An investigation into young British people’s views on the European Union referendum: whether or not the United Kingdom should remain a member state of the European Union?

Daniel Matthew Magoo Jake Saint-Davis

B.A. (Hons) Business and Management with Finance
Cardiff Metropolitan University

April 2016
Declaration

I declare that this Dissertation has not already been accepted in substance for any degree and is not concurrently submitted in candidature for any degree.
It is the result of my own independent research except where otherwise stated.

Daniel Saint-Davis
Abstract

An investigation was conducted into young British people’s views on the European Union (EU) referendum. A review of the literature exposed a gap in the research concerning young people’s views about Britain leaving or remaining in the EU. This inspired the subsequent investigation. Primarily, the research asked whether or not the United Kingdom (UK) should remain a member state of the EU. More specifically, the research aimed to understand whether young people have uniquely distinctive views concerning the UK membership of the EU and whether any explicit factor is informing any such difference. Questionnaires, consisting of 15 questions, were given to 152 16-24-year olds. Using cross-tabulated analysis, the quantitative and qualitative data was examined to provide more finely-tuned insight into the sample’s opinions. Overall, the research confirmed what was seen as typical in the literature, resulting in 68% of participants expressing their desire for the UK to remain in the EU. It was also determined that the sample’s views were influenced mostly by the following factors, in order of importance: the economy, trade, immigration, free movement, law-making, and sovereignty. It may seem surprising given the current immigration crisis in Europe that the sample privileged economy and trade over all other factors. The results were then discussed in relation to the literature to determine whether or not the sample refuted what was seen as typical amongst the literature. Recommendations of how these factors should be used, were then suggested so that campaigning groups could capitalise on this information for their campaigns.

Word Count: 13989
Acknowledgements

I would like to thank Mark Sutcliffe for his help and superb feedback throughout the research. I would also like to thank all of the participants who took part in the questionnaire for their time and effort. Without either of their contributions this research would not have been possible.
Contents

Contents Page 1-2
List of Abbreviations 3
List of Tables 4
List of Figures 5

Section 1.0- Introduction 6-8
  1.1 - Reasons for the Research 6
  1.2 - Background and Context 7-8
  1.3 - Aims and Objectives 8

Section 2.0- Literature Review 9-21
  2.1 - Historical Context of the EU and the UK 9-10
  2.2 - Sovereignty 10-12
  2.3 - The UK’s Position in the EU and the Rest of the World 12-16
  2.4 - Economics 16-20
  2.5 - Implications of a Brexit 20-21

Section 3.0- Methodology 22-29
  3.1 - Central Research Question and Methodological Approach 22-23
  3.2 - Questionnaire Design 23-24
  3.3 - Analysing the Quantitative Data 24-25
  3.4 - Analysing the Qualitative Data 26
  3.5 - Participants and Sampling 26-28
  3.6 - Reliability, Ethics, Validity and Generalisability 28-29

Section 4.0- Results, Analysis, Interpretation of the Data and Discussion 30-56

Section 5.0- Summary, Conclusions and Evaluations 57-61
  5.1 - Recommendations 60-61

Section 6.0- References 62-71
### Section 7.0 - Appendices

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Appendix</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Pages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>7.1</td>
<td>Appendix 1. Participant Information Form</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.2</td>
<td>Appendix 2. Online Participant Information Form</td>
<td>73-74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.3</td>
<td>Appendix 3. Participant Consent Form</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.4</td>
<td>Appendix 4. Online Participant Consent Form</td>
<td>76-77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.5</td>
<td>Appendix 5. Questionnaire Design</td>
<td>78-85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.6</td>
<td>Appendix 6. Raw Data</td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.7</td>
<td>Appendix 7. Pivot Tables and Figures</td>
<td>87-98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.8</td>
<td>Appendix 8. Ethics Application Form</td>
<td>99-102</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.9</td>
<td>Appendix 9. Turnitin Report</td>
<td>103</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
**List of Abbreviations**

British-exit (Brexit)
Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP)
Democratic Unionist Party (DUP)
European Community (EC)
European Economic Area (EEC)
European Union (EU)
Foreign Direct Investment (FDI)
Free Trade Agreement (FTA)
Gross Domestic Product (GDP)
Member of the European Parliament (MEP)
North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA)
Police and Judicial Co-operation in Criminal Matters (PJCC)
Scottish National Party (SNP)
Traditional Union Voice (TUV)
UK Independence Party (UKIP)
United Kingdom (UK)
United States (US)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>List of Tables</strong></th>
<th><strong>Page(s)</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Table 1- UK Trade Statistics</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table 2- Questions 2a and 2b of the Questionnaire</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table 3- Participant’s Declaration of Consent</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>List of Figures</td>
<td>Page(s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>---------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 1- Results of Question 1a</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 2- Results of Question 2a</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 3- Gender Specific Answers to Question 2a</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 4- Level of Education and Answers to Question 2a</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 5- Results of Question 3</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 6- Cross-Tabulation of Questions 2a and 3</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 7- Results of Question 4</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 8- Cross-Tabulation of Questions 2a and 4</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 9- Results of Question 5a</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 10- Cross-Tabulation of Questions 2a and 5a</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 11- Results of Question 6a</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 12- Results of Question 7</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 13- Cross-Tabulation of Questions 2a and 6a</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 14- Cross-Tabulation of Questions 2a and 7</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 15- Results of Question 8</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 16- Cross-Tabulation of Questions 2a and 8</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 17- Results of Question 9</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 18- Cross-Tabulation of Questions 2a and 9</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 19- Results of Question 10a</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 20- Cross-Tabulation of Questions 2a and 10a</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 21- Results of Question 11</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 22- Cross-Tabulation of Questions 2a and 11</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 23- Results of Question 12</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 24- Cross-Tabulation of Questions 2a and 12</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 25- Results of Question 13a</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 26- Cross-Tabulation of Questions 2a and 13a</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 27- Results of Question 14</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 28- Cross-Tabulation of Questions 2a and 14</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 29- Results of Question 15</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 30- Cross-Tabulation of Questions 2a and 15</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
**Section 1.0 - Introduction**

1.1 - Reasons for the Research

With the referendum drawing closer, the debate about the whether the UK should leave the EU, has seen the campaigns grow in complexity and intensity on both sides. The views portrayed in the media are mainly those of an ‘adult’ viewpoint, be it the opinions of politicians, academics or reporters. As the debate gains more substance a large percentage of the voting public (18-24-year olds) have gained little attention within the media and relevant literature with regard to the factors motivating their voting choices. It has been argued that ‘young’ people are some of the most significant voters because it is their future that will be influenced by the decisions that are made today (Keeter, et al, 2008; Kaid et al, 2007). In light of this, the research will tackle the controversy over whether the voting age should be 16 or 18. Taking the Scottish referendum into account, a large proportion of 16 and 17-year olds turned out to vote, consequently the Scottish National Party (SNP) feel very strongly that 16 and 17-year olds should be allowed a vote in the EU referendum (Robertson, 2015). As the Commons currently insists the voting age will not be lowered to 16, it will be interesting to discover whether 18-24-year olds think the voting age should be lowered. There are around 7.5 million 18-24-year olds in the UK making up 12.1% of the population (ONS, 2016); with the campaigns on both sides looking to win more votes, this demographic could make a valuable asset to a party which is seeking to influence ‘young’ voters. It would be very one-dimensional to simply ask ‘young’ people if they want to leave or remain in the EU, but as Sinek (2009) argues, it is not so much what people do, which is of overriding importance, but why people do things. The results of this research, finding the motivating factors behind ‘young’ people’s voting decisions, would be invaluable to a campaigning party wishing to influence their decision. Once they know what drives their decision they will be in a much better position to campaign for their votes.
1.2- Background and Context

The literature discusses policies, predictions, the EU referendum, and what is seen as best for the UK. This formed a ‘typical’ basis upon which the results of the research were compared. If there were any gaps in the literature, questions were formulated in the research in an attempt to realise what ‘young’ people’s views were on the subject. If one topic area was deemed more important than another by the literature, the results of the research revealed whether the sample also felt the same way. On the other hand, if no one area seemed of greater importance throughout the review of the literature, a comparison was made as to whether ‘young’ people found one area more important than others. As mentioned previously, it is the reasons behind why ‘young’ people vote the way they do, that will allow campaigning groups to derive political capital out of this research. In order to discover the opinions of those in the sample many factors need to be taken into account including the economy, trade, sovereignty, social implications and Britain’s position in the EU and in the world, in order to gain a well-balanced perspective of people’s opinions.

The debate is headed by Europhiles and Eurosceptics; each school of thought’s ideologies are conveyed through certain political parties that support these beliefs. Although this division is made, there are ‘hard’ and ‘soft’ Eurosceptics, ‘soft’ believers wish to reform the EU, whereas ‘hard’ believers wish to leave it completely (Szczerbiak and Taggart, 2008). Political parties with an official stance to remain consist of the Labour Party, Green Party, Liberal Democrats, SNP and Plaid Cymru. Although their official stance is to remain, most have different policies on how they wish to reform the UK’s membership (Wintour, 2015; Green Party, 2014; Liberal Democrats, 2014; Johnson, 2015; Plaid Cymru, 2015). Parties officially campaigning to leave the EU are the UK Independence Party (UKIP), Democratic Unionist Party (DUP) and Traditional Union Voice (TUV) (UKIP, 2015; Cromie, 2015; TUV, 2015). It should be noted that all parties’ official stances do not determine the beliefs of every member, as there are some divided views. For example, the
Conservatives plan to stay officially neutral, while David Cameron campaigns to remain within the EU (Hope, 2015).

1.3- Aims and Objectives
This research was conducted to discover what ‘young’ people’s views are on the EU referendum, in relation to whether or not the UK should remain a member state of the EU. The primary aim was to see whether ‘young’ people have specific and distinctive views concerning membership and whether any specific factor is informing this difference. The following objectives were used:

- Classify whether ‘young’ people believe the UK should leave the EU, and summarize the main criteria upon which this decision is made.
- Evaluate and compare how ‘young’ people’s views either confirm or refute what was seen as typical by the review of the literature.
- Examine and evaluate the comparison of the results and the literature, and suggest recommendations based on conclusions drawn from the research.
**Section 2.0- Literature Review**

2.1- Historical Context of the EU and the UK

The UK has never been fully committed to the idea of a “United States of Europe”, as proposed by Jean Monnet, its founding architect, (Monnet, 1952). Monnet believed Britain’s reluctance to embrace the single market was due to its independent position as victor after World War 2 (Kumm and Comella, 2004). Britain remained undecided in 1957, unsure whether to enter the “ever closer union with the peoples of Europe” in the Treaty of Rome. The EU at this time was called the European Economic Area (EEC), but with further integration of member states, it was later renamed the European Community (EC). Inspired by the growing economies of France and Germany, Britain applied for accession in 1961. Vetoed twice by French President Charles De Gaulle, Britain finally gained accession in 1973 during Edward Heath’s Conservative government (Cawood, 2004). There was then a referendum in 1975 to decide whether to remain, much like the one today (Butler and Kitzinger, 1996). A resounding 67% voted to remain, but debate continued due to poor economic conditions and the 3-day week in Britain. Throughout the 1970s, Conservatives backed British membership, despite some opposition on the right of the party. The main resistance towards the EU came from the left-wing of the Labour party, noticeably when Michael Foot pledged to leave the EU in his 1983 manifesto (Daniels, 1998). In 1984 Conservative Prime Minister Margret Thatcher showed her mistrust towards the EU and negotiated a significant rebate to the UK (Hamann and Kelly, 2011). She was replaced by fellow Europhilic cabinet member, John Major, who led the Conservatives in an opposite direction to Thatcher and signed the Maastricht treaty in 1992, agreeing to an 'ever closer union'. Major did however negotiate an opt out of the Eurozone and Social Charter (Butler and Kavanagh, 1999). After Maastricht and the change of name to EU, disagreements within the Conservative party were marked. When Labour came to power Tony Blair was sympathetic towards the EU. In 1997 he signed the Social Charter and made plans for entry to the Eurozone, but as the Iraq War developed integration with Europe slowed down (Watts and Pilkington, 2005). Subsequently the Conservatives regained power and Gordon Brown put entry
to the Eurozone on hold. In 2013, against a background of rising UKIP support, David Cameron pledged a referendum “to finally settle the European question” (Cameron, 2013). Cameron has since approved a deal with the EU that would be implemented, should Britain remain (Tournier-Sol and Gifford 2015). Alongside the negotiations, there have been growing campaigns on both sides. The leave-campaign currently has two cross-party groups: Vote Leave and Leave.EU (BBC¹, 2016). The remain-campaign solely consists of the Britain Stronger in Europe group (BBC², 2016). Overall it is clear that Britain has always struggled over whether to join. This debate has from the start been divisive, resulting in internal conflicts that cut across traditional left and right polarities, between those who desire increased centralization and those who want greater decentralization or federalisation (Tournier-Sol and Gifford 2015).

2.2- Sovereignty
Since the referendum in 1975 and more recently the signing of the Maastricht treaty, the three-pillar structure of the EU - consisting of the European community, the Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) and the Police and Judicial Co-operation in Criminal Matters (PJCC) - has highlighted the UK’s internal conflict about the level of involvement that should be shared in policy-making at home and throughout the EU (Stetter, 2007). If the UK is to stay within the EU, the balance of regulations, directives and decisions introduced needs to be precise so that the public see EU policies as necessary instead of an attrition of British sovereignty (HMG, 2015; Wellings, 2007).

Throughout the 2000s the Conservatives argued internally about their own increasing Euro-scepticism, whereas Labour seemed to adopt a very Europhilic attitude, although many thought the pro-European party did it in the wrong way (Gifford, 2010). Smith (2005) argues that although the Labour party did play a large role in UK-EU integration, they did not get the support needed from the British public, which may have contributed to the unrest about British sovereignty today.
Gifford (p 321, 2010) describes UK sovereignty as being comprised of three distinct categories that should be analysed separately. The first, defined as 'parliamentary sovereignty' derives its power from monarchical and constitutional sources and is comprehended as the “continued efficacy of executive power.” Inopportunistly, although establishing some sovereign identity for the state, this links back to the argument presented by Smith (2005), and does not encourage the public’s support, therefore, cannot establish governmental influence alone. To gain governmental influence, the second concept of UK sovereignty needs to be taken into account; this is known as ‘popular sovereignty’ and is defined by the support of the British public for the government, and links closely to the notion of sovereignty as a social construct. Lastly, the third class is defined as ‘economic sovereignty’ which acquires its power from the parting of public power from private property and the market. It is these rationalisations of UK sovereignty that have influenced the UK’s indecision whether to remain in, or leave, the EU, but popular sovereignty is the most important aspect when it comes to the upcoming referendum (Gifford, 2010). It is mostly the importance of popular sovereignty that helped UKIP gain such popular momentum in recent years by focusing on migration, an issue that connected with the British public in a way that some parties failed to (Wellings, 2010).

Some critics express the feeling that when Britain joined the EU, Britons did not know to what extent they were giving away their sovereignty and, therefore, some voters are resentful of the EU’s power it has over the UK; this has led to the demise in popular sovereignty for the UK’s current government (Independent, 2013; Gifford, 2010). Eurosceptic campaign groups promote their belief that the EU decides around 75% of the laws that affect the UK, this is seen as a major blow to parliamentary power in the UK, which in turn, creates discontent in the public’s mind about how much the EU is undermining the UK’s sovereignty (UKIP, 2015). On the other hand, a counter argument is the fact that the UK is free to hold a referendum to regain all its
sovereignty proves sovereignty within itself (Ciuriak et al, 2015; Glencross, 2015).

It is seen that the consensus of those desiring a British-exit (Brexit) boils down to the idea that too much power is being given to the EU. The Centre for European Reform makes the point that since the Euro-crisis the indirectly elected European Commission has gained “unprecedented formal powers”, especially in the region of setting terms for bailouts (Grant, 2013). Although in the UK, support was shown for the EU from Tony Blair’s government, adequate support was not gained from the public. This happened at the same time as the growing Euroscepticism of many Tories, and the popularity of UKIP’s manifesto (Smith, 2005). With the UK having little public sovereignty it has been argued that it may be best for the UK to leave the EU and regain its independence and support from the public (Gifford, 2010).

2.3- The UK’s Position in the EU and the Rest of the World
The impending referendum will undoubtedly result in some sort of power shift for the UK, whether that be a reclamation of power by the UK government or a further transfer of power to the EU, and alter the dynamics of its foreign relations (Gifford, 2010). If the UK remains, it will be committed to Union, no matter what changes might occur in the future. This is presumably what Cameron meant by “finally settle the European question” (Cameron, 2013). Retaining traditional ambivalence on the sidelines is no longer an option. Whether Britons decide to stay or leave, the UK will still need to retain close to the EU to channel its power outwards and retain the influence it already has in the context of world power. For example, the US, once Britain’s closest ally, is drifting closer to the Asia-Pacific region and away from the growing unrest in the Middle East that is getting closer to Europe. Successful world powers are playing a strategic game in which they are moving towards others who will be of mutual benefit and there is an argument that the UK needs to keep a strong relationship with Europe to keep a strategic edge in the globalising world (Niblett, 2015).
Niblett (2015) depicts the UK’s history concerning its place in the world and discusses how we can use this looking forward in an attempt to rationalise the referendum decision. Winston Churchill first coined the idea of Britain having three interconnecting circles of influence ranked in order of necessity needed for Britain to remain at the forefront of world influence (Blair, 2015). Niblett (2015) has adapted the idea of three circles of influence and describes them as consisting of the EU, in which he states the UK’s interactions must be closest; secondly, the United States (US) and Britain’s security relations; and the last circle, which focuses on bilateral trade agreements the UK has with other leading and emerging markets around the globe. The latter are seen as least important.

Within the inner circle described by Niblett, Britain has never been committed to the EU and this was epitomised by the events of 1999 when the entrance to the Eurozone was rejected (Mulhearn and Vane, 2005). As a result of this turbulent relationship with the EU, and the previously mentioned drawing away of the US towards the Asia-Pacific, the UK turned to its third circle of influence in an attempt to solidify connections with leading emerging markets (Breslin, 2004). To an extent this approach worked, as trade with China increased at around 20% per year and the UK helped China with the Internationalisation of the renminbi, which may have contributed to it being next in line to be added to the basket of world reserve currencies (HMRC, 2015; Niblett, 2015; BBC, 2015). Japan has also been drawn closer to Britain as they have developed a bilateral security partnership (Nilsson-Wright, 2015). This being said, the competition for relations with emerging markets is fierce with both the US and other EU member states making this transition, and the question has to be asked whether the UK would be at a more advantageous position to form these kinds of relationships from inside the EU or on its own (Wang, 2008; European Commission, 2015).

Looking at trade statistics for the UK (Table 1), it is clear to see that amongst the UK’s efforts to forge closer relationships with developing world powers, trade has only significantly increased with China and Switzerland, and this
alone is not enough to secure the UK in the position of power it desires (Atsmon et al, 2012). This all builds on the notion that the UK has to now be strategic with whom it builds relationships in order to develop a path for the UK to remain a world power; no longer can Britain choose its partners without regard to the bigger picture, it needs to assess what option is best. Taking this into account, Britain may be able to look closer to home for trade partners as many EU states are currently reforming as a result of the Euro crisis. While this may lead to them being more viable companions for Britain, it may require further UK and EU integration which could spark disagreement with those in favour of Britain’s sovereignty. In any case, being able to build the most powerful relationships within Europe would indicate that remaining in the EU would be the best move for Britain to preserve its much sought after position in the world (Niblett, 2015).

Table 1: UK Trade Statistics

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>£ millions</th>
<th>£ millions</th>
<th>£ millions</th>
<th>£ millions</th>
<th>£ millions</th>
<th>£ millions</th>
<th>£ millions</th>
<th>£ millions</th>
<th>£ millions</th>
<th>Avg Growth Rate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>United States</td>
<td>32,309</td>
<td>35,028</td>
<td>33,632</td>
<td>37,479</td>
<td>39,054</td>
<td>40,489</td>
<td>39,928</td>
<td>36,853</td>
<td>38,371</td>
<td>2.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Switzerland</td>
<td>4,047</td>
<td>7,371</td>
<td>5,050</td>
<td>11,041</td>
<td>24,021</td>
<td>10,187</td>
<td>45,435</td>
<td>21,313</td>
<td>20.3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>China</td>
<td>3781</td>
<td>4878</td>
<td>5129</td>
<td>7,306</td>
<td>8773</td>
<td>9,894</td>
<td>11,585</td>
<td>15,934</td>
<td>19.7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hong Kong</td>
<td>2,660</td>
<td>4,002</td>
<td>3,513</td>
<td>4,452</td>
<td>5,693</td>
<td>5,748</td>
<td>9,024</td>
<td>7,305</td>
<td>13.5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UAE</td>
<td>2,781</td>
<td>4,844</td>
<td>4,015</td>
<td>4,179</td>
<td>5,196</td>
<td>5,202</td>
<td>9,952</td>
<td>6,400</td>
<td>11.0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Japan</td>
<td>3,837</td>
<td>3,820</td>
<td>3,372</td>
<td>4,311</td>
<td>4,464</td>
<td>4,579</td>
<td>4,500</td>
<td>4,328</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Korea</td>
<td>1813</td>
<td>2,407</td>
<td>2,026</td>
<td>2,205</td>
<td>2,516</td>
<td>4,572</td>
<td>4,821</td>
<td>4,195</td>
<td>11.1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saudi Arabia</td>
<td>1,873</td>
<td>2,278</td>
<td>2,648</td>
<td>3,077</td>
<td>3,075</td>
<td>3,259</td>
<td>4,220</td>
<td>4,173</td>
<td>10.5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canada</td>
<td>3,351</td>
<td>3,746</td>
<td>3,656</td>
<td>4,899</td>
<td>5,559</td>
<td>4,852</td>
<td>4,502</td>
<td>4,099</td>
<td>2.6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Russia</td>
<td>2,833</td>
<td>4,132</td>
<td>2,266</td>
<td>3,451</td>
<td>4,781</td>
<td>5,516</td>
<td>8,182</td>
<td>4,033</td>
<td>4.5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: HMRC (2015)

The world stage and third circle have recently been forced to one side to make way for the reigniting of Britain and Europe’s complex relationship. The recent agenda of whether the UK should stay in the EU has been partly fuelled by how the EU deals with crises such as the Eurozone debt crisis and the immigration crisis; the concept of resolution by means of ‘ever closer union’ has called into question whether the UK belongs in the EU (Niblett, 2015). This tactic seems unfavourable amongst some Britons and has been since the UK refused the Eurozone. Another fact that influences an exit vote is the double standards set by other EU members. Since the accession of the
eastern member states, many Britons have called for a change in the free movement of labour, which has sparked a negative reaction throughout Europe. However, when Britain has tried to exploit markets in which it has the advantage, for example financial services, the markets of mainland Europe have not reciprocated the same openness (Major, 2014).

Despite these troublesome issues, Niblett (2015) argues that the best way for Britain to move forward on the ever-globalising world stage is to have Europe as the focus of its foreign policy so as to leverage as much power as possible from a system that Britain already has a lot of control over. This will help increase security from external threats in the Middle East, as closely integrated power blocs wield much more power than individual nations, through combined military forces (Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs, 2012). Conversely, others view with trepidation such concentration of power, which could be equally vulnerable to authoritarian claims (Raynova, 2015). It is not just an increase in hard power that is gained from EU membership to deter opponents, but a substantial amount of soft power is gained too. In the European tourism industry, Britain ranks fourth out of all the member states, adding to the idea that Britain, although being a leader in world soft power, does not generate all the soft power within Europe (Eurostat, 2015). Europe’s soft power is so strong in some cases, it has been an influencing factor in the division of Ukraine; some longing for accession to the EU so they can follow in the steps of Poland and others leaning towards the soft power displays of Russia (Feklyunina, 2015). This being said, there is a strong argument that soft power derived from the EU may be useful in the UK’s search for global leadership. The value of soft power has not changed, but the uses for it have and with the ever increasing number of channels through which it can be projected, the EU must control it in a way that benefits member states as equally as possible so as not to discriminate individual states (Ellwood, 2014; Smith, 2014). If Britain were to leave the EU there would be little incentive for the largest economy in the world to align itself with Britain’s views or needs (Wallace et al, 2015).
Overall, it is evident Britain would have much more influence in Europe if it remained part of the EU. On the subject of whether Britain would have a more substantial global position from inside or outside of the EU, as a member state, Britain can gain leverage through the multitude of channels the largest economy in the world has to offer. Whatever the outcome of the referendum, the three influential circles will have to be negotiated with different levels of priority to sustain Britain’s significance (Niblett, 2015).

2.4 - Economics
British Eurosceptics believe if Britain were to exit Europe, the restraints imposed by EU regulation would be lifted and Britain would be able to establish new trade ventures with leading and emerging markets around the world (Ottaviano et al, 2014). They argue an independent UK would have no problem negotiating a Free Trade Agreement (FTA) with the EU, and if the EU put in place trade barriers to prevent this, it would lose more valuable trade than Britain (Springford and Tilford, 2014). British Europhiles, on the other hand, claim countries that have trade deals with the EU have grown exponentially (European Commission, 2014). Some believe Britain would lose its FTAs with Europe and have to create bilateral deals with each European member state from a weaker position outside the EU (Novy, 2015). Advocates of union argue that no country outside the EU has ever developed a trade agreement with the EU that is better than that which EU membership can provide (Springford and Tilford, 2014).

There is much discussion about what trade model Britain would adopt in the event of a Brexit. Irwin (2015) indicates a multitude of models, but highlights two that may possibly be viable for both Britain and the single market. Firstly, a Swiss-style agreement where the UK and EU would have to agree to the UK’s access to the single market in what Irwin (p 6, 2015) terms “specific sectors.” This agreement favours Britain with the flexibility and the access it provides, but in some instances does not favour the EU, as some believe Britain will be able to pick and choose which member states to trade with; undermining the EU’s principles of unity (Sandschneider, 2014). Secondly the
FTA approach, in which the relationship as a whole with the EU would be governed by an FTA. This situation could be likely in the result of a Brexit, but many variables would rely on what type of deal can be made between both parties (Irwin, 2015). A likely outcome would see the negotiation of an intimate trade agreement with Europe like the Swiss model but with more access for financial services due to the city of London’s critical role in the European financial system (Springford and Whyte, 2014). The amount of political power designated to the UK would also need to be negotiated because Britain would require an input into rules and regulations surrounding trade in the EU if it is to secure a successful FTA with the EU (Booth et al, 2015). This may seem complex and somewhat problematic, but after much negation surrounding the Brussels summit, the referendum is drawing ever closer, in fact it has been brought almost a year earlier from its previous 2017 date, to the 23rd of June 2016 (Parker and Barker, 2015; Holehouse et al, 2015).

As the UK has a deficit in the trade of goods with the EU, this deficit may be used in Britain’s favour in securing an FTA to repay the shortfall (Christopher, 2015). On the other hand, the UK has a surplus of services within the EU, especially those of a financial nature, which may be seen as a hindrance when it comes to access to the EU service market (Booth et al, 2015; Lea, 2014). Whatever deficit Britain has with the EU it is clear that if Britain leaves the EU it will have significantly less influence over the regulations imposed on trade. This may result in the UK’s exposure to higher tariffs and further restrictions. (Springford and Whyte, 2014).

Predictions derived from statistical analysis are abundant when deliberating the future of the UK’s gross domestic product (GDP) inside and outside of the EU. These are mostly based on whether Britain would be able to strike a beneficial FTA with the EU and whether the UK can deregulate its economy enough upon leaving the EU and seek trade with the rest of the world. This mostly relies on the extent to which Britain will favour protectionism. A move towards protectionism and away from the concept of a new neo-liberal Britain would be foolish, many argue, due to the need for a post-Brexit Britain to
trade with other countries around the world (Booth et al, 2015). By 2030 worst case scenarios predict, upon the UK leaving the EU, if the UK fails to strike an FTA with the EU there will be around a 2% decrease in GDP (CEPR, 2013). Whereas in a best case scenario, Britain’s GDP would potentially increase by 1.6%. This being said, Britain would more realistically achieve either a 0.8% loss or a 0.6% gain in GDP due to the probability of it being able to negotiate a favourable trade agreement with the EU and most likely run into problems with deregulation and protectionism within the British government (Booth et al, 2015).

From the view of the US, President Barack Obama, at the G7 summit held in June, indicated his desire for the UK to remain in the EU, commenting on the UK’s leadership within the EU as a positive (BBC¹, 2015). Officials such as Mike Foreman, the US trade representative, have also expressed their views on how detrimental it would be for Britain to leave the EU (The Guardian, 2015). The US is moving towards trading with larger regions instead of individual nations, which would leave an independent UK subject to certain trade tariffs on imports to the US. An example would be the British motor industry, which would be put at a disadvantage in comparison with German manufacturers such as Volkswagen, which have a preferential trade agreement with the US through the EU. In an ever-globalising world where competition is rife and profit margins are shrinking, this uncertainty is a risk that the US has warned Britain not to take (Donnan, 2015). It is to be noted that with the UK dwindling on the outskirts of the EU, the US has taken action deeper within Europe, which seems intended to keep the UK from realising its potential outside of the EU (Niblett, 2015). For example, Germany has been given the lead role in sanctions towards Russia subsequent to the Ukrainian crisis, and Poland has been given a more lead role in the security of Europe thanks to the US (Seibel, 2015; Smolar, 2015). Other countries, on the other hand, such as Japan, seem willing to keep their businesses running in Britain through foreign direct investment (FDI), even if Britain were to leave, something that reassures employees of Japanese companies with factories in Britain. Countries stating, they will keep business in Britain either way could
lead to less biased voting out of fear of unemployment. Whereas those individuals swayed by the decision of the US could have their decision influenced out of a threat to their livelihood (Harding and Inagaki, 2016).

The debate on immigration and how it affects the UK’s economy is one of the major factors that has afforded the referendum a lot of momentum (Goodwin, 2015). Eurosceptics claim workers from other member states take employment away from Britons, and since the enlargement of 2004 they feel the free movement agreement does not favour everyone in the EU equally (Springford, 2013). Contrastingly, Europhiles comment on how much migrant workers contribute towards the British economy (Dustmann and Frattini, 2014). Warrell (2014) reports that migrants contribute around £20billion in taxes, which exceeds the cost in benefits. If Britain wants to survive outside of the EU it will need to adopt a liberal policy for the labour of migrants anyway; migrant workers are more likely to work than be a burden on the UK’s welfare system (Parutis, 2014). If the UK government reduces the number of migrant workers in the UK, the existing ones will eventually move to more highly-skilled jobs leaving a gap in the market for low-skilled jobs that would ultimately increase the need for migrant labour to return (Springford, 2013; Parutis, 2014).

Inclusively, there are many economic factors that could prove difficult for a Brexit. Having no model to use as guidance for leaving the EU, because of Britain’s unique complexion, encompassing London, it raises concern about such a large financial hub departing from it (Irwin, 2015). Such an action is unprecedented. Correspondingly, avoiding a Brexit eliminates uncertainty about the loss of GDP, that many sources believe inevitable (Schoof, 2015). Some also point out the economic contribution of EU migration to the UK (Parutis, 2014). Moreover, within a historical context it has been observed that American superiority was built in the early 20th century on immigration (Hirschman, 2006). Therefore, with all the economic factors above suggesting Britain should stay in the EU, the appeal to leave by so many must go beyond
economic concern and reside in a more social construct such as independence (Sandschneider, 2014).

2.5- Implications of a Brexit

The EEC was introduced to prevent the reoccurrence of the heinous crimes that occurred towards the middle of the 20th century through an interdependence of resources, making the notion of another war not only improbable but impossible (El-Agraa, 1994). Although some argue the need for such a deterrent is futile in modern Europe, there is a fundamental element of unity that comes with the makeup of the EU (Delanty and Rumford, 2005). The construct of social integration between countries, not just as a trade bloc, shows the world that countries are willing to help one another and work together instead of being perceived as insular, like the US has in the past, relying on the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) (Duina, 2006). Lichfield (2015) argues the unity of the EU is what has made it great, and emphasises how past struggles between member states have brought them closer, but he also comments that the EU has been strained more than ever by the recent immigration crisis that has compromised its core values. It is obvious to the entire world that different member states have different ways of dealing with the crisis; from Spain rebuffing migrants and focusing on its own ordeals, to Germany opening its gates to all. This lack of continuity emphasises the deficiency of unity. It is apparent that the EU is being tested by crises that may result in people losing confidence in the single market, or wanting their own government to make policies that are in their own interest, not what they think is best for the EU (Faulconbridge and Holton, 2015).

Some Britons may also be wary of committing to further integration for fear it could lead to atrocities such as those experienced in Paris in November 2015 happening on UK soil (Faulconbridge, 2015). Hakelberg and Lefkofridi, (2015) say a British exit would initially slow down the phenomenon of globalisation by distancing Britain from its geographical neighbours. Depending on whether or not protectionism within Britain overrules those of a neo-liberal standing, globalisation for Britain could be put into reverse. As mentioned previously,
the UK would become stagnant and negative GDP predictions may well be realised, succumbing to Europhilic fears (Booth et al, 2015).

With the Eurosceptic predictions of the UK leaving the EU also comes David Cameron’s deal, if Britain were to remain in, which he argues is a sufficient reason for him to recommend the nation vote to remain. As the relationship between Britain and the EU has always been troublesome, Cameron has negotiated that Britain will forever be out of the ‘ever closer union’. He has also tackled migration issues by implementing new restrictions to UK welfare. And in response to the Euro crisis he has commented that Britain will never join the Euro, securing economic protection for Britain. All of these negotiations allow Britain to have a lead role in decision-making for the world’s largest economy, while being able to opt out of schemes that are not relevant or beneficial to Britain. This deal paints a different future to the Eurosceptics’ predictions of the future of Britain (BBC³, 2016). This being said, German Member of the European Parliament (MEP) Alexander Graf Lambsdorff has slated Cameron’s deal by stating it will never be realized even if Britain were to remain, because MEP’s like himself would pick it apart. This then creates further skepticism towards the EU deal and Cameron’s integrity (Heffer, 2016).

Overall, the main arguments throughout the literature for leaving and remaining in the EU are based upon: trade, the economy, sovereignty, and the UK’s relationships throughout the world. The research determined whether ‘young’ people share this perspective.
Section 3.0- Methodology

3.1- Central Research Question and Methodological Approach

Following the review of the literature, it is clear to see there is a divide in opinions between Eurosceptics and Europhiles, but the main bias of the literature seems to lean towards remaining in the EU as a more progressive option. In light of this, the research attempted to answer the central research question: whether or not the United Kingdom should remain a member state of the European Union, and whether there are any specific factors informing ‘young’ British people’s decision? Subsequently, sub-questions were answered using an analysis of the results from the research: do the views of ‘young’ people confirm or refute what is seen as typical? Do subject areas such as the economy, trade, sovereignty, social implications and the UK’s position in the EU and in the world have any distinct impact on the views of the research sample?

The research concerned itself with the theory of knowledge and how said knowledge is gathered. Therefore, the research that consisted of a mixed method paradigm rested on the ontology that a single method approach may be too simplistic and therefore lead to inconclusive results. It also lent itself to an epistemology that required a combination of methods so as to fully encompass the opinions of the sample (Cohen et al, 2013).

Reja et al (2003) endorse closed-ended questions as a method of discovering participants’ impulsive answers and they are a fast and efficient method of collecting mass data. Geer (p 360, 1991) emphasises the importance of measuring public opinion with accuracy when conducting questionnaires. He continues to prove, through his research, that open-ended questions provide important insights into the concerns of the public when addressing “salient” issues like the one at hand. This being said, his study was only comprised of 106 students in a single class from a single university, therefore not gaining the considerable number and range of responses a study of this nature needs for generalisation. The study could have utilised postal data collection to gain more participants and, in turn, more validity (McAvoy and Kaner, 1996). Reja
et al (2003) add to the concerns regarding open-ended questions by highlighting the extensive coding that they require. In light of the arguments above, data was collected via a questionnaire comprised of open and closed-ended questions due to the mass collection capabilities of closed-ended questions and the insight made available through open-ended questions. The method accumulated both qualitative and quantitative data (Appendix 6). The quantitative data was collected using a nominal scale because, although none of the variables in the answers provided were numerical, the results were collected numerically. For example, the answers chosen were labelled with the percentage number of participants who selected that variable as their answer. None of the questions used a dichotomous scale as they all included four or more variables. Furthermore, the variables were listed in no particular order therefore, a weakness of collecting nominal data is that it ignores the ordering of information (Agresti, 2010). Taylor (2005) comments on the advantages and disadvantages of both qualitative and quantitative methods of data collection. He describes the reliability of quantitative measures, but also approves the richness of qualitative data. Successively, the research at hand has been designed using a mixed method approach so the analysis could benefit from large quantities of data to favour validity and complex opinions so the central- and sub-questions can be answered amply. The way the research was structured allowed analysis by correlation of themes, and answered questions that perhaps were not asked in the questionnaire, but could have been determined from the results. The results from the research were inductive in regards to discovering the samples’ views on the matter, it also determined whether the data collected either refuted or correlated with what is seen as typical by the literature (Fereday and Muir-Cochrane, 2006).

3.2- Questionnaire Design

The research instrument used was a questionnaire, constructed using an online document developer called Google Forms. Online distribution of the questionnaire was chosen due to the accessibility of a larger sample size and, after considering cost and time, an online questionnaire was the most efficient manner of data collection. It enabled the questionnaire to be sent to
participants and be completed without the need for any printing, waste of paper, or even face-to-face contact. The process was the quickest way to deliver the questionnaire to as many people as possible so as to increase the validity of the study (Ilieva et al., 2002). Participants had the flexibility to complete the questionnaire in their own time, whenever was best for them. Self-completion questionnaires can be problematic because participants can sometimes give irrelevant feedback; they may misunderstand a question and have little guidance readily available without contacting the researcher. Another disadvantage could include a lack of substance to certain answers; some participants may simply answer in the quickest possible fashion as not to waste too much of their time (Boynton and Greenhalgh, 2004). Therefore, some of the questions were given introductions design to spike interest and engage the participants as much as possible.

The questionnaire was comprised of 15 closed-ended questions that generated quantitative results and 6 open-ended questions that produced qualitative answers (Appendix 5); all of which was subjected to cross-tabulation and thematic analysis. The questionnaire consisted of questions derived from the literature review around specific points of importance, that originated throughout the secondary research. Each question sought to provide substance to a debate or assumption made by the literature so as to determine whether ‘young’ people confirmed or refuted what is seen as typical. The open-ended questions were attached to certain closed-ended questions to provide explanations for the answers given to the closed-ended questions, as seen in Table 2.

3.3- Analysing the Quantitative Data
After gathering the quantitative data, the results were inserted into Excel and formed into pie charts that indicated the percentage and number of participants that chose each answer. This facilitated ease of comprehension and helped to differentiate between participants’ opinions (Kumar and Phrommathed, 2005). This also allowed the results to the preliminary questions, that consist of closed-ended questions, to be displayed before the
open-ended questions, which ask the participants to elaborate on his or her answer to the aforementioned preliminary questions. From this, themes were created and cross-tabulation analysis was conducted; participants’ answers for one question were compared to their answers for the remainder of the questions. The focus point for analysis was questions 2a and 2b, which can be seen in Table 2. 2a acted as a basis for other questions to be corresponded with, to form cross-tabulated themes. Cross-tabulation was chosen because of the benefit it delivers through the ease of data-fusion between results (Kamakura and Wedel, 1997). In contradiction to this and in correlation to the drawbacks of using qualitative data, the cross-tabulation analysis remained time-consuming and demanded analytical insight from the researcher (Cooper et al, 2006). Although a difficult task, cross-tabulation provided the best feasible insight into the results. An example of the cross-tabulation used was the comparison between the gender of participants and their respective answers to individual questions. This allowed for a thematic discussion and interpretation of the data.

Table 2- Questions 2a and 2b of the Questionnaire

2a) Do you think the United Kingdom should remain a member of the European Union or leave the European Union?

- Remain in the European Union
- Leave the European Union
- Don’t know
- Prefer not to answer

2b) Please give the main reason(s) for your decision.

Your answer
3.4- Analysing the Qualitative Data
As the qualitative data was derived from elaborations of the quantitative data, its purpose was to justify the cross-tabulations. The qualitative data alone was also analysed and incorporated into themes. Grouping of the qualitative data was used to define themes between qualitative answers as well as provide support for the quantitative cross-tabulations. As mentioned previously, the questions were formed around specific points of interest discussed in the literature review. These points of interest were converted into the foundation of the thematic analysis. For example, where the research elicits an understanding of an individual’s views on trade, it was then possible to analyse this against their opinions on whether they wish to remain in the EU. As a result of this, themes that developed from the comparisons were analysed and discussed in contrast with the literature. Overall, all the analysis occurred inductively, this was because the results were data-reliant and there was little presence of theoretical assumption; only once they were gathered were the results compared with what was discovered in the literature (Boyatzis, 1998).

3.5- Participants and Sampling
For the research to hold validity the participants had to fit within the voting criteria for the referendum. In order to gain a broad perspective of ‘young’ people’s opinions the participants were 18-24-year-old British males and females from any demographic. To ensure only participants within the age range were selected, the questionnaire was only sent to people fitting the age requirements. Although the questionnaire was distributed partly using a snowball effect, it encompassed a declaration of age to ensure participants were all within the desired age range. An example of this can be seen in Table 3.
Table 3- Participant's Declaration of Consent

If you are 18-24 years of age, understand the statement above and freely consent to participate in this study please tick the consent box to proceed.

All answers will be anonymous.

Name of participant

Your answer

I confirm the above *

As the questionnaire aimed to represent the general public between the ages of 18 and 24, with the limitation of minimal funding, a convenience sample was used. The sample size aim was 150 participants but the final number consisted of 152 participants who completed the questionnaire. Results were gathered for roughly one month, which ensured enough time to contract a large enough sample size for the study to gain validity. As the research was conducted online, the researcher was not confined to participants in one geographical area, therefore providing a larger range of participants from different backgrounds to improve validity. To assist the convenience sample and reach the quantity needed for generalisability, snowball sampling was also used. When enquiring whether a participant would complete the questionnaire the researcher asked whether the participant would recruit any more participants, within the age range, to complete the questionnaire. Benefits of using a snowball sampling directly correlate with the size of the sample made available, evidence of this was the fact that 152 participants completed the questionnaire when only 150 were needed; this was a result of snowball sampling. Snowball sampling also lends itself to the low cost of the research. On the contrary, snowball sampling may lead to a community bias in the results; the original participant may influence the views of subsequent
participants (Given, 2008). To counteract this the participant information and consent forms both encouraged that the participants’ individual views were recorded (Appendix 1, 2, 3, and 4). Also, within the participant information and consent forms it was stated that all information collected would be kept anonymous, therefore promoting truthful and non-bias insights to participant’s opinions (Ilieva et al, 2002).

When conducting primary research, piloting ensured the appropriateness of the research instrument and the format used; in this case, the questionnaire (Bryman and Bell, 2007). The questionnaire was piloted on two individuals within the participant specification to approve the format and comprehensibility of the study.

3.6- Reliability, Ethics, Validity and Generalisability
The sample size of 152 participants should be generalisable to others between the ages of 18 and 24. As mentioned previously, the participants’ answers were anonymous throughout and after the study, and only the analysis was made publicly available. This encouraged the sample to openly discuss their opinions, benefiting the reliability of the study. Unfortunately, a drawback in reliability surfaced due to the research instrument; the nature of a questionnaire does not provide the colloquial atmosphere a non-directive interview or a focus group could. With these research methods, both allow the participant to relax and almost forget they are being monitored, whereas when completing a questionnaire, the formality of the process can be an issue in achieving reliable results (Punch, 2000). This being said, the result of using the measures implemented to achieve reliability should ensure that if the study was repeated, similar results would be found (Kuo and Zhu, 2012).

Berg et al (2004) define the ethical consideration of research to be the most important aspect, as it is what ensures participant safety, both physically and mentally. For the research to be valid an ethical approval form was submitted to the ethics board of Cardiff Metropolitan University for consideration (Appendix 8). Only upon ethical approval was the research allowed to be
undertaken. Each participant, prior to the questionnaire was presented with an information sheet and a consent form, detailing the project and its intentions. Both forms reiterated that the information provided would be kept anonymous and that participants reserve the right to withdraw at any time. Contact details of the researcher were also provided to all participants preceding the questionnaire so that any questions or concerns could be addressed.

As the questionnaire was conducted on 152 ‘young’ people within the UK, with an almost even number of males and females, the sample enabled the study to be generalised to other ‘young’ people in the UK because of the number of people involved. In total there were 65 males and 58 females who completed the questionnaire, unfortunately 29 participants did not specify their gender. Some participants had very individual views towards the EU and they answered in a completely different way to the typical participant; the study included, at least, one of these participants and obtained a general view of how all ‘young’ people, even outliers, view the EU. If the results were seen as reliable, but invalid, they would be of no use (Golafshani, 2003). Ultimately, the results were as valid and the participants were truthful with their opinions. Some participants chose to only answer specific questions when taking part in the questionnaire, therefore, some questions had a slightly higher response rate than others. This was more evident in the latter half of the questionnaire due to its length and when elaborations of answers were requested because of the time required.
Section 4.0 - Results, Analysis, Interpretation and Discussion

Primarily, the raw quantitative data was formed into pie charts to provide a more comprehensible view of participants’ opinions for all the questions in the questionnaire. The quantitative data was then used to create pivot tables that cross-tabulated answers contrasting two variables (answers to question 2a with other answers), which determined the root of why those of a Europhilic or Eurosceptic depiction were opinionated in that way (Appendix 7). The qualitative data derived from the open-ended questions was then grouped into common themes that reoccurred throughout the answers. All closed-ended questions posed by the questionnaire are stated below in their respective Figures. Questions 1a, 2a, 5a, 6a, 10a and 13a all had open-ended questions attached to them to gain insight to the answers that were given in the former half of the questions. The open-ended half of said questions consisted of querying participants’ reasons:

*Please give the main reason(s) for your decision.*

Figure 1 - Results of Question 1a

1a) The normal voting age is 18. In your opinion do you think the voting age for the decision of whether the UK remains in the EU or not should be 16 or 18?

(150 responses)

As seen in Figure 1, this initial question aimed at tackling the argument of whether the voting age for the referendum should be lowered to 16. Evidently, the ‘young’ participants of the questionnaire refute the view of the SNP and correspond with the decision made by the House of Lords in late 2015. It is
interesting, though, to highlight the House of Lords only overturned the bid for a younger voting age at 303 to 253 (Sims and Stone, 2015). Whereas, the questionnaire reveals ‘young’ people feel much stronger about preventing people under 18 from voting, resulting in 82.7% of participants in favour of not altering the referendum bill. The main argument presented against an under-18 vote was that of maturity and influence, according to qualitative data from question 1b.

Anyone under the age of 18 can be easily influenced by parents, older figures and the irresponsible may just vote as a joke without understanding what the whole situation is.

Although this research was to study why people vote a certain way so that groups can campaign for their vote effectively, if those voting are too young and impressionable it could lead to misguidance from public figures or intensified intra-family influence, leading to a tarnished referendum (McDevitt and Chaffee, 2002). Alternatively, the minority that wanted the voting age lowered, felt that young people warranted a vote because it would be their futures that would be altered:

They will have to live with the consequences of the result when they are older.

Younger generations having to live with the referendum outcome was at the heart of the SNP’s argument when trying to replicate in the EU referendum, the younger voting age seen in the Scottish referendum. They failed to do so (Sims and Stone, 2015). This leniency towards young people also shows compassion to those desiring to vote but are unable to, for example, someone who has developed a keen political interest from a young age. Overall, the fact is that the voting age is not changing, and if anyone were to champion a younger voting age, one would expect to find such a tendency within the sample, but there was none.
Figure 2- Results of Question 2a

2a) Do you think the United Kingdom should remain a member of the European Union or leave the European Union?
(150 responses)

Figure 2 displays the quantitative results from the core question of the study. Correlating to the typical view of the literature, participants felt very strongly that the UK should remain part of the EU.

Figure 3- Gender Specific Answers to Question 2a

Figure 3 breaks down the results of the study’s main question into gender specific answers. It can be seen that, respective to the almost even number of males and females that took part in the study, the answers were consistent throughout both genders and even where no gender was specified. Meaning gender had no impact on whether the sample wishes to leave the EU or not.
This correlates with the literature, as there was also a lack of distinction between male’s and female’s views.

Figure 4- Level of Education and Answers to Question 2a

Figure 4 shows the relationship between participants’ level of education and their views on whether they want to remain in or leave the EU. Much like Figure 3, there is no clear distinction between participants’ level of education and their views regarding the EU referendum. Moreover, question 2b disclosed why participants wanted to stay in or leave the EU. The open-ended probing revealed the minority who answered in favour of leaving the EU, typically wanted a Brexit because of immigration, and law:

*My main and biggest reason is due to immigration. Anyone who thinks the level of immigration we have received has not caused a strain on our schools, hospitals, roads, housing etc is simply naïve.*

*I do not agree with certain policies within the EU.*

The strain on public services is something that is of concern to many Britons and has been a central focus of Cameron’s effort to reform the UK’s membership (Foster, 2016). Those with a desire to leave the EU, because of the laws and policies imposed on the UK, also correlate to a major concern uncovered in the literature. The issue of sovereignty and the EU was detailed by Gifford (2010), and having laws created within Britain would win back the aspect of public sovereignty needed to change participants’ minds, about
leaving the EU. On the other hand, almost all participants who coveted the UK’s EU membership wanted to stay because of trade benefits, a less social argument than those wanting to leave. Although one might think ‘young’ people wanting to leave the EU would have more immature or selfish reasons for leaving, the reasons deriving from trade show a strong correlation with older generations, as portrayed in the literature. Perhaps more juvenile views would have been uncovered if the sample was extended to 16- and 17-year-olds, as deliberated previously. Moreover, a minority also wanted to stay due to the freedom of movement:

-Cheaper trade, lower trade barriers, red tape and restrictions. Net benefit of immigration on UK GDP.

-Free passage - no extra visa’s needed.

The view of remaining part of the EU because of trade is echoed throughout the literature, with fears of loss of GDP and the decision of what trade model the UK would adopt, surrounding the argument (Irwin, 2015; Booth et al, 2015). Although trade is the biggest motivator for ‘young’ people to want to stay in the EU, free travel within Europe is also one of the main reasons, and this has not been of major concern when reviewing the literature. Therefore, this assumes ‘young’ people place more importance on free movement than the typical viewpoint of the literature. As those stating outright that trade is of utmost importance constitute a large majority, they may have been quick to answer and may have unconsciously taken an influenced approach to the very abrupt question posed at the beginning of the questionnaire. Consequently, as Holloway (1997) recommends, the subsequent questions added subtlety to the questioning to achieve truly honest thoughts.
The question in Figure 5 was posed, mainly because of the immigration and terrorism crises that have caused internal turmoil throughout Europe. The result was very evenly split throughout the sample. The crises occurring throughout Europe could result in participants wanting to leave the EU to remove the UK from the situation, and therefore, resulting in them thinking a referendum is something the government should be focusing on. This being said, those with a sense of probity may want to remain in the EU to solve the problems, and might argue that the referendum is a waste of time and resources when there are more pressing issues at hand.
Figure 6 depicts the cross-tabulation between questions 2a and 3. It is evident that the majority of those who wish to remain in the EU believe holding a referendum is not something the UK government should be focusing on; this could be due to the fear of the possibility of a Brexit. Whereas, the majority of those who wish to leave the EU think it is something the government should focus on, predominantly because it gives them a chance to vote to leave. It is worth mentioning, and peculiar to see, that the majority of those who did not know whether they wanted to leave the EU did think a referendum was something that should be focused on.
Figure 7- Results of Question 4

4) Do you think migrants from the EU contribute towards British economy?

(150 responses)

Question 4 was asked to ascertain whether the sample agreed with the mounting evidence towards migrant's financial benefit to the UK (Springford, 2013; Parutis, 2014). Figure 7 displays an overwhelming 76.7% corresponded with the literature, saying they believe migrants contribute to the British economy.

Figure 8- Cross-Tabulation of Questions 2a and 4

Figure 8 represents the cross-tabulation between questions 2a and 4 of the questionnaire. It revealed that both those who wish to leave the EU and those who wish to remain were in mutual agreement about the UK’s benefit from migrants. Although most from the remain group believed EU migrants
contribute to the UK, this group also represented the highest number of participants who did not think EU migrants contribute towards the EU. This majority of answers that came from those wanting to remain in the EU are most likely down to the sheer quantity (68%) of participants who wanted to stay in the EU. Therefore, rendering this result inconclusive. This being said, it is evident that people believe EU migrants are of benefit to the UK and the decision must be made, prior to the referendum, whether the benefits outweigh the reported £18.8 billion per annum that the UK contributes to the EU budget (Webb and Keep, 2016). As this question focuses on an economic circumstance, it may have been wise to also ask participants about EU migrants’ benefit or hindrance towards social aspects of life in the UK, but as social wellbeing and migration are sensitive subjects the questionnaire circumvented such direct questioning to avoid offence.

Figure 9- Results of Question 5a

5a) David Cameron is currently trying to prevent migrants from receiving benefits for up to 4 years upon entering the UK. Do you agree or disagree with this decision?

(131 responses)

The issue explored in Figure 9 has changed significantly since the time of the research. Cameron has now finalised a deal to secure a four-year break on migrant benefits that can be used if the UK can provide evidence of migrants putting excessive strain on the UK’s public services; this break is available for seven years. Criticisms of this effort have included the fact that there is no established definition of what ‘excessive strain’ on public services entails (Foster, 2016). Although not of direct significance anymore, it is interesting to
relate the results Cameron’s new deal, in place of the original one. With the majority supporting Cameron’s original plans, and with new plans in place that are more sympathetic towards migrants than the original ones, it can be seen the sample has taken a much stricter view on migration policy than what has been achieved in the EU negotiations.

**Figure 10 - Cross-Tabulation of Questions 2a and 5a**

Figure 10 realises the relationships between the results for questions 2a and 5a. It shows a staggering amount of Europhiles agreeing with Cameron’s demands and desiring for migrant’s benefits to be blocked for 4 years. This implies the majority of those wishing to remain in the EU hope to reform it in respect to migration. There was also a high number or Eurosceptics that agree EU migrants should be blocked from receiving UK benefits, lending to the notion of migrants using public services being a reason for the sample wanting to leave the EU.
Figures 11 and 12 display the results for questions 6a and 7. They display the number of participants that believe the EU benefits the UK and the number of participants who believe the UK’s membership benefits the EU. It can be seen that both questions have resulted in a perceived mutual benefit for both the UK and the EU as long as the UK remains part of the single market. This being said, participants believed the EU benefits more from the UK’s membership than the UK benefits from its own membership in the EU. The arguments within the literature proposed by Niblett (2015) mirror the opinion of the sample by suggesting the EU and the UK are of mutual benefit to one another. He concludes his case by suggesting the UK remains part of the EU to benefit both parties, and from the results gathered, it can be seen that
those wanting to remain in the EU are heavily influenced by the overall benefit to the UK. This being said, there are still some who recognise the mutual benefit of membership but still believe the UK would be better off post-Brexit (as seen in Figure 13).

Figure 13- Cross-Tabulation of Questions 2a and 6a

![Figure 13](image1)

Figure 14- Cross-Tabulation of Questions 2a and 7

![Figure 14](image2)

Figures 13 and 14 compare the views of respondents to the question of who reaps benefits from EU membership with whether they wish to remain or leave. Unsurprisingly, both Figures reveal that the participants who want to remain in the EU believe there is a mutual benefit for both parties as a result of the UK’s membership. It is to be noted that those who wish to leave the EU
believed the EU benefits much more from the UK’s membership than the UK benefits from the EU.

Analysis of question 6b divulged that those who do not believe the UK benefits from its EU membership, mainly believe the UK economy would be in a beneficial position upon leaving:

I think we’d be in less debt if we weren’t part of the EU.

This theme, shared by the few that think the UK is not helped by the EU, refutes the predictions seen in the literature concerning GDP loss upon a Brexit, and suggests the UK would be more prosperous if it left. As this is a minority in the sample, the majority, who believe the UK does benefit from EU membership, does so because of trade, economy, unity, free movement and security:

Because of the trade and financial relationships, we have.

Trade, migrants generate high amounts of revenue, easier travel around Europe. Allows Europe to be united and work towards solving issues that actually matter.

National security / financial.

The examples above, representative of those who believe the UK benefits from EU membership, mostly reflect what is seen in the literature. The idea of financial relationships with Europe being of benefit to the UK is out of line with the literature. Major (2014) argues that UK financial services are stifled by European bureaucracy and only significant reform would reap benefits to the extent other European states experience with labour migration. This being said, labour migration itself echoed as a positive throughout the research sample and the literature, as seen previously (Dustmann and Frattini, 2014; Warrell, 2014). As for national security, Niblett (2015) argues that Britain would benefit from steering relations away from Europe and towards the US, whereas the sample suggested they found the EU to be a security benefit to the UK. But with the Syrian crisis and the freedom of movement throughout
Europe, making it hard to stop terrorists posing as refugees, it can be difficult to assess whether EU membership brings more or less risk from terrorism to the UK; this concept is explored further in Figures 21 and 22.

**Figure 15- Results of Question 8**

8) The United States have expressed their desire for the UK to remain in the EU. Does this impact on your decision on whether to leave or remain in the EU?

(150 responses)

The Figure above displays participants’ views on whether their wish to leave the EU is influenced by the views of the US, as discussed in the literature. The majority stated they were not influenced by the US, but 18% said they are and 16% did not know. Although not a majority, the 18% that were influenced is a significant number in response to a matter that may not even be seen as one of the main influencers to Britons’ votes.

**Figure 16- Cross-Tabulation of Questions 2a and 8**
Figure 16 shows the contrasts between questions 2a and 8. It can be seen that the majority of those who desire to stay in the EU were not influenced by the view of the US even though they correspond to it. Whereas, almost none of the participants that wanted to leave were influenced by the view of the US, meaning the opinion of the US, wanting the UK to remain in the EU, has not deterred many ‘young’ people from not wanting to leave the EU anymore.

**Figure 17- Results of Question 9**

9) Being part of the EU makes the UK part of the European trade bloc in which there is a free trade agreement. Do you think it is beneficial to remain part of this trade bloc or to seek other free trade agreements with countries outside of the EU? (150 responses)

![Pie chart showing responses to Question 9](image)

Figure 17 depicts participants' views about trade blocs and with whom the UK is best to trade with. The results reveal participants were largely divided, mostly between those wanting to remain in the EU trading bloc and those wanting to trade within and outside the bloc, as the UK does at present.
Figure 18- Cross-Tabulation of Questions 2a and 9

Figure 18 signifies that participants who were sympathetic towards the EU, mostly wished to trade with both the EU trade bloc and seek trade agreements outside the EU. This was closely followed by Europhilic participants just wishing to remain in the EU trade bloc. Upon analysis of this question it is clear to see that the options for answers were not worded clearly and some confusion could have resulted between ‘remain in EU trade bloc’ and ‘both of the above’, because the UK already has trade agreements with countries outside the EU and does not solely trade with the EU alone.
Figure 19- Results of Question 10a

10a) Do you think the UK should focus on partnerships with European countries, the United States, emerging markets (e.g. China and India), or spread its efforts over all the above?

(148 responses)

Figure 19 illustrates the results of question 10a and builds on the results depicted in Figure 15. This question compensates for some of the confusion caused in the wording of question 9. It can be seen that the large majority (66.2%) of participants were in favour of spreading partnership efforts over as much of the world as possible. This contests the theory of the three circles explored by Niblett (2015), who argues the UK should remain close to its neighbours. This also determines that ‘young’ people are more sympathetic to a more globalised world and believe the UK should not shy away from geographically distant partnerships, as recommended by the literature.
Relative to the fact that there were many more Europhilic participants, it is clear to see in Figure 20, that those that wish to leave the EU and those that wish to stay have the similar desire to seek partnerships throughout the globalised world. It is also not surprising that the majority of Eurosceptic participants wished to establish partnerships with as many different parts of the world as possible, indicating they may wish to leave the EU due to wanting to trade with others as well as the EU and the fear of the EU becoming insular, like America has in the past (Kertzer, 2013).

The consensus among the participants who believe the UK should trade with ‘all of the above’ is based, mostly, on economy and trade:

*Partnerships should be formed to benefit the countries economy. If a certain country has benefits to bring to the table, we shouldn’t ignore these in favours of our existing relationships, unless they will be negatively affected.*

Those who believe trade would increase, therefore, better the economy, are right to think this is a possibility. But countering this, the literature implies the UK should focus on trade with its closest market, the EU. Atsmon et al (2012) remind us that the UK tried focusing its efforts into emerging markets, and did not have the desired outcome of significantly increased trade and more world power. This also supports Niblett’s (2015) argument of forging relationships deeper within the EU, and by rebuffing the participants’ views, making these
relationships the UK’s main focus. Within the answers to question 10b, some argue geography is not an issue, but when contrasting this view to HMRC’s (2015) facts detailing UK trade statistics, it is clear that Switzerland, the geographically closest listed country, has the highest annual trade growth rate with the UK, therefore increasing the belief that the main influence of trade, much like property, is ‘location, location, location’.

Figure 21- Results of Question 11

11) Do you think Britain is more at risk from terrorism if it is inside the EU or outside the EU?
(149 responses)

As seen in Figure 21, the majority of respondents did not believe membership of the EU would make any difference to the threat of terrorism in the UK. Also, almost equal amounts of participants either did not know, thought the UK would be at more risk outside, or thought the UK would be more at risk inside the EU.
Figure 22 shows the majority of both those wanting to stay in the EU and those wanting to leave, believed membership did not make a difference to the risk of terrorism. This indicates the majorities' opinions are not likely to have been influenced by terrorism. This being said there were a relatively large number of participants that either do not know or thought the UK would be at more risk in or out of the EU, indicating this section of the sample could be influenced through fear of terrorism in the UK. Adding all these participants together largely outnumbers the amount that stated it did not make a difference, therefore, actually leaving a large number of participants susceptible to voting one way or another out of fear.
Figure 23- Results of Question 12

12) Currently the European Union creates laws that have to be enforced across all European countries. Do you think the UK would have more influence on EU policy making if it was part of the EU or not part of the EU?

(149 responses)

Figure 23 shows 73.2% of the participants correlated with the literature by believing the UK would have more influence on the EU’s policies from inside the EU. Without inside input the UK would have to negotiate with its geographical neighbours from a position with less influence than it could have from remaining part of the EU. Niblett (2015) discusses the benefits closer integration could have on British trade and the economy. Unfortunately for these benefits, it is the prospect of a more closely integrated union that deters people from EU membership altogether.

Figure 24- Cross-Tabulation of Questions 2a and 12
Figure 24 shows the correlation between questions 2a and 12. It is clear that those who wish to remain in the EU were heavily influenced by the notion that the UK will be able to negotiate policies more in their favour if they are part of the EU. Figures 23 and 24 suggest policy making was of great importance to the sample and could influence the way they vote.

**Figure 25- Results of Question 13a**

13a) It has been reported that up to 70% of UK laws are created by the EU. Do you think it is important for Britain to make all of its own laws?

(148 responses)

It can be seen in Figure 25 that the majority (56.1%) of participants believed the UK should be independent in its law making. 21.5% believed it is not of importance for the UK to make its own laws and, therefore, leave most of the law making to the EU. It should be noted that law making includes decisions, directives and regulations.
The most significant result unveiled by comparing question 2a to 13a is that nearly all the participants wanting to leave the EU thought that the UK should make all of its own laws. This indicates that law making in Britain could be one of the main reasons individuals wish to leave the EU. Furthermore, the results to 13b uncovered the majority of those with the desire for the UK to make its own laws wish to do so because of the vast cultural and economic differences that countries in the EU have:

Because the way we run our country is different to others in the EU and we should be able to make our own rules up in a democratic society.

Britain is its own country with its own culture, what we deem wrong may not be the same in European countries.

I think it depends on the culture and economy as to whether it should make its own laws.

This advances the idea that the eastern enlargement of the EU in 2004 created a union with member states that differed too greatly (Springford, 2013). Also with the accession of Croatia in 2013 and the impending appreciation that Turkey will gain accession, the EU’s cultures will inevitably become more diverse, resulting in more laws that may or may not be in accordance with the British public’s needs.
Figure 27 - Results of Question 14

14) What do you think about the amount of authority that is given to the EU instead of being kept within the UK?

(148 responses)

Figure 27 adds to Figure 25 and takes the concept of laws and widens it to authority, a much broader concept. Only a small percentage of participants did not know if all laws in Britain should be created by Britain, whereas, in Figure 27 it can be seen that the popular opinion (42.6%) did not know if enough authority is kept within the UK. As a more abstract concept, it may be harder for individuals not educated on the subject to answer, whereas laws are more clear cut.

Figure 28 - Cross-Tabulation of Questions 2a and 14

Figure 28 specifies most of those in favour of remaining part of the EU do not know if the correct amount of authority is being given to the EU. This
uncertainty proves worrying for both sides as it is clear that this is an issue that has not received much attention. It would probably benefit both sides to have a public debate on the subject of authority.

Figure 29- Results of Question 15

15) Do you think the implementation of EU laws in the UK impact British people in a positive or a negative way?
(150 responses)

This final question, depicted in Figure 29, was chosen to see what ‘young’ people thought of the many laws the EU has implemented. Surprisingly, after the majority wanted all laws to be made in the UK, the majority, seen in Figure 29, believe EU laws have impacted life in Britain in a positive way. Secondly, those who did not know and only a minority of 18.7% thought they had impacted the UK negatively.
Of those who wish to leave the EU, it can be seen in Figure 30, that hardly any respondents believed EU laws impact the UK in a positive way and the majority thought they impact the UK in a negative way. This may, in turn, be the main reason for them wanting to part from the EU. On the other hand, most of the Europhilic participants believed EU laws impact the UK in a positive way or they did not know, therefore not highlighting that it is of most importance to their views on the referendum.

Throughout the results, there were many participants that answered “Don’t know” to certain, or most of the questions. This indecisiveness indicates that even at the ages of 18 through to 24, some participants did not know enough about the subject in question:

I don't know enough about the subject to make an uninfluenced decision.

I’m honestly not sure on the pros and cons of leaving other than what I’ve heard from people who are for or against it, meaning I’ve only heard the biased headline content.

The uncertainty from many of the participants leaves a worrying forecast for the referendum. Thankfully, the second participant quoted above knows they are only being influenced by biased opinions, but it is mostly only biased opinions that will feature in the public’s decision, making any party who is able
to uncover what people think is important, able to effectively campaign for their votes.
Section 5.0- Summary, Conclusions and Evaluations

Contrasting the literature to the results of the research has realised some similarities as well as some distinct differences. Both the literature and the ‘young’ participants shared the view that the economy and trade is of paramount importance when voting in the referendum. This does not just hold true for one side of the argument; both those wanting to leave and those wanting to stay regard trade and the economy as something that would influence their decision. Secondly, ‘young’ people place a lot of importance on the issues related to immigration; this view not only comes from those that want to leave the EU but also those who would see it reformed. However, this is somewhat hypocritical as members of the sample also have high regard for free movement around the EU, allowing them to travel visa-free. Ultimately the two contradict one another, and although Cameron has negotiated the ‘brake’ that can be used to prevent strain on public services, the Union will always facilitate the migration of people (Foster, 2016). The literature on the other hand, does not place much importance on free movement, but immigration is seen as a large issue and has already been made the backbone to certain political parties’ campaigns in the past (UKIP, 2015). The reason for the difference in opinion around free movement could stem from the different levels of expendable income and the amount of free time available to the different age groups. Younger people are more likely to be taking a ‘gap year’, where one may travel through Europe, despite not being in the most financial stable position to do so. So the cost of visas, should the UK leave the EU, would be undesirable:

Free passage - no extra visa’s needed.

On the other hand, working professionals are not likely to have the spare time to travel extensively and would probably have the funds to pay for visas if they needed to; this therefore would not be of major importance to them. Furthermore, both the literature and ‘young’ people, in their comments, emphasise the importance of law making and sovereignty. Although some place more emphasis on one or the other, Wellings (2010) claims the two come hand in hand. Finally, the literature places importance on the UK’s
position of power within the EU and the world, whereas when questioning members of the sample, they either did not know much regarding the subject or did not find it of as much importance as the other subject areas that were mentioned previously. This being said, the sample does believe in a sense of unity throughout the world and believes, when discussing trade negotiations, that Britain should extend efforts to as many parts of the world as possible (see Figure 19), an idea that is refuted by Niblett (2015).

The general aim of the research was to see whether ‘young’ people have specific and distinctive views concerning the UK and EU membership and whether any unique factor is informing their opinions. This aim derived from the large gap in the literature concerning this demographic, that ultimately, due to the sheer size of the demographic, could have a large impact on the referendum. Therefore, the importance for campaigning groups to target voters correctly is paramount. The questionnaire directly uncovered ‘young’ people’s views on the referendum with questions 2a and 2b (recording that 68% of ‘young’ people wanted to remain in the EU, and their reasons why). However as mentioned previously, this was supported by indirect questioning so as to discover deeper and more honest answers that could be used in conjunction with the results to 2a and 2b, to uncover what specific factors informed their decisions and whether they confirm or refute what is seen as typical.

The results of the research, although demonstrating a variety of opinions, have determined mainstream premises generalisable to other 16-24-year olds. The following assumptions are based on the opinions of the majority in the research and in the literature. It is noticeable that ‘young’ people are keen to remain in the EU, therefore confirming what is seen in the literature. It is also highlighted throughout the results that almost all those who want to remain in the EU want to see it reformed.

The aim of the research has been answered with resounding positivity: ‘young’ people are favourably disposed towards the UK’s continued EU
membership. It is now the responsibility of the respective political groups to campaign for these ‘young’ people’s votes prioritising, the economy, trade, immigration, free movement and law-making. Therefore, the research aim, of what informs ‘young’ people’s decision, has been adequately addressed. Although not aligning completely with the literature, there are major similarities. But also differences that can simply be explained by the fiscal behaviour of different age groups. As stated previously, knowing what influences votes enables groups to campaign for them effectively. But, if a group that has ulterior motives or wants to win votes in an unethical manner uses these influences in campaigns they may well develop a strong following that is unwanted by a percentage of the population. For example, in the US, Donald Trump has based most of his campaign around fear of terrorism and immigration, two factors that resonate deeply with many Americans. Although, the reasons behind his campaign have led to a lot of divide and even hate between the voters (McAfee, 2016). There are numerous examples of fear being deployed as a motivating factor within political campaigns all over the world as well as in UK, but an examination of these issues is outside the scope if this research. In the context of the referendum it is clear to see how fear over job loss or immigration could turn to hatred and civil disorder resulting in the influence of votes.

The research design itself worked efficiently to meet the aims of the study. Unfortunately, due to a lack of time and resources, a larger number of participants were not recruited, which would have increased validity and generalisability. Retrospectively the research should have taken into account the number of participants that will actually vote in the referendum; a poll by Opiniom indicates this itself could be a deciding factor (Helm, 2016). Another criticism of the research was that it should have questioned the involvement that family has on ‘young’ people’s decisions to measure the level of intra-family influence explained by McDevitt and Chaffee (2002). The online distribution of the questionnaire worked well and enabled the processing of the raw quantitative data to be efficient. The rich quantitative and qualitative
data, although specific to this topic, could be used or built upon to determine further behavioural characteristics of the sample.

5.1- Recommendations
Obviously the leave-campaign groups would benefit from additional research to ascertain further what factors could change the minds of the majority that are in favour of remaining in the EU. If taken further, it would be instructive to conduct in depth focus groups with a smaller sample selected from the participants of the questionnaire to gather more in-depth qualitatively rich results. One suggestion of a target group could be comprised of participants that wish for the UK to remain in and participants who are unsure about the EU membership. This would be so the leave-campaign could gain an understanding of how to gain more ‘young’ people's votes.

The value of this research lies in the political capital that can be generated from it. Primarily, the wellbeing of the economy and trade must be put at the forefront of any campaign for ‘young’ voters. The remain-campaign is best suited to capitalise on the importance ‘young’ people place on this area; it could for example base its campaign around the fears of loss of GDP based on the multitude of predictions discussed in the literature. On the other hand, the leave-campaign can only speculate what economic outcomes there will be post-Brexit; this arguably only leads to more uncertainty. Secondly, the research recommends groups on both sides should campaign using immigration as a focal point of motivation. Possibly, the leave-campaign is best suited for this approach since it holds the only chance of reducing the rate of immigration in Britain. Both the notion of free movement and the remain-campaign are well-suited to each other. Without EU membership free movement throughout Europe could be a thing of the past. Furthermore, the concept of law-making could be efficiently used by the leave-campaign. It could focus efforts on proving to ‘young’ people laws would become 100% made in Britain, for Britain, making laws relevant and unbureaucratic, and therefore, less costly. Alternatively, the remain-campaign could promote the concept that EU laws benefit the environment and human-rights across all EU
member states. Sovereignty could be used as a tool by the leave-campaign to instil in 'young' people's minds the idea that Britain may regain all of its independence post-Brexit. Although recommendations have been made in relation to areas 'young' people find of interest, there is one piece of further information that campaigning groups could capitalise on. This is the high number of respondents (42.6%) claiming “don’t know” to the question of authority (Figure 27). This topic has not been widely discussed in the media and as seen in the results 'young' people do not know much about the subject at all. This may be something the remain-campaign should not focus on because of the potential loss of voters. On the other hand, it would be beneficial for the leave-campaign to steer public debate in the direction of authority. Because if people are not informed about this topic it is an area where public opinion could be swayed. So although it might seem from the research that 'young' people have made their minds up overwhelmingly to remain, in actual fact there is great potential here for changing minds.
Section 6.0- References


BBC¹ (2016) The battle to be the official EU referendum Leave campaign (Online) Available at: http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-politics-34484687, Last accessed 31/03/2016

BBC² (2016) EU referendum: Guide to the 'In' campaign (Online) Available at: http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-politics-34505076, Last accessed 31/03/2016

BBC³ (2016) EU deal gives UK special status, says David Cameron (Online) Available at: http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-politics-35616768, Last accessed 12/04/2016


CEPR (2013) *Trade and investment balance of competence review: a study for the Department of Business, Innovation and Skills* (Online)


Available at: http://ssrn.com/abstract=2620718, Last accessed 06/12/2015


Cromie. C (2015) *EU referendum: DUP’s Sammy Wilson gives backing to Ukip Brexit campaign, blasting David Cameron’s ‘pathetic demands’* (Online) Available at:


Donnan. S (2015) *Top US trade official warns on Brexit* (Online) Available at:
https://next.ft.com/content/9c6135b8-7dbe-11e5-98fb-5a6d4728f74e, Last accessed 28/11/2015


Ellwood. D (2014) “Soft power’ is a flawed tool in foreign policy, but a valuable form of global leadership”, *LSE American Politics and Policy*


Faulconbridge. G (2015) *Majority of Britons want to leave the EU after Paris attacks - opinion poll* (Online) Available at: http://uk.reuters.com/article/uk-britain-eu-poll-idUKKBN0TD0FY20151124, Last accessed 15/01/2015


Feklyunina. V (2015) “Soft power and identity: Russia, Ukraine and the ‘Russian world (s)’, *European Journal of International Relations*


Harding. R and Inagaki. K (2016) *Toyota pledges to stay in UK even if country takes Brexit* (Online) Available at: https://next.ft.com/content/1afaf414-b81f-11e5-b151-8e15c9a029fb, Last accessed 12/01/2016


HMRC (2015) *Summary of Import and Export Trade with EU and Non-EU Countries* (Online) Available at: https://www.uktradeinfo.com/Statistics/Pages/Annual-Tables.aspx, Last accessed 04/12/2015


Independent (2013) *How we were talked into joining Europe* (Online) Available at: http://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/politics/how-we-were-talked-into-joining-europe-224339.html, Last accessed 05/12/2015


Lea. R (2014) "The City benefits significantly from EU trade, but challenges lie ahead", *Arbuthnot Banking Group 5*

Liberal Democrats (2014) *Nick Clegg: Pro-Europeans are the real reformers now* (Online) Available at: http://www.libdems.org.uk/nick_clegg_pro_europeans_are_the_real_reformers_now#, Last accessed 20/11/2015


Monnet, J (1952) “The United States of Europe has begun. The European Coal and Steel Community - speeches and addresses by Jean Monnet”, 1952-1954. *Speech titles: Europe keeps face with the world*


Niblett, R (2015) *Britain, Europe and the World Rethinking the UK’s Circles of Influence* (Online) Available at: https://www.chathamhouse.org/sites/files/chathamhouse/20151019BritainEuropeWorldNiblettFinal.pdf, Last accessed 04/12/2015

Nilsson-Wright, J (2015) *UK Election Notes: Foreign Policy Opportunities – Security Cooperation with Japan* (Online) Available at: https://www.chathamhouse.org/expert/comment/17500, Last accessed 04/12/2015

Novy, D (2015) “Britain needs Europe a lot more than Europe needs Britain”, *The London School of Economics and Political Science*


Ottaviano, G, Pessoa, J, Sampson, T and Van Reenen, J (2014) “Brexit or Fixit? the trade and welfare effects of leaving the European union”, *The London School of Economics and Political Science*

Parker, G and Barker, A (2015) *David Cameron clears way for Brexit poll in summer* (Online) Available at: https://next.ft.com/content/8724e406-a591-11e5-97e1-a754d5d9538c, Last accessed 11/01/2016


Plaid Cymru (2015) *Europe* (Online) Available at: https://www.partyof.wales/europe-1/?force=1, Last accessed 20/11/2015


Robertson. A (2015) The EU is young people’s future. They must have the vote in this referendum (Online) Available at: http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2015/may/24/eu-young-people-vote-referendum, Last accessed 18/01/2016


Springford. J (2013) “Is immigration a reason for Britain to leave the EU?”, Centre for European Reform, Pages 1-10


The Guardian (2015) US warns Britain: If you leave EU you face barriers to trading with America (Online) Available at: http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2015/oct/29/us-warriors-britain-it-could-face-trade-barriers-if-it-leaves-eu, Last accessed 02/12/2015


Taylor. G (2005) Integrating quantitative and qualitative methods in research, University press of America


UKIP (2015) The truth is out - at least 75% of our laws are made by EU institutions says senior European Commissioner Viviane Reding (Online) Available at: http://www.ukip.org/the_truth_is_out_at_least_75_of_our_laws_are_made_by_eu_institutions_says_senior_european_commissioner_viviane_reding, Last accessed 05/12/2015


Warrell. H (2014) EU migrants pay £20bn more in taxes than they receive (Online) Available at: https://next.ft.com/content/c49043a8-6447-11e4-b219-00144feabdc0, Last accessed 06/12/2015


Section 7.0- Appendices

7.1- Appendix 1. Participant Information Form

Cardiff Metropolitan University
Participant Information Form

Ethics Reference Number: 
Participant name or Study ID Number: 
Title of Project: An investigation into young British people’s views on the EU referendum, whether or not the United Kingdom should remain a member state of the European Union? 
Name of Researcher: Daniel Saint-Davis

An investigation into young British people’s views on the EU referendum, whether or not the United Kingdom should remain a member state of the European Union?

The aim of this research project is to see whether people between the ages of 16 and 24 have specific and distinctive views concerning the UK and EU membership, and whether any specific factor is informing this difference. The main themes addressed include economy and trade, education and free movement and the UK’s status in the EU and position in the world.

Thank you for taking the time to complete the questionnaire, it will take about 10 minutes to complete.

If you would prefer not to take part in the project then I thank you for your time and you need not complete the questionnaire. If you are happy to participate in this project, please can you complete the questionnaire. We are very grateful for your assistance.

If any further information is required, please contact Daniel Saint-Davis at: st20009269@outlook.cardiffmet.ac.uk.

Thank you very much for helping us with this project and participating in the research.
An investigation into young British people’s views on the EU referendum, whether or not the United Kingdom should remain a member state of the European Union?

PARTICIPANT INFORMATION FORM

Ethics Reference Number: 2015D0327
Name of Researcher: Daniel Saint-Davis
The aim of this research project is to see whether people between the ages of 18 and 24 have specific and distinctive views concerning the UK and EU membership, and whether any specific factor is informing this difference.

Thank you for taking the time to complete the questionnaire, it will take around 10 minutes to complete.

All answers will be anonymous.

If you would prefer not to take part in the project, then I thank you for your time and you need not complete the questionnaire. If you are happy to participate in this project, please complete the consent form and the questionnaire. We are very grateful for your assistance.

If any further information is required, please contact Daniel Saint-Davis at: s12009269@outlook.cardiffmet.ac.uk.

Thank you very much for helping us with this project and participating in the research.
7.3- Appendix 3. Participant Consent Form

Cardiff Metropolitan University
Participant Consent Form

PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM

Ethics Reference Number:
Participant name or Study ID Number:
Title of Project: An investigation into young British people’s views on the EU referendum, whether or not the United Kingdom should remain a member state of the European Union?
Name of Researcher: Daniel Saint-Davis

Participant to complete this section: Please initial each box.

1. I confirm that I have read and understand the information sheet for the above study. I have had the opportunity to consider the information, ask questions and have had these answered satisfactorily.

2. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time, without giving any reason.

3. I agree to take part in the above study.

4. I agree to the use of anonymised quotes in publications

______________________________            __________________________
Signature of Participant                        Date

______________________________            __________________________
Name of person taking consent                     Date

______________________________
Signature of person taking consent
An investigation into young British people’s views on the EU referendum, whether or not the United Kingdom should remain a member state of the European Union?

*Required

PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM

1. I confirm that I have read and understand the information sheet for the above study. I have had the opportunity to consider the information, ask questions and have had these answered satisfactorily.

2. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time, without giving any reason.

3. I agree to take part in the above study.

4. I agree to the use of anonymised quotes in publications.

Data will be stored on password protected computers, anonymised after completion of the survey and that no one will be able to trace information back to the participant. The raw data will be retained for up to three years when it will be deleted/destroyed.

If you are 18-24 years of age, understand the statement above and freely consent to participate in this study please tick the consent box to proceed.

All answers will be anonymous.
Name of participant

Your answer

I confirm the above *

- 

BACK NEXT

Never submit passwords through Google Forms.
An investigation into young British people’s views on the EU referendum, whether or not the United Kingdom should remain a member state of the European Union?

**Questionnaire**

1a) The normal voting age is 18. In your opinion do you think the voting age for the decision of whether the UK remains in the EU or not should be 16 or 18?

- 16
- 18
- Don't know
- Prefer not to answer

1b) Please give the main reason(s) for your decision.

Your answer
2a) Do you think the United Kingdom should remain a member of the European Union or leave the European Union?

- Remain in the European Union
- Leave the European Union
- Don’t know
- Prefer not to answer

2b) Please give the main reason(s) for your decision.

Your answer

3) In your judgement do you think a referendum regarding EU membership something the UK government should be focusing on?

- Yes
- No
- Don’t know
- Prefer not to answer
4) Do you think migrants from the EU contribute towards British economy?
   ○ Yes
   ○ No
   ○ Don’t know
   ○ Prefer not to answer

5a) David Cameron is currently trying to prevent migrants from receiving benefits for up to 4 years upon entering the UK. Do you agree or disagree with this decision?
   ○ Agree
   ○ Disagree
   ○ Don’t know
   ○ Prefer not to answer

5b) Please give the main reason(s) for your decision.
   Your answer
6a) Do you think being a member of the EU benefits the UK?
   - Yes
   - No
   - Don't know
   - Prefer not to answer

6b) Please give the main reason(s) for your decision.
   Your answer

7) Do you think the UK being a member of the EU benefits the EU?
   - Yes
   - No
   - Don't know
   - Prefer not to answer
8) The United States have expressed their desire for the UK to remain in the EU. Does this impact on your decision on whether to leave or remain in the EU?

- Yes
- No
- Don’t know
- Prefer not to answer

9) Being part of the EU makes the UK part of the European trade bloc in which there is a free trade agreement. Do you think it is beneficial to remain part of this trade bloc or to seek other free trade agreements with countries outside of the EU?

- Remain in EU trade bloc
- Seek trade agreements outside of the EU
- Both of the above
- Don’t know
- Prefer not to answer
10a) Do you think the UK should focus on partnerships with European countries, the United States, emerging markets (e.g. China and India), or spread its efforts over all the above?

- European Countries
- The United States
- Emerging markets
- All of the above
- Don't know
- Prefer not to answer

10b) Please give the main reason(s) for your decision.

Your answer

11) Do you think Britain is more at risk from terrorism if it is inside the EU or outside the EU?

- Inside the EU
- Outside the EU
- Doesn't make a difference
- Don't know
- Prefer not to answer
12) Currently the European Union creates laws that have to be enforced across all European countries. Do you think the UK would have more influence on EU policy making if it was part of the EU or not part of the EU?

- Part of the EU
- Not part of the EU
- Don’t know
- Prefer not to answer

13a) It has been reported that up to 70% of UK laws are created by the EU. Do you think it is important for Britain to make all of its own laws?

- Yes
- No
- Don’t know
- Prefer not to answer

13b) Please give the main reason(s) for your decision.

Your answer
14) What do you think about the amount of authority that is given to the EU instead of being kept within the UK?
- Too much
- Not enough
- Correct amount
- Don’t know
- Prefer not to answer

15) Do you think the implementation of EU laws in the UK impact British people in a positive or a negative way?
- Positive
- Negative
- Don’t know
- Prefer not to answer
### 7.6- Appendix 6. Raw Data

The raw data can be found by following the digital link below if viewing as a Word document or on the memory stick provided.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Timestamp</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Confirm</th>
<th>Part</th>
<th>I/Don't Know</th>
<th>Remain in European Union</th>
<th>No/Yes</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>Agree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2016/01/03</td>
<td>Keera Rowlinson</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Don't know</td>
<td>Remain in EU</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Agree</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Agree</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
7.7- Appendix 7. Pivot Tables and Figures

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Females</th>
<th>Males</th>
<th>Unknown</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Remain in the European Union</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leave the European Union</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don't know</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Gender**

- **Completed or in Higher Education**
  - Females: 51
  - Males: 33
  - Unknown: 18
- **Leave the European Union**
  - Females: 8
  - Males: 4
  - Unknown: 4
- **Don't know**
  - Females: 12
  - Males: 12
  - Unknown: 7

**Level of Education**

- **Completed or in Higher Education**
  - Remain in the European Union: 60
  - Leave the European Union: 10
  - Don't know: 10
- **No Higher Education**
  - Remain in the European Union: 20
  - Leave the European Union: 20
  - Don't know: 20
- **Unknown**
  - Remain in the European Union: 10
  - Leave the European Union: 10
  - Don't know: 10
### Question 3: In your opinion, do you believe something should be focusing on?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Count</th>
<th>2a) Do you</th>
<th>2b) Don't know</th>
<th>No</th>
<th>Prefer not to Yes</th>
<th>Grand Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Don't know</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leave the EU</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prefer not to answer</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Remain in the EU</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>102</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Grand Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>41</strong></td>
<td><strong>54</strong></td>
<td>2</td>
<td><strong>53</strong></td>
<td><strong>150</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Question:** Is a referendum something the government should be focusing on?

**Bar Chart:**
- Yes
- Prefer not to answer
- No
- Don't know

### Question 4: Count of Name of participant

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Count of Name of participant</th>
<th>Column Labels</th>
<th>Prefer not Yes</th>
<th>Grand Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Row Labels</td>
<td>Don't know</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don't know</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leave the European Union</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prefer not to answer</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Remain in the European Union</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Grand Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>17</strong></td>
<td><strong>17</strong></td>
<td><strong>116</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Question:** Do EU migrants contribute towards British economy?

**Bar Chart:**
- Yes
- Prefer not to answer
- No
- Don't know

**Legend:**
- Remain in the European Union
- Leave the European Union
- Don't know
### Prevent EU migrants from receiving UK benefits?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Row Label</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>Don't know</th>
<th>Prefer not to answer</th>
<th>Grand Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Leave the European Union</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Remain in the European Union</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>103</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grand Total</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>152</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

![Bar chart showing responses to Prevent EU migrants from receiving UK benefits.]

### Does the EU benefit the UK?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Row Label</th>
<th>Column Labels</th>
<th>No</th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>(blank)</th>
<th>Grand Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Leave the European Union</td>
<td>Don't know</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Remain in the European Union</td>
<td>Don't know</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>103</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grand Total</td>
<td>Don't know</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>108</td>
<td>152</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

![Bar chart showing responses to Does the EU benefit the UK.]

89
### Count of Names Column A
```
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Row Label</th>
<th>Don't know</th>
<th>No</th>
<th>Prefer not to</th>
<th>(blank)</th>
<th>Grand Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Don't know</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>20</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leave the Eun</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prefer not to</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Remain in the</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>103</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grand Total</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>122</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>152</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
```

**Does the UK being a member of the EU benefit the EU?**

- Yes: 100
- No: 10
- Don't know: 2

### Count of Names Column B
```
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Row label</th>
<th>Don't know</th>
<th>No</th>
<th>Prefer not to</th>
<th>(blank)</th>
<th>Grand Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Don't know</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leave the Eun</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>14</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prefer not to</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Remain in the</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grand Total</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
```

**Is it important for the UK to make all of its own laws?**

- Yes: 120
- No: 10
- Don't know: 2

- Remain in the European Union: 100
- Leave the European Union: 20
- Prefer not to answer: 10
- Don't know: 2
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Count of Name of participant</th>
<th>Column Labels</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Row Labels</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don't know</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leave the European Union</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prefer not to answer</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Remain in the European Union</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grand Total</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Does the view of the US influence your decision?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don't know</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Count of Name of participant</th>
<th>Row Labels</th>
<th>Column Labels</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Don't know</td>
<td>Both of the above</td>
<td>Don't know</td>
<td>Remain in EU</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don't know</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leave the European Union</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prefer not to answer</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Remain in the European Union</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grand Total</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>EU trade bloc or other FTA's?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Seek trade agreements outside of the EU</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Remain in EU trade bloc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don't know</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Both of the above</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Count of Name of participant</th>
<th>Row Labels</th>
<th>Column Labels</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Don't know</td>
<td>All of the above</td>
<td>Don't know</td>
<td>Emerging European countries</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don't know</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leave the European Union</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prefer not to answer</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Remain in the European Union</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grand Total</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Who should the UK seek to partner with?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The United States</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emerging European countries</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emerging markets</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don't know</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All of the above</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

91
### More at risk of terrorism inside or outside the EU?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Inside the EU</th>
<th>Outside the EU</th>
<th>Don't know</th>
<th>Grand Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Don't know</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leave the EU</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prefer not to answer</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Remain in the EU</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>103</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grand Total</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>152</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### More influence on EU policy making as part of the EU or not?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Part of the EU</th>
<th>Not part of the EU</th>
<th>Don't know</th>
<th>Grand Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Don't know</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leave the European Union</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prefer not to answer</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Remain in the European Union</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>103</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grand Total</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>109</td>
<td>152</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Is the amount of British authority given to the EU the correct amount?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Correct amount</th>
<th>Not enough</th>
<th>Prefer not to answer</th>
<th>Too much</th>
<th>Don't know</th>
<th>Grand Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Don't know</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leave the European Union</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prefer not to answer</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Remain in the European Union</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>103</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grand Total</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>152</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
1a) The normal voting age is 18. In your opinion do you think the voting age for the decision of whether the UK remains in the EU or not should be 16 or 18?
(150 responses)

2a) Do you think the United Kingdom should remain a member of the European Union or leave the European Union?
(150 responses)
3) In your judgement do you think a referendum regarding EU membership something the UK government should be focusing on? (151 responses)

- Yes: 27.2%
- No: 35.8%
- Don't know: 11.3%
- Prefer not to answer: 35.7%

4) Do you think migrants from the EU contribute towards British economy? (150 responses)

- Yes: 76.7%
- No: 10.7%
- Don't know: 13.9%

5a) David Cameron is currently trying to prevent migrants from receiving benefits for up to 4 years upon entering the UK. Do you agree or disagree with this decision? (151 responses)

- Agree: 63.6%
- Disagree: 20.5%
- Don't know: 13.9%
- Prefer not to answer: 2.1%
6a) Do you think being a member of the EU benefits the UK? (150 responses)

7) Do you think the UK being a member of the EU benefits the EU? (150 responses)

8) The United States have expressed their desire for the UK to remain in the EU. Does this impact on your decision on whether to leave or remain in the EU? (150 responses)
9) Being part of the EU makes the UK part of the European trade bloc in which there is a free trade agreement. Do you think it is beneficial to remain part of this trade bloc or to seek other free trade agreements with countries outside of the EU?
(150 responses)

10a) Do you think the UK should focus on partnerships with European countries, the United States, emerging markets (e.g. China and India), or spread its efforts over all the above?
(148 responses)

11) Do you think Britain is more at risk from terrorism if it is inside the EU or outside the EU?
(149 responses)
12) Currently the European Union creates laws that have to be enforced across all European countries. Do you think the UK would have more influence on EU policy making if it was part of the EU or not part of the EU? (149 responses)

13a) It has been reported that up to 70% of UK laws are created by the EU. Do you think it is important for Britain to make all of its own laws? (148 responses)
14) What do you think about the amount of authority that is given to the EU instead of being kept within the UK?
(149 responses)

15) Do you think the implementation of EU laws in the UK impact British people in a positive or a negative way?
(150 responses)
### DEVOLVED ETHICS APPROVAL APPLICATION SUMMARY

**Student Name:** Daniel Saint-Davis  
**Student Number:** Sr20009269  
**Module Name:** Dissertation  
**Module Number:** BRM6003  
**Programme Name:** Business Management with Finance  
**Supervisor Name:** Mark Sutcliffe

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>To be completed by student and supervisor before submission to Ethics Approval Panel</th>
<th>Student Signature:</th>
<th>Supervisor Signature:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Application for ethics approval</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Participant information sheet</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Participant consent form</td>
<td>[✓]</td>
<td>[✓]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pilot interview/s</td>
<td>[✓]</td>
<td>[✓]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pilot questionnaire/s</td>
<td>[✓]</td>
<td>[✓]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Letter/s to participating organisation/s</td>
<td>[✓]</td>
<td>[✓]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**First Submission:** [✓]  
**Resubmission:** [ ]

**Date:**

---

**For use by the devolved ethics approval panel:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Panel Members</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Signature</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| Module leader | R. KENNETT | [Signature]
| Supervisor    | M. SUTCLIFFE | [Signature]
| CSM Ethics Committee Representative | M. SUTCLIFFE | [Signature]

**Date:** 26.11.15  
**Date of Reassessment:** 20.1505.27.

**Outcome:**
- Project Approved: [✓]
- Project Approved in Principle: [ ]
- Application not ready/ incomplete: [ ]

**Comments for projects not fully approved:**

---

The original to be retained by the module leader and a copy given to the student.
When undertaking a research or enterprise project, Cardiff Met staff and students are obliged to complete this form in order that the ethics implications of that project may be considered.

If the project requires ethics approval from an external agency such as the NHS or MoD, you will not need to seek additional ethics approval from Cardiff Met. You should however complete Part One of this form and attach a copy of your NHS application in order that your School is aware of the project.

The document Guidelines for obtaining ethics approval will help you complete this form. It is available from the Cardiff Met website.

Once you have completed the form, sign the declaration and forward to your School Research Ethics Committee.

PLEASE NOTE:
Participant recruitment or data collection must not commence until ethics approval has been obtained.

**PART ONE**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of applicant:</th>
<th>Daniel Saint-Davis</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Supervisor (if student project):</td>
<td>Mark Sutcliffe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>School:</td>
<td>Cardiff School of Management</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Student number (if applicable):</td>
<td>S120009269</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Programme enrolled on (if applicable):</td>
<td>BA (Hons) Business Management with Finance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Project Title:</td>
<td>Brexit: An investigation into young British people’s views on the 2017 referendum, whether or not the United Kingdom should remain a member state of the European Union?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Expected Start Date:</td>
<td>December 2015</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Approximate Duration:</td>
<td>8 weeks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Funding Body (if applicable):</td>
<td>Not applicable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other researcher(s) working on the project:</td>
<td>Not applicable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Will the study involve NHS patients or staff?</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Will the study involve taking samples of human origin from participants?</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CARDIFF METROPOLITAN UNIVERSITY
APPLICATION FOR ETHICS APPROVAL

PART TWO

A RESEARCH DESIGN

A1. Will you be using an approved protocol in your project? NO

A2. If yes, please state the name and code of the approved protocol to be used:
N/A

A3. Describe the research design to be used in your project
Questionnaire:

The method used will be a questionnaire, consisting of closed answer and open ended questions, which will be analysed using quantitative and qualitative methods. The research will take place wherever the participant is willing to complete the questionnaire. As the university has a lot of young people the aim is that most of the questionnaires will be completed on campus, this being said the questionnaire will also be sent to people online who wish to participate. Copies of the questionnaire will be printed out for participants to complete in person and an online version will be created using a website that offers questionnaire construction; the questionnaire will then be forwarded to the participants.

Online Questionnaire using SmartSurvey (https://app.smartsurvey.co.uk):

Username and password has been created for the survey construction website. The questionnaire will be forwarded to participants that are willing to complete it. The questionnaire will include a participant information section at the start to inform them of the aims of the study. It will also include a section explaining the participant’s consent, with a tick box to indicate they give consent before answering the questionnaire. The questionnaire will take participants about 10 minutes to complete depending on the detail of their written answers.

Sample:

Sample participants will be recruited using convenience sampling, whether this be in person or online. Using both online and face-to-face recruitment will allow for a larger sample size, improving generalisability. This being said, the researcher has few controls over the sample size, but representativeness of the sample can be controlled by aiming to recruit an even number of males and females within the ages of 16-24. Additional participants may be found using Snowballing Techniques.

1 An Approved Protocol is one which has been approved by Cardiff Met to be used under supervision of designated members of staff, a list of approved protocols can be found on the Cardiff Met website here
CARDIFF METROPOLITAN UNIVERSITY
APPLICATION FOR ETHICS APPROVAL

C POTENTIAL RISKS

C1 What potential risks do you foresee?
People who have very strong views or would be strongly affected by the referendum may be upset by the questions asked. People may get anxious and wish to withdraw from the questionnaire. Participant's views should be their own without influence from others; some participants may be influenced by others. Target sample size may not be met.

C2 How will you deal with the potential risks?
To minimize potential upset participants will remain anonymous and can withdraw from the questionnaire at any point during the questionnaire. The questions will be designed with an effort to not cause any offence to participants. No judgement will be passed on any participants. Participants will be encouraged to take the questionnaire alone and express their true beliefs. Efforts to capture the desired sample size will include questionnaires being completed in person and online to gather as many participants as possible.

Supplementary sheets must be attached following exemplars

When submitting your application, you MUST attach a copy of the following:
- All information sheets
- Consent/assent form(s)

Refer to the document Guidelines for obtaining ethics approval for further details on what format these documents should take.
Dear Daniel Saint-Davis,

You have successfully submitted the file dissertation to the assignment dissertation: dissertation in the class Dissertation_YR_15 on 18-Apr-2016 11:13AM. Your submission id is 55945920. Your full digital receipt can be viewed and printed from the assignment inbox or from the print/download button in the document viewer.

Thank you for using Turnitin,

The Turnitin Team