BUILDING BRIDGES:
A YOUTH VISION FOR A COMMON FUTURE AFTER BREXIT

IN PARTNERSHIP WITH THE LONDON SCHOOL OF ECONOMICS EUROPEAN INSTITUTE AND MY LIFE MY SAY

APPG ON A BETTER BREXIT FOR YOUNG PEOPLE

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WHO WE ARE

This report was written for the All Party Parliamentary Group on a Better Brexit for Young People (APPG-BBYP), and led by the Generation Brexit research team at the London School of Economics & Political Science (LSE) European Institute. It was established as a collaborative project with My Life My Say, and is intended to bring together youth stakeholders across the UK and the EU to work together to advance young people's participation in forging our future relationships after Brexit.

The APPG-BBYP was founded in November 2016. Its mandate is to communicate youth views about Brexit directly to UK parliamentarians and Brexit negotiators.

My Life My Say (MLMS) is a youth-led, non-partisan and non-profit organisation based in the United Kingdom but operating across Europe. Its mission is to create an age of political engagement that will deliver greater social inclusion and equality creating the space for dialogue across generations and communities.

To date, MLMS has worked with over 30,000 young people directly and thousands more indirectly. MLMS is the secretariat for the APPG-BBYP.

The **Generation Brexit** project, based at LSE's European Institute, is crowdsourcing a Millennial vision for UK-EU relations after Brexit. Since June 2017, young people from across the UK and Europe have been submitting their ideas on the platform, at https://generationbrexit.org/. As of November 2018, Generation Brexit has engaged over sixteen hundred young people in English, French, German, Italian, Polish, Spanish, and Greek. Generation Brexit participants have proposed more than a thousand different ideas and discussed these ideas in over two thousand comments.

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

FOREWORD

Britain is a great country, but we are more divided than we have been at any time since the Second World War – by age, education, place, wealth and, values.

These fault lines have been developing for a generation. The collapse of manufacturing, unharnessed globalization, massive technological change, identity politics and austerity have all combined to drive wedges between people and communities. Whilst the EU referendum did not create these divides, it certainly sharpened and deepened them, and they were then entrenched by the 2017 General Election.

When I began working with Mete, Amy and the brilliant team at My Life My Say to set up our All Party Parliamentary Group on a Better Brexit for Young People, it was in the knowledge that millions of young people across the length and breadth of our country are feeling deeply troubled about the divisions and polarisation that are afflicting our communities.

There was acute concern that our differences in opinions, values and backgrounds are puling us apart and preventing us from finding common ground. But above all we sensed a genuine fear that the wrong type of Brexit would widen the chasms even further.

Stephen Kinnock MP
MP for Aberavon and Chair of the APPG on a Better Brexit for Young People

And this fear has been heightened by the fact that those politicians in positions of power and influence appear to be listening to so few voices, and particularly to so few young people. In response we launched a 'Listen Up!' pledge where we received signatures from X MPs agreeing to listen to the voices of 20 young constituents before casting their vote on Brexit.

It is young people, by definition, who will have to contend with the implications of Brexit for the longest; and it is young people who have to enter a highly challenging labour market for the first time, knowing that the economy is in on the brink.

This new Common Futures report goes beyond Brexit because it highlights how young people feel about the state of our nation.

The message that I believe stands out most is the urgent call from young people for a new kind of politics that can build bridges over the many divides exposed by Brexit – a politics that is a unifying force for good.

What is important is that politicians heed this call, and that they respond positively.

This process has to begin with the need for a unifying, pragmatic, bridge-building Brexit. Some contributors to this report will feel that a People's Vote – in the hope of it leading to a Remain victory – represents the best chance of combining unity and prosperity. Others, like, myself believe Remainers and Leavers may still unite behind an European Economic Area-based Brexit where Britain can begin to build a new relationship with European Union as part of an exciting new multi-tier Europe. Some may support Theresa May's deal, and others may feel that the risk of No Deal is worth taking. Yet one thing is for sure: the stakes could not be higher: if we get this wrong the consequences will be dire, for generations to come.

The deeply divided and polarised state of the Brexit debate has pushed us dangerously close to favouring conflict over co-operation. Extremist politics of right and left are spreading throughout the world, and they are having a corrosive effect on the realism, pragmatism and common sense that are the defining features of successful democracies.

Peace, stability, security, prosperity and progressive change are not created by the wave of a magic wand; they are built and nurtured through hard work, compromise and collaboration.

It is in this spirit that Common Futures is bringing people together. Through this project, the APPG engaged with 1,290 young people from across the UK and Europe through 42 Democracy Cafes, 11 of which took place in EU member states. The award-winning Democracy Café concept proved yet again to be an innovate and effective model, for engaging with those who don't often get a say in decision-making.

I am proud that the work of both the Common Futures Forum and the APPG for a Better Brexit for Young People are setting the tone for a political culture which can and must become the launch-pad for a new kind of politics that fosters co-operation, tolerance and progressive change.

Stephen Kinnock MP
MP for Aberavon and Chair of the APPG on a Better Brexit for Young People

INTRODUCTION

Our Aims

This report is intended to provide an empirical contribution to APPG-BBYP on the views and priorities of young people as we approach the end of the Article 50 timeline. It is specifically focused on the future UK-EU relationship that we are about to embark upon, and what it will mean for young people.

We know that in the 2016 Referendum, support for remaining in the European Union was strongest amongst the youngest voters. We also know that at the start of the Brexit negotiations in 2017, young people wanted 'their voices and concerns to be listened to and acted upon by politicians and policy makers'. [1] In October 2017, young people had a clear list of priorities, and principle among them was the desire to remain connected to Europe through continued freedom of movement and an open, just and positive relationship[2]. Now we want to find out whether young people feel these concerns and priorities have been met in the Brexit negotiations, and also whether new concerns and priorities for the future relationship have emerged.

Unlike an earlier report prepared for the APPG in 2017, which concentrated exclusively on the views of young people in the UK at the start of the withdrawal negotiations, our report has engaged with young people in both the UK and the EU.

We have done this in order to fully assess the scope for a future relationship between the UK and the EU after Brexit.

The withdrawal negotiations seem to now be over (as we write this introduction, news of an agreement between the UK and the EU on the terms of the withdrawal is being widely reported). But the end of the withdrawal negotiations does not mean that a post-Brexit future has arrived. What it really means is that we now need to begin in earnest the serious process of building new relationships with the EU and its Member States. Successful relationships are never one sided. They must encompass the common interests, values and identities of everyone involved in them. Thus, it is important to know what young people across the UK and the EU want for their future, how they feel about themselves and each other, and what common priorities exist that might serve as the foundation of their future relationship.

This report focuses on the following questions:

1) Do young people believe that politicians and policy makers in the UK and the EU have listened to and acted upon their Brexit priorities during the withdrawal negotiations?

[1] S. Mejias and S. Banaji, UK Youth Perspectives and Priorities for Brexit Negotiations, October 2017, p. 6.
[2] UK Youth Perspectives and Priorities for Brexit Negotiations, pp. 6-7.

2) What do young people in the UK and the EU consider to be their priorities for the future relationship?

3) What values and identities are most important to young people in the UK and the EU, and how can we ensure these core beliefs become a solid foundation for the future relationship?

Our Methods

To answer these questions, we have used a mixed methods approach. This approach combined focus group type discussions (N=429) held between July and November 2018, with a nationally representative UK public opinion survey of adults aged between 18-30 (N=1008) designed in conjunction with the LSE research team and carried out by Opinium between 15-18 October, 2018. **[3]**

Our focus group participants represent a mixture of UK, EU and 'other nationalities': 210 UK nationals, 190 EU nationals, and 29 who are 'other nationalities' living in either the EU or the UK. In terms of gender, the cohort is more or less evenly divided (48% female and 52% male). We specifically sought out young people who are likely to be most immediately affected by the new relationship – young EU nationals living in the UK and young UK nationals living in the EU. But we also canvassed the views of a large, and diverse, cross section of young people aged between 16 and 35 from across the UK and the EU.

The locations of our project participants are plotted on the map below -

[3] Opinium, A Citizens Brexit (OP11020 MLMS), 15-19 October 2018.
[4] These prompts are included in the Appendix at the end of this report.

Our primary method of engagement was via a combination of real space and cyberspace Brexit Cafes, in which young people participated in discussions using an agreed set of prompts**[4]** designed by the LSE Generation Brexit research team. We used an opportunity sample approach, gathering participants through our existing youth group, school, university and social media networks, and friend to friend invitations. Café hosts (facilitators) were given detailed guidance by the LSE team on how to encourage discussion while maintaining an open and respectful environment for sharing and debating sensitive political topics.

Café hosts were encouraged to allow each discussion to unfold organically, as shaped and defined by the interactions of the participants themselves, so long as all agreed prompts were discussed. In total, 20 real space Brexit Cafes were hosted by our partner youth organization My Life My Say, while the LSE research team hosted 5 real space Brexit Cafés, 20 cyberspace Brexit Cafes, and a dedicated Brexit Café discussion area ("challenge") on the Generation Brexit platform.

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The Brexit Cafes were recorded and transcribed, and where necessary, translated into English. These transcriptions were then combined with the ideas and comments submitted on the Generation Brexit platform's dedicated Brexit Café challenge to form a single data set comprising just over 60,000 words. The data set was then analysed using corpus linguistics software (Ant Conc), to explore word frequency and also keyness (a statistical measure of significance based on a comparison with a relevant reference corpus). We used several different reference corpora to test for patterns of commonality and difference. Discrete data sets for each focus group (N=46, 45 Cafes and 1 Generation Brexit Challenge) were compared with those from the project's combined data set. The full project data set was then compared with two reference corpora – a data set containing all ideas and comments posted on the Generation Brexit platform from June 2016 until October 2018 (over 225,000 words) and a data set containing 100,000 tweets scraped between August and October 2018 using #Brexit and the Discovertext platform (over 450,000 words).

A word bubble showing the words from our focus group project dataset with the highest keyness score, as compared to the Twitter reference corpus, is displayed below.

Key Words from our Focus Groups

The word frequency and keyness findings were used to identify relevant themes that informed a provisional coding scheme subsequently applied to the full project data set.**[5]** A series of survey questions to further interrogate findings that had emerged from our analysis of the focus group data was then developed by the LSE research team in conjunction with Opinium. The full survey results are included in an Appendix, which may be found at the end of this report.

[5] Johnny Saldana, The Coding Manual for Qualitative Researchers (London: Sage, 2012), pp. 120-123.

FINDINGS

Our findings are underpinned by our application of social science methods. And while we acknowledge that there were some unavoidable limitations in our research design that resulted from constraints of time and funding,[6] we remain confident that our report offers useful insight into the views and priorities of young people across the UK and the EU at this critical juncture in our shared history. Because this project is part of a broader agenda to encourage greater youth participation and representation within political processes and policies in the UK and in the EU, wherever possible, we have tried to let young people "speak for themselves" within these pages. For this reason, we have incorporated a large number of quotations from the young people who took part in our focus groups. These quotations have been selected using our thematic codes to accurately capture the tone and content of our Brexit Café and Generation Brexit platform conversations.

Our key findings are as follows:

1. The young people in our study urgently desire a new kind of politics that can build bridges over the many divides created by Brexit.

2. The young people in our study have strongly held opinions on Brexit but believe these opinions have been mostly ignored by both the UK and the EU during the withdrawal negotiations. In their view, the drivers of Brexit are still the values and priorities of an older generation, with whom they have little in common.

3. The young people in our study believe an aggressive political debate conducted mainly between political elites is damaging prospects for positive and productive political relationships inside the UK and between the UK and the EU.

4. The young people in our study have personally experienced Brexit as a divisive process. They worry that Brexit is a symptom of growing intolerance and want diversity to be protected and promoted.

5. The young people in our study share a common cosmopolitan value system that prioritises respect for diversity, equality of opportunity, and internationalism. They want their future political relationships to reflect and protect these values.

[6] We were not able to ensure a fully balanced focus group sample, most notably in UK and EU composition, or to commission a public opinion survey of EU youth.

6. The young people in our study increasingly define themselves as "citizens with rights" and expect political actors to engage with them on these terms.

7. The young people in our study want the future relationship between the UK and the EU to maintain existing freedom of movement and trade arrangements.

MAKING OUR VOICES HEARD

CHAPTER TWO:
MY LIFE MY SAY

1. Young people in the UK, and to a lesser extent also in the EU, have been politically "activated" as a result of Brexit.

2. Millennials in the UK and the EU believe politicians and policy makers on both sides of the Brexit negotiations have ignored youth views and priorities;

3. Lack of interest from politicians and policymakers reinforces the Brexit 'generation gap';

4. Young people in the UK and the EU have mixed views about referendums as a method of political decision making;

5. Young people believe changes in the voting and education systems are required to improve youth participation in politics.

Brexit has been a catalyst for millennial political engagement

Young people in our study from the UK, and to a lesser extent also those from the EU, have been politically "activated" as a result of Brexit.

According to the Opinium poll, more than half (52%) of young people in the UK say the EU referendum has increased their interest in politics.[7] This is particularly true of young remain voters with the figure increasing to 60%. Equally, 73% of people aged 18-30 say they have strong opinions on Brexit with 28% saying these opinions are very strong.[8]

Many of the young people in our Brexit Cafes spoke of the Brexit referendum and subsequent negotiations as a defining political experience for them.

"After Brexit, the youth overall had a glimpse into the future and that we now know what the consequences are going to be for us and that we are now willing to stand up for it. We are going to stand up for our futures." (Edinburgh)

"I want to be there directly when the decisions are being made so I can say I want this for young people, this is what young people think. No, we don't want this happening. I need to be involved in that process." (Manchester)

[7] This is particularly true of young remain voters with the figure increasing to 60%. See A Citizens Brexit, Q1.
[8] This figure rises among remain voters (83%) and falls slightly among those who voted leave (69%). See A Citizens Brexit, Q2.

"I mean you definitely need to be part of something bigger, don't you? There's no real point in just sending a single individual a facebook message or a tweet. I mean you could do that, but you kind of need to be part of something." (Port Talbot)

"I had a real wake up and smell the coffee moment." (Winchester)

"I see the current trend from 2010, a lot of people show up, 2015 not a lot of people show up but 2017 a lot of young people show up and... minority government and other things do happen like it will become a trend if we show up again, they'll have to start listening to us. I don't think warning them now will, we actually have to show up for once and scare them and they'll start reacting to us." (Aberdeen)

"Well, young Irish people are making our voices heard because it is our future, our choices that are being ignored…. There are lots of different organisations that all have their own objectives obviously, but they are working towards this and MPs are struggling to listen, and they are youth organisations, they are not run by people from the top but by students and young people." (Belfast)

Such sentiments were not confined to UK nationals. Some EU nationals expressed similar feelings of having been politically awakened by Brexit.

"It was an exclamation mark for me about influencing people. We have to talk to the people and explain, what the EU means, it is not only rules. It means 70 years of peace, and that is thanks to the EU. The rules have a specific reason, the idea was to prevent war on the continent. And people need to understand that." (Bratislava)

"I think that now, compared to, as compared to before the referendum, there are a lot more young people active politically, just because suddenly there is something that really affects their lives and that they did not pay attention to before, and they recognize their mistake." (Tallinn)

Young people feel marginalised in the Brexit process

Despite becoming more interested in politics as a result of Brexit, young people feel excluded from the Brexit process.

A major finding of the 2017 report prepared for the APPG, was that young people in the UK wanted to be "directly involved and accurately represented in the Brexit negotiations."[9] Similarly, the Undivided campaign,[10] which engaged 4.4 million UK 15-29 year olds in the Autumn of 2016, had as its recommendation number one "on-going consultation with UK 13-29 year olds throughout all Brexit negotiations".[11]

Yet, as we approach the end of the withdrawal negotiations, little has changed in this regard.

[9]UK Youth Perspectives and Priorities For Brexit Negotiations, p. 6.
[10] Undivided Manifesto, page 5.
[11]A Citizens Brexit, Q4.A.1.

The more than two years of exit talks have not done much to reassure young people that their concerns will be taken into account.

Young people in the UK continue to feel sidelined by the Brexit process. Only 36% of respondents in our Opinium survey agreed that that the views of young people have been taken into consideration during the Brexit negotiations.

"'They think that young people don't really care about politics, so that's why they don't get listened to." (Aberdeen)

"To me it just seems as though the government refused us [16 and 17 year olds] a vote and now refuses to listen to our wishes (making the best of a bad situation) when deciding on the rest of our lives." (Penarth)

"Where are the select committees inviting young people on to panels? I mean if it's happening, I don't know about it. It's daft that we are not allowed to say anything because it's us being affected the most by it and it's just daft that we aren't being heard." (Manchester)

"It doesn't have to be between politicians making decisions behind closed doors.... like there's a way to still engage with young people, to actually go out and talk to young people like this thing [Brexit Café] that's happening here, why is that not happening more?" (Glasgow)

"I just don't think they [politicians] care. They don't listen to what we have to say. And we have to live with it whatever they choose. It's not fair." (Port Talbot).

Interestingly, a number of young Europeans in our focus groups expressed similar views. These young Europeans tend to share the perception that youth in the UK have been given short shrift during the Brexit process.

"I think that clearly there was an under- representation of the position of many, or most young people, in the campaign and also now in the negotiations." (Tallinn)

Young Europeans that we spoke to do not think the problem of youth representation is confined to the UK. On the contrary, several of our European participants spoke about their own limited opportunities to engage in the Brexit process from the EU side.

"There is the perception, I think with good reasons, that we, as young Europeans, have never been given any say on what is, in my opinion, clearly the most important political event of the new millennium so far; which I think is grave." (Terni)

"...[W]hen it comes to the decision of our generation's most decisive moment of our identity and how we perceive the world...it is like oh guys stay out of it. Don't meddle because it will get even more messier, the deal is between the EU and the UK." (Bratislava)

Indeed, based on our project discussions, there seems to be a general awareness amongst young people across the UK and the EU of a growing gap between citizens and decision makers, with youth losing out in the process.

> "I think the problem across Europe is that there is this growing distrust between citizens and decision-making policy makers. And of course they don't think about youth." (Warsaw)

Lack of interest from politicians and policy-makers reinforces the generation gap

The prevailing view of the young people in our study is that the Brexit process favours older generations, while the repercussions of the Brexit vote will be most acutely felt by the youth. For example, only 18% of respondents in our survey disagree with the statement that 'Old People's views have been taken into consideration in the Brexit negotiations'.[12] Across all 45 Brexit Cafes and on the Generation Brexit challenge, there was a palpable sense of a generational divide between young and old. Young people from across the UK and the EU who came together in our focus groups see Brexit - decision, process and outcome - through a generational lense. These millennials characterise their worldview as fundamentally different from older generations, who voted for Brexit.

> "It's everything our generation has grown up with. That whole thing, open to other countries, not just able to move through wise but studies, things that we take for granted, things like free roaming, or like all the stuff that the EU does. We have grown up to take that for granted that people hasn't necessarily take into account everything they are just going to lose overnight potentially." (London)

> "It just doesn't seem to fit our worldview. Because we're so used to, well none of us are from a generation where borders are an issue." (Amsterdam)

These young people continue to see the Brexit project as a response to demands from older generations, which do not reflect their priorities for the future.

[12] A Citizens Brexit, Q.4.A.2.

"The decisions of our elders will affect the rest of our lives, the vote on Brexit will still be having effects on the lives of our grandchildren, and we had no voice. So many people didn't understand Brexit, they didn't know what they were voting for or what they were subjecting us to: they made a mistake. Everyone makes mistakes, without them our lives would be awfully dull however we do expect that once we make a mistake, we own up to it. Our elders are not doing that. They have made this (in my opinion) wrongful decision but still refuse to listen to us, we have no choice now; we must fight to be heard or we will make the same mistake and do nothing to try and stop Brexit or at least get a soft deal." (Penarth)

"[T]his [Brexit] was decided for us without anyone to voice our views in the referendum or now in the Brexit negotiations ..." (Stratford upon Avon)

"I think the generational gap was a huge thing. Because there are older generations who voted for Brexit and funded Brexit..., not realising that we are the ones who are going to live with it." (Manchester)

"There was a strong generation gap with the results...That's why they were disadvantaged ...I think that the younger are the ones that profit more from the benefits of the European Union." (Tallinn)

Perhaps for this reason, only 25% of millennials in the UK surveyed for this report think opportunities for young people will increase after Brexit.[13] Interestingly, youth confidence in a post-Brexit future is higher in 2016 remain strongholds such as Scotland (33%) and London (32%) than it is in 2016 leave strongholds such as the North East (12%) and Wales (18%).[14]

These divisions negatively affect intergenerational relationships. Over half of Millennials (56%) who talk about Brexit say it makes them angry how people older than them think they know best when discussing Brexit.[15] Similarly, half (48%) feel that older people in the conversation patronise them.[16] This intergenerational divide is vividly manifested by Brexit Café testimonies regarding talking about Brexit with one's grandparents.

"Why do we think that people and politicians and other people are going to listen to young people this time when even parents and grandparents weren't listening to us?" (London)

[13] A Citizens Brexit, Q5.
[14] A Citizens Brexit, Q5.
[15] A Citizens Brexit, Q.16.A.6
[16] A Citizens Brexit, Q.16.A.7.

"I spoke to my grandfather and he complained about all the immigrants coming over and taking jobs and said that it was the EU and stuff doing that, but it is British laws." (Port Talbot)

"My grandparents just came here and like so but they say that our jobs are being taken away by other people but I don't feel that that is the case. I feel like it is just trying to build more jobs more industry and any money that went to Brexit they could've put into creating something else but its just destroyed something that we have so I don't know that's how I feel." (Birmingham)

"I don't really get why the older people voted to leave…. I know my grandparents…well my grandpa is a bit racist." (Aberdeen)

One in five (18%) say they don't speak much or at all with older members of their family because they wouldn't agree and want to avoid an argument.[17] This perception is felt more acutely by young Remain voters (22%) than by young Leave voters (10%).[18]

Young people have mixed views about referendums

The very use of a referendum to settle the 'Europe question' in the UK is something that our survey shows young people remain deeply divided on - 46% think it was the right decision to hold the vote.[19]

This figure rises to 64% amongst leave voters and drops to 40% amongst remain voters.[20] Two in five (41%) of those ages 18-30 think referendums strengthen democracy[21] and close to half (47%) think the UK should hold more referendums to make policy decisions.[22]

Based on our conversations with young people, there is no consensus among UK youth regarding whether or not there should be another EU membership referendum at the end of the Brexit negotiation process.

There were many UK Millennials in our Brexit Cafes calling for a second referendum, claiming that the main problem with Brexit is that people didn't really know what they were voting for, and that a final vote on the deal would eliminate that problem.

"A second referendum on the terms of the Brexit that would happen would be the most democratic option of ensuring people fully understood what they were voting for. Unlike the 2016 Referendum." (Burnham)

"Especially in the North of Ireland… it's just important to have a second referendum, everyone needs to be informed, it needs to be an informed vote so we need to vote on the deal. Everyone needs to know what is decided and you vote on that. So that way you can't say you didn't know." (Northern Ireland)

[17] A Citizens Brexit, Q14.A.4.
[18] A Citizens Brexit, Q14.A.4.
[19] A Citizens Brexit, Q8A.3.
[20] A Citizens Brexit, Q8A.3.

[21] A Citizens Brexit,Q8.A.1.
[22] A Citizens Brexit, Q8.A.2.

"I think having a second referendum wouldn't undermine democracy, I think it would enhance it, because the whole point of democracy is that people can change their mind. That's what this country's built on, that's the power of political system, and it's the freedom to vote for what you want. Not having a second referendum - I think, a lot of people have changed their minds, and I think that would mean a lot of voices have gone unheard." (Glasgow)

"I don't understand why people say there shouldn't be a second referendum because it would be undemocratic. Isn't the whole point about a democracy that people get to change their minds?" (Sandwich)

"Well my response would have to be if you are so confident that we will endorse your negotiations, why not ask us directly and give a second referendum? Would they, or would they fall back on the argument that people wouldn't understand? If that was their argument then the initial Brexit vote is entirely undermined. Every argument against a second referendum, ultimately leads back to the flaws in referendums in general in which case, no referendum vote really has any authority." (Penarth)

But there were just as many UK Millennials who believe that we should honour the 2016 decision.

Regardless of their own views on Brexit (and most of the young people who participated in our Brexit Cafes, as per the demographic as a whole, were in favour of continued EU membership), many young people that we spoke to do not believe there should be a final vote on the exit deal.

"Does the referendum have sort of, any sort of credence to it... if there is a big enough backlash, oh we will just have a second referendum. It kind of goes against sort of the idea of the democratic element behind it initially because obviously there are going to be people upset, you know, who voted for it." (Birmingham)

"The argument for a second referendum is basically that the first one was, without proper knowledge, people didn't really know what they went in to and they were deceived by the politicians, but in reality, that happens all the time. That happens in like, our regular elections, as well. So if we want to change this, then we have to look at the entire political system." (Glasgow)

"But if we keep going back and forth saying 'oh we need a second referendum', then it's just going to cause more, discomfort and distrust." (Hull)

"I believe that it is not fair to replicate a referendum that has the same purpose as the last one. In fact, by doing so, democracy would lose its power because people's vote could become less relevant, given the fact that they could ask to re-vote soon." (London)

"PLEASE don't lose sight of the basics of our society here, yes we feel passionately about Brexit and many people don't want it to happen, but don't condone reversing Brexit at the cost of our democracy: nothing is worth that." (Penarth)

"If you have another referendum, that means attacking liberal democracy and the will of people, if you don't respect it, it means you don't respect the basic values of democracy." (Bratislava)

Interestingly, the many complexities of holding a second Brexit referendum were also widely discussed amongst our EU Brexit Café participants. Like their UK counterparts, EU Millennials are also divided on whether or not a second Brexit referendum would be good or bad, and on what basis.

"A vote on a subject which is clearer and less vague would be necessary: it is not holding an identical second referendum, which would be inappropriate for many reasons, in particular the enormous social tensions that this would fuel; but, at the same time, ideally a clear vote on what the deal would entail and its clear consequences would not be too bad, in my opinion." (Terni)

"Because it was such a close vote, everyone was just like we'll have to accept it because of democracy." (Dublin)

"Anyone can have a referendum, but it's a matter of having a fair referendum, so let them vote again on the actual deal that is done so, if you want to do it democratically and also be informed and still vote to leave that's fine." (Dublin)

"As a British citizen, I would like this. But, being a European citizen, I would not be convinced. It would look like they change their mind every year. Every year they try and get something more out of the many parts of the negotiations." (Terni)

Young people in the UK and the EU believe changes in the voting and education systems are required to improve youth participation and representation in politics.

There is a widespread perception amongst the young people in our study that structural changes are required to ensure their views are taken seriously within the political system.

"To reverse the referendum would be the best scenario, but I don't think it is possible. No politician who would like to be re-elected, would reverse the referendum. This also means that the will of people expressed 2 years ago, means nothing." (Bratislava)

"It's so important that young people go out and vote for the decisions that will affect them in the future." (Beaconsfield)

"We live in a representative democracy however under 18s receive little representation especially on issues that count such as Brexit. We need to ensure that young people are actively participating in politics...." (Derby)

Millennials we spoke to recognise that the problem confronting them is two fold. Firstly, more young people need to vote in elections. Secondly, more politicians and policymakers must listen to and act upon youth views.

"How are we able to express ourselves because we can't vote on anything because we are too young. So how do we say something that is going to get heard by the people who are making the decisions without actually saying-without actually voting on it." (Port Talbot)

These Millennials appreciate that the two challenges are not unrelated. If more youth vote, youth views are more likely to be taken seriously by politicians and policy makers. At the same time, if youth views are taken seriously by politicians and policymakers, then youth are likely to vote in greater numbers.

Just like the 2017 report prepared for the APPG, we found widespread support for lowering the voting age to include 16 and 17 year olds.[23] Frequent references to the Scottish independence referendum, and the fact that 16 and 17 year olds were enfranchised in that vote, were made in our various Brexit Cafes and on the Generation Brexit challenge.

[23] UK Youth Perspectives and Priorities For Brexit Negotiations, p. 39.

"I was hoping they would lower the voting age to 16 like for the Scottish referendum, but they didn't." (Port Talbot)

"I think there should be a second referendum and 16 year olds should be able to vote. It isn't fair that old people got to decide what will happen for the future. In the Scottish referendum 16 year olds could vote." (Sandwich)

Scottish participants were quick to share their encouraging experiences with the extension of the franchise to 16 and 17 year olds.

"I was in school (in Scotland) during the Scottish Referendum and there was a lot of discussion about that in the classroom. The fact that 16 year olds could vote meant that everyone at school was really interested in the issues and teachers supported us to learn more about arguments on both sides. It was a really positive experience." (Glasgow)

"16 and 17 year olds, yeah they should definitely get the vote. You just need to look at the turnout levels from the 2014 independence referendum and the first vote, and then the continued turnout throughout the council elections. 16 and 17 year olds is always one of the highest turnout levels so they're clearly politically engaged cause they know this is their country, their future so their voice should be heard, so they go out and vote." (Glasgow)

The issue of increased and mandatory secondary school political education is a consistent theme amongst our project participants. Many of these Millennials in the UK and in the EU believe that in the long run compulsory education around politics would have a positive effect on democracy, and that as a result more young people would vote.

"I'm not saying that every 16-17 year old would vote but I think it goes back to whether we are educated enough and I think again, when it comes to voting, you should, young people should be educated more through citizenship through the schools." (Manchester)

"I don't think changing the age limit will automatically change everything. You would have to change the political education in this country – making people want to get involved." (London)

"They never really talked about any kind of politics in school. They just- I don't know- this might be a bit one samply but we never had like a politics class or anything where we actually learned how parliament works or what goes on or even how we can get heard. And at home you just don't like- there's not- you don't go home and talk about politics either with your parents and stuff so. Yah, I think schools could definitely do more, even things like this to talk to people or just explain what's going on at Parliament and why they're doing what they're doing." (Port Talbot)

"As people have compulsory course like history, geography or math, they should also learn the basic concepts of the politics because it affects their life as well. If voters were more educated, then they would vote more rationally.: (Tirana)

"I don't think people realize how important education is. This is something we should change. A lot of people watch the news, but they cannot comprehend it often. This is the place to start, to educate people." (Bratislava).

Some of our project participants also associated the need for better political education with the rise in demands for direct democracy.

"The use of referendums is rising and I truly think our education system needs to change to reflect that so that people are making informed decisions instead of being swayed." (Derby)

RESPECTING OUR DIFFERENCES

CHAPTER THREE:
RESPECTING OUR DIFFERENCES

> 1. Young people in the UK and the EU have personally experienced Brexit as a divisive process

> 2. Young people in the UK and in the EU worry that Brexit is a symptom of growing intolerance and want diversity to be protected and promoted

> 3. Young people in the UK and in the EU want to express and maintain multiple identities, without fear of negative repercussions

Young people in the UK and the EU have personally experienced Brexit as a divisive process

Brexit has brought into the spotlight deep-seated social and political divisions. Young people in our project are acutely aware of this consequence. Almost three-in-five (57%) of young people in the UK that were surveyed by Opinium for this report think that referendums tend to be divisive.[24] A further 68% believe that the UK's 2016 referendum on membership of the EU has divided the country.[25]

"One of the big problems with Brexit is that it has really divided the country." (Glasgow)

"The vote divided families. It divided communities. It was a very divisive process." (Port Talbot)

"I think there is a bigger divide as well between the people who are very strongly leave and the people who are very strongly remain, and then I tend to, I think everyone in my family voted to leave and I wanted to remain, so we had a lot of arguing, not even debates, arguing. Because the only thing they ever spoke about was immigration and they didn't know much about, because the only thing they would say was immigration and it was so frustrating." (Manchester)

"When everyone is talking about Brexit, there is this whole "Scotland wanted this, England wanted that", there's always been this just like divide. And it seems we can't agree on anything." (Aberdeen)

"It's become very tribal I think." (Port Talbot)

[24] A Citizens Brexit,Q8.A.4.
[25] A Citizens Brexit, Q8.A.5.
Many of the young people in our Brexit Cafes spoke of the Brexit referendum and subsequent negotiations as a defining political experience for them.

At the same time, EU participants in our Brexit Cafes, understood Brexit as part of a bigger trend towards rising populism and Euroscepticism.

"I am increasingly worried by the growing Euroscepticism in intentions, if we look at our current government and at the Visegrad group, and in actions, if we look at what the English did. I think this sentiment is expanding as well. … There are plenty of Eurosceptic governments and we risk a lot in the 2019 European elections. I am very worried." (Terni)

"We can quite clearly say this trend, European countries shutting themselves up. Yes, Poland France. I have an impression that it's that 'it used to be better' attitude. Even here, in Poland, we can observe people saying they miss the communist times…" (Warsaw)

"A big part of the population doesn't even have the chance to access opportunities which we are talking about and they are more stuck as a reaction to globalization and the increasing possibility with globalization, they are more stuck in their bubble, and that they cannot escape and that this leads to more frustration which is, in my opinion, one of the reasons also for the rise of populism in the European Union, as a backlash of all this." (Tallinn)

"I think it is a failure to educating children. Because if you educate tolerance in schools, you will understand that no one is up or below anyone. You are equal and you have to share the spaces and you have to collaborate to participate and the far right has none of these positions. They are better than, and they always divide between us and them. We face the same problems. They try to use feelings to solve real problems. They prefer to appeal to the feelings and I think this is a big failure of the democratic system and education system in general." (Prague)

Young people in the UK and in the EU worry that Brexit is a symptom of growing intolerance and want diversity to be protected and promoted

Throughout our Brexit Café conversations and on the Generation Brexit platform, young people spoke about the intolerance they feel has been uncovered and unleashed by this event. This rising intolerance greatly troubles our project participants. Millennials that we spoke to value diversity and do not want their future to be marred by racism, populism or xenophobia.

EU nationals who had settled in the UK felt unwelcome and told us they were worried about their future as part of British society.

"Right after the Brexit referendum when the results came out there was quite a bit of hate crime, especially towards Eastern Europeans in Birmingham." (Birmingham)

"I also feel more unwelcomed, but not in the sense that I am being targeted, more like when you hit barriers to staying or when you do any kind of immigration procedure it makes you feel unwelcomed, I never felt British so that is not a problem, but definitely a sense that I am not quite as wanted here as before" (London)

"Before Brexit I felt that this country was different and maybe more open than it actually is, but now I find it quite sad." (London)

"One of my best friends is married to a Polish woman and she was hurt by messages put in their letterbox saying "go home". You know. Is that what we really wanted the Brexit debate to lead to? I sincerely hope not. And that is a narrative that is in the mainstream in the UK." (Bratislava)

"I think it showed that there's a lot more problems in the British society that maybe people weren't aware about in terms of the other. And kind of even if people are like, are still like 'oh that's exotic'. You know, not like us. As well as thinking, 'oh you're just you'." (Birmingham)

"I don't necessarily want to take on British citizenship because in Britain citizenship and nationality are exactly the same thing and I don't identify as British for a multitude of reasons to do with the way I was treated as a child as an immigrant basically." (London)

"I'm proud of being from England, it doesn't mean I'm better than anyone else. I know when people say that, they kind of get negative responses from it. I feel kind of embarrassed. The increase of hate crimes associated with Brexit is appalling. I think that Brexit is a mess and everything is falling apart." (Manchester)

"Well, I don't even want to stay here anymore because like my grandparents moved over from Jamaica to make more money here. But there's less money here than back home. I would've enjoyed it here but you do experience racism sometimes." (Birmingham)

"I want the EU citizens to know that we're not a whole bunch of racists. I think those who were racist before have the confidence now to be publicly racist. But I think the Scottish government can make the effort to make people feel more welcome." (Aberdeen)

For many young people in our study Brexit has led them to reflect on the racism they have encountered in the UK. They shared their concern about how the rise in hate crimes and xenophobia might shape their lives, and that of others in the UK, going forward.

The young people who participated in our project share a predominantly cosmopolitan worldview.

This is true of British born young people who on the whole enjoy the multi-ethnic nature of their communities, and worry that Brexit was a vote against multiculturalism.

"And considering how multicultural the UK is as a country whether that's new immigrants or whether that's 2nd or 3rd generation immigrants I just find it so surprising that because we're so multicultural people voted in this way." (Aberdeen)

Equally, Britain's multiculturalism is also valued by those from abroad. For the latter, the very diverse nature of the UK, with its history of tolerance and inclusivity was a core reason why they chose the United Kingdom as a place to live, to work, and to settle.

"When I first moved I had a host family and they never thought of me as foreign even if I was foreign they loved me so no one around them or me thought 'oh she's an immigrant' because I was always with them." (Aberdeen)

"So there's this campaign called love your neighbour that was launched [after Brexit]. I don't know if anyone saw it? But it was all about you know not just love your neighbour but we're all in the same boat so let's just look after each other. Let's say hello and speak to your neighbour and doesn't matter where they're from, we're all together. And it was all about that message and I think that was something around that that could maybe benefit" (Birmingham).

"I think there are things we need to fix, but the UK has important values, liberalism, tolerance…. I learned all that there, and not in Slovakia." (Bratislava)

Young people in the UK and in the EU want to express and maintain multiple identities, without fear of negative repercussions

The young people that participated in our project are concerned about how Brexit will impact their sense of self. They worry that the forces of intolerance they believe are driving Brexit will affect aspects of their identity that are intrinsically part of who they are. Young people want to maintain close cultural ties with Europe, their country of origin, as well as with Britain. But they fear this cosmopolitanism is becoming increasingly difficult.

As a result of a perceived post-Brexit intolerance, young people from the UK who participated in our focus groupsare unsure of what 'being British' means to them, and how they should express a positive sense of Britishness.

"The day after Brexit I checked if I am eligible for Irish citizenship. I am not proud of what my country did but I am British. There are still things I am proud of when it comes to being British. I do see myself as European, but it will strengthen after Brexit probably." (Bratislava)

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"I kind of consider myself Welsh or European. I think that's more due to the fact that I find language to be a big part of it. Welsh is a first language for me so I've always considered that- I always find British to be more it's English. Whereas, European it's kind of it's a whole collection of culture and languages and things. So it's kind of a big melting pot. So I have always found Welsh or European to be more accurate, especially since the [Brexit] vote." (Port Talbot)

For many young people from Scotland who participated in our focus groups, Brexit has made them re-examine their own Scottishness. They describe Scottishness as fundamentally inclusive in contrast to Britishness, which they now regard as exclusive – and mostly owned by older generations, who voted for Leave. These Millennials from Scotland want to distinguish their Scottishness and it's greater inclusivity, from Britishness. By affirming Scottishness, these Millennials seem to be distancing themselves from Britishness, and the negative connotations of exclusion and intolerance they associate with Brexit.

"Brexit has made me feel a little bit stronger towards feeling European. Maybe I would have said I feel more Scottish, then British, then European but now I kind of feel like a combination of all three, I feel like all these things are being threatened to be taken away from me so it does make me feel a bit more passionate about that kind of thing." (Aberdeen)

"I identify definitely more Scottish. Some years ago I would have said I was British, but now I kind of relate to other Scottish people. I feel like what was pushing for Brexit a lot was like British national identity and I feel the older generations who used to know about the colonies and so on just kind of craved that." (London)

"It is interesting if you go to Europe and start chatting to people and they're like 'oh are you British and you're like 'well…I actually live in Scotland' 'oh so you're Scottish so you didn't vote for Brexit!' and you're like 'Yes!!'" (Aberdeen)

Further to this, dual UK / EU nationals resident in the UK who took part in our focus groups were worried about what the future would look like if they stayed in the UK. In particular, they were very concerned about the potential loss of identity and having to choose between 'being British' and other important sources of identification.

"I don't know how it will affect me. If I need to choose between my French or British Citizenship. If UK leaves." (Birmingham)

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"I'm half Austrian through my father's side and even when I was young so I feel more connected to my European roots specifically to Austria and Europe. But because of the Brexit situation I'm in a difficult situation, where I have to pick family or nationality for very certain reasons. I should mention job which is a bit complicated going in to. But it's sort of value and sort of identity questions where you have to pick which side of the fence you are on. You can't be happy where you want to be. You can't be where you want to be. You have to choose one side or the other because of the Brexit debate, and you have to sort of you are European or you are British." (London)

Meanwhile, most EU nationals in our discussions felt their European identities were strengthened by Brexit.

"It has excited me more about Europe. Because now you can re-remember all the advantages and especially after Brexit you were reminded of all the advantages we have and my standpoint has hardened in such a way that I think that everyone who voted for Brexit is in the end an idiot. And therefore I would say my pro-European identity feeling has increased." (Berlin)

"It may sound cynical, but in some way, we also have to be thankful for Britain doing this Brexit, because now, for the first time, we are really aware of what we are about to lose when we are about to leave the European Union. Now people suddenly, they become conscious what have been reached during the last decades, and so I say it has affected many that they are, feel more European, that they would like to develop this Union even further." (Tallinn)

What is perceived as an ill informed Brexit campaign, coupled with the united EU negotiating position, may have galvanised a renewed commitment to the European project amongst these millennials.

But a few young EU nationals in our project were more sceptical about their Europeanness after Brexit.

"If I feel more European at the end has a lot to do with how we – the legal Europe – handle this situation. I think it's simply a shame if now someone just leaves the group and we just stand still and say "your loss!" and are angry and don't change any of the reasons why maybe someone left. I mean GB was not the first country to point out that the EU might have some redundant elements or some defects and I feel like if we react the right way and make it a better thing then yes, I would feel more European. But right now, I don't feel more connected to Europe I have to say. The group simply shrank and nothing is happening." (Paris)

A common theme cross cutting these many Brexit Cafe conversations is that young people in the UK and the EU want to be able to express and maintain multiple identities, without any negative repercussions.

> "I mean the day I woke up after the referendum and I heard the news, I felt like I had lost two nationalities over my life. I felt like it sound a bit extreme but I felt like a stateless person I didn't identify with the people around me anymore."
> (Brussels)

> "Lithuania doesn't allow dual citizenship, so either way, if I apply for a British one, I lose the Lithuanian one. I don't know why I'm keeping the Lithuanian one. I haven't been there for a long time, but I don't want to lose my nationality."
> (Birmingham)

> "I think this is the opportunity to rethink our identity, every single person feels a different kind of Slovak, a different kind of Brit."
> (Bratislava)

Young people at our Brexit Cafes and on the Generation Brexit platform resisted any and all suggestions that they should define themselves in terms of a single, fixed or homogeneous identity.

For this reason, we invited our survey respondents to self-select which factors most defined them. In recognition of the frequently voiced desire for multiple and overlapping identities, respondents were free to select more than one factor from a list of eleven possibilities.

What is most striking about the results was the spread of choices that were made. The most highly ranked choices were 'the country I was born in' (39%), 'my gender or sexual orientation' (35%), and 'my education' (34%) [26] But there was also widespread recognition of the importance of 'my rights as a citizen' (30%), 'the country I live in now' (29%), my ethnicity (28%) and 'my community / local area' (27%). [27] But interestingly, two more 'traditional' identity markers were far less popular – 'my class' (18%) and 'my religion' (17%). [28]

[26] A citizens Brexit, Q.C1.
[27] A citizens Brexit, Q.C1.
[28] A citizens Brexit, Q.C1.

BUILDING BRIDGES IN THE UK
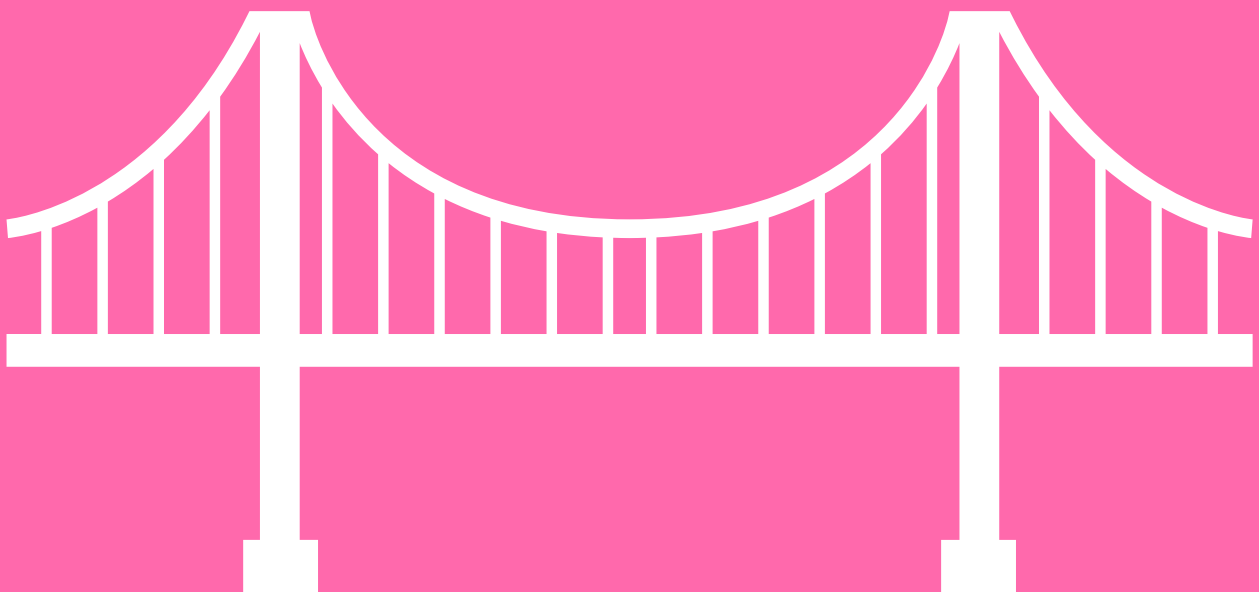
CHAPTER FOUR:
BUILDING BRIDGES IN THE UK

1. Building on their personal experience of Brexit as a divisive process, young people in the UK believe British politics have become polarised

2. Young people feel let down by the party political system in the UK, which seems to offer them little choice

3. Young people are uncertain about the future of the United Kingdom as union of four nations

4.. Young people in the UK want politics to be less adversarial, and more respectful of diverse viewpoints

Building on their personal experience of Brexit as a divisive process, young people in the UK believe British politics have become polarised

The Opinium survey commissioned for this report reveals the deep political divisions that exist in British politics post-Brexit.

In keeping with the well documented correlation between age and attitude towards continued UK membership in the European Union, 70% of our survey respondents identify as Remain while only 30% identify as Leave – vividly demonstrating the continued saliency of age as a predictor of UK voter preference over Brexit.**[29]**

Yet, significantly, 73% of our respondents report strong views about Brexit irrespective of their preference regarding Leave or Remain.**[30]** And an exactly equal share of young Leavers and young Remainers (64% in both cases), say that they are unlikely to change their minds on Brexit.**[31]** So, in the words of one of our Brexit Café participants:

"I haven't heard of many people who haven't picked a side. No? Yah, it's almost everyone had to pick a side whether- whichever side it was. It's really interesting that there is no neutral party ground on this." (London)

As shall be apparent in the discussion which follows, our participants are deeply troubled by this 'polarised' politics.

A deep disconnect between political elites and younger voters reinforces the generational divide

Generally speaking, younger voters in the UK who joined our Brexit Cafe discussions believe political elites are simply not interested in them.

[29] A citizens Brexit, Q.P6.
[30] A citizens Brexit, Q.Q2.
[31] A citizens Brexit, Q.Q3.

For this reason, attempts post-Brexit to engage with younger voters tend to be met with scepticism by them. Similarly, some young people told us they continue to be 'put off' from political participation because they are convinced their views will not be represented.

"Obviously politicians have never listened to young people and then all of a sudden the referendum happens and like we want to listen to young people. It's like, sure, yah right." (London)

"We've seen that our decisions aren't being listened to again, it's only the cabinet ministers that are doing it. When we are taken into consideration, we aren't properly taking into consideration. ...So people are going to say, what's the point?" (Manchester)

Young people feel let down by the party political system in the UK, which seems to offer them little choice

More fundamentally, young people in our discussions feel let down by the party political system in the UK, which they seem to think offers them little real choice. The Conservative Party, perhaps because of its perception as the 'party of Brexit' is disproportionately singled out for criticism amongst our participants.

"The average age of the conservative party is like 60. It's similar with parties like Liberal-Democrats who are not so young. I think that because of that young people get so isolated from the politics. It's not surprising, and it's very toxic, very polarized. And right now we are experiencing the negative dividends of this process that has been happening for the past 20 years, and the young people get isolated whereas the people our age voted against Brexit in this country." (Edinburgh)

"The Tories, the Tories are just awful in everything. But on 16/17 year olds, they do get it wrong. It's common sense." (London)

"It is related to the people that organize the negotiations and on the outcome of the meetings of each party, in this case the Conservatives, and I don't think that the youth is involved." (Exeter)

In contrast, Labour and, to a lesser extent, the SNP are generally regarded as more pro-youth by Millennials in our study.

"Jeremy Corbyn had quite a connection with younger people. The Conservatives don't really care as much." (West Hull)

"I think Labour probably have a better connection with youth and maybe just—I think younger people are more likely to vote for Labour, so I guess there's kind of a disconnect between the government at the moment and the youth." (Elloughton)

"I think Jeremy Corbyn demonstrated this best. A lot of his policies were definitely pro younger adults and people and definitely benefit them in the area and I think this was shown in the large percentage of the young vote that Labour had at the last general election. You know, whereas, there were you know certain other parties such as the SNP and the Liberal Democrats do also have very pro young people policies, but because of the lack of kind of popularisation as I'd say that they did not gain as much as they potentially could have." (Aberdeen)

That said, Corbyn is not without his critics amongst our project participants – these were mostly young Remainers who feel let down by his stance with regard to a second referendum ('People's Vote').

"If I could send one message to a politician right now it would be to Jeremy Corbyn. I feel most let down by Corbyn since he was suppose to be all about listening to young people. Why isn't he listening to us now? He should support a second referendum since that is what most Labour members and most young people want." (Sandwich)

"Corbyn has always been a Brexiteer just for socialist reasons, which is why on this issue he doesn't want to listen to young people or even other members of the Labour Party." (Glasgow)

Thus, based on our conversations with young people, it appears that Millennials in the UK who want a political party that speaks to their concerns are largely left with just one choice: the Labour Party. This party political dynamic amongst young UK voters was also apparent in the results of the survey we commissioned from Opinium. Just like in our Brexit Café and Generation Brexit conversations, Labour is the political party most likely to be supported by young UK voters – and by a considerable margin. If there were a UK national election tomorrow, 50% of voters aged between 18-30 would vote for Labour.[32] In contrast, only 17% of these Millennials would vote for the Conservative Party.[33] The other political parties attract almost no support amongst young voters – Liberal Democrats 5%; UKIP 4%; Green 3%; SNP 2%; Sinn Fein 1%; some other party 1% - while 8% 'don't know' and 9% 'would not vote.' Our focus group discussions add depth to these survey results by suggesting that Labour and Jeremy Corbyn connect with young people far more effectively than do the Conservatives and other political parties. Similarly, these discussions also suggest that those who 'would not vote'[34] mostly do so because they believe political elites will not represent their views.

[32]A Citizens Brexit, Q.P1.
[33] A Citizens Brexit, Q.P1.
[34] A Citizens Brexit, Q.P1.

Young people in Northern Ireland and Scotland are uncertain about the future of the United Kingdom as a union of four nations

Young people from Belfast and Scotland who participated in this project expressed serious misgivings about the representation of their views within British politics after Brexit. These attitudes seem to be driven by a combination of perceptions, among which are the following: a belief that parties representing their (devolved) national identities are being marginalised in the Westminster Parliament; a belief that the devolved authorities are being excluded from the Brexit negotiations; a belief that the Brexit project is fundamentally driven by 'English' nationalism and so irrelevant or perhaps even harmful to their own distinct nationalisms. The latter view was expressed especially in Scotland, where our Brexit Cafe participants were undecided as to whether the country should pursue independence from the UK.

"So, as somebody who is Northern Irish, it's been a rather interesting experience. Sinn Fein, again, do not take their seats with the Westminster Parliament and the DUP who are anti-Europe or anti-EU are the only representing party within the Westminster Government, which means, although Northern Ireland is predominately pro-remaining in the EU, the only representation it has at the British level, which is the level at which Brexit is being formulated, it is entirely being represented by an anti-EU party. So, it has led to a great deal of voter disenfranchisement within Northern Ireland and I feel it is somewhat polarised a lot of things as well. So yes, it has been very damaging, to not necessarily to my identity as I consider myself as Northern Irish. It's left me feeling as my democratic expression doesn't matter." (Belfast)

"The whole idea of politics is of resentment. I mean, my first thoughts when I was watching the Brexit results come in, and I was seeing how each county voted, and I saw that all 32 counties of Scotland voted against Brexit, the first thought in my mind was actually, "oh nice! Scotland can finally get independence." And that was actually a giddie moment for a second, right? And then I was like, "Oh too bad everyone else is screwed," right? It was weird kind of like, there might be a silver lining here." (Edinburgh)

"Yeah, there's a difference between English, or British, nationalism, it's very different from Scottish nationalism. When a Scottish person talks about being a nationalist, they're saying oh we want to be independent from the United Kingdom, because we want to be sovereign. But we still want to have an international, an internationalist outlook with the EU. We want to be part of a community rather than a union. So obviously the European Union is more of a community then, whereas in the United Kingdom everything is bound to the central government. While in the European Union it's about the government, what each part says, you know it's, it's a lot different. So British nationalism is more isolated, sort of, "we're on our own", "we think of ourselves as British and that's it we can't relate to anyone else", while Scottish nationalism is slightly different, but obviously you get negative connotations as well." (Aberdeen)

"The English people have all the voting power in Parliament
That's the thing! That's the thing, cause how is that fair? How is that a fair union? I think with the European Union everyone has a veto, everyone has a say on how everything works, we all vote, but at the end of the day there's a veto and every country can leave whenever they want, it's all sovereign. With the UK union, it's, it's pretty much what the English say. I'm not, there's nothing wrong with how the English people voted, that's how you want it that's how you vote, but because other nations in the UK voted so differently from the English, what is the point of having that nation continuing?" (Aberdeen)

"Scotland should really get a vote on the independence process. I think have another referendum asking "if you think Scotland should remain in the EU, vote yes". But then another option should be "if you disagree, Scotland should remain in the UK, check box", because that would probably have a more positive viewpoint. Also, to give Scotland a chance to decide its own future, something that the last referendum of 2016, never gave Scotland. It was dictated by England and Wales' majority, and not by Scotland's." (Glasgow)

Young people want politics to be less adversarial, and more respectful of diverse viewpoints

There is a shared conviction across all of our Brexit Cafés and on the Generation Brexit platform that this polarised politics is counter productive and cannot be allowed to continue. Young people we spoke to strongly believe that, for the good of society, bridges must be built across party and regional divides, generations, and Brexit preferences. According to many project participants, there is a need for further dialogue, not simply between politicians, but also citizens. It is widely felt amongst this cohort that politicians have co-opted the debate, and that it has become mired in ideological conflicts. In contrast to the adversarial politics they associate with Westminster, young people in our study want the future of the UK to be built upon reconciliation and an adherence to values that are universal and which transcend the divides that have been created, and exposed, by Brexit.

"There is so much hate and we cannot let this continue. We need to find a way to work together and live together and try and rebuild things because the future cannot always be like what we have now." (London)

"If I could give any sort of message to the government, I think try and be, try to look less fractured, like you know, in the public eye. I mean, I understand that they have sometimes, they have opposing views, but at the end of the day, you're not trying to destroy your political opponent, like, we're all British people at the end of the day. We all want a government to work effectively, and if they can, for everyone." (Hull)

"I think inter party coordination would be brilliant. Yes, we voted to leave the EU but we should be trying to be united as a country, so use all the political parties views and opinions, use them to try and get a good deal for everybody. As you say a lot of people did not want this, did not vote for this but are having to go through it anyway. You need to have a say in this." (Aberdeen)

"One message to politicians now, obviously hard to narrow it down to one, however I think the most important thing is just LISTEN. Not only to young people but to other politicians and advisors, even if they would usually be 'enemies', this is a massive decision and EVERYONE must have a voice." (Penarth)

BUILDING BRIDGES WITH THE EU

CHAPTER FIVE:
BUILDING BRIDGES WITH THE EU

1. Young people in the UK and EU believe an aggressive political debate conducted mainly between politicians is damaging prospects of a close future relationship

2. A "soft" rather than a "hard" Brexit is widely favoured for the future relationship

3. Issues surrounding the future of freedom of movement are deeply personal

Young people in the UK and EU believe an aggressive political debate conducted mainly between politicians is damaging prospects of a close future relationship.

This belief commonly expressed amongst our project participants about the prospects for a future relationship is similar to that voiced by them in the context of British politics and its polarisation. Young people in the UK and EU who joined our conversations do not want politics directed at the future relationship to be a 'blame game', as they believe has been the case during the withdrawal stage. far.

"I don't think we can blame it on 2 camps. ...Every single person in UK wants to get it done, and from my point of view maybe the EU is the one who is not cooperative enough." (Bratislava)

"How can we change that conversation so it's not always about the way to blame the other or blame the outside?" (Birmingham)

Broadly, our project participants expressed a strong hope that the political animosity surrounding the withdrawal negotiations would be tempered, to facilitate a solid future relationship in the next stage of the Brexit process.

"All this hoo-ha with Brexit was done in the name of democracy, and when we finally get democracy, we are like a little kid who gets a bicycle, falls over getting the bike out of the garage, takes it back with a fear of spoiling it, and then outgrows it and then doesn't have to deal with this anymore. If we did this in the name of democracy, if we stick to this diversion because British people have spoken in the name of democracy. Then why on Earth would we not make this a shining beacon of democracy and give the ongoing discussion a chance and British people a chance to have a say on their future." (Bratislava) (*UK national)

"Yea, the current negotiations are a shitshow. I think the whole process of Dominic Raab and him doing his press conference and then the Europeans doing their press conference and then listening to Donald Tusk say some off comment that gets picked up on law, then he gives a personal opinion and that gets picked up, and all of this gets warped more than actually sitting down to the overall real point, and it's just a mess, it really is." (Amsterdam) (*UK national)

"If I can add, think of what you would want to say to relevant European players, for instance Guy Verhofstadt or Michel Barnier; or to the English. Think of the future of those who want to build a European career and lifestyle. That is, beyond the legitimacy of the data, I would like to go back to what you were saying: in 10-15 years' time, most of those who voted to get out of the EU will not be here anymore. Those who are much more affected are Under 25s, Under 20s. So politicians should wear these people's shoes and carry out evaluations in a very long term, in terms of what this decision will entail. Because many people will encounter difficulties and will have to, I assume, scale down on their ambition" (Terni)

"I think the Dutch government tends to be quite pragmatic. They're very emotional about the fact that the UK decided to leave, but they do want to maintain a good relationship. I hope that the Dutch can be at the forefront, within the EU 27, to get to a deal that still makes sure the UK stays close to the EU 27. So hopefully take a crucial role in making sure it's the best situation that we can make of it." (Amsterdam)

A "soft" rather than a "hard" Brexit is widely favoured for the future relationship

The common view expressed by most young people we spoke to, was that "hard", or "no deal" Brexit would be harmful to the future of the EU, but particularly harmful to the future of the UK. Within our Brexit Café and Generation Brexit platform discussions, a "soft", rather than a "hard" Brexit is widely favoured for the future relationship by UK and EU participants alike.

"I just want it all to be a little bit more soft and un-Brexity." (Amsterdam)

"My opinion is that it should be a soft Brexit and the alignment with the EU is the way to go." (Bratislava)

That said, there are also a few dissenting Millennial voices in our focus groups, who express a strong preference for a "harder" outcome. Interestingly, these tend to be EU nationals worried about the potential for a Brexit bandwagon effect on the future politics and policies of the EU27 member states.

> "So just a hard Brexit because any sort of soft Brexit shows that other EU countries can break away and still retain some benefits of membership." (London)

> "I think I would feel fucked over if they say that they now get a soft Brexit and other countries start as well saying that they want to have the benefits but not the negative things – paying – erm, and I would feel hoaxed as EU citizen that someone simply leaves but still receives all the benefits." (Berlin)

The preference for a "soft Brexit" future relationship is expressed both in normative and substantive terms by young people in this study. A "softer" future seems to represent a symbolic reconciliation between supporters of an aggressive Brexit, which involves a rapid cutting of ties with the EU, and the bulk of Remainers who strongly oppose such an outcome for the future. This reasoning also seems to take into account the closeness of the referendum result –which as our project participants continually reminded each other, was a very narrow 52% (Leave) to 48% (Remain)

The question of "soft" versus "hard" future relationship was also viewed in transactional terms by some of the young people that we spoke with. These young people felt that a "soft" Brexit would reduce the economic costs, by facilitating a degree of future labour mobility across borders.

The interplay between normative and transactional reasoning amongst our study cohort is perhaps best exemplified in discussions with regard to the future of the Irish border.

> "We cannot afford to even consider the possibility of a hard border with Ireland, firstly due the detrimental effect it would likely have on trade. the ROI and NI are still incredibly closely linked (the FT estimates there are 4000 firms exporting goods only over the border) and the establishment of any restrictions between the two will undoubtedly harm both economies. Secondly, The Troubles were an incredibly dark period of time for that part of the world and we cannot just overlook the significance of Good Friday in stabilising the country. Abandonment of the agreement could cause a resurgence of the movement which is something that must be avoided. The Good Friday Accords are a legally binding agreement and we cannot just ignore them because they no longer suit. The government took a massive oversight in the issue of Ireland and in my opinion it was irresponsible of them to seemingly ignore what has become a huge issue in their narrative in the run up to the referendum." (Birmingham).

> "The main thing we were promised here was the backstop and the North being able to have a second market with the European Union. So, the key word here was "could've" "should've" "would've" but it hasn't happened." (Dublin)

The preference for "softer" future arrangements is also supported by the results of our survey. Key policies associated with a "soft" future relationship (open and free trade with the EU, freedom of movement, rights for EU nationals in the UK) were ranked higher than those associated with a "hard" future relationship (better control over borders and migration, the ability to make separate free trade deals with countries outside of the EU, the ability of the UK parliament to pass laws that are incompatible with EU laws).[35]

Issues surrounding the future of freedom of movement are deeply personal

The Opinium survey commissioned for this report highlights the importance of the freedom of movement question, for a future after Brexit. This priority is also reflected in the focus groups, with free movement of people regularly cited as the key concern for EU nationals living in the UK and vice versa.

In the wider public policy debate, the conversation around freedom of movement and the future relationship is generally expressed in economic terms. The future costs to business, future opportunities for workers and students, and the consequent decrease in future human resources available within the UK market (in particular) are all generally cited as key concerns linked to less job-seeker mobility. These concerns for the future are also regularly voiced by our focus group participants.

However, for young people in our study, issues surrounding the future and freedom of movement are often deeply personal.

"I'm worried because my boyfriend is a British citizen...and will he be able to live with me in Europe? You know what I mean, we've been together for 3 years it's pretty serious." (London)

"I'm worried about my little sister because ... we don't know whether the fees are going to be doubled...and if they end up being doubled up then that means that my sister will not be able to come here." (London)

"My girlfriend is an EU national.... We are a generation that very much move around and has new ideas we are a bit more mobile than previous generations. I am most worried about getting locked into one country and not having a right to free movement to the rest of the EU." (Brussels)

In this digital, mobile age, more and more couples sustain long-distance relationships whilst working in different countries - and this was certainly the case amongst the young people in our study. Reuniting with one's spouse in the future requires one member of the couple to move. This reality is evident in various instances within the focus groups, and our participants express great concern about it in respect of their futures. The impact that freedom of movement has on families, relationships, and personal lives is less often discussed in the Brexit debate, but as our study shows, it is an important consideration that must be taken into consideration in decisions about the future relationship.

Broadly, the young people in our Brexit Cafes and on the Generation Brexit platform tend to see the future of freedom of movement less in transactional, and more in normative terms. In other words, economic considerations for the future do not seem to arouse the same emotiveness as the right of free movement itself, and the strong desire to guarantee this right in the future.

"Limits to free movement just don't seem to fit our worldview (as a generation). Because we're so used to it and none of us are from a generation where borders are an issue..." (Amsterdam).

COSMOPOLITAN VALUES AS THE KEYSTONE

CHAPTER SIX:
COSMPOLITAN VALUES AS THE KEYSTONE

1. Young people in the UK and the EU share a cosmopolitan value system that prioritises respect for diversity, equality of opportunity, and internationalism

2. Young people invoke "rights" to try and make their voices heard in the ongoing Brexit debate

3. Young people are advocates for the "rights" of others in the future relationship

Young people in the UK and the EU share cosmopolitan values

Throughout our Brexit Café and Generation Brexit platform discussions, we have found that young people share cosmopolitan values, and they want these values to be the keystone of their future relationships.

We saw this same cosmopolitan worldview played out across all of the conversations that we had with young people about Brexit and the future of UK-EU relations. For this reason, such moral arguments are readily apparent in the previous chapters of our report, and in the many comments made by young people that we have already shared.

It is because of their cosmopolitan values that so many of the young people we spoke with are deeply troubled by the divisive social effects and polarized politics that they believe have emerged since the 2016 Brexit Referendum - and this is why they strongly desire a different future. Equally, this cosmopolitan value system explains why young people in our study are split on the appropriateness of a second referendum, even though they mostly share a common view on the continued desirability of UK membership in the EU. Both viewpoints are motivated by the desire to respect diverse opinions, even if the conclusions drawn are not the same.

Much discussion in our Brexit Cafes revolved around the broader question of the type of world these young people want to live in and where Brexit fits into their vision of the future. This was an important issue for both our UK and our EU participants. While economic themes (jobs, housing, prosperity) were prevalent across all our focus groups, wider questions of justice, social equality, multiculturalism, and freedoms also attracted a high level of attention.

The values that seem to matter most to the young people with whom our project has engaged are those of respect for diversity, equality of opportunity, and internationalism. These values are strongly expressed in our Brexit Café and Generation Brexit platform discussion. They are also consistent with results of the survey that we commissioned.

Of all Brexit priorities for young people surveyed by Opinium, the "maintenance of public services e.g., education and the NHS" was most important at 37% - five percentage points ahead of "open and free trade of goods and services with the EU", which was ranked second in importance. The fact that young people put social justice ahead of economic trade tells us something significant about this Millennial generation and their priorities for the future. There were some suggestions by young people in our study that Brexit may actually provide an opportunity to create a better functioning social justice system in the UK and in other countries. This desire for the future builds on the widely shared idea that the previous social justice system failed, and in so doing created the space for Brexit itself.

The notion that Brexit has fundamentally challenged the freedoms and openness which previously underpinned our society recurs across project participants comments and suggestions. More than a political battle, Brexit seems to represents something far greater to the young people that we spoke with: a civilisational cross-roads at which the future of the liberal worldview is called into question. The type of society that we are and will be in the future is no longer clear to these Millennials. Recognition exists too, amongst our project cohort, that Brexit fits within the frame of a much broader debate about the future, played out across the West. Should we be closed or open? Should we be patriots or globalists, and can we be both? These are the kinds of future oriented questions that our project participants continually asked themselves, and each other.

Young people increasingly define themselves as citizens with "rights"

A key finding of our study is that young people increasingly define themselves as citizens with "rights". Almost twice as many young people surveyed in the UK chose to define themselves in this civic way (30%), as compared to more traditional identity markers like class (18%) and religion (17%).[36] Interestingly, support for a civic self-identity was greater than the UK national average not only in London (34%), but also in Wales (32%), the South West (32%), the East and West Midlands (33%), Scotland (35%), and the North East (52%), which further confirms its widespread appeal amongst young people.[37] Strength of self-identification with 'rights as a citizen' also correlates with strength of opinion about Brexit; 34% of young people with strong views on Brexit self-identified in this way, while only 18% of those without strong views did likewise.[38]

Young people invoke "rights" to try and make their voices heard in the Brexit debate

A striking feature of our discussions with young people is their frequent use of a "rights" based discourse. Talk about "rights" was present across all 45 Brexit Cafes, and on our Generation Brexit platform. It seems to coincide with young people's "values based" approach to Brexit and the future UK-EU relationship."Rights" become a way of communicating what is, and is not, the "right thing to do" in these circumstances. Equally, the "rights" which are invoked offer another powerful insight into the values of this Millennial generation – and again the impression which one is left with is of a deep rooted cosmopolitanism.

[36] A Citizen's Brexit, Q.C1.
[37] A Citizen's Brexit, Q.C1.
[38] A Citizen's Brexit, Q.C1.

Rights" are commonly used to signal the importance of what is being communicated about the future. When asked to think about how Brexit will affect them personally, young people in our study answered in terms of 'my rights' – 'my right to decide my future', 'my right to be heard', 'my right to vote', 'my right to travel', 'my right to stay', 'my right to study', 'my right to work abroad', 'my right to healthcare', 'my right to housing', 'my right to welfare', etc.

For example, young people in the UK and in the EU who joined our Brexit Cafes often expressed their fears about Brexit and the future relationship in terms of a loss of rights.

"It's a big hit, losing right's you've had all your lives because of that vote you had no part in." (London)

"I feel it's a disenfranchising of the young people, it's taking away their rights as EU citizens." (Tallinn)

"It's human rights and fundamental rights, they just disappear. I mean you can feel the absence of them, but when it's there, you just take it for granted." (Prague)

"You know we fought a lot for our rights for having like freedoms to live in a world abroad and now it's kind of yeah we're going back in time you know." (London)

"I think it's about the rights that you have and what you could do with those rights as well and when you're cut out of that is what makes it important." (Aberdeen)

"Living in the North [Northern Ireland], I have both passports [Irish and UK]. When we leave, I'm still going to be a European citizen. But it [Brexit] will start to take away rights from my [other UK] friends as European citizens." (Belfast)

"Living in the North [Northern Ireland], I have both passports [Irish and UK]. When we leave, I'm still going to be a European citizen. But it [Brexit] will start to take away rights from my [other UK] friends as European citizens." (Belfast)

At the same time, young people who participated in our project commonly also voiced their political demands for a future after Brexit by asserting their rights. In this sense, rights seem to function as "trumps" – efforts to put forward claims that politicians and policy makers will be unable to ignore or refuse. Rights thus become an instrument of youth participation in the Brexit process, and a way of compelling representation of youth views in future decision making.

"My message to governments would be to protect equal rights." (Dublin)

> **QUOTE: My message would be to figure out a fairer deal that protects young people's rights, don't make a rush decision and say ok, that's it, hard Brexit. ...Don't go backwards, even if you have to make Brexit happen make sure that you do it in a way that is progressive, doesn't strip anybody of their rights, only enhances their rights rather than take existing rights away. (Brussels)**

> **"There was a proposal I think, last year from Luxembourg to create a sort of European passport of rights if you like, that you could sort of buy into... whereby British people could engage in the full freedoms within the European Union even having left in sort of an individual basis. And that's an idea that I think has a lot of scope." (Amsterdam)**

> **"How do you divide your rights by what your country has and what the EU has? This is something that doesn't make sense to me." (London)**

Young people are advocates for the "rights" of others

Significantly, young people in our study do not just invoke rights for themselves. They also speak, often passionately, in defense of the rights of others. In every one of our UK focus groups, there were young UK citizens defending the future rights of EU citizens in the UK.

> **"It's human rights and fundamental rights, they just disappear. I mean you can feel the absence of them, but when it's there, you just take it for granted." (Prague)**

Similarly, in every one of our EU focus groups, there were young EU citizens defending the future rights of UK citizens in the EU.

This reciprocity with respect to rights and the future relationship is consistent with the Opinium Survey results. It found that 51% of UK respondents are in favour of British citizens continuing to have the right to live, work and retire in the EU, with no restrictions, after Brexit; and 43% would extend this same right to EU citizens who want to come to the UK.**[39]** Similarly, 41% of UK respondents think British citizens should have the right to come to and stay in the UK after Brexit, as long as they are working or until they qualify for permanent residence; and 45% support a reciprocal right for EU nationals to come to the UK on these terms.**[40]** Even the proportion of UK respondents who think British and EU citizens should have no automatic rights to live or work in each others countries is comparable - 8% for British citizens and 12% for EU citizens.**[41]**

[39] A Citizen's Brexit, Q.6B.
[40] A Citizen's Brexit, Q.6B.

CONCLUSION & RECOMMENDATIONS

CHAPTER SEVEN:
CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Brexit has affected the millennial generation in a very personal way. As the many quotations that we have included in this report show, the young people who participated in our study are already "living with Brexit", and the vast majority of those we spoke to across the UK and the EU don't like the future it seems to offer them.

They don't like the way the referendum decision was made in 2016. They don't like the growing intolerance that has followed in its wake. They don't like being ignored in the withdrawal process. They don't like the aggressive and acrimonious politics that were are now embroiled in. They don't like the idea of losing their existing rights to freedom of movement. And, quite frankly, the vast majority don't want the UK to leave the European Union. They want a different future.

For many youth today, their Brexit experience has been a "wake up call" to become more actively engaged in the political process. The young people in our study are deeply committed to the process of building a better future, for themselves and for others. They don't like where we are now, or how we got here, and they urgently want to change direction – and not just in the way we imagine our future UK – EU relationship, but also in the way we imagine our future domestic political relationships.

The young people we spoke to across the UK and the EU share a cosmopolitan value system that prioritises respect for diversity, equality of opportunity and internationalism. They want to live "connected" lives - connected within the UK and the EU, connected between the UK and the EU, and connected with their many different identities.

We think the values and ideas voiced by the young people in our study offer unique insight into opportunities for building bridges after Brexit. The recommendations that follow outline concrete policy proposals for the future that are commensurate with these values and ideas.

We will be sharing our policy proposals with young people at the Common Futures Forum in London on 20 November 2018, and on the Generation Brexit platform.

CHAPTER SEVEN:
CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

1. Youth impact assessment a compulsory component of legislating the future relationship

The government should undertake **a compulsory youth impact assessment** of any proposed future relationship agreement, the contents of which should be made available to members of the House of Commons, House of Lords and the public at the start of the legislative process.

The youth impact assessment of any future relationship agreement should be developed in conjunction with a **youth futures advisory group** whose members are drawn from leading youth organisations across the country.

2. Freedom of movement to bridge gaps between young people in the UK and the EU

Every effort should be made to ensure young people in the UK and the EU remain closely connected in their personal and professional lives in the future.

The best way of securing this goal would be to **maintain existing rights to freedom of movement and free trade** as core components of the future relationship between the UK and the EU.

It is also **imperative that the UK remains a part of the Erasmus programme** as well as any future expansion of Erasmus – i.e. an Erasmus for professionals. The loss of potential opportunities for young people through the loss of interaction that Erasmus offers will lead to a corresponding loss of value on both sides, both from an economic and personal perspective.

The right to re-unite must be recognised in a no deal scenario. Special dispensation must be offered to couples and families living on opposite sides of the Brexit divide. In the case of a future "no deal", or a "hard Brexit", couples and families must be allowed the right to re-unite, independent of any new restrictions on free movement of people.

3. Civic rights to bridge gaps between individuals and communities

An inclusive and non-discriminatory citizenship policy is a core component of integration policy, and a symbol of belonging. As such, it offers excellent scope for building bridges between individuals and communities in the UK.

For this reason, we recommend that a future priority for the UK government should be **the creation of a "civic charter"** to provide a definitive statement of the rights of citizens and residents.

Based on our consultations with young people, we think the following provisions should be key components of such a "civics charter":

- **Affirmation that the provision of public services such as the NHS, education and housing are core components of effective equality;**
- **Recognition that British society is diverse, that identities may be multiple, multi-layered, contextual and dynamic, and that xenophobia and hate crimes will not be tolerated;**
- **·Recognition that Northern Ireland, Scotland and Wales are distinct communities within the UK, and that each has the right to preserve and promote their national identities;**
- **Respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, including the rights of persons belonging to minorities;**
- **Extension of the right to vote to sixteen and seventeen year olds.**

Civic education to bridge gaps in political participation and representation.

Provision for citizenship education within national curricula should be strengthened. This recommendation is relevant for both the UK and the EU 27. It is vitally important for the full and effective functioning of democracy that citizens have a solid understanding of how political systems work and are equipped with the necessary skills to take part in political decision making processes. For this reason, a requirement for compulsory citizenship education should be extended to all age groups (key stages).

Citizenship education should include the rights and responsibilities of citizenship, how political systems work (including the role of political parties, legislature, government, courts), how to distinguish real news from fake news, and how to have respectful conversations about controversial issues. A population that has a deeper understanding of these factors is more likely to be able to hold political parties to account in the future. This in turn will cause party structures and communication strategies to evolve.

New citizenship learning resources should be developed to guide teachers in the implementation of an extended citizenship curriculum. These resources should be developed in conjunction with a variety of civil society stakeholders, to encourage dialogue between communities including underrepresented and disadvantaged groups.

Innovation hubs to bridge gaps between urban and rural communities.

There is need for the development of innovation hubs which integrate rural communities into the economy, creating high quality professional and personal interactions for young people for whom opportunities are fewer, and who thus feel disenfranchised from mainstream society.This recommendation is relevant for both the UK and the EU 27

This proposed innovation hubs can build upon the model of local enterprise partnerships (LEPs), but add an educational component. LEPs help pool local and regional resources to empower community entrepreneurs and civil society actors to better deliver their goals.

Innovation hubs would perform a broader function, acting as a meeting point between actors in different fields that facilitate professional and personal connectivity as well as the development of common projects.

APPENDIX 1

Focus group prompts (for Brexit cafes and crowdsourcing platform):

1. Do you think youth's views have been listened to in the Brexit negotiations?

2. What would be your "one message" to governments and politicians right now?

3. Whatever your views on Brexit, do you think we need a final vote on the exit deal?

4. Do you think one of the lessons of the Brexit vote is that we need to broaden the pool of the electorate, by including:

a. 16-17 year-olds
b.   EU citizens living in the UK
c.   UK citizens living in the EU (who have lost their voting rights after 15 years abroad)
d.   All legal residents of the UK

5. How has the Brexit vote impacted your identity? Has it made you feel more/less:

a.   British
b.   English, Welsh, Scottish, or N. Irish
c.   European
d.   Other

APPENDIX 2

A Citizen's Brexit, Opinium Survey Results. Please **click here** to see results.

1. What is your gender?

2. Please state your age.

3. I live in...

4. Which of the following cities do you live in or nearest to?

5. Which area do you live in?

6. Which of the following groups does the chief income earner in your household belong to?

7. If there were a general election tomorrow, for which party would you vote?

8. If there WERE a general election tomorrow, how likely would you be to vote?

9. Which, if any, of the following parties did you vote for in the general election held on 8th June 2017?

10. And thinking back to the UK general election in May 2015, which, if any, of the following parties did you vote for?

11. Did you vote in the referendum on the UK's membership of the EU held on the 23rd June 2016?

12. Which of the following are the most important issues facing the country? Please select up to three options.

13. Since the referendum on the UK's membership of the EU held on the 23rd June 2016, would you say that your interest in politics has increased or decreased?

14. How would you describe your opinions on Brexit?

15. How likely would you be to change your views on Brexit?

16. To what extent do you agree that the following people's views have been taken into consideration during the Brexit negotiations?

APPENDIX 2

17. Do you think opportunities for young people will increase, decrease or stay the same after the UK leaves the EU?

18. Which of the following do you think the Government should be prioritising in Brexit negotiations?

19. In the event of the UK leaving the EU, which of the following settlements would you prefer regarding British citizens' freedom of movement?

4. Which of the following cities do you live in or nearest to?

20. In the event of the UK leaving the EU, which of the following settlements would you prefer regarding EU citizens' freedom of movement?

21. How likely do you think it is that the UK will ever decide to re-join the EU?

22. How soon do you think the UK will re-join the EU?

23. Where do you get most of your information/news on Brexit?

24. To what extent do the following people have the same views as yourself on Brexit?

25. To what extent do the following political parties have the same views as yourself on Brexit?

26. In general, how often do you discuss issues related to Brexit?

27. And to what extent do you speak to the following people about Brexit?

28. You mentioned that you don't speak much or at all about Brexit with the following people in your life. Why is this? Select all that apply

29. In general, where do you discuss issues related to Brexit?

30. Thinking about when Brexit is discussed, to what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements?

31. Which of the following, if any, have you done to get more involved in the public debate on Brexit?

APPENDIX 2

32. And if you wanted to get more involved in the public debate on Brexit, what would you do?

33. We'd now like to ask you about how you think of yourself and your identity. Which, if any, of the terms below would you say form a part of your identity?

34. And of the terms you selected at the previous question as being ones which form part of your identity, which would you say MOST describes you?

35. Please select the highest level of qualification of academic or professional qualification you have completed.

36. Which of the following news sources do you read or watch at least once a week?

@APPG_Brexit

/MyLifeMySay

@MyLifeMySay