whole population... so, there are so many things that I think that effect it but... umm... I don’t know where I was going with the... oh fragmentation... that was my... yeah...

PI: Yeah... fragmentation... that was your first one... do you have another one or do you want to stay along the same lines? May be another issue that the UK is facing at the moment?

Respondent 6: Yeah... umm... this might be a view that is very much swayed by like what I study... and it might not be representative... [laughs]

PI: Well, that's the thing... I am looking for your perceptions...

Respondent 6: Yeah, my perception... and... umm... do kind of... umm... I see this as kind of being swayed very much by what I am doing... but I think that the political system itself... and how we’re so much disengagement of voters... there are people that... like what we were saying
with the BREXIT vote… that 30 percent of young people turn out to vote… and I think that… if you have the youth at this point who aren’t voting… what does that say for the future… if you can’t then engage them… so there’s… a threat for the system itself… I think… at the moment… whether that’s something that is nationally perceived by everyone is probably… I am not sure.

PI: Ok… that’s good. Its something I have not heard before in this study. So, what about the EU? So, the two most important issues the EU is facing at the moment. And why?

Respondent 6: Right… umm… I think like de-legitimacy of the governance of the EU itself and how its handled certain… I guess you can say crisis and like, the economic crisis… now with the migrant crisis… its called into question the structure of the EU… and… how we move forward… and whether Germany continues to take this leading role… and how there’s a balance of power… I guess… I think that that’s what people are voting against… and its what… with all these referendums being called… people are starting to rise up and say, ‘actually, we don’t like the things are being done.’ And… I don’t know.. does that count as an answer?

PI: Yeah… absolutely… it does…

[laughs]

Respondent 6: …and… uhh… yeah… I see that’s kind of more internal pressure… and I would say from… and externally… there’s… where the EU sits within the global system… and like the relative power… in terms of… external threats… and like, with Russia and what’s gonna happen with the US… and…

PI: So, do you think the EU is a world power… would you say that they are…

Respondent 6: I think that they exert power through different means… through trade… and through political ideas… but… yeah, ultimately without sort of military strength… I think that… I don’t advocate that at all… but you do see that in the international system its those who kind of exert these forces of hard power… that have their voices heard… and the EU is more and more… they’re gonna have to take a stance I think… they are sort of saying, ‘this is okay… I am going to be friends with the US and try and sort out Putin… and.’ Yeah, I don’t know how its going to go forward, really.

PI: So, a lot of people talk about how the EU began as a… umm… economic union…

Respondent 6: Yeah…

PI: … and so one of the biggest complaints is how it has sort of morphed into this political… umm… like… or at least… power broker… that focuses on the political aspects… and so that soft power… the negotiating… in terms of things that wouldn’t typically be construed as… umm… economic… I mean in some respect… economic sanctions… sure… or at least its brokering for things that are economic in nature… what do you think about that sort of transition… or do you think that that’s sort where the EU should be going… or? Do you think the EU is doing a good job?
Respondent 6: I think it’s a tough one because… you… yeah… I firstly think all these things are interconnected… I don’t think you can just… umm… single out the economic and say, ‘we’re only going focus our policies on this.’ Because everything inextricably linked some how… umm… I also think the EU was founded on a political ideal… of peace… which I… I think the kind of argument… that its just purely economic… which is just perhaps Britain’s entrance point… like we just want the single market and all this… yeah, so its… I think its very hard to extract one single… like one from the other… if that makes sense… umm… And then with… yeah this idea.… Yeah when we are talking about like monetary union and all these things… and how its… we’re becoming more and more closely linked… if… in order to gain the benefits from being more closely tied economically… you are going to have to give up some sovereignty in different areas and that’s… that’s what I believe… I know that that’s not the case for a lot of people… 52 percent of this country.

[laughs]

PI: Yeah… yeah… so, what about two issues that the world is facing at the moment? And why?

Respondent 6: Oh my gosh… what’s going on with the world? Umm… I think sort of… I’m not sure… its instability of the international system and that… this like hegemonic power that the US has been… I don’t know what the word is… umm… I wanna say… imposed… but that sounds really negative… but sort of that the US has been like this force of stability for so long… and with Obama coming in you kind of though… ‘well, ok, like this is a good move.’ Umm… uhh… Yeah, I worry about what… especially what Trump is gonna do… like, how its going to disrupt the balance of certain things… and then we have… like rii… and other rising powers… and terrorism, and you have ISIS and you have Russia… and I see that… the… I mean there has always been… actually you know… its quite naïve to say… cause its just moving back toward the cold war almost… like… I don’t know… is that ridiculous?

[Laughs]

PI: No, not at all… I mean if that’s your perception… I think if you think of what that balance of power was… or if you think there was a balance of power… as bi-polar or…

Respondent 6: Yeah… or multipolar… with China…. And… yeah…

PI: So, another thing is… and I don’t want to try and give you ideas… because I want to get the most genuine response…

Respondent 6: Yeah… of course…

PI: But a lot of people talk about the environment and climate change… or energy issues… as they relate to the world… do you think that’s a big issue… or no?
**Respondent 6:** Its something I have been thinking about a lot recently... umm... and... yeah, I am not sure... like with... cause I have watched all sorts of documentaries... I've been really big down the conspiracy theory path... I watch Cowspiracy recently...

**PI:** I actually watched that after you brought it up in class.

**Respondent 6:** You watched that?... yeah... and so, I was like, ‘I am not eating beef anymore!’ Its something I really care about but I don’t see it as something that people are globally taking into account like, in their decision making... but then that’s perhaps my ignorance... its something that frustrates me... I wish that it was a bigger topic on the agenda... and uhh... with the conference in Paris... back in February you saw like a massive boost of morale and everyone’s like, ‘Yeah! Climate change... climate change!’ And then two weeks later no one cares anymore... umm...

**PI:** Yeah... I think you have to get so many moving parts to work together...So, I am going to move onto the next question... I am going to make statements and I want you to tell me if those statements evoke positive or negative feelings, and then I want to know why. And so the first one: Immigration of people from EU member states. Does that statement evoke positive or negative feelings? And why?

**Respondent 6:** Positive.

**PI:** Why?

**Respondent 6:** Umm... because I believe that we should have a society of polarities and I like different people and different ideas... and cooperate... everyone... kind of just yeah... its something that I have grown up to believe... and I don’t think that should change.

**PI:** Ok, how about: Immigration of people from outside the EU. Does that statement evoke positive or negative feelings? And why?

**Respondent 6:** Still positive. Because... immediately when you said outside the EU... I sort of... I know what like, the media image would be... which I am just like... migrants... and the crisis and all this stuff... but maybe I sort of thought... almost business professionals or people from other areas of society... just just general integration of different types of people... not necessarily what I think is being portrayed in the media... its like a swarm.

**PI:** How about this statement: Migrants contribution to the UK. Does that statement evoke positive or negative feelings? And why?

**Respondent 6:** Positive.

**PI:** Why?

**Respondent 6:** Umm... I went to a school that had a really high proportion of Indian and Pakistani people... like, students and I have always... and I have grown up with that... with friends from different backgrounds... and I know that their parents were first generation immigrants and they...
like, like they work hard and they contribute and like, my dad is Polish… and I know there are stereotypes about Polish people… but yeah, there’s… I think its important… I have grown up with different migrant communities… I think that… so…

**PI:** So, I think you are saying… so contribution is positive… in that they actually contribute to some facet of …?

**Respondent 6:** Yeah, and multicultural.

**PI:** Ok, the next statement is: Globalization is an opportunity for economic growth. Does that statement evoke positive or negative feelings? And why?

**Respondent 6:** Positive. Umm… probably cause I see myself as… when they talk about winners in Globalization… I feel like… I have the freedom to move anywhere… and do anything… and this… for me its about opportunity.

**PI:** Ok, how about: Global climate change is a problem. Does that statement evoke positive or negative feelings? And why?

**Respondent 6:** That’s hard… negative… because I agree with it… but positive that it is something I can agree with… if that makes sense. Yeah so, negative in the sense I don’t think enough is being done… and I don’t think its being taken seriously enough.

**PI:** Ok… How about: My voice counts in the UK. Does that statement evoke positive or negative feelings? And why?

**Respondent 6:** Umm… currently negative. Umm… because… obviously vote with BREXIT… my voice is not being heard and I don’t believe that it was… yeah there are lots of things I think were wrong about the referendum and the way campaigns were run. But umm… I’ve been speaking a lot to other friends from different countries… and for example when I was younger and like in year 5 or something… so when I was 10…I wrote a letter to… umm… Tony Blair… and I received a response from him and it was something really ridiculous about the fact that like to local public toilets were [inaudible] literally being closed down… and I thought it was ridiculous… I got… well, whether… its was signed by him… I don’t know who wrote it… but that is almost unheard of in a lot countries… that you can write specifically to your prime minister and get a response. So, its… umm… yeah, I think that growing up that there was this idea that my voice would be heard… but then in reality… when it comes to voting… its more negative.

**PI:** I think we call that moral idealism…

**Respondent 6:** Yeah… exactly…

[laughs]

**PI:** How about: My voice counts in the EU. Does that statement evoke positive or negative feelings? And why?
Respondent 6: Well… yeah, negative. Before I had somewhat a say… I could vote in the European Parliament but now… the… negative. Cause I feel that my input into that system has been taken away from me… at this point.

PI: How about: Satisfied with the way democracy works in the UK. Does that statement evoke positive or negative feelings? And why?

Respondent 6: Umm… yeah, that’s such a tough one… umm…

[laughs]

Respondent 6: …I think direct democracy is a disaster… because of the way the BREXIT vote turned out…

[laughs]

Respondent 6: … but then… had I voted to… ‘Remain’… umm…to ‘Leave’… sorry… I would have said that it had worked. So, yeah… its obviously based on my opinion… and my voting preferences. Umm… on the other hand… yeah, you could say that the will of the people has… is being represented… I don’t personally believe that that is the case… but that’s what a lot of people are being led to believe… so…

PI: So, how about: Satisfied with the way democracy works in the EU. Does that statement evoke positive or negative feelings? And why?

Respondent 6: It’s a tougher one… because… yeah, the system is more distant… I don’t feel that there is… like… I think the EU is… tried to bridge the gaps between the actual citizens and the European Union… but there’s always gunna be more of a distance… you’ve got the citizens… the national governments and the EU… and its like, a stepping stone… umm… the way that it functions… I would say… can I say neutral… probably neutral?

PI: Yeah… sure… absolutely. Good, almost done… I promise. So, I have this [shows Respondent next section of interview questionnaire]. So, the idea is to rank these attributes of the EU, where one is most positive and 8 is least positive.

- The Free Movement of People, Goods, and services within the EU 1
- Peace among the member state of the EU 3: I didn’t put it first because I don’t think its that’s peaceful… but I think the idea is important.
- The Euro 5: The Euro has its flaws… actually I don’t know. The Euro is 5… it depends on where you come from.
- Student Exchange Programmes such as Erasmus 2: I think the student exchange program is incredible… I know so many people that have been apart of it… I think its great. That’s something I am really worried is going to be lost.
- The political and diplomatic influence of the EU in the rest of the world 6
- The economic power of the EU 4
- The level of social welfare (healthcare, education, pensions) in the EU 7: yeah I don’t see that being huge in terms of like an EU... umm... competence.
- The common agricultural policy 8: CAP is hard cause that was a massive reason for BREXIT.

PI: Ok, awesome... almost done. So, here is the true and false section. So, there are only three of them. For each of the following statements about the EU, can you please tell me whether you think it is true or false.

- The EU currently consists of 28 member states? True
- The members of the European Parliament are directly elected by the citizens of each Member State? True
- Switzerland is a Member State of the EU? False

PI: Alright... true and false is done... one more question. So, if you had the opportunity to vote again today, how would you vote? And why?

Respondent 6: Exactly the same. To ‘Remain.’ Because I think that it was... I don’t... I think a lot of people don’t understand the implications that it would have... and still don’t... cause no one’s done this before. Umm... since then I have become more optimistic... in what could be done... I think that... I mean the day after the vote... I just couldn’t get out of bed... I just laid there actually... it was terrible... and umm... but... I think... yeah... its not like the end of the world... yeah.
Respondent 7

Age: 27

Gender: Male

Marital Status: Single

Occupation: Student

Major: International Security

Do you own your own home or rent? Rent, private accommodation

Household Income: > £10,000

Are there any children in your household? N/A

Do you own your own business or farm? No.

In what type of community do you live? Urban

Community growing up? Rural

Highest level of education: Bachelor of Arts, currently working toward a Master of Arts

Principle Investigator (PI): So, first did you vote in the referendum held in the UK on the 23rd of June 2016? And how did you vote?

Respondent 7: I voted by proxy. And I voted to ‘Remain’ in the EU.

PI: And, if you had to pin down one reason why you wanted to ‘Remain’ in the EU… umm… could you…

Respondent 7: How specific do you…

PI: Just… we are going into more specifics… but I guess broadly… if you were to say… ok… what was the biggest driving factor in you deciding you wanted to ‘Remain?’

Respondent 7: Umm… I am trying to pin down a single factor… cause its quite difficult… I guess I view it as a beneficial organization for all… and therefore… possibly there are arguments for Britain having benefits for leaving but I think… sort of… the benefit for the larger group is… is the reason to stay. Umm… without unpacking it anymore… membership has a benefit for all members.
PI: So, what it sounds like… is, the benefits of being a member… and then… those not being able to experience those benefits… of not being a member… is what is sounds like… is that right?

Respondent 7: Kind of… but also, beyond being a benefit for Britain. It being a benefit for Britain and it simultaneously being a benefit to the EU to have Britain as a member… and I view that… sort of… generally everybody is better off… as Britain being part of the EU.

PI: Ok, so I am going to completely switch gears.

Respondent 7: Ok.

PI: So, that was obviously the broad question… and so I am going to get into the lens with which you view the world around you. And so, the first question is… about how you obtain your news… and then through what medium. So, for example, would you say you obtain your news from television broadcasting or newspapers or social media or… what does that look like?

Respondent 7: Through mobile apps.

PI: And who are the… what are the publications?

Respondent 7: Umm… at the moment… I look at… or, have access to on a regular basis… The BBC, Al Jazeera, The Guardian, Russia Today and Sputnik… those last two cause of the course we are doing in Russian politics… to get a broader perspective on what the world sees. Umm… but at the moment those are the five I look at. The Guardian less so.

PI: Ok… umm… what about the way current events and media when you were growing up… and the dynamic in how you were raised?

Respondent 7: So, I grew up watching the news at dinner, everyday… watching BBC at six… umm… also, my father started… when I was younger… reading the Daily Mail… and once he had a bit more time… he started getting The Times. So, yeah, on of my earliest memories is watching the news on television. Umm… and then… sort of… glancing through newspapers when I was younger… to then start reading them… where as today… just cause its more convenient I use… have access to similar stories… just on my phone.

PI: Ok, so, what about conversations surrounding current events that you would see publicized on news? Like, would you talk about those current events with your family…? Was it… were they…

Respondent 7: Umm… some of the…

PI: …were they dinner conversations?

Respondent 7: My sister’s never been interested in this… which made it difficult… but I would usually talk to my dad about this kind of stuff.

PI: Ok.
Respondent 7: Umm… yeah upon getting sort of seriously interested in the news… my mum passed away around that time… so I couldn’t really talk to her… my sister just has no interest in that. So, my father was the only one I talked to about it.

PI: Do you… umm… and so how is that… umm… outlook… when your conversations being… divided… constructive… were they one sided… like how… do you know…

Respondent 7: It was more of a discussion about it… and yeah… so as opposed to… I mean we have slightly differing views on politics… but not massively different. Umm… you know its not like… uh… as it would be you know in the States… you know he’s not a Republican and I’m a Democrat… its… we’re… we have similar kind of things… just slightly different perspectives given our age and experiences.

PI: Ok, cool… so I am going to move onto the next question… and this question… umm… kind of delves into your political leanings. And so, when you think about political matters we always talk of to the ‘left’ and to the ‘right.’ And so, I would like to get a sense of… where you place yourself on that ‘left/right’ spectrum. And, I have a one right here [shows Respondent s the interview question]. So, ‘left’ people think in terms of communism/socialism and ‘right’ people think conservative /fascism… or you could choose not to answer, or say that you don’t know. Where would you place yourself on this? And then let’s talk about… kind of… why?

Respondent 7: Three or four, probably.

PI: Three or four?

Respondent 7: Yeah.

PI: Why do you place yourself there?

Respondent 7: Umm… when I was younger… as many kids do… lean toward communism as a point of view… because [inaudible] you get the impression it… sort of… doesn’t work. But I do view… doing the…sort of… doing the greatest good… for the greatest many… I mean the greatest number of people as being… sort of… points…

PI: So, very utilitarian?

Respondent 7: Yeah, umm… you know… I can appreciate… I can appreciate the kind of perspective of… umm… you’d be work for something… and should keep a certain amount of that… but I think the way that society has evolved throughout history… its left some people… umm… and I include myself in this… being significantly better of a position… umm… then most other people… and therefore I view leaning… sort of… left… trying to reset the balance… as it were.

PI: Sure.
**Respondent 7:** Umm… is being important… and I also… things like universal health care… I view as somewhat vital for modern society… to function properly. Umm… universal education…[inaudible], things like this… there are limits of course… but I think these are important things to have… and there needs to be some sort of social safety net… so that, you know, people do not end up completely destitute. Umm… yeah, looking back through history at examples of this… poor houses and things like this… where… debtors prison and things like that… are awful awful ideas and I think that any situation that involves anything leaning towards that is negative… whereas the opposite is positive and therefore universal care system is a better way to live.

**PI:** Ok. And delving into that in practice… i.e., the political systems and political parties… if you had to pick like a political party or political elite figure… whose policy areas… sort of… resonate with you… who would that be? And, its fine if you can’t.

**Respondent 7:** Yeah, not really… to be honest… I mean there are certain characters that have a series of policies work for me… but other things… I strongly disagree with… so…

**PI:** Ok. So, you like bits and pieces… right, is what you are saying?

[head nod]

**PI:** Alright, I am going to switch gears one more time and then we will get into some issues. But first I want to talk about your identity. So, when someone asks you, “who are you?... what’s your nationality?... what is your affiliation?... where are you from?” What do you say?

**Respondent 7:** British.

**PI:** Would you identify as British only?

**Respondent 7:** I would predominantly would identify with being British, except within the context of discussion within the UK… as it were. So, if I am talking with a group of people who are also from Britain… but from different areas… like, Wales, Scotland and Northern Ireland… I would probably… I would still say I was British… cause that’s more of just an impulsive thing and I still view myself as a member of the UK… citizenship… but within that group… I would probably notice I was English… as it were.

**PI:** Do you feel European? And would that be an identifier… for you?

**Respondent 7:** So, I view myself as an EU citizen… as it… whether that concept… and I view it as apart… sort of… who I am… sort of… something I grew up with… my entire life… I view myself as being apart of Europe… I recognize that Britain is… when taken… in sort of immediate first impressions… its culturally different to continental Europe. But I believe we overly view continental Europe as Spanish, German, French culture and we ignore too much of the rest of it. Umm… and because we’ve… sort of… got this big moat between the two… between us and the continent… we lump them together… which is completely ridiculous… given that they are very diverse. Umm… but I do view myself as European, as well as being British.
**PI:** Would you say you are British first or European first? I know that’d hard…

**Respondent 7:** That’s a really complicated question…

**PI:** So, here is a hypothetical scenario… I am America… and I ask you… or say, rather… ‘oh, your accent is different than mine… where are you from? Or, what is your identity… what is your nationality?’ What would you say?

**Respondent 7:** But, my nationality is British… in the sense that that is the nation I am from… Europe isn’t a nation… it more of [inaudible] it’s a union… it’s a union of nations. I am apart of the union of nations… I’d compare it to the US with its states… but it not quite the same.

**PI:** Yeah, so, on the international stage… I would say I am an America. But, in the context of being in America… I would I am a Floridian.

**Respondent 7:** I mean, if I was talking to a German, I would say… ‘I am British’ because that is the identifier that we would use… in the same way that they would almost certainly say they’re German…. Just because that’s the way that we talk to each other.

**PI:** Ok, I am going to move on to the next section. This section asks you about issues your family is facing at the moment, the UK, the EU, and the world. But, I will walk you through each section. First, so if you could point out the two most important issues your family is facing at the moment. And why? I also have a list of some factors that you can draw from, or you can talk about something else, not on this list [shows Respondent the interview question with the list].

**Respondent 7:** I think… unemployment… could be an issue… my dad is retired, my sister has a couple of jobs, but, the kind of things she’s doing right now… cause they are fun to do… she’s working in a bar… she is working in a shop and she quite likes that kind of thing. But I think… in the long run she might find it more difficult to get into a career… so, I view that as an issue. Umm… beyond that… I don’t… rising housing prices… probably quite a big issue… looming on the horizon… but in the short term… we don’t have any major issues… as a family.

**PI:** And ... are you saying rising house prices because you and your sister are getting older and eventually you might like to eventually…

**Respondent 7:** Yeah, I spent the summer of 2015 looking to buy a house… and I couldn’t find… I did put a few offers down and stuff and didn’t get anything in the end. But the house prices have risen significantly since then. So, the properties I was looking at for one set of prices have increased by 15 to 30 percent… [inaudible] its quite an increase in certain areas of my city… umm… Bristol does have a bit of a big issue with housing… umm… there’s just not enough of it… and growing house prices…

**PI:** And so, at its core… why do you think those two issues are the most significant in your mind? Is it that idea that as you are growing older you are learning that you need to be more economically independent or is it… I am faced with these now?
Respondent 7: I think there is a certain sense... especially with the jobs of ... its not necessarily being unemployed... its doing what you want to do... which is obviously an idea that is being pushed on us since we were kids... you know... that you should... do what you want to do... do what makes you happy... this kind of thing. And the reality is that people just do jobs because they need to eat... umm... and because we are in a position we’re we can eat... we start looking at things we want to do become we want to become slightly more fulfilled. Umm... house prices... I mean... part of it is... that... I’ve... you know... umm... have some savings that I’d like to put into something that will be within our current economic framework... and work a fairly stable investment. Umm...

PI: So, its important to you to have a really solid investment...

Respondent 7: Yeah, to keep... to make sure that I’ve got something that I can provide for the future... for myself... or, if I have a family... as well.

PI: Alright, So let’s bring that out and talk about the two most important issues the UK is facing at the moment. And why?

Respondent 7: Ok, umm...

PI: Yeah, anything on this list or anything else you want to bring in and talk about [points to the same list for reference in the previous question].

Respondent 7: Crisis of identity... is probably one of them.

PI: Ok... how so?

Respondent 7: Well, we suddenly had this major change of leaving the EU... which has shown up some divisions in society that... I think it’s the kind of thing that will settle down eventually... but you are in a period of flux... which is... you know, inherently unstable in what it is... and therefore it causes issues off the back of that... umm... and that’s... sort of... that tied with the sort of BREXIT idea... we are not really sure what’s going to happen... so we... we we could come out stronger... umm... but I doubt it... unless some how we manage to sort of get ourselves away from Europe completely... and they have a major economic crash... its its more... I think its more likely that we may... sort of... improve... without Europe... but its more likely that they will get further ahead of us. So, we are still going forward... but their going forward faster... or, they crash and we get dragged down... you know... unless they completely crash and we keep going forward... I think that they are more likely to [inaudible] I think their an economic center... their more stable... umm... as a unit.

PI: Ok, do you have a secondary... or like a runner up... for the UK in terms of an issue that the UK is facing at the moment?

Respondent 7: I am not really sure about position within the world anymore. I think we have this idea of what we are... and a lot of its this idea that Britain... is sixth... fifth economy in the
world... something like that... it might not even be that high anymore... but in the space of... you know... a lifetime... we have gone from being... arguably... global superpower... to... you know... sort of... a lifetime... if you take 80 years... 80 years ago we were still arguably the number one power in the world... the beginning of the first... second world war. Umm... and we have gone from that to being... you know... second, third, fourth fiddle... in NATO... you know... heavily reliant on our major ally... the US... we are sort of looking at this situation of Russia increasing... and I am a little bit uneasy... cause not only... you know... its [inaudible] becoming more of a thing... and the apparent [inaudible] dominance of our major ally is being questioned at the moment. But also, you know... we are sort of... pulling away from our neighbors in Europe... and we are somewhat vulnerable to them... whether the reality of a military strike happens... although, I think its very unlikely... but at the same time... its just sort of a looming threat on the horizon. And, because we’re tied to the US, we are beginning to look elsewhere as well. Umm... the economic talks with China recently... showing... just signs of... just trying to find more friends... to a certain extent... umm... see at that... and also, the election... America has put us on... suddenly very uneasy... sort of... footing... we are not really sure what is going to happen... we thoroughly expected Clinton to come in... who would likely have been a [inaudible] ally. She’s worked with Britain in the past... she’s of the sort of general thinking there is a special relationship that... so... yeah, our... sort of... questionable position within the world... I mean... our military has been massively reduced... so, in terms of actual power projection... we have been reduced significantly.

PI: And, what about that? Umm... uhh... so, it sounds like... are you more of an advocate hard or soft power... or?

Respondent 7: I think both... have...

PI: And I am only asking because you mentioned the military.

Respondent 7: Yeah, that’s fine. I think both have their place. But, if we want to be able to... sort of... backup soft power... we need to have... umm... we need to have some form of military. We also... we’re kind of... I feel that we’re taking money out of the wrong areas. Uh... we’ve got 19 large ships that can project power... that’s not enough for a modern military. Umm... I don’t think Russia is a direct threat...but I think the state of our military could lead them to pushing more. Umm... and at the same time... deterrence is... its works... it doesn’t work... there’s different sides to this. Umm... and we are also, as a country... beginning to talk about getting rid of our nuclear deterrent, which... is kind of ok...when we are best buddies with America. And when everyone believes that NATO will stick to its principles... of... you know...somebody attacks you... [inaudible] their attacking everyone... so... we are just going launch a nuclear strike... that’s fine... but when its... but we are going through a period of... you know... the president-elect of the United States... talking about NATO not pulling its own weight... which its not... we have a treaty of obligations... [inaudible] spent 2 per cent of GDP on the military... and we’re not doing that. And I can appreciate that... that point of view. Umm... its hard to say that you agree with Trump... but it is... you know... its been espoused by many politicians in America. Umm... and... you know its... [inaudible] period of NATO... that’s come into... the last 20 years its not really needed to exist... but at the same time... now, it is probably more than it has been since the end of the Cold War...
**PI:** You do think so?

[head nod]

**PI:** Ok.

**Respondent 7:** Umm… but by its nature… NATO is weird. Cause its one of the few alliances that has lasted more than a few years… outside of war… which is extremely rare through history… alliances tend to be through war… and then they sort of … peter afterwards as national interests come in…but NATO has managed to continue.

**PI:** Ok, so what about the two most important issues the EU is facing at the moment? And why? I know that you voted to ‘Remain’ but can we think about some things that you could think of that would be issue… with the EU?

**Respondent 7:** Sorry, same question, but for the EU?

**PI:** Yeah…

**Respondent 7:** So, I think that umm… I mean in a short term view at the moment… the sort of issues in the middle east and the subsequent migrant crisis… or the consequent migrant crisis… is a pretty big test on the EU… I don’t think its going to end the EU… but it has the potential to create rifts within the organization that are a umm… that do have a ripple effect through through time. Umm… trying to think of one or two for the next bit… but umm…

**PI:** If you can’t think of another… that’s ok…

**Respondent 7:** No, no I am just trying to think of the next most important…

**PI:** Oh, oh… so there are plenty?… gotcha!

[laughs]

**Respondent 7:** I mean the EU is full of problems… its nowhere near a perfect system… yet, no government has ever been a perfect system… for a start… but, I mean its sort of… the way that the system works is a bit broken… and this is where my problem comes in… cause I don’t… have enough knowledge to really analyze that… I think the system itself is a little bit messed up, but, backing it up would be difficult for me. So, I think I would probably point out… at the moment… sort of… the EU has been worried about Russia at the moment… you know there is a bit of conflict there… and the… sort of… a lot of western EU members are members of NATO, which gives them one set of treaty obligations… but they are also members of the EU, which gives them a different set of obligations, at different points… umm… so, for all European nations… have been trying to calm relations with Russia, but at the same time their all going to… their membership in NATO has had… you know… has played into that and made that difficult… so I think that… you know that is a big issue for Europe. I mean they have been talking about an EU military, which
then would create problems for NATO... and I can see the point in having an EU military kind of makes sense... well, it does makes sense especially if you want to create a more federal system. I think a military would be a really good way of... sort of... solidifying those ties, however, at the same time, you can’t really do that when you are also in an organization that only half your members are apart of... that has other military requirements. I think its... umm... its one of these ideas that’s... you know... [inaudible] let’s take another step toward this federal system in Europe... but its short sighted in that they have not really thought through... what’s going to happen with organizations like NATO.

PI: Yeah, hmm... how about the world?

Respondent 7: Big issues of the world?

PI: Yeah, two. [laughs]

Respondent 7: People are stupid. That’s a pretty big problem.

PI: Yeah, I think individuals are smart... but people...

Respondent 7: Yeah, people... realistically I would argue that the biggest problem we are facing is climate change.

PI: Ok.

Respondent 7: In that it has far more potential to damage... like... it has far more real potential to damage the world. You could say that... like... nuclear war could break out... it could... but we know that climate change is happening. The insane balance of evidence in favor of showing that it is happening... and the umm... and the negative impacts of that... are phenomenal.

PI: Have you seen that first hand?

Respondent 7: I have seen the summers get a bit warmer... and may be a little bit wetter... umm... cause I was... there have been some pretty severe flooding in the UK... the last four or five years... but I was in China for the most of it. I’ve also seen the pollution we create... and like... I’ve experienced pollution... that its one and a half times over the World Health Organization scare for this. So, there scales goes up to 1000 parts per million, and I’ve seen 853... and you can’t see across the street. It becomes... walking across the road becomes dangerous. Umm... so, I have seen that kind of thing... that you know... the kind of things that were are creating... and the change in temperature... but I view that that is a huge problem. Umm... especially as you look at major populations centers, especially in Asia tend to be within flood plain areas... Shanghai... if the water rises by a couple of meters is going to be submerged. I mean... we might create... you know giant bloody barriers to stop this from happening, but its still a problem. After living four years in China, I... umm... woke up every morning and one of the first things I did was go and have a shower and I would spend a good minute or two just cleaning out that [holds hands to nose] and coughing up mucus and things like that... just to clear

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my through… but…. I am not feeling it so much now, but it was still something that my body would produce for months after being in China.

PI: Yeah… I believe that…. And where were you in China?

Respondent 7: Two years in Beijing and two years in Shanghai.

PI: Yeah, wow. So, the two largest cities in China?... if you had to come up with another world issue, could you pin point… umm… a second?

Respondent 7: I mean… going back to peoples’ s stupidity I think… you know I mean… this entire concept of nations… I mean we talked about the EU… and Britain… one of the reasons that I am… sort of … quite… pro-EU because its bringing people together. Umm… I view… like… nations and country as a bit ridiculous in many ways. I recognize that the historical need to exist… or… the reasons for their existence historically… not necessarily had to have been there… but I view sort of moving towards… a global… a unified global… humanity is far better… people being fundamentally selfish… vying for them… and their own… as opposed to recognizing that we could work together and figure this stuff out… if we decide to stop… you know if we decide to level the playing field. Umm… which again ties back into my political thoughts on… you know… leveling things out… so there’s an even starting point… and then… you know… you are all taken care of… up to a certain extent… so.

PI: Ok, I am going to move on… how much time do you have?

Respondent 7: I mean… I can push it another few minutes… I think.

PI: Ok, I am going to read you some statements and I want to know if those states evoke either positive or negative feelings… and then I want to understand why.

Respondent 7: Sure.

PI: So, umm… the first statement is: Immigration of people from other EU member states. Does that statement evoke positive or negative feelings? And, why?

Respondent 7: Umm… that’s quite a vague thing to say. I am not really sure it’s a statement… you’re not really stating anything… you’re just saying a sentence in some ways…

PI: Yeah, immigration of people from other EU member states.

Respondent 7: I’m… I’m fairly positive about immigration.

PI: Ok.

Respondent 7: Umm… I view it as.. you know… I mean… we’re a multicultural society at this point… so, I think its important that we… uh… you know… continue immigration… freedom of
movement. Umm… you know… I say this as someone who has lived abroad and I like being able to do that, so I don’t see the point in… I mean admittedly that wasn’t in the EU.

PI: Ok.

Respondent 7: But I like being able to do that and I think other people should be open to the same thing, if you want to go and experience another country or work somewhere else, then… that should be an option for you.

PI: And how about that relating to the UK?… specifically?

Respondent 7: Like I said, I view it as a positive thing… umm… you know I think that if you come to a country you should pull your weight… as it were. But, I view that as the responsibility of British citizens as well. So, I think that… you know… people complain about… you know… people coming here and trying to get on the dole… or… you know… trying to take benefits or use the NHS… but… umm… from my understanding that’s pretty rare. Umm… whereas I think British people do it a lot more… a lot of British people… from my experience… can be a bit entitled. Like I said, I’m pro-care state… wealth-care and healthcare and education… but I think that you should also have responsibility to than contribute back into the society.

PI: Yeah… so, how about the statement: Immigration of people from outside the EU. Does that statement evoke positive or negative feelings? And, why? I know that you briefly touched on it…

Respondent 7: Yeah…

PI: …with visiting China.

Respondent 7: I mean… I… I… again I view that as positive… umm… you know… I… I… like learning about other cultures… from a personal point of view… having… umm… people who are natives or citizens of other countries… I’ve got no problem with that… again… on the same conditions…that they do the same… contribute to society. Umm… you know… I think that their can be issues with integration within society… not just contribution… cause you can pay your taxes… but you can also stay completely a part from other groups… but I think… at the same time… British people are not always that welcoming to foreign groups… uh… to put this in perspective… my father is from Burnley… in the north… which is got a very large Pakistani community, and its been that way for 40… 50 years… something like that. But its been massively increasing over the last sort of 20 or 30 years… which has led to a lot of racism. Burnley was the first place to elect a BNP member of parliament… which is the British National Party… assuming you know what I mean… but… umm… you know… part of the problem there… is the people there weren’t overly welcoming… but at the same time… those communities moved to the UK… were somewhat put in that area of Britain. Umm… and therefore just… you know… created their own communities… within the larger community. I think there needs to be a way of getting people to work together to join the community… but at the same time… that community that exists already needs to be willing to allow them to come in. When you are just anti-immigrant, and you refuse to allow people to come into your community… but then bitch about them not joining in… its ridiculous. Umm… so I think that immigration of people in general is… I don’t have a problem
with it… as long as the host country is… you know… you can’t complain about it if you aren’t willing to try… and also, those people then also try to get involved.

**PI:** Ok, so, you mentioned this briefly and I want to you to have the opportunity to delve into it a little bit… umm… so, this next statement is: Migrants contribution to the UK. Does that statement evoke positive or negative feelings? And, why?

**Respondent 7:** Positive. Umm… like I said, Britain is fairly multicultural… it is far more so in urban centers… umm… I mean… London is… you know… incredibly multicultural place…

**PI:** So, do you believe that migrants contribute to the UK?

**Respondent 7:** Yes, I do. I think there’s overall a net contribution… quite significantly net contribution [inaudible] what we have without them.

**PI:** So, and in what type of contributions… umm… are you think about when… when you are thinking… about that in a positive light?

**Respondent 7:** I mean there’s always economic contributions… people work, they pay taxes and therefore they draw general benefits from it… there’s also cultural contributions. Umm… you know… for example… I like Indian food… well, that wouldn’t be a thing… in the way that it is today without having Indian migrants… while what we call Indian food is very different… its still… you know its one of the many things that we get brought by different countries. Umm… I very much enjoy doing martial arts… I wouldn’t be doing any of that without… not necessarily immigrants… cause a lot of the British foundations are founded Brits that have traveled over there… but… that… it works [inaudible] allowing people from Britain to go over there to bring things back… I think… this then encourages people from that country to be willing to accept… the sort of… the same thing. I think that… you know… we’re all involved in what you might call the human experience… and therefore… you know… we just view it differently… we should be willing to listen to other people… and go down that route.

**PI:** So, this next statement is switching gears slightly… Globalization is an opportunity for economic growth. Does that statement evoke positive or negative feelings? And, why?

**Respondent 7:** Positive. Because, if you look at the history of the last hundred years, or two hundred years even… I mean… the world economy has gone through the roof because of globalization. It isn’t all that simple… but… you know… increasing trends in globalization have led to economic increase… even with major recessions… we recover and improve beyond where we were at the beginning. Umm… yeah… I mean… becoming more involved in other countries has its risks… but at the same time it has its rewards and I honestly believe that the rewards far outweigh the risks.

**PI:** Gotcha… how about: Global climate change is a problem. Does that statement evoke either positive or negative feelings? And, why?
Respondent 7: Massive problem... so, obviously that... in a sense that I agree with that statement... it evokes negative emotions because... you know... it’s a negative thing. I said before... you know in the first half of the interview that I believe climate change is the biggest problem facing the world at the moment.

PI: Right... exactly...

Respondent 7: So, yeah... I think global climate change is the biggest problem we face... it’s a huge issue... because it can effect everyone.

PI: And, do you want to delve into why? And what be done... and whose job it is?

Respondent 7: Everyone... its quite simple... it effects everyone. Some countries are far more responsible for it. But, honestly at this point... passing blame around is just wasting time... its something we as a species have to accept and deal with... if we continue to pass the buck onto who’s done it... you know... who is increasingly responsible for it... I mean ... you know... the US at the moment produce an enormous amount of carbon dioxide... and you know... burning a lot of fossil fuels... but China is increasing... and their power sources tend to be a bit dirtier... and because it is still increasing... everyone is... sort of... like, ‘oh well, China aren’t doing anything about it.’ It honestly doesn’t matter... its everyone we’re in this together... its global... by its very nature... it is everyone’s problem. Unless you’re going to build a rocket and go and live on the moon... not the most practical thing to do.

PI: Ok, I am going to switch gears again. So, the statement: My voice counts in the UK. Does that statement evoke positive or negative feelings? And, why?

Respondent 7: Umm... I mean... given my my history with elections... I have never voted for a winning party... or anything... I voted to stay... we left. I voted... can’t remember in the last election what I voted at this point... it wasn’t Tories. Umm... I think I voted Green in the last election... just cause I think that... not that I necessarily want them in power... but we need that voice to be heard... so you kind of get the feeling that no, my voice doesn’t count... but at the same time...

PI: Cause a party you voted for didn’t get elected?

Respondent 7: Kind of... there is the side of this that... ok, everybody’s voice counts... one vote, one person... so on and so forth. Umm... the way our system is set up doesn’t quite work like that. You know its slightly closer than... for example... the American system... we are slightly closer to counting the individual votes... but it still doesn’t match up in that way. Umm... at the same time... I think my voice... not necessarily right now... but potentially as the ability to count a lot more than many other people’s just because I’m slightly more educated and could go into a field that gets more in certain ways.

PI: Sure.
Respondent 7: So, I do view that certain people have a lot more sway...you’re Rupert Murdoch... and you won a series of newspapers... then your voice is obviously quite important... cause you can get that out there.

PI: Ok... how about: The UK’s voice counts in the EU. Does that statement evoke positive or negative feelings? And, why?

Respondent 7: Umm... well, not any more.

[laughs]

Respondent 7: Umm... I mean... you know... I wish... I don’t know enough about the way that it works in that sense.

PI: Ok.

Respondent 7: But my understanding is... I mean... yes, it should be that... you know... it does count... to a certain extent. I guess we have an experience with things not going quite the way we want them to... so, you know... I mean... I think I mentioned before... I think that bureaucracy is a bit broken... and the way that the system works isn’t very good... but... I mean its improved things within Europe so, its an improvement over our previous system. So, yeah, I guess our voice may not always get what we want... but again we always view ourselves as country as being not part of Europe. I mean... we’re part of Europe but we’re sailing away from it... as it were. So, we’ve kind of got ourselves to blame in some ways. Umm...

PI: How about: My voice counts in the EU. Does that statement evoke positive or negative feelings? And, why?

Respondent 7: I mean... we’re looking at an organization that represents several hundred million people. So, yet, it counts for almost nothing... but it still counts that tiny little bit... although, now not at all... because we voted to leave. But if we were talking about before... yeah, I mean... actually... I don’t think I ever voted in the MEP elections. I’ve always lived abroad when like major elections have been going on... which, well, its not an excuse... its just a pain in the ass to... you know... certain folks you can about in the national elections... but...

PI: How about: Satisfied with the way democracy works in the UK. Does that statement evoke positive or negative feelings? And, why?

[laughs]

Respondent 7: The last six months have made me seriously question the validity of democracy as a system... just cause... just so many stupid things keep happening... but... I mean... looking at the best examples of various types of governments... dictators are by far the most effective... by far. Umm... but the problem with it... you might have one or two good rulers... but you’ll often end up with a complete twat. So, looking at... umm... there’s Akbar the Great of India... then his son... were two fantastic rulers... you know... historically have done... did a lot
of open minded multicultural stuff… in a period when… for example… when Europe was just burning its self to the ground. But then his grandson [inaudible] was like super hardcore. Umm… Muslim… banned things like music and dancing in his court. Umm… banned writing for pretty much anything. You know… that’s one of the issues… you’ve had a series of like… pretty decent rulers… very effective… especially for the time compared with other rulers world wide. But then you’ve got this one person who fucks the system so hard. So, I think democracy does offer you a more simple way of checking people like that… so, everyone is a bit worried about Donald Trump a little bit… umm… everyone’s… well, a lot of people are very concerned about Donald Trump. But in four years America has an opportunity to get rid of him… through a democratic system. So, I think in terms of the systems that we’ve got at the moment… its probably the best one.

PI: So, what about: Satisfied with the way democracy works in the EU. Does that statement evoke positive or negative feelings? And, why?

Respondent 7: Again, my understanding of the EU parliament…is a bit… its not as good as it should be… I some ways…

PI: That’s fine.

Respondent 7: Yeah… in some ways now it probably doesn’t matter anymore because we’re leaving… [laughs] but… I can’t remember if each country has the same number of MEPs… or if its done on size… of population… cause that makes a big difference. But yeah… that would effect my answer… as it were… but umm… so I think if we all have the same number of MEPs… that’s kind of… you know… a federal system… you know… similar to the congress in the US… where everyone… each state has the same number of congressmen or same number of senators… but… you know its its not proportionally representative of the European Union… whereas… if its done by population… it gives certain countries like Germany, the UK, and France a lot more MEPs than countries like Denmark. You know small countries would not be happy with proportional representation as they would be with… umm… I…I…don’t know wat you would call that actually… let’s say two MEPs to each country… but that would be disenfranchising a lot of people in the larger countries. So, I think democracy doesn’t quite work for the EU. But, I still view the EU as appositive thing to have and therefore… you know… a price worth paying.

PI: Alright… I am going to have you do some ranking. The idea is to rank these eight attributes of the EU, where one is the most positive and eight is the least positive.

Respondent 7: Its kind of complicated because some of them affect others… they’re all intertwined in some way… because they’re all part of a single population… but… most positive… so one yeah…

- The Free Movement of People, Goods, and services within the EU 1: I think number one then creates the others.
- Peace among the member state of the EU 2
- The Euro 6
- Student Exchange Programmes such as Erasmus 7
- The political and diplomatic influence of the EU in the rest of the world 5
- The economic power of the EU
- The level of social welfare (healthcare, education, pensions) in the EU
- The common agricultural policy

PI: Ok, next I am going to ask you some true and false questions. For Each of the following statements about the EU could you please tell me whether you think it is true or false?

- The EU currently consists of 28 member states? True
- The members of the European Parliament are directly elected by the citizens of each Member State? True
- Switzerland is a Member State of the EU? False

PI: Ok, last question… If you had the opportunity to vote again today, how would you vote? And, why?

Respondent 7: I would not have changed what I did… not at all. I still hold the views that I had back then. Umm… the only difference now is that I view the British population as whole as being a bit thicker than I thought.
Respondent 8

Age: 26

Gender: Female

Marital Status: Single

Occupation: Student

Major: Masters of Business Administration

Concentration: Marketing

Previous occupation: Private business owner

Do you own your own home or rent? Owns own home in London, Rents while abroad for school (US)

Household Income: Now, as a student: > £50,000

Are there any children in your household? N/A

Do you own your own business or farm? Not currently, but yes, in the past

In what type of community do you live? Suburban-ish

Community growing up? Urban

Highest level of education: Bachelor of Arts, Political Science, London School of Economics

Principle Investigator (PI): So, the big question… did you vote in the referendum held in the UK on the 23rd of June 2016? And how did you vote?

Respondent 8: I voted to ‘Remain.’

PI: And, why?

Respondent 8: Umm… I’m a Europhile… love the EU… umm… I think it adds a lot of value to consumers… umm… for example if you look at… umm… how our phone… like, mobile phone network providers have changed in the last few years… before if you were a Brit and you traveled… and you owned a Voda Phone… or whatever… and you traveled anywhere within the EU the roaming charges would be really high… umm… just because the phone companies can do that and consumers have very little option… umm, the… I think it was one of the EU institutions decided a few years ago that they were going to set a cap on that… and so that’s just one example to me… on how consumer shave benefited from being in the EU. Umm… I think it is an institution
that had maintained peace within the continent for like…since the 70s… umm… I think its an institution that adds a lot of value through free movement of labor and capital. I grew up in London, which, I know is not representative of the rest of my country… umm… you know very much… like New York is not representative of the US…but I grew up in a very multicultural society where my friends were from all over Europe… from all over the world. And, I really think I benefited from that as an individual and I think the EU as an organization advances… sort of… that multicultural piece. Umm… so that’s one reason I like it as well.

PI: And how did you come to understand about the EU’s place… sort of… in the world… and how it relates to you?

Respondent 8: So, my undergrad degree is in political science… so, umm… I spent a lot of time studying the EU… umm… studying the different institutions. I elected to take… umm… EU specific courses… umm… at university so I built my base understanding of the organization… or, the institution… umm… through my undergrad degree and then… umm… just continued interest through reading… umm… reading about it.

PI: Awesome. That’s great… I am going to switch gears completely on you right now and I want to talk about… umm…. or, at least ask questions about the way in which you obtain news and current events.

Respondent 8: Ok!

PI: And so, I have two focuses… I have… so, television broadcasting… I have newspapers… uh… do you care to talk about… or can you talk a little bit about how news and current events shape your view of the world and then what kind of publications you subscribe to… as an adult now, and then may be how your intake of news… and how… whether or not that was central to growing up…

Respondent 8: Yeah… ok, may be just working backwards…

PI: Yeah, I know that was a lot.

Respondent 8: Yeah… if I forget anything just feel free to let me know. Growing up it was central… umm… my father in particular, and my brother have always been very interested on current affairs so… umm… I would always get called downstairs at 7 pm to watch the 7 o’clock news on BBC… umm… My dad is also very interested in discussing current affairs and political events and umm… is the reason behind many of our most explosive arguments… umm… but its just always been something that… umm… as a family we’ve discussed and its been important… which is probably why I developed an interest in it and went onto study it for my undergrad degree. Umm… I say, up until I moved to the US… I obtained my news… I’d say mostly from the BBC. I read the economist as well, but umm… I would use BBC iPlayer to… umm… watch the 10 pm news… in the morning… from the night before. And then I would watch the 7 pm news if I was at home and I could catch it. Umm… when I moved to the US I realized the BBC iPlayer doesn’t work here… umm… and I don’t like any of the US publications much… I don’t like CNN… I don’t like… definitely don’t like Fox… umm [laughs]. So, my intake of news shifted away from
watching television news to… umm… mostly reading the Economist… but obviously that’s not as current as say… BBC. I read BBC’s articles… their website as well to get my current news. Umm… I read the Spectator… umm… the reason I like Economist and the Spectator is I think they are both very opinionated… umm… they don’t present the facts… I wouldn’t they are necessarily unbiased… but they are definitely pushing a particular opinion… So, they are not trying to be completely objective… which I like because I think it helps me shape my own opinion… whether its agreeing with the publication or completely disagreeing with what they’re saying.

PI: Has that changed over time… have you found yourself… sort of… changing news sources?

Respondent 8: Yeah… I would say when I was younger I would read… umm… more… this sounds a bit snobbish… but more tabloid type papers like the Evening Standard… I don’t know if you’ve got that… its free… so, I would read it on the tube or… and the BBC a lot. Umm… I used to read the financial times more… umm… because I was in the financial services industry, so, it was basically wat everyone read and had to read. Umm… but I would say that over the last two or three years I’ve shifted more to… more of the kind of… analysis type publications… things like the Economist… as I’ve said… and the Spectator.

PI: And, how long have you lived in the US?

Respondent 8: Coming up to two years. And, I moved in July 2015… and I am on a student visa.

PI: Ok, cool. So, just to get a sense of other television broadcasting and newspapers… so, you mentioned BBC… how about some others… may be?

Respondent 8: No, not really. Another way I consume news media is obviously through social media. So, if someone posts an article from the New York Times or Al Jazeera… and the headline interests me… then I will read it… but, that’s… those are not publications that I regularly subscribe to.

PI: Yeah, no worries… ok, I am going to switch gears one more time and then we will get into the substance of the interview. So, when people talk about politics they usually talk of the ‘left and of the ‘right.’ And so, I wanna gauge your placement on a spectrum. I have… and some people like to use this… so, its one to ten… and so, left being one and right being 10. And, if you don’t want to answer, or you don’t know… that’s fine too.

Respondent 8: I’d say I’m very centrist… I’d say slightly… I mean some issues… umm… it’s hard to say. If I had to choose a number I would say dead straight in the center. Umm… and that’s shifted… I used to be probably more like a seven… umm… in the last two or three years that’s shifted left… so I’d say… if I had to describe myself now… I’d probably say… I would probably say… ever so slightly center left leaning… so like a five maybe.

PI: Ok, did the BREXIT have anything to do with that change? I realize its only been… what… 8 months…
Respondent 8: Uh... no, no I don’t think so. Actually, more than anything it’s... umm... being in the US that’s may be triggered that change. Umm... comparing... having spent most of my life in the UK that’s the way things... institutions and the welfare state is built in the UK... is the norm for me and then coming here where I feel... there’s much less welfare... there’s no universal healthcare system... umm... universities are typically very expensive for people. Umm... I’ve found myself realizing the value in the state in providing certain goods to people. So, I think may be being here and being exposed to a different way of... umm... handling political affairs has softened me ever so slightly to the left.

PI: So, if you had to... can you identify either a political party or even a political elite figure that... sort of... resonates with you... and since you have lived in the US for a couple years... you can pick either British or US... if that helps.

Respondent 8: Yeah... umm... the UK is a tough one because it’s changed so much. Umm... I will say I do like our prime minister, Theresa May. I think... I have always voted conservative... almost always voted for the conservative party. Umm... I mean... I am sure you know this... conservative in the UK means something completely different than conservative in the US. Umm... I like Theresa May because... I mean I don’t like the way she’s handled BREXIT... but aside from that... Theresa May... you know... pre-BREXIT... or around when she got elected. I liked her because... umm... I think she... she is a... umm... center right leader... umm... who I think has a strong business understanding but she’s also go that... sort of... some of her policies are slightly left-ish... umm... she’s trying to... umm... I don’t know how to explain it... umm... she uses a term... I forget what the term is... like one... not one nation, but... something... anyway... I like her... I like her views... I like Obama. Umm... I don’t think he was the most effective president... but, I... umm... I really like the fact that he... umm... was trying to build... umm... universal healthcare system. Umm... I think... I think access to high quality... umm... healthcare should be a fundamental human right in a wealthy country and I think he was... he’s the only president... if only who was making a step toward actually changing that.

PI: Ok, cool... that’s great. Ok, next, I am going to ask you a question about your identity. So, when I ask you do you see yourself as... umm... and you said you lived in London...

Respondent 8: Yeah, 20 years.

PI: So, do you see yourself as English, British... do you view yourself as European and British... may be European only... or a combination... how would you categorize your identity?

Respondent 8: I would say British.

PI: What about the feeling of European?

Respondent 8: That’s a hard one... umm... I feel proud to be apart of Europe... umm... but... umm... if someone asked me where I’m from I would not say European as the first... umm... first adjective... simply because its so vast.
PI: Sure, ok. Umm… so, I have noticed in previous interviews that it has depended one who is asking the question. So, if someone was British and asked you the same question… what would you say?

Respondent 8: Yeah, it depends on how the conversation goes… so, if they say, ‘umm… where are you from… like, wat are you?’ And I said, ‘British.’ And they left it at that… then fine… no problem. If they said, ‘no, no, actually, but really… what are you?’ I’d be like, ‘I’m British.’ Cause what they are basically trying to find where I am from ethnically. Umm… which is India. And I… sorry… I should have said this earlier… I do identify as an Indian. Umm…

PI: Sure, that’s fine. That’s great.

Respondent 8: Umm… but, it isn’t somewhere I have ever lived. I have never been educated there. I haven’t spent more than like… I go once a year… but, I don’t spend more than two weeks there. So,… umm… but, Brits… people do try and find out where I am… beyond the British… umm… label. But if they ask where I am from… where in Britain… then, that’s fine.

PI: So, what if I was a European and I was asking that same question?

Respondent 8: Like, where are you from… what are you?

PI: Yeah…

Respondent 8: British.

PI: Ok, cool. Great…

Respondent 8: Or, I would say I am from London.

PI: Ok…

Respondent 8: I have a very strong London identity. Even here when people ask me what I am… I say… I often say, ‘I am from London.’

PI: Ok, that’s great… I am going to move on and get into the nitty-gritty of the interview. So, I would like to know what the two most important issues you and your family is facing at the moment? And, why? I have some examples here if you can’t think of your own [shows Respondent the interview question].

Respondent 8: For me personally, right now… I’d say immigration. Umm… and that’s a personal question… well, personal concern because I’m trying to… umm… stay in the US… beyond graduation. So, the question of, ‘will I get the visa in the lottery… and and how will that work over the next two years? How’s that going to change under your new president, and so on…?’ So, that’s one. Otherwise, I’d say in the UK… my thoughts are definitely BREXIT… where its going to go. Umm… and how that will affect… investments… like personal investments… how that will affect the wider business landscape.
**PI:** Ok, ok great… so, what do you think the two most important issues the UK is facing at the moment? And, why?

**Respondent 8:** Definitely, BREXIT… definitely the question of… umm… how the negotiations will pan out, and… umm… what it means for businesses in the UK… umm… and for non-British residents in the UK. Umm… I think the… I mean tied in with that is immigration… like, Europe is having a immigrant crisis. Umm… but I don’t want to keep saying BREXIT BREXIT BREXIT… cause that’s boring for you…

**PI:** No, that’s fine… I… Just whatever you think… to be frank with you… it is your opinions and perspectives… my follow-up question was going to be… while being a Londoner, from London, that obviously affects you in a really significant way because it’s the financial hub… of the UK… umm… so, that obviously shapes the way you look at things too…

**Respondent 8:** Yeah… yeah… I think article 50 is going to be triggered in the next three months… I really do… umm… if it isn’t done by May… I would be surprised… May or June… umm… so, the extent to which… like, the UK has to sit and create trade deals with countries all around the world… hasn’t quite sunk in for me… or… I think anyone really… how… how that’s going to pan out… umm… whether the consumers are going to see… like, a noticeable increase in the price of imported goods because we no longer benefit from the free trade area… umm… I don’t know.

**PI:** What other things aside from BREXIT… you recently mentioned immigration as a… sort of… an issue but… is that… your concern… is that as it relates to BREXIT or do you genuinely believe people are… sort of… umm… the dynamic has changed because there are vast people moving… not only legal… illegal… but also the refugee crisis… what is your perspective?

**Respondent 8:** Yeah… yeah… I think its definitely an area of concern. Umm… I think its… like… uh… one of the most honorable things I’ve seen in the last year is Angela Merkel’s decision to open Germany’s borders to a certain extent to… umm… Syrian refugees… you know… I think… I think we all strong ties to our country and there’s a sense of shared identity, but, I think ultimately… beyond being British… beyond being a Londoner… beyond being an American… whatever… we are all humans… and, I think countries like Britain and like the US… and like Germany have a… like, a duty to take in refugees where… like, they are seeking asylum. And, that’s that’s something… umm… could have been handled better in the UK. And its something that BREXIT, or no BREXIT…its something the will have to deal with for the next few years.

**PI:** Yeah… and so, that actually leads us right into the two most important issues that the EU is facing at the moment. So, what about areas that the EU… is sort of… either floundering or… what do you think?

**Respondent 8:** Yeah… number one is definitely the rise of national… like a nationalist sentiment… in a lot of western Europe. Its not just the UK and its not just… it’s the Netherlands… its France… its… umm… Italy to a certain extent… Hungary. Umm… you know… I think if enough countries start to have enough people… umm… wanting to be more insular and and…
um... nativist... then, I think that just spells the complete unraveling of the European project. Umm... if... if... you have three or four large companies that pull out... the organization... the institution is... is no more... it's not going to exist... or its not going to generate a tenth of the value that it does today. Umm... so, I think for EU leaders; their job it to try and make the whole organization stays together and... it might... umm... it might be an incentive for them to try and punish the UK... umm... with punitive trade deals... because they left to prevent that... but... the problem is... if you start to do that and other countries start to leave... then you’ll become more desperate... And then you’ll start to punish the people more and then the... I think the whole thing will self-implode. Umm... so that’s definitely something... and then I think... umm... the second piece is... tied back to the whole refugee crisis... I think terrorism... umm... is a big concern. Umm... like, for example Turkey... I know turkey is not part of the EU... but its kind of part of Europe, as a continent. And, umm... it shares borders with... umm... who does Turkey share a border with... I don’t know... I should know who Turkey shares a border with.

PI: Oh, umm... Syria.

Respondent 8: Yeah, I know... but I mean... on the European side... Doesn’t it share a border with any part of Greece... I don’t know... yeah...

PI: [head nods] Greece... Bulgaria.

Respondent 8: Umm... and, so, I just... I think that’s a concern.

PI: Do you think... umm... BREXIT... well, looking at the EU... do you think that BREXIT is going to be a hurdle for the European Union? So, may be not BREXIT per se but the UK no longer being a member country.

Respondent 8: Huge... yeah... I think so. I mean... the UK was not a founding member, but, the UK has been a member for a long long time... its always been a relatively dominant force within the organization. It’s a net contributor to the budget. Umm... I think a lot of the value for smaller countries is that Britain is within the trading bloc. Umm... I mean... if you look at the flow of migration within the body, there has been a very large flow to the UK. Brits really haven’t got... there are a lot of Polish people in the UK... there are very few British people in Poland... that’s the direction. So, the appeal for many countries is access to wealthier countries like the UK. Umm... I think... I think it will be... a big issue for the bloc to overcome and I so think... its setting a precedent. For a country to just leave... yeah, I think it is setting a precedent because now citizens in the Netherlands... in... umm... in France... will look to the UK and say, ‘ok, they’ve left... the UK is still flourishing... or not... but... you know... they have left and they now have sovereign power... so why can’t we do that?’ Previously it was unheard of... like, no one just left the EU... its never happened before... umm... now if it does happen... I think it could set a domino effect.

PI: What about the precedent for Scotland again?

Respondent 8: Yeah, yeah... umm... I mean... I wouldn’t want Scotland to leave but I would understand it... I mean... most... the majority Scottish people voted to stay... umm... in the EU...
just because England… the majority of England voted to leave… like, does that mean that Scotland… which really is its own country. Umm… does that mean they really get no say as a nation? Like, I wouldn’t blame the country if they wanted to separate… I mean… I think it would be stupid… because I think much like, how the UK derives a lot of benefit from being in the EU… I think Scotland derives a lot of benefit from being in the UK. So… umm… I think it would be daft thing to do… you know… when a lot of people are making these decisions, its very emotional and you don’t always think… like… the reason people voted to leave the EU was not based on economics… it was an emotional decision… it was a protest against… like, open borders… umm… and it wasn’t a rational economic calculation… umm… cause if it was… you would never vote to leave.

PI: Ok… so, what about the world? What are the two most important issues the world is facing at the moment? And, why?

Respondent 8: Umm… I think Islamophobia is a huge issue. Umm… may be its on my mind because its been so relevant this week in the US. But, I think… umm… this constant push back against the Islamic faith in… across western Europe… across… like… even India… yeah, umm… and in the US. I think it’s a concern. Umm… I think… when you are looking at how… like, terror… like, why terrorists are doing what their doing… its… I don’t think the reaction that the west has had… like, is going to allay their concerns… I think its going to make it worse. Something that really shocked me last summer was the… umm… was it in Nice? Where the two policeman forced a woman to remove her hijab or her burqa on the beach. Umm.. yeah… and I thought that was absolutely shocking. I think when our… I am now starting to question… umm… fundamental rights that I think we took for granted before and whether the government… the state can start to encroach on it. Umm… a friend said to me yesterday… umm… I am very political and I post a lot about politics on Facebook… on social media and a friend said to me yesterday, ‘you know I heard the H-1B visa application may now include some sort of social media screen to check for your political views.’ He was kind of hinting that I should may be go through my Facebook and may be delete things that are outspoken against Donald Trump and I said to him, ‘if that’s a reason I don’t get the visa then I am quite happy to not have the visa… cause that is fundamental… if I don’t get a visa because I have posted some articles about my displeasure with a political leader then… that to me is a fundamental curbing of… umm… freedom of speech. Yeah… and they would never say, ‘oh, you’re politically active.’ But, if that is a factor then… umm… so that’s something that worries me. I mean… if you look at civil liberalities… you know… there was the Nice thing… and…like, I am wondering what else could go…

PI: If you had to think of another issues the world is facing… what would it be?

Respondent 8: Yeah… I am trying to choose which one…

PI: Oh, yeah, ok.

Respondent 8: Umm… I definitely think climate change is an issue.

PI: Ok.
Respondent 8: Umm… I think… and I am certainly not the best at doing things like recycling and doing my bot to look after the planet… but I think… if you think bigger and you think about… like… umm… geopolitics between large nations… I just don’t think we’ve seen any… umm… any significant… umm… changes in the way country are emitting gasses and things like that… that would actually… umm… reduce the issue of climate change. Umm… I don’t have a solution… I think all of these accords… like the Paris accords… whatever… all these different… umm… attempts to reduce climate change and the impact we are having on the world aren’t really yielding… umm… any benefits… and then like… I mean again… coming back to Trump… I… you know… he doesn’t… he doesn’t even believe climate change is a real thing. And, he wants to… doesn’t he want to scrap the Paris accord or something? He wanted to basically pull out. So, I think where may be climate change was not a worrying issue for me five years ago…seven years ago… it certainly is now. Umm… and I just don’t know the way… and and… I am taking… like, I am taking a game theory class right now. And… umm… climate change… it can literally… it’s a prisoner’s dilemma… not prisoner’s dilemma… but its another kind of game theory game where.

PI: Collective action issues…

Respondent 8: Exactly! Exactly… but you benefit if everyone else does it and you don’t… but if everyone doesn’t do it then… everyone loses… and I just think that that is the way its going to go. Umm… you know its going to be someone sitting across from… its going to be the US sitting across the table from China saying, ‘yeah, let’s reduce emissions by 2020 or 2050 or whatever.’ And its like, ‘you go first.’ ‘No, you go first.’ You know its just not going to happen.

PI: Ok… yeah. So, we are almost done… I promise. I am going to make a statement and I want to know if that statement evokes either positive or negative feelings. And the, I want to know why. So, the first statement is: Immigration of people from other EU member states. Does that statement evoke either positive or negative feelings? And, why?

Respondent 8: For me… positive… as I touched on earlier… umm… I think where I am from and the way I have grown up… I have benefitted from exposure to different cultures and different languages and different people… different backgrounds… and I think that comes from immigration.

PI: How about the statement: Immigration of people from outside the EU. Does that statement evoke either positive or negative feelings? And, why?

Respondent 8: Yeah, same, positive.

PI: And why is that… pretty similar to the first statement?

Respondent 8: Yeah, similar… reasons. Umm… my parents were immigrants from India. Umm… they were very young. I think my dad moved to the UK when he was like seven or eight. Umm… but… they were both… neither of them were born in the UK. So, that would make me… technically… a first generation immigrant. Umm… so, I very much value the ability to…umm… move across borders.
**PI:** Ok. How about the statement: Migrants contribution to the UK. Does that statement evoke either positive or negative feelings? And, why?

**Respondent 8:** Very positive… umm… I’m utterly convinced that the NHS would not be able to exist without immigrants. Like, nurses… I don’t know the statistic… but nurses are predominantly from outside the UK… but inside the EU.

**PI:** Ok. How about the statement: Globalization is an opportunity for economic growth. Does that statement evoke positive or negative feelings? And, why?

**Respondent 8:** Very positive. I am a very firm believer in globalization. I think…. whilst there are inequalities… that come from globalization… there are always winners and losers… umm… I think the world has seen an increase in wealth that’s unlike any other period of history. And, I think that can be attributed in part to increased trade.

**PI:** So, you equate globalization to trade?

**Respondent 8:** Yeah… trade…. and movement of people and capital.

**PI:** Umm… how about the statement: Global climate change is a problem. I know you briefly touched on it… but…

**Respondent 8:** Yeah.

**PI:** Do you care to delve into it a little more?

**Respondent 8:** Umm… yeah… I think humans can’t quite possibly understand the extent of the damage that we’re inflicting on the earth and its never going to affect us in our own lifetimes. Umm… probably… but, it will definitely affect our children and our children’s children and blah, blah, blah… umm… and I think if you look at cities like Beijing and…. Even like, London… London’s not know to be as bad as … you know… other cities as far as pollution and smog goes, but, I think two or three weeks ago… a month or something there was a pollution alert in London. And, its just… they equate it to smoking… in China they equate some cities to smoking 10 cigarettes a day or something like that. That is worrying! Umm… and I think.. you know… I think it is a concern.

**PI:** Ok. How about the statement: My voice counts in the UK. Does that statement evoke positive or negative feelings? And, why?

**Respondent 8:** Umm… I agree with that.

**PI:** You do?

**Respondent 8:** Yeah… umm… I am very fortunate to come from a democracy where I think there are channels… through which I can express my views… have my views heard… and a small way… impact the political system. Through voting… through contacting my MP and so forth.
PI: So, you are pretty happy with…

Respondent 8: Yeah. Yeah.

PI: Ok. How about my voice counts in the EU. Does that statement evoke either positive or negative feelings? And, why?

Respondent 8: Umm… a little bit… less so than the UK… umm… but, again I feel that there are channels… umm… through which I can access the EU. Umm… we have MEPs. Umm… the European Parliament is directly elected. I do vote in European elections… so, I do feel like I can impact it. But, less so than the UK.

PI: Ok. How about the statement: Satisfied with the way democracy works in the UK. Does that statement evoke either positive or negative feelings? And, why?

Respondent 8: Yeah… yeah. Yeah… umm… I think BREXIT is terrible… is a bad idea… but, ultimately… it is… umm… the will of the people. Umm… and I think that is the biggest testament to the fact that democracy is doing what it is supposed to be doing. Umm… whether I want it to be doing what I want it to be doing… is a separate topic.

PI: Ok. How about: Satisfied with the way democracy works in the EU. Does that statement evoke either positive or negative feeling? And, why?

Respondent 8: Umm… less so… umm… its not really a democracy… I think its more of a technocracy… if that’s the right word. Umm… I don’t think that’s necessarily a bad thing… I’ve done a lot of reading on whether the EU has a democratic deficit, or not. Whether it does or not… doesn’t really bother me… cause I don’t think the EU has to necessarily be democratic. I see it primarily as a regulatory body… most of the laws it passes… are in effect regulation. Like I said… the phone network thing… that’s regulation. That’s the EU saying… like, phone companies can’t charge [inaudible] amounts. That to me is regulating. Umm… so, I don’t think it necessarily needs to be democratic in the way we see countries being democratic. Umm… but the European Parliament is directly elected. And, ultimately… like, you might need to remind me… but the council is made up of… like, heads of state? Is that right… and the commission is made up of people chosen by the head of state?

PI: Yeah.

Respondent 8: So, then… like, ultimately… all the main positions… decision makers… there are degrees of separation… but if I elect someone who then elects someone who then elects someone else… there is a link there… so, I don’t think it’s a dictatorship in anyway.

PI: Right, absolutely. Ok! So, I have three more questions… this next question asks you to rank attributes of the EU. Where one is most positive and eight is least positive [shows Respondent interview question].
The Free Movement of People, Goods, and services within the EU
Peace among the member state of the EU
The Euro
Student Exchange Programmes such as Erasmus
The political and diplomatic influence of the EU in the rest of the world
The economic power of the EU
The level of social welfare (healthcare, education, pensions) in the EU
The common agricultural policy

PI: So, this next question is a set of three true or false questions. For each of the following statements about the EU could you please tell me whether you think it is true or false?

- The EU currently consists of 28 member states? True
- The members of the European Parliament are directly elected by the citizens of each Member State? True
- Switzerland is a Member State of the EU? False

PI: Ok, last question! If you had the opportunity to vote again today, how would you vote? And, why? Would you vote any differently?

Respondent 8: Umm… no… what I would do… in hind sight… I mean… I couldn’t cause I was working… here, but, I wouldn’t change my vote… I would go out and campaign… in areas where I think people did vote to leave… umm… cause I think that was done on a lot of misunderstood sentiments… and, so, I would have… I should have made more effort to campaign.
Respondent 9

Age: 27

Gender: Male

Marital Status: Single

Occupation: Student

Major: International Relations

Previous occupation: English language teacher

Do you own your own home or rent? Rent, student accommodation

Household Income (parents): £70,000

Are there any children in your household? N/A

Do you own your own business or farm? No

In what type of community do you live? Urban

Community growing up? Rural

Highest level of education: Bachelor in Music and Math

Principle Investigator (PI): So, first did you vote in the referendum held in the UK on the 23rd of June 2016? And how did you vote?

Respondent 9: Yes, I voted to ‘Remain.’

PI: If you were to pinpoint a couple of reasons… maybe one or two reasons why you voted to ‘Remain,’ can you talk to me about those reasons?

Respondent 9: Umm… yeah, without going into specifics about the EU really… it’s just that idea… that like, countries working together is better than countries working alone… so that was broadly… that sort of like, I guess… kind of liberal idea… but yeah… just the idea that you’re better off working together… would probably be the most simple way to summarize.

PI: Ok. Umm… I guess I will switch gears to the next question. We will get into more specifics, too, as the interview progresses. I’d like to talk about the way you obtain your news on current events and how you… umm… basically how your understanding of the world is shaped through news. And so, the first question pertaining to that is, what are some of the news media outlets that you like to get your news from and then… through what mediums… so like, hardcopy or like,
online. Maybe beginning with television broadcasting… can you name some of the broadcasting networks, where you receive your news?

**Respondent 9:** Umm… yeah… so, there is BBC… umm… in terms of TV… I’d say in terms of news… BBC is is the main one I like… occasionally, like, other channels… ITV, Channel 4 news… but in terms of broadcasting and things like that. The fact that I was living in China… and also, the internet is the main way that I get my news. You could also add in there CCTV news, which is a Chinese TV channel… but, umm… I wouldn’t say I paid that much attention to that… so, mostly online. Umm… so in terms of newspapers and things like that… obviously I wasn’t buying physical newspapers really… but, I would say… as a self-identifying kind of lefty… like the Guardian… yeah, and I do the Daily Telegraph… as a conservative newspaper its probably one of the better ones. I do look at… Daily Mail is good for a bit of a laugh… umm… the tabloids… I don’t… I would rarely go to a tabloid website… like the Sun… or the Daily Mirror.. if there is a newspaper there I might pick it up or whatever. Actually, CNN and Fox and Al Jazeera… I mean with YouTube and everything like that… I do… I am exposed to that. Particularly, CNN and Fox… I sort of pay attention to.

**PI:** Ok, cool… and so… thinking about growing up and how the news played into like, you know… your growing as a person… I wanna understand what news and current events meant for like, the family… did that play a role… can you talk a little bit about what your experience with news media and how your family either formed or didn’t form around it?

**Respondent 9:** Hmm… umm… yeah, I guess even going back to when I was very young I remember like, for example… my grandparents… my granddad would always watch the 10 o’clock news and go to bed. Umm… my parents… I would… most days they would watch like, the BBC news at 10 or something like that. Umm… but… I mean… like, in terms of discussions and things like that it was always fairly neutral… there wasn’t like a real political edge to any of my family… but in terms of the news… we always discussed what was on… or, like, had… I’ve got memories of like, significant events… 9-11, even like, Princess Diana dying and that sort of thing… yeah… memories of when I was young.

**PI:** Oh, wow that’s cool that you remember that! Ok, I am going to move on…

**Respondent 9:** Ok.

**PI:** So, you know how we talk about, of the ‘left and of the ‘right’ in terms of like… umm… politics? I have a spectrum [shows Respondent the interview question] here, and I want to understand where you would place yourself on this ‘left’ ‘right’ spectrum. So, one most people think of… in terms of communism and 10 people view as fascist. But, you also have the option to say that you don’t know, or, you can abstain from answering altogether. So, if you were to place yourself on this ‘left’ – ‘right’ spectrum… where would you place yourself? And, why is that the case?

**Respondent 9:** Hmm… so, I mentioned before that I am a bit of a lefty, but, like… in some sense my perceptions are always kind of… like… my opinions always change… and things like that… but, I would say… I would put me as… like, a three at the moment.
PI: Ok, great… and so, you say you are more of a lefty… so, what… umm… aspects of that really resonate for you… and what about that sort of… place you there? Yeah, sorry, I now that was a lot.

Respondent 9: Yeah, so that’s obviously a complex issue… like… umm… I guess issues with taxation… I believe in high tax and believe that… like, poor people are not poor because… they… in general… its not because they don’t want to work… or, don’t work. I feel like… there has to be support for the most vulnerable in society… umm… but, yeah… in terms of… like, why I wouldn’t put myself further to the left… and why to a certain extent my opinions are changing… is that I do kind of… believe in capitalism, in that sort of sense… like umm… just sort of believe that people need the support to enable them to succeed… so… yeah.

PI: Ok, so, if you had to say… and I know this might be hard… but, if you were to talk about a personality… or like a person that was a political elite whose platform really resonated for you… umm… who would that be? Or, maybe it could be a political party? Who do you associate with your political leanings? And, this is more along the lines of… who or what party resonates with you?

Respondent 9: Hmm… I can talk about a few people… for example, when… I remember when I was a student the first time around… there was the Liberal Democrat party… who did well… I think in the… what election was that? 2009? Anyway, some time around then, I think. And, you had Nick Clegg, as the leader who promised, for example, to do away with tuition fees for university, and obviously as a student at that time… that sort of resonated. But, their quite a sort of like, middle ground party… fairly center-leftish kind of party. I did actually join the Labour party, after that… and you had the Liberal Democrat/Conservative coalition, which, did not sit well with a lot of… certain people at that time. So, that’s when I kind of moved more toward the Labour party, but… in terms of a leader or a figure… I have a lot of respect for like Tony Blair… but, Iraq… kind of ruins that. Umm… that that tarnishes his reputation… so, his… kind of… like… New Labour… center-left kind of politician… I did kind of respect it.

PI: Ok, I am going to switch gears again… and I want to understand how you identify… umm… yourself. As… umm… we will call it nationality… So, when I ask you…how do you see yourself… do you see yourself as English, Scottish… Welsh… or do you see yourself as British… or do you see yourself as European… or British and European? How do you identify?

Respondent 9: I would probably say, I’m British to start with. But, then… that encompasses many things… there’s like… like, to some extent you are a European… I’d say… not so much… I would say European isn’t a huge part of my identity. But, like… umm… at certain times… I am happy to be English… in that like, sporting events… or something that like, a bit more light-hearted… may be. I am perfectly happy to be English… but I that normal sort of… ‘where are you from? Or, what’s your nationality?’ British is probably my identity.

PI: Ok, this next question concerns… issues. So, first… what are the two most important issues your family is facing at the moment? And, why? I also have a list of a bunch of factors… but you can say other things to come to mind too [shows Respondent the interview question].

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**Respondent 9:** Definitely the economic situation.

**PI:** Ok…

**Respondent 9:** Umm… and… otherwise… I guess… I mean talking personally… saying me, and my sister and those kinds of things?

**PI:** Yeah, absolutely…

**Respondent 9:** Housing would be an issue… so, let’s say economic situation and housing.

**PI:** Do you want to talk a little bit about why those things resonate with you… in terms of issues for your family?

**Respondent 9:** So, like the economic situation… it effects my family in a few ways… like, obviously… we can talk about the job situation… and in that case… my sister is fairly lucky, she seems fairly secure in her job… but, like, for me… someone looking to change my job… for example, then if the economy is not doing so well, and the job opportunities aren’t there, then that could be a problem. Also, as my… mum… works in the public sector… or she has until recently… umm… works as a school teacher… umm… she works particularly as a special needs school teacher… so, the funding has not been there. Largely… or, at least the government… what they say is because of the economic situation and they can’t afford to spend and… umm… money on such… yeah… something on like special needs education… which is not necessarily…

**PI:** Frivolous things… sorry… that was a little cynical of me.

**Respondent 9:** But… yeah, that’s kind of affected us in that sense. Umm… housing is just like… I think housing is a huge problem in the UK… and it kind of effects all of us… like, I feel… me… even my sister who’s doing pretty well… lives in London… decent salary… but the idea of buying your own house is still fairly unrealistic at a young age… like you have to wait.

**PI:** Ok, let’s talk about the UK. Let’s bring it out to the UK. What are the two most important issues the UK is facing at the moment? And, why?

**Respondent 9:** So, I think some of these tie into each other… don’t they [pointing to the list on the interview question]? I mean… economic situation, pensions, government debt… even the education system to a certain extent. So, I would say… the most important issue… is the economic situation because it ties in with a lot of these other ones… but the scapegoat for a lot of people is the issue of immigration… which is an issue, but, has been blown out of proportion.

**PI:** But, do you think its an issue for the UK?

**Respondent 9:** Umm… in some ways, yes, but… not in… not in the same way it is portrayed by UKIP or those kind of like…
PI: Gotcha… and what is another issue the UK is facing at the moment?

Respondent 9: Yeah, I mean… you can take unemployment… but the type of employment that is available… cause like, the government today might say that employment has improved by what ever percentage… or, however they want to measure it… but, the type of employment that’s available… things still… I think… like, Zero-hours contracts are still quite a big thing… there’s… the job that people would necessarily aspire to… or, particularly, want… may be don’t exist… in the same way that they have done before. So, unemployment is still an issue… yeah.

PI: Ok, so, how about the two most important issues the EU is facing at the moment?

Respondent 9: Umm… I think the economic situation… in terms of… like, we saw Greece and Spain… and a few countries that were seen as dragging down some other nations in Europe. Like, that… certainly in the British perspective… the fact that we didn’t take the Euro… was perceived as, ‘at least we didn’t do that.’ And then you look on the news and you see… like, ‘ok, Germany has to deal with this and all these other wealthier European countries has to deal with the problems of countries like Greece… and umm… yeah… I guess… specifically, Greece… but, Spain as well.

PI: Ok… Just out of curiosity how do you think the UK fairs in the EU and on the international stage? As a large… broker… if you want to call it that.

Respondent 9: Yeah… its something that the UK has had to deal with in a lot of… like… you can see it in the referendum result that like a lot of older people who were used to the UK being a power or… uh… at least a big influence in the world. For me… growing up… I would say… always the US has been there… like… the ones… I grew up…

PI: I noticed British schools only want to talk about the US… I came to the UK so you guys could talk about Britain.

Respondent 9: Yeah… but… there was no sense of agency, I guess… when I was growing up it wasn’t like… ‘ok, the UK’s going to decide to go to war with this country… or, the UK is going to dictate what’s going on on the international stage.’ I think its just been behind the US… since… sort of… I guess… Clinton… particularly, Bush. Like, Bush and Blair… is the image for me… so, the dynamic has changed. Yeah, no… so in terms of the EU… I don’t know exactly… because I think the perception from the UK side is there is never really been 100 percent committed to the EU project. And, I guess that’s reciprocated on both sides… in terms of… like, they have never quite felt that the UK by not being part of… like, what was it… Schengen Agreement and the Euro… not really accepting.

PI: You are saying… they thought the UK was committed… but not really?

Respondent 9: Yeah… they wanted aspects of it.

PI: So, let’s talk about the two most important issues the world is facing at the moment. What are they, you think? And, why?
Respondent 9: Yeah... so, that’s very different... yeah....umm... So, actually... this is where you get clarity in terms of the environment... umm... you don’t really have it on there [refers the interview question]... I would just put... like

PI: No, that’s fine... bring in your own ideas.

Respondent 9: International security... in terms of nuclear weapons... the prospect of nuclear war... and the environment ties in... like, the environment, you could put together with... uhh... immigration for example... is going to cause a huge problem. Yeah, so, I would say... international security in general... nuclear weapons and that sort of thing, and the environment.

PI: Yeah, that’s interesting... you know there is an American economist... Jeffery Sachs, who teaches at Columbia University, he argues that climate change is effecting international security. The Middle east a historically warmer climate... climate change is exacerbating the climate there and causing international security issues. That’s interesting that you bring that up... I have not heard any other person bring that idea up... inside of this study and in my life... so that’s cool to hear.

Respondent 9: Yeah, no... I just think that like, the issues... when you actually take yourself outside of the concept of states and... and what your situation is, personally... then it does change... quite a lot. If you look at the world objectively.

PI: Ok, I am going to move onto the next question. We are almost done... I am going to make a series of statements. I want to know whether the statement evokes either positive or negative feelings. And, why? So, first one: Immigration of people from other EU member states. Does that statement evoke either positive or negative feelings? And, why?

Respondent 9: Positive in the sense... I know some people... I have taught some people who are from European member states who live in the UK. And, I like them. Umm... and, I would say largely positive.

PI: Ok, the next statement is: Immigration of people from outside the EU. Does that statement evoke either positive or negative feelings? And, why?

Respondent 9: Probably more positive... in the argument... that like, the... for example, the NHS relies a lot upon people from the Philippines, Doctors from India, Pakistan, Bangladesh... that sort of... south Asia area. Yeah, so, from what I understand... its positive thing.

PI: Ok, how about the statement: Migrants contribution to the UK. Does that statement evoke either positive or negative feelings? And, why?

Respondent 9: Again, it depends... umm... yeah, so, obviously... migrants that I just talked about... people who we don’t have the skill set in the UK or you come and genuinely contribute something to our society... that generally positive. Whether, all the migrants that come across... like whether it be from the EU... or whether from elsewhere... I don’t believe that they all contribute... but... yeah.
**PI:** How about: Globalization is an opportunity for economic growth. Does that statement evoke either positive or negative feelings? And, why?

**Respondent 9:** Hmm… haha… yeah, I’d say… probably, more negative.

**PI:** And, how come?

**Respondent 9:** Well, just in the way that I… let’s go back towards my family, for example. My Granddad’s worked in… uh… a mill when he was… pretty much all his life… apart from a short period in the military. So, that was a very low skilled work… like, very simple life… globalization has done away with that… you have to [be] smart… you have to be really… like, on it to succeed in a global world. Which, I kind of feel like is a slightly negative thing… in that… a lot of hard working people are struggling to adapt.

**PI:** What about the perspective for Asian countries? I am only asking because I know you lived in China.

**Respondent 9:** So, I think, China, for example… and I lived in Shanghai… tends to bring in… sort of… the entrepreneurial people who want to work… in those kind of global… international companies. Umm… then it has been positive for China, because… its not… like, nice to say… but a Chinese kind of work ethic has kind over taken that sort of traditional… sort of… protestant work ethic of the west… or what ever… or, like… they do kind of like… they are prepared to sacrifice a lot of their life for like… the long hours in the office and that sort of thing… and its sort of… benefited them in some ways. And there is also smarter business appearing in China, as well.

**PI:** Ok, how about the statement: Global climate change is a problem. Does that statement evoke either positive or negative feelings? And, why?

**Respondent 9:** In that… I agree with it… yeah.

**PI:** So, positive?

**Respondent 9:** Yeah… yeah.

**PI:** And, so, why?

**Respondent 9:** The people that… I guess I would kind of pay attention to and the vibes that I am getting from the media… and that sort of thing… is that the people place trust in are saying that we are already reaching that sort of tipping point… of like, no return. So, for me I believe that… like, this is a critical moment in history and a lot of like the more domestic or national issues are getting in the way of people looking beyond… toward that problem of climate change.

**PI:** Ok, My voice counts in the UK. Does that statement evoke either positive or negative feelings? And, why?

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Respondent 9: No, I mean… we had… uh… debate a few years ago about the voting system in the UK, from being… umm… what was it? It was proposed… we had a referendum on an alternative vote system… for example, which is rejected. But, where I grew up you could now… there is no chance of a Labour MP being voted in my area. So you knew, either there was going to be conservative – sometimes when I was younger it was a Liberal Democrat but nowadays it is always going to be a conservative. And, there is a helplessness in that in terms of if I vote in an election – something like a general election then… um… my vote is pretty much wasted. So, in terms of that… in terms of democracy… the actual vote is wasted. But, I do feel there is a voice in terms of the public debate. I mean in terms of public events, you can go to the event and you can express yourself, but…

PI: So, its pretty transparent is what you are saying?

Respondent 9: … fairly, yeah, I mean I still have skepticism about it, but yeah.

PI: Ok, how about the statement: The UK voice counts in the EU. Does that statement evoke positive or negative feelings? And why?

Respondent 9: Umm… probably more negative… because, one… in the sense that…a lot…first of all, the European…umm… what do you call them? European MPs or whatever they’re called… umm… they… its pretty much… I think… since… since, pretty much as long as I can remember its always been a chance to express your disapproval at the EU. So, a lot of like, UKIP members have been elected as… sort of… MEPs…yeah, that’s what they are called… MEPs…umm… so, in that case you just have the [inaudible] of someone who does not like the EU… going to the EU. And, obviously not representing the UK in general…umm… but yeah… in general I feel like no, there’s not represents that… sort of …

PI: Ok, then… I guess this next statement sort of begs the question… or the statement I should say, in this case. My voice counts in the EU. Does that statement evoke positive or negative feelings? And why?

Respondent 9: Yeah, negative… in terms of …of like… I have no idea how my voice would…uh… [shakes head]

PI: Ok, how about: Satisfied with the way democracy works in the UK. Does that statement evoke positive or negative feelings? And why?

Respondent 9: Yeah… I’m still… uh… just about satisfied, I’d say. I mean… you have issues… of… like I said… the way that you vote your MP, means that you don’t really… its possible to not have a say. Also, the issues of the House of Lords… is one that I just don’t really agree with… I mean, unelected body… but yeah.

PI: Ok, how about: Satisfied with the way democracy works in the EU. Does that statement evoke positive or negative feelings? And why?
Respondent 9: Umm… again… really not knowing the ends and outs of it… I’d say… no, negative.

PI: Ok. Alright, so, I have two more questions and they are pretty quick. So, what I want you to do is have a look here [shows Respondent the interview question], and I want you to rank these characteristics of the EU. From most positive to least positive, most positive being one and least positive being eight. I will give you the opportunity to read through them.

- The Free Movement of People, Goods, and services within the EU 5
- Peace among the member state of the EU 1
- The Euro 6
- Student Exchange Programmes such as Erasmus 2
- The political and diplomatic influence of the EU in the rest of the world 7
- The economic power of the EU 3
- The level of social welfare (healthcare, education, pensions) in the EU 8, I am not quite sure what influence it has had on social welfare.
- The common agricultural policy I don’t know much about it… but I think its been good for the UK… so, I am going to go with 4

PI: So, I know you said you don’t know a lot about the EU… but I have a series of true or false questions concerning the EU.

Respondent 9: Ok.

PI: So, for Each of the following statements about the EU could you please tell me whether you think it is true or false?

- The EU currently consists of 28 member states? Umm… I don’t actually know how many are in there… so, I am going to go with False.
- The members of the European Parliament are directly elected by the citizens of each Member State? Yeah, MEPs… that’s right. True.
- Switzerland is a Member State of the EU? No, False.

PI: Ok, and the last question. If you had the opportunity to vote again today, how would you vote? And, why?

Respondent 9: I’d still vote to ‘Remain’ because… umm… I think the first reason I gave… that basically, countries working together… is beneficial. And, like, you brought up the issues of peace in Europe… I think that is underestimated… and particularly in like… today’s volatile international… sort of… climate and that issue cannot be underestimated, in some ways. Umm… like, economically, migration… those issues are like… they’re quite complicated and I would not say that I fully understand them… but on that simple [inaudible] I would still stick with ‘Remain.’
Respondent 10

Age: 27

Gender: Male

Marital Status: Single

Occupation: Student

Major: Master of Business Administration

Concentration: Health-care Management

Previous occupation: Doctor (UK National Health Service)

Do you own your own home or rent?: Rent (currently) and Own (London)

Household Income: £45,000

Are there any children in your household?: N/A

Do you own your own business or farm?: No

In what type of community do you live?: Suburban

Community growing up?: Suburban and Urban

Highest level of education: Undergraduate Degree (Medical)

Principle Investigator (PI): So, first did you vote in the referendum held in the UK on the 23rd of June 2016? And how did you vote?

Respondent 10: I did not vote in last year’s EU referendum.

PI: Why didn’t you get the opportunity to vote?

Respondent 10: So this was largely… my incompetence. I… umm… Logistical issues. I was recommended on several occasions by my friends to register. I was on my summer internship and basically just kept delaying it. Umm… twenty minutes before the deadline to register, I attempted to register and the website had crashed. Umm… and the next two days I was unaware that the government had reopened it for forty-eight more hours of… umm… registration and I just didn’t register. And, I’m upset that I didn’t, and it will not happen again.

PI: So let’s talk about, er maybe let’s speculate how you would have voted had you been able to, sort of, check the blocks on the logistics leading up to the vote. How would you have voted?
Respondent 10: I would have voted to remain in the EU

PI: And, if you could place maybe a single point, or sum it up in a couple of very finite points as to why you would have voted that way. Do you think that you could do that?

Respondent 10: Yeah

PI: And, if you wouldn’t mind expounding on why…

Respondent 10: So I think it falls down largely to what I feel is better for the British economy. So the economic or the financial side of it, which I think is the biggest one of why I felt that leaving the EU would be detrimental. Umm… and the second one I think is much more selfish. But, I think it is just my… now that I’m living in the US much more the things that made my life easier by being part of the EU… umm… particularly… on a grand scale it’s relatively insignificant… kind of the ease of travel. Kind of the ease of access to goods. Which, on the grand scheme of what leaving the EU does is quite small. But, on a personal level because that’s my interaction with the UK and the EU, it becomes more important to me, personally. Umm… So going on the financial side of things: the UK over the past few years… or past, I guess, twenty years, has become much more services-oriented. And, the UK has become a large financial hub. And, one of the reasons why the UK has become a hub is because of its use of trade with the EU beyond the benefits of the English language, common education systems, etc. And, to leave the EU, can have quite the detrimental effects on ability to give those kinds of financial services to the rest of Europe. Umm… a lot of European currency exchange happens through the UK… umm… particularly with British banks… umm… I live in central London… And, to look at the… to look at the UK, we need to separate the UK from London. Umm… and that’s very hard to do but London is not part of the normal UK. What happens in London in the financial services industry, in pretty much every industry caters to all of the EU, is very different to what the rest of England caters to the EU. And, I’m from London and therefore that’s why you saw such a significant bias the other way against leaving the EU in central London.

PI: Yeah. I would say that London is not representative of, you know, England, Wales or Scotland as a whole. So that makes complete sense. I was wondering if you were going to delve into the financial connection and why you thought that was the case, but that’s really good. I’m going to switch gears completely on you.


PI: But, we’re going to, sort of, come back to this… umm… in terms of how you obtain your news now, or social media, or current events… umm…

Respondent 10: Yeah.

PI: So this falls along the lines of that particular questioning. So maybe first talk about growing up, how current event and news played a role in your life. And, then talk about how news and current events play a role in your life currently.
Respondent 10: Ok. Umm… so, watching the news was pretty much my main form of learning about current events until I would say the end of middle school. Mainly because living in Orlando, the Orlando Sentinel was a pretty terrible newspaper. Umm… and as a result of that I never really read the newspaper much beyond the comics section. And so, watching kind of TV news as our main sources back then was mostly CNN.

PI: What was the age range again?

Respondent 10: So that was from when I was about seven to eight, to end of Middle School, till about thirteen or so. And then I went to High School… umm… that was boarding school in Boston. So boarding schools are very heavy on current events. Umm… I mean all of the people at school’s parents are politicians… umm… you know and I remember I was there in the [2004] election where George Bush won and Kerry’s daughter went there. So she came to speak, and to hear the political dynamics of that school, you can’t but help join into it. And, we’re not… when you analyze political issues in high school, it’s not CNN verse Fox, it’s like industry analysis and… oh, you know, companies planning analysis, and like Counsel on Foreign Relations reports. It gets much deeper than the superficial news. Umm…And I thought that was probably the peak of my knowledge of current events because it was just a routine part of every day. I then moved to the UK for medical school. And, for the first three or four years of medical school current events became a pretty… umm… I mean other than the Obama election in [2008] I didn’t really follow much anyway. I mean… umm… about international events. And, I mean even with the Iraq war, war in Afghanistan, like being in London in medical school that was… it became a distant think, which I just didn’t engage with. And, with the medicine you are so detached and… umm… people think that the medical education is very… they don’t want you doing anything else. I mean, here an undergraduate degree you focus on learning everything. You become a more holistically developed person. And, over there it’s you are training to become a doctor. That’s what you do, that’s all you focus on. Umm… and then the later years of medical school I started to get interested in current events again. And, now in business school, my main sources of access to news are: Financial Times, Wall-Street Journal. TV is CNN, pretty much; when I’m in the UK, BBC. I still find Counsel on Foreign Relations reports can be one of my main ways of getting more of an overview of current events even though I know there is intrinsic bias in stuff that is written there. Their ability to just summarize the situation quickly and succinctly within six or seven pages is just, I think, pretty unparalleled in most media forms. Over the last election they have become a lot more discerning about… kind of… excluding any extreme left-wing or right-wing articles from Mother Jones or Fox, or anything that’s not written by, like, a reputable news organization.

PI: I’ve had to… umm… sort of narrow down and the Wall-Street Journal has been my go-to… umm… Just because it seems to be more middle of the road.

Respondent 10: Yeah. And the BBC is one of my big ones because as news outlets go, I feel like they are relatively unbiased on US politics.

PI: Yeah, so Pew Research Center did an analysis I think, two years ago, of American news media outlets…
Respondent 10: Ok.

PI: Umm… And it was a poll… umm… liberal verse conservative… which ones they thought were unbiased.

Respondent 10: Ok.

PI: And, so what actually ends up is that all British publications or, you know British/English publications are the ones we trust more in America more. So The Economist, the BBC, and, then, the Wall-Street Journal, which, obviously, is an American one. But, The Economist is what we agree on. Which is really surprising.

Respondent 10: Yeah. That’s interesting. Quick thing about The Economist, because I think The Economist would be much more pro… umm… kind of, free market… minimal government intervention, kind of, just based on the kind of writers they have there: economists.

PI: So that was shocking to me, as well.

Respondent 10: Yeah, wasn’t expecting that.

PI: Because they are very critical of America, in general. Yeah, but I guess most people in most countries are. In terms of talking about the news growing up, did you or your family talk about, “hey this particular event is happening” and what are the implications. Or, “what does this mean?” Did you guys ever do that?

Respondent 10: Yeah. With my parents, a little bit; not too much. Keep in mind, like the way my parents grew up in an African genocide like most of these minor issues… like major events were discussed, but like most smaller ones, to my parents were like insignificant in the grand scheme of things just based on what they’ve seen… I mean they’ve grown up with. My sister is a different story she is twenty-one, now. When, over the past four or five years she went to the same boarding school… the moment she went there, like current events became one of the main things that we talked about. And, you know as an Indian female of Muslim descent, like, she is very engaged in, especially, this last election, of, kind of, all the social issues that have arisen from it. So, we have conversations regularly about this to the point at which I’m literally playing devil’s advocate with her.

PI: Really? To get her to think?

Respondent 10: To get her to think. Also, you know, she’s growing up in a very… boarding school in the northeast are very liberal; the teaching is very liberal. Umm… very, very biased in the level of teaching and I’m relatively liberal myself but I feel that these schools don’t give enough of the other side. They never analyze economic arguments and so when I speak to my sister about this, I’m like, ‘well, I don’t care about the social injustice here. Look at the financial gains.’ I don’t feel that way but I’ll say that just to try and get her to think critically about it as well.
PI: I’ve always... umm... recently I’ve had to give my father publications that do both Keynesian and, sort of... umm... Hayek... the flip side... and, umm... they don’t understand. They are just like, ‘I don’t really like the... umm... neo-liberal, Margeret Thatcher, and Reagan-omics.” And... umm... I just... ok well there is another side to that.

Respondent 10: Yeah.

PI: So, yeah, I completely understand what you are saying.

Respondent 10: So, I think that most of my current events discussion, in summary, is probably with my sibling, my sister. Yeah.

PI: That’s good. Umm... so I’m going to just, really quickly, do... ok, umm... so when people talk about politics they talk of the left and of the right. [Presents political spectrum graphic to subject] And, I’ve got this spectrum here where you’ve got the left equals one, and the ten is right. And, you don’t have to answer, obviously. And, if you don’t know, you can just say twelve. So, on the spectrum, where do you think you would place yourself?

Respondent 10: Probably four to five.

PI: Four to five. Ok. Yeah.

Respondent 10: Yeah. Four to five.

PI: Ok. And... umm... why is that? If you could, sort of, I guess summarize.

Respondent 10: Ok. So a lot of my social opinions lie much more on the liberal side. But, having grown up in a fairly financially comfortable household... umm... in Florida, I have... I personally benefit more from conservative financial policies. Umm... now I know that they aren’t necessarily better for the country. Umm... having grown up in the UK, and having been a government doctor, that’s why I find that huge, something I’m personally very challenged with: what do I morally feel is right verse what is better for me. I feel like once I, myself, are earning a good salary I can afford to be a little more... umm... giving. Once the student debt winds down a bit. But in the mean time, I feel like, for now, you know, conservative tax policies are more in my favor. And so, I think that that is kind of why I gear more towards the left, but there is more pull from the right to pull me more towards the middle.

PI: So, umm... in terms of now British parties... British political elites... umm... so... people specifically or, maybe, parties, if you had to choose maybe a political elite or a party that resonates with you more... umm... so I guess the question is: Can you do that? And, the second part of that is: who would that be if you are able to, sort of, pinpoint say, this party or this person resonates with my ideals a little more?

Respondent 10: The UK system, I can’t pick between them. There are two reasons why. Again, I am much more tied with the conservative party for most financial issues. Having said that, I was a government doctor, I am very much pro-NHS. I believe they should have much better funding,
should be much more supported than it is. And, the conservative party is systematically breaking
down the NHS to the degree that I’m unhappy with. And, Theresa May has done little to make that
better. Jeremy Hunt, the Health Secretary in the UK, as you may know, has pretty much… wait,
well… I’m honestly very biased here… but, it feels like he is waging a war against the British
doctors. Umm… you know, trying to force GPs to be open seven-days-a-week, twelve-house-a-
day… it… all the conservative policies are not sustainable when it comes to healthcare. And,
doctors have been saying that for years. Doctors are overstretched, overworked, under-paid.
Umm… they are all leaving the UK. Case in point. Umm… I just got lucky getting into an MBA.
I can still go back to medicine but why would I go back to medicine when I’m going to make
thirty-five grand a year. There is just no reason why. You can’t expect people who have done six
years of education, who are physicians, not to go to Australia for double the money and half the
work. Umm… and it’s the system you see in the UK where it’s not aligned with reality. And so,
I… for me because health care takes a disproportionate focus… I really struggle to pick a party
here... Again, it’s my belief in having social equality and justice, particularly within health care,
verses my own financial gain. And, I’m torn in the UK moreso than here because of this.

PI: Yeah. In some instances people think here maybe it would be Obamacare… might be this post-
facto situation where it may inevitably be the NHS and people are terrified of that.

Respondent 10: Quite frankly, the US will never reach a point where we have an NHS. And, its…
I think, both parties have… it’s reached a point where, rather than negotiate… rather than kind of
negotiate, both parties take extreme views with one party arguing that there are going to be death
panels, the other one arguing that everyone may die from a lack of health care. And, it will be
neither of those. But, it’s just become too polarized here where… Obamacare, in theory… sure...

PI: Yeah. Well, some of us like it… So, this isn’t actually a question on my interview sheet but I
wanted to ask. What your perceptions are of the rise of the far-right parties in Europe? Umm… do
you think it’s a thing. Do you think… I mean… umm… maybe do a broad once-over on your
perceptions.

Respondent 10: I think that the far right parties are… need to be taken as a genuine warning. To
the major parties in Europe… umm… that there is significant dissatisfaction with the local
entrenched… populations, traditional populations. You know, I spent a bit of time in the UK
working in a town called Margate, which is on the southeast… furthest southeast tip of the UK…
a large immigrant population. And, one of the towns where some of these far-right parties got a
lot of support. I don’t agree with their support but I’m not surprised.

PI: Really, why?

Respondent 10: These are communities that have been very traditionally British. You can say,
yes, borderline racist. But, it was… these were entrenched communities that have been there for
many years; multiple generations have been there. And, you know, we sit in London seeing all the
benefits of immigration. We’re seeing, you know, highly-educated people moving in. We’re seeing
labor becoming cheaper. And, you know, we can sit there in our £500,000 homes and see our cost
of our labor dropping, and be, ‘oh, good. We’re paying less.’ But, when you go to Margate where
that labor is living and working, and we’re seeing families struggle because immigrant populations
have suppressed wages. And, you’re seeing people lose their jobs. And, you see entire families struggling to maintain the quality of life they had fifteen years before… Am I surprised by it?

PI: Right.

Respondent 10: Not at all. I mean, just because I disagree with it, I’m seeing this from the angle of it’s economic facts. They’re seeing it from the angle of, ‘I can’t afford to provide for my family the way I was able to five years ago because my wages haven’t gone up in relation.’

PI: Yeah. I always look at it in terms of: ‘it’s the government’s fault that they’re letting this happen. And, there’s no incentive for me to … umm… improve my situation to be more competitive. So, that’s sort of the way I look at it. Umm… I don’t know if that’s, sort of, the chicken or the egg scenario.

Respondent 10: And, and, I agree. That’s the way that I view it when I live in London. But, when you go to these communities… you know… and you work in those hospitals there with their huge immigrant populations, which is great… but if you look at it from the other side of if they lose their job to an immigrant whose just moved to town, of course they’re going to be opposed to immigration. You can’t not be. Because, they’ve been, on a day-to-day basis… now on a daily basis suffer from it, so they’re going to be biased. I don’t think that… I think it’s… it’s not an unexpected occurrence given the huge rise in immigration in the UK. Umm… I oppose… I oppose particularly the overt racism associated with it. But to be surprised that this is the case...

PI: Yeah, maybe not...

Respondent 10: Yeah, not at all.

PI: Because if you can understand why they can’t rationalize being… umm… or improving where they stand in the economy… I guess, or their socio-economic strata...

Respondent 10: And, it’s not the people who are educated it’s unskilled labor in the UK. And, you’re not having college-educated people working in the services industry.

PI: Umm… you are here.

Respondent 10: You are here, you are here. You are here in the US, but in the UK, it’s not so much. It’s mostly blue-collar, unskilled labor because unskilled labor is in some cases substitutable. And, if you can pay someone, moving forward, you know, the rates you’re paying ten years ago… or significantly less than that UK rates, as a company you should. You know, but, of course the consequence of that is… the population getting laid off and you… we can’t be surprised when this happens.

PI: No you can’t.

Respondent 10: So, I’m opposed to it, but I’m not surprised.
PI: Ok, I’m going to switch gears again.

Respondent 10: Ok.

PI: So I want you to really… umm… talk about your family dynamic for me so that I can get it on recording since I didn’t get to earlier because the next question is going to shed some light on… umm… why you answer is the way that it is. So, if you want to talk about your parents being born and raised, and you know…

Respondent 10: Ok. So my parents were born in… both of them born in Uganda. My mom was born in Kempala and my dad was born in Mbarara. Umm… my mom moved a few years before regime change in Uganda started, so she was in the UK comfortably. My dad’s family moved to the UK as refugees in the regime change because all the Indians were, basically, kicked out. Umm… and in that he saw quite a lot of violence in it… you know he came from a relatively financially wealthy family in Uganda and he moved to the UK with $50 in his pocket. And, you know, like, in India… Uganda, he had servants… you know, there were servants in the house. And, like, he saw, like, a lot of killing… was there. So he moved to the UK. Umm… grew up, kind of, a family of six. Small house, refugee community. Umm… in the UK at the time, he was just… I think it was the right place at the right time. He happened to be in the town that had a school that got a lot of government funding… just, one of, like, the [inaudible] schools so he got to go to a good school. Going to university was not only free, but you got a government stipend so you were paid to go to University. So you could afford to go. Umm… both my parents grew up in the UK… umm… and well from then on. Went to the school of pharmacy there. Got married right after the school of pharmacy. Interesting family dynamic because my mom is hindu, my dad is muslim.

PI: Do you see yourself as being… umm… maybe English. Umm… do you see yourself as British? Do you view yourself as, maybe, being European? European-only? A combination of the two? Or do you see yourself as Ugandan? When someone says, ‘where are you from?’ ‘What is your nationality?’ ‘What is your identity?’ What comes to mind?

Respondent 10: British. I just say British. Umm… a few reasons why. The main one is that’s where I spent most of my life. Secondly, I was born there. I think the vast majority of my extended family and all of… everything that’s, kind of, personal identity, is tied to the UK. I’ve lived here for roughly more than half my life now. But, beyond me living here, I think that I haven’t really put down any cultural ties in the US. Yet. And so, that’s where… why I feel more like being British, rather than US

PI: So, if I asked you… what if it was someone that was also British… so let’s say Shakira said, ‘oh. Where are you from? What is your identity?’ You know. ‘What is your nationality?’ What would you say?

Respondent 10: Yeah. Umm… British.

PI: You would say British?
Respondent 10: Yeah. And, because, like, the vast majority of my life has been there. Like... well, not the vast majority, but a lot of my formative years were there. So, like, I grew up there when I was a child, I did University there... umm... I mean... it’s just easier for me to identify with being British.

PI: Do you think of yourself as being European at all?

Respondent 10: That’s a good question. Umm... on paper yes.

PI: Ok.

Respondent 10: Umm... Merely because my link to mainline Europe being pretty limited. Umm... that’s why there’s EU Referendum, right? I was upset by it. But, not, like, to a deep personal level. Because my exposure to most of Europe has been fairly limited beyond the occasional vacations. And, I thought that I haven’t... I mean, I’m sure there’s much more to my day-to-day life being linked to the EU than I’m aware of.

PI: Sure.

Respondent 10: But, I personally haven’t seen it without that. So, I just know, like, everything in England is British. And, you know, that’s why I never perceive myself as... I know I am European as far as being British but it’s a much stronger affiliation being British than being European.

PI: So being from Portsmouth, it’s obviously an English town, right? So, what about that English identity? Does that ever play into your... umm...

Respondent 10: English verse British? Or...

PI: No, no... So, you know, obviously you have the... umm... Scotish-Welsh-English dynamic.

Respondent 10: Yeah.

PI: I mean I guess depending on who you’re talking to, they see them as entirely different countries or provinces in the UK... call them what you will, or whatever the proper thing is... umm... so most people would either identify in that finite way as either an English, British, Scotish, Norther Ireland... Scotish, you know whatever. Does English ever factor into it?

Respondent 10: I don’t really. I see them interchangeably. I mean it’s like... I view them as similar enough that...

PI: Is it...

Respondent 10: Yeah...
PI: Ok, I talked to… umm… a couple of people that were… umm… English - that identify as English – umm… but their son, since they lived in the Welsh countryside, said, ‘I’m Welsh.’ And I just thought that was really interesting…

Respondent 10: Yeah.

PI: …Yeah, he had lived in London in his young adult… well, I wouldn’t say it was really young-adult, so maybe fifteen to eighteen years old…

Respondent 10: Ok.

PI: So, I don’t know it was really interesting. Umm… so, the next question is going to be the brunt of it. It is a nested framework.

Respondent 10: Ok.

PI: So, it’s going to be a question that works in concentric circles, where you’re going to talk about the two most important issues that your family faces. And, these are, sort of, external issues that affect your family directly… you and your family directly. And then, I’ll ask you the same question about the UK, the EU and then the world.

Respondent 10: Ok.

PI: So that’s why it makes up the brunt of this… umm… yeah.


PI: So when I say external, I mean these [presents subject with list of topics], sort of, unemployment, economic opportunity… umm…

Respondent 10: [Looking at list] Ok.

PI: … so, if you could talk about some external factors that are issues that are really important that are facing you and your family.

Respondent 10: And, are we talking with respect to the US, or the UK, or…

PI: No, you… so you. You, specifically, and your family. Umm… just the most important issues and then… and then we’ll talk about the UK, then the EU, then the world.

Respondent 10: Ok. Umm… in living in the US as a foreign national, in the current administration, immigration, kind of, jumps to the top of that. Because, what’s going to happen with my Green Card in 2019 when it is up for renewal? Umm… that is pretty, kind of, creeping up on my list of… I would say it’s top. Umm… [reading off list while searching] for me, you see…

PI: [laughing] Yeah, you can just pick two… you don’t have to, like… if you don’t…

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Respondent 10: Yeah. No. No. I’m not… umm… I would say number two is a close tie between government debt and economic situation. I think government debt is an issue, but that is going to be an issue in ten and fifteen years time. Because then it truly hits you on the head and we’re not able to cover the interest payments… umm…

PI: And, that’s going to effect you directly?

Respondent 10: Yeah. It will. Because I’m going to be earning in this country and taxes are going to be the only way to pay them off. Or, we write off the debt and the UK… US rating plummets and I get hit for it. Umm… the economic situation should be more concerning but I’m going into consulting and volatility is good for my industry.

PI: Yeah.

Respondent 10: So, you know, companies… yeah, same with healthcare. Trump’s changes to healthcare, like, I’m worried. But, on a personal business standpoint, my consulting [inaudible] is going to be overflowing with clients asking for advice…

PI: Yeah, ‘How do I deal with this?’

Respondent 10: So, I’m happy with it on one hand. But, on the other… there’s a very dark angle, I will benefit. Ok, so I would say those are the main two. So it would be innovation and economic situation.

PI: So, what about for the UK. What are the two most important… umm… issues, or… umm… things that the UK is facing right now, in your opinion? And, why?

Respondent 10: Given my… my inherent bias, heath… I think health… healthcare, the British healthcare system is one that I’m becoming very worried about. Basically, the lack of sustainability in the British healthcare system now. You know, the US spends seventeen percent of it’s GDP on healthcare. The UK, we’re at seven [percent]. So, we are incredibly efficient in terms of the quality of care that we give but we just don’t want to put any more money into it, and we could. And, as healthcare becomes more expensive because people, just, are aren’t dying more. You know, we are doing a good job of keeping them alive, which is good. But, keeping people alive is expensive, and we aren’t willing to pay the additional cost to do that. So, I think in the UK, health is a big one because, should I ever go back to the UK, access to the NHS is very important to me. Umm… [reading list] Taxation is another big one. Umm… for me personally, you know… the Conservative party in the UK has been pretty good, when it comes to keeping taxes suppressed. But, the UK tax system is more volatile than it is here. Umm… you know, taxes constantly change and I think that taxation ties into everything else because the rise…

PI: I was getting ready to say that ties into the healthcare system…

Respondent 10: Yeah. It ties into the healthcare system. So, I’m ok with taxes going up, to a degree as long as it’s going to the National Health Service. But, again, I’m so tied in that issue
because this is my personal benefit versus what I feel is right for the country. So, I’m torn between what is the right answer. For the NHS, I’ll let most things slide. I will gladly pay more taxes to support the NHS. Social security… maybe…

**PI:** [laughing] Maybe…

**Respondent 10:** Maybe… but, then again, in the UK, healthcare costs and social security are intrinsically tied. And, if you go to any city where there is poor social support, healthcare costs are much higher because there is no safety net. And… umm… I still don’t even fully understand the impact of that. Like, when I was working in psychiatry, anywhere that had good social support had far fewer psychiatry… psychiatric hospital admissions. Because, people were dealt with in the community, rapidly.

**PI:** I didn’t realize that there was that, sort of, local versus national dynamic… umm… I would have assumed that it would be similar across the board. But, obviously, if there was… umm… the whole… the community would need to pick it up in some way.

**Respondent 10:** The NHS funding comes much more centrally. Social services allocation is much more local and it’s left to the local councils to figure out how that gets distributed within the council. Umm… so, we’ve seen that time and time again. Places that have good social support, such as those in London, you know, discharged patients from hospital getting community support is as simple as signing a piece of paper. Otherwise, it’s me, like, struggling and fighting to get patients some mild social support. And, they are being kept in hospital because they can’t get that.

**PI:** Yeah… Yeah, hospitals, well at least in the US… umm… hospital beds are very expensive.

**Respondent 10:** Yes. And, you know, in the UK it’s much cheaper, but the costs are still high. You need full-time nursing, day-to-day pain maintenance… psychiatry is still cheaper but you are, at least, looking at a couple of hundred pounds a day for psychiatry in actual physical costs, let alone all the administrative expenses associated with it.

**PI:** So, is home care, sort of, underneath the NHS? I don’t know if that’s sort of a privatized industry, or not?

**Respondent 10:** It falls under… umm… social care.

**PI:** Do you know what I mean by, home care?

**Respondent 10:** So you mean, like, people coming in twice a week or three times a week to help out in day-to-day care? Is that what you mean?

**PI:** Yeah.

**Respondent 10:** So that’s social services, that’s not NHS.

**PI:** So if its… um…
Respondent 10: Different budget.

PI: … sort of, somebody that’s getting really old and they need oxygen and they may be, you know, sort of…

Respondent 10: Yeah.

PI: … that sort of a situation.

Respondent 10: If it’s medical-related it’s the NHS. If it’s, kind of, like cleaning the house, helping around, and getting groceries, that’s social services.

PI: See… ok, what about somebody that just needs their pill pack changed and they are bed-ridden at home. They, sort of, need, like, a nurse or something.

Respondent 10: Yeah. So, that’s social services… So it is, so here’s the thing: if they are going for, like, residential care, that’s the local council. If it’s nursing care, that’s a combination of NHS… local NHS funding and… umm… social services council.

PI: Ok.

Respondent 10: And, increasingly patients are paying a little bit, out-of-pocket for top-up services.

PI: Ok. That makes sense. Cool… So, what about… umm… the two most important issues that the EU is facing?

Respondent 10: EU?

PI: Uh huh.

Respondent 10: [Looking at list] So I think economic situation is one, with the Greek bankruptcy, the concern about the breakdown of the European Union… umm… the impact on the economic side of things. I think, one of the main reasons it was established was for the economic benefits. And, so, I think that when the EU is threatened the economic situation is first, and foremost.

PI: So, I guess you are inferring that the Brexit is, maybe, a current issue for the EU?

Respondent 10: It is, because it sets a dangerous precedent. And… umm… particularly with regards to the Euro as a currency. Umm… it sets a dangerous precedent for that as well. Umm… so, I mean, immigration. Do I feel that the immigration is, in itself, having as big of an impact as the media is… and the local populace is spinning it to have? No. But, I think that the immigration is causing enough of a stir that going to easily justify the breakdown of many parts of the Union. And immigration, itself… umm… I don’t think that a large number of Syrian refugees is going to truly destroy any given country. Umm… given the fact that massive migrant population shifts
happen for years… generations. That’s nothing new. But, I feel that the media impact and the local social sentiment of it is what’s going to cause problems in the long term.

**PI:** So you don’t think that Syrian refugee crisis is not necessarily… umm… an issue right now?

**Respondent 10:** It is an issue right now. It is a huge issue. Don’t get me wrong. But, I feel that the media is portraying it to be a much larger problem than I feel that the actual implications of a large movement of Syrian refugees actually is. And, therefore, like, I… no, no I think that it is a huge issue and, I think that to deny that it is an issue…

**PI:** I guess I mean, in terms of… umm… the European Union government. Maybe not as a singular entity, that, in and of itself is an issue. But, how that interplays with the European Dynamic…

**Respondent 10:** I don’t think that it’s a purely Syrian migrant crisis. I think that as eastern European countries have been joining the EU, the completely-legal movement of population, which is still technically immigration. Even if you count the EU as one entity, then it’s not ‘immigration,’ it is. If you keep them as separate countries, and just because it’s harder because of Shenzen, that is without a doubt immigration.

**PI:** Yeah.

**Respondent 10:** And, that is… the UK, when it comes to the rise of these far-right parties is… pales in comparison to Germany and France. You know, like, the hatred of foreigners is much greater in parts of Germany, and even in parts of the Netherlands, than the UK. So, I think that that component of immigration… we’ve seen the implications of a rise of the far-right parties. Immigration is definitely one of the big ones.

**PI:** What about the world? I know that’s a big undertaking.

**Respondent 10:** Oh, yeah… [looking at list of topics]… Umm… the environment, climate change, and energy issues. Mainly because there are countries where unemployment is on the decline, others where it is on the rise. Otherwise, everything else here is cyclical. The only thing here that isn’t in the cycle is the environment and climate change. Because it’s not something that’s going to get better in fifty-years time. You know? Umm… I think that’s one of the biggest ones. I think…

**PI:** So, you climate change is an issue.

**Respondent 10:** Oh yeah. Yes. I would say that the environment and climate change is the only one that isn’t reversible in this. You know? Climate change is going to happen. You can’t suddenly, easily reverse climate change. You can’t suddenly reverse environmental destruction. It’s going to happen and there’s no reversing it. That’s the biggest one… I think terrorism is a big issue. I feel that on a global scale the interpretation of the impact of terrorism is… the impact of it is much more, kind of, country-specific. Umm… I feel that terrorism is dictating a lot of global policy. And, therefore, that’s one of the biggest issues.
PI: Ok. I’ve got four more questions but they are going to go by really quickly. Ok… So, umm… if you want to take a break we can, or if you just want to punch these out we can go for it. This next question is a series of… umm… statements where I want you to react, or give me your feelings.

Respondent 10: Ok.

PI: So, I’ll ask you a statement and I want to know if it invokes positive or negative feelings and why. ‘Immigration of people from other EU member states’ Does that statement invoke positive or negative feelings, and why?

Respondent 10: … I find this… very… I’m pretty middle of the road on this one. And, the reason why is because… I’ll give you an example. Let’s look at the UK. The ability to have access to foreign doctors in the UK means that the UK healthcare system is sustainable because it’s providing a large number of Spanish and European doctors to fulfill a need in the UK. So I’m happy that that’s happening. The other side of that is that it’s allowing us to mask the issues within the healthcare system and the shortage of staff because we’re just hiring foreign doctors for the time being while there is a brain drain in the British healthcare system. So, I feel like the immigration from the EU is overall net-positive, but it is allowing us to… it’s allowing us to ignore a lot of the underlying social issues on… variations in the financial disparity in the UK because as long as the labor is there we don’t care as upper middle-class. It’s irrelevant to us. But, yet, we completely ignore the implications of the other side. So, I mean, I’m happy with it, but it does have it’s downsides.

PI: How about, ‘Immigration of people from outside the EU’?

Respondent 10: I think it’s positive. Mainly… and I think… is this for the UK in general? So immigration for people outside the EU to the UK, is that the reference?

PI: No, it’s just that particular… umm… you know it’s designed… it sort of gets you to talk about your own personal perspective on it, for instance people outside the EU… or from anywhere you are in the EU.

Respondent 10: I think that’s a positive mainly because it’s much more of a merit-based system. You know, going to the UK, traditionally, has been a… for example, I don’t know how much you know about the Australian immigration system is based on a points-based system.

PI: Yeah. It’s very difficult.

Respondent 10: Yeah. It… it is very difficult. But having that, you know… Australians have said that we are very privileged to… situation we are in where we can control the people who move to our country, and who doesn’t. As a result, anyone who comes here we want to be in that… at least from a government perspective are people who will be beneficial for our country.

PI: Right.
**Respondent 10:** And, I think that…

**PI:** Doctors and lawyers and highly-educated people…

**Respondent 10:** Yes. And if there is too many of one profession they can control what people are coming in. And… do I think that on a global perspective that is the fairest thing? No. And, it does have intrinsic responsibility to its citizens. And, I think that is the number one responsibility of the country. And, as a result I think that such a similar… an institution of such systems in the UK, which we’ve started to see more of in recent years, is a positive. So when you have a country that does have a wealth of established system of managing immigration, I think it’s the greatest thing in the world. And, so I’m, quite possibly [inaudible] assuming the country has that.

**PI:** Ok. How about this question, ‘migrants contribution to the UK’?

**Respondent 10:** Positive.

**PI:** Why?

**Respondent 10:** Because, I’m looking at this from… on a economic and a… personal standpoint. I’m looking at… my personal viewpoint is a lot of the migrants who move the UK are… the overwhelming majority are working, contributing positively to British society, bringing in new cultural exposure to the British populace that it’s sorely lacking… umm… and, migrants have been a critical part of the UK for generations. There’s nothing new about the migrants coming to the UK. You look at Indians, or, like, Indians who moved to the UK with people from east Africa. The vast majority of doctors and business owners, all of them have all these groups of positive contributors to society. I think that, you know, it’s the same in every country. It’s a small number of migrants who have a detrimental effect and get the overwhelming amount of publicity because they are the ones that the media cares about. So, I feel that migration to the UK, overall, definite positive.

**PI:** How about, ‘globalization is an opportunity for economic growth’?

**Respondent 10:** Yeah. Yeah, positive.

**PI:** Why do you think that? I know that it seems like these questions are a little redundant but…

**Respondent 10:** Well, so there’s a… I read a book back in highschool called *Globalization and Discontents* by Stiglitz and if you’ve heard of it, it’s in… it’s a great book. And, it talks about, kind of, the impact of globalization but also the arguments against it. It’s… it’s globalization that allows for efficiency. And, sitting here in business school where everything is about efficiency and progress, it’s going to happen eventually. Umm… one way or another, you can’t stop economic… especially economic progress. Umm… and so globalization has just accelerated. Umm… so, yeah, it’s just efficiency. Globalization is just efficiency; it really is simplified down to that.

**PI:** Normally, people think globalization is synonymous with free trade. Umm… and so the believers in free trade believe it causes economic growth…
**Respondent 10:** With me, it’s just simply efficiency. Like, that’s what globalization boils down to. Free trade is one of the effects of globalization. It allows for free trade; well, mostly trade. We move something from point x to point y, or labor gets moved from here to there, that’s efficiency whether it’s economic or whether its operational. Whatever you want to call it, it comes down to efficiency.

**PI:** Yeah, your… your economic… or your macroeconomics 101 country should produce what it is… whatever that factor of production they are most willing and endowed with.

**Respondent 10:** Yeah.

**PI:** How about ‘global climate change is a problem’? I know that we’ve just talked about this but, in terms of global climate change as a problem, do you care to delve into why you think it is a problem specifically?

**Respondent 10:** Umm… I think there is two angles to approach this: one, the limited access to our existing resources. Umm… so access to fossil fuels, ignoring the climate change aspect of it. We have a finite amount of fossil fuels. By not adjusting to alternative forms of renewable energy, we will exhaust… whether in twenty years, whether in thirty years, we will exhaust fossil fuels. At which point, unless we have adapted with… unless we have a system in place to use renewable energy on a global scale, we’ll have an energy crisis. So, that’s just ignoring the climate change aspect of it. To focus back on the climate change aspect of it, I looked at this quite… on, like… I think, I like to be objective, so you can argue that climate change is a real thing, or climate change isn’t a real thing. If you argue that climate change is a real thing you should act on it and you should use renewable fuels, and use systems that are net positive on the climate change standpoint. You avert the fossil fuel crisis and you potentially avert what is going to be a long-term issue. To argue that climate change isn’t real… well, you have to say that evidence isn’t there. Well, fuck, make that argument but you’re going to run out of fossil fuels sometime in the future. And, say it is real, you just harmed yourself. So, looking at it on, kind of, a decision modeling standpoint… even if you take out the angle of it’s real verse it’s not real, there’s no net positive to climate change.

**PI:** How about, ‘My voice counts in the UK’?

**Respondent 10:** Umm… if I were to voice it more, yes. [laughing] If I were to voice my opinions more in the UK, I would say yes. Yeah.

**PI:** Ok. How about, ‘you’re satisified with the way democracy works in the UK’?

**Respondent 10:** Yes. I would say yes.

**PI:** Why?

**Respondent 10:** Mainly… so, the people are satisfied with democracy and in general, democracy has been operating in my favor. Umm… it’s impossible to separate that from the bias of democracy
going in my favor. If things weren’t going the way I wanted, I’d be more… much more unhappy about democracy is going. Umm… and I think it ties back very much to the point at which I have a voice. The way the UK council elections is based, the way parliament elections are based, I feel like each individual have a much bigger impact. You know? Given the geographical size, members of parliament go door to door with themselves and just… the… the intrinsic belief that you are having an impact… because you are seeing them on the ground day to day fighting for their parliamentary positions, you feel much more connected. And, therefore when the democratic process happens you feel you’ve been a part of it. In the US, on the other hand… the whole population is so disconnected from so much of what happens in Congress that you… for example given this election, like, you voted for this party of [inaudible] hundred million people on this decision where you’ve never truly felt connected to this candidate. In the UK, it’s the opposite.

PI: In the UK, you have a majoritarian system but it’s also parliamentarian. But, in the US… umm… people think that democracy has… has worked because Trump was elected but I would argue the… the political system worked. The democracy didn’t work because the popular vote would have given it to Hillary. A lot of people try to say, ‘Well, it’s working here in the US.’ But, they’re not there thinking that the political system is synonymous with democracy. And, so, unfortunately it just seems… hard to rationalize with that.

Respondent 10: Yeah. I would agree with that. I think its… when you have a popular vote… and, this isn’t [inaudible] it’s happened before… when you have a popular vote that isn’t aligned with the actual outcome.

PI: How about, are you ‘satisfied with the way democracy works in the EU’?

Respondent 10: The way democracy works in the EU?… So as in… like, as in Brussels? Is that what you mean by that?

PI: Yeah.

Respondent 10: So, to be honest I don’t really know enough about the actual goings on of the day-to-day parliamentary decisions by the European Parliament to be able to give an actual answer to that question.

PI: That’s fair.

Respondent 10: I don’t know enough about it… or, I don’t… haven’t heard enough negative about it to be opposed to the way in which things work. From what I’ve heard it seems reasonably democratic and so, yeah…

PI: I have three more questions and they are going to be reasonably quick. So, the first one I’m going to ask you to rank. The next one after that is going to be true and false. Then, then the third one is just to wrap it all up. I’ll just let you look at this [displays list of possible choices] and, so, if you want to rank these attributes… umm… of the EU where the most positive is one, and the least positive is eight, can we get you to do that?
Respondent 10: Uh huh.

PI: So these are all current, or at least what people would assume to be current attributes of the EU, or at least mechanisms that they are responsible for. If you want to rank from most positive to least positive.

Respondent 10: So the most positive is ‘The Free Movement of People, Goods, and services within the EU’ umm…

PI: So that’s a one.

Respondent 10: That’s a one. Number two is ‘The economic power of the EU’

PI: Ok.

Respondent 10: I would say ‘Peace among the member state of the EU’ is number three. I don’t think we’ve seen it as as much of an issue in the past five to ten years. But, before that, when there was significant uncertainty and unrest among the EU, that was much more important. And, I think that’s just been maintained by the EU. Umm… so, I think the next one ‘The level of social welfare (healthcare, education, pensions) in the EU’ is important. I think less so in the UK, France and Germany because they’ve always been doing quite well. I think for the rest of the EU nations this has been very valuable, so… looking at it from a UK perspective it’s pretty low on the list but on a more, like, overall perspective I think it is more valuable.

PI: Ok.

Respondent 10: So, that’s number four. Tied with that I would say… following that I would say ‘The political and diplomatic influence of the EU in the rest of the world’.

PI: Ok.

Respondent 10: Umm… that’s largely tied to, I think, the negotiating on the economic… from the economic standpoint. ‘The Euro’. Have I said that already, ‘The Euro’? Ok then I would say, ‘The Euro’. Then after that… umm… again the UK less so, but…

PI: Yeah, right.

Respondent 10: For many of the smaller member states the currency stability it provides allows for economic growth through the Euro. Umm… then I’m left with agricultural policy and Erasmus, I think.

PI: Yes, you are.

Respondent 10: So I would say, I think… number seven, ‘The common agricultural policy’.

PI: Ok.
Respondent 10: Number eight, ‘Student Exchange Programmes [such as Erasmus]’.
- The Free Movement of People, Goods, and services within the EU
- Peace among the member state of the EU
- The Euro
- Student Exchange Programmes such as Erasmus
- The political and diplomatic influence of the EU in the rest of the world
- The economic power of the EU
- The level of social welfare (healthcare, education, pensions) in the EU
- The common agricultural policy

PI: Ok. Cool. That’s perfect. So, I’m going to ask you true and false questions. This question is to, sort of, establish a baseline amongst the twelve… umm… Respondent s, and/or respondents to guage your basic understanding of the EU. Umm… obviously don’t worry if you get any of them wrong. People have gotten them wrong. Umm… but it just… they’re super easy so if you’ve actually paid attention to the news there’s… you probably won’t get them wrong. Umm… ‘The EU currently consists of 28 member states.’

Respondent 10: Yeah, because they had a couple new member states join a few years back. Umm…

PI: True or false?

Respondent 10: True.

PI: ‘The members of the European Parliament are directly elected by the citizens of each Member State’.

Respondent 10: False.

PI: ‘Switzerland is a Member State of the EU’.

Respondent 10: No, they are European Economic Union.

PI: ‘If you had the opportunity to vote again today [or vote in general], how would you vote? Why?’ But, before you answer, I want you to think about the things that we’ve talked about… umm…and, sort of, the things that you’ve seen… umm… you know, post-vote. And, I know that might be really difficult for you to sort of… but I really want you to reflect on what we discussed today and, sort of, umm… what has all gone on, and given the opportunity to vote how would you vote?

Respondent 10: I would have voted for Brexit still again.

PI: Ok, Any particular reason why?
Respondent 10: Umm… one of the things that surprised me most following the election was that most people didn’t have any understanding of what leaving the EU actually entailed. In the same way that Trump said, ‘voting for me equals keeping jobs in American,’ without, is… its about reducing [inaudible] and protecting our borders, without understanding the implications of what that actually is. It’s the same way that the British, you know, British Pro-Brexit party argued for: ‘Keep jobs in the UK,’ ‘Protect the UK border.’ People don’t actually understand the implications, they just believed the message. Umm… and… you know, the British people saw afterward the impact of that. And, I think, even the people who did vote for Brexit, now oppose it because they didn’t realize the implications.

PI: So, one of my respondents said that… and I think this is an interesting point… that people thought that they were voting in an election. They thought that they were voting for Nigel Farage.

Respondent 10: Oh god.

PI: Right? So, they thought they were voting for UKIP when Nigel Farage’s ultimately the face of the far-right. Umm…

Respondent 10: Yes.

PI: As it were. But, their understanding of what a referendum was, was incomplete. Moreover, I don’t think that they’re been a referendum, aside from their knowledge of the… other than the Scottish referendum in the last twenty years. So, that was pretty interesting.

Respondent 10: Yeah. That is… that’s an interesting way to look at it. I think people’s understanding of what they are actually voting for… they heard arguments from both sides which is completely funny. And, however biased they may be, I would say that the UK… on the grand scheme of the way that information was presented as compared to the most recent US election, was relatively good.

PI: Yeah.

Respondent 10: And, I would say that the way in which the BBC and other media outlets presented it was surprisingly unbiased.

PI: Oh, really?

Respondent 10: So, I think that, compared to how much more pro- and against-Brexit they could have been, like the types of speakers they had on shows and types [inaudible] they had, were pretty middle of the road. Even if you look at, for example in the UK there is a TV show called… David Demalweed, he does ‘Question Time’…

PI: I think I’ve only heard that on the radio.

Respondent 10: Yeah… yeah. That show was very balanced in the types of speakers they put on. And, I think that the BBC has always short of tried to pride itself on being unbiased and I think
there may have been a little bit of skew here, compared to what it could have been, and compared to what the American news outlets do, it’s been pretty good. And, therefore, I feel that a lot of the… a lot of the decisions in voting, weren’t due to heavy media bias, they were due to a lack of education.

PI: Yeah, I think it was one of the outcomes too. So that was really interesting. I forgot to ask one question. Umm… in terms of the way that you intake news… either, like, hardcopy newspaper or… umm… like, online media, which is more prominent for you?

**Respondent 10:** Prominent is online because of ease of access. And, like actual printed newspaper, not that much. I mean we get the Wall-Street Journal, too, at my building, Berkshire Nine. And, if I walk by and there was one sitting there I would pick it up and read it. But, I wouldn’t normally go out to buy a newspaper when I have access to online sources.

PI: Ok, cool. I just wanted to make sure I hit that little tidbit.

**Respondent 10:** Yeah, sure.

PI: Ok, how was that? What did you think?

**Respondent 10:** The interview?

PI: Yeah.

**Respondent 10:** I thought it was pretty good. You’re very good at this.
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