BREXIT: A YOUTH PERSPECTIVE





Reactions & Recommendations taken from a pool of Young People on how the Government should tackle the negotiations surrounding Brexit & the European Union.

Data Collected By



SHOUT OUT UK

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www.shoutoutuk.org

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'The only people to whose opinions I listen now with any respect are people much younger than myself. They seem in front of me.

Life has revealed to them her latest wonder'.

- Oscar Wilde

'Don't criticize what you can't understand, your sons and your daughters are beyond your command'.

— Bob Dylan

ABOUT SHOUT OUT UK

Shout Out UK is a multi-award-winning, independent, youth multimedia network that, via journalism, film, events and education, connects one of the largest networks of intelligent, adventurous and career-driven young people with the aim of getting them more active and interested in politics.

Since our launch in 2014, we have become Britain's fastest growing alternative and independent news platforms.

Shout Out UK are completely party-neutral.

OUR AWARDS

- Outstanding Contribution Award for Political Literacy of 2016, Awarded by EEWB
- Harrow Business Den Winner of 2016, Awarded by Harrow Council.
- Youth Friendly Micro-Business of 2014, Awarded by Youth Employment UK.

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WHAT WE DO

Journalism & Film

Shout Out UK's website is based on edited user-generated content. Our in-house editors check spelling, grammar and fact. We work on a strict Freedom of Speech principle. We have beaten the mainstream media on a variety of different topics: For instance, the GoWisely campaign or the Care.Data initiative – in which we beat the *Guardian* by one day.

Shout Out UK also produce high-quality visual and graphic content that aims to show all kinds of social and political issues in an entertaining and engaging fashion for our readership. We have, independently, produced two short films; *Anonymous: A Million Men* (2015) and *One in a Million* (2016) – as well as worked with a host of organisations, including the University of Sheffield, the ESRC and the Labour Party.

On the 28th of April 2015, Shout Out UK collaborated with Channel 4 and ITN Productions to launch Britain's first ever Youth Leaders' Debate. After ten minutes of the programme going live, the #YouthLeaders was trending top six on Twitter (UK).

Events

We run events on a variety of issues and in many different forms. Our flexible and creative nature allows us to turn even the most mundane of issues into something interesting, entertaining and accessible to young people.

Education

We run a Political Literacy Course, supported by an award from AQA, which teaches politics in a way never seen before. The course covers an Introduction to British Politics, International Relations (Britain and the World) and finally Employability and Politics; which covers public speaking, debating and presentation

skills. In essence, the aim is to show young people that politics is in everything we do in life, so it pays to be involved. The course emphasises heavily the teaching of 'People Skills': the art of verbal communication.

For more information, please visit our website: www.shoutoutuk.org

AN INTRODUCTION

By Matteo Bergamini, Founder & CEO of Shout Out UK

Brexit, a product of our disenfranchised working class or a genuine wish to self-govern... whatever the reason, it has happened, the people have spoken and, in the words of Theresa May, 'Brexit means Brexit'. There is no going back ... what remains to do now is to see how we can, as a nation, ensure its success and how this can be used to improve the prospects of the next generation going forward.

Often in politics, the needs of young people tend to be pushed on the back-burner, with youth services often being the first under the axe when departments need to cut costs. The blame for such a move has always been nuanced. Some place a lack of participation amongst young people as a dominant cause, while others stress that politics simply fails to be modern enough to catch young people's attention.

I for one however, blame the absence of political literacy taught at schools as the main cause of political disengagement. It should be up to our society to teach young people how to engage and involve themselves in the political system. We ensure all kids are literate in English and Mathematics, but we have not been able to ensure that all children at school are literate in the one subject that will govern their lives and mould the society they live in. Brexit may not be the biggest event in our lifetime, but it is certainly one of the most important. And though our voices didn't necessarily scream the loudest for an Out vote, we simply cannot afford to stay silent now that it's happened. The present generation of young, talented people, finishing their education and entering the working world will be the most affected by a Britain without the support of the EU.

This is why we must let the ideas and influences of a modern,

inclusive youth become the driving force for a new Britain. A Britain which is independent, inclusive and collaborative with Europe. The pending negotiation process will determine the type of Britain we, as the next generation, will inherit. It is our right and our duty as citizens of this country to be involved.

So regardless of what we think of Brexit, now is the time to move forward and deal with the situation given to us. Hence why we, SHOUT OUT UK, have tasked ourselves with making sure that the next generation has a say on Brexit with the aid of this comprehensive booklet. Between July and October 2016 we collected policy contributions from young people across the UK, asking what they would want to see happen if they had a direct line with the Brexit negotiating team.

Our readership, when submitting, explored Brexit's ramifications, its opportunities and what we as a generation believe should come out of negotiations, with issues raised around economics, self-governance and immigration. This is the voice and will of the next generation, which matters and should be heeded. We must make no mistake in understanding that Brexit, although a decision taken by an entire nation, will have the most profound effect on us, the next generation.

All contributions have been put together by us into this single policy booklet. This booklet, the next generation's manifesto on Brexit, is a call to say we as a generation care and would like to have a voice in Brexit since it is us who will have to live with the consequences of what gets decided during negotiations.

Regardless of how you voted, Brexit is happening and no one can truly predict all the possible outcomes of such a move, including the future opportunities. One thing, however, is certain ... It is time we listen to the next generation and include it in this very pivotal conversation which is likely to influence the course of this nation for decades to come.

This booklet has been split into three major sections. The first two sections consist of submissions collected by Shout Out UK via an online form on their website. Anyone could submit to be included.

We have chosen, in our view, the most interesting submissions from a pool of young people, with ages ranging from 15 - 24 years old. We also feel, given our readership, that these submissions are a good political and geographical representation of young people in the United Kingdom and the various viewpoints surrounding Brexit.

We, as a company, always aim to be completely party-neutral. Our interest is simply amplifying the voices of the younger generation; hence this booklet.

Section I deals with submissions involving migration, business and the economy. **Section II** deals with submissions involving the environment, education and social justice.

Section III consists of facts and figures relating to young people and Brexit that Shout Out UK have collected from various external sources – all of which are accredited.

The final pages of this booklet are dedicated to some concluding remarks from our Editor – based on the unique and interesting findings via these submissions.

SECTION IMIGRATION, BUSINESS & THE ECONOMY

Issues surrounding the economy and migration were at the heart of both Referendum campaigns. Statements and promises were made on both sides; some true and others greatly exaggerated. Now that Brexit appears to be inevitable, these same issues must also lie at the heart of any negotiations with the European Union in order to secure the best possible future for young people in Britain.

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'The British people voted for Brexit – and it would be undemocratic to overrule that just because one age group disagrees. But that doesn't mean people voted for every tie with Europe to be severed.

Remaining within the single market is key — otherwise, forecasters predict severe recession. This would hit people with unstable jobs, and mostly the young, hardest. It's true this requires accepting some free movement. But 'free movement' is not just about free movement of peoples (of which there are very legitimate criticisms) — it's also about the free movement of goods, capital and services (e.g., people in employment — so there's no risk of them claiming out-of-work benefits). Communicating more about these [issues] would help emphasise that it's not just about migration, but economic prosperity.

Remaining within the Customs Union, at least temporarily, is also important. This will allow us to remain in the tariff-free trade area with the EU, preventing EU products from becoming more expensive. It will also mean we won't have to make our own trade deals with other countries right away; were we to leave this union immediately, we'd have years without formal trade deals with [other countries].

By remaining in the Union, at least temporarily, we can ensure we wait until deals are negotiated before leaving and beginning to trade on UK-specific terms – therby easing uncertainty and protecting vulnerable jobs.

Many young people also view the EU, rightly or wrongly, as upholding anti-discrimination principles and are nervous about rights outside the EU. To counter this, the Government should move to strengthen legislation to demonstrate that Brexit doesn't mean the removal of human rights – such as by implementing the Equality Act in full, or introducing new legislation to help groups such as the disabled'.

Submitted by Jonathan Andrews, 22, Orpington

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'I would emphasise far greater cooperation (economic, cultural, social, the free movement of people) within the commonwealth – especially from countries such as Canada, Australia, and New Zealand.

By reaffirming our close relations with these nations, Britain will retain and enhance its global influence as the centre of the commonwealth; and play a far more proactive role in the economic development of the lesser developed nations of the commonwealth. As it stands now, Britain is forsaking its important relations with these nations for those in Europe; countries with whom we have far less in common culturally. Our focus, post-Brexit, should be to rejoin with our cultural cousins across the seas, whilst, at the same time, maintaining friendly relations with the rest of Europe'.

Submitted by Jack Gill, 22, Oxfordshire

'Brexit, and thus leaving the European Union, cannot be used by the Government as another excuse to continue dismantling the welfare state and forcing privatisation upon industries which should be run publically.

The free market consensus which has existed for decades, since Thatcher, and was continued by New Labour, has been a financial disaster for ordinary people in this country – especially the young who have been burdened by debt and insecure work. The economic instability caused by Brexit pales in light of the chaos and destruction caused by neoliberalism's aggressive liberation of capital.

For those on the Left, and for those who consider themselves to be 'progressive', Brexit should be used as a positive vehicle for change, as a means by which we establish a new kind of economic politic. Of course, Brexit has legitimised factions of the xenophobic Right, and this needs to be dealt with, but we do have an opportunity here to build a better society – whether leaving the EU was the right thing to do or not.

Our priorities should be in renationalising certain key industries, like the railways and energy companies, so that they are run for the public good rather than maximising shareholder profit. Nationalisation of these industries was actually illegal under EU law.

Further, the 2008 crash was the result of an irresponsible, deregulated banking sector. The Government should thus begin a process whereby the Bank of England slowly comes back under public jurisdiction. The Government, democratically elected by the people, should be allowed to dictate economic and monetary policy as a democratic right – not via corrupt, oligarchical-like

financial institutions that, by the very nature of privatisation, will always chase profit at the expense of everything else. At the very least, the Government should be able to set interest rates – particularly when it comes to helping the young get on the housing ladder, easing their levels of debt and dealing with the economic mess of Brexit.'

Submitted by Sian Murphey, 19, Sheffield

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'Polls have shown that my generation, the young, are very much pro-EU. Therefore, when considering future Brexit policy, I urge both the Government and opposing parties to prioritise the values and beliefs of our country's youth.

Personally, I would like to see clear recognition that Britain is still an open-minded, welcoming and truly global nation. By this, I mean our Prime Minister must confirm in speech and in policy that the UK will still be open to migration of the skilled and unskilled.

Especially given the recent surge in hate crimes, our policy must be to stand united against this – and to stop allowing this new racist rhetoric to be acceptable as a valid political viewpoint. It is not.

The UK should immediately look to create agreements in the EU, both economic and political. We should remain a signatory of the EU Bill of Human Rights, and ideally, still be affected by the European Court of Human Rights if this can be made possible. All European environmental, economic and humanitarian standards which we can share should also remain in place.

Similarly, European initiatives for intercontinental and international investment and development should be maintained. Foreign aid in

particular, must be maintained; and discounts/support for students studying in Europe too.

Finally, the UK must NOT adopt a points-style migration system. It is the view of the young that our world belongs to everyone; we should let everyone live where they are, so long as they abide by the rule of law.

Submitted by Harry White, 15, Brighton

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'Following ideas and proposals that we try to negotiate access to the single market is a terrible idea. The EU have already made it clear that, to access the single market, a country must be prepared to accept the free movement of people — use Norway as an example: they have access to the single market but must still accept the free movement of people.

I believe, in light of Brexit, that the most sensible thing to do is offer free trade deals to European countries individually and not try to remain a part of the single market in order to control the levels of immigration in this country.

In addition, there are nearly 300 countries in the world, and once the United Kingdom is no longer bound by the trade laws of Europe; we will have the potential to make trade deals with many of these other countries, and not be simply restricted to trade within Europe'.

Submitted by Nathan Barnes, 18, Warrington

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'More so than immigration, trade with other nations impacts

the economy and thus the fabric of our very lives. I feel the Government must be willing to priorities trade over anything else, whilst still pushing for a limit on immigration in its negotiations with the European Union and member nations.

In order to maintain strong economic performance, the Government must lower taxes for working people and, simultaneously, raise them for high-earners. However, slashing spending is still necessary – and thus austerity must continue. The Government should look at institutions such as the BBC, where some employees earn more than the Prime Minister.

Britain must also not withdraw from global events, so can the Government please ensure the people of this nation and our allies around the world that, no matter what the economic situation may be, we will always corporate with and assist them? Let us affirm our friendship with the European powers, as well as trying to distance ourselves from them in search of new opportunities for trade which may indeed lie within the commonwealth itself.

The Government must also ensure that we do not enter the same trading situation as before as we must be free to make our own trade deals.

In addition, a cap on immigration must also be achieved, as this was expressed by the people, as their eminent and profound wish, that they enacted upon in the Referendum'.

Submitted by Corey Jukes, 15, Kidderminster

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'We cannot leave the single market. Despite the ludicrous claims from the Leave campaign during the Referendum that we could simply create new trade deals, the volume of which we would have

to renegotiate is gargantuan, and would likely take us decades.

We can expect at least some of our major trade deals with EU nations to be weakened, in order to make leaving the EU an unappealing prospect to their electorates, and we will lose trade deals with a number of non-EU nations, as one of our biggest bargaining chips was an offer of trade with other EU nations. This will undoubtedly affect us negatively in economic terms, as is evident from the Brexit fallout and the recession that is likely to follow.

From here then, it seems we can either join the EEA, block Brexit in Parliament, or negotiate a new deal that still allows us to access the single market. It should be noted that none of these options are superior or even in parity with EU membership itself. We will still have to pay a membership fee, which will likely be larger than before. We will have to follow EU regulation, but this time with no say on how these evolve. That would, in effect, be the only difference.

The current noise coming out of EU renegotiation is that the UK will try and secure access to the single market with a 'seven-year emergency brake' on immigration. I can't say I see the appeal here; migrants have been shown repeatedly to contribute positively to the economy – but if it keeps us in the single market it's a hell of a lot better than the 'hard Brexit' option.

To conclude, whatever negotiation takes place, access to the single market must be on the table and stay there. If it is not, we will see economic ruin that will place yet more pressure on the younger generation, as well as the rest of the UK'.

Submitted by Stanley Barrell-Kane, 15, London

'My deepest concern is that now the United Kingdom has chosen to withdraw from the European Union, and also potentially the single market, investment in this country will suffer as a result.

With a Government ideologically dedicated to austerity, to starving public services of the resources, investment and funding they require – how can Britain survive in a post-Brexit world without huge swathes of the population becoming poorer and their local services even worse-off than they are now? If the mainstream of politics continues to favour an ideology which would rather cut than invest, privatise than run a decent, public service for the good of all, then I fear that the future is very bleak ... especially for my generation.

The Government needs to dramatically reform its ideological outlook. With our economy on the verge of recession, and the global economy not looking much better; now is the time to invest in key public services.

One way in which we can pay for this, now needed more than ever post-Brexit, is to clamp down on corporate tax avoidance / evasion. Between 2013-2014, for example, it was estimated that as much as £14bn in uncollected income tax, national insurance and capital gains tax and £13.1bn in uncollected VAT had been lost by HMRC. I cannot help but ask, why do we continue to live in a society where politicians allow, what is effectively tax fraud, to thrive on such an industrial scale? What kind of example are we setting for the rest of the world?'

Submitted by Alika Basher, 23, Birmingham

'The free transferral of talent across the European Union is absolutely essential to many of the businesses in technology which, currently, are the main drivers of innovation. Over the years we have built up fantastic hubs in fin-tech, bio-tech and aerospace. I want to see these types of industries protected. In particular, I want to see start-up funding and liquidity open – which means continued access to the European Investment Fund that funds roughly 40 per cent of all venture capital in London.

Furthermore, I want to see continued participation in the European Space Program, no matter what. Humans will never realise their potential if we divide, implode, argue and fight amongst ourselves. It is only through participation and collaboration that we can reach for the 'stars' so to speak.

We must maintain this program as a matter of principle and decency given how significant it is to the future of our species and its continued pursuit of technological and scientific progress'.

Submitted by Hugo Winn, 24, London

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'My policy suggestion would be to allow the free movement of people under-35 and hence prioritise young people. It would also be to maintain UK-EU higher education relationships.

Working and studying abroad should still be actively promoted, maintained and encouraged as well as the learning of different languages to try and bridge cultural differences. The Government should also allow young people to maintain a body negotiating in the European Commission to protect their rights and interests'.

Submitted by Asia Williams, 25, London

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'With relation to travel as a young person, the free movement of people is a huge benefit as I hope to travel the world and it gives me the freedom to move around without the need for a visa. Another reason for free movement is that it is vital for me. Due to the fact that I live in Northern Ireland and, through my work, I travel without restriction between the North and South of Ireland. As a consequence, Brexit could restrict that. I would set out plans to allow anyone who voted to remain or anyone who wishes to be allowed to keep the option of free travel through Europe without restrictions – and hold the same right for anyone from Northern Ireland; the option of remaining as an EU citizen, like the Republic'.

Submitted by Curtis Ross, 17, Northern Ireland

SECTION II THE ENVIROMENT, EDUCATION & SOCIAL JUSTICE

Brexit is about more than simply the economy and immigration. In a lot of ways, Brexit is about how the United Kingdom, as a sovereign entity, wishes to run itself. Brexit has forced us, especially young people, to ask questions about the very nature of our country. As a result, issues surrounding the environment, education and the quest for greater social justice have arisen.

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'Britain should continue to allow the freedom of movement – except with reforms to welfare and benefits. This would continue to relieve strain from public services, particularly the NHS. The 'hard Brexit' scenario also makes me and others feel somewhat imprisoned – and less likely to immigrate to other countries.

Also, it must be noted, that environmental regulations from the EU are part of a drastically important issue in the next 50 years. Issues, such as the Emissions Trading Scheme should be opted into as, fundamentally, we won't have a stable planet to live in if we continue to behave recklessly. These policies should be implemented immediately as the former Prime Minister, David Cameron, scrapped the Climate Change Department - suggesting there is an ignorance within the Government over this important issue. The environment is key'.

Submitted by Ben Bastock, 24, Calne

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'It seems as though most young voters have voted to stay in the

EU. As soon as Brexit was announced we have had one beating after another by our Government; the most recent one being education.

The Conservatives are talking of raising tuition fees again — which are already at a ridiculous, all-time high — and they've also recently changed maintenance grants into loans, leaving poorer students worse off and straddling more young people with increasing amounts of debt.

I want this to change. Most countries have free or low-cost education as they understand an educated population is better for the entire country. Taking opportunities away from young people, particularly those from lower economic backgrounds, is not only foolish and inefficient, but also morally wrong'.

Submitted by Mariam, 20, Wales

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'I want to see major change in British politics to deal with the issues caused by Brexit. I want to see an increase in the influence of young people and, ultimately, a complete change in party politics and the political etiquette.

I think it has become evident that the current political framework fosters an environment of mistrust in politicians. It enables and encourages politicians to lie, disempowers young people and discriminates against the majority in our society.

Brexit has exposed a lack of competence from politicians leading this country; both in the Leave and Remain campaigns in many areas.

I think the vote to leave the EU was a disaster, and a result of

austerity measures put in place by a Conservative Government dedicated to the destruction of the welfare state.

I think we need to hold a second Referendum where people are informed of the facts. Moreover, I think the very framework of Parliament needs to change as it is currently set up to encourage division and hate as opposed to cooperation. The surge in racism and hate crimes since Brexit is an indicator of this'.

Submitted by Savannah Sevenzo, 23, Brighton

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'The EU Nature Directives are the cornerstone of environmental protection across the European Union – ensuring the same high standards across all member states. Nowhere is this more apparent than in the marine environment. Fish, birds, porpoises – they know no borders – and neither do the issues that they face.

The Habitats Directive protects species and habitats; the Birds Directive protects birds and their breeding/foraging grounds; and the Marine Strategy Framework Directive ensures holistic marine management.

In a post-Brexit Britain, I fear that the deregulation agenda could drive a quick removal of these important laws in the name of competitiveness, pressure from the fishing lobby and blue growth. We must ensure that, whatever the legislative mechanisms, the protections afforded by these EU Directives are maintained, if not strengthened, for the benefits of the marine environment and the communities and industries that depend upon them. Our future Government has the opportunity to be a world leader in blue growth, in sustainable fisheries management and in offshore renewable energies. However, this cannot be at the detriment of marine wildlife or the health of the marine environment'.

Submitted by Emily Cunningham, 26, Stafford

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'As cliché as it may seem, tuition fees for university are most definitely a policy that I would like to see change. Understandably, some universities may need more income to continue; however, a large majority of the universities are heavily financed by the Government and therefore exploit the existing £30,000 from families who can't afford. This seems damningly wrong.

The big step everyone seems to jump to is removing tution fees altogether which, arguably, could be possible now that we will not be putting in large sums of money towards the EU. However, feasibly, I would like to see a decrease in the cost of university until we can eliminate cost altogether – as the figures can be very off-putting for young people who are worried about paying off debt or those families cannot afford it.

In addition, university should be offered to everyone and not exclude those from poorer social backgrounds. Considering the Government encourages young people to stay in education, with Theresa May and Nicky Morgan campaigning for higher education, you would think they would try everything possible to ensure young people continued in education?!

I strongly believe that decreasing university tuition fees will see an increase in the number of young people continuing with education. As a society that complains how young people have no idea how society works, and how they have no basic general knowledge, to help produce a well-rounded and educated population a decrease in fees seems mandatory.

I do understand, however, why some people believe that

university should not be free. Generally, because it eliminates the sense of responsibility and ownership, letting teenagers assume everything in life is handed to them. But, in regards to this, removing the cost does not remove the responsibility students still need to assume when meeting deadlines, for instance, and being able to communicate with other people.

Furthermore, people argue that there would not be enough space for all students to attend university; and I agree to a certain extent. Universities would certainly see an increase in applicants and that is something that the Government should prioritise, getting as many people into higher education as possible. However, eliminating costs does not mean eliminating the UCAS application process.

Ultimately, good education should not come with a price tag'.

Submitted by Imogen Faulkner, 17, London

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'I want to still be able to move freely and fairly throughout the European Union.

Learning different languages should remain a fundamental part of the British education curriculum – as language is still not the same outside of the country, Brexit or not.

I also want to be able to study at a European university, as easily as possible, as though there was no change following leaving the EU. Moreover, we need to protect the funding for university research which, before Brexit, came from the European Union'.

Submitted by Rebecca Davidson, 18, London

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'As an economics student, my only worry for Brexit, and as a Brexit supporter, is the uncertainty in the market after leaving; the longer we go without enacting Article 50, the longer this uncertainty will plague global markets.

We import French power and European foods, two things vital to maintaining a civilised society in the 21st century, while exporting high-end engineering manufactures and instruments, and financial services.

To improve the state of our economy we must move swiftly to ensure our power requirements – both an economic and security concern – with Hinkley Point C given an immediate greenlight to continue.

As a public works programme this could be on par with the building of the motorways or the railways in providing secure and robust growth for the UK; any savings we get from no longer paying an EU membership should be diverted here.

For the love of all that is holy, HS2 is the biggest white elephant project ever conceived in a nation with some of the worst internet in Europe. With an estimated 80 per cent of our economy being service-related and our financial sector being the key to any possibility of a healthy balance of payments, all of which have heavy ties to our economic health; those windfalls we foresee from no longer paying into EU membership could be well placed here.

An issue of Brexit is the brain-drain effect of us leaving with EU citizens in our firms choosing or being forced to return home. In this transition period we must maintain that Britain is the best place in Europe for quality graduates. We need to draft guarantees for the rights of current EU workers here, with those having been here for over a year in work or study, or having

graduated from a British university receiving a streamlined process for citizenship.

They should be given an option for dual citizenship or full citizenship immediately, to guarantee our businesses continue to function in the transition and not have the rug pulled out from under them. I would also argue this for personal reasons, since my girlfriend is Hungarian and I would hate to lose the love of my life as a result of Brexit.

In the long term, the quality of our schools and education is paramount. As a state school Welsh kid, coming to university was an utter culture shock. As a student from a deprived area of Wales, I give my full support for the grammar school expansion. I hope however that, simultaneously, we improve the technical and vocational courses which we will need to provide the skills gap that, until now, was plugged by migrants.

Ultimately, I believe Brexit not to be an economic argument on the whole; but a political one. I hope, in light of Brexit, that we will build on this by increasing political representation with a voting reform towards a more representative alternative. The EU was anti-democratic, but we don't have to be'.

Submitted by Henry Fudge, 20, Cardiff

SECTION III FACTS & FIGURES

Lord Ashcroft Polls1:

	18-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65+
LEAVE	27	38	48	56	57	60
REMAIN	73	62	52	44	43	40

¹ Sourced via lordashcroftpolls.com: http://lordashcroftpolls.com/2016/06/how-the-united-kingdom-voted-and-why/

- It has been estimated that if 16- to 17-year-olds had been able to vote, they would have voted 82 per cent for Remain.
- A YouGov poll estimated that only 36 per cent of 18- to 24-year-olds cast their vote.
- In addition, the 18- to 24-year-old group represents almost 11.5 per cent of the adult population; however it made up only about 5.7 per cent of the voters.
- However, to counter the YouGov poll, new findings based on detailed polling conducted by Opinium and analysed by Michael Bruter, Professor of Political Science and European Politics at the London School of Economics, suggest the turnout was actually 64 per cent among this age group. Turnout among 18-24s has not hit that mark in 50 years.
- The assumption of the 36 per cent figure allowed Brexit campaigners to say young people cannot claim that they were betrayed by older pro-Brexit voters, as almost two-thirds did not bother to vote.

Headline figures from Opinium's findings (sample size = 2,002)5:

18-24	25-39	40-45	55-64	65+
64%	65%	66%	74%	90%

² Via the Independent, June 2016: http://www.independent.co.uk/voices/eu-referendum-brexit-young-people-upset-by-the-outcome-of-the-eu-referendum-why-didnt-you-vote-a7105396.html

Characteristics associated with voting relevant to young people (and also the rest of the population):

- The percentage of people with a degree was the most strongly associated with the share of voters who voted Remain, closely followed by those in a job classed as a 'professional occupation' generally requiring a degree-equivalent qualification.
- People not holding a passport was one of the most strongly correlated characteristics with the Leave vote.
- Earnings data shows that areas with higher median incomes tended to lean towards Remain, whilst lower incomes leaned towards I eave

³ Via YouGov

⁴ Poll conducted by Opinium, sourced via The Guardian: https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/jul/09/young-people-referendum-turnout-brexit-twice-as-high

⁵ All information (and below) sourced via Opinium's poll findings & reported in The Guardian, July 2016: https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/jul/09/young-people-referendum-turnout-brexit-twice-as-high

Regional Difference:

- In every one of Scotland's 32 council areas, more than 50 per cent of the vote went to Remain, and the overall split was 62-38. The majority of Scotland's young people voted to Remain, leading to the majority, this was also helped by the fact that anyone 16 and over could vote.
- London was firmly Remain, voting 60-40 overall, with Remain majorities in 28 of its 33 boroughs.
- One can argue that a key reason for young people, mainly in London, voting Remain was to do with education. London can be said to be a Remain stronghold because of its high education levels.

Reasons young people voted to Remain:

- Anxious about instability in navigating in a new world, especially in relation to economic and social issues such as the job market, debt and paving their own future.
- Angry and disappointed at the xenophobic and incorrect facts being used by certain politicians.
- They did, in many cases, recognise the EU was flawed however, in spite of this, they remianed passionate about how it collaborates and brings together numerous nations, and therefore wanted to work for a positive future.

Reasons young people wanted to Leave:

- The percentage of young people that voted Leave were passionate about Britain being able to make its own laws and were proud of their nationalistic approach. They strongly believed

that everyone's vote mattered and didn't attack the older generation.

- Worried about the economic status of the UK if we remained and the heavy investment we make into the ${\sf EU}.$

CONCLUDING REMARKS

By Patrick Ireland, Creative Director at Shout Out UK

As a young person, I do not believe – although I might be in the minority – that Brexit was the most important political decision we, as a country and people, will face in our lifetime. However, I think the 'aftermath' of Brexit will be felt for generations to come and, at the very least, in the short term, dominate much of our political discourse in the future.

Speaking quite generally, and without much reference at this stage to Shout Out UK's findings, Brexit was a number of things. On the one hand, it was a Referendum on immigration; on the other, it was an act of public disillusionment with Westminster. Finally, and perhaps more worrying for orthodox politics, it was a vote against globalisation. Brexit, if you were to try and simplify it, was a mass revolt against the entire political and economic establishment.

I think it is clear, based on the content of our submissions, that young people are incredibly worried about the economic future of the United Kingdom post-Brexit. There is a genuine fear that the economy will fall into turmoil and recession; and thus endanger the future prospects of young people later on in their life. This, as a practical policy, often manifests itself through a desire to stay within the European single market and continue, unscathed, our economic and trade relations with Europe.

It appears that many young people would actually prefer to stay within the European Union and are upset, disturbed or worried about Brexit and its implications. The few young people who are pro-Brexit are usually either deeply critical of freedom of movement / immigration, or see the European Union as an undemocratic, neoliberal institution that wishes to further the power of private capital over workers and, indeed, nation states (like Greece).

This focus on economic issues, in my view, has been analysed in light of the current economic climate; and that which has preceded Brexit. Austerity, and the debate surrounding austerity, has forced all types of people, not only the young, to seriously consider issues surrounding the economy because of the visible and tangible effect it is having upon their very lives. The underfunding of public services, increased levels of poverty and wealth inequality, the postcard image of 'left-behind Britain', has undoubtedly left many people worried about the future state of the country – and their own finances.

Moreover, these very visible things have also obviously contributed towards the narrative that unregulated migration is somehow wholly (or partly) responsible for the vast swathes of poverty and misery that exist across many parts of the country. Both are not mutually-exclusive.

Austerity and Brexit, in my view, cannot be uncoupled because the only way to truly understand Brexit is to understand that austerity – whether you agree with it as a political ideology or not – set the foundations for, what now seems like Britain's inevitable exit from Europe. The 2008 economic crisis, in hindsight, obviously had a part to play in this.

Given the insecurity amongst young people about the economic consequences of Brexit, the Government – and the Opposition – must look for ways in which to calm these nerves. Young people must be shown that they do have a future in a post-Brexit world and that the country will not be mired by economic strife and stagnation – whether that means more austerity (to supposedly cut the deficit) or investment in public services and communities in general.

However, as we've continued to highlight, Brexit was not just simply about the economy. The EU Referendum, and Leave's subsequent victory, has caused young people across the country to ask various

cultural and existential questions about the nature of the United Kingdom itself. For example, many of our submissions expressed genuine fear and worry about the increased levels of xenophobia and racism that have occurred since, and before, Brexit. Many young people, it would seem, do not draw much of a distinction between being 'British' and being 'European'. Indeed, there is, undoubtedly, a feeling amongst many young people that the European Union was some kind of sign of international solidarity – and in leaving the EU, we have thus turned our backs upon brothers, sisters, friends and allies.

Others, although not as many, have expressed more concern with the impact Brexit will have on business and entrepreneurship, and I suppose, by extension, the threat Brexit might possibly pose to the so-called 'free' market: the unrestricted, unregulated movement of capital and labour across Europe. It should be noted that this is a controversial topic; and many rabidly pro-European young people were, and still are, deeply critical of the EU's 'neoliberal' economic policies.

To conclude, and keep things relatively simple, Brexit split the nation. This split wasn't nearly as close amongst young people; with the majority of young people voting to Remain within the European Union. For any Government, this cannot be forgotten – and young people have, too often than not, been dealt a bad hand by successive governments who are, perceived, to be more concerned with chasing the older generations for votes. As with austerity in a lot of ways, young people will be amongst one of the many groups hit hardest by Brexit. Action will need to be taken to soften this blow.

Whatever happens, young people will inherit this post-Brexit world and their wellbeing should be more of a priority than it currently appears to be. In addition, there is a sense amongst many young people, Leave or Remain, that a new political order needs to be

established – or at least, the old one, heavily revamped. Very few young people are particularly happy with the way politics is currently conducted and this thirst for change is something that will not be easily quenched.

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SHOUT OUT UK collected and collated these submissions exclusively from its readership, which is circa 500,000 per month (as of September 2016).

Out of all the submissions we received for the pamphlet, we chose, in our view, what were the best, most interesting and most diverse submissions. Repeat or similar submissions were not included.

We have tried, to the best of our abilities, to publish a spread of different geographies, genders and ethnicities within this pamphlet.

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Brexit may not be the biggest event in our life time, but it is certainly one of the most important. We as the generation inheriting this country will be the most affected by the result, even though our voice did not necessarily scream loudest during the referendum campaigns.

This is why we, SHOUT OUT UK, have tasked ourselves with making sure that the next generation has a say on Brexit with this booklet. Between July and October 2016 we collected policy contributions from young people across the UK, asking them what they would want to see happen if they had a direct line with the Brexit negotiating team. These are our findings ...

