Participant ID	Gender	Age	Social class	Region	Community background	Vote in EU Referendum
T101	Male	18-29	ABC1	Belfast City	Catholic	Remain
T105	Female	18-29	C2DE	Belfast City	Catholic	Remain
T111	Male	30-44	C2DE	Greater Belfast	Protestant	Leave
T113	Male	60+	C2DE	Greater Belfast	Catholic	Leave
T126	Female	45-59	ABC1	Co. Down	Neither	Remain
T131	Female	60+	C2DE	Co. Armagh	Protestant	Leave
T136	Female	30-44	C2DE	Co. Tyrone	Protestant	Remain
T141	Female	60+	ABC1	Co. Derry	Catholic	Remain
T146	Male	45-59	C2DE	Co. Antrim	Neither	Leave

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MORNING

Moderator: Okay, that's us getting started then. So after the presentation there, we'll run through these questions. First about the implications of Brexit, so, what if anything, do you think the implications will be for Northern Ireland if the UK leaves the EU? Does anyone want to get us started?

T141: I'll start. It sets NI back, there's going to be a border somewhere. We'll be on our own again, never mind the terrorism point that maybe it will come back. And then into the economic side, probably we can all get through to the South, but through checkpoints, and if we're going on holidays. Onto the economic side of it, the imports and exports will have an impact on trade on the country we have at the minute which is down the pan as it is, so there's no way we're going to get anywhere and never will be getting where NI will ever be.

Moderator: Thanks for that. Has anyone else anything they want to add?

T126: It will be losing loads of trade which will be, money is going to be strained on our other resources, like, our health, we're going to have to use the money from somewhere else because we're losing so much trade.

T101: It's a problem

Moderator: have you anything, T113?

T113: I'm just thinking.

T146: does it really matter? It's going to happen.

Moderator: that's the thing

T146: We're half way down the road, we're on our way

T141: Theresa May doesn't even know what's going to happen and she didn't want it to start out with and now she's just going on with what the people said and the people didn't even know what they were voting for

T146: I think they forgot about NI, you know when they were, came round, too late.

T141: (agrees)

Moderator: things are just evolving that quickly now, so there's still a long way to go. To be honest, nothing is set in stone so it's just..

T126: it just sounds as if we're going to have a border somewhere along the line anyway.

T136: I didn't know that there was a possibility that it wouldn't happen. That Brexit won't happen, is that a possibility?

Few: Yes

T101: they were saying we can just walk away from it

T136: can we? I didn't even know that

T105: I thought that wasn't an option

T136: I just thought that we were out

T101: that we were out

T101: the referendum basically is just oh, what do the people want? They can't even come down, and the people want out so we have to do that. They could go no.

T105: Yeah, take it back

T136: oh right, I didn't know that

T105: at the start it was all like that was it we were either going.

T136: I didn't know

Moderator: just back to the question, it's just what do you think in terms of if we do, the implications of if we do, the UK as a whole, do leave the EU? What do you think for our political, financial, and the way people trade, which we've touched on, and a wee bit about freedom of movement as well? So just imagine that we have.

T131: it wouldn't annoy me about the border. It wouldn't annoy me at all. We had it years ago, and also too, I go to Spain and Gibraltar, it's exactly the same.

Moderator: so if we had, if we were, the UK as a whole to be leaving the EU, freedom of movement wouldn't bother you at all?

T131: No, not a bit.

T146: the world is bigger than Europe, we can trade with Canada, New Zealand, Milan

T101: that's some distance to go to get a leg of lamb

T146: you know we live in a, Europe is so small compared to the rest of the world, to me the potential is fantastic.

T131: I agree with you there

Moderator: and what about the political implications? Things like that?

T131: to be quite honest, I'm sick of them.

T105: keeping the politics here, it's not a case of if we are sick of them or not, it's they are an issue and they're...

T131: they're an issue to themselves

T105: and it will definitely affect a lot of people

T131: Oh, definitely

Moderator: and just in terms of, what kind of politics are you talking about?

T105: I, I'm talking about the politics everyday

T131: In NI

Moderator: and with the NI, I thought that might come up, but just if we steer away from Stormont and everything that has been going on there in the last year, this is the UK were to leave the EU, you know, that's kind of different, whereas this is our local politics here which I knew would probably come up and we'll stick to the political implications in terms of the UK and the EU.

T113: do you not think that the politics here could influence the British government there? Because they need the DUP too, don't they?

T126: yeah

T146: Yes

T146: Well, if they could...

T146: they might be treated different, because the Good Friday Agreement said that NI has to be treated different when it comes to a decision. We have to choose it different here.

T113: Europe might not look at it like that, though.

T113: because, you know, your man, he wants to get the boot in doesn't he? It was built in the GFA that we have to be treated different.

Moderator: and is that something you think we should be treated different? Has anyone else any political or financial implications? Just I have to talk for five minutes after this so all of your points will be, what about yourself, T101, have you anything?

T101: em..

Moderator: Again, thinking about financial, free to move, the movement of goods and everything, being exported and imported?

T126: what is it they believe, foreign people can't come in and all that side of it?

Moderator: is that what you imagine?

Few: Yes

T146: like Norway get away with it, they're not part of the EU. Due to movement in Norway, can we not have what they have?

Moderator: so what were you saying then, Norway is..

T146: they're not part of the EU but they're still trading with the EU. What's going on there?

Moderator: Yeah, and is that something you would like to see?

T146: Yes, a frictionless border

T101: it's the kind of trade that, you know, the US. The food standards of the US are not as good as in Europe, and the issue of that being a big one. And the fact that Theresa May will not exclude the NHS privatisation from a trade deal, that's where I have a big issue in terms of Brexit

Moderator: so, what was that again, T101? Big issue around?

T101: Privatisation of the NHS and food standards, as well.

Moderator: has anybody else thought about that?

T141: Theresa May doesn't care about what we want. It is the same as the South, their European, they're going to tell us what to do and we'll have to abide by them.

Moderator: do you think the EU are holding all the cards?

T141: They are and who all's left.

T146: that's a big loss, with us being out that's a massive, big loss to Europe.

T141: they're going to make an example because if any other country starts doing them, they're not going to make it easy

T146: the need Europe, no they need GB.

T141: maybe not as much as Britain needs them

T146: but think of what Britain pays in

T101: the financial sector is in GB, but they can just move that. They can move that to Dublin no problem, it wouldn't be that big of a loss. They could just move the financial sector to another EU state from London to Dublin if the want. They can just move it.

T101: Dublin pays into the EU every year.

T101: it's the same amount of money that Britain pays in a year, so.

T105: whenever there were talks about Brexit coming about, and the referendum, I can't remember the guy's name but he said that so many billion would be taken out, or we wouldn't be paying out any more, directly to the NHS, and then he turned round, practically the day after and went 'that was just a wrong'

T141: that's just reeling you in.

T101: afterward, everybody in the institution of politics, everybody was just telling you things so that you would vote the way they wanted you to.

T141: Yeah, NI were probably more clued up and knew, because the majority....

T111: the only ones who voted to leave were in Wales and parts of England. Scotland and NI voted to stay didn't they?

T141: London and like the business sector knew what they were voting for as well.

Moderator: you see here, we've ten minutes just to go through each point so I'm keeping an eye on this wee clock, so we'll move then to the next one. But see any notes that you want to make, anything else that you would like to add to that section, then you'll all have space at the end of your questionnaire where you can do so, all right? The next part that we're going to be going through is, see if we have a look at slide 6 on your presentation there, there's 5 questions there and at the bottom of the page there you should see possible outcomes. It's at the very bottom, it's quite small. Did everybody get that okay?

T146: that's the five questions at the minute.

Moderator: Okay, so what we're going to do, so what if any of these would you prefer the outcome of the Brexit negotiations were? Again, so we can go through each of these, so the UK leaves the EU, the UK leaves the EU but stays in some elements of the EU such as the single market and/or customs market, GB leaves the EU but NI stays in some elements such as the single market or customs market, GB leaves the EU but NI stays in the EU, the UK stays in the EU. Which of these is the outcome to the situation that we currently have? So you can have a look then as well, see on slide 12, there's a useful, there's a little bit that lets you see a bit about the customs union and the single market. So which kind of outcome would you prefer?

T113: I think anything cutting NI off from GB and the UK, I don't think the EU wouldn't let it happen

Moderator: the EU won't let...

T113: NI get a special deal

T136: They can't, NI is part of Britain

T136: it's part of the UK

T113: it's part of the UK and that's..

T136: we can't divide it up

T146: it's part of the GFA

T101: and as was said, the EU wasn't involved in the GFA T146: that's why NI can have two passports and stuff like that.

Moderator: do you see just going round the table, I'll just go round and see on slide 6 again if you want to just have a wee look, just what option and just a wee bit on why you think you would prefer that? Just a wee reason as to why. So, do you want to go first then T105?

T105: I would probably say D. GB leaves but NI stays because at the end of the day the people of NI voted to stay in the EU and if you are going back to the GFA, then it says basically the people of NI their wishes have to be honoured and taken into account whenever any major decision regarding them is being made, so that's what the people voted for, so going by the polls it only makes sense.

T141: that's going to put the border then between NI and Britain and that's going to...

T141: forgetting about the troubles

T113: I think a border in the Irish sea would be ridiculous wouldn't it

T141: I think that's a crazy idea

T141: and the expense of it

T101: fishing as well, the issue of fishing

T141: yes, that's exactly...

Moderator: In terms of, what would you think T111?

T111: I'd say C.

Moderator: C – GB leaves the EU but NI stays in some elements such as the single market and the customs union

T111: GB wants to leave no matter what, NI has trade still with the EU. It's mainly mainland that's going to be leaving it.

T141: but then you still have the problem of NI exporting to Britain

T111: I think a lot of people in Britain, no matter what, don't want to leave

T141: they don't want to answer

Moderator: just, sorry, just so that one person is speaking at a time, just one conversation, because the Dictaphone then won't pick everything up, all right?

Few: sorry

Moderator: No, no, it's fine. You were saying there then the problem with trade and everything, what were you saying then there?

T141: I think that we should stay in the EU.

Moderator: so which kind of? T141: I'd go for E.

Moderator: that's things should stay the same?

T126: I'd go for E as well.

T126: it's probably the ideal D but I don't think the EU is going to let that happen so.

Moderator: your ideal deal would be D?

T126: but I don't think that will happen because NI and GB are all one country, so I would just stay.

T101: I would go for C, because as much as I did vote to remain, there's issues with the EU that I disagree with and that's why and the EU can't be fixed from the outside.

Moderator: and sorry, what about you, sorry I can't see your name badge

T131: T131

Moderator: Yes, T131 I was wondering.

T131: I would say C as well.

Moderator: C as well? What about yourself then, T136?

T136: I would say E.

Moderator: E?

T136: Just leave it all alone. I just can't be bothered with the hassle

T146: I would go for A, leave the EU altogether. NI is part of the UK so anyone interfering with NI is interfering with the UK, so leave the EU altogether.

Moderator: Okay, so, we have quite a mixed bunch there. So does anybody feel any differently about anything? I think we could move on. We've crossed all points really, haven't we?

Females: agree

Moderator: lots of different opinions round the table which is good. The next thing here, just a second. I'm not organised, I'm looking at the wrong sheet.

T136: I didn't even know staying was even a possibility

Moderator: Okay, so next we'll be going onto views of a hard border between NI and the ROI. Okay, so quite a few points on this so we'll spend another ten minutes going through then, okay? So if a hard border was to be created between NI and the ROI, what do you think it might be like? So, what do you think it might be like?

T126: back to the 70's.

T113: back to this

Moderator: so from the images there, you think it's going to be...

T136: well if it's a hard border.

T146: It would be a problem because of the farmers and the traders. Like people who live in Belleek somewhere and she goes across the border she's going to be taxed

T126: just to go to the shop

T146: imagine the trouble that would start

T126: it's taking us back like 30 years

Moderator: Am I correct in saying then that everyone thinks that the hard border would be heavily militarised?

Few: yeah

Males

T146: Europe and Britain agreed that there won't be a hard border. You hear it repeated all the time, there will not be a hard border.

T146: that's the same as Donald Trump, that's fox news.

Moderator: but with the way things are at the moment, everything is just evolving so much and there's still a long way to go. So anything could change at any time?

T146: well it's all agreed haven't they

T126: then it comes back to the north/south Irish thing as well. They're probably not even thinking about that, when it comes here it's probably going to affect North and South.

T113: half the people up here would want to have a united Ireland

T141: that would solve the problem completely if everybody was in agreement with that.

T126: I don't think that's going to happen either

T146: I can't see that happening

T101: it all depends on if a hard Brexit happens

T101: and as well, in the GFA it says that there could be a referendum here at some point if we want it. A hard Brexit and a hard border, terrible economically whatever, and people say it's time for the referendum it would probably influence people and how they would vote.

T141: This could just end up with people fighting, that's what could happen in this country

T126: it could go back, that's what I was trying to say, it could go back T141: it could solve the problem eventually

T113: and if the UK could ditch NI altogether, it probably

T141: it probably would do that, then if it ends up with the South - sure nobody really wants NI

T101: independent NI?

T141: sounds good

Moderator: so do you think T126, you were saying there, that if a hard border was imposed, it would bring us back 30 years?

T126: Yes.

Moderator: does anybody feel any differently? Or how do you all feel as well? I know T146, I think you mentioned trade and farmers

T146: it will be so awkward for people who are used to the freedom of the border, to all of a sudden be stopped from going across to buy their groceries across the border and think of Belleek and all, crossing every day to get their milk, and being taxed on that

T126: Yeah

T141: and who's going to finance this border?

T126: they said the Garda and the PSNI are going to man it together. I don't know how that's going to work either

T141: obviously with the problems they wouldn't agree with that either

T146: the lorry drivers, and the queues at the border

T126: yeah

T146: it would just be back to the olden days

T141: It would be back to the smuggling and all

T126: yes!

T141: then you're bound to get terrorists, then you get terrorists jumping on the band wagon then

T101: you get that anyway though, there's still dissident republican activity still happening

T141: very little, yeah

T141: Target, they'll say that's the border there

T141: We don't have that many people getting killed but with a border then we're back to normal again.

Moderator: that's a fair point. The next section then, if we move on, we will look at how do you think people will, we touched on this already, how do you think people will react if a hard border was in place?

T136: I think you'd have problems with it

T136: nobody wants it so eventually, anybody with any terrorist ideas, it won't have any support

T141: yeah, it's just going to start trouble

T146: a new movement will start

Moderator: a new movement starting T146?

T146: it wouldn't be IRA or whatever, loyalist group, it will be a new one

T136: it would a new one?

T146: Yeah, it would be a new one – another new movement started

T141: especially around the border

T146: both sides of the border

Moderator: what's your thoughts on it, T131?

T131: I, well I will say, I voted to leave, but now today I think... probably not.

T131: For kids, and I wouldn't like that at all, for my son anyway or grandkids

Moderator: Okay, let's see. Do you think it would cause any protests? What kind of protests might occur?

T131: yeah

T101: people standing at the border, that kind of thing

T126: NI is always protesting, so they're going to protest about that.

T146: it'll be several things then people will just jump on the bandwagon.

T126: it could turn nasty, I suppose.

T136: there's a lot of people living in NI that could use that as another reason to start fighting and gather support as well I suppose.

T126: people could use it as a tool

T136: yeah, back to the troubles again

T101: the thing with the troubles and the idea that it could have violence and all back on the streets, I don't think that, I don't subscribe to it because I think we've come so far and I don't think people want it, like if anyone did try to start a bombing campaign on the border it wouldn't lie

T126: there's still people there in the background

T141: it wouldn't get support

T113: they could still do it, it only takes one to do it

T146: that's a good excuse

T141: they wouldn't get the backing of people for any violence, but there's still people who would use that excuse

Moderator: see just thinking about the protesting, like what extent do you think this would be like petition, like we mentioned the yougov I think that you said there T101, peaceful demonstrations.

T101: it would start peaceful and then get heavy handed

Moderator: sorry one person

T101: it would start peaceful and then if they don't get anywhere they would just escalate it. There's always that element isn't there, there's heavy handedness from the police and then next thing you know...

T126: there's rioting

T101: that only ever lasts for so long and it costs us

T126: yeah, it costs a lot of money when there's rioting too like police costs

Moderator: sorry, T126, so do you think that it would start off peaceful?

T126: Yeah, it would start off peaceful and then just escalate until they get what they want

Moderator: and what about, does anyone else think it would escalate to quite a high, like violence towards people, vandalising technology if there was a hard border.

T141: Things like that will always get vandalised

T126: they vandalise signs on the way to Dublin when you're driving, so you know, we're going to see the same with cameras.

T101: they vandalise signs to Glengormley never mind

T126: exactly

Moderator: No problem, so we'll move on here now, so what level of support do you think it would receive then from the general public?

T136: the violence?

T126: the protesting, do you mean?

Moderator: at all levels, if you think about petitions, peaceful demonstrations, protestors blocking traffic, vandalising technology or signs, as you mentioned, up to violence against other people? What kind of support do you think they'd have?

T126: I don't think the petitions would be supported, they're mild forms, and then anything more than that like violence and blocking roads and all that

T126: I don't think that anyone really wants

T136: yeah, but he's asking how would you support it, or think the people would effect

Moderator: yeah, the people, the general public

T141: yeah but people didn't support the troubles and it still happened, so the same thing could happen again

T105: I think people would be scared that petitions and things don't work

T146: are there not cameras on the border at the minute?

T136: I don't know; I'd imagine there is

Moderator: one person again, just

Moderator: it's again just it would be different levels, so considering the different levels, do you think there could be discrete cameras, then you could have a heavily militarised border you know that kind of thing.

1101: cameras wouldn't annoy me, CCTV is everywhere in NI

T101: there's cameras hidden behind lampposts and all that there, that's different. The visible camera as you see driving down into Dublin isn't recording images all the time

T101: they still do, do they checks on buses and stuff for immigrants up and down from Dublin to Belfast you know.

T126: Yeah on the Airbus thing

T101: Contraband and stuff

Moderator: so would I be right in saying does anyone, does everyone agree that there would be good support for softer, kind of like petitions, peaceful demonstrations?

Few: yeah

Moderator: does anybody think the general public would just be against?

T113: they wouldn't go for violence or anything like that

T126: nobody wants the rioting and violence

Moderator: there was someone who made a point there, I think T141 it was you there, about the troubles?

T141: but people still do it like you still get people jumping on the bandwagon now because you've got the excuse again of the border. You'll still get people fighting now and again

T113: but then they were getting support then, for the violence

T126: yeah but they won't have any financial support

T141: and you're still getting terrorist things

T126: it's any excuse for them just to rear their heads

T141: but this country at the minute is volatile enough, I think that it would take very little for the whole thing to start up again whether people back it or not.

T126: I think living in NI you're always afraid of that happening

T141: it's very hard to get people to come together then too

Moderator: Okay we'll have to move on here folks to the next part, you probably spend an hour talking about each of these, I'll go through it but just to make sure we're still on time, yeah we should be fine, so the next one is going to be views on a hard border between NI and GB. I know this can be a bit confusing because of UK and GB, people get mixed up quite a bit, so the UK is inclusive of NI, and then we've got GB which is England, Scotland and Wales. So when you're talking or thinking about each, just try to use the correct terms. It's confusing so I might stop you at some points and say oh, so are you talking about the UK or GB, just to make sure we get the right information.

T113: maybe we should negotiate NI going in to GB instead of calling it the UK

Moderator: so if I hard border was to be created between NI and GB, what do you think that would be like?

T136: is that the one in the Irish sea?

Moderator: it would be, yes.

T126: that's crazy

T126: just madness

T113: that would be very hard to patrol and everything

T146: there'd be more protests again

T136: in the air or sea

Moderator: That's, similarly, the way to think about it is, in terms of in the sea, if you were to go in to England to France, you're going to cross a border whether it's by ship or whether it's by sky, so kind of same thing there, is there anyone that feels that they would be in favour of it, the border in the Irish sea?

Few: No

Moderator: why?

T136: it's so hard to police and you just go..

T101: could you imagine the Stena line going to an Old Firm game

T141: if you look at the economics of it and the imports and exports, you're moving to two different countries

Moderator: okay, so would you feel if it was going to be a hard border, so the border we're talking about is in the Irish sea, how would you feel if that was going to be a hard border between the two?

T126: how does it work?

T1111: it would need to be patrolled

T146: who is going to patrol it

T101: international incident

T136: and you said earlier on about the fishing and all that

T101: and immigration, that's an issue that for NI would it be with fishing you can go fishing three miles off the land, so it causes the issue in the Irish sea

T136: we're running out of cod

T101: Yes, exactly, and nobody wants that

Moderator: Thanks for that, T101. Anybody else any thoughts on that? A hard border across the Irish sea?

T113: I think everyone is in agreement that it wouldn't work

T141: It won't work. Has to do with economics, though. We're going to be in a country on our own again, we won't have the back up of any other country, so the economics of it explain themselves

Moderator: thanks for that. Thanks for that, that one was quite quick. How do you think people who are against the creation of a border between NI and GB would react if one was created? So again, this is going to be similar to, just the one down the Irish sea.

T111: flag protests again and it could escalate if they were forced into a hard border.

Moderator: so do you think there would be protests? And going back to the types of protests, what kind of protests do you think like this?

T111: non-violent to start off with, then it will be blocking roads

T105: I don't think it would be as bad as the protests in the south like

T146: then the politicians will jump in and you support us and their will be rioting again

T113: and the DUP wouldn't

T146: and that's what I'm saying, they've an influence in the British government anyway

T113: absolutely

Moderator: what about, T131, how do you feel about that?

T131: Just exactly the same as T113 was saying.

T131: I think it's a crazy idea

Moderator: Okay, thank you. You think it's crazy?

T131: It is crazy

T113: but you have to put these things out to make you think, because this is it isn't it

T105: it's a matter of do they put something in the air or on the water

T113: put the drones up

T105: and keep an eye on things that way then

T101: but even the border on the south, the border would be more technologically advanced than 20 years ago, you wouldn't even really need to have big walls or anything like that

T126: What about terrorism

T101: but in the talk he said something about, I've lost my train of thought now, sorry

T141: they would need more than technology for the likes of that

T105: everyone seems to agree that a border between one land mass and another land mass is completely ridiculous, but whenever it's a border along one land mass like dividing, it seems to be up for discussion whether one should be up or not be up. At the end of the day they're two completely different land masses, so why is a border such a ridiculous idea?

Moderator: So, T105, would you be more referring to a land border?

T105: Yeah, like the land border we seemed to be able to discuss that easily, like at least ten minutes, and there's so many varied opinions. But whenever you're talking about a hard border between two different land masses, it's just ridiculous full stop.

T101: a border on a land mass would have to have a border on the Irish sea, it can't not have both

T136: you don't understand how it works, I think it's more that than you can physically see it between North and South. Where if it was down the water ...

Moderator: Right, so

T141: by putting a border in the Irish sea, you're cutting NI off anyway

Moderator: do you think, we were referring there to the protests that might take place whenever, that they might start off quite soft and then escalate. Do you think that these would be effective if they did take place?

T141: not really, everybody makes their mind up and then when the violence kicks in and so far it seems that nobody is interested

Moderator: so you don't think they'd be effective then?

T141: the decisions are made

Moderator: so you don't think their minds will be changed?

T141: No, the border is settled to be there and that will be it

Moderator: what about anyone else?

T146: if we don't don't have extra police about or Army about. When I'm driving through across Germany to say Austria, they're going to be recording you all the time. So they're going to be recording your number plates at every port

Moderator: in terms of, say we did have borders there and it started to aggravate people and so they started to protest, whether it be from petitions right up to the more angry, violent attacks, do you think they would be effective?

T146: well, this country was born in violence, and everyone who causes violence over the years got their way eventually. They caused violence over the years, both sides, and they got their way eventually, you know, this will be shown all around the world. Violence does pay.

T101: well every country is born out of violence.

T146: but in this country here, violence does pay.

T141: but if the border is set up and it's agreed to they're not going to go back on it. If there is a border set up by the EU and it's permanent, they're not going to change it.

Moderator: why do you think that, T141?

T141: well if it works and is set up, then they agree that that's the way it should be

Moderator: so that's going back to your first point then, related to you can't change the minds of people.

T113: south of Ireland as well, they won't be happy, having a border, a hard border. The way they're looking again that's only just on the main road

T141: Like they did years ago

T146: we're talking about NI and how it will affect us, but what about our neighbours? That's going to hit them big time. They don't know it.

Moderator: in terms of, back again to the violence things, that's just something in this section that we just have to keep on referring to, does most people think here that it would be effective or that it wouldn't be effective? I know T146, you've agreed that it would be. Does anyone else feel that violence would pay off in the end or be effective?

T136: I'm not sure.

T141: look at the situation we're in already, a lot are going to say the border was put their out of agreement

T126: I wouldn't like that, they're not going to change their mind

Moderator: What about yourself, T111? And T126? Sorry, trying to keep myself right because I can see everybody else's name badges, so what do you think T111?

T111: I agree with what everybody else is saying, it's not going to be effective.

Moderator: and what about yourself again, T113?

T113: it wouldn't be effective, if it went to the violence, Europe hasn't been used to the violence, they have to finance stuff, and if it's put there by agreement then they're not going to do anything about it

Moderator: so I think then really just, T105, what do you think about the violence or about the protests? It doesn't have to be violent again I know you all think that it would escalate but do you think any of it would be effective?

T105: I don't know if it would be effective or not but it would definitely cause a tension to people, especially if they feel passionate enough to get violent or voice their concerns, and it will definitely draw attention to an issue that was created, not necessarily by people's views. Because, obviously, there's going to be violence if people haven't agreed to it. So it's people in higher offices, like government, that have caused this issue

T101: Politicians are just looking to cash in on this to make money on this, that's all its about

T101: they're not going to be affected by it all

T141: well NI basically voted to stay in anyway,

T126: they let us vote and do things but they don't really listen to our answers, it's pointless

T101: they voted to remain, they were 85% or something like

T136: yeah they were a lot higher than us, and I think there was part of London as well

T146: yeah, I think it was a terrible shock when David Cameron realised we lost and were leaving the $\ensuremath{\mathsf{EU}}$

T141: yeah, but do you not think that vote was against Cameron?

T146: Yes, it was a protest

T146: they forgot about NI

T126: I'm sure everyone that voted didn't know all the ins and outs of it

T141: if you look at it now Theresa May doesn't know half the things. She voted to stay in but the government couldn't even tell you.

Moderator: sorry, see just back onto the subject again of the protests, in terms of, you know I know that you said the majority of other people said they don't feel it would be effective, does anyone else agree that it would be effective? Drawing on that thought then, in order for it to be effective what do you think would need to be the outcome?

T146: well as I said, violence pays. You only have to look at the government, you only have to look at what's happened over the last 30/40 years, violence does pay. To me, they'll jump on that bandwagon and say, right, and the politicians will go back and look there will be violence. Because this country, that's their nature.

Moderator: and what do you think the outcome needs to be if it's going to be considered, you know, effective or a success? What do you think the outcome of the violence would be, then?

T146: Well like the past in this country, what has improved? To me, it improved nothing, but that's our nature, it's warnings....

T126: look at the flag protests, they wrecked the place

T146: and what has that got them? It's got them nothing.

Moderator: okay, so we're not quite sure what the outcome would have to be for it to considered successful, but what makes you think that violence will pay?

T113: because money, that's all it is. Because of the government's money. And how much did it cost for that protest? It cost millions to police.

Moderator: which?

T126 and T113: the flag protests

T111: and Twaddell was a big one, because it cost a lot of money for a caravan. It was to police a caravan.

Moderator: okay, I think we're almost there in terms of everything that we need to cover. And would anyone here, if the protests, considering if they were to be light protests like we discussed in terms of like petitions and peaceful demonstrations, would you attend? I'll just go round the group, so just even, T101?

T101: no

Moderator: you wouldn't attend? So I'll take it if someone says they wouldn't attend, there's certain ones you would attend, just let me know, okay because obviously there's some there that you might not be interested in but, what about yourself then T113?

T113: no

Moderator: wouldn't attend?

T131: No

Moderator: T131, no?

T146: No, no I wouldn't attend

Moderator: you wouldn't attend, T146? T105, no?

T105: No

T126: no

T111: no

Moderator: and this is even with petitions or peaceful protests?

T126: if the book was there I'd read it, but...

Moderator: would anybody from petitions right up?

All: no

T146: all our lives here we've had protests and violence in the last 40 years, I think the younger generation today, like my kids say to me today 'da, that was in your day', wise up

Others: agree

T146: and the generation today have the technology, the internet, and they'll say da, that was in your day, forget about it

T141: but there's still terrorist opportunists that will look at this and say - well

T126: oh yeah, 100%, but that will always be there.

T101: they don't have the advantages that they did in the 70s and the 80s on both sides

Moderator: what kind of advantages do you think?

T101: with weaponry, with regards to people backing them up, political

T126: I think it's still there, we just don't see it T101: I don't think so, I honestly don't

T146: they're getting more clever, the younger generation are clever, you know

T126: I think going round the world, they'd still get support

T146: no I don't, they never had the internet in those days, the technology gives them more knowledge

Moderator: T141. You were saying there in terms of protests; they'd be more inclined around the border?

T141: definitely, because it's affecting their lives so much

T146: on both sides

Moderator: in what way?

T141: They're moving from one side to another, from one country to another, they're driving round in circles just to get back to their own house because the hard border and things like that there, so, plus they're getting the benefit of both currencies at the minute

T146: imagine the inconvenience to them

T141: money wise it's going to affect them so much

Moderator: I think we're almost there, folks. Has anyone else anything they would like to add? Any of the topics across the past section?

T146: do you think this poll that you're doing will influence the British government?

Moderator: the poll that we're doing today? That's just going to be a poll in the room. That's not going to be of everyone across NI. It's not a large enough sample of people.

T146: who has the answer for NI? There is no answer at the minute. I'm just thinking would this poll encourage

T141: another referendum

Moderator: one more thing, I think that you missed it T136 whenever you were at the loo, if there was any protests from petitions right up more hurting persons, would you attend any or take part in any like say signing a petition against a hard border?

T136: no because I'm not politically minded enough to know enough about it, and you know I have to say, you know I don't even care even. That's probably really bad because you probably should care and take an interest, but I just totter along, no I definitely wouldn't be

bothered being involved. I might sign a petition somewhere along the line, but I wouldn't actually go to an independent demonstration or anything like that. Absolutely not, I'd rather stay in Tyrone. I would have no interest in that at all. I'd sign a petition but that would be about as far as I would go.

Moderator: anybody else there anything that they want to ask? Thanks a million, folks, for all your thoughts and we'll be doing, what is next on the agenda actually, we're going to have feedback from each table to the full group, and then we'll be breaking for lunch, so I'm just going to stop this now

T146: What is your opinion?

Moderator: Again, as a facilitator, I'm not here to inspire decisions, I'm here to get yours.

T146: when the day comes, say next Tuesday they say were leaving

T136: who decides what do you mean?

T146: we need to know where were standing.

T141: you'd think they would have discussed it and worked it all out just before that.

T101: I think that if there was another referendum there would be a different result

T141: I think so too

T105: I think everybody's educated now to know what they are deciding

T146: I think that people never even thought about hard borders, or borders in the Irish sea or anything like that.

T141: Theresa May is the one discussing it at the minute

AFTERNOON

Moderator: Okay, folks, we'll get started now. Okay, so the first thing we're going to be discussing is the political situation in NI. We'll have 5/10 minutes to do so, alright? So what implications if any do you think the lack of an NI government will have on the outcome of negotiations between the UK and the EU?

T146: very, very little

Moderator: I think that the way we'll start this off is see if I go round each person, first of all, just your top of mind thoughts really on it. So do you want to start T101? I'll just read the question again for you, so what implications if any do you think the lack of an NI government will have on the outcome of negotiations between the UK and the EU?

T101: None at all, I don't think. Due to the fact the reason the government fell apart in the first place over different scandals, it was nothing to do with the EU in the first place. And really, we're just a state, we're not big boys, it's going to mostly be down to the majority government of the Conservative party to really negotiate with the EU and we're nothing to do, we're just an afterthought, and we've always just been an afterthought.

Moderator: and what about yourself, T113?

T113: I would say that would be the same, it wouldn't have any effect on

Moderator: so it won't have any effect on, that the lack of an NI government would have any effect on the outcome?

T113: No, not if it's being negotiated between the UK and EU.

Moderator: what about yourself, T131?

T131: I agree with T101.

Moderator: what about yourself, T136?

T136: I don't really know, I don't think it will make much of a difference really whether we have a government or not. You know I don't really think, as T101 said, it's all probably to do

with the Conservatives and there probably going to make most of the decisions. So whether there's a government here or not, it will probably be irrelevant really.

Moderator: what about yourself?

T146: we're only small fish here in the British colony overall, but I think with the DUP can use their leverage with the British government to say that we are important and they could go to the British government which they're holding up at the minute, so they could use that powerful tool.

Moderator: so would you say that they would have some sort of input?

T146: Oh, yes, definitely. They could use that an excuse, we're propping you up to the British government, if we go out, you go out

Moderator: what about yourself, T105?

T105: to be honest, I don't think it will have much effect on it whether we're there or not. The government here doesn't have great reputation for even being able to support itself, never mind make proper decisions. So...

Moderator: T141?

T141: well the way I look at it; we have nobody fighting our corner because the south is looking after itself and we have nobody fighting our case, and I think the majority, and maybe even the south, don't understand the complications of Ireland, or even want to fight for our cause because it's completely different to theirs. We need somebody so we should have somebody.

T105: we should have, but what we do have just doesn't work

Moderator: so do you see with the lack of government then that we have here, do you think if we had more presence it would have an impact?

T141: it would help for everything, it would help for Brexit, it would help for everything if we had the presence of a government.

Moderator: what about yourself, T126?

T126: I agree with T105, they can't do much themselves here, you know, they can't push it any further. It's a shambles really.

Moderator: do you think that, with the negotiations between the UK and the EU, do you think that we'd have an impact?

T126: No. we're just a wee fish, always left out.

Moderator: No problem, what about yourself?

T111: I don't think that they'd have an impact, same as what T105 was saying as well. They can't look after their own messes before even Brexit. So it's not going to make a difference.

Moderator: no worries, so considering the UKs decision to leave the EU, do you think there should be changes to how the power-sharing government is set up in NI? T146: say that again.

Moderator: so, considering the UKs decision to leave the EU, do you think there should be changes to how the power-sharing government is set up in NI?

Few: I don't know

T146: I don't understand a lot of power-sharing

T146: I don't know

T141: if there was a difference between all the parties involved it would give us a chance to agree more on how to leave the EU and Britain and nobody inbetween and on the middle ground, so, there should be more middle ground.

Moderator: and then in terms of power-sharing, so by middle ground?

T141: I mean all the parties involved, not just two parties

T113: if you listen to what's going on, a lot of the parties don't seem to be getting told anything

T141: and the other parties, they represent the majority of people, not as far as voting is concerned, but as far as people are concerned, they do.

T113: and it's a great wee union, yeah

Moderator: anything else? So considering the UKs decision to leave the EU, do you think there should be changes to how the power-sharing government is set up in NI? Why do you think so?

T136: I don't really understand it

T126: say that again

Moderator: so, considering the UKs decision to leave the EU, do you think there should be changes to how the power-sharing government is set up in NI and why?

T136: I don't know how our government is set up so I can't say how it would make a difference.

T126: like you said, it should be more than two parties, maybe in the middle, they'd rather just the DUP and SF.

Moderator: so really just more parties involved in power-sharing and smaller parties more included?

Few: yeah

Moderator: no problem, anything else? That was a quick fire round.

T113: well if the ones in Scotland and Wales are making a difference, then the ones here should be making a difference

Moderator: okay, so we'll move on to the next section. So, views on a referendum on the reunification of Ireland. So this will be a lot longer I guess. So, considering the UKs decision to leave the EU, what do you think of the idea of having a referendum on whether NI should remain in the UK or reunify with the rest of Ireland? Again, thinking of pros and cons, of a

referendum on the subject, and just want to find out if people's kind of ideas have shifted since the referendum of the EU. So, I'll just read that again, so considering the UKs decision to leave the EU, what do you think of the idea of having a referendum on whether NI should remain in the UK or reunify with the rest of Ireland? What do you think?

T141: it's not the right time politically wise in this country to be doing a referendum like that because when it was coming out it was a united Ireland, it was given too much background, so it's not the right time to ...

T146: That's the last thing you want on your plate

T126 and T146: Lagree

T146: get this over first.

Moderator: so get what over first, sorry?

T146: get this Brexit, the getting out of Europe

T146: before start sorting out

Moderator: in terms of, but, do you see, do you think the decision for the UK to leave the EU would have had an impact on the reunification of Ireland?

T136: I think it will eventually because it can change people's opinion...

T146: that could be a lever

T136: to want to be, you know whether you want to be part of a united Ireland or not

T146: they could use that

T101: even outside the opinion that if we've left the EU we'll have a reunification of the island, it's going to cause more issues because then it has to go back into the EU

T136: Yeah, okay

T101: so there's that

T141: well if we were a different country we'd be a united Ireland not a problem, but that's not the reality, so you have to go with what the reality is

T101: ideally you would have the referendum before Britain leaves the EU, or you wait ten years later

T141: I would wait the 10 years later

Moderator: in terms of the, do you feel as if you are informed enough at the minute, you know about a united Ireland, can you imagine what it would look like

T141: Same with Brexit, nobody ...

T136: and then probably no matter what way you're inclined to vote, it's then, it's the same situations we're in now, you know, you'd be told all this money will go into the health service then the next guy will go oh, I made that up

T101: if you reunite Ireland you don't have a NHS

T136: I know, I don't mean that, but you know I don't mean that in particular, I mean that what they're saying. They're telling you one thing and the next day you make your decision and then the next day they go, oh well actually, that's not actually true. So you need to be far more informed.

Moderator: and see in terms of information, what kind of information do you feel that you would need to make a more informed decision?

T136: I think you just really need, I think you would need to know more like how it would impact NI day to day, dealing with your own life, you know as in, paying your taxes, your bills, your children's health, your childcare, it's things like that. They're the big things to me. They're out of my hands. I'm never going to have

T101: your bottle of wine is going to be dearer

T136: Yeah, that's the silly things that matter to me

T126: education and the health service too

T136: the only thing about that is what that actually impacts to me and my wee group and people in my bubble, rather than all the other stuff. It makes no difference. They're going to make the decisions whether I want them to or not. So I want to know if we were to unite or not or whatever, how is it physically going to affect you, and me paying my bills and my house and my children.

T126: yeah, that's what I worry about. Not all that on its own, I couldn't care

Moderator: so if there was a united Ireland, there would be lots of the likes of pros and cons, or do you just need more information to find out which of the?

T136: Yeah, I just need to know, right okay, what way does it affect my own wee bubble?

T101: more information

T146: I need to know does it benefit me being a united Ireland or not, you know, if it does, certainly I'll be the first one to tick it off, but if it's going to disadvantage me, health wise, wages wise, tax wise, why would you do all that?

T136: I know, I don't know if I would or not

T146: it's just another reason for a wee argument

T136: I really don't have a clue what would happen if it did.

T101: it wouldn't be a simple answer whether you go or don't go

Moderator: can I ask, just as before from the EU referendum, has anybody's opinion on a united Ireland shifted?

T113: Do you not think if we were a united Ireland it would be that thing in the middle of the sea again? We're back to the border in the middle of the sea again.

T113: that's Britain isolating itself from the rest of Europe and itself

T146: and then the next one would be Scotland and that puts the union up the left, then the next thing you know, the next would be Wales and that's what they're scared of

Moderator: just on the same line, I don't think some people have answered, so just want to know has anyone's opinion shifted on a united Ireland since the EU referendum?

Few: no

T141: I would a lot of people's has changed because Britain is where the problem stemmed from

T131: that's okay saying that, but it brings along a lot of problems, your pensions, everything, you know your health, your prescriptions

T141: and it's not just as simple

T101: leaving the EU is not as simple anyway, with your pension and your healthcare and your prescriptions, that's all going to go

T131: but in GB, they're still going to be paying it out

T101: well there's all the issues with the pensions

T141: there'll be a lot of changes, just rip them up, they'll be paying out a lot

T101: even private pensions and stuff, they've all started to...

T146: they used to give pensioners, living retired in Italy and in Spain, is that going to affect them?

T101: sure I'll not even get a pension so what I am on about

Moderator: does anybody, other than T141 I think you said one kind of pro there that we wouldn't have to bother with Brexit.

T141: it would still have, because then you have the problem of a lot more fighting still going on, which probably would go on if a united Ireland ever was discussed again, so you'd have violence again

T113: the problem of Brexit is a problem of Ireland

T101: if there was a united Ireland, Belfast and Derry would become a smaller fish as well like in the sense of power

T146: it would all go downhill, they'd be like goldfish

T141: another way to look at it, if NI was on our own, they're not part of Britain really when it comes to it and we're not part of Ireland either and we've always been on our own anyway, like

T146: nobody wants us

T141: it couldn't be any worse than how we are now, because Britain doesn't fight our corner, but who does?

Moderator: see, in terms of, you mentioned there T141 I think about your pensions and stuff, in terms of any other rights and how they'd be affected, anything like that?

T141: Employment rights and stuff like that, a lot of rights did come in with the EU. After Brexit, rights we have might go back to

Moderator: so if there was a united Ireland, are you saying that would be a pro because you would still keep getting the EU laws?

T141: Definitely because we don't know what would be brought in in their place with food laws and things like that

T101: the thing with trade with the US instead of using sugar in certain things they've started using corn starch

T141: and you don't really want anything like that

Moderator: what was that could you repeat that?

T101: in the US in sugary foods they don't use sugar they use corn starch.

Moderator: could you say that again, sorry, just one person just so I can hear, so you see that the US

T101: between the UK and America and a lot of standards could fall with that as well, because they have an Americanised kind of economy and a lot of the likes of privatisation of healthcare, but in America you can go a wee bit more even though the privatisation of healthcare is being ushered in very slowly here

Moderator: So you feel that food standards would also slip as a result?

T101:Yeah it would

T101:If we remain part of Britain there would be lots of slips in food standards as we would be dealing much more with America rather than the EU

Moderator: we're getting through this quite quickly, is there anything else around that decision to leave or anything like that? Anything else you want to add?

T146: we'd automatically come under Irish regulations, rules and whatever else, and they got gay rights there recently and equal marriage and stuff like that, things that cause big divisions up here. They will use that as an excuse, no way.

Moderator: do you think that, so if there was a referendum, do you feel like that is something that would be a positive or a negative? The rights from the republic of Ireland extended into the north

T146: well if you have a united Ireland you have to follow their regulations and do what they tell you.

T101: not necessarily, because under British law gay marriage, same-sex marriage, abortion etc. are all legal but they're not here, in NI.

T126: but that's just because we're backward

T101: but if it was a united Ireland, they wouldn't have a government up here.

T126: so would we have to follow the Irish law even if we didn't agree with

T101: we might have to follow their rules because we're one island mass, a state that is connected

T146: could you have a northern rule and a southern rule

T101: you can whenever it comes to UK, you can go well we don't want to adhere to certain things, even with regards to flag protests and stuff. Taking down that flag made us more aligned with Britain.

Moderator: just to recap on that section, just before we move on, so would I be right in saying that while some people feel it's not the right time, we're definitely not informed enough, more about how it's going to impact your day to day life like your pension, school care, children and all that, healthcare, the education, health services, all that kind of stuff. Cons would be pensions, prescriptions, NHS basically. Pros would be the united Ireland would be able to deal with the problems, and there's some things about the rights, I'm not sure whether you would class that as a pro or a con, comparing yourself, in terms of like gay marriage. Would the majority see that as a negative or a positive if the laws were to be extended?

T146: some people would welcome that and some people would be up in arms about it

T131: I think the older generation would be more up in arms, but wouldn't be a problem for the younger generation, I would think. That's for sure.

T105: I think when you're uniting Ireland there's a lot more problems than gay marriage.

T101: housing is a big one, the amount of homelessness in the south of Ireland, especially in Dublin

T105: the poverty

T131: is it really bad down there?

T101: the housing's pretty bad, yeah

T126: and there's a lot of kids begging on the streets in Dublin

T131: are they not travellers no?

T105: no

T146: there's a lot of heroin it's making its way up north too

T146: and gang wars

Moderator: okay, so next we'll move on to the next section, okay? So it's going to be relations between NI and ROI. Sorry, are you ready, yeah? Relations between NI and the ROI. We'll spend about 10 minutes on this. So how do you feel the relations are between NI and the ROI, generally speaking? Again, a wee whip round the table I think, so T101?

T101: grand, yeah

Moderator: between the north and the south?

T101: politically?

Moderator: how do you feel the relationship between NI and ROI is generally speaking?

T101: Yeah, great, I think it's the best that it's been, there's still a bit of conflict and possibilities and what not

Moderator: and do you feel like that's on a day-to-day, everyone, the general public or politically speaking?

T101: general public generally speaking, I can't speak for politicians in the ROI

T113: Since this referendum it has got a wee bit iffy

Moderator: and what kind of, between the general public you think it has become iffy

T113: no not the general public, the politicians. Since talk of the hard border

Moderator: okay, and what about you, T131?

T131: repeat the question

Moderator: so how do you feel the relations are between NI and ROI, generally speaking?

T131: I have no, I think it's fine. I definitely do but I'm the same as before, I don't think there's a difference

Moderator: what about you, T136?

T136: I think that it's in a really good place at the moment. You know it's better than it's been for years but I don't know with Brexit, whether to do with that, people are just trying their best to move on or whatever. Go day to day. I think people are just trying harder maybe to get along. Nobody wants to forget your past because your past is who you are, but you have to deal with it now and leave it in the past. It's all about your future now and your kids, you can't forget your past but you just have to leave it there. I think that's what everybody is nearly trying to do.

T126: my kids are 24 and 19 and they don't even think about it. So if this keeps coming through there won't be no issues

Moderator: the younger generation you feel

T136: you know, you want them to grow up and not have any problems

Moderator: so T126, you felt that the younger generation coming through their relationship will grow

T126: and get better and better, yes

Moderator: and what about you, I'll start this way again, I'll go with T111. And terms with dealing with the situation?

T111: I think it's the best it's been in years.

Moderator: across general public and politically as well?

T111: political, they're never going to get on, but public wise, it's probably the best.

Moderator: what about you, T141?

T141: its went in a good way - the fact that people can move freely helps the relationship between the North and South but the fact that will probably come to an end. Politicians in the North and South never really gave a damn about us before... As far as the majority of the South, they don't want anything to do with the North really because they don't want the bother that comes with it and the troubles that comes with it.

Moderator: and T105, what about you?

T105: I think they're good, but a lot of the time, like I've spent a lot of time down south talking to other people, and they just don't care about the same things people in the North would care about. Like, politics wise they are nearly blind to everything that goes on up here. We're completely different. Like a completely different part of the world. It's a strange concept for me to think about, like, because up here everyone is like on yeah, going down south for my holidays, they don't really treat it as that much of a difference, but when you're down there, their views, it's like a whole different world. They're also very complacent with their nationality, which isn't a thing that we can do up here. So there's a slight difference I think, I think we get on well, but there's just slight divisions between the North and the South, politically and socially are just.

Moderator: no problem, we'd need to be getting a move on, sorry the time, should have had time cards, T146, so...

T146: I went to what you would call a unionist school. I was brought up to hate the south. I knew nothing about the south, having been in the south people from the south called us the 'black north', so education wise none of us knew any difference. It's taken me a generation, it's nearly taken two generations, and maybe it'll be another generation, for young people and the internet, which makes the world a bigger place, there's more important things in the south of Ireland, there's more important things in the north of Ireland. But at the end of the day, we're more educated, people are able to get news on their computers and their phones. I bring newspapers home to my daughter and she says 'Da – I could have told you that two weeks ago'. People in the south of Ireland know more now about the North, there's more important things we have to lose, but it's taken a generation, and it could take another generation before there's no difference in the north and the south

Moderator: do you think that since then, since you were sort of brought up to hate the south and vice versa, do you feel that that's definitely an improvement?

T146: yes definitely, it's fantastic.

Moderator: see since the EU referendum, do you feel that the relationship has changed or do you think it's always been, because everyone seems to think that the relationship is quite good whereas...

T146: it's making people think more about the south of Ireland. What does it involve, what way do they think about us?

Moderator: do you think since whenever it was, just last year, the ...

T126: I think that it was good before that.

Moderator: do you think that anything has changed since then?

Moderator: do you think then it has just continued?

T126 and T136: yes

Moderator: since the EU referendum, do you feel that there's been a shift in the relationship politically?

1101: between the DUP and the Faena Gael leader Varadkar and stuff I think yeah, definitely.

T146: he's gay or something isn't he?

T101: he's gay and an immigrant

T146: for Arlene foster meet a gay person? That's like Ian Paisley never, never, never and he said yes. That's a breakthrough there right away

T101: well she kind of has to meet him

T113: he is in the wrong career with things like that

Moderator: and if the, so do you think the relationship will change between NI and ROI if the UK leaves the EU?

T136: politically or?

Moderator: in general?

T136: I don't think so

T146: I don't think, no

Moderator: does everyone agree?

T141: If there is a border there it's only going to change, exports, business stuff like that there between the two

T113: politically maybe if there is a border there. That's what they're fighting about

T131: then again too, you're coming up from the south and people are coming up, and you can bring anything over that border, I'm talking drugs and that. Now I know last year, I drove from here to, not Southampton, I was bringing my car over to Spain, and at neither of those two boats was I searched or anything and my car was full. And, you know, to me, I could have been anybody bringing anything in or taking anything out. And that was on my mind when I was doing that, there wasn't anyone checking those boats at all

Moderator: do you see just there between NI and ROI, if there was going to be a border put in place do you think things would change?

T141: of course it would, never mind the economics of it

Moderator: does anybody else feel that there might be changes between NI and the Republic? Would you still need more information probably?

T113: well for the general public it maybe wouldn't make any difference, it's business people it might make a difference too.

T126: yeah, like farmers or whatever having to come over the border.

Moderator: okay, do you think there's a need or do you think that there's anyway NI and ROI can improve their relations?

T126: I think it's good and it should be left as it is because it can only get better really I think.

T136: yeah

T141: just going along with it

T111: same here, it's going the right direction

Moderator: anybody with anything else?

T146: Is this before or after Brexit?

Moderator: it's just now at the minute

T146: It's improving, definitely it is improving

T136: I'm going to say, just as was said, I think the generations it'll get better and better

T146: when I even talk about the past to my kids, I get, 'wise up da, that was in your day'

T141: yeah, if there is a Brexit, it might get worse, tourism won't be as good but then there's people that go down to Cork and that there to work, and now at the minute there's a lot of people moving up and down.

Moderator: the relationship now, between the ROI and GB, we'll be looking at now. It's completely different. So we were talking about NI and ROI, now we're talking about GB and ROI. So how do you feel relations are between the republic and GB, generally speaking?

T136: I don't know

T146: it's never changed, it's still the same

Moderator: and what is the same?

T146: economic wise, each country will need each other. The amount of trade that goes across the border, England to Ireland, Ireland to England

T111: I think they're getting on better for trade

Moderator: do you think that things have improved or?

T101: they've improved since Ireland joined the EU.

T113: even the Queen goes there now

T101: that's why they had to become better relations because they were both members of a nation state in the $\ensuremath{\mathsf{EU}}$

T141: they're probably, the ROI have a better relationship with GB than NI has

Moderator: do you feel that?

T101: even generally speaking in regards to, you know, NI and you know the southern relations to the north, it's more like what are mainland Britain relations to people of NI from what's happened in the past. They hear that accent it could trigger them into think, oh, you know, terrorism and the other. My father or my mother...

T113: they're not really that educated.

T126: they haven't got a clue

T113: they think that Dublin is the capital of NI and stuff

Moderator: and this is the relationship between the ROI, and do you feel that GB isn't educated enough as in the ROI or do you mean here as in ..

T113: the whole of Ireland

Moderator: just one speaking, sorry folks

T141: GB don't need to be educated about the ROI because they're two different countries, like us learning about Spain or other countries, they're just another country like. And our relationships probably good, and all the past fighting and everything else that they did have with the south, and all the colony, and taking over NI and all that, seems to be forgotten as far as the south is concerned.

Moderator: do you think the relations have changed since the EU referendum between ROI and GB?

T136: l've no idea

T113: I wouldn't say it's changed in general you know

Moderator: you wouldn't think it has changed?

T113: not generally, no

Moderator: between the ROI and GB? Do you mean across both?

T113: yeah

Moderator: or do you mean just ROI politically

T113: oh politically it's changed because they've taken the unions side in it.

Moderator: how does everyone else feel so do you feel that relationships have changed since the EU referendum between ROI and GB?

T141: they've probably started working more together now because they want to and they can work together economically instead of on their own. They probably are working more together, solution wise. It takes the two of them to go back and forth to get a solution

Moderator: to ensure free movement did you see T141?

T141: yeah

Moderator: thank you. What about you, T105?

T105: I honestly don't know.

Moderator: don't know as in don't feel there's enough information? T105: yeah, I really don't know a lot about that stuff

T136: I'm the same

Moderator: same, T136?

T131: yeah

Moderator: okay, T131. What about

T146: I think that, you know, the Taoiseach, what's his name? Varadkar? I think they can use him for their benefit but he can use Britain for his benefit as well with this coming up, this Brexit. He's got a lot of points, and they can use him for gains as well. The two are close to each other and they can say well if you pull me out I'll pull you out.

Moderator: do you think that they're working differently since the EU referendum?

T146: oh yes, they can ask Europe for this, you know, they can bargain tool the two of them.

Moderator: do you think once the, do you think that relations between the ROI and GB will change if the UK leaves?

T101: yes

Moderator: and how so?

T101: in regards to trade and you know, freedom of movement and you can always look elsewhere I suppose

Moderator: who will look elsewhere?

T101: I think Ireland and stuff will look elsewhere for trade

T101: you know down south there's already a movement starting for Ireland to leave the EU. That's already begun. And it's not even no political left or right

Moderator: do you have any view on that, T131?

T131: no

Moderator: so if relations will change between ROI and GB if the UK leaves?

T131: I don't know enough about it

T136: Me either

T146: I think that the south of Ireland will dig their heels in and say come down south. Our taxes are better. And after the British companies over here, our taxes

Moderator: because..

T141: a lot of people will take them down south

T146: and they're paying less

T146: it's not as much as ours

T101:11%

T101: no I think it's 11%, that's if the company are actually paying tax in the first place

T126: yeah

T146: a lot of the British companies could end up coming over the border over the Irish sea, you know, couldn't blame them

Moderator: sorry, just to make sure I got that right, you think the ROI will try get other businesses to move over the border so that they can get lower taxes?

T146: no, they're paying, at the minute but once it actually happens I can see them digging their heels in and saying right, come on over here

Moderator: what about you, T111?

T111: same as you

Moderator: thank you, okay. Do you think relations between ROI and GB can be improved in any way?

T136: I don't know enough about it to know

Moderator: you just don't know enough about it

T136: I didn't even know that your man down souths name, never mind that he was gay. That's how bad I am

T105: The Taoiseach

T136: The Taoiseach? I didn't even know his name. I'm really bad

T141: What is his name?

T146: Varadkar

T141: Varadkar

T101: Leo Varadkar

T141: Just call him the Indian

Moderator: just back to the, because we literally are running out of time, in terms of relations between GB and ROI does anybody feel that they can be improved or need to be improved? Do you think?

T146: I don't think they need to be, no

Moderator: okay, no problem. And I think that's probably just us just in the nick of time. I'll just run through this just to make sure all the things have been covered. So considering the UKs decision to leave and views on the referendum, so not the right time, not informed enough on your day-to-day life. Does anyone have an idea? No problem, yeah, so there's going to be a Q&A at the end, if anyone has any questions about Brexit you can ask them yourselves, and again feel free, these guys are specialists and studying it so you'll get a good answer if you do have something that's bothering you.

T136: so T101, you think of one for everybody

T101: Just for you

T141: just for me, please

Moderator: so, I'll pass that round if anybody wants to put forward any questions, feel free.

T141: what is the difference in leaving the EU completely, if you want to leave you want to leave, why do you want to think about the single market

Moderator: what is the difference

T141: between leaving the EU completely, you want to get out, way out, or are you considering other options like the single market and all that there, either you want out or you don't

T101: I think you mentioned before that other members don't subscribe to everything

Moderator: so what is the difference between leaving the EU completely

T126: and still wanting to be part of it like the single market and all that there, like why..

T113: self-determination

T126: aye, like it's in or out

T113: I don't think it's going to be anything but in or out. I don't think they're going to give them an option.

T126: I thought it was just in or out, I didn't know about all them options until he started talking about them

T101: the biggest kind of idea of, you want to be able to trade and all, but you want to be able to have self-determination over your own laws and how much you tax

T113: they want to limit immigration, and then getting free movement as well T101: but there's issues

T113: other people probably voted to leave because they didn't want all the immigration coming in. then that's all they told them, they didn't tell them anything else

T101: whether or not they stay, if they leave the EU anyway, they'll still have to take immigrants from nations like India and China, colonised countries, it's kind of like a reparation
Moderator: see just before I end the recording and we get back to the group discussions, do you see the, in terms of a referendum for a united Ireland, for those that agree, I'll just do it quickly whip round again, when do you think that it should be? Do you think it should be like 2021, do you think it should be like now or 10 years' time, does anybody?

T146: 10 years' time

T136: at least 10 years' time

T113: because we'll not know the outcome of leaving

T136: let Brexit get sorted and what it's like to be out

Moderator: so you think that people need to be more agreeable, give it time

T141: people need to be more agreeable, and if the government's not agreeing then that's a reflection of the people as well

T113: they're not telling you anything either though.

T101: it's more of viable to do it as soon as possible though, because if you want to remain and you want a united Ireland in 10 years' time, you go to the back of the queue of EU citizenship so there's an issue with that. So you have to deal with all that kind of crap.

Moderator: anybody else anything they would like to add?

T146: No one ever had education on Brexit .. it just came upon us. Meetings like this here shares information and details with the general public. If something like this happens again, the general public should know more details about it

T141: if you ask the government to explain it all they wouldn't know how to. Because they don't know

Moderator: thanks folks for all your views.

17-082027 QUB Deliberative Event Group 2 Transcription

Participant ID	Gender	Age	Social class	Region	Community background	Vote in EU Referendum
			Cluss		buckgroond	Kelerendom
T202	Male	30-44	ABC1	Belfast City	Catholic	Remain
T207	Female	45-59	C2DE	Belfast City	Protestant	Leave
T212	Male	45-59	ABC1	Greater Belfast	Catholic	Remain
T220	Male	45-59	C2DE	Co. Down	Protestant	Leave
T227	Female	60+	C2DE	Co. Down	Catholic	Remain
T232	Male	18-29	ABC1	Co. Fermanagh	Protestant	Leave
T237	Female	60+	ABC1	Co. Tyrone	Catholic	Remain
T242	Female	18-29	C2DE	Co. Derry	Catholic	Did Not Vote
T247	Female	60+	ABC1	Co. Antrim	Protestant	Leave

MORNING

Moderator: Okay, so just to introduce myself, I'm Sally and I'm from Cumbria originally and I've been living in Belfast for about a year now. So if we want to go around the table and introduce yourself. Just say your name and where you travelled from today.

T202: my name's T202 and I'm from Belfast so I didn't have to travel very far today.

T242: my name's T242 and I'm from Strabane

T232: I'm T232 and I'm from Fivemiletown

T247: I'm T247 and I'm from Belfast

T207: I'm T207 and I'm from Belfast

T237: My name's T237 and I'm from Dungannon

T227: My name's T227 and I'm from Castlewellan

T220: T220, Newtownards

T212: T212 from Belfast

Moderator: so I might scribble on this page but it's because at the end of this session we'll be gathering some conclusions, some thoughts which we'll be feeding back via me to the group. So don't be put off by me and think that I'm drawing on what you're saying, it's just so

we have a collection of thoughts at the end. And if you could just project your voice, obviously not shout because we have other tables, but just so the digi can pick up what you're saying and obviously who you are. So I think it's already been mentioned but just to reiterate we've got a whole mix of people from all walks of life across NI at this table so obviously debates are fine, it's totally fine if you disagree, but if you just be respectful of other people's opinions. But I'm sure I don't need to remind you all of that. Are you freezing? Alright then, we'll try to distract you with some chat then. Okay, so to kick this off, I'm just going to ask this question and then go round each of you to get your top of mind thoughts. It doesn't have to be fully fledged or anything, just your gut reaction to this question. So what, if anything, do you think the implications will be for NI if the UK leaves the EU? So we'll go the opposite way. We'll start with you, T212.

T212: jeez...

Moderator: it's a big question.

T212: it just depends what way you look at it and how you want to look at it. If you look at it from a political point of view it could be massive. If you look at it from the ordinary person in the street going about their daily lives, probably not. It just depends on how deep you want to get into it. If you have a political thought, it probably would affect you more than going about your daily business and doing your job and coming home. But if you want to get really deep into it and let small things annoy you, then it would probably affect you more. It just depends how deep and how far into it you want to go. So, that's just my thought. I have certain views on it but at the end of the day, I don't think it will happen. I think there will be a general election here, and I don't think it will happen. I think it will fall apart. It's a house of cards just ready to collapse.

Moderator: okay, thank you for that, T212. T220, what about you?

T220: I agree with T212 about the two parts there. About the political side, I think it's massive and I do think it's going to fall down, maybe with another election I don't know. Like the EU, where too many people in Europe telling the UK {inaudible} and I think there's going to be a big problem there and the only way I can see is a general election.

Moderator: a general election? Is that if the UK did leave or do you think prior to us actually leaving there'd be an election?

T220: I think maybe prior to actually leaving.

Moderator: once all the negotiations are settle and there is a deal?

T220: I can't see it being a deal.

Moderator: okay, that's great. T227?

T227: I really, I'm lost because I voted towards stay in because I didn't want change. I really don't like change. I think that whatever way you look at it to do with visitors to NI and there is this border, and people are going to have to queue up and show passports. It's going to put visitors off coming to NI, you know, from whichever side of the border that they're coming from because they'll have to get a form to say yes, I'm visiting NI and giving a reason. People will be put off easy enough so I'm just not happy.

Moderator: okay. Good perspective, thanks, T227. T237?

T237: I'm a bit like T227. I'm not that au fait with it. But from a personal point of view, my husband owns his own business. He's self-employed and from that point of view we want to

stay so there's no change with the borders and transporting goods back and forth which he does. All that adds on which is all extra expense, extra time. So from a personal point of view, I would like as little change as possible. I'm very wary that any change would be for the better. I'm not sure.

Moderator: okay, I'm sure that's reflected around the room. Thanks, T237.

T207: I voted to leave and it wasn't even from a political point of view. I was trying to think more on the economy and you know how, I believe, at the minute, Britain puts more out than we see get put back in. And listening to the old school, like my father's generation, they would be very much of the opinion that we were okay before we joined it. I can see a lot of problems, yes, if we leave, all this border thing. I wouldn't particularly want to have to go all through a border patrol and all that. I don't particularly agree with you, sorry, when you said about it would put people off coming because it doesn't put me off going to America, New Zealand, Australia, wherever I want to go in the world. If I want to go somewhere, I will go. And the fact that you have to go through a border or passport control will never put me off. And, I don't believe it put people off before we joined the EU, either.

T227: But I was thinking of sort of like locals because we're that used to not having it going over to England and coming back again.

T207: I take all that on board and I can see it could be bit messy. But again, to go back, I'm not particularly talking from a political point of view, it'd be the financial I'm looking at.

Moderator: okay, great, thanks for that, T207. T247, what about you?

T247: I am completely in agreement with T207. I'm old school as well and I don't think that there's anything wrong with the UK before it joined the EU and I don't necessarily want to see a hard border because I like travelling to the South, so I don't want anything to put me off doing that. But my problem is more the immigration.

Moderator: so the implication for you if we leave in terms of immigration, what would be your position on that?

T247: people going through the south to come into the UK.

T212: that happens anyway at the moment

T247: I know but you have to do something...

T212: nothing will change. That happens at the minute. I mean, you can say that's an issue, but that already happens. It still happens through Belgium, France, down south, Norway, it happens.

T247: well then, I don't want a hard border but if that's what it takes then for it to stop immigrants. All of them if there was a hard border.

T212: that won't stop it either. It won't stop it.

Moderator: why do you think a hard border wouldn't stop it?

T212: people are resourceful. Human beings are resourceful. But if they want to get somewhere, they'll get somewhere.

T247: but they'll not come in through the border, they'll come in where this is no border

T212: the thing is, it's not going to stop them. The way it is, the way of the land at the minute is, if you look at Calais for instance, and the amount of people who wait there to try and get across, they still get through, regardless of the checks over there. If they can't through there, they'll go through Rosslare in Ireland, they'll go via Belgium, via Norway. They'll come down through Scotland. Now, granted, it's easier to get from Dublin to Belfast than it is from Calais to France. But it's still happening, regardless if you put in a hard border or not. There's the border counties. You might go across then. It's like from Crossmaglen to Cavan, County Armagh, into Ballyconnell. You cross that border 6-7 times in the space of 40 miles and there's no checks. No checks at all. So, you're not going to have a hard border. There won't be a hard border. You cannot police every single crossing point.

T220: it's impossible.

T212: so regardless of you saying immigration is an issue, and fair enough, that's fine. Everybody has their own points. But the fact is that you will never, ever, ever be able to stop anybody from where they want to go.

Moderator: okay, thanks, T212. So I think immigration is quite a contentious one across, it is an interesting subject, though, so thanks for raising it. T232, what about yourself?

T232: I think at its basic point. I'd agree with what T212 said in that for the vast majority of people, nothing will change. You know, for some people it will. Particularly, for those who do a lot of travelling and that. There might be minor changes. There's talk of another election. I could maybe see another referendum on what the final outcome would be. I voted to leave but I could see us not leaving because at the moment the EU is walking all over the UK in negotiations. The UK and Theresa May is particularly weak. The other day, Ian Paisley said about going in with a no surrender attitude and he got a lot of grief for that. I disagree with what he said. He has that sort of, going in and being tough in negotiations because if you're not tough, you'll just get walked all over. But if Theresa May had that same attitude, maybe then the EU wouldn't just be walking all over us.

T212: do you not think that they honestly don't want... Theresa May was on the remain campaign...

T232: I don't think she'll follow through with it.

T212: but she being head of the government, she has to follow it through. It's the same if Corbyn was to get in for instance, Labour have stated that if they were to get in, they would go through with the Brexit negotiations to leave because it was voted for in the referendum. But the problem with that is, as you said yourself, we're weak. The reason why the EU is walking all over them is because they can and the British government don't have a leg to stand on. They really don't. Whatever way they turn, the EU has got an answer for them.

T207: it's nearly communism. They have the rule and the majority vote.

T212: you could say that, you know, you can turn round and equate it to communism. But at the end of the day, they were a part of that structure. The UK government were part of that structure and were happy enough. They were never going to leave until Cameron decided to give everybody a vote. The UKIP were then at their power. And people voted, for whatever reasons, and we all have our reasons for voting whatever way we did and {inaudible} so they have to go through with it. The problem with it is they'll not get what they want.

T232: where the problem started though was just saying that there would just be a referendum. Not saying what the referendum would mean, whether or not it would be

binding, it's vagueness. Now Theresa May is in a position where she has to follow through on something that she doesn't want to do.

Moderator: thanks.

T237: I think a lot of people would vote differently now because as you say, the vote was for stay or remain and now you're hearing a lot more you never thought of.

T227: I think because a lot of, because there was so much talk of putting money back into the health...

T242: and it's not even been mentioned since...

T227: ...and now it's not that much money that's going into it at all. You know, it's sort of maybe even a third of that money. I think, sort of, people have been shocked.

T237: ... And the chat has been more about immigration, it's been a very big, you know, and the number coming in, and that has started the whole, it's not the same chat about that. I think a lot of people were not so sure and maybe would different if they had to do it now.

Moderator: okay, just in the interest of time before we move onto the next section, so on to you now T242.

T242: yeah, well what T237 said about people voting different and yeah, I would because I didn't actually vote the first time. I feel really bad about it now but I would vote to stay. I think there's going to be problems either way, regardless of whether we leave or not. I do agree with you T227 in terms of tourism and that. But there's a lot of people trying to promote cross-functional, Irish and Northern Irish, in terms of increasing tourism and growth and in terms of the economy, from people going into Dublin and then coming up to Belfast etc. for a few days. So I think that is going to have implications and put people off in that sense. And then in terms of local businesses and people that are self-employed, it's a whole lot of extra stress, extra hassle that doesn't really need to happen. I think it's fine the way it is at the minute. And again, I don't think the hard border's going to be too difficult and just aggravate people and there's no real need.

Moderator: thanks very much, T242. And, T202?

T202: well just for the record, I voted to remain. And in terms of that question, the thing that comes to mind immediately is I think further isolationism for NI. I think NI, given its history, has been a very insular state, country. I think that if it happens, if we do leave, it would lead to furthering that. And for people from anywhere coming here, I think it's brilliant for the country. Different walks of life, different skin colours, nationalities, cultures. It's excellent and I think just leave them, kind of nip that in the bud a bit that it's a bad thing.

Moderator: thanks for that. The next section that we're going to move onto is the outcomes of Brexit. This was covered in the presentation, if you'd like to turn to slide 6. It has the list of implications from A-E. Right through from the UK leaving the EU to the UK as a whole staying in the EU. It's page 6. Has everyone found it? Okay so the question I'm going to put to you is what is your preferred outcome of the Brexit negotiations? So this is just open to the floor. Top of mind thoughts.

T227: I personally didn't know the difference between single market and the customs union.

Moderator: feel free to refer to the definitions, that's on another slide.

T227: yeah, I didn't know what the difference was so it was good to find out exactly what it was.

Moderator: okay, so does everybody feel clear now on the differences between the two? Okay, great. So does anybody fancy shouting out a preferred option?

T227: can I have E? Can we stay in the EU?

Moderator: yes, you can have E

T242: yeah, I'd probably say E as well. But then it's hard when you get into it all and you start to think about in terms, of... at first glance, yeah, E.

T232: I'd say the UK stays in the customs union. Yeah, for me the only strength of the EU is the trade aspect, anything else can be easily worked round. You know, like the free movement of people, like that's something that can be easily worked with. You know you don't just go to the airport, you know it's not like getting on a bus, you know you have to go through checks and all, and in reality it wouldn't be any different. Apart from the fact when you get off the airplane, you go to the non-EU citizens line which is usually shorter. That's like a minor difference.

Moderator: okay so we've got T232's voting B.

T212: I'd go for D.

Moderator: you'd go for D, T212. GB leaves the EU but NI stays in the EU. Okay, so you think NI should have some kind of special status?

T212: yeah well what it is and what it has with the South. Technically long term, yes, because in my own personal political view I'd technically want to see the island united so that's the way to go towards it.

T202: the majority of NI would vote to remain also.

T212: well, you know, taking that into it, you do get that majority of Scotland also voted. But, taking that as a whole UK wide vote, the whole of the UK voted to leave. The problem we have, well not the problem, the advantage we have, is that we share a border with an EU country, Scotland doesn't have that. Scotland wants special treatment and they can't get it because they don't share a border. Now, if they had have voted for independence, it would have been a totally different issue. But they voted to stay, which is there democratic right. Ideally, long term, D in my opinion, because it brings forward the possibility of a united Ireland and that's my personal opinion.

Moderator: fair enough. Anyone else have a response for that one? T212 said D. Anyone agree or disagree?

T212: there'll be a few disagreements all about.

T237: what you were saying about the border having an advantage {inaudible} but it can be looked on by both sides. I would go for, E.

T220: though I voted to leave and I think knowing what I know now, I'd go for E.

Moderator: E, okay. T247, have you offered a view? Are you not sure? It's okay if you're not sure.

T247: B.

Moderator: so what element would you want to stay in? the single market and the customs union, or one without the other?

T247: stay in the customs union.

Moderator: and why's that?

T247: the movement of the goods, that's good, and the checks.

Moderator: but you'd prefer not to be in the single market?

T247: yeah

Moderator: and what reason?

T247: because of the movement of the people again.

Moderator: okay. Anyone else have anything to add? T202 did you...?

T202: I would say E, but I'm very open to D also.

Moderator: great. Okay. Anything more to add on this one?

T207: I think it depends on your age a lot in this too because my kids, they age from 23-33, and their opinion's totally different to mine.

T212: it's a generation thing, it absolutely is. It's the same with Scotland voting to stay. If you look at the stats it was a generational vote. And it's understandable, of course it is.

T207: and I can see their points, you know? And then they would sort of say, I voted to leave, and they were like what planet are you on? And they're thinking, obviously, freedom of movement for them, passport control. They're thinking all of that there. Also, there was a thing of, oh it's the older people that are voting to leave, they'd be looking out of here in another 10-15 years. You know, leave the vote to us because we're going to be around for longer.

T212: the other side of that is, if you actually look at the stats, a lot of young people don't vote because they've a total apathy towards what's going on in this place.

T242: it's like me, I didn't vote.

T212: and it's down sectarian too – it's either green or blue. And that's the problem, that's the issue. I've a good friend in the green party and they're starting to hold sway in certain parts, a couple of councillors starting to come through. And younger people tend to go for that kind of politics as opposed to DUP, SF, SDLP, UUP and it's refreshing. And it's refreshing. It's good to see. And the old thing of voting on green and orange terms, it'll never go. But slowly but surely it's been broken down.

T207: I think NI, when it comes to voting, in my opinion, people don't vote in NI for what they truly, truly feel. You don't vote to put anybody in, you vote to keep people out.

T212: exactly, that's 100%.

T207: and that's both sides of the community. It's not, which is totally wrong.

T227: but I find that younger people are different.

T207: but when it comes down to it, there's two parties and if you vote anywhere in between you may as well not vote at all.

T212: well that's what they're saying. They're saying, well that's a wasted vote but it's not. Because, if you actually go back far enough, and funnily enough, 100 years of women getting the vote in the UK. And if you go back to the mid-60s, the Civil right movement, working class people getting to vote, not just Catholics. You know, it's changed so much and to turn round and say your vote doesn't count, of course it counts. You may say that I'm voting for a lesser party and that's fine, but your vote still counts. If you look at the green party and you look at the smaller parties. I mean even the women's coalition back before the GFA came about, they had a platform and then lost it when people went back to their old lines in the sand.

T242: I feel so bad for not voting, and so many of my friends didn't vote and that's where it's left us

T212: it just proves...

T202: see out of curiosity, you're saying your children, did you have discussions about that or?

T207: oh yeah, my kids are very dogmatic.

T202: did they change your mind or did you see their point of view?

T207: I can see their point of view, I mean yes, I'm very open minded. But at the same time, I still was sort of stuck in my view. But I totally respected where they were coming from and I think they respected where I was coming from as well. It's an age thing, I think it's an age thing, and people need to look out.

Moderator: and do you think the outcomes that are listed, do you think the preferences for particular outcomes would be very age driven as well?

T207: I do think so. Certainly when I'm having discussions with people, it does seem to be the youngest want to stay more generally, because they want to see everything as accessible, we're all one. And that's good in a sense, as long as I say, we don't end up with a flipping communist state where we're all dictated to by the EU. There's that many people within the EU that your opinion doesn't matter because they will make the decision for us.

Moderator: thanks, T207. So I'm just going to move on now because we have quite a few bits left to discuss and about 30 minutes left of our time. So I'm going to move onto views on a hard border between NI and ROI. So if a hard border was to be created between NI and ROI, what do you think that might look like?

T207: disaster.

T227: I think it would be a disaster, I really do. It would be back to the days when traffic was queued up to try and get across the border, and the police were there, the army was there. I mean, you felt very intimidated by it all no matter which side of the border you were coming from.

T207: I could just see a lot of sparking off of mad hatter people in the north and the south creating a whole big row. I mean you can see it happening.

T237: I think they'd be stopping traffic. You just won't go. Whereas we would think nothing of a Sunday afternoon crossing the border, just for your tea or something. And I think that's different than going to America or Canada or something where you're planning to go. But I think if they were stopping you'd think to yourself, oh I couldn't be bothered going to sit in the traffic for an hour. I don't think it would stop you but it would make you think.

T207: if you live half a mile either side of the border, what would be the implications for those people?

T212: there'd probably be queues back to your door.

T237: there was people that lived like that for years, and they tried to close them off.

T207: would they split the road in half?

T237: well that did happen.

T212: oh it happened like the black land in Newry, Crossmaglen, places along the border counties...

T237: Enniskillen direction...

T242: Strabane, or Lifford.

T212: exactly. You know, as I say, you'll never ever have a hard border. We cannot police every single passing point. And local knowledge, out west, people who basically think that we can put a check point on a main crossing point, will be like that's alright, I'll go round the side road and it would take me an extra five minutes. I'm not waiting in that queue for 3 hours, 2 hours or 15 minutes, you know? So...

T212: it's not even that it's 326 miles.

T220: so how do you control that?

T212: you can't control it.

Moderator: is there anybody on the table that thinks there might be a hard border? T212, you're pretty certain that there wouldn't be.

T212: there wouldn't.

Moderator: what's the feeling around the table about this?

T207: I think it would be a very last resort to go back to that. Politically, it was a nightmare, when it was hard, as you say there was friction as you said, there was trouble.

T212: well if you want to look at it even during the troubles and the policing and the checkpoints, what happened? People still got across.

T207: if people want to cross the border they'll go across.

T212: put it this way, one of the biggest borders in the world, you know, America and Canada, isn't manned. They can't man the whole point of it. America and Mexico, and Trump's building this wall and there's still so many crossing points. Local knowledge gets you across the river into Mexico. So, I know we're only small insignificant spec in comparison to that, but they will never, ever, ever be able to police every single point. And local knowledge

and gun smugglers, even during the war smuggling happened, during the troubles and all the way through. It's just an impossibility.

Moderator: I think it's fair to say, most of you guys had some experience of what a hard border was like, during the troubles, but you guys it's probably fair to say you wouldn't know.

T242: no

Moderator: so based on that, what do you think of the prospect of a hard border? Do you think it's likely?

T202: personally, I think it's totally not feasible because I know there's a significant amount of people that even travel across the border for work every day, you know. Somebody mentioned their husband. You know these connections and there's a lot of people that have these connections so this is where the cherry picking comes in. I want this, I want that and when it comes to business, I want this I want that. You know, you can't have it all at the end of the day. But, I think it's totally not feasible.

Moderator: thank you, T202. T242? T232?

T242: no, I agree with T202 with what T202 said. And although I don't have experience, but listening to experience, I know we've moved this far forward to go back to that and all the problems that were associated with it all. It's more hassle than what it's worth, really.

Moderator: T232, yourself?

T237: I don't think there'd be any chance of a hard border at all. It's just not feasible. We could try like but people always find a way around it or over it or under it or any way. But it just won't work.

T227: but who would pay for it anyway?

T202: sorry just to add to it. People that were saying we were fine before, realistically we weren't. Having that soft border or whatever you want to call it was a big change to where we are at now. So change can be good. But going back, it's going to be contentious even from a political point of view.

Moderator: and thinking about the types of border there might be from a kind of nonintrusive border of low interventionist technology to a very heavily militarised border, where along that scale do you think a hard border might be in terms of your interpretation of what a hard border is? Which kind of scenarios do you think are most likely? So, if there was a hard border of some description, I know it's not quite clear what a hard border actually is and it's up to people's interpretation, but anyway of the versions that were outlined?

T242: probably minimal policing. Probably in the middle but more towards the lesser end. Militarising it is just...

Moderator: so you think the military is a definite no

T212: it will never be a military border because it's not a military problem, it's an economic problem. So, it's always going to be, you know as T242 says, there'll be cameras on roads, and maybe on smaller local roads you'd have a minimum police presence.

Moderator: T220, what do you think?

T220: they'd never have the military there.

Moderator: do you think there'd be cameras and that kind of low intervention?

T220: I'd say aye but definitely not the military because the people of the north think that if there were military at it, it would attract the people to attack. It's going to bring on terrorism.

Moderator: that's a good point to raise because we have a bit of discussion on that in a moment, but around the table how would you feel about cameras and something a bit more low key?

T207: very much so yes

T227: yeah

T207: if we have to, definitely low key

Moderator: so you'd prefer there not to be anything?

T227: yeah

Moderator: anybody else anything else to add?

T232: I would like cameras and you know spot checks and things like that. I think that would work well. If provided, if someone was infringing whatever rules, if they were fined or punished accordingly I think that it would work. There's always going to people who try to get around paying taxes but I think on the whole it would work.

Moderator: T247, what about you in this debate between the low non-intrusive to the high militarised?

T247: I think low like the cameras and that. I think more that the countries in the EU have to get told about immigration more before it reaches us.

Moderator: and are you like this side of the table that wouldn't be too happy about it but would live with it? Is that how you feel as well? Are would you feel more positive or more negative about it?

T247: I just don't want the whole influx of like what happened in Calais. All that coming our direction. We don't have the space for it. That's what I'm afraid of.

T207: our economics won't cope. Our children aren't getting the education that they deserve, the health service is absolutely diabolical. I think we've enough problems looking after our own. And that maybe sounds dreadful because it's a small world. Why can't we spread all the money out equally at that way? But hey, charity starts at home.

T232: but you know if people come illegally. You can't do anything without a national insurance number. Without ID. You know, you can't get a job, you can't do anything. You're just left to your own devices.

T212: exactly so they're not coming and getting anything.

T232: it's not just a case of you get across the border and then you're in the promise land...

T212: ... and you get a pot of money, it just doesn't happen.

T247: I'd go into my doctors and there'd be people there that can't speak English. They have an interpreter which I'm told costs $\pounds100$ an hour or something. I don't want to be paying for them.

T212: it's not just you that's paying for that and that's a totally different argument altogether.

T247: but it's anybody paying taxes.

T232: anybody who is going to the doctors in this country is either paying for it themselves or is entitled to be here whether you're in the EU or out of the EU.

T247: I don't think you should be here if you can't speak English for a start.

T212: I'll give you another example...

Moderator: guys keep it focussed on Brexit. I know it does have a lot of different connections but...

T212: ... it is about Brexit. Your whole argument is about immigration. You have to remember the biggest ex-pat community in Spain are British. The majority of people that go to Spain, don't speak the language and we don't expect the Spanish people to speak to them...

T207: and they've retired there and they're living there and they're taking the healthcare and everything else in Spain.

T212: in France it's the same. A lot of people go and live in France but don't try to speak the language but don't expect the people to speak to them in English. So it's a two way, it's not a one-way street. It happens both ways. Therefore, you can't just turn around and say oh I don't want this to happen. Spain have it. France have it. Germany have it. A lot of people have it.

T247: But a lot of people who go to Spain, they're able to support themselves.

T212: to a point. But they go to the Spanish healthcare system and expect to be treated there free of charge, while not being able to speak the language and having an interpreter with them. So, there's the point.

T227: all I was going to say is I'm too lazy to learn another language. So I expect people to know English.

T237: moderation. I know sometimes you think that there's an awful influx but I think moderation both ways.

T212: I think diversity is a great thing.

T237: in moderation. But I can see where she's coming from.

T247: where I live, I can walk around Tesco and not hear anybody speaking English. They're all whatever they are, eastern European.

Moderation: okay. I'm just going to move us on now to talking about people's reactions if a hard border was to be put in place. How do you think people would react?

T232: I dread to think how they'd react.

T220: I think the ceasefire would go.

T207: I think there would be trouble.

Moderator: what kind of trouble do you think?

T207: like back to the trouble we had years ago. There's still a lot of hot heads in this country that particularly do want peace. The majority I think do want peace and are willing to live with each other. But there are still hot heads and all it takes is those hotheads to bring you back to where you were.

T237: I think if there was police or army, it's not going to be customs people. Because the customs people fear for their lives so it'll be police and army. And adding that into the equation, you're just lighting the spark. We remember it how it was, the younger ones don't.

T207: that being said it might not be PSNI, it could be Garda or whatever.

T237: that will irritate one or the other side.

T207: I still think it doesn't matter who it is. Whoever's there, they will be seen as legitimate targets which is the way it was years ago.

Moderator: okay, and T242 you were nodding and agreeing?

T242: yeah. I agree. I suppose it's hard to know especially me being younger and not knowing what it's like.

T207: ... you're very lucky you didn't...

T242: ...it's hard to determine what it might be like but I just believe it would cause trouble.

Moderator: and what kind of trouble do you envisage?

T242: I don't know. It's hard for me to imagine it.

T237: it's equally hard for us to imagine it not being as bad as it might be.

T242: it may not come to that.

T237: it may not be, but at our age, there's two extremes there.

T237: I don't think it would be a peaceful demonstration or anything like that.

T207: I would fear that it would be more unpeaceful than peaceful.

Moderation: I'm glad you raised protests because that's something we wanted to discuss. Do you think protests are likely to happen?

T237: in this country, yes.

T207: milk.

T212: I remember when they took the milk away.

Moderator: so, what kind of protests would happen if there were protests?

T212: the most stupidest protests you can think of.

T207: pick a subject, and then protest about it.

T212: the whole thing about it is, protesting over a hard border, it would probably be the reason why they wouldn't have a military border or military checkpoints, it would go back to bring people, bringing the nut jobs out. If there's ever going to be a hard border it will be security cameras mainly, it will be mainly in border areas. I mean, they paint over the signs. They'll vandalise the signs.

Moderator: so do you think vandalism is one?

T212: the cameras will have to be about 300 feet in the air. And even then...the way this place has been going, it's been so normal the past few years compared to what it was 20 years previous. If you start to put checks back in the way it was before, people in certain areas, people with certain political viewpoints, will not accept it. And there always will be, whether its 1%, 2%, 25%, you will get certain people who take the law onto themselves and cut these things down. So to lessen it, it would have to be the softest, hardest border. Military checkpoint is a no-no. Cameras, that would be a no-no as well, but that's probably going to be the way they'll do it if they've to regulate it. There's no other way other than having some sort of feet on the ground unfortunately.

Moderator: T220, you were agreeing with that?

T220: there will never, ever be military back on the ground even if the borders there.

Moderator: and what kind of protesting or reactions do you think their might be?

T220: first of all, there'd be violent protests. I'd say attacks, shootings.

T212: I don't know. I don't agree with going that far. But I know there is a small undercurrent here at the minute and through the years you see them going away and even a few weeks ago you seen the latest one throwing their hands up, accepted defeat, so to speak. So, I don't think the appetite is there for gun attacks or bomb attacks...

T207: it only takes a few...

T212: ...you're right, it does. But there isn't the support there as before. And going back to the point about young people. Young people now see it totally different than 25 years ago when I was 20. It was a totally different situation and it was a totally different thing going on. I can't see anybody in the community I come from going out and shooting because of a hard border to stop Billy from down the road bringing two cances over when he's only got one. I honestly can't see that. Because let's be honest, that's the broad and long of it. But basically, it's all down to what's on a piece of paper to what's in the back of a lorry. That's all it really is. And movement of people, who for whatever reason, want to come to the UK via whatever point. Nobody is going to start shooting.

Moderator: and two things just to cover off this point in terms of, you already touched on it, in terms of support from the general public? What level of support do you think there would be for protests against the hard border? Do you think there would be support? Do you think there wouldn't be? Do you think it depends what kind of protesting?

T232: I think so yeah...

T207: I think there would be.

T232: I think it would depend on maybe if a political party decided that they would lead the protests. Depending on which party would lead the protests and which people would support it.

T212: the other side of it is, who is it lives round the border? Fivemiletown and Castlewellan. Not far away from it. You know it would probably affect people, you know, they would probably be the ones that would have more of a right on a daily basis to protest because they live in the area.

T227: yeah like people round Newry.

T212: Newry exactly, and Strangford and Strabane. They would probably have more of a right because it's affecting them.

T237: it depends on the type of protest.

Moderator: I'll give you some examples.

T237: I would be thinking it in my head but I wouldn't be going out to protest.

Moderator: so, some of the things we raised as potential demonstrations are vandalism of any sort of border equipment. Do you think there'd be support for that?

T242: yeah, I think that's likely.

Moderator: and do you think people would support it?

T237: in certain areas. Very limited.

T212: I think you could look through all of those and you'd have a pocket for every single one of them.

T207: they're psychopaths. It doesn't matter what religion you put on them, they're basically just psychopaths and that's it. And they will be the people who will be in there causing the trouble.

T237: I don't think they're psychopaths, I think they're for the cause all round.

Moderator: so as the general population, any kind of support?

T237: no.

Moderator: so extreme protesting wouldn't but it may exist in small pockets depending on where you live, what your political lines are that sort of thing. Okay. Great. And finally, just to wrap up this section, do you think the protests would be effective in terms of making changes?

Multiple participants: no.

T207: personally, I just think it wastes more money that could be used on better things.

T227: that's it.

Moderator: okay so basically consensus on it not being effective. So the last section we're going to move on to is basically the same sort of topic but talking about a hard border

between NI and GB. So in terms in that, if there were to be a hard border between NI and GB, what do you think that would look like? How would that become a thing?

T212: well you physically wouldn't see it. It would be in the Irish sea. So, whenever you go across to Cairnryan, or Holyhead, or any port or any airport, that's when you'd see it.

Moderator: so you think it would be concentrated at ports and airports?

T207: big wall.

Moderator: how do you think it would change now from when you go to the airport or the ferry port? What sort of difference, if any, do you think there might be?

T227: you'd need to have a passport or whatever, you know. Big deal.

T237: I think it would be more accepted than a border here because you're going to be taking a passport. You're going to be taking those things anyway. Whereas here, people are just going back and forward to their work so to me, if it had to happen, that would be more acceptable. I wouldn't want it.

Moderator: so you would think in terms of the two options, a hard border between NI and GB would be less intrusive than a hard border between the north and the south.

T237: yes, for the people here anyway.

Moderator: how does everyone else feel about that?

T237: I wouldn't want it either.

T247: I wouldn't want it either.

T207: but I think like you were saying, it's seeing something. It would be this is not right, this is so wrong.

T237: you know if you're in the airport, you're in another queue and you're handing over something.

T247: I certainly would not want it, would not want it.

T202: sorry, I'm slightly confused. Say you voted to leave, do you not think there's inevitably going to be something between GB and NI? A harder border. Because as you said earlier, a lot of people who voted to leave it was because of immigration issues. So inevitably there's going to have to be more checks.

T237: it has to happen.

T212: yeah and there's a check right there.

T242: you have to deal with the consequences either way. You know, you can't vote to leave and nothing happen and nothing change. There's going to be a border put in somewhere and I think for us here in NI...

T202: if you don't want it there then where do you want it?

T247: no because I'm part of the UK.

T202: you're still part of the UK, it's not going to change...

Moderator: sorry continue, you were saying you don't want a border down the Irish sea...

T247: ... no because I don't want NI separated from the rest of the UK.

Moderator: so, you would prefer the border to be north/south?

T247: yeah.

Moderator: and why's that? Is that because you're part of the UK and don't want there to be a difference?

T247: because I don't want NI to have a border separating it from the rest of the UK.

T202: there is a physical separation there anyway.

T242: because there is a sea between them.

T242: I still want to be able to travel to the rest of UK. Without needing any other documents.

T202: unfortunately, you voted along the lines of immigration and unfortunately, if the UK have voted to say that NI will stay within the EU, then unfortunately if that does happen and the British government agrees with it then that's where your border is going to be and, unfortunately, that is the consequence of your vote.

T242: you have to take into consideration that it's not just people from NI wanting to go over to GB, it's not just stopping us, it's stopping immigrants if you like. And if it's immigration that you want... if immigration is the main reason people wanted to leave the UK then the border has to be there in the same way for us as it is for immigrants. Because you can't separate people and....

T212: because you can't have one without the other. And as T227 did point out earlier on, people coming here, the problem is they, it does create a problem introspectively going on to England and then it's another check and you know, it's where's your documentation, you don't have the right documentation to come in here, blah, blah, blah. So unfortunately it's all part of the consequences of a no vote or a leave vote. And if the north stays in the EU, that's what it's going to be.

T207: but did we not sort of say there could be concessions for the north of Ireland?

T212: absolutely but that's what the concessions mean. It depends where GB stays. If they want to be in the single market and the other part, then they may alter that. But if they don't and the north ends up with special status then that's where your border is going to be.

T207: mine's not from immigrants or anything like that there. It's a small world and I think we should all be able to share it. But mine is purely down to the financial side of it. And as much as my kids would say I shouldn't have voted leave, I still want the freedom of movement for the whole island of Ireland. I still want south...

T227: you want us to be treated as a special entity?

T207: what would you call, the British Isles, but there should be movement for all parties on the British Isles to...

T212: Ireland as a whole has an agreement with the UK, it's the common travel arrangement. So anyone can travel from Dublin or from Cork, north or south and there's no issue. That's a separate thing outside the EU altogether.

T207: I'm thinking on the world map we've the Isle of Man, England, Scotland, Wales, Ireland as a whole, is that not commonly known as the British Isles?

T227: yes, it is.

Moderator: so do you think that should be protected in itself?

T207: I think that should be protected, so we can move north/south, England, Scotland, Wales.

T212: you can.

T207: but it needs protected.

T212: you still can.

T207: but if we were to leave.

Moderator: you would reject the hard border in that sense if it was to inhibit your ability to move freely?

T207: yes.

T212: that's an agreement outside the EU. That was decided between Dublin and London before they were in the EU.

T207: yeah but we're talking about the hard border or soft border here and that would be my views on it. As long as there's freedom of movement within the entire British Isles.

T212: there won't be a hard border.

Moderator: that's the scenario. If there was to be a hard border...

T202: yes, but that agreement was in place before – any British or Irish citizens can move between the two islands freely.

T237: even with the hard border? Well then that's a total contradiction.

T212: that's the whole point of it.

T237: so the scenario, if there was a hard border between NI and GB...

Moderator: yeah, but I think there's differences in opinions of what it might look like. Some think it won't look any different, other's views might be different.

Moderator: Sorry, guys, keep it in the group. Please, go ahead and share with the group.

T227: what I was saying is the difference between moving all over Ireland and the difference is there would be a manned border that you have to stop at and show documents. I think that's what the problem was. Even just going down the road.

Moderator: thanks, T227. I'm just conscious of time now, I've only got a few minutes left. So the next big area is again thinking about how people might react to this type of border. Do you think there would be protests? What kind of protests? So we're talking about a hard border between NI and GB, so down the Irish sea, yes.

T212: yes, is the short answer there.

Moderator: so you think there would be?

T212: it would be the same as if you were to militarise the border between the north and the south.

Moderator: do we think the protests would be in a different nature?

T227: I think a lot of businesses would be the ones...

T242: I think they would take it seriously.

T237: it wouldn't be political; it would be more financial.

T232: I disagree with that.

T212: it wouldn't be political for everybody, certainly some people. It wouldn't be political for me. It would be political if you consider yourself British. I can see where they're coming from. Oh they're going to separate us and I'm going to lose my Britishness. You're not going to lose your identity.

T237: but people will think that.

T212: of course, and I understand. But they've a right and I respect everybody's viewpoints.

T237: I think it would be more financial rather than political.

Moderator: so what kind of form do you think... so if you think the protesting might be in a slightly different nature, if it was between NI and GB as opposed to NI and ROI, in what form do you think the protests might take and what type of disagreement do you think there might be?

T237: I don't know. I'm not sure. I just think it's the inconvenience and the expense. I'm thinking from a business point of view and that's the way I'm thinking. Not politically, at all. So, it's hard to get away from the old thinking when it affects you, but we all think about it along different lines.

Moderator: how do you think businesses might react? If there's a hard border and you're a business...

T237: I think they'd be very unhappy with it. But I think it would be like everything else, something comes into business, suck it up and deal with it. I know that sounds cheeky but we all say all this is talking but the decisions are made and they know what they're going to do. It's like everything, it's every decision in our business and you get all these wee bits of paper but at the end of the day it just ends up for us more money. We're in this license thing and it's totally unbelievable. And the paper. And every time something is changed it just adds extra finance and time onto everything.

Moderator: and what about on this side of the table in terms of NI and GB protesting?

T232: I think if there was any protests it would be 90% political. The one party that's most objective to a hard border is the DUP and it would be like city hall flag protests all over again. That's how I would see it.

T212: if you take the line of erosion of identity, you're now moving a border you can see on the map to a sea where there is a physical separation. My political belief is and we believe that this place should still be British Ireland and you're taking that away from us. Well technically they're not. But you can understand...

T232: coming from a political party point of view, it's an easy thing to sell voters.

Moderator: and just one last thing, do you think the protests would be effective?

T232: no

T212: no

T232: I think they'd throw NI under the bus any day.

Moderator: what a great note to finish on. Thanks everyone, that was a great discussion.

AFTERNOON

T207: can we do the first one all over again? That was too hard.

Moderation: yeah, there was a lot of stuff raised in that presentation. So there's some stuff we're going to talk about that was mentioned but obviously if you have any worries, questions, queries, then do just feel free to just chuck them in. So to begin with, just the same

as we did at the beginning of the last session. I'm going to pose a question to you, then we'll just whip round and get top of mind thoughts from each of you. And I just ask that if there's any comments on what people have said we'll hear them, but we'll just go round first and then if anyone has any reactions they can just jot them down. Okay, make sense? Okay, so what implications, if any, do you think a lack of NI government will have on the outcome of negotiations between the UK and the EU? So do you think the lack of a NI government at the minute is going to have implications for the negotiations. So, we'll go round. T202 if we could start with you.

T202: I would say yes it probably will because we don't really have a voice and I think it's maybe, slightly ignorant to think no not at all, NI has no say at all. I don't think that's necessarily true. So yeah, I think it would have a negative implication in that respect.

Moderator: thanks. T242?

T242: I don't know if I'm honest

Moderator: don't know? That's fine. That's absolutely fine. T232?

T232: I think it will have an impact albeit quite a minimal impact. You know, if you can't get your own house in order it doesn't bode well.

Moderator: thanks. T247?

T247: I don't know because I don't know if they were in power if they would say anything with any benefit. They're not up to much anyway.

Moderator: that's fine. Fair enough. T207?

T207: I'm going to have to abstain on that too because it's just mind-blowing. I mean, we haven't had anybody representing us in what, about a year? How long is it anyway?

T232: yeah, just over a year

T207: you know, so

Moderator: okay, T237?

T237: I don't really feel I know enough about it either. I really don't know if it would make much difference. Sometimes you feel because obviously they're not there, we're losing out. But you look back and loads of times they were there they didn't achieve anything. So, I'm not really sure if they were there it would make a lot of difference, I just don't know, is my answer.

Moderator: okay, no problem.

T227: I think I'm the same. I really don't know what the implications were. We haven't had anyone in Stormont from last year but I think whatever England say or whatever the UK government say, I think that's going to be it anyway. You know, so I don't think our ministers would make much difference because our vote didn't count anyway.

T237: that's true.

Moderator: that's fine, T220?

T220: I personally don't know. I don't think it would make any difference but I really do not know.

Moderator: alright. T212?

T212: honestly? I don't think it would make any difference whatsoever.

Moderator: and why's that?

T212: In the broad scheme of things, and you all might think differently, we are insignificant to the rest of the UK. We take more than we give back. Our block grant is in the billions and we don't contribute that much back to the UK taxpayer. And, as T212 Cameron basically pointed out that we are, in his own words, leeches, as he says himself. No matter what anybody thinks, your nationality and whatever you think you are, or how proud you are to be whatever you are, we are absolutely nothing in the broad scheme of things. So, what we say, whether we have a fully functioning government or an insignificant government that works or falls apart, we don't matter.

T207: I agree with you on that actually. Much and all as I would be proud to say I'm British, I have felt for many, many years, that we are second class citizens over here. That, really, in my opinion, the British don't want us. They'd be glad to get rid of us. And because the vote as they say at the start was 60/40, they can't get rid of us. But I think given half the chance the British would be jumping up and down saying yippee. That's if it went to a united Ireland.

Moderator: so considering the UKs decision to leave the EU, do you think there should be changes to how power-sharing government is currently set up in NI? Do you think there's cause for change, or not?

T232: I think there's cause for change but in no way related to the referendum result

T212: 100%.

Moderator: okay. Anybody else any views on that?

T227: no, as I was saying, I was just blown away by what he was talking about. I didn't understand most of it.

T207: it annoys me as I'm sure it does everybody else here, that these people were elected and they're not actually doing anything and yet their wages go on. If I went into my job and decided I don't like what you're doing, so I'm doing nothing, my wage would be stopped immediately and I'd be out.

Few: yes

T237: I'd say most people would agree with you on that.

T212: you'd probably find if they turned round and said you're not getting paid, then a lot more would get done...

T237: of course

T212: going back to T232's point. 100% correct. It's got nothing to do with the EU, that this place is dysfunctional. The style of government, I do get that for years you know, it was based on, from the creation of the state and country, basically was based on majority rule. Getting back to majority rule would be a mistake, there must be some kind of power sharing but the way they do it is totally wrong. The D'Hondt mechanism, making sure everybody

regardless of your vote, no matter how many votes you receive, gets a government seat is totally wrong. The EU have got nothing to do with it. That's just trying to keep everybody happy and it shouldn't be that way. You're going to annoy people regardless of your political viewpoint when it comes to politics, one way or another. The UK government is the case in point. I think some Tories are annoyed by what's going on. But this place is different and the way it's so intertwined in basically the green and orange of the political system and that's the problem. Europe has nothing to do with it.

Moderator: okay. Does anybody feel the decision to leave the EU has any impact on it, or do we feel that it's NI's internal issue?

T227: it's just down to NI I think.

Moderator: okay, great. We were supposed to rattle through that section quite quickly so you made that easier. But now we're going to get on to the bigger, chunkier topic which I'm sure there'll be lots of opinions on. So this is views on a referendum on the reunification of Ireland. So, considering the UK's decision to leave the EU, what do you think of the idea of having a referendum on whether NI should remain in the UK or reunify with the rest of Ireland? Open floor, what do you think?

T227: would it be the whole of Ireland voting? Or would it just be NI?

Moderator: in line with the GFA, I think it would be the NI population only.

T207: it has to be a majority in NI isn't that what it is?

Moderator: I think what's mentioned in the agreement and then said in the presentation was whether there had been sufficient changes since the GFA to make a referendum necessary. What do you think to that? Do you think it is time?

T232: I think it'd be naïve to hold a referendum on something that might happen or might not happen.

Moderator: what do you mean?

T232: so, like nobody knows what the consequence of leaving the EU is going to be or if we'll even leave at all. So to call a referendum based on speculation, it's not in line with the GFA and I just don't think it would be a wise move, even if it was.

Moderator: so do you think there should be a referendum at any stage?

T232: maybe down the line when everyone knows what position they're in and what sort of situation we're in, whether we're still in the EU, out of the EU, in the customs union, out of the customs union.

T202: do you think realistically it will come down to that whether people vote for a united Ireland or not? Or will it just go down to how it always has been? One side, other side. Nationalist, unionist. Do you think the idea of the whole being part of the EU will even come into the equation?

T232: actually no I don't think it will come into that at all. But the question's in the face of the EU whether or not it should happen. But because of the referendum result, you can't just call another referendum on speculation.

Moderator: anybody any thoughts on T232's point? Anybody got a completely different view, or...?

T220: I think maybe in 15-20 years' time have a referendum. But definitely not now.

T212: if we're basing it on leaving the EU, you'd have to wait and see where you were in terms of what you got from staying in the EU then asking for a vote. If you do it in terms of along the same time frame as leaving the EU then it's just going to be a political vote, it's not going to be an economic vote. They do say that economically, people might be worse off either way. There's no actual way of, you'd have to really get some of the benefits or not get some of the benefits so to speak, before you can actually decide one way or another. I wouldn't be in favour of it right away. I don't think the political landscape has changed so much to a certain point. Although, it is my preferred option long term. But in this moment in time, there's probably not as many people as you'd think. But I think honestly, if the UK leaves the EU and NI gets special status, we're a big step towards it, a huge step towards it, without even going for a referendum.

T207: but if you take the vote on staying in the EU or leaving in the EU, wasn't it just marginally here?

T212: 12%

T207: wasn't it that NI said that we should leave?

T212: 12%

T227: 12%. I think the whole thing was 2% or 3% in the UK.

T207: so, based on all those people that voted to leave, all those people won't vote for a united Ireland because they want to stay in the UK. It would be those who had no intention of leaving the EU.

Moderator: has anyone's views on a referendum changed as a result of the UK's decision to leave the EU? Anyone's views have changed?

T202: to be honest... I really wanted a united Ireland and then I was kind of unsure, but whenever Brexit happened, I felt like I wanted to be part of the EU and... I wanted a united Ireland and then for a few years I was unsure, then when Brexit happened I definitely wanted a united Ireland again because it would mean being part of the EU as well.

T212: see the amount of people that have applied for Irish passports, it's not confirming they want a united Ireland, it's just protecting their own interests in the EU. You can look at it the other way I suppose and say well there is maybe an interest, and there's maybe more of an interest now because of what the UK government are doing. But you also have to look at the other side of the coin, well you're just covering yourself...

T232: getting the best of both worlds.

T212: getting the best of both worlds.

T207: that's exactly what anyone I know is doing. It's to cover their backs.

T212: I was sort of... to me I've never had a British passport for travelling, I've always had an Irish passport. People say to me, cover yourself blah, blah, blah. And if I ever need it, the options there I can do it. That's the thing about living here. It's having two options and taking advantage of whatever one you wish to go for. And you know, we're in a unique position and that's why it might affect us more than Scotland, Wales and England. And taking advantage of the situation, what's not to like I suppose?

T207: so being wishy washy?

T212: yeah, it's probably being selfish as well when you think about it. I'm looking after my own interests. I don't really care about anybody else. I don't care what goes on in England and Wales or how they voted it. This is how I voted and this is what I want. And to be honest with you, and I have to go back to what Cameron said, ever since he came out with that leeches speech, you sort of think hold on a minute, that's the real viewpoint of most of the English people and especially the English government and you have to be realistic here, that's basically where we are.

T207: and when you say English government I agree with you on how you say that, English government. It's not the British government, it's English. No disrespect to an English lady...

T212: but that's basically it. It's a viewpoint of English people.

T207: Scotland don't matter, Wales don't matter, we don't matter.

T212: Scotland are basically England's, they're their money camp. North Sea oil. That's basically, it's the reason why they were delighted Scotland didn't go. Because if they lost that revenue, that's an even bigger problem than actually leaving the EU.

Moderator: just coming back to your point, T207, about it maybe being wishy washy, do you feel that you would know enough about what a united Ireland might look like in order to make a decision should there be a referendum?

T207: No, actually, I don't. I just know that there, going back a lot of years now, their economy wasn't a particularly strong economy and they're in huge debt themselves. So taking on another six counties wasn't exactly inspiring me to want to join a country that already has a lot of financial difficulties.

T202: that's the hard bit for NI, isn't it? They say England doesn't need or want us, in Ireland they don't either.

T207: we're no man's land

T202: so we're kind of this bastard child, that's stuck there

T227: I was actually told by someone down South that they didn't want us because they can't afford us.

T207: our taxes are lower; their taxes are higher.

T202: see that's another point, they're gaining a million tax payers basically. Again, a workforce that already has jobs and instead of the money going to the English exchequer, it's going to the Irish exchequer. So, you're gaining a million people in tax and national insurance. It's a bit like Germany when they reunified with east Germany, they couldn't afford east Germany. They couldn't do it without the EU money. And that's where you're going to be. That's exactly where it's going to be. You will have the added income of a million people who are in paying jobs and are paying in on a regular basis. You also have EU money. Provided of course, the vote went that way, there's no way to say it will. It's not just a case of saying oh can't afford us. It's not just a simple matter of people saying the Irish government have to start paying, it comes into EU money as well.

T232: could we afford it though? Because you know in the Republic wages are a lot higher and living costs are a lot higher.

T202: it all depends on how much you want it. I mean obviously, economically, people may not want it, but idealistically that's what I want. I would do it no matter what it cost.

T207: see I would look at the economics of it. I've said that from the start. It's all about what makes us better off.

T237: Figures, figures.

T207: What gives us better education, better healthcare, better roads, better life? Basically.

T227: But then again it was the EU that made us our roads.

T202: the roads down south are much better than ours.

T207: Well I'm going to come to that now. I've been sitting thinking on that.

T207: Way way way back, my brothers were always very involved in motor sport and back in the day a child couldn't even use a swing on a Sunday never mind race. The swings were tied up so that you weren't allowed to use them and I'm sure that sounds awful to you but that was the fact of the matter. But anyway, so we would have gone down south most weekends... but when we went down there, it was a bit of a joke, when you got over the border you were hitting potholes, there was no white lines. It was just a nightmare. Now, it's actually the other way around. You travel through NI and the minute you cross the border, the roads are fantastic the whole way down to cork.

T212: that's EU money.

T207: Oh, I know it is.

T212: You could leave York street in Belfast and not hit a traffic light until you touch Cork.

T207: but the thing is down there, the Irish republic, did they not run the country into wreck and ruin?

T212: Oh absolutely.

T207: and debt? And who bailed them out?

T212: absolutely. The EU.

T207: the EU. From the British side of things, my interpretation of that is they were actually paying more out of their revenue, their taxes, whatever into the EU, than they were ever getting back in...

T212: oh, they got a lot more back...

T207: but that was probably because they were funding a lot of countries who hadn't looked after their economy, run into debt, and then had to be bailed out.

T212: every country that comes in, and Poland is one of the main examples of this, gets more than it gives out.

T207: morally is that right?

T212: well it is until they stabilise their economy to start paying in.

T207: that's where they need to stabilise their own economy rather than bleeding off somebody else.

T212: The Irish economy is stronger than the British economy at the moment. It's actually growing at a far higher rate than the British economy.

T207: it probably is but going back historically speaking, they did not manage their finances...

T212: but how far back do you want to go?

Moderator: let's put this back out to the table. In terms of being able to make an informed choice on a united Ireland and some of the options that were proposed in the presentation?

T227: I would say leave it to 2031 until people see what is actually going to happen. There's no point in making decisions before.

Moderator: so, it needs time?

T227: before they realise what's happening.

T207: things are rocky enough I think. As I say, at this stage, none of us know what way we're going to go. If we leave the EU if we stay in the EU and I think there has to be a settle down period before you start throwing another hand grenade in the middle.

Moderator: and then in terms of the protection of rights, is there anyone concerned about their rights in any way?

T207: well everybody should have rights

Moderator: but is there any particular rights that anyone would be concerned about, changed or?

T207: if we leaved the EU will we use all the human rights?

Moderator: is that a worry to anyone?

T207: yes, it would be.

Moderator: is there any concern on the table that if we leave the EU it will affect our human rights?

T202: I don't know enough specifically about rights to comment in that way, but having read some articles coming up to the referendum, there did seem that there would be losses on certain rights with Brexit and that deeply concerns me. That would be probably the biggest concern.

Moderator: anybody else?

T232: I don't think there'd be any losses in human rights whatsoever. Nobody is going to be declined their right to religion, their right to liberty, their right to whatever. That's not going to happen.

T207: that happened in the past, so we couldn't go back to that. 100 years ago women weren't allowed to vote.

T232: you're not seriously going to say to me now that women will lose the right to vote? Nobody is going to lose their right to vote. You might lose rights protected by the EU but you still have the ECHR. And the ECHR is in UK law under the Human Rights Act. That's domestic law. So, I don't think there'd be any worry about losing any human rights. It's in nobody's interest to deprive human rights.

T207: but people were deprived of human rights

T232: well maybe in the past...

T237: I don't think it would ever go back that far...

T207: but hypothetically, could it happen?

T202: there must be certain issues if it's being raised. If we're discussing this issue, there must be something there.

T207: that's why when the GFA came in there were certain clauses. You would never want to go back to people not having human rights recognised no matter what corner of the world you're from or what your way of thinking is?

T237: I can't see it ever going back that far...

T237: It's like my mum and dad talk about children going to school with no shoes on. That's never going to physically go back... Really... We might go back...

T207: but I wouldn't want to leave any chances. I'd want to see that that's very important and that's something that should be in there as a benefit.

T232: well what rights would you be concerned about losing though?

T207: well all the rights, I mean I can see there was things wrong even within our own country years and years ago where people didn't have the right to this that and the other. People were treated like second class citizens there's no doubt about that

T232: and you could see it going back to that where your religion would affect your job prospects?

T207: yeah but that should never, never, never have happened.

T232: It should never have happened...

T202: it's all enshrined in UK law anyway...

T212: that's what I'm saying, I'd want to be guaranteed that...

T232: it is, it's already there...

T212: it's already there

T207: any sort of discrimination, disability, gender, age.

T202: we're using people as examples in the context of our history, but the fact that, I'm repeating what I said, but the fact that it was brought up, there are definitely laws that are rights under EU law that we will lose. We're not exactly sure what they are but it is an issue, hence why it's been brought up.

T212: I think if you come out of the ECHR, there's a certain part in British law, that when you don't get what you want, you can take it to the European Court of Human Rights.

T207: then would we lose that?

T220: we'd probably lose the extra appeal. I suppose it's things like that.

T207: that's where I'm coming from. I would just want a hard guarantee...

T232: The European court of human rights is a completely separate entity to the EU so you'd still be able to do that. It's the ECHR. So, if you're leaving the EU...

T220: so that's discriminatory law? Employment law.

T232: Well if it's EU law, it is. But as things stand at the minute, all EU law will become UK law. And the UK parliament can change it at its discretion.

T242: it's not that I don't have an opinion, but I don't know enough about it. Like, I'm just listening to the points because if there was a united Ireland I don't know the benefits of that and if there wasn't. so it's very difficult. I think what needs to happen is to educate the average person. Like I would consider myself quite educated but not in terms of any of this type of topic, I suppose that's why I'm not saying very much on the issue because I don't know enough about it. So, people are voting for these issues and we don't know enough about it in order to make a vote. And then this Brexit happens and everyone's like oh well what about this? What about that? All these issues are arising and people's votes have caused it. If that makes any sense whatsoever.

T207: I would also feel while we had to do the Brexit vote, we weren't well enough informed.

T227: definitely we weren't.

T207: I was sitting on the fence as it were, will I, won't I that kind of way and I know so many other people that were like that. We said they should have had an actual box for don't know. The don't knows would let them know that we need more information.

T237: there might have been more in that box!

T232: I'd agree with that and for that reason, because people are more informed, there should be a second referendum

Moderator: on Brexit?

T232: on Brexit, yeah.

Moderator: okay so I know these sections can get quite bogged down on the specifics, so for the next section we're just going to talk really broadly relations between NI and ROI, obviously in the context of Brexit. So, how do you feel relations are between NI and ROI, generally speaking?

T207: I assume they're quite good because we're not hearing much different.

T237: a lot better than a couple of years, back

T227: I think they're fine, yeah.

T202: I think they're good, yeah.

T212: no reason to be worried.

Moderator: so what about since the EU referendum, do you think relations have changed at all?

T202: it's become more interesting that's for sure. Politically I guess, maybe more contentious. Mostly politically. I'm sure people in ROI are kind of their chins going what's going to happen with them and NI.

Moderator: when you say politically, do you make a distinction between politicians talking about relations between the North and the South, and are you separating that from how people feel generally between the north and the south?

T202: probably the way people feel north and south and I think, it keeps coming back like, the whole history of NI as well comes into it and the political side of it.

Moderator: thanks, T202. Anybody else have any thoughts on that relationships?

T232: I think that since the referendum result there's been a wee bit of bitterness, particularly coming from Irish politicians. Because we often forget, the ROI has as much to lose as anyone. They could be hit hard, they could lose a lot of trade with Britain and they don't have much of a say on what happens. So they really need to stand up for themselves and it's hard to stand up for yourself and get along with everyone at the same time. But I think on the whole things seem to be alright.

T212: I would take up that point on what they have to lose. They're actual exports to Britain is only 14% compared to 40s and 50s it was near 90%, so over the years the ROI actually do more business with mainland Europe and the EU. 20% with America, 14% with England and the rest goes elsewhere in the world so they don't have much to lose but in terms of politics. Varadkar has been very, very pro-Europe obviously because he is pro-European himself and he's more or less backed almost everything the EU has said when it comes to Brexit and the negotiations. I don't think they have anything to lose at all. They've a lot more to gain than they have to lose. They're basically sitting with a land border and technically, we've more to lose here than they have to lose there. We will lose on average 12% of GDP. That's basic stuff. That's what you're going to lose. That's what businesses here are going to lose on average. You know, so, in terms of being hard line, it has to be hard line, you can't expect someone to stand there and ... all over you. You have to toe the line. You have to put a line in the sand and say this is where we are, if you don't like it, this is what you have to do. And the EU are coming out, and they made a cracking statement yesterday saying, they didn't stand with David Davis, the EU negotiator came out and stood on his own and said if you don't like it, this is the way it's going to be. NI will stay in the EU. It will stay in the common travel arrangement which you already have with them. It'll stay in the single market; it'll stay in the customs union and it's up to you to decide how that works. Simple facts, that's the way it is. If they don't want to ... then this is it, but if you want to go back to negotiations and talk about no deal, then that's it, bad luck. So you have to be politically hard line on them. And if not, then they'll just walk all over you. So I do believe it has changed and it has to change. People on the street it won't affect, business owners it will affect a lot more.

Moderator: so what does the rest of the table think?

T227: I don't think I know enough about it to...

Moderator: what about if the UK leaves the EU, however that might end up being, do you think that relations between NI and ROI would change?

T232: I think they would change and maybe be a bit more business orientated. But I think there would still be the same good will and friendliness between. I don't think anyone's going to completely fall out.

Moderator: anyone else have any views on that? Would you agree, disagree?

T207: agree.

T220: agree.

Moderator: Everyone agree? Does anybody feel differently? So we feel essentially, relations would stay the same, they're generally positive?

T212: they've a lot more in common than you think. A lot of Irish fans would go and watch football, a lot of stag parties would go to Dublin. We watch the same TV programmes; we all have sky TV. I mean, they're very, very similar in terms of... and remember, back before 1921, it was basically a British-run country. You know, so it had the post office, it had the telephone companies and up until 1921 everything was as it was. Changed certain things. But they're very similar as you see. They have a different identity and different outlook, but in terms of people falling out over the EU, I can't see it. They'll disagree but they'll not fall out.

Moderator: anyone else? Feeling the same? Do you think relations between NI and ROI can be improved at all?

T237: there's always room for improvement. That's all I can say. On everything. But don't ask me what or why.

T207: are you talking business, or...?

Moderator: in any way, if you could see an opportunity for improved relations, what would it be? Had anyone heard of the North-South Ministerial Council before today? Is that a new term?

T237: I'd heard of it but...

Moderator: so people have heard of it. What's your impression of its role?

T232: it's nothing really more. It's mostly symbolic in spirit of the GFA. But what it does... if it disappeared tomorrow you wouldn't notice.

T212: I think, correct me if I'm wrong, but I think at the start of the GFA they created these bodies across the border, cross-border ministries, and they started with six... doesn't really do much.

Moderator: so you wouldn't see its role increasing in the context of Brexit becoming more important? And those who haven't heard about it before today, to what extent do you feel informed about what it does?

T207: when was it enforced or how long has it been in power?

T227: From the GFA.

Moderator: it was from the GFA.

Moderator: do you feel better informed even from just the slides about what it is or not really?

T202: I think the question you said before that it could become more important if, when, Brexit because the possibility of a referendum happening is becoming more plausible then. So people will start having conversations and talking about it more whereas now the symbolism, it's taken for granted.

Moderator: okay, but you think there's scope for that to change?

T202: yeah

Moderator: any other thoughts on relations between NI and ROI, in terms of could it be improved?

T212: the problem with this place is if someone tells you oh I believe myself to be British, I believe myself to be Irish, there's a thing in the back of your head being oh why? Instead of that's fine. Just respect the person for what they are and what they believe in. We tend to hold grudges against people because of where we came from...

T207: I still think that's a minority thing though too

T212: 100%, you're 100% right. But I'm saying it's still there. It's people that maybe want to go back to the old days. It's still there to a point. I think you really need a fresh start. And it's becoming more and more about accepting people for what they are and a bit more respect of who people are and where they come from, what their beliefs are. You didn't get it as often but it's still there and that's what we need to keep chipping away at.

T237: I think part of the reason that's not as bad as it was before is because people are moving about more. So many years ago when you're looking back, less and less family left an area. There was an extended family. Where out of our 6, 4 sisters and 2 brothers, you think of the one's that go over to England and all and then before you know it, they're married. It has extended. Both my parents were from families of 6 or 7, and out of daddy's only one left the area and that's the way it was back then and I think that's why it stayed like that...

Few: yes

T237: And I think because people are moving away and picking up relationships in different areas. If you come from the country and you come to Belfast for example, you see straight away because you're mixing with a lot more different religions. Whereas if you live in a village, you know who's in that school and that school, and that church and that church. And I think as more and more people have gone down those routes it's got less and less and I think that's why. And that older generation's disappearing and I think it will keep getting less and less.

T202: do you not think voting leave is contradictory of that idea then?

T237: yes of course because you're stopping people coming in and out.

Moderator: and we're just going to flip this kind of around thinking of ROI and GB now but just keeping on this relations thing. So how do you feel relations are between ROI and GB, generally speaking?

T207: not as good.

T227: I don't know...

T237: not as good as between north and south

T212: politically?

Moderator: whatever way you interpret it?

T212: I can't speak for everybody. But as I said earlier on, there's no real difference.

T207: with regards to tourism or stuff like that?

Moderator: it's a very broad question and deliberately so

T207: Well I'll bring the tourism thing into it. I think Ireland, no matter what, I've travelled quite extensively throughout the world, and no matter where you go, people think of people from Ireland whether it's north, south or whatever, that we're generally a warm, welcoming country and we have so much to offer. Whether you go to Dublin or to the Mourne Mountains, whatever, any of the four provinces have got their own things to offer and people love that. They always say that they're welcomed. That we're very friendly people. We just fight each other.

T212: hate each other but love everyone else.

T207: that's right.

T212: I think politically, again because of Brexit, I'm going to slide... people have their own opinions and experienced their own hardships so to speak, but ordinary people in the street, you know, Brexit bores them. You'll either embrace it and get on with it.

T232: there's always a bit of rivalry but nothing, no real bitterness or anything like that

T207: rivalry in what area are you thinking?

T232: you know even if you think of sport like ROI and England for example, you know it's more than the ROI v Italy. I think it's sort of like a welcome rivalry. There's sort of that acceptance of different countries but the difference is different from other countries. I think overall people welcome that.

T207: are you talking about sport?

T232: sport's just one example but more generally as well.

T237: I think as well when you're in an awful lot of parts in England and you say, if you happen to say, even if you say you're from NI, a lot of people just hear Ireland and they'll say oh I was in Dublin. It's crazy the amount of people that don't know the difference, or associate or register.

T207: sure you only have to go across to England and hand them a Bank of Ulster note and they'll say we don't take that and it's like that's flipping sterling.

T237: I was in Manchester and got a taxi last week and I forgot about it and the taxi man looked at it and I said but it's not euro, it's Sterling. And I said well that's all I've got, that's your option. But I forgot and normally I do remember but he was so wary. But a lot of people in England; it doesn't register with them even that north and south are different. If I was to say I was from Tyrone, they'd have no idea that it was next to Galway or Cork or wherever it is. And I used to think that was only when you go abroad everyone thinks wee Irish pubs and that. But it's surprising when you're in England that some people there aren't even interested, they just think of Ireland. T242: but I'd say there's more knowledge there than if you're going anywhere else in the world. So if you think of it in those terms. Anyone in the UK, or England, Scotland, Wales, they have more of a knowledge of the disagreements between the politics here.

T237: but I think they see the disagreements here as protestant and Catholic rather than north and south. It doesn't register. Is it just the geography, I don't know.

T202: in my opinion the ROI wouldn't be too worried about it. They're happy enough to be part of the EU. They're probably just thinking good luck to yous, we're okay where we are.

Moderator: okay, so I've just been handed a sheet and there'll be an opportunity to pose questions to Kevin and Brendan who were giving the presentations. So has anyone any queries? Or even just a broad subject that's confused you and you'd like some clarity on. I'll right them down and if you want to ask them work away or I can ask them for you.

17-082027 QUB Deliberative Event Group 3 Transcription

Profile of the participants at table 3

Participant ID	Gender	Age	Social class	Region	Community background	Vote in EU Referendum
T306	Female	60+	C2DE	Belfast City	Protestant	Leave
T309	Male	18-29	ABC1	Greater Belfast	Catholic	Remain
T317	Female	30-44	C2DE	Greater Belfast	Catholic	Remain
T322	Male	45-59	C2DE	Co. Down	Catholic	Remain
T325	Female	30-44	C2DE	Co. Down	Protestant	Leave
T330	Female	45-59	ABC1	Co. Armagh	Protestant	Remain
T334	Female	18-29	ABC1	Co. Fermanagh	Catholic	Did Not Vote
T340	Male	45-59	ABC1	Co. Derry	Neither	Leave
T345	Male	30-44	ABC1	Co. Antrim	Protestant	Leave
T350	Female	60+	ABC1	Co. Antrim	Protestant	Remain
MORNING SESSION

Moderator: Perfect. So, the first question for the table is what, if anything, do you think the implications will be for NI if the UK leaves the EU? Specifically thinking about what the implications are for NI if the UK leaves the EU?

T317: I think it's going to do a lot of damage.

Moderator: In what way?

T317: Investment, you know, peoples' businesses.

Moderator: Okay, you're thinking financially for the country, it's not good?

T317: Yeah, big time. I think economically, financially. I think because the island has nearly been acting together on everything, and I feel that that has helped, you know, it's helped with the whole peace process and all.

Moderator: Okay

T306: Sure we're paying money anyway to be in it.

T322: We're paying a lot to be in it, but we are also getting a lot out of it. There are a lot of EU grants, and I don't think people realise a lot of the EU grants.

T306: How much it actually is?

T322: The farmers and the education. My wife works in education.

T350: And research as well.

T322: And transport.

T350: Education is in a bad way anyway isn't it?

T322: It is and it isn't. It does get a lot of funds.

T350: You know, all the money that comes from the government after Brexit, I think it's...

T322: It's not going to happen.

T330: And we will be damaged a lot by the...

T350: And I think because we are kind of on the periphery of the UK anyhow, really, the rest of the UK, I don't think it has feelings for Northern Ireland not the way Northern Ireland has for them.

T330: I have a friend who still thinks we spend euro. They just don't get it.

T317: And that's the thing because I suppose England, because they're together and that. But we need to look after ourselves, we are out there, we are.

T330: They just don't get it. The rest of the UK just don't get it. But we are part of.

T322: We need to look after ourselves, when it comes to it, because with everything that's been going on in the past couple of months, it's been atrocious. Even, what really annoyed me, was the leave campaign focussing on the NHS, that was ridiculous.

T317: It was a scare campaign.

T322: It was a scare campaign, and there was no stay campaign, there just wasn't one.

T330: Everything that was talked about before the referendum, we're not talking about that now, we're talking about totally different issues.

Moderator: Okay, so the things that were talked about in the campaign aren't relevant to now. What about other implications for NI? From this side of the table? What implications do you think there would be for NI specifically if we were to leave the EU?

T309: I think it might strike up a debate between the citizens of Northern Ireland about whether we should have a border or not or a united Ireland.

T325: That would cause a lot of friction there.

Moderator: okay, so potentially the whole idea of a united Ireland and a referendum might come up, T309, is that what you're saying? And T325 you're saying there might be a bit of friction there?

T325: You might have a lot more, you know, hostility about if there is talk of a United Ireland.

T350: A lot of people have tried to get an Irish passport since all of this has started.

T330: And they would never have had one before.

T317: I think it's getting people to appreciate the difference and the impact it's going to have.

T350: You're trying to soften that impact personally, you know, soften that impact first of all.

T317: So that everyone can stand united on it, we have to think about what's best for us as England will, as the Republic will, we have to think of us.

Moderator: Okay, what other implications for the country? Financial, economic, getting all the grants and things like that from the EU and how that might affect things like farmers, education, research and infrastructure. We talked as well about how it might affect citizens in terms of, it might cause debate around a referendum and a united Ireland causing hostility as well among the population. What else? Any other implications that you can see?

T322: Across the island, the cost of everything will go up.

Moderator: The costs will go up?

T330: It's already gone up I think.

T322: It's already going up and that's a side effect of the uncertainty that's going on.

T317: All of our trade agreements that we have at the minute, they'd have to renegotiate those.

T334: And then you have other people living here, you know, other EU citizens

T350: And they're essential in the health service.

T317: We need them, we couldn't do without them.

T334: {INAUDIBLE}...It's older generations, you know, it's not going to slow down.

Moderator: so it's going to have an impact with the older generations, on the ageing population? Any other implications for NI that you can think of if we were to leave the EU?

T309: I just think the biggest thing will be the border poll.

Moderator: the big thing is going to be the border poll? Okay. In what kind of way?

T334: I think it will most affect the people in Fermanagh

Moderator: Okay, why's that?

T334: Because we're near the border

Moderator: Because you're near the border, okay. What sort of things do you think might happen?

T334: Just even, I know this might sound stupid, but like I would go to the Slieve Russel all the time and it's over the border. You know, if you're wanting to just go to the spa or go for something to eat, do I need to bring my passport?

T317: Say you had a business in a border town, say it was in Newry, and you're that close to the border, and you're just a 20minute van drive away...

T306: Years ago we had the border, and I mean ..

T340: I lived in the border region years ago and I do not want to go back to it.

Moderator: Sorry, one at a time guys, just for the recording there, it just won't pick it up. So people just don't want to go back to that kind of hard border then?

T350: We've moved so much more forward since them days and you don't want to go back.

T330: Like you travel anywhere else in the world and there's cameras and there's borders...

Moderator: Okay, guys, just wanting to get one at a time. Just to try and get this on the recording. So, I guess it's the implications for everyday life if you live in the border areas, is that what you're saying?

T322: My daughter goes to college in Dundalk, she goes up and down every day. She's only first year in a four-year course, and she said if something is put in place she's going to be stopped every day. Going up and coming back again.

T350: But what sort of border are you talking about?

T322: That's what the debate is.

T317: I don't think the cameras will work. I think it will be ...

T322: There's cameras already in place.

T350: It's very naïve to think that cameras aren't there.

T317: A camera can only check so much.

T322: The cameras can check the car, the registration. That's not the problem here. It will be all the goods going back and forth.

T350: It's going to go back to opening the boots.

T306: Sure if you go to America or Canada, you've to go through a border there anyway.

Moderator: Okay, I just want to move on to the next part because we've covered that and you've given me lots of different things there. If everyone turns to the presentation in front of them, if you want to turn to slide 6, and that will give you outcomes for Brexit. Everybody got that? So what we want to do now is, Kevin talked about the 5 possible outcomes for Brexit, everybody got that okay? Okay so what we want to do, is try to understand, and I want to hear from everybody around the table, what is your preferred outcome from all of those 5 outcomes there, what is your preferred outcome for Brexit? And tell me a bit about why you feel that way.

T309: To start off with, A because we're leaving. We're not staying, so we can rule A and E out. My preference would be that NI stays in some form of either the customs union or the single market. If that happens, it will mean NI is {INAUDIBLE} because if you, the UK companies can set up in Northern Ireland and they have a simple entrance into the EU, so it would be a win-win situation. It won't be a win-win situation for the rest of the UK because businesses that are scared move out, and where is the best place for them to move to? NI.

T306: So we could benefit quite substantially.

T317: Is that D you're referring to?

T306: No that's C.

T317: I think if England want to leave, which I think a lot of people are changing their mind, which a lot of people are. If they want to leave, go ahead. But I do think for economic and financial reasons we should remain.

Moderator: So it's for economic and financial reasons you're thinking to stay in that single market and customs union? Okay. What about everybody else? What do you think? What's your preferred outcome?

Т340: В.

Moderator: B for you, T340? Tell me a wee bit about why you think B?

T340: Because of the Customs Union. I probably wouldn't agree with the Single Market, but the Customs Union. I reckon you should control goods coming in across the border.

Moderator: And why goods?

T340: Just to know what's coming in and you know, where it's going and things like that there. You know, you don't need to do people in cars and that there. It's what's in the back of that lorry. That would be the same as it was before. They don't need to stop them.

T317: Well I do think they will check the cars {INAUDIBLE}. So I do think they do need to do some random searches or something.

T340: For what?

T317: For goods.

T340: Now are you talking about terrorists?

T317: No the goods, you know like they used to years ago {INAUDIBLE}...I think they will. Certain things they will start.

T340: Cigarettes are cheaper in the South

T334: Can I ask a question?

Moderator: Of course you can.

T334: What was the actual reason for the referendum?

T325: David Cameron promised it in his manifesto.

T334: I think the real reason has got lost of why and Cameron was more focussed on everything else rather than why.

Moderator: Well, what one of those would you prefer?

T334: Well I never really did have an opinion, because I never really vote, because in my eyes NI doesn't have an opinion, it's what the people in London say.

Moderator: Okay, so you don't get a say?

T334: Nope.

T317: That's why you vote.

T322: Northern Ireland actually voted to stay, so we don't have a voice.

T340: Aye, but it's what the UK voted for, it's the majority. We can't say oh we vote for no...

T322: That's the problem with the referendum, there was only one campaign and that was the leave campaign. And if you scare-monger tactic, I know I'm getting away from what you want to talk about, but there was no stay campaign

T340: And who's fault was that?

T322: that was David Cameron's fault.

Moderator: Okay, I understand people have strong opinions on this, but we kind of need to get back onto talking about these outcomes. What about everybody else? What about, T325, T309, T345?

T325: I'd say E

Moderator: E, and why E?

T325: I feel like, better the devil you know, and I know it feels too risky. It's scary, the unknown of what could change and how much has changed already.

Moderator: So do you think we're better in it together, almost? Instead of leaving that way.

T325: Yeah

T334: Same

Moderator: You'd say that as well?

T334: It's kind of just, like I grew up whenever the army and stuff was still about, and I do believe it's come a long way. This thing, it's a different thing altogether, but this could bring the madness back again. I think that the UK never thought of Ireland and NI.

Moderator: Okay, sure.

T306: I must be the only one for A then

Moderator: you're A, why A then?

T345: I'd be with you too. I'll be with you as well.

Moderator: Okay, well we have a couple here who said you want the UK to leave, why?

T306: They have to much influence, we can't have a say really.

T340: {INAUDIBLE} So why don't we just vote for European?

T322: The referendum vote was all wrong, the referendum should have more options, not a yes or no. The questions were wrong.

T340: I know, what you're saying is there's no point of voting for Parliament, we'd be as well voting just for the EU.

T322: Exactly and we do vote for the EU.

T340: Too bad they don't listen to you.

T322: You know, Diane Dodds is our local MEP and I've no idea what she's done.

T340: Have you ever seen her?

T334: {INAUDIBLE} but I don't see the benefits, you know all they're saying is the benefits of leaving.

Moderator: Okay, so basically, we voted to leave so we should just leave, is that what you're saying?

T334: No, it's more what are the benefits of leaving, what's the benefits to us of leaving? And then are you going to have your checks and everything. You know, everything they said would happen it's not. They are all going back on their words.

Moderator: Okay. Guys what about you?

T330: Well for me, they made their decision, we're leaving. They're not going to have another referendum. So, for me it would be B.

Moderator: Okay, it's B so leaving the EU and..

T350: And the B doesn't, for whatever reason, the UK totally leaves, but doesn't maintain some of the elements such as the Single Market and the Customs Union. I think we have to which is why I would say C. If B doesn't happen. We need to retain...

T309: We need to retain something.

T350: Otherwise we're sunk, really.

T317: But it was just never considered, nobody talked about it. It was never discussed in Parliament whenever there was all the build up to the referendum.

T350: It was never talked about. Somebody mentioned NI and border and somebody else was like oh.

Moderator: Okay, so we've a real mix at the table so we have some people saying the UK just leaves, some people have said they want the UK to stay within the EU and then the next people saying different versions of retaining some of the things we currently have such as the Single Market and the Customs Union.

T325: Some of that can't happen because the referendum has already been.

Moderator: Yeah but it's just to try to understand everybody's viewpoints and where they want to be in an ideal world. I want to move on very quickly here to looking at the idea now that Kevin had talked about; this idea of a hard border between NI and ROI. So I'm going to read out this question. If a hard border was to be created between NI and ROI, what do you think the that might be like? So, what do you think it's going to look like if they create a hard border?

T317: {INAUDIBLE}

T350: I could see it going the way it was before.

Moderator: So do you see a militarised border, T317?

T350: Roads being closed off in various places because they can't properly police it.

T322: They're going to have to. And put in border crossings.

Moderator: And what were you saying there as well?

T309: I don't think it's right that there should be a militarised border.

Moderator: So you think that's the way it might go?

T317: They need to control the people between it. They don't want it but that's what they are going to have to do.

T322: I don't agree. People are getting the old border mixed up with the army border to stop terrorists crossing between north and south. What we're looking at here, we're looking at goods and people to a certain degree

Moderator: Sorry guys, one at a time

T322: I don't think it will be what it was. I remember what it was outside Newry. There was military and barracks. They can't go back to that. If terrorism starts up again which I hope it doesn't, well then they have to have something. They can't have a hard border because there are too many different side roads.

T334: But what about the goods and the people? What do we do?

T322: In the old days, I was a lorry driver for 40 years, the hard military border had absolutely nothing to do with the goods travelling between north and south. When you were travelling between north and south with the goods, you stopped at the customs point which was just as you came into Dundalk. That was the goods border. There was no, the bit in the middle where the army was, was nothing to do with the goods and that's where everybody is getting mixed up. I don't think it will go back to what it was.

T350: And did the goods border really hold things up? Or was it relatively quick?

T330: I remember when I was at school they used to stop the train.

T322: That's my opinion.

T350: And do you think the impact of that has been exaggerated?

T322: Yes, the other side is technology based. If you drive to the other side such as Belfast to Dublin, as you drive along the road, you see the signs saying 30 minutes to Dublin, how this works is there's cameras in the side of the road that reads the registration of your car, reads it when you get to Dublin again, works out how long it takes to get from there to there.

Moderator: So you're saying that technology is already there?

T322: Yeah

Moderator: Okay, thank you. What does everybody else think the border might look like if there's a hard border put in place? What might it look like?

T309: I think the ideal hard border would be like, minimised police patrolling. But obviously {INAUDIBLE}

Moderator: Okay, so it has to be controlled?

T330: Depends how much they work together, the north and the south. Are they going to do it together? Is one country going to be more against it or more for it than the other.

T325: If it was just like a customs kind of thing, because there are some terrorists out there that are bringing over so-called goods but mainly its guns for people. You hear about Islamic people terrorists and the IRA mopping in on guns and stuff so there is that kind of aspect of it too.

T306: There's also the question of who actually pays for this border and everything that happens at it. I mean it's basically going to be our border with ROI so therefore the financial burden of it is going to have to be with us.

T317: So what if we say that we're not going to pay for it and just leave it?

T306: That could be a thought. That could be instead of signing a petition or whatever, we just don't pay for it.

T317: If they want to put one up they can pay for it.

T334: That's the thing, if Northern Ireland's in debt, then even the likes of that, policing it, doing whatever, customs, whatever and then the English government do not put the money in. You know, we leave with England here, so they need to put their payment in to the country. We don't have the EU investing anymore. You know who's going to care. You know, David Cameron already called us leeches and said that's all we were to them. We're a financial burden to them.

Moderator: Tell me this then. Now, everybody's idea of a hard border is going to be slightly different in terms of what that's going to look like, but how would you feel if there was a hard border in place between NI and ROI?

T317: Not good.

Moderator: So how does everybody feel? Most people don't like it?

T350: I don't like it. I don't want it.

T322: I never cross it

Moderator: you never cross it, no?

T334: Some of these ones wouldn't remember it

Moderator: Okay, so..

T350: Patrols and stuff. I saw a patrol a lot of weeks ago there and thought goodness me.

T317: And you'll see a different reaction. You will see a lot of reaction. {INAUDIBLE} It will create ructions.

Moderator: Anybody any thoughts for a hard border between NI and ROI? Anybody feel it's beneficial in any way?

T325: A wee bit

Moderator: In what kind of way?

T325: Just what I said about customs, about everybody coming in into Ireland and Northern Ireland. And, you know, for our country, we'll not be messed with terrorists and stuff. But not so much regimental, just like protect Ireland, and you know, suspicious people.

T309: I'm sure there are other things in place for people. Like where they get random checks. There are always going to be ways for drugs to get into a country.

T350: I was in Dublin about 5 months back and our bus was stopped going down and police got onto the bus. There must be these random checks.

T330: Due to maybe bringing people in.

T317: Yeah, people in too.

T334: So there are controls in place now

Moderator: How do you think people would react if a hard border was put in place?

T317: They are not going to like it.

T309: I think there would be outrage

Moderator: Okay, and why the outrage?

T309: Because that's not what people want.

Moderator: So, T340, that's an inconvenience?

T340: People going to their work {INAUDIBLE}

Moderator: Okay. I think I heard the word protests around the table?

T317: I think there would be. I think it would start out mild but I think people would get a bit irate.

T350: Do you not think they'd just come to accept it?

T317: I don't think so.

Moderator: Sorry guys, one at a time. I just don't want to miss anybody's points. Sorry, go ahead.

T325: People fought long enough to get rid of it.

T322: It all depends on how often you have to use it. If you have to use it twice a day it will become a real pain.

T350: But I think the businesses and all..

T317: And tourism, the whole thing. But I think the island as a whole we need it currently how it is. It has helped us.

T334: What about normal day-to-day stuff? Say I want to go walk the dog. I'm literally 10 minutes across the border. It would be a nightmare {INAUDIBLE}.

Moderator: And this idea of protests then. Do you think it would start off fairly mild? I think that is the word that was used. What do you mean by mild as in mild protests?

T322: I'd say petitions, peaceful demonstrations.

T317: I think this generation think more about the impact it has on their lives. Businesses start to campaign and it opens a whole can of worms going back to it all.

Moderator: Okay, so you're thinking about how it might escalate then? What kind of protests do you think you might see after the impact is felt?

T309: I think it would be something similar to the Twaddell protests.

T330: They'd go on and on and on.

Moderator: a camp and kind of thing?

T350: With occasional outbreaks of violence.

T334: Or trying to take the borders down or blow them up or whatever.

T306: I must be a very law abiding citizen because I would just like it all to be {INAUDIBLE}.

Moderator: Okay. So if this happens, a border goes in place, then the protests start, what kind of level of support do you think the protests would have among the general public?

T322: I always think that violence gives the wrong impression. I don't want a hard border, but I don't want any violence, because that will make people think oh everybody that doesn't want a hard border is violent, and that's not the way it is. I don't want a hard border because it's an inconvenience to the people in society, it hurts tourism and it hurts society, but I do not agree with any violence whatsoever. I would agree with petitions, I would agree with peaceful protest, that's it.

T334: But what happens if businesses are in trouble and all and they feel like no-one is listening? They have tried everything and no one is listening. You don't know what road you are going to go down then.

T350: It seems as though we don't want violence, we're not violent people

T334: But at the same time people refuse to listen. What do you want them to do, just sit back and take it?

T330: If they're happy to camp there

T322: Is that not in a way a peaceful protest?

T330: No, they're there constantly, and the policing bill was a million pound a day.

Moderator: T322 said he would be okay with signing petitions and peaceful protest, what about everybody else? What kinds of things do you think would be acceptable in terms of protesting for a border between NI and ROI?

T334: We'd all sign the petitions but nobody listens to them. We'd sign them but they're not listened to and that is the problem.

T350: That's where I think the petition things and the peaceful protests, they break down if nobody really pays attention. Nobody really does pay attention.

T340: That's what our politician's job is and our politicians don't do anything.

T334: They can't even do what they're supposed to do.

Moderator: In terms of the kinds of protests there, Kevin obviously talked about a few things there. He talked about petitions, peaceful demonstrations, what about the likes of protestors blocking traffic.

T309: I can think that it will work to a certain extent. I don't think violence is an option.

Moderator: But what would you support? What kind of level of protest would you support?

T309: I think if I was protesting I'd probably support road blocks.

T334: Yeah, you would. To be listened to.

T350: You do eventually have to do something that will make people sit up and pay attention.

T334: We do as Northern Ireland, we are left out on all accounts a lot of the time.

Moderator: Do you think you'd involve yourself in protests? You know peaceful protests or road blocks. Personally, do you think that you would?

T334: Oh I would on principle. If it was something that we needed to survive, yeah, definitely. We need to look after our future economically. We need to look after ourselves. I mean it's not even us, we can cope, it's our children. Where do they go from here?

Moderator: Okay so some of you are in favour of milder types of protests so like petitions up to road blocks, but you don't like the idea of vandalising and violence?

T334: That's a wee bit extreme

T309: There's going to be people that do that type of stuff

T330: And they don't even care what they're doing it for.

T325: That's normally when people do come around and say okay, there's money being lost here, you know things getting smashed and its sad

T330: And they don't even care what the issue is.

Moderator: Okay, so I'm just going to move on to the last 10-15 minutes of discussion on the last point. So, I want to think about this idea of a hard border between NI and GB. So, GB being Scotland, England, Wales, just for a definition there. So, if a hard border was to be created between NI and GB, what do you think that that might look like?

T309: See if NI was to have a hard border with GB, would it still be part of the UK?

Moderator: Well, I suppose this is one of the things we want to discuss. Do you feel that it loses its part in the UK if there's a hard border there?

Moderator: Okay, so if it has a hard border, it makes you feel that it's not part of the UK anymore?

T309: I feel that it shouldn't be part of the UK anyway.

T330: If you remember, or maybe you don't, what it was like at Heathrow when they heard you were getting a flight to Northern Ireland?

T350: Oh my goodness, it was dreadful, we were treated like cattle and there was this wee corner of the airport that everybody was herded into.

T317: Sure it was like that in Europe as well no matter where you went to {INAUDIBLE}. To an extent it has to happen between any island and any country. But I do think economically we need these connections with England and Wales for business.

T330: We really were second class citizens in that Heathrow.

T350: We were going to London and being told terrorist man because we asked to take a photo at number 10. But on the other side of it, I was born in Yorkshire and the other half of my family are English anyway. I'm not Irish so that's probably where I'm coming from.

T306: I think a border between NI and the rest of the UK, will certainly in the minds of a lot of people weaken that perceived link with the UK. And, also, on the other side it will also weaken Britain's perception of the links with NI.

T330: We'd feel alienated in a way I think.

Moderator: Okay. Can I just ask, what do you think, when we're talking about a hard border between NI and ROI and people thought it would be like the militarised thing and some people said about check points, what do you think that might look like for a border down the Irish sea? What do you think might happen there?

T334: I don't think they could physically do it. They'd have to patrol it more.

Moderator: Okay, so more patrols?

T334: And sure, they do that anyway.

T340: The patrols are there anyway. When you get on a boat they are checking you. Or they could have a customs check at the ports.

T350: Yeah, it will be at the ports and the docks.

T340: {INAUDIBLE} If it was a goods border it would be the docks that would be, which would not affect anybody travelling because there are already procedures in place, that when you get on a plane, you get monitored at the airport and when you get off the plane at the other side. It's the same when you get a ferry. You're monitored the whole way. So I don't think it would make a blind of a difference people travelling. It would make a difference to freight travelling, which we would never see.

T309: But freight would cost us money because we import so much.

T340: It's going to be the same.

T309: But a UK hard border would hit us harder than an Irish border. We import more from the UK. England, Scotland and Wales are linked far more, and the taxes on that border would hurt us far more than the taxes on the other border.

T322: But that would go back to what I was saying. Companies in England are going to lose out with the movement into the EU. If folks come and say, well there's NI, we can have an office in NI that gets us around it, there would be a boom for Northern Ireland,

T334: But financially and economically, if they could have that set up in place, with agreements...

T322: In essence, they're having their cake and eating it. UK company based in the UK but they have an office in Northern Ireland which means that they are in the EU.

T334: There's a lot of potential if we do.

T350: If it stands right away.

Moderator: Okay, so is it fair to say that you're not a believer in a hard border between NI and ROI or one between NI and GB for slightly different reasons then? Investments and...

T317: I sort of feel that the border is there anyway because when we go we are treated like {INAUDIBLE} There is. There definitely is. And the borders are all controlled, they are. Everything is watched.

Moderator: If there was a hard border created down the Irish Sea, how do you think the people might react to that?

T306: Would we see it? How would we know?

Moderator: It doesn't need to be a physical border, but yeah, it could be a hard border, it could be more checks.

T317: I don't think it will have a big impact on us, so it wouldn't.

T322: Nothing would change.

Moderator: Okay, so you already feel as though there's a bit of a border there?

T350: Yes, definitely

Moderator: If there was a harder border in place, there were more checks, more patrols, things like that. How do you think people might feel about that? Do you think there would be the same level of protests at the east/west border as there would be at the north/south?

T334: I think there might be a bit for like businessmen travelling to London or whatever, but I think once they get used to the increased checks...

T322: I'm struggling to see how it will be more patrolled.

T334: That's what I'm saying.

T322: If you're on a plane to go anywhere from Belfast City Airport, there's already checks that you have to go through. Now, they might turn round and say let's put the same security checks in place at the docks, but the passenger ferries, they'll be the people that see the difference. But I would much rather than which I would use once in a blue moon, than have to go through security checks...

T350: The people checks are basically already there.

T334: They are and there may be a slight increase, but so what. I don't think people would mind.

T306: For a couple of times a year like, you still have to show your ID your photograph.

T309: I never have to show any ID to get over. On the planes. I always have it on me but they never ask me .

T350: In theory that's the way you should be able to travel around Europe without anything like that. But it doesn't work. Not for us. I think I remember the last time I travelled round Europe and came through Heathrow, I think we went through security twice. Going to NI it was a separate little extra part of security for us.

Moderator: So do you think there would be the same level of protests then?

Few: No, definitely not.

Moderator: Does anybody think there'd be protests?

T345: I always think there'd be a hard-core element, like a {INAUDIBLE}. I always think there would be a hard core that would protest.

T350: I think there would be protests but they would be confused. Like, I think there would be protests because people see themselves as being removed as part of the British. I don't think there's going to be protests because they're going to have to put your lorry through customs or whatever. I think the protest would be more political than economic.

T340: It's people's perception. If you're seeing a hard border, if you're seeing increased security like you would see with the south, that would increase your anxiety to an extent. As I said, the border is already in place at the airport there's no question about that. If you're not seeing any increase, then you're not going to be like that. The border traffic, the airport checks, that's in case you're going to blow a plane up, that's all. You have to accept that.

T350: What's the difference in airport checks when you are going over to England and checks when you're going down...

T322: The checking you going down. But that's what I'm saying, if you think of the number of people that go through an airport in a day, and you think of the number of people that crosses the border between the north and the south, you're talking maybe 100 times more people crossing that border. To check all those people, the same way you check when you're going across on an airplane, it...

T350: I think its dependent so much on goods and things coming in from the UK.

T322: But that's, are you talking about only goods or people?

T350: People and goods.

T322: It would take that long.

T350: You still need to check so you do.

T322: Not if you're just crossing the border at the minute.

T334: I think once you're on the island.

T322: You're just crossing the line and driving on.

T350: Aye but what if you go down shopping and stuff with the border?

T317: You don't want that again but. Why would you want that again going from A to B on the same island?

T322: Exactly.

T350: To see who's coming and going.

Moderator: I mean, if there were protests about a hard border between NI and GB, to what extent would people support protests like that?

T334: I wouldn't protest against it.

T345: I do, I think a border in the Irish Sea is a united Ireland through the back door. Which is tearing up the Good Friday Agreement. So I think protests are justified. It would be a united Ireland through the back door.

Moderator: Is that something you'd support?

T345: Not violent protests, petitions, that kind of thing. I think that would be justified.

Moderator: Anybody else feel the same? To what extent do you think, because we talked about protests quite a lot there, but to what extent do think protests are actually effective in trying to achieve what the protestors want to achieve?

T309: I think it's shown in NI that protests can be effective.

Moderator: Okay, in what kind of way?

T309: But it can take quite a long time.

T340: By the time that they realise the money, and the cost of it.

T317: Which we can't afford.

T350: And I think protests are effective if everyone is involved in them. A protest isn't so effective if, say, a little group of people from Belfast protest about something, and people in Enniskillen go and protest about something. But if the whole of NI, or the bulk or the majority of people of NI show that they are against something and as a united front protest in whatever way relative to that.

T317: People need to realise the financial and economic impact that it's going to have.

T350: But it would have to be very, very clear what's happening.

T317: And they'd have to establish the route that this is going to take. I don't think people have enough education to know the financial and economic impact this is going to have.

T350: This is what happened at the time of the vote. Nobody was told. Nobody was given facts and figures.

T334: And that's the same as England. I think if people had realised the impact it might have gone the other way.

Moderator: So you think you weren't educated on the facts that you needed?

T309: I think if there was a vote tomorrow there'd be a totally different outcome.

Few: Agreeing.

Moderator: Do you think people have had their eyes opened in a way?

T309: I think it's because they don't realise the impact.

T322: I spoke to a guy and he voted to leave, and I asked him why and he said for a laugh.

T322: No he's a friend, I respect the guy.

T334: That's why I didn't vote to stay or leave because I didn't know.

Few: There wasn't enough information.

T309: All the opinion polls said we were going to vote remain, so I think people voted to leave to protest. As a form of scape-goating. That's what I honestly think.

T334: The thing is, if they do leave, they're going to use all the European laws that are still in place until they can re-establish their own. What chaos is that going to create?

Moderator: Okay, I just want to come back on this idea of protesting. What does it take for you to believe that a protest has been successful? What would have to happen for a protest to be considering successful?

T325: If it creates a change that people are satisfied with.

T334: Whenever the majority decide that their opinion has been listened to, heard and went with.

T317: And whenever they go outside and they have a referendum and they say what do you want, do you want the single or do you want the customs? No one would have known what they were asking.

T334: Because even now everyone is still mixed up about it. What does the single market mean? You have to think about it.

T317: If you're an ordinary working-class person.

T322: It doesn't matter if you voted to leave or if you voted to stay, I think the government is making it up as they go along and that is creating more and more friction.

T350: Very much so.

T334: And I think that's what David Cameron had said as well, he didn't expect for it to come and they'd vote for leave and when they did, it was a shock and they didn't know what to do with that.

T350: And we could end up victims of that crisis management in terms of the border and what the border is.

Moderator: Okay, so I'm just going to go through a wee bit of a summary so we can feed back to everybody in the next 5-10 minutes. So basically, there was quite a lot of points you made about the implications, so that was the damage to the economy and not getting a lot of grants from the EU so talking things like farming, education, research, infrastructure, fisheries. So we were talking about citizens' impact as well, so we were talking about the border and I think the quote from somebody was 'taking us back 20 years'. People were worried about the cost of everything going up and trade agreements not being in place and things like that, the cost of living is going to go up. People's jobs...

T334: One of the main things is NI, we feel like we're not being listened to in our decisions here as well. That's the foremost thing here.

T350: these are decisions that are happening outside our sphere.

T330: And we don't even have a voice in parliament.

Moderator: And border towns being affected as well. Not even just the economic level, but just like the everyday life. Okay, so then we came into looking at the possible outcomes of the Brexit negotiations and it's fair to say there's quite a big mix there from everybody. Nobody is really agreeing on anything, but it does seem like nobody really wants hard borders in place. You want to be able to move freely but checks more on customs. Your happy enough for customs checks and stuff like that.

T340: If the customs could move to the docks.

Moderator: Leave the border as it is and have the customs at the docks?

Moderator: So you still want a level of control in place so for the customs and things like that. And then the views on a hard border between NI and GB and it's a bit more difficult there because there is a hard border that you can see down the Irish sea and things like that. In terms of protests, you do think that people would be very likely to protest against a hard border between north and south and that could get quite violent. You would support protests but they would have to be low level.

T334: I think they would start peaceful but then {INAUDIBLE}.

Moderator: You think that there would still be some protests for a NI/GB border but maybe for a slightly different reason. Is that a fair assumption of what we were talking about?

T306: I don't support the protests at all.

Moderator: You don't support the protests at all? And I think that's really it because I think we had a wee bit more time at the start so we've actually had a longer session than we realised, so we'll be feeding back shortly.

AFTERNOON

Moderator: Okay, so that was a lot to digest {inaudible} what we're going to kick off with, and again, I know we're going to be coming in to some questions where there's going to be some significant differences in views and opinions so I just ask that you respect that at the table. Brendan covered a lot of different things there, so we want to look at the situation in NI, we're going to cover this quite quickly, we don't want to linger on this too long. My first question for you is what implications, if any, do you think the lack of Northern Ireland Government will have on the outcome of negotiations between the UK and EU?

T309: Danger for ourselves really.

Moderator: Okay, in what way?

T309: Because we don't have a sort of input into the negotiations so there's no voice whatsoever.

T317: There's no voice for what the people want.

T345: I don't think the Executive... I mean the Scottish and the Welsh, I don't think that they have an input and they've got Ministers and they're not being listened to. I don't think we have ministers makes a difference like the Scottish and Welsh. I think probably with the way things are at the minute at Westminster, the DUP holding the balance of power is giving us more influence than any Ministers at Stormont.

Moderator: Okay so it's the deal, you think, with the Conservatives that gives us more influence?

T345: It gives us more influence than Stormont would, because if we didn't it, we would end up like the Scottish and the Welsh ones {inaudible}.

T322: I agree with T345. I think the thing is, I'm not politically influenced I don't think, I think the fact that Sinn Fein don't take their seats at Westminster has been detrimental towards Northern Ireland's needs.

T309: There are reasons...

T322: I know, I know, we don't want to go down that route. All I'm saying is the fact that they're not there means that there's no voice.

T306: Well Sinn Fein don't want to take theirs.

T322: I know, I know, I'm not trying to go down there. All I'm saying is, the fact that they're not there is detrimental to the remain campaign and the one thing that I never agreed with was the fact that this EU referendum in NI was divided along political lines, because it isn't political. This is the problem it should never have been; it should have been about people's needs in the EU not about a political agenda. It has gone down that route.

Few: Like everything else.

T322: The thing is, let's think about it, there is no voice. There is only a voice in London for the remain campaign in Northern Ireland and the remain campaign in Northern Ireland lost. Sorry, the leave campaign in Northern Ireland lost. So, we don't have a voice. The people who want to stay in the EU, do not have a voice in Government in London. For whatever reason, there is but it isn't...

T317: But it is...

T322: But we don't have a voice and that's what really annoys me. We do not have a voice. Now, the only people who have a voice are the people who want to leave.

Moderator: What does everybody else think?

T350: That's people's own choice that they don't take their seat and that's a need or a want of the people.

Moderator: Okay, sure. What other implication do you think a lack of a Northern Ireland Government will have on the outcome of negotiations between the UK and EU?

T330: I think probably, as much as I'm not dying about any of them, they're the ones that, they're unique with the border situation.

T317: The decision is going to be made for us. It's going to be taken out of our hands. Politicians don't stand up. I think it's our situation and we have to stand up for it. The decision will be made for us and we'll be told what to do rather than.

T350: But that could happen anyhow whether they're at Stormont working or not...

T317: ... If people stand up and get some control on it and bring their opinions forward, then we have a say in our own fate destiny, economic, financial situation, whatever it may be, you know.

Moderator: Okay, well obviously you've talked a lot about not having a voice when there's nobody there to represent you. Do you think that, considering there has been a decision to leave the EU, that there should be changes to how the power-sharing government is set up in NI?

T350: It needs looked at, yes.

T345: Yes, definitely.

T322: After what's happened to the Assembly and MLAs, certainly.

T340: They should get paid a lot less.

T330: They shouldn't get paid.

Moderator: What would you change?

{INAUDIBLE}

Moderator: Okay, they're not sitting at the minute. Everybody knows that? What kind of changes do you think would need to be made in light of Brexit, in light of the fact we're leaving the EU, what kind of changes, if any, need to be made to power-sharing?

T322: Something needs to be done so that what happened, what brings it down, won't happen again. Nobody should have had that power. It doesn't matter what it was over, there are disputes in other governments that do not bring the governments down to this extent and then leave such a vacuum?

T317: I suppose if you look at the Good Friday Agreement, then they have broken it. Because they said that within NI, it has to be what the majority wants, they've broken that.

T306: That's what they're saying the Good Friday Agreement would change, that's what they're saying that it would be different now.

Moderator: Sorry?

T306: They're saying if there's another vote on the Good Friday Agreement, that it would be a different outcome now.

Moderator: What other changes would you like to see to Stormont in light of this Brexit vote? What other changes?

T317: They have the wrong power over the wrong people. They're not responsible for London, they don't get to decide {inaudible} the nature of this decision. There should be, I don't know what we have, I don't know enough about it, any sort of economic or financial forecast for what happens to NI when we're out of this. The money – what money gets taken away, what money the English government is going to put back in, about small businesses, everything.

T322: This all should have been done before the vote was taken.

Moderator: Okay. Do you feel there was nothing like that done?

T322: No, absolutely not.

T317: It's all crisis management now. I think it surprised the government, the way it went.

Moderator: Okay. Any other changes to how power-sharing is set up, the way we have the Assembly and the Executive at the minute? Anything you would like to see changed?

T350: I think the fact that, okay there are the two main parties, the DUP and Sinn Fein, but there are other parties there, there are parties that I voted for, that aren't even having a look in at the minute, because they're essentially being kept out of the talks that are going on, these private talks. Why should they be on the out when they won their place at Stormont, why are they not party to what's going on?

T330: If they're not having a say, you're not having a say.

T350: Exactly.

T317: No, it should be representative of all the people.

T350: It should be representative.

T340: The Executive doesn't want you to hear anything and that is wrong, that is so wrong after them being elected.

T322: That is so wrong.

T350: It should be open. We should know what's going on. We should be...

Moderator: So, you're saying that all the parties should be involved, it should be more inclusive of all the parties?

Few: All the parties.

T350: All the elected parties, yes.

T306: You mean instead of the First and Deputy First Minister?

T350: No, altogether.

T340: Everybody who has been elected.

T317: A small representative each.

T322: it's weird that it's the two parties that brought it down that are the only two parties in the talks to bring it back up again. It's just, sort of...

T345: I don't disagree with anything that was said, but I don't really see why it's linked to Brexit like. If Brexit had never happened, we'd still be in the same position. I don't think anything about the First Minister or Deputy First Minister have anything to do with Brexit.

T317: But I think it's... We're more conscious of it now...

T350: Yes, Brexit has sort of...

T317: The situation, where we're going to be left financially and that, you know, it's going to come to a head here

T330: People that weren't that politically interested, are now.

T317: If we were to talk about the politics in Ireland, everybody's talked there forever, but of course we agree that you can do that. But financially and economically we can't afford to be at the side here.

T350: There's the situation happening at the moment, that basically Stormont's not there to be a voice to what's happening. We can't do anything about it. It's happening and we're totally, our hands are behind our backs. We can basically do nothing.

T317: There needs to be some sort of decision of the power that the politicians do have and the power that the people do have then through the politicians I suppose.

T350: It's too close. Two political parties should not be able to hold everybody else to ransom.

T317: No, they are, they've too much power in that respect.

Moderator: Okay. I want to move onto something now Brendan covered in his presentation, around this idea of the reunification of Ireland and again, I expect that this is a sensitive subject, everybody has their own views on it, and I would like to hear everybody's views on it if you're willing to give those. But the question that I have for you is considering the UKs decision to leave the EU, what do you think of the idea of having a referendum on whether Northern Ireland should remain in the UK or reunify with the rest of Ireland?

T317: I think it's a possibility. I think that for future generations it's a possibility. I think we need to look at the whole impact again and what all people want.

T330: It'll be timing. One party will want it soon and one party will want it later.

T317: I think it is something to look to the future for.

T350: Timing is an issue because if you think when you mentioned earlier on how people from Brexit won the vote, how everybody rushed to get their Irish passports. Now I know that was just to get through customs more easily when going on your holidays and things like that, but at the same time it's still a step towards people {inaudible} there's probably advantages for both sides of it. In some ways we're probably quite lucky.

T330: In Brexit I think they should have had a figure for, you know, the maximum, what was the difference? Very little. So, I think there should be, you know...Well they're saying 60% is that what he said?

T322: That's what I mean. Brexit was too one-sided from the start. It should have been a lot more inclusive.

T330: Yeah, there should have been a figure where there has to be a majority of at least 60% say.

Moderator: Okay, and what does everybody else think about the idea of having a referendum on whether we stay in the UK or...

T322: I think that we've learnt a lot from the Brexit referendum.

T330: Referendums aren't necessary...

T322: I agree with you. If we were to go down the route of a united Ireland or a united UK, it all depends on how you word it.

T330: It can't be another yes/no.

T322: We walk into this with our eyes closed and whenever we come out the other side...

T330: And then the question will be when's the next time and again, you'll not know economically where you stand.

T317: This is what the research that needs done.

T330: {inaudible} ... people might vote for a united Ireland for the wrong reasons.

T322: People might vote the wrong way for a laugh.

T317: People need to know the implications of both. They need to know.

T350: Then they can make an informed decision.

Moderator: Do you feel as if you have enough information on it at the minute?

Few: No.

T350: No, no, no.

T322: I think there's also the question does the UK want us?

T317: No

T322: ... Probably not. Does Ireland want us?

T317 No.

T322: Probably not. And we are literally the orphan child.

T317: I think the Republic is panicking more because they don't know economically the impact it's going to have on them. For us to be out of the market and them not. So, I think that's why the Irish PM has said no, this can't happen. You know I think they realise the impact financially, but don't know whether the people of NI, whether they care or not?

T330: But we don't have the information to make the decision.

T350: I also think even the wording in united Ireland has connotations that go back to times when people are out on the streets with their guns and it's not just about that.

T317: No, it's not just about that.

T330: It's about standards of living and about education.

T317: And what's right.

T350: It's about people being able to work together and what sort of umbrella of working together are we going under?

T317: I suppose you can look at the business between the UK and ROI. How much does this impact their economy and how much does their economy depend on it? Exactly how strongly do they depend on it? So, would we being going down that route to keep those sorts of connections.

Moderator: I just want to bring it back a wee bit to think of this idea of a referendum again. Tell me a bit about what you think the pros and cons would be of having a referendum.

T322: I think a con would be it going back to the Troubles {inaudible}.

T350: That could happen so easily.

Moderator: Do you think that will be a reality?

T330: People are shocked at the result of the referendum at this time and I think if they went in and had a referendum on a united Ireland with so little information they'd all be shocked again.

T317: There's not enough information and I think the dust needs to settle here a bit.

T330: What would happen to the health service, what would happen to the pensions...

T317: We need to know.

T322: Ireland has moved on so much since 1916 and it is not the same place it was in 1916 when it was invaded by Britain and it was a united Ireland they were fighting for {inaudible}. But the thing is, everybody, the communities, are slowly, slowly, very, very slowly coming together and realising, hang on here, this is ridiculous.

T317: We need to look after each other rather than...

T322: If you want to have your 12th July, if you want to have your 17th March, that's fine, have them. But let's look at how we can work together.

T317: How we can build this together.

T322: How we can be beneficial to one another.

T330: It's the pensions that we've all payed into, it's education, call an ambulance in the Republic you've to pay for it...

T322: Yeah, get your bins done by the Republic you've to pay for it.

T306: Ever since we went into the EU, everything's spiralled up in price, but we paid for it. When decimalisation came in, I think we've paid double for things.

T322: Decimalisation was before we entered the EU {inaudible}, that's the same across the EU, it's not just Ireland or UK.

Moderator: Sorry, apologies for interrupting, but I just want to bring it back again because I don't have very much time on this. Again, it's just going back to the idea of pros and cons. Some people are saying they would be concerned about going back to the days of the Troubles, but you think it will never go back that way, why do you say that? T340?

T340: What happened in the past, they would never let that happen {inaudible}. People don't want it. They'd have them take off to Guantanamo. People just don't want it.

T350: The majority of people don't want it, but unfortunately there's always going to be that minority, that minority across the divide that will react.

{INAUDIBLE}

Moderator: What pros and what other cons would there be to having a referendum on that subject?

T317: One of the most important pros is it could maybe give a possible insight to where the island as a whole want to be.

T330: So, do you want it for information only?

T317: It could possibly be an insight. It might go the other way but...

T322: I think if it went one way it would rattle one side, and if it went the other way it would rattle the other side.

T309: Yeah.

T330: It's always going to rattle someone.

T322: Okay, what would be the easiest way to solve it? Don't have it.

T350: But have all those little links that sort of gradually happen...

T317: One of the possible pros could be maybe accessing information of where people are at today. He said the last referendum, what was it 197-, sixty something? So it's maybe going to give an up to date, it might not give a clear picture because of this Brexit thing but...

T330: But they'll have to act on it if they have it.

T306: Just looking at them figures there of them other stuff, you know.

Moderator: What about any other pros and cons of this idea of having a united Ireland?

T345: {inaudible} You can spend a lot of taxpayer's money to find out something that you kind of knew anyway, that's my kind of view on it. If there's no real question over the outcome, then there's no point having it.

T330: I wouldn't have it.

Moderator: Yeah, it's interesting because quite a few of you said it shouldn't happen because it's going to aggravate one side or the other. Are you saying not now but possibly in the future?

T322: Not now.

T317: Not now.

T330: Possibly in the future. See what happens with Brexit. Let us have it for at least ten years.

T317: Even put opinions out on it and do a bit of research. {inaudible} Try and ascertain and take it from there...

T350: And give people lots of information.

T322: Could it not be a gradual thing? It'll not be something like an event.

T330: Maybe the kids are getting more info in school, I don't know.

T309: I think the younger generations coming up. Like in my generation nobody actually cares about religion....

T317: That's the way it should be.

T309: But a lot of people still do. But as generations get older they'll care even less {inaudible} and that there is why a referendum won't happen...

T322: I think in the seventies {inaudible} it was religion, it was religious leaders, on both sides...

T334: I went to an integrated school.

T309: I go to an integrated school now.

T334: It should be like that in the future, definitely. To see what people want. Did anyone watch {inaudible}, Stacey Dooley? Did anybody watch the one where she actually did the Belfast, erm, political parties?

Few: Yes, yes.

T334: I thought it was so stupid. She was over here for the 12th and all...

T317: Oh, is she the woman who interviewed the parties...

T350: No

T330: What's her name?

T334: Stacey Dooley. She does documentaries about sex trafficking and....

T334: She did a Belfast version it was so funny and from me being in Fermanagh and it's not really a big thing anymore because you are a border county and can really go wherever you want. But how, again not against anyone in Belfast, but how much the view in Belfast is, 'I don't like them because they're Catholic, I don't like them because they're Protestant' and the two parties actually did say 'it's because they're not doing this or because they're not doing that'...

T322: I remember the first episode of 'Give My Head Peace' and I just sat like how the hell can they do that and get away with that? And then, it made you realise, because you could laugh and think, hang on this is ridiculous. I think it was one of the times that brought people together realising that both sides were laughing with each other.

T306: I was married in the 60's and I was one religion and my bridesmaid was the other religion and it didn't matter to us...

T317: It shouldn't.

T306: ... And then things did change.

T317: Aye, when the troubles kicked in.

Moderator: And this side of the table, any views on whether there should be a referendum now, ever, 15-20 years' time?

T322: About 30 years' time.

T325: No, I think we should leave it.

Moderator: Has anybody's views changed in light of Brexit? Would you have been more in favour of a referendum previously and not so much now because of Brexit? Or, changed the other way?

T322: No, I don't like the way Brexit has been politicised like this.

T350: I think Brexit just proves that referendums are not a good idea, especially when the question is put to the people isn't properly thought out properly.

T317: If it was thought out properly, it could be an asset.

T345: Another thing that I would like to say, we're assuming a referendum is either or, what if there's another option where people vote 1,2,3 in their order of preference. So, I think that referendum wouldn't be as divisive, and it would be more peaceful whatever the outcome is.

Few: This is a good idea.

T322: A number of different scenarios, rather than just either or...

T334: Yeah, we do tend to see things as that.

Moderator: And do you think that if it's just two choices it makes it more divisive?

T345: I think that if a referendum ever happened and it was two choices, whatever the outcome, there'll be violence and reaction. If there were three choices, you'd probably end up with the middle choice of compromise and it would probably end up being the one. And, I think, you know, there'd be a wee bit of grumbling but I think it would be more peaceful.

T330: It would be more like proportional representation?

T345: I think if there was a referendum eventually, it would be something like that.

T350: Well that makes sense.

T330: Make sense.

Moderator: So, nobody's views have changed on whether there should be a referendum because of Brexit? Just feel the same, the way you did before the Brexit vote?

Few: Yeah.

T330: I probably hate the thought of a referendum more.

Moderator: Okay, so maybe more against?

T330: Yes, I definitely more against it now.

Few: Agree.

Moderator: Okay, I think T317 maybe you touched on this in the morning session, a wee bit about rights and rights being affected. What rights would you be concerned about?

T317: Definitely human rights, 100%. We have people bringing England through the European Court of Human Rights. Definitely. As individuals, as groups. Even like employment law, literally everything, we need that.

T309: I think that England is going to throw all that away and we will have no rights.

T317: That's what I'm saying. If they do, what do we do? We have, we need to stay with that European, we need to have access to the European Court of Human Rights as well. We need to be able to have that other Court as well. That was one of the things I did my dissertation in my degree on.

T306: I think there's too many things, that we have too many views that we have to go by.

T317: No, but what about people then who were treated wrongly by the English and there's no one to answer to then? They had to go to the European Court of Human Rights for someone to stand up for them.

T306: I didn't think the European Court of Human Rights would be doing that.

T317: That's what they're doing now. The European Court of Human Rights are able to look at all the countries in Europe. And anybody who has been mistreated or wrongly prosecuted or whatever, they have been able to look that up and say hold on a minute, you have these laws that are wrong. Just because they're Government, doesn't mean to say that they're right.

T306: ... I wouldn't agree with too many laws coming in that we had to abide by.

T317: Well I like the idea that...

T322: But part of those laws coming in, they had part in those laws, part of those laws had been made in the EU constitution. We are also represented by the English MEPs, the Scotch MEPs, so it's not that they were imposed on us by Europe.

T317: They were voted in.

T322: They were voted in by all the European Union, and they applied across Europe so no matter where you went, you were covered by that right.

T317: I think you do need it.

Moderator: Okay. Any specific rights that anybody would be concerned about?

T317: The likes of employment, especially here and the way it used to be years ago.

T309: It's still like that in the Police Service as well. It's a minority of Catholics.

T317: Exactly, so it has to be, there has to be some sort of control somehow and not just for our country, for every country.

T330: I think at the end of the day you have positive discrimination in the workplace nowadays.

Moderator: Just moving on then to look at relations between Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland. How do you feel relations are between Northern Ireland and Republic of Ireland, generally speaking?

T330: I think they're quite good.

T317: I think they're the best they've been in my life time.

Moderator: And why do you think that? Where do you get that from?

T325: I think it's the peace process and I think there's so much else going on.

T330: And I think everybody is prepared to take the wider view. You know it used to be why are they talking about our country? And we've realised now we have to listen to the other views.

T334: We've got used to the, we're mixing more.

T330: There's people who live in the North, work in the South, people who live in the South, work in the North.

T350: From the television, what we hear in the news.

{INAUDIBLE}

T306: If you lived before the Troubles as they said, that could have applied anywhere.

Moderator: Okay, sorry, I'm just writing down some of the things that you're saying. What else do you think makes you feel the relations are good between NI and the republic?

T317: Just travelling from A to B without police.

T330: And I remember for one side of the population when it was frowned upon to go to the South.

T317: Exactly and it shouldn't be like that.

T330: I remember the orange wouldn't want the thing going down south.

T317: It's ridiculous.

T322: Well, communities are mixing more and that's the best way.

T317: It's definitely the best way.

T330: It's the best between a long, long {inaudible}.

Moderators: Even thinking now about the relations between Northern Ireland politicians and politicians in the South?

T350: They're better, they're far better

T317: Before it was almost like the Irish Government ministers were like 'Northern Ireland is irrelevant to us'. Where now, you even have the Irish Prime Minister standing up and saying no, this is no good.

T330: I would have said years ago the Republic's Government was very suppressed by the church.

T322: Absolutely

T330: And now they're ahead of us with gay marriage and all that, they're actually more liberal than we are.

T350: And we used to be more liberal.

T322: That's what I was saying earlier on. It's the church on both sides...

T330: The church beat them down and look at their MPs now. Not white, not straight.

T306: That's what I'm saying I think they have adjusted to European attitudes.

T350: They're much more liberal. Very much so – more liberal than we would be.

T317: For this generation now, that's the way it should be.

T306: We're moving in that way too, especially with the younger generation. I know a certain place where one child is an 'it', and then that was accepted and they made accommodations for this and now, I said, that child is at an impressionable age, wait to you see what happens, there'll be five or, just say more jump on the bandwagon, there's another 5. So, there's six 'its' now and I think, you know, we need to get back to you're a boy, you're a girl, I'm sorry but that's just...

Moderator: Okay. We're kind of going off topic a wee bit here. We need to think a wee bit more about the relations between Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland and do you think they've changed since the referendum? Do you think there's been any change in what you're hearing?

T317: I think there has been a bit more pressure on it. In that, I think the Governments are sort of panicking what will happen to us if this goes ahead. You know, and rightly so.

T330: Gone are the days of the peace train. You used to have to get the peace train to get down that used to go from one side to the other.

T350: I think the referendum has forced both the North and the South to look much more carefully at how they're going to move forward.

T317: And consider themselves now like 'we need to look up here at the impact it's going to have and what's best for our people'.

T330: Do these young ones know what the peace train was, or what?

T317: They don't want to; they don't need to.

T309: I've never heard of it.

Moderator: What do you think about it? Do you think much about the relations between Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland?

T325: I'm not as tuned into it as I was growing up when my mum and my daddy went through it all and lived up in an area where there was bad sort of trouble It was the Donegal Road, Sandy Row, and then {inaudible}. They hated it there. I can't really remember the army.

T334: Or the helicopters?

T325: No, none of that.

T334: I remember a lot of it. I remember the guys lying in hedges. And it's funny how ones not even five years below me, don't remember any of it and never seen it. It was just a common thing for us.

T350: It was a very strange normality but it was normality.

T334: Now you can just go up and speak to anyone. I was treating them different and they're no different than us and that's my view. You have to accept everyone as they are and not what religion they are and how they want to live their life.

Moderator: Just moving on to think about, do you think relations between Northern Ireland and Ireland will change if the UK leaves the EU? So, when this all happens in 2019, do you think things are going to change between Northern Ireland and the Republic?

T330: I think people will maybe want to go down South.

Moderator: In what kind of way?

T330: You could be in the EU and have that...

Moderator: So you could live down there instead?

T330: Yes, live down there and be an EU citizen.

T309: My cousin has actually moving to Dublin for that reason.

T330: For that reason, so that he can have that...

T322: I'll have the best hope of doing that.

T334: I don't have to go that far.

Moderator: Okay, do you think it might change in any other way? So, you're thinking more people might move down, but what about between the politicians?

T317: I think it could put a lot of pressure on and put the barriers back up again if Northern Ireland was forced to leave. I think it would...

T322: Because effectively, at the minute, we're all part of the EU.

T317: Yeah and we're all together anyway.

T322: If we leave, then that {inaudible}. If they're working in conjunction with the EU, it's still two separate Governments, but they have that link and the EU is that link.

T317: Of course, they're priority is our rules will be different then.

T350: But if the rest of Britain leaves, and Northern Ireland retains say the Customs Union or the Single Market or whatever, then I think that will pull Northern Ireland much closer to the Republic of Ireland.

T317: Oh, it will. Because at the minute, the rules, the directives are the same.

T322: We will still have the UK link because we will be part of the UK. And as I said before, if the referendum happens, I think it will be the golden thing.

Few: Mhmm.

Moderator: So, you feel that if we leave and we leave in the entirety, hard border and hard Brexit, it's going to put pressure on that relationship.

Few: Mhmm.

T317: Yes, it definitely will.

Moderator: Okay. Do you think relations between Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland can be improved in any way?

T322: By having an Assembly for a start.

Moderator: By having a working Assembly?

T322: At least if we had a working assembly we'd have somebody to...

T317: And taking the view of both of them across, you know. Where they can meet and make joint decisions. They're living on the same island.

T306: One's UK one's Ireland so I've no idea how it can work.

Moderator: Okay, so there's difficulties there because we're in different legal areas.

T306: Yes.

Moderator: What else? What other ways could we improve relations between Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland?

T322: Are you talking about after Brexit?

Moderator: Yes, well currently or in the future.

T322: I think it's important that the North/South Government bodies remain in place. That they aren't done away with and they probably will be done away with after Brexit.

T317: See that's where you're going to have this hard border again. The Irish government having no say in here anymore.

T322: It'll get worse

Moderator: You say North/South government bodies, what do you mean? Are you talking about the likes of the North South Ministerial Council and things like that?

T322: Yes, uh-huh.

Okay, so that's a way to keep things...

T317: You could nearly have the North and South MPs working together, you know there's no reason...

T350: There's certain aspects, certain things there's no reason they couldn't be working together, likes customs...

T317: Even education like universities and all. They should all be. It's such a small place, a small island and there's so many children from here that want to go to the South to study as well. I mean, like vetinary work and stuff where you have to go to Trinity. So, do you know what I mean?

T350: And there's probably already links. Because there's bound to be research between North and the South and that could grow.

T317: That's what I'm saying. We could extend it a lot. There's a lot of stuff that could be, there's the infrastructure and stuff we could improve them.

T350: Things seem to be grown without actually antagonising either side.

T317: Exactly, it's just a benefit.

T306: My grandson was wanting to do vetinary but he can do it at tech, he doesn't have to go South.

T317: Well I don't know.

T306: This is next year now.

T317: My daughter wants to do vetinary and she's to go to Trinity.

T322: I think it's important to find different ways of working together and community support together. Future communities. Not us, we're nearly at the end of it. It's important that young people work together and systems put in place to help them grow together.

T350: Encourage and promote it. Not our generation, maybe your generation or maybe your children's. By the time you get to that, if we've all been working together and there's that really seamless North/South thing. Because at that point then having something like a united Ireland at that point is no big deal. It's actually irrelevant then.

T317: Exactly.

Few: Exactly.

Moderator: T322 mentioned about the North South Ministerial Council, to what extent do you feel informed about what the North South Ministerial Council actually is? Had you heard about it before you came in today?

T350: Yes.

T330: No.

T322: I'm not 100% sure on what they do.

T309: Never heard of them to be honest.

T350: I've heard of it but don't know what they do.

T317: Their job is pushing like investment, pushing cross-community, you know businesses working North and South together. It's made a difference.

Moderator: What about guys here, have you heard of it before you came along today?

T340, T309, T325: No

Moderator: Is it something that you'd want to hear more about?

Few: Yes

T350: You'd be more educated.

T330: Surely you should know.

T350: Certainly if they're doing the sorts of things that's bringing people together in a positive way.

T309: I think that should be a mandatory education. People especially my age who are going into the age where you're able to vote and all. I do a bit about Government policies but it's more about legislations in Northern Ireland. It's nothing to do with what the government is about.

T322: I think people remember, and I remember, when the Good Friday Agreement was brought into place, and there was a lot of talk on the TV about the bodies that were being set up and what they were going to do. But after that, it's like everything else in Government, you're not told anything further.

T317: We should be given progress updates

T322: The Government's only going to feed you what they want to feed you and it doesn't matter which Government it is, which country it is, it's all the same.

T330: One side would call it the Good Friday Agreement, the other side would call it the Belfast Agreement, like Derry/Londonderry. The language is so important.

Moderator: I've just had my ten-minute warning, so I'm on the last section now. So, okay, the relations between the Republic of Ireland and Great Britain now we want to think about. So how do you feel the relations are between Great Britain and the Republic of Ireland, generally?

T322: At the minute or after Brexit?

Moderator: At the minute.

T322: It's not good.

Moderator: Quite a few of you agree with this?

T350: I would say all things aside, things have been improving though.

T317: It's more approachable where you have the Queen coming to Ireland.

T330: Exactly.

T350: It's amazing.

Moderator: So it was mentioned that Great Britain was dictating to the Republic of Ireland, what does every body think about that?

T317: They probably are to an extent.

T340: They'll mind their own business until it's to do with them

T317: They probably are. Again, they should be asking the people of NI and should be doing what the people of NI have asked for, and ultimately {inaudible} we need to be making the decisions ourselves.

T322: I feel that...

T334: Are Northern Ireland and the UK not separate anyway?

T317: They're separated by the Irish sea.

T334: Something I've seen from growing up, we're in the back end.

T317: We're just the sort of tag-alongs.

T330: We've worked all our lives; we've invested so much...

Moderator: But thinking more specifically about the Republic of Ireland and Great Britain...

T317: I think they're relationship has been good.

T350: But it has been soured slightly.

T330: Oh, yes...

T317: If Brexit goes ahead it'll do more damage.

T322: Like I never thought I'd see the day the Queen was in the South, with the President of Ireland, that was a pipedream. And then it happened. Brexit is pulling them apart.

Moderator: So, basically it had improved massively?

T334: I didn't hear what you'd said

T322: When the Queen was in Ireland, shaking hands with the President and speaking Irish, I never thought in my wildest days I'd ever see that.

T330: There was so much thought into her dress. The shamrock...

T306: It's like speaking Welsh and speaking different languages...

T322: I know, that but it's the fact she tried...

T330: ... It was absolutely brilliant.

Moderator: So, you think that basically it had improved massively, the relations there, but it's been soured now?

T317: Yes.

T322: But we don't know how, we don't know how things are really going?

Moderator: But it's your perception. And do you think it's changed since the referendum?
T317: The tensions are a bit higher. People are a bit more concerned and worried now than what they ever were. People that wouldn't have even been concerned with politics have been awakened. Since Brexit have been wondering what's going to happen to me.

T350: And it's that personal aspect of it that hits people.

Moderator: Again, the politicians in the Republic of Ireland and the MPs in Westminster, do you think their relations have changed?

T317: No, not really, but I think they will change.

T330: I think there's generally been an improvement, generally.

T317: I think they're still, I think if Brexit goes ahead...

T350: It might be a wee setback.

T317: ... They're there, we're here and we're going backwards, you know. One thing we do know is we won't forget it.

T350: And there'll be all the, you know, you're going to have to pay for that, you're going to have to pay for that.

T317: See this is it.

T350: It's going to cause all sorts of friction.

T317: For taxes and all that there.

T350: It's a minefield.

T330: Pensions and the health service and support and everything.

Moderator: So, it's really going to be about ...

T317: Pressures of Brexit and the relationship is going to be put under a lot more pressure

Moderator: And do you think the idea of a hard border will affect how that relationship will go?

Few: Yeah, definitely.

Moderator: Okay, and do you think there's any way relationships between Great Britain and the Republic of Ireland can be improved?

T317: If they keep all the channels and negotiations open.

T330: It depends who we vote for.

T345: I think with the South, if they play a very helpful role in Brexit, then on the other side of it, then yes it will go down very well. But if it's a more of an unhelpful role, it won't.

Moderator: Okay, and what would be a helpful role T345?

T345: I suppose in terms of the trade deal, they want to get within the EU 27, you know, supporting that kind of trade deal. It won't go down very well if they're not or whatever. I

think the original thought was that the South would be very pro a good trade deal because they do have such good links with the UK.

T317: But again, it depends on what is best for the Irish Government, as well.

T330: They have to look after their own, just like we have to look after our own.

T317: You can't just expect them to scratch your back, for the sake of it.

Moderator: Okay so it's been an improved relationship but it's not really changing. It's not really changed much since Brexit but it could change depending on the outcome of the talks with the EU, and what the agreements are put in place, and as you said T345, if the Irish play a helpful part in trade deals then that might actually improve the relationships between GB and ROI. Okay, had you heard of the British Irish Council before today? I don't know if you realised Brendan mentioned it earlier.

Most: No.

T345: I've heard of it.

Moderator: Okay T345, you've heard of it, what do you know about it?

T345: I think it was just the talking shop that was set-up in the Isle of Man, Jersey and Guernsey. Part of the Good Friday Agreement to keep people happy so we had to have this so it's a talking shop. I don't really know. Maybe there is more to it that I don't know about but that's what I think it is.

Moderator: Okay, so awareness is really low.

T322: Like everything else.

T317: In relations to the powers or whatever we don't really know.

Moderator: Okay so pretty similar to the North South Ministerial Council. There's definition of it in the presentation there, slide 36. It covers a bit about what the British Irish Council actually is.

T350: Well is it our fault or is it their fault that we don't know much about them? You know the way sometimes if you haven't done enough yourself to find out about these things then you can't really blame anyone.

T325: {Inaudible} I just get lost in it sometimes, that's why I just lose interest and I'd just be a bit 'eehhh'.

T330: Well this is it, it's where the information is given out in the programme. The programme would probably turn you off before you even start. Before you even go there, you're not even going to watch the programme, or read the newspaper.

Moderator: Yeah, it gives the definition there.

T322: You'd think when people were making the name of this they'd look at the initials and go hang on, that's a pen.

Moderator: Okay so what do you think about the idea of that and the idea of what their role is? Do you think that that's important? Do you think they should be doing that? Do you think there's a need for them?

T330: Well we don't know what they do so I don't know.

T350: And how often do they do it? How often do they get together? What have they achieved?

T330: And do they have a power or?

T350: You know, you would imagine that they have aims and goals, and you'd be able to measure what they're aims, and goals are. Have they met any of them? Can they demonstrate their usefulness in any way by saying we did this; we did that? We don't know.

T306: It was setup in 1998 and we don't know much about it.

17-082027 QUB Deliberative Event						
Group 4 Transcription						

Participant ID	Gender	Age	Social class	Region	Community background	Vote in EU Referendum
T403	Male	45-59	ABC1	Belfast City	Protestant	Leave
T408	Female	60+	ABC1	Belfast City	Protestant	Leave
T416	Female	30-44	ABC1	Greater Belfast	Protestant	Did Not Vote
T418	Female	45-59	C2DE	Greater Belfast	Protestant	Leave
T423	Male	60+	C2DE	Co. Down	Protestant	Leave
T428	Male	18-29	C2DE	Co. Armagh	Neither	Leave
T433	Male	18-29	ABC1	Co. Fermanagh	Protestant	Leave
T438	Male	18-29	ABC1	Co. Derry	Catholic	Remain
T443	Female	30-44	ABC1	Co. Derry	Protestant	Leave
T449	Female	30-44	ABC1	Co. Antrim	Catholic	Remain

MORNING

Moderator: Good Morning, my name is Ken Bishop, I'm from Ipsos and I'm going to be moderating this table. I will go through very quickly, about 5 minutes, what's going to happen before we go into the questions itself. I'll introduce myself first of all. I'm here just to help discussion. I hope you feel relaxed in what we're doing. I'm going to go round the table and if you could introduce yourself just again and move on this is to help us. I know you have already talked, I know that, but if you could just introduce yourself.

T423: I'm T423.

T438: I'm T438.

T416: I'm T416.

T449: T449.

T428: T428.

Moderator: Okay, thank you very much. As I say, the point of this is there's different people and different backgrounds round this table and try to respect each other's views. What we're going to do now is, we're going to go through a series of four questions. It's going to be 10 minutes for each of the questions, some I will be asking you each individually for a short response, others will be opened up for a wider discussion but the important thing to remember is that you relax. I know at the start it feels just a wee bit awkward or different, but I think as we get into this, we'll go through what we are doing. So the first question I want to ask and I'll go round individually and this question is what, if anything, do you think the

implication will be for NI if the UK leaves the EU? So, I wonder if we go round each person, just give me your top of mind thought. So the question again is, what, if anything, do you think the implications will be for NI if the UK leaves the EU? T428, we'll start with yourself then go round. Top of head thoughts?

T428: Very uncertain. I think, Theresa May, there's a lot of, you never really know what's going to happen. I guess, you can't really call it. Think it's a bad thing, the likes of she herself thought that there was strong support for the Conservatives, then she had another election, and then ended up losing a lot of seats. So I don't know, like, it was something that was completely out there and for herself, so I think, ideally I'd want NI to have some sort of special status but I don't think it will.

Moderator: Thank you very much. The question there you were asked was what, if anything, do you think the implications will be for NI if the UK leaves the EU? Again, just your top thoughts on that?

T408: I'm not really sure of what the implications are because you're hearing from one side to the other side. I don't want to see any sort of hard border but at the same time, I think that there should be something there. But I think, I just swayed between one way or another.

Moderator: Okay, any thoughts then on the financial implications or the way people do business or movement, does that?

T408: I would like to see movement much the same as it is. Though I do feel, that there has to be some sort of checks or maybe on trade, but general movement of people I think should be pivotal.

Moderator: Okay, we'll move onto T433 then. So, your top thoughts?

T433: Again, it's a crass answer, but the implications, there is obviously going to be implications especially when it comes to the border and probably, hopefully not, with the people. But there will be implications as far as {inaudible} and maybe, {inaudible}..... but there will be implications as far as I'm aware.

Moderator: Okay, T418, your thoughts?

T418: I think there is some, I'm just not too sure either way, I'm not really 100% clued into it. I do think that we will need cameras. Obviously, I'd like to see police officers or soldiers back on the border but I do think we need something to just stop people coming back and forth completely. Obviously, I don't really know about the ins and outs of the rest of it, at the minute I'm just going by hearsay, but I think the way Brussels takes to do with our money and stuff like that will be less and so you know, obviously it depends on the people what way this turns out. One day it's something, the next it's something else. I don't know what way we'll end up.

Moderator: Okay, and yourself T449, what's your sort of top thoughts on this topic? The question again is what, if anything, do you think the implications will be for NI if the UK leaves the EU?

T449: For the NI people, any change in legislation at all there is going to be, administration, new rules, new regulations, new policies and that's going to impact me going on holiday, that's going to impact where I go on a holiday, that's going to be another 6 internet sites I'm going to have to visit to get something done before I go. If I was a business owner, I'd be very worried because there's going to be massive implications for them in time constraints, money constraints. It's what the majority voted for so we have to accept whatever comes and go with it.

Moderator: Okay, one of the implications you mentioned was financial implications. Do you see any political implications?

T449: They're all one. One links with another links with another. Yes, financial implications, time constraints, red tape, whole lot of new policies and procedures we need to learn and adhere to.

Moderator: Thank you, T449. And T443, if I ask your quick thoughts on this one?

T443: I know this is the wrong thing, but I think whatever comes I think we just have to go with it whatever they decide. You know, it's really one person's decision at the end of the day.

Moderator: Any of your thoughts on the economic or political implications?

T443: No not really.

Moderator: Okay, thank you, T443, for that. T403, what's your thoughts?

T403: It's uncertain, as everyone is saying. Basically, I see it as a no brainer. You're paying two countries £50m a week and what we're getting out of it is less than £250m. And the European continent, or the thing, is trading at a loss like everything else in the world. So the whole world is there for us to trade but we're being told who to trade with. And they're already queuing up to trade with us, like, China or America, you know people like that. The rest of the world is there to trade with, it's a no brainer for me. I think it's a good thing.

Moderator: You're on, T416.

T416: To be honest, I'm not 100% sure about any of it. There's pros and cons like everything on both sides so a lot of uncertainty as with any change. It's going to have good points and bad points so we'll have to wait and see what happens and hope we get the best deal for all concerned. It's a bit middle of the road, wishy washy, but that's what has happened the whole way along. I just don't, what I don't want to see, is to go back to the good old days or the bad old days because there's going to be absolutely no future in that and I want to make life as easy as possible to move from one to another without putting, going back in time, we go down that road.

Moderator: Okay, thank you, T416. And T438, what's your thoughts?

T438: The thing that's weird about this table is that everyone is just uncertain of how life's going to be, that's very obvious.

Moderator: and the uncertainty, is that because of the information coming through?

T438: It's just the way the mood's been. Overall, either way there's going to be implications. The movement of people, or the movement of goods but that's the way it's going to be. We're going to have to get up and deal with it. The best outcome is to meet the middle of the road, but time will tell.

Moderator: Okay, T423, what's your thoughts on this?

T423: My thoughts are that I've learnt more this morning than I've learnt since the whole Brexit thing started. With the lack of information and misinformation, I've no hard facts. I think that some sort of agreed settlement on this matter has to be arrived at both between ourselves and the euro countries who seem to be laying down all these laws and regulations and dictating as usual. But they are going to have to soften their stance a little bit too and

negotiate because after all this is going to have to be negotiated and I don't think that we should be bribing them too.

Moderator: Okay, I'm just conscious of time here. What we've been asked to do for each of these questions is to report back at the end of this session with the sort of key thoughts or ideas that were said. I'm taking from what we were saying here, was that, you know, we can say as a group, that we're still not too sure how it's going to really pan out. There's a lot of uncertainty and that can be a good or that can be a bad thing and the point was also made about information and some good information especially from the university on what's going on. Okay, thank you for that session. So what we're going to do now is I'm going to go to the second question, again, it's only 10 minutes. This one is going to be more, I'm going to ao round individually and ask people to contribute as they feel appropriate. The question, again, refers to slide 6 in your presentation if you just want to have a look at that. It's very small in the middle, it's a list of possible outcomes of the Brexit process. My question here is, what, if any of these, would be your preferred outcome of the Brexit negotiations? And what I want you to do is ask you to tease out why you prefer this outcome and why it is different to the other options. So I'm very conscious that for some, this is their first time having to be up front and having to work through this, so I'll just through the question out as what, if any of these, is your preferred outcome of the Brexit negotiations? And if I start with the first one, that is UK leaves the EU. What's people's thoughts of that? The first one?

T433: I personally think that if we're leaving, we should leave it all. I do understand that, I would like to see a customs union, but at the end of the day, I don't think it's going to be possible especially if the republic is in a customs union with the rest of Europe. It's just not feasible. NI could come into it, but I think we're segregating ourselves from the rest of GB which is our customs trade partner so overall, personally for me, I think we should leave the union.

Moderator: Any other opinions on that first one?

T423: Yes, I think if we're going we all have to go. Whether you want to or not, I don't see that we can be split up or fragmented up.

Moderator: what about the next option which is UK leaves the EU, but stays in some elements of the EU such as single Market and/or the customs union. Again, slide 12 in your pack is another option.

T403: Basically, you're still having to deal with their odds. Basically, the vote was for the UK, do you want to remain or leave, and that was a once in a lifetime vote. Know what I mean, there's no add-ons. It's a two-way thing, trade – they need us as much as we need them.

Moderator: Does anyone else prefer that option, or? Let's look at the third option here, which is GB leaves the EU but NI stays in some elements of the EU such as the single Market and/or the customs union. So the first one is saying that the UK will stay with for example, the single Market and customs, what I'm asking here is does anyone prefer this option for NI would stay with the single market and the customs?

T423: No, I think that if we move out, if the UK leaves, we all have to.

T438: It's complicated.

T416: We're segregated.

T449: We're too small.

T433: There's a pro to that as well, like, especially if we stay, we bring businesses that were going to move to Dublin, would be able to move to NI and still be a part of the UK in some sense but are not then segregated from the rest of the EU. So I guess that's a special case for NI to make a profit out of that but then again, we are segregating ourselves.

T438: It's really complicated.

Moderator: Yes, T449.

T449: I'm assuming that we can negotiate that we are still linked to the EU and we're still linked to the UK. That's no major changes, it's wonderful. Is that an option?

T428: That's more of an idealistic thing.

T449: is that a possibility within any of those options? T416: It's a lazy option.

T438: It would be option 2 in that sense.

T423: Yes, but them two would have to come together

T449: Is that a possibility? So if you vote to leave, remind me because I don't follow this now, was majority vote in NI to stay overall.

T423: Yes, the decision was to stay.

T403: Yeah, but it was an United Kingdom's decision to vote.

T449: Yes, but this is me asking about NI and where we live, and the majority vote was to stay?

T423: Yes, that's right T449, yes.

T449: So if we could have the best of both worlds, that would be wonderful, but I don't think were a big enough island or nation to dictate.

T433: The thing is, if we do stay in the customs union or single Market, we are isolating ourselves from the rest of the world essentially, we're not really, that's not really benefitting us. If we're leaving, we're benefitting ourselves to trade with other countries.

Moderator: Okay, T433.

T433: For example, there was a big trade deal with Canada but it fell through because a tiny place in Belgium didn't want it to happen, everyone else agreed but because they didn't.

T428: Correct me if I'm wrong, but in the EU it has to be a unanimous decision.

T449: So we can't trade to Canada?

T433: We can, but it's not in the free trade.

Moderator: Okay, we're going to look at the other option here to see whether you prefer this or why you prefer this. The option D is GB leaves the EU but NI stays in the EU.

T449: So GB is Britain?

T423: Yes.

T449: So it puts the border in the Irish sea, which brings on whether there's a border there or a border there and which is best for NI

Moderator: Thanks, T449. Anyone else? I mean, T418 have you any thoughts on this?

T416: It would be crazy, if that style came along.

T449: If there's the choice of two borders you pick the best one.

T416: Yes, work with one.

T438: I personally don't want the one on the road. See, for example, I know this sounds a bit far-fetched but half my family is from the south and half my family is from the north, and the last thing that I bloody want is to go across the border with my passport to visit my granny. T416: I think constitutionally, I think that's the only way it can work. That's the border and it has to be as soft as possible.

Few: Agree.

T433: A lot of people in Derry or live in Derry work in Donegal. Imagine having to go to work every morning with your passport. Just to go to work like, you know.

Moderator: Go ahead, T428.

T428: Currently, in Gibraltar, you have to use your passport to cross over even though they are both EU countries. For example, Croatia and Hungary, the have to use passports.

Moderator: Okay, so, to bring to the final question here to sum up or try to make a consensus of what we're saying here. Option E, the UK as a whole stays in the EU.

T418: No.

T423: That's not what the people voted for.

T428: Even if you voted remain, at the end of the day it's a democratic vote and has to be accepted.

T416: Yes.

T428: So, I don't think it's an option, and if it's an option it should be countrywide.

T449: This has been such an informative day for me because I honestly don't follow it enough.

T418: I think if you were a business person you would be more clued in because this is really going to affect your life.

Moderator: Again, I'm going to start feedback where we can, a consensus of the group and what we can say back. What we are saying is, the vote has happened, and we don't believe that the UK, because of the vote, the UK's not going to be part of the EU and that's really the outcome, that separation, there's going to be some variance about that separation and what that means. The election says the UK leaves the EU, we say okay, but with elements like the single T433 and the customs union, with the UK or special for NI, is that still an issue that needs to be understood more or just out is out?

T403: Out's out

Moderator: Okay. Thank you very much for that. So, what we'll do now is, we'll go back to the next question on the list. It's about ten minutes and there's a number of questions here and I'll throw them out generally to everyone around the table. What I'm looking for here is your thoughts on each of these questions. So, the first one is if a hard border was to be created between NI and the ROI, what do you think that might be like? In other words, what would that be?

T403: Hard border?

Moderator: Yes, so if a hard border was to be created between NI and the ROI, what do you think that might be? Yes, T403.

T403: Stopping people all the time.

T433: Is it a hard border between people or between customs? Because at the end of the day, if it's a hard border, there's no reason for it to be a hard border between people because we are not in the Schengen zone, neither is the ROI, which is the free movement of the people and so if someone comes into Ireland they go through passport controls and then they can travel freely into NI and vice versa, between Scotland and wales, but then if it is a hard border between customs, then realistically then lorries are going to have to be checked.

Moderator: Thank you T433, I just want to bring some thoughts in. T416, any thoughts on this?

T416: I wouldn't want to see it; I wouldn't want to see a hard border. It depends what you mean if it's a hard border. If it's between movement of transport, yes it mightn't be as bad in the eyes of people. I think the problem is when you're going to be stopping individual people like travelling to see family or take the humanity part of it.

Moderator: This is to add on top, looking at the bigger group here, what type of controls would you see at this hard border?

T423: Well I don't feel that it needs to be like that. I think there needs to be a hard border, but I think those pictures are dramatizing it. If it is set up properly, there is no reason why it has to be run by police and army. There's border security control that can run it and proper facilities set up.

T433: I'm only 25, so the only difference is that's not a customs check, that's literally just a security check. That's the way it was.

T423: That's the way it was, yes. It doesn't need to go back to that.

Moderator: Let me interrupt there and we'll move on to the next question. Thank you very much for the contributions.

T433: Sorry.

Moderator: No, you're okay T433. How would you feel about the creation of a hard border between NI and the ROI and why?

T403: I don't think anyone wants a hard border, we want a soft border, we want it policed some way like.

T416: It needs to police whatever it is set up to police.

T403: and, it needs to be not only NI having to police it, but it has to be police from the republic as well.

T423: Oh, yes.

T403: Know what I mean, not just us. It works both ways like.

T428: It used to be, my granny told me, that to cross the border, you were never checked but if you were transporting long transport, there were always custom checks.

Moderator: Okay, moving on slightly then, how do you think the people would react if there was a hard border put in place?

T416: It would cause a lot of problems. It could cause PTSD for some people.

T449: They wouldn't see it as serving the purpose, they would almost see it as a back to the future. Back to the past.

T403: With a bit of the future thrown in.

T449: I think it would simply be, people like, T438 and his family, I think it would be a terrible thing for them to have seen previously. Even if it's representing customs, I think it would represent a totally different thing to people. I wouldn't see it where I live.

Moderator: Okay, T449.

T443: I think it's unfair for people living in those areas.

Moderator: Maybe an add-on to get it opened up to the wider group again, to what extent do you think protests might occur because of a hard border?

T423: For a while and then they'd get over it.

T433: I'm from Fermanagh and live ten minutes from the border and for us, a lot of people do feel very strongly about the border obviously because we see it every day, like I cross the border to get fuel every day. That for us is quite hard, we don't want to see a hard border in that sense. Again, I'm the same, I have family across the border and if I couldn't see them it would be T4160ying. But it's still in our mind sets because of the security checks. I don't really remember them but the borders still there and in our heads the border is still there anyway.

Moderator: let me expand this slightly and say what specifically do you think would make people protest about this issue? Why would people want to protest?

T428: To get rid of it.

T423: For the hold ups, it would cause a hassle.

T433: Time.

Moderator: Yes, T418.

T418: People see it as another threat as well.

T449: Yes, as a threat, in many ways.

T418: Yes, we live where we live.

T408: It's like constantly being monitored or watched.

Moderator: Thanks, T408. I've wrote down a wee bit more detail in this one. The last question, what kind of protesting do you think might occur? I've an example here, like peaceful demonstrations, protestors blocking traffic, vandalism of border technology, violence against the persons, would you see any of those?

T438: I can see vandalism because even on the main road there from Derry to Belfast and you've even the Londonderry sign scored out, so what's the chances of a camera getting grafittied over, sure it's just another item to destroy like.

T428: The only thing is, I don't think the last one is possible, we've all seen violence of some shape or form and we don't want to see violence against people. Well I don't. As much as it happens, I don't think it will go back to violence. It won't be supported if it does. Possibly vandalism.

Moderator: We've got two more to go through in this session. What levels of support do you think there would be among the general public for such protests? You know, we talked about the different types of protest, do you think this would be something the public in general would support?

T423: It would be very isolated.

T449: I fear it might gain momentum as the vigil becomes more pertinent to people. It happens, and I think when it happens it could manifest itself in something as it becomes spotlight and will become visual what the outcome is.

T443: it's very hard to say.

T449: I think those protests and whatnot will happen depending on the hard element.

Moderator: Thanks, T449. Leading onto the last question of this section leading up to round the table, do you think protests would be effective? Why/why not?

T449: I don't know.

T438: They never do

T449: I think it'll make people notice it

T433: it depends how the political parties back it.

T423: who are the protests going to be against? Are they going to be against us for setting it up but what about is it going to be a joint thing set up with the south as well because they're going to be part of the EU so who are the protests against?

Moderator: Okay then, teasing out whether you think these protests would be effective, why/why not, any other comments at the table? Following on from what T433 said there? Okay, again, T449.

T449: Again, I think it depends on how it pans out to the general person who is taking absolutely no interest currently. I also think with an EU border, it opens up a black Market and that's going to impact, that there's going to be oh all this has been lifted, like diesel, a web of cigarettes, you know all this, I don't know, I don't look into it enough to know what the

black Market is going to look like. But that border and the security between north and south is going to depend on what that outcome is and this is going to increase the number protests.

T433: It's hard to answer.

Moderator: Okay, thank you. As we did with the other two previously, what can we say is our summation of the group of the tables viewpoints here. I mean, we agree that nobody wants a hard border. Nobody wants a return to the past and certainly regarding protests, if there were protests they'd be short-lived and they would be isolated. And, that a sum of what you're saying, is that okay? That nobody wants a hard border, no return to the past and if there were protests they would probably be more around vandalism but they'd probably be more short-lived. Is that correct to say? Okay, thank you very much for your patience, you understand we're running at a certain pace here and whilst I'm more familiar with this {inaudible}, thank you for your patience with this. So again, we have ten minutes to look at this next question and the next question is around looking at the views of a hard border between NI and GB. So the first question, again, open up to the general table is if a hard border was to be created between NI and GB, what do you think that might be like? How would you envisage that?

T438: You're held up enough at airports so an extra ten minutes and what else.

T423: I think it's hypothetical because it won't happen.

T428: I couldn't see it happening.

T433: No, I couldn't see it happening.

T433: I fly a lot, I can't see it happening, but if you fly into Dublin you have to go through customs and passport control.

Moderator: Okay then, lets stand back a wee bit more and ask how would you feel about the creation of a hard border between NI and GB and why? Now my first question asked if a hard border was to be created between NI and GB, what do you think that might be like? And you were just saying about transport control and goods or whatever, but this next question is asking what would you feel about this creation of a hard border between NI and GB?

T416: I don't think it would be accepted at all. Now you're talking about big trouble maybe between the north and the south of the border. I think there would be more trouble more than that was created because we are in the constitution part of the UK.

T433: The likes of particularly Scotland, I have friends over there who are studying who are from here, and I think for a non-UK/EU citizen it is only $\pounds1,250$ a year tuition fees otherwise it would be 9k if you live in the UK. England its 9k no matter what. So I think that would be complicated because we would still be treated as a UK country but a non-UK/EU country because there's a hard border between them. It's my friends studying. Here, they can still be because if you have an Irish passport you can get EU fees.

Moderator: if I put a wee bit further in here, how do you think people who are against the creation of a hard border between NI and GB would react if one was created?

Few: Angry.

T428: It would probably be a lot worse than if there was one between the south.

T418: Because it's never happened before.

T428: Our politicians can't come to agreement on the simplest of things never mind on something so bespoke as this.

T433: This doesn't mean it will just be here, it could spread across the water into {inaudible}.

Moderator: Okay, well we're going into our last question about protests. To what extent do you think protests might occur?

T416: I'd say they're more likely to occur.

Few: More likely.

Moderator: and specifically, do you think people would make most protest, sorry what specifically do you think would make people protest for this issue?

T423: The delays.

T449: What sorry?

T423: The delays

T443: Added cost.

T416: I think it's all finance at the end of the day, it will all filter down even for people like me. Once anything happens, and once it hits your own pocket, then you will sit up and you will take note.

T443: And not until then to be honest.

Moderator: and in symmetry to the previous question, it had a list of types of protest, you know, the petitions, writing signatures, peaceful demonstrations, you begin to find what those would look like, protestors blocking traffic, vandalising border technology and violence against persons. I mean does anyone see any of those?

T416: It could be like Calais.

Moderator: In what way?

T416: It could start of, I can't think of the word for it, it could start off a more constructive approach but at the end, it's just something that could totally destroy everything if they do that. It could end up as a more volatile situation.

T433: It could be more of a chance I say vandalising things, it won't be violence towards people {inaudible}.

Moderator: Thanks, T433, yes.

T433: It could be more like vandalising things, like in the day what they did with transport. I say people would be heavily involved in the transport {inaudible}.

Moderator: Similar to the previous question, what level of support do you think there would be among the general public for such protests? Do you think this protest would be supported?

T433: Not to an extreme extent, I doubt many people would be happy about it but I don't think many people would support other people going to extremes.

T423: But that could happen on both sides of the border, because it's been negotiated. If there's protests and people are against it here, it's going to affect people in the south of Ireland too coming over. And don't forget, their government has been part of the negotiations and it their government has negotiated so it could be quite likely both sides.

Moderator: Okay, so this is the final wee question in this section here. Do you think protests will be effective? Why/why not?

T423: No.

Moderator: Why not?

T423: Because it's already been done. It's been agreed between the UK and the EU.

Moderator: What way do you feel about that?

T433: It depends what way again, it's different with our border in the Irish ocean or Irish sea because it's no longer affecting NI and the ROI, its affecting England, Scotland, Wales and NI, so it depends whether the protests relate to this island or {inaudible}, it's on the mainland and they're not used to it. {inaudible}, second class citizens in some places.

Moderator: Okay, I think I've finished that section, and again I'm trying to get some summation of what was said there so the question was the views on a hard border between NI and GB and first thing I picked up on was there was that would not be acceptable, and what other points would you talk about? We talked about the no hard border between NI and GB. And what about the protests then? You think there would be more likely to be protests and the nature of those protests, what nature are they likely to be?

T403: Violent.

Moderator: Do you think so, T403? What about everyone else?

T433: Not sure about violence, definitely vandalism. As it is there's vandalism on the border so probably just like that but worse.

T403: People see it politically as well; people would see us as cut off from the UK.

T449: You can't {inaudible}....

T433: The hard border or soft border, the soft border would be far less than the hard border.

T418: They'll say it's to the fairies.

Moderator: Okay, I think, just to summarise then, as far as reporting back, as far as the implications of Brexit, what if anything did we think the implications would be for NI? And we said that there was a lot of uncertainty around it, didn't we? And we said that it would be really, the uncertainty is good and it's bad, information was inadequate as well. And then we went to the next question which was views on a hard border between, sorry actually preferred outcomes if you like to all of Brexit was the next question, and we sort of said well the referendum has happened and its waiting to see what that information comes out as it unfolds, and brings us back to the information point where there's uncertain around information around notations. The third question then was views on the hard border between NI and ROI, and again we said that nobody wants a hard border or a return to the past. That

if there were protests they would be short-lived and be more vandalism than anything else and this would just be where it is, I suppose. The fourth question on the hard border between NI and GB, we said that it wouldn't be acceptable and it would lead to protests and it depends on your views what these protests could actually be. Okay, look, thank you very much for that section.

AFTERNOON

Moderator: Okay, welcome back everyone. Same format as the last time, four sections, really ten minutes. I'll start off with our quick fire round which is round the table, we've got two questions so we'll go in one direction and then we'll go in the other direction and again we'll get everyone's opinion on that. So, the first question we have here is on the current political situation in NI, so what implications, if any, do you think the lack of NI government will have on the outcome of the negotiations between the UK and the EU? I'll say it again, what implications, if any, do you think the lack of NI government will have on the outcome of the negotiations between the UK and the EU? And if I start with yourself then T423.

T423: So, I think you're referring to the assembly not operating at the minute. Personally I don't think, whether it's operating or not, it will make much difference with regard to our input into Brexit.

Moderator: Okay. T438, will it make a difference?

T438: No.

Moderator: T416.

T416: I'm not sure, to be honest. I know that, well I feel like it makes a difference if there's absolutely no government here, and that, for example, I'm talking about experience from where I work, I'm talking about pay rises here which everybody wants, the pay rise in the company that I work in, it was sitting for over a year because there's been absolutely no one to sign off on the papers that were put forward.

Moderator: Okay, T416. Moving onto T403.

T403: It makes no difference at all. It doesn't when they've got their own time to go into negotiations and talk about the EU so they have.

Moderator: So it makes no difference? T443?

T443: I don't think it will make a difference.

Moderator: T449?

T449: The UK government is propped up somehow by the DUP.

T428: {inaudible} because of the DUP.

T449: But surely the key people that need to be there, are there although it is probably onesided political viewpoint that they're putting forward. Sinn Fein don't sit anyway so they can't put their viewpoint forward. So I think, so I don't think Stormont not being there makes a difference.

Moderator: Doesn't make a difference, T418?

T418: I don't think it makes a difference whether they're in or out.

Moderator: Okay, T433?

T433: I'm going to have to disagree with the general consensus. I think the fact we don't have a running government is a huge implication. We're sitting in a country that's realistically a back post by the border and everything and the fact we don't, okay we have the DUP in the deal with the Conservatives, and let's be real, even if you don't like them, it's great in this situation, we need everyone's political background in NI to be spoken for.

Moderator: Okay, let's move onto T408.

T408: I don't think it makes a change.

Moderator: Okay, so the next question, again, quick fire, starting with T428, considering the UKs decision to leave the EU, do you think there should be changes to how the power-sharing government is set up in NI and why? Again, first top of head thought. Okay, considering the UKs decision to leave the EU, do you think there should be changes to how the power-sharing government is set up in NI and if you believe there should be changes, why?

T428: I think so. Not really in terms of structure, but the things that they do. What the governments to do. Because you've got that North South Council, I guess, that's going on at the minute and you can't really have that if we leave the EU, maybe. There's not really, {inaudible} If we're completely out of the EU, there's not really a point in discussions in a non-EU body with an EU-body.

Moderator: Okay, thanks for that. Okay, T433?

T433: Yes, I think it needs to change. The way the government in this country runs needs to change full stop, and in relation to Europe it needs to change as well.

Moderator: And is that in relationship to Brexit you're referring to, negotiations?

T433: Yes, that's referring to Brexit. Obviously, there's loads of new implications that are brought forward with that and so, our government needs to change how it works with that.

Moderator: Okay, T418, what's your thoughts? Do we need to change how power-sharing government works?

T418: I don't think the government is doing that much for us anyway. If I had anything to do with it, I'd have them all sacked so I would. I don't think it will make any difference no matter what way its run. {inaudible}.

Moderator: Okay, T449?

T449: I think that they should use it as a catalyst to change it because it's not working.

Moderator: T443?

T443: what was the question again?

Moderator: considering the UKs decision to leave the EU, do you think there should be changes to how the power-sharing government is set up in NI?

T443: Yes, I think there should be changes but to what is another story.

Moderator: T403?

T403: I sort of agree with T449. I think something needs done with our power-sharing but basically not just because we're leaving the EU, just generally.

T449: But, I don't know what that is.

T403: Yeah.

T449: I don't know what would make it work. You know like, there's talks, hokey-pokey and people coming in and out. I mean it was very interesting but I don't know what.

T403: What I'd do, see like big issues, say Irish language act or gay rights and things like that there, every five years, put it to a public vote with about six questions or whatever, the public go yes or no, yes or no, comes down to the public vote and whatever it is that's it in.

Moderator: Okay, I'm going to pass it to T416.

T416: I agree with T418. It's never worked and I don't see any changes happening. So it does need to change, but whether it happens or not, it probably, it will basically have no impact on Brexit, I think no.

T428: It just needs to change in general.

Moderator: T423.

T423: Not any changes in the way it's set up. The only thing is I think that no one political party should have the right to pull the plug on things just because it suits their own agenda.

Moderator: Okay, thank you for that one. Again if I could get a sense of a summary of what we're saying in this first question was that regarding the implications of, lack of government having an impact on negotiations, does it make a difference, and the second point of do we need power-sharing and government to change. However, how it happens we don't

know. I think that's, do we all agree on what we're saying there? Okay, we all agree on change, whenever. Whenever, whatever.

T443: We still have the two bigger parties; I think that needs more spread out.

T408: You'll never get it.

Moderator: Okay, if we move swiftly onto the next question here that's even longer, forgive me, this is going to be a bit more of a paced approach than the other questions. It's another quick fire round they call it. Considering the UKs decision to leave the EU, what do you think of the idea of having a referendum on whether NI should remain in the United Kingdom or reunify with the rest. Thoughts?

T428: I don't think at this time, there's too much going on.

T449: There's too much going on.

T428: There's too much political instability and economic instability. Not right now.

T449: Because we're more focused on that.

T423: I don't think people could wrap their heads round that at the minute, there's enough going on. We'll cross one bridge at a time.

T418: does it have an impact on what people in NI, what would be best in relation to everything we talked about today?

Moderator: Keeping to the subject of Brexit, the original question says concerning the UKs decision to leave the EU, what do you think of the idea of having a referendum on whether NI should remain in the United Kingdom or reunify with the rest of Ireland. So, is there pros and cons of having a referendum?

T443: If there was an informed vote and everybody was going into it with information that would best suit hard borders between the Irish sea and the UK

T449: If it was an economic situation

T443: people need to go into that fully informed, it's not political of you want to be Irish or you want to be British, it's about Brexit. This referendum is about Brexit and what's best for NI. It might benefit. But I agree with the general consensus that now is not the right time. But if we don't do it now, then people, you know what I'm saying?

T418: I think that in the future it will be done.

T403: It probably will.

T423: I don't think that people could separate the two at the minute.

T443: We couldn't, I think you're right. If it was about Brexit, but I don't think that people could see it that way.

T423: Yes, because.

Moderator: Okay, taking it a bit further at this stage, do you think that your own views on the referendum have changed since the UKs decision to leave the EU? The question again, has

your own views on the referendum, that is to remain in the UK or reunify with the rest of Ireland, changed since the UKs decision to leave the EU?

T433: Mine's probably has changed. Personally, I'm not the hugest fan of the idea of a united Ireland because I've known NI to be NI, that's the way I was raised. But, it's probably actually got stronger since we left the EU. I don't want to be part of a united Ireland because I don't particularly anymore want to be part of Europe either. Whereas, just before the vote I'd only just got back from Australia so I didn't really know the vote and my opinion has changed.

Moderator: Okay, then this is another, do you feel that you know enough about what a united Ireland would look like in order to make an informed choice?

T443: No.

T423: No. Again, a lack of information.

Moderator: Then, next question is, what information should be provided before such a referendum? What kind of information should be provided before such a referendum to stay within the EU?

T433: what government would it be? Would we have a separate government from the rest of Ireland or would we be run from Dublin? Like who is going to rule?

Moderator: And what do you think this information should come from?

T433: An independent body.

T428: Yeah, like a third party.

T433: Not like the yes/no campaign, it needs to be an independent body. Not funded by anyone.

T449: The voice of the people on the streets then.

Moderator: And again, I think you answered this question here, the question about the referendum again, looking at a referendum to remain in the UK or reunify with the rest of Ireland, when should it be, I think we answered that question, we said the time's not right. Is that what we agreed at the start? We've got a few more minutes here, I'm just thinking around, what about the issue of protection of rights? Should that be included in the discussion around this referendum?

T449: It should be because I know nothing about it.

T433: Do you mean, like, Europe Rights?

Moderator: Yes.

T449: It should be absolutely.

T433: At the end of the day, since we've been in Europe, we've known the human rights and that's necessarily all good, but every single detail has to be discussed to a high value. Not just like, oh we don't know the answers so we're not telling you.

T449: would our human rights improve?

T433: It depends what {inaudible}.

Moderator: Okay, so on question of protection of rights, again that's back to this question of information. Is that what we're saying?

Few: Agree.

Moderator: and timing? Is it then two come together? So I'm looking to again summarise this section here, the question was looking at the views of a referendum regarding the unification of Ireland and we're saying not at this time, but it needs to be an informed vote and again around the question of have people's views of a referendum changed, what the majority of have said that it hasn't changed, but a few changes but again that comes from misinformation, comes from available and again the question of the protection of rights, what we're saying again here is it's a question of timing and of information. The thoughts on this question are really timing and information. So, are people content with that? Again, thank you for listening. Again, I am conscious, maybe I should tease out a wee bit more around, I'll go back in a second. I'll move on. The next question, question three, is in relation to the relationship between NI and the ROI and the question is how do you feel relations between NI and the ROI are, generally speaking? As a result of the Brexit vote.

T428: The republic are going to see us as a problem that they have to deal with and I don't think they'd want to deal with us right now. I don't think they'd want to do the unify Ireland thing, I think they have enough on their plate like us. So I don't think they would want it.

Moderator: Okay. T449, what's your thoughts on this?

T449: I don't really know too much about it to be honest. {inaudible} Leo Varadkar is good looking.

Few: laughter

Moderator: Leo is a good looker?

T443: He speaks well.

Moderator: you know, generally speaking, the question is asking, you know, how do you feel the relations between NI and ROI, generally speaking, we're saying not much change?

T423: A little bit strained.

T433: Especially now that the Republic seems to be flourishing quite a lot, {inaudible}.

T423: But as usual the republic want to run with the fox and hunt with the hounds, and are trying to toe the official EU line but at the same time, he doesn't know how far he can step it with the UK government.

T433: I think they're doing a lot of damage at the moment to a lot of work and progress that has been done in this country.

Moderator: The question here is; do you think relations have changed since the EU referendum? And T433, you're saying they have.

T433: They have.

Moderator: what do other people think?

T423: They're strained.

T449: They're changing.

Moderator: That's what I'm saying, is it positive or a negative relationship?

T449: It's strained.

T433: Yeah, it's a lot more strained than before

T403: I never notice.

T418: It should become less strained, because they need to talk.

T449: No, they're hands are being tied behind their back by the rest of the EU.

T443: And again it's the Irish government making it hard for NI to stay in.

T433: No, they want NI to stay in.

T423: They want us to stay in.

T433: NI is part of the UK in terms of trade.

Moderator: The question I'm asking, T428, is why you think this relationship has changed and why has it not changed? So, is there any areas you think it's changed in? Ways it hasn't changed, or?

T449: I think NI has changed.

Moderator: Has the relationship? Do you think Brexit has brought out a different kind of relationship? Where are areas of unification, or where are areas they agree with? Where are the areas they disagree with? That's the sort of thing I'm trying to pull out.

T428: That's realistically what should have happened but it doesn't seem to be what's happened. From what I've heard and what I've seen, it just seems to be one side. They're not singing off the same hymn sheet as the saying goes. They're very much different opinions on the matter and I guess that goes politically and where {inaudible}....

T423: With the Irish Republic and the UK, {inaudible} because they thought that nobody is going to be able to walk over them. But if they had have looked at it more clearly and seen the implications, the republic government should have been putting out some advice and some facts and figures as well to the people up here before the vote was taken. When it all comes, it's all just going to be a walk over.

T428: I think the republic have probably realised how damaging it could be for their country. Because, realistically, the UK's its biggest trading partner, so I think that's obviously worrying them and the fact that essentially now, NI could now leave the customs union, is worrying them and causing, I don't know, panic in a sense.

T443: They don't need that border down between the two countries that line. They don't want that.

T428: They really don't.

T423: All sorts of customs checks.

T428: Shocking.

T443: They don't want that border out on the ground.

T428: Especially for the likes of Leitrim, Cavan, Enniskillen in NI.

T423: The border counties.

T428: Especially with shopping, there's nothing else for them.

Moderator: Okay, so, moving on to the post Brexit stage and your views. Do you think relations between NI and the ROI will change if the UK leaves the EU? Before we talked about the current situation, it's the relationship between NI and the ROI around Brexit, some of the strains, some of the issues such as not singing off the same hymn sheet, both wanting different things in terms of the relationship. So that questions done. Brexit has happened. What do you think, then, relationship will change post Brexit? Do you think relationships between the ROI will change if the UK leaves the EU?

T416: Well, I think it will get worse.

T449: Get the heels in, head strong.

T433: How long down the line are you talking? If it was a year or two, I think it might be difficult. {inaudible}... but in 15/20 years' time, it could be a very different situation, and they very much do need each other.

T449: Long time strength in their alliance then.

T433: Ultimately, and I know this could be a little far-fetched, but I could maybe see the Republic having their own referendum, again trade. Money talks and we're a main trade partner at the moment.

T418: I think you'll see after Brexit something to do with trade between the north and the south down the road after all it settles, because it really is a thing for both sides. Tourism, economy, hard borders from just a practical point of view, in time the relationship will be forced to be better.

T418: At the end there will be a referendum as well.

Moderator: So, T403, what do you think about that?

T403: I don't know to be honest.

T418: In time.

T438: I don't care; they have to get on.

T449: They know that themselves, they'll realise that themselves eventually. What's that thing, you can only flog a dead horse so many times before you disrespect any horses? Which would be, them just realising enough is enough.

Moderator: I guess the question is then do you think the relationship between the NI and the ROI can?

T449: Work? Yes eventually.

Moderator: can be improved? Why/why not?

T438: it has to.

T416: it will just take time.

T449: Like everything.

T438: Like they're sitting there 10 years, for example. {inaudible}....

Moderator: so you think there is a relationship there that will change?

T438: It has to go forward.

Moderator: Evolve?

T438: They have to find a common ground to go forward.

T423: I think they can evolve and improve because people get more educated as they go on and then they realise, and the penny starts to drop, so they will evolve over time.

Moderator: Okay, and what way do you think it will evolve? We're talking in the business of evolve and improve here, what way do you think that will see itself? Will that be... {inaudible}?

T423: All sorts of aspects, economically, educationally, like a tourism, everything. It's a small country so we have to work together, sooner or later, whether they realise that.

T433: Look at health. Like, my dad had a big heart operation and he had to go to Dublin to get it. There's no specialists up here. They're going to have to get along, for the likes of Donegal and border counties to access NI health care. Otherwise, if there's a hard border, people won't be able to come to the likes of Altnagelvin to get seen to.

Moderator: Okay, and then referring to just slide 34, the question I'm going to ask is: to what extent do you feel informed to what the North South Ministerial council is?

T403: I haven't a clue?

T403: It makes them look good for both communities, doesn't it? Maybe that's it.

T428: I do know because of it, now the Taoiseach goes to the Enniskillen conference thing because of the bomb, {inaudible} but that's all.

T423: But this council hasn't been meeting for a long time.

T428: 14 months.

T449: Is it because of what's going on in Stormont?

T433: There's no first and deputy first minister, so they can't.

Moderator: so, can you see, what can we say about people's awareness about it, do you know, do you not know about them?

T418: No.

T403: Don't know.

T423: Heard of them but I don't know what their function is.

T433: I understand they talk about, isn't it the Good Friday Agreement, that Ireland needs to have its input on the north. So I guess they talk about things that we're trying to sort out.

Moderator: Okay, so, leave it there. And so, as part of our summary, the question is the relations between NI and the ROI and what we sort of said was that the relations of these had been strained after Brexit, and there was a consensus that these weren't all singing from the same hymn sheet and they are wanting different things so relations will probably get worse after Brexit, and then regarding the long-term future, maybe relations will evolve and improve over time but initially after Brexit mightn't be the case. Then regarding what people are saying round the table about the North South Ministerial Council, yes we've heard of them, what they actually do is a different issue. We understand part of the message, but we're not getting the whole message coming through. Move on to the next section, and again it's a ten-minute section, and we're going to look at the relationship between the ROI and GB. Again, there's a series of questions and we're going to put it round the table. The first question is, how do you feel the relationship is between the ROI and GB, generally speaking? Not so much, just between the two nation states.

T428: It's more focused on talks between the UK and the EU.

T433: Unfortunately for Ireland, for the ROI, unfortunately for them they're being used as a puppet by the EU. To say, the EU is saying we want Ireland, and then Ireland is unfortunately having to throw its fists around straining everything which isn't good for NI and GB and everything else as well.

Moderator: so we're saying that basically, the relationship, like the previous question is strained. We were saying that, is that consensus?

Few: Agree.

Moderator: Okay, moving on slightly, do you think the relations, again this is historically, generally they've been strained anyhow, but then particularly around, do you think relations have changed since the EU referendum? Have they got better or worse?

T423: The relations have changed, yes. Primarily because of the pressure the ROI has been put under by the other 27 countries.

T433: I think it's got worse as well because obviously, NI is like the unwanted kid sometimes.

T403: Yeah, that's exactly it. Neither really wants to have to deal with us

T433: And the fact that we're here is a huge inconvenience to our vote so that's got to be frustrating.

T416: I mean look we can't even agree upon {inaudible}...

T423: If we were just a wee bit more like the west coast the corner of Ireland that broke off. That's very convenient. We could go sit somewhere warmer.

Moderator: Okay, we'll move on then to the next question, of course, is do you think relations between the ROI and GB will change if the UK leaves the EU? So, we've talked about how we see the relationship generally between ROI and GB, we've also talked about how we see the relationship post-referendum and the question to the table is, a little bit more so, around

Brexit, the question here is asking do you think relations between ROI and GB will change post-Brexit?

T403: We'll have to do what were told to do, like, you know leaving the EU.

T433: It also depends where the borders going to be, if the border is in the Irish sea, it will put more strain than if it is on land. Or the laws might change, with, for example, I think this will put a huge strain on the government, the European government on Wednesday abolished summertime.

T449: What do you mean? Changing the clock?

T433: Yes, they won't change the clock anymore in the Republic of Ireland.

T423: when you cross over the border it's going to be a bit mixed up.

T433: They'll be on a different time to us because we change our clocks and what not.

T416: It'll be a different time zone.

T449: So, they're keeping at the minute putting their time forward? It's something to do with the light and where it lays.

Moderator: Just bringing it back to the question here, do you think the relations between the ROI and GB can be improved?

T416: Yes.

Moderator: How and why do you think that will happen?

T428: I think it depends were the ROI goes. Are they going to have stronger ties with us or are they going to have stronger ties to the EU? And if they make stronger ties with us I think it could improve relations in the future.

T403: Britain's a lot of business interests in Ireland, don't they? They had to bail them out remember a few years back there.

T423: The relations between the two are always up and down anyway. So I don't see any reason why it wouldn't continue to be the same. There'll be good times and deteriorated others. But there won't be any lasting points because already the two countries are already so entwined. There are people from the ROI living in the UK and working there and families and vice versa. To me it will just go on the same way down the road.

Moderator: And again, the question is when do you think this might be achieved? Short-term, long-term?

T416: Long.

T428: Yeah, it's long.

Moderator: do you think that's long?

T433: When will it get good?

T428: Choices and variables, like it could improve 5/10 years' time, with Brexit we don't know.

T438: Some of these questions will be interesting after the whole thing pans out. It would make answering it a whole lot easier.

Moderator: so what we're saying here regarding this question, if this is achieved, when this is achieved, there's too many questions and if it starts in the short-term, medium-term, long term it's just hard to know.

T438: Yes, it's just hard to know.

Moderator: Okay, I suppose that takes us to the end of that questions, that section. I'm going to go through what I have wrote up from the start to report back. The relations between the ROI and GB are strained, naturally. Since Brexit, it's got worse we feel as a table, and given that NI is the kid that no one wants to deal with. On the relationships to improve, we said this depends on what this future outside the EU is going to look like. The question is how do we see this relation improving between ROI and GB, this relationship improving will be depending on the relationship between the EU, ROI, NI.

T443: So, will the ROI not be allowed to trade with the UK because of regulations?

T433: They have to trade with us, because if they don't {inaudible}....

T443: But is the EU saying they can't?

T423: It's just the tariffs that would come into play.

T433: That's why the talks are taking so long so that they can try to sort out a trade deal.

T443: And that's all that's been breaking down currently?

Moderator: Okay, that's it, thank you. We're just waiting for a call back so just do a quick summary to make sure everyone is happy with that.

Participant ID	Gender	Age	Social class	Region	Community background	Vote in EU Referendum
T504	Male	60+	C2DE	Belfast City	Neither	Leave
T510	Male	45-59	C2DE	Greater Belfast	Protestant	Leave
T514	Female	18-29	ABC1	Greater Belfast	Catholic	Remain
T519	Female	60+	ABC1	Greater Belfast	Catholic	Remain
T524	Female	18-29	ABC1	Co. Down	Catholic	Remain
T529	Male	30-44	ABC1	Co. Armagh	Catholic	Remain
T535	Male	45-59	C2DE	Co. Tyrone	Protestant	Leave
T539	Male	30-44	ABC1	Co. Derry	Catholic	Remain
T544	Male	18-29	ABC1	Co. Antrim	Catholic	Did Not Vote
T548	Female	18-29	ABC1	Co. Antrim	Protestant	Leave

17-082027 QUB Deliberative Event Group 5 Transcription

MORNING

Moderator: I just want to begin with, as Fiona said at the start, there's people at every single table from different backgrounds so if we could all just try to be respectful of opinions. People are going to have different opinions than you're going to have. But try not to start chucking water across the table at each other {laughs}. As well as that, if you have any questions or anything just let me know. If you want to run out to the toilet then feel free to. Just to begin with then, we're going to talk a bit about.

T519: Could we turn off the air conditioning?

Moderator: Yes I have asked for the heating to be turned up, the air conditioning must be blowing down on top of you.

Moderator: so to start off with we're going to talk about some of the implications of Brexit. So the first question I want to ask you is, what, if anything, do you think like the implications will be for NI if the UK leaves the EU? This is just open to anybody.

T504: I think NI and ROI will be still operating as usual and I think it has cost millions of pounds for this to be set up. Now, this is 2 years down the line, this June, since we voted to leave the EU, so is it five years? It is going to be 5 years since we had the EU vote. So that's another 3 years. If another 3 years comes I reckon we can go back to the EU.

Moderator: you think that we'll eventually return to the EU?

T504: Yes, and they'll have a vote next time. I've a funny feeling 100% will go back to the EU because it's costing millions of pounds at the minute. Everything's up. Petrol's up, food's up, everything is up in price, and down across the border it's all cheap now.

Moderator: okay, so do you think that when we leave the EU, the prices are going to increase?

T504: yes, they have increased.

Moderator: okay, what kind of things do you think?

T504: petrol, diesel, food, and job losses.

T519: is that because of the taxes?

T504: yes. Now I work for the city council, and they have EU jobs down there and they used to go to Brussels. Now they've lost their jobs.

Moderator: okay so what was that? What jobs were lost?

T504: The city council and the European unit. There's people that have lost their jobs over it. They used to travel over to Brussels every week to bring money in. Now everything has changed. They're going to China to try to look for jobs now.

Moderator: Okay. So there's some things suggested there already. That there's going to be job losses in NI and some prices are going to rise like petrol and food. What kind of other implications do you think there'll be in Northern Ireland?

T524: it won't be as attractive for businesses coming here. There's been a lot of things setting up in Belfast, especially through the tech community. But we'll no longer be as attractive. They will look to the likes of Luxemburg or any other actual EU countries, rather than here.

T504: That's right. Job losses.

T539: They're going to other countries. The jobs are going to other countries

T504: They're going to China, they're going to the south.

T519: You see already with the way that jobs are going at the moment. Maybe it's nothing to do with that, but you know, generally the jobs are going.

T504: The EU's holding money and there's no money being pumped in now and that's why job losses, job cuts.

Moderator: Any other kind of ideas then? Other than no businesses coming here, and the lack of jobs. Anything else?

T519: I feel that it could also start, not wars, people you know arguing among themselves. There could be a wee bit of unrest in different places. People on the border areas. I wouldn't want to go back to that again, you know.

Moderator: So why do you think that the UK leaving the EU would bring about unrest? You specifically mentioned the border areas. So why do you think that that might kick off?

T539: Well where I'm from originally is about half a mile from the border. Outside Derry. If I were to cross the border, which I do regularly all the time, if somebody asked me for my passport I'd laugh in his face and drive on. I'd have to show my passport to cross the road.

T504: you can guarantee sometimes you won't get stopped.

T519: Nobody wants to go back to that.

Moderator: And do you think that is something then that could happen?

T539: I honestly can't see it, no.

Moderator: You don't think it will happen?

T539: I don't think the government knows what they're doing about leaving the customs union. They haven't decided themselves. It's rhetoric. They are saying they are. I think, in reality, they don't know for definite.

Moderator: So it's a possibility you think that there might be?

T539: I don't think there will be a border like there used to be. Probably for goods rather than people but that's still probably going to cause problems.

T510: Will that stop lorries? I think some will get on through.

T539: I think that will start costing businesses money.

T510: I live in Newtownabbey, so I don't live near the border, so I don't see your perspective.

T539: You don't see it from this perspective.

T510: We just see it from what we hear on the news or whatever.

T539: Where my parents live, it's half a mile to the nearest shop in Derry and half a mile to the nearest shop in Muff in Donegal but you would go to Muff because the diesel is cheaper and it would be a back and forth through customs and getting stopped. I cross the border on a daily basis.

T519: I know a couple that live like that, you know, and they can go there, there or wherever.

T548: I'm thinking now if there is some sort of border, passport or whatever check, because I don't do that every day I'm not really fussed. Where I'm thinking okay I go down to Dublin airport every so often, so I don't mind a wait.

T544: You're going down for the weekend or something.

T548: Yes, you just take it as you're going to the airport.

T524: People live their lives on that border and it's, you know, it's every day, it's not an annual thing. They're right beside it.

T549: It would get tedious.

Moderator: what kind of implications then do you think there might be in other areas that aren't right by the border? Maybe in Belfast. If it wasn't in places so close to the border, maybe Belfast, do you think there would be any implications there if the UK leaves the EU?

T524: like say you're talking about the free movement of people and that's going to be restricted. You have to look at things like hospitals where a lot of people who are employed in hospitals who work as doctors and nurses aren't from here. If they can't come here, who's going to take those jobs that people really don't seem to want to do? Nurses from here are

leaving at a phenomenal rate. It's hard to keep those people in those jobs so when we don't have people coming across to take them, what's going to happen there?

Moderator: Any other implications then in this kind of area away from the border?

T529: Belfast gets a lot of tourists.

T519: What happens the cruise ships?

T529: Is it going to put a dampener on tourism because we aren't in the EU anymore?

T548: I think if they're coming from anywhere but Northern Ireland, they're flying or by boat, there's still always going to be them checks as there is now. So I think the only people that might be hesitant about it would be people down south coming up, or maybe tourists flying into Dublin having to cross the border.

T524: So say the sterling loses its value as it has been doing, what's going to happen there when we're not going to be as attractive to come, when somebody could go to Paris or...

T548: But those other places are expensive but people still will go. I think our biggest attraction at the minute is tourism and people if they're travelling they do have money to travel. You know, we go to dear countries and experience their prices.

T510: See at the minute it's cheaper living in London than it is living here.

T539: No, it's not.

Moderator: Are you saying that you think that is the case currently, or do you think that because of Brexit that it will become more expensive?

T504: Brexit, will make it more expensive here.

Moderator: So T539 has said some of the implications for him personally if he was to go back home to where his parents are and moving up and crossing the border so frequently. Can anyone else think of any implications it might have on them personally, in their own day-today lives?

T529: It would be the same. If there were border checks. I work in Dundolk and I'm only there 15-20minutes and then I'm back into the North again. I will spend more time at the border. Will I have to sit at the border for an hour and a half just to go to the docks for 15/20 minutes before I come back again?

T519: I feel that this sort of thing that we're doing today should have been done a couple of years ago.

T504: So we'd be set up for it.

T519: No, because we were all sort of up there and were like what does that mean?

T504: That's right. And I must admit I was probably one of them. One of my friends I said why are you voting to leave? And she said to keep all the immigrants out, so I said there's more things than that but we don't know what they are, you know. I voted to stay obviously but as I say, I don't think we were informed enough so we weren't.

Moderator: Okay so can we maybe think of any other kinds of implications? You've talked about movement across the border, what about political implications for Northern Ireland?

T539: We've seen it already.

Moderator: In what kind of way?

T539: Stormont's gone, it's a joke. They argue about everything else.

T519: sorry?

T539: They argue about everything else like the Irish language act, but the biggest reason is Brexit.

Moderator: If we do leave the EU what kinds of problems or issues could come up?

T535: Well they're talking Stormont might be back next week and I'll believe it when I see it.

T510: Don't be getting your hopes up. We may hope it's back next week. Don't know.

Moderator: Okay, I'll move onto the next section then. If I could just get you to have a look at slide 6. There's wee tiny numbers in the middle of each page, if you can't see them let me know. If you just have a quick read of that again and remind yourselves of the possible outcomes of Brexit. So once you have had a read at those, if you can just one at a time maybe tell me what your preferred outcome of Brexit would be. Does anyone want to start?

T524: ideally E.

T519: lagree.

Moderator: How many people would say they agree with E?

T519: I would

T529: I would

Moderator: Do you want to give me some reasons here of why you think that might be the best outcome?

T519: Leave well enough alone I suppose, yeah.

T524: I just think people were sold a lie and didn't realise what they were voting for. I think those people that were so prominent in the leave campaign, where are they now? They've disappeared. Thankfully some of them so. But I just think the whole thing is a disaster and a massive waste of money and it should just be pulled right now.

T519: I agree with you.

T504: I think if they had a vote tomorrow, we'd be back in the EU again.

T519: I wonder would people change. I think a lot of people would change.

T504: Because they know this place is a mess.

T524: As you say, the money it's costing.

T504: It's costing billions of pounds.

T548: You know they were focussing on people's soft spots like foreigners coming in, and the NHS. They were focused on those two big things that people are touchy about. And again, whenever you said, no one would ever have left it in the same position as it is. Don't get me wrong, when we do leave, if they promised us this, there could be change. But the time is now. The people would have voted to leave based on unknowns and not have got any further.

T535: No one would have thought this is 15 years. This is a 2-year process then another 10-12 years after that before we get back to where we were.

T539: What's out there now is the worst possible scenario. The economy here is going to take a 12% hit, that's the worst possible scenario. The best possible scenario is 2%.

Moderator: And was that in Northern Ireland or was that the UK?

T539: Northern Ireland is going to take a 12% hit when we leave the EU.

T524: There was important work done in the south of Ireland, I think it was only out yesterday, it was only released. It's going to cost the Republic 100 million euro, that's in the south, that's not even from us. And things like that, it looks like there's been no thought into actually how this works.

T514: We don't even know the possibilities, nothing is set in stone.

T524: It's a split decision. This is what we were voting for, this is what we were sold.

T539: they're talking now about acceptable negotiations and about trade deals with the EU. They can't have a trade deal with the EU with no say how the EU works. They have a trade deal at the minute, so do they want to negotiate a worse deal for us? It doesn't make sense.

T519: They thought they would put it out and the majority of people would vote to stay. It came back to bite them in the end.

T524: I think even option C, so GB leaves the EU but we stay in the single market. So what is it that Arlene Foster has said, because they proposed their support to Theresa May that she wouldn't be happy that we're not getting the same deal as they are. But why does she want to drag us down with them? When it's one of the better options for us personally

T548: I think it's because she is like GB, and a lot of people in Northern Ireland still like that, I think that's what she's focussing on.

T524: There are a lot of thing she doesn't agree with. So we're the same as the UK apart from abortion, apart from gay marriage. She picks and chooses but she wants to drag us down with them.

T548: she's still thinking along the main thing of Protestant, UK, GB, Queen, that's what she's focussing on. It's not coming down to those simple things like what the rest of us, what's important to us.

T510: The thing is, in this country is we agree to disagree.

T548: sorry?

T510: We agree to disagree, it's a cop out. Somebody says black, somebody says white, you know that's the way it is.

Moderator: So does anybody have any of those options that they would prefer other than E? you know, some people said E but some people didn't raise their hand there. Has anybody got one they'd prefer over that?

T529: the UK is not staying in the EU. That's the problem. We're definitely not, we'll be leaving next March. Probably the most realistic option is C. Northern Ireland is not staying in the EU either. There's a possibility of staying in the single market and customs union.

T539: How could that happen? How could they stay in parts? Maybe if the UK had voted to stay there could have been some sort of deal. The only way we could stay is using the GFA to try to work something around that. The UK is leaving the EU. Whether they stay in the single market or not, is a different story.

T524: But then you have the issues. So, Northern Ireland as a whole voted to remain and so did Scotland. So Scotland is then going to want to have it as well because they're going to argue well we voted to remain. Northern Ireland's got it, why can't we still also remain in the single market.

T510: I think they'll want to go their own way too.

T548: again another thing is, we're attached to another country. I think Scotland has nothing there, whereas we are...

T510: Scotland's attached to England so...

T548: Yes, but I mean at the minute we are attached to a different country whereas they aren't.

T510: So if Scotland were to get that border along north/east England (drops off point)

T535: Did Scotland not have a referendum to leave the UK but?

Moderator: What about you, which ones of those options do you think would be your preferred outcome?

T544: Well very idealistic, E, yeah.

Moderator: So when you were talking about C being the most likely option, so if you couldn't get E what would be your second most preferred option if E couldn't happen? So if your best option was E, what would be your second best option?

T519: I would say B

T539: D

Moderator: so D? GB leaves the EU but NI stays?

T539: Yes

Moderator: Okay, so, talking about the options you don't want. So UK leaves EU but stays in some parts such as the single market and/or customs union? Why would you not like that option?

T519: I would like that. I thought that would be okay. I would go for E but if that's the second or third option okay.

Moderator: So E would be your preferred option and then B?

T510: Option A would be my preferred option.

Moderator: What kind of things attract you to that option?

T510: I don't really, maybe I'm ignorant to it. People have said to me the pros and cons of it but then you'll have ones just beating it in your face, you know. That's going to happen, that's going to happen. I'll listen to them but that's how I feel.

Moderator: Can you think of any benefits of the UK leaving the EU that's attracting to that option?

T510: Access to the world market's a big one and then you've Brussels telling the UK government what to do.

Moderator: So you think maybe more freedom?

T510: Yeah, freedom of choice

T539: See what you're saying there about Brussels telling the government what to do, that's not true {inaudible} we're actually part of the decision process.

T510: Had someone talked to me about it, liked that girl said about the discussion before, about what was going to happen, maybe I'd have changed my mind. But people who just, you know, you're hearing from one side. You know, I'm hearing one side, I'm hearing what you are saying about near the border, about how restrictions will be on you. I live in Belfast, and it's not the same impact. I'm still going to get up early in the morning, go to my work, come home from my work, see my family. That there is going to have an impact on me. You know, going to Dublin tomorrow for the weekend. You live near the border? I don't live near the border. I don't know restrictions. I have seen the time when I went down past the border past security checks, you don't want to go back to that. No one wants to go back to that.

T504: Are the security checks and long stalls still on?

T529: No you drive on. Nobody knows who's crossing the border.

Moderator: Okay so to sum that up, just correct me if I'm wrong on anything. I've got all of you saying that the best option is E. It's not the most likely option but it would be what you'd want. If that wasn't to happen, some people were saying that they would like B or C?

T539: Or D.

T519: I really don't know. I said E and then B.

Moderator: Okay, so, E is the most preferred option. B and D are then the next preferred options, but C is what you think is most likely. Does anybody disagree with that apart from, T510?

T510: Belfast is probably living in a wee bubble. Down where you live, you know. It's better times now for me and my family now. I grew up in the 60s in Belfast, I had restrictions on my life, like everybody.

Moderator: That is absolutely fine, like I've said, everyone's going to have different opinions and it's going to be the same throughout the rest of the day. There's going to be people that

are going to have different opinions and that's absolutely fine. Okay, we're going to move on then and talk about your views on a hard border between Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland. So some of the things that were already said now at the start of the conversation, might come up again, but the first thing I'll ask is, if a hard border was to be created between NI and ROI, what do you think that might be like? So there's some options in the slides but what would you envisage a hard border between NI and ROI looking like?

T519: Like it shows you in that thing.

T535: Like it used to be.

T519: Like it used to be like, exactly. The police and the army and everything.

T535: Years ago, like it was years ago.

T519: It would be terrible.

T529: Long queues in traffic.

Moderator: Okay, so you're talking about the option where the army is there?

T539: No, maybe customs officials though.

T519: officials, whatever, yeah.

T539: I can't see the army being there.

Moderator: Okay so the police there sometimes but not pulling over. Okay, so some people are thinking army, some people are thinking customs, queues were mentioned, what other things do you think there might be?

T514: I think we'd have the technology as well just like everybody now. It's 2018, they'd have to have that. They would have to use cameras.

T535: lorries would be pulled in and checked.

Moderator: does anybody imagine it being any different than that? What about you?

T504: we'd see the border, just back to all those years ago, long queues, long waits. As they said, they'd have to pull lorries in, search lorries. They'll search and we'll be sitting there for hours and hours trying to get through the border. I think it's all a shambles to tell you the truth.

Moderator: How would you feel about the creation of a hard border between NI and ROI? There's going to be different opinions on this but sure somebody start me off on how they'd feel if a hard border was created. I know you said it was going to impact you quite a lot.

T539: It would be a nightmare. I think that's going back in time.

T519: It's dividing people.

T535: Northern Ireland is always going to be about politics.

T524: It will go straight back to the divisions again.

Moderator: Pardon?
T514: I think the peace process we'd started to come away from all the divisions, and it'll go right back to it kind of thing.

Moderator: Nightmare. Divisions, what other ways would you feel?

T524: Who's going to pay for it?

T519: We're talking about cars, what about trains?

T529: Then the smuggling comes back. Like there are so many back roads. You can't have barriers on every road.

Moderator: I know some people think it will be a bit of a nightmare and feel there are some negatives about the idea of a hard border between NI and ROI. But any other opinions, does anybody have any positive feelings towards there being one?

T524: I can't see anything

T548: I can't see the positives of a hard border, no.

T539: Definitely not if there was a hard border.

Moderator: What do you think of the different ways a hard border could be put in place, so say we think about the option where there's just minimal policing, or maybe the option where there's just cameras? Where there's not soldiers, and customs, and queues? Do you have different opinions depending on what the border is like? So how would you feel if it was just cameras?

T535: If they could do it with just cameras that would be fine.

T548: yeah, it wouldn't make a difference at all really

T544: There are cameras watching you everywhere anyway.

T510: You wouldn't catch everybody with a camera. No chance.

T539: The amount of vandalism that goes on in general is going to be high.

Moderator: Okay, so you wouldn't feel as bad about a hard border with technology rather than people?

T519: Just technology

Moderator: What if there were minimal policing?

T539: People would make an opportunity out of that and it could cause disturbances then

Moderator: what do you mean by that?

T539: Civil disobedience could possibly happen.

T519: True.

T529: even the road from Newry to Dublin, there are custom officials on it now.

T510: Just doing random checks?

T529: They just ask you a question, they're looking to hear your accent but they're there. They're still knocking about.

T519: Where's this between NI and Dublin airport on the Dublin route?

T529: There's still customs. Just the south side of the border between Newry and Dundalk. I see them regularly.

T519: See I would go with trains when I'd be going down, you know.

Moderator: So we've already talked a bit about how people might react if there was a hard border put in place. So you said people might try to avoid the border completely, try to smuggle through, find alternative routes. Other people, you said, there might be a bit of civil disobedience and you mentioned vandalism as well if there was technology and cameras put in place. What other ways might people react if a hard border was put in place?

T504: I think there'd be attitude and stuff. They'd start fighting and rowing.

Moderator: Okay so when you were talking about civil disobedience, in what way could people be disobedient?

T539: If they try to stop you driving across the motorway things might kick off.

Moderator: If they announced tomorrow that there is going to be a hard border between NI and ROI, do you think there'd be any form of protesting?

Most: Yes.

Moderator: Any form of protesting? How do you think people would protest, what would they do?

T514: Crime.

Moderator: Even if it wasn't tomorrow, so they didn't just pounce it on you tomorrow. Even they said a few months from now there's going to be a hard border, so it wasn't just a very quick and sudden thing? Just in general, how do you think people would protest?

T514: I think people would create petitions and stuff to sign. I think the instant reaction for some would be to cause trouble.

T524: I think a lot of businesses would probably come together because they rely on that north/south trade. They would come together to lobby politicians or whatever to try to get it overturned.

Moderator: Okay so do you think it would be mostly peaceful protesting or do you think there would be more violence?

T519: I don't think it would be peaceful.

T504: It might start off peaceful

Moderator: If you think back to some of the other things that have happened in NI recently, people protesting on roads blocking traffic. Do you think that would be something that might happen?

T519: Yes

Moderator: So you're saying it would be all over NI, to what extent do you think it would be supported? Would it be the minority of people that are protesting, or?

T510: I think it would be people living along the border. The people in Belfast might not at all.

Moderator: So there could be more protesting around the border areas?

T510: Yes, I think so

Moderator: What about people who live in Belfast, do you think there'd be much protesting?

T548: they wouldn't be protesting as such for daily life. What's the point?

Moderator: One at a time please, you go ahead first. I was just asking about protesting in Belfast.

T548: I was saying like, what did I even say, I can't remember?

T539: You said you're not going to protest.

T548: Oh yeah, because what would I be protesting for? Like I only cross the border twice to three times a year.

T529: It's people travelling every day for work.

T548: and I think it will be regardless of religion in Belfast. I don't think it would come into it. I don't think it'll affect daily life. Like I can get up and go to work as you were saying. Whereas, if you were living down there, regardless of religion, it's going to affect you daily day-to-day.

T524: but I don't think, even in Belfast, you're not in this bubble. So say you have someone who transports something from Dublin to Belfast shops and their vans getting stopped at the borders and that's costing them more. That will eventually trickle down to everybody. It's not a case of I don't personally cross the border so it's not me. You will then start to see it come down directly affecting you eventually.

T519: What about people going down to Dublin airport. A few times in the last few years have flown out of Dublin airport so they're going down on the bus and things like that. You'd have to have more time for your journey and everything then.

Moderator: Okay, so you think it might not just be people that are travelling across the border very frequently, it will be other people as well.

T519: Yeah.

Moderator: And do you think there's any people of particular backgrounds that might protest more than others or do you think it's everyone in Northern Ireland, regardless of what background they have?

T535: I think in NI when people see a protest, they nearly join it because that's the thing to do

Moderators: Do you think it would be Protestants more than Catholics or vice versa, or do you think that won't come into it?

Moderator: So personally, if you don't mind saying, who can say they might support some form of protest? Would you be likely to protest yourself?

T510: No

Moderator: You wouldn't protest?

T510: No it's not affecting my life.

T539: A peaceful protest.

T525: A petition or something.

T514: Yea, I would sign something.

T519: I wouldn't go out and stand in the cold.

Moderator: So you're saying maybe a peaceful protest, what kind of protest would you see yourself at?

T514: A petition

T529: It depends the severity of the border and what that's going to be because if it's cameras it will be mild protests.

Moderator: okay so it depends on what the border is like then?

T529: When you're driving and you're sitting for two hours, you know, somebody the next week says oh we're having a protest, it would make me want to go to it.

Moderator: Okay, I'm going to move on then and talk about your views on a hard border between NI and GB. What do you imagine that kind of border would be like?

T548: If it was in the sea, you wouldn't see nothing.

T524: Maybe checks on either side?

Moderator: Checks where?

T529: Airports and ferry terminals.

T548: More so than there is?

T539: Probably longer queues, yeah.

T539: I don't think you get checked for your passport when you're flying, you can use your driver's license.

Moderator: Okay so more checks? So do you think these checks would be here or in GB?

T524: Both

Moderator: can you imagine any other ways there might be, kind of controls put in place?

T529: I don't really think it will be much different. You are fairly well checked. If you're going from here to London, or here to, it's pretty well checked.

Moderator: does anybody else agree with that that they don't think they'll see that much of a change?

T539: There might be a change but not a big change. It might be slower.

Moderator: So how would you feel about the creation of a hard border between NI and GB?

T519: What kind of hard border? You know?

T524: I don't know what it's going to be like.

T529: You're crossing the Irish sea which is itself a border. You are going to expect when you get on a plane or a boat that someone is going to ask to see some form of ID.

T519: Are they going to do a Donald Trump and build a wall?

T529: if you're getting a boat you're going to expect that somebody is going to ask to see your ID. Or it could translate into more than that.

T504: Customs is on top thing anyway in them ports. They're already watched, monitoring. I think customs know what's going and what's going out.

Moderator: Okay, so you think it wouldn't change that much?

Most: Yes

Moderator: Okay, what about you? Do you have any feelings?

T510: I don't think there should be a hard border between Northern Ireland and the UK.

Moderator: You don't think there should be one? Why's that?

T510: Because we're part of the UK.

Moderator: Okay. And how would you feel if there was a border?

T510: I'd be surprised. We need a government to make decisions. Nobody is speaking for us. We're probably speaking more sense round this table than they are.

T529: We're already treated differently than in England. Isle of Man, Guernsey, we're the only people that need to fly into England with a photograph. If you fly from here you've to got to get your photo taken going through the airport, but if you fly from Birmingham you can just walk out.

T548: Photograph where do you mean?

T529: Airport.

T548: Through security?

T529: Yeah.

T548: Well how do they determine that in London?

T529: In Heathrow, in Gatwick as well. When you're flying from anywhere in Europe in and you have to, generally, you walk through and into like your own separate terminal more or less, and you're photographed in there.

T548: You mean when you've landed?

T529: Yes. Between there and walking to the luggage carousel, you're photographed again and I think you get a pass or a ticket or something and you're photographed.

T548: I've never been past anything in London.

T529: I've been photographed.

T524: But you're in the automatic passport scan.

T548: No that's what I was thinking.

T529: I was going over through Gatwick once a week and I was photographed every time.

T519: Just the Northern Ireland plane?

T529: Yeah

T519: Are you aware that you're photographed?

T510: I remember getting thumbprints.

T548: I know when you're flying in from Belgium you get photographed.

T529: I don't know whether it has changed since then or not.

Moderator: So how would you feel, the creation of a hard border, how would you feel about it? If you then went to the airport and there were more, you're saying there were loads of police and everything, how would you feel?

T524: I think you're already set up when you go to fly or take a boat, you're already set up like I have to show some form of ID, something's going to happen. So I think you're already prepared for that. Where I think with a hard border with Ireland, it's different because day-to-day it impacts so many people, exactly where they live. Where if you're getting on a flight you already know you have to show something. I don't think it's as big as the day to day thing.

T548: Is that not for security? Would you not want to be checked? Are they not checking for more of who's coming in and out of this country, to protect, is that not what it is? Is that not what the security in the airport is. They're seeing who are these people, what are they doing, what are they up to? They know who you are before you arrive.

Moderator: So are you saying that they're already doing that so then there won't be much change with a hard border?

T548: No. It's like you've just said, you know you are prepared when you go to the airport that you're going to take two hours out of my time, to go through security checks. Like you go into any airport, you know. You are going to, I do get that.

T525: If it's another 5 or 10 minutes, it's not going to impact your life really. Whereas there's no hard border at the minute so you just drive straight through. If they started stopping people, I think that is going to be a bigger change.

Moderator: Even if we're not talking about the implications of it, even just the thought of it – there being a hard border between NI and GB. How would you feel about the thought of that being a thing? Never mind how it would actually affect you.

T539: It's like, the border here I don't cross every day. I don't go to England, Wales or Scotland every day so I'm going to be less affected by it. So I'm going to be less annoyed by a hard border there.

T548: I think it would come down to if you're living in Northern Ireland, religion comes into it. Seeing your separate, seeing that you're not part of GB, that's what it comes down to

Moderator: Do you think that's something that might cross any of your minds?

T548: yes

T510: We're still part of the UK. Why should there be a border? If you're travelling from the south to the UK, you're travelling from a different country. Yes, that's going to be different. But from NI, that's still part of the UK.

Moderator: So how would you feel if the border was made?

T535: I wouldn't be happy. But then that's probably down to the political thing again.

Moderator: Well that's part of it, so that's something that should be talked about as well. What do you think?

T510: I think we're talking more sense around this table. We've heard more different points of view than I've heard in years and I can see where it's coming from. But I also see my own point of view because I'm British and I don't think there should be a hard border between NI and Britain. But I still don't see the point of having a hard border between the rest of Ireland either.

Moderator: So a few people are saying they wouldn't feel happy at the thought of there being a hard border between NI and GB because you consider yourself British. You don't like the idea of a hard border. So how do you think people might react?

T510: The same thing. Protests.

Moderator: So for the people that think that they wouldn't be that happy about the idea that there's a hard border between NI and GB, how would people react?

T510: Rioting

T519: They would probably go mad. They'd be saying we're part of the UK so why are they treating us differently?

Moderator: Any other ways people might react? Do you think they might react the same way people would react if there was a border between NI and ROI or does anybody disagree?

T519: The same.

Moderator: I'm trying to jot down a few notes because after this group discussion, each one of the moderators on the table is going to summarise some of the ideas that people on their table have said. So don't think I'm being rude, I am listening at the same time. So, do you thinking there'll be some rioting?

T504: Yes.

Moderator: Do you think that there'll be some peaceful protesting or do you think it'll be mostly violent?

T504: I'd say rioting.

T519: I would say they'd go mad. I wouldn't do that, I just mean generally. Definitely not me, I'm peaceful. But there are those that would say it's a sell-out. They're selling us to them and all this carry on. Not me personally.

Moderator: So, personally, how would each of you react to there being a border created between NI and GB?

T519: I just wouldn't be happy. I wouldn't be happy. I certainly wouldn't go out and protest or anything like that, but I would sign a petition or something like that.

T510: As you say it's a step back in time.

T519: I'd rather it didn't happen but personally it wouldn't really affect me.

T524: I would want to see how it would affect my day to day life, you know. I don't go over to England a lot. So I would need to see if it would impact things like prices of food and things like that. Some people are waiting to see what it would actually look like.

Moderately: Would anybody say they feel very passionately about it and might get involved in more, not even rioting, but more passionate kind of protest?

T519: maybe just signing petitions

Moderator: Would anybody be out on the streets?

T519: No.

T535: Too cold.

Moderator: Okay I think we've been given a bit more time because we were supposed to have 45 minutes for this discussion but Fiona's said we have another 10 minutes. Are there any kind of points that anybody would like to talk about again? Anything anybody didn't get a chance to say? Maybe in relation to, we'll go back to the border between NI and ROI. Are there any more thoughts on that?

T519: it's really are we getting a true representation here at this table because, thankfully, there's no hardliners and do you get somebody that's stirring the pot with a big wooden spoon. But we're all quite in agreement with each other on everything. But maybe if we mixed a wee hardliner in.

T539: It's not me!

T524: Someone might be.

T524: A couple of wee wines and they might start rioting.

Moderator: I'm just looking back over some of the things we were discussing. If we talk a wee bit more about the preferred outcomes of Brexit. Basically, most people are saying that their preferred outcome is that they would stay as they are and the UK doesn't leave the EU. T510, you're saying maybe A would be your preferred option, I'm sure there are other people that agree with you as well, but if we talk about option D. What do we think about option D?

T524: I think option C is probably the most likely.

Moderator: And how would you feel about that option?

T524: It's probably the best of a bad bunch. You know, realistically we're not going to stay in the EU.

T510: Can that not happen? Because we're still part of GB.

T524: It can be written into the agreement I think

T539: The problem is the UK are saying they're leaving the EU but {inaudible} but we can't have both. It's impossible. There is going to have to be compromise. Something is going to change between now and next March.

Moderator: Okay, so, C is the most likely option but you're still not sure how it would be implemented.

T539: It could be implemented and there's a simple way to implement it, put the border in the Irish sea, but I'm not convinced of it to be honest.

T504: I think we'd all be happy if we were all back to the EU again.

Moderator: If C was to happen, how would we feel?

T519: But again, that's NI again being different.

T539: I'd be happy with that. But that is just me personally.

T519: I'm just saying is it not singling out NI again to be different? You know, if GB leave NI stays in some elements?

T535: I think that's GB getting rid of us.

T519: They're moving the goal post for us.

T535: If GB do that, that's NI out. That's all one Ireland.

Moderator: Do you feel then that NI should be doing whatever GB is doing?

T519: It should be, yeah. Sure they want rid of us anyway.

Moderator: What about D then, what do you feel about it?

T544: We would probably end up adopting the euro instead of the pound?

Moderator: You think that's the way it would end up for D?

T529: D's an even bigger grey cloud than what C is.

T524: Yeah, they will be differentiated.

T548: But see C, where is NI then? Are we in the EU or not?

T524: its countries that aren't in the EU but they're still in the single market. So like they're not in the EU but still have weight in that market. Northern Ireland would still be part of the UK.

T548: UK and NI, that's what it is then?

T529: There'd be no change to the sovereignty of NI or GB. It's economic, that's it. That's easily the best outcome. This place would be flying.

Moderator: Which option, sorry?

T529: C. The business that would come into this country

T548: But it doesn't come into economics. It's all down to religion here I think still, which is sad.

Moderator: But you think C would be a good option economically for Northern Ireland?

T529: Anyone who wants to do business with England, which isn't in single market or customs union, will come to Northern Ireland.

Moderator: So it might push some businesses then from England then to Northern Ireland?

T529: Northern Ireland is the back door.

Moderator: And what about option B just to finish then? How would you feel about option B?

T524: That would be good but that goes against everything Theresa May is saying. Where she's not giving the people of GB the Britain that they had technically voted for. So I would personally like it but I think a lot of people would be unhappy that she is not delivering what she has promised.

Moderator: So why would you like that option?

T524: Because technically it's giving people who voted what they wanted but it's leaving us economically attractive to other countries. Because I think the biggest thing with us leaving will be leaving the single market and customs union so I think we'd become so unattractive to businesses. Prices would just rise because you know we're not getting the trade deals that we did before.

Moderator: Okay so how would you feel about B versus C? Some people don't like the idea of NI being different from Britain, but would you personally see the difference in B versus C?

T524: I suppose with B and C, we as Northern Ireland stay in the single market and the customs union, so it doesn't really bother me.

T535: You see B only says some elements. I'm assuming that's the six things they already corroborate on. I think that is what that is pointing to.

Moderator: What was that sorry?

T535: You see B is the UK leaving EU except for some elements. What does it mean by some elements?

AFTERNOON

Moderator: So it's the same sort of format as last time. We're just going to have a discussion about some of the points that were raised in the presentation. The first thing we wanted to ask you about was, what implication if any, do you think the lack of a NI government will have on outcomes of the negotiations between the UK and EU?

T539: None.

Moderator: T539 says none.

Moderator: You don't think it will have any implications?

T539: Even when Stormont was up and running they don't have a joint approach to it, they are on two opposite sides, so they can't agree so they don't have a say. Plus even if they did, Theresa May isn't interested. She has already cut Nicola Sturgeon out of it.

T524: She DUP ministers help her get her majority, so she might have to pay more attention. I get what you mean that they're coming from a different angle, but she might have to get, to take better account of what they're saying to get that majority.

T539: She doesn't need the Assembly {inaudible}.

Moderator: Whereas you think they might? So you said that Theresa May needs to listen? Tell me again about what you were saying there. You think she needs to listen to them?

T524: Yes, because she didn't have a majority when the previous election was called so she's relying on those 10 to have the majority. So, she may feel that she has to then listen to them or they can withdraw their support for her.

Moderator: What kind of implication do you think the fact that we don't have a government at the minute in NI, what implication do you think that might have? Because you're saying she really needs them but there isn't one?

T539: She only needs the DUP in Westminster.

Moderator: Okay, does anyone else have any opinions on that?

T504: Well at the end of the day, I think the EU wants rid of us and the way it was boiling down is they will probably end up going back to Scotland. So they want NI as part of the EU to join Dublin and that's why he's saying up there about a united Ireland.

Moderator: So you think the government in Britain don't want to listen to NI?

T504: Yes, they don't want to listen to them. They just want to go out on their own, they want to move away and have their own problems. That's why they want Scotland to rule their own country and then Dublin rule NI. That's why they want a vote in NI and they want a vote in Scotland.

Moderator: So if we had, currently, a government in NI. Do you think that if there was a government in NI, they would have more of a say in the outcome of the negotiations between the UK and the EU?

T539: It doesn't matter.

Moderator: Okay, so you think it doesn't matter at all.

T539: It doesn't matter who's negotiating it, we don't have a say. They're not at the table, they don't have a seat. Even if Stormont was up in running next week they won't have a say. The DUP will on their own, but the other parties won't have a say. Because they don't need Stormont. Nicola Sturgeon is always complaining {inaudible}.

Moderator: Okay so considering the UKs decision to leave the EU, do you think there should be changes to how the power-sharing government is set up in NI? Tell me if you want me to read any of these questions again. They're kind of long questions.

T519: What page are we on?

Moderator: We're not really on a page. So considering the UKs decision to leave the EU, do you think there should be changes to how the power-sharing government is set up in NI?

T539: Scrap the petition of concern.

Moderator: Okay, tell me a bit more about that.

T539: It's being abused. It was set up to protect minorities and it's being used to take rights away from minorities.

Moderator: And so, how do you think that connects to the decision to leave the EU, or does it?

T539: It doesn't.

Moderator: It doesn't. Okay. Does anybody else have any opinions on that?

T504: I know he wants us, that fella that was up there talking, he wants us to be ruled from Dublin and NI wants ruled from NI.

Moderator: It's not really his opinion or anything. It's just possibilities rather than what he thinks should happen.

T539: It wouldn't be Dublin's decision, it wouldn't be his decision either.

T529: I know. Put it to the people.

T539: If they want it, have the referendum here.

Moderator: So do you think, if NI leaves the EU, do you think there should be any changes to the government here?

T529: I don't know we don't have one.

T539: Do you mean in Brexit and the constitution of NI? There should be a border poll.

Moderator: There should be a border poll? Okay. Anything else?

T539: well the majority here voted to remain and we're being forced. So are they going to take us out of it against our will? There should be a border poll. Or at the very least, a poll to remain in the single market and customs union.

Moderator: And what about changes to the power-sharing government, do you think there should be any changes to that?

T510: People voted them in. People can't vote for British parties so who else are we going to vote for.

Moderator: So there's not really any strong feelings then that anything should change, in terms of the power sharing government? No? Okay. I'll move onto the next section then. So this is about views on a referendum on the reunification of Ireland. The first question is, considering the UK's decision to leave the EU, what do you think of the idea of having a referendum on whether NI should remain in the UK or reunify with the rest of Ireland? So basically, do you think there should be a referendum on whether NI should remain part of the UK or join the rest of Ireland?

T519: There should be, aye.

T504: There should be.

Mediator: There should be?

T524: I don't know why we have to. Why should we align ourselves with GB or Ireland. Why do we have to go with one or the other, can we not just be by ourselves? I think either side is going to be unhappy with one of those options.

T519: We couldn't afford to be on our own, could we really?

T539: That's the problem.

Moderator: What was that about economically?

T519: we couldn't afford it.

Moderator: Which option?

T519: To be on our own.

Moderator: Separated from both the UK and ROI? That's not an option?

T519: We couldn't afford it.

T539: Money wise.

Moderator: So what would you think of the idea then of having a referendum?

T519: We should have it.

T504: Yeah, they should have it. They should have it in 2021 probably and see what the outcome will be. Scotland wants another one as soon as they can.

T539: Whenever we know what the outcome is going to be of Brexit. Because I think if it's going to be a hard Brexit a lot of people will be thinking well I want a second referendum. I think if Scotland gets another one I think it's only fair.

Moderator: So how many people think there should be a referendum?

{Few agree}

Moderator: So everybody thinks there should be a referendum?

T504: Who decides if there should be a referendum?

T539: The Secretary of State gets the decision. T510: Will the Prime Minister make a decision on that there? No?

T548: So will NI not be part of GB is that what the referendum will be like?

Moderator: So the referendum on whether or not...

T548: I think that's such a big question that has been coming for so many years.

T510: We're such a small country.

Moderator: So for the people who said, well, all of you said there should be a referendum, why do you think there should be one?

T504: We would get it sorted once and for all.

T539: the other thing about a border poll here is that once it's called, there has to be one every 7 years.

T548: But then you think, if we vote to leave, then does Southern Ireland want us?

T539: It has to be on both sides of the border with a majority in the north and in the south.

T504: But at the end of the day, I don't think the South wants us.

T548: No, I would agree yeah.

T524: And not for religious reasons or anything like that. I don't really think their government is much better than ours. It's not a desirable country to maybe join. I don't know.

T504: in reality, even sitting round the table talking about this, it's just different. Because I grew up in the troubles and I never thought about this.

Moderator: What do you think some of the pros would be of having a referendum? Some of the kind of positives.

T539: People will see that in the end they have their say.

T524: I think as well it would be good to take a vote and see, like, different backgrounds probably feel in their wee area, oh god that would pass, that wouldn't. Whereas it would be good to have a vote so you just knew how the majority felt.

Moderator: So you'd like to know.

T519: I would love to see this discussion one day in the Shankill Road, the next day on the Falls Road, just to see.

T504: Yea all barriers down.

Moderator: You mean if there was a referendum?

T548: There's still areas in NI that still need that. It's not moving on from fighting between ourselves. That's not going to change it, that will still happen because someone's not going to be happy with the decision.

T519: Where I'm from, they've been coming across quite moderate and sensibly thinking, but maybe if you went to the extremes, I wonder what the answers would be then? And I don't mean it unkindly to any soul.

Moderator: Did I hear you say that if there was a referendum, people wouldn't vote on it?

T535: Aye, because they're fed up voting.

T539: I don't know because I think it's quite an important issue, people would vote.

Moderator: So you think people wouldn't vote?

T535: I don't know.

Moderator: So one of the pros you were saying was to find out what people think and for people to have a say. Are there any other positive sides of having a referendum on the unification?

T539: I think it gives people the opportunity to make up their own decision about it. You know it's okay saying we'll have a united Ireland, but what does that actually mean?

Moderator: So do you feel like if there was a referendum you'd get more information on what it would be?

T539: There would have to be.

T504: People are better off in NI than they are in the republic and you know yourself.

T548: I don't know, but people will disagree with that though.

T504: They are better off.

Moderator: So do you think, what do you think the pros are of having a referendum on a united Ireland?

T519: rather than having someone make the decision for you, you make it so it's fair. Everybody, every individual, give their opinion so that is fair.

T510: The referendum would have to be if you wanted a united Ireland or you didn't.

Moderator: Is there anything that would put you against the idea of having a referendum?

T548: I don't know if everybody is ready for that. I think some people are very much indecisive. Not everyone in NI wants to be either... Like you have said the third way; there's not going to be an option of just NI. Some people don't want, not either, but they're not strongly opinionated.

Moderator: So you think, correct me if I'm wrong, but you think that it's not going to suit some people if they're asked yes or no.

T548: Some people just aren't ready for that.

Moderator: Okay, so have your views on a referendum changed since the UKs decision to leave the EU?

T539: I'd be more keen now.

Moderator: You'd be more keen on having a referendum? And why is that?

T539: Because I'd like to know where people stand and I am fearful of what the UK and Brexit will bring. So I'd like to know if there's the opportunity to bring Ireland together, still in the EU and the sooner that happens in my book, the better.

T524: I think before Brexit, if I was asked about a referendum with the south I wouldn't... but now that you know what the UK is walking into, you're like, I think it's more appealing.

T539: It gives us another option.

Moderator: So, before, you wouldn't have really thought about it that much or wouldn't have had a strong opinion either way?

T539: {inaudible} where it wouldn't have been an issue, now it's a massive issue. Particularly in the part of the country that I live in.

Moderator: Can you tell me why you think it's more of a thought now for a lot of people?

T539: Because they're fearful of what's going to happen. I think, I worked in the environment and a lot of funding for stuff that I do comes from the EU and EU directives and I've already lost work. Lost stuff that was all lined up {inaudible} and I worked for a cross-border agency for 20 years.

T519: Brexit has done more harm than good then?

Moderator: Okay so they were saying their opinions have changed about having a referendum, have anybody else's changed?

T529: Yeah, I think the question needs asked more so because of the changes. I think basically, people need to answer the question to see where the majority wants to go.

Moderator: So why do you think that's more something that should happen now, whereas maybe it wasn't before the referendum to leave the EU?

T529: Well look at the majority of people wanting to stay in the EU here.

Moderator: So because a lot of people voted to stay, you think that there should be. Anybody over here? Have your opinions not changed at all on whether or not there should be a referendum or is it something you haven't thought of?

T514: Never really thought about it.

T544: Never really thought of it.

T548: I didn't think that there had ever been one.

T510: Whatever they do I would agree like, but I wouldn't fear a referendum.

Moderator: Sorry what was the point you just made there? So that I can note it down. So you said because...

T529: It affects people who voted to remain here. They deserve an answer or at least the chance to stay in with Ireland or whatever it may be.

Moderator: Do you feel you know enough about what a united Ireland might look like in order to make a choice in a referendum?

Few: No.

T524: And that's probably with Brexit as well and that's why it was such an unknown.

T548: And there's that scare factor as well, like the point we were making over Brexit, it could do the same thing when it comes to a vote for a united Ireland. You know, they could scare a lot of people in that way. I think educating people more would be a big factor.

T504: I'd want to know are we worse off or better off?

T548: And they'd have to make it really clear to people and be honest.

T524: And people would need to take responsibility in themselves of who they're listening to. Where they're getting the information from. That seems to be an issue with Brexit. So, there's that responsibility that they have on themselves as well.

Moderator: You feel then that you would like more information on it? What do you know about what a united Ireland might look like?

T548: I don't know.

T544: Nothing.

T539: I think Fine Gael are the only party who are giving us any idea of what it might be like.

Moderator: Would you hazard a guess of what you think it might be like?

T539: I would imagine there will still be a Stormont.

T524: I don't think they could operate from just one.

T504: Do you think they would run us from Dublin?

T539: I still think Stormont will be some sort of assembly in the north if it did happen. I think there would be some kind of arrangement with Dublin. Who knows.

Moderator: So what kind of information do you want on what a united Ireland would look like?

T519: Number one can the Republic afford us? What we said before, economically can they afford us?

T548: What money? Would we just turn euro? Is that who we are then? Is all things British out of the country? What about the people that call themselves that? You can't just throw that all out.

T519: Would the currency then be the euro?

T548: Yeah.

Moderator: You're wondering about whether people could still label themselves as British?

T548: Is it just one day every single British flag will stop? Is that just scrapped and we're just part of Ireland? Or would it be a soft kind of approach to it?

T510: If there is going to be a referendum, people will have to accept it. And I don't think a lot of people will accept it.

T519: I agree. A lot of people wouldn't accept it. I think there'd be a lot of trouble.

T510 I think it would go back to what it was, a lot of trouble.

T519: I agree, a lot of trouble.

T548: I think there'd be more trouble with that than there would be with the border thing. It would be the biggest thing for this country, never mind this, that would be the biggest thing. That's all we know.

Moderator: You were saying something there, I just missed that.

T535: We always make a big song out of it. Whether it be flags or about politics or whatever, it all boils down to fighting, that's all we know.

T519: True because they're not into that at all.

T510: People have different points of view and we're listening. We're listening to points of view which I think is good.

T548: But it's something like this that's got people that don't have too strong opinions, and if you brought 5 extra people onto this table who thought completely differently, we would have heard completely different opinions. I think we can all appreciate other people's points of view here.

Moderator: Some people have said that they would like more information on, is everything British going to be removed if there's a united Ireland? If people can still consider themselves British if they're in a united Ireland. Some of the kind of economic sides of it, whether or not Dublin can afford for there to be a united Ireland and whether or not we'd be in the euro, rather than sterling. What other things would you like to know about a united Ireland before one happened?

T514: Healthcare.

T519: Do you've to pay pensions?

T548: Taxes.

T524: What about gay marriage? Would NI suddenly adopt?

Moderator: Sorry guys, could we just try to go one at a time otherwise we won't catch it all. I'll go back over to you guys, what were you saying, sorry?

T524: Just things like gay marriage, if the south has already adopted it, do we automatically?

Moderator: So that's some of the things around the rights that they were talking about? So rights, like gay marriage, and would that happen here as well? Any other kind of rights?

T535: Citizenship rights. As it stands at the minute, we can be Irish, British or both. If there was a united Ireland next week, I'd want to know if you could still be British or both.

T548: Yeah, what happens, yeah.

T539: And I know what you were saying about flags and all that there, would someone that still considers themselves British still be able to have their British passport and all that there. I would imagine that will stand unless the Good Friday Agreement is changed.

Moderator: So you think it would all come back to the Good Friday Agreement and it would all be built on that? So you were having a bit of a discussion in the corner. What were you talking about?

T529: Healthcare, and you've to pay for insurance down there.

Moderator: So how do think a referendum might affect that?

T529: The NHS would disappear, and we'd get insurance-based healthcare.

Moderator: And would you like any more information on that before the referendum?

T529: We would yes.

Moderator: Or would you just assume that the NHS would be gone?

T505: You could see if people could even afford it.

Moderator: Okay, so, you want to know the kind of cost implications.

T504: The costs to the people.

T548: Education would be a thing. Down south they don't do the same exams.

T519: I would say if a referendum was mentioned, even just the word, you'd have people who would go, excuse the Belfast language, but they would go buck mad. What I mean is as soon as they hear the word referendum, god bless us, it would be...

T510: As you said, it would scare them.

T519: I would say there'd be riots. I don't think we would actually get as far as voting, people would go baserk before that.

Moderator: Regardless of the fact you think they will go buck mad about it, do you think that there still should be a referendum?

T519: I don't mind because I'm very middle of the road. But I'm talking about ...

Moderator: There will be some people who don't agree? Do you think there would be some people who wouldn't want the referendum at all?

T519: I think there would be people who would go mad.

T510: You just have to look at the past 30 odd, 40 years. They have been looking for a referendum since then and they are still looking for a referendum.

Moderator: Okay, just on the rights then, we were talking about the right to gay marriage, can you think of any other rights you might be concerned about being affected by a united Ireland?

T539: Because they have the same right as us at the minute so it's all standardised.

T524: So if they say, they have their referendum on abortion, there's that as well, they have that in summer.

Moderator: Any other rights coming to mind?

T504: Jobs. Would they have enough jobs for people?

Moderator: Okay, we'll move onto the next section then, I might come back to that in a bit. So we're going to talk now about relations between NI and ROI. How do you feel relations are between NI and ROI at the minute?

T510: I think they're all right.

Moderator: They're okay at the minute you think?

T524: Yeah, I think the only thing that has been recently is Brexit.

T548: The border thing.

T524: Yeah. You know, I think Leo Varadkar has taken quite a hard stance on it and I think he's had to. And then, when it comes down to, if there is a hard border, who polices that and who pays for that as well. I think that could be an issue. Because at the end of the day, if Brexit does happen, it's something that the UK are choosing to do so do they then have an obligation to pay for that? Because Ireland has had no say in this so why should they. They might have the opinion that they don't want to pay for any of it and it's up to us to police the borders. I don't know.

Moderator: You think the creation of a hard border could impact the relations between...

T524: Yeah

Moderator: Is that between the governments or is that between citizens?

T524: Both.

T535: It's the finances.

Moderator: Over the actual cost of creating a border?

T524: Yeah.

T519: What would happen to people who say for years have been paying their taxes to the British government and then we went into the south? What would happen to those contributions you've made?

T539: I think Britain would have to contribute.

T519: I wouldn't.

T539: I think they would have to cover things like that.

T548: Is there a state pension down south?

T539: I don't think it would be one morning you go down there and become Dublin's problem. I think even Europe would probably have to do something.

T548: I think if it happened it would be like 20 years down the line, it would finally be, like, clear. Everything's done and dusted there. Where it takes so many years for it to be straightened out.

Moderator: Have you noticed any changes between NI and ROI since the decision to leave the EU?

T524: I think they feel a bit sorry for us. I think there's pity or something.

T519: And rightly so.

Moderator Why do you think that? Where did you get that impression from?

T524: I've family down south and they're like oh you're such a mess.

Moderator: So, you think the people rather than the government, you think the actual people, yeah?

T524: Yeah

Moderator: And any other changes you've noticed? What about the government then? Any changes?

T548: I never really hear much about the Irish government, I don't. Unless they're voting somebody in or something, there's never too much about them on the news.

T504: There's nothing about the Irish government ever coming up here {inaudible}

T510: When they start talking about Brexit and all that stuff but ...

T529: What about the Irish government in London, though? We have had no government here for 12-13 months, so you wouldn't know how they're getting on, we can only guess at the minute.

T504: You can only guess.

T529: Whereas you can definitely see Dublin and London getting a wee bit harder on each other.

Moderator: Dublin and London?

T529: Sure the border and the issue of that and who's going to pay for it. And there seems to be a bit of arguing over it. But generally speaking, the two countries get on generally well.

Moderator: So since the decision to leave the EU, you think there's been a bit more tension with the government in London?

T529: Yes, obviously.

Moderator: If there was a government here at the minute, do you think that would exist between the north and the south?

T539: There's tension already between the DUP and the Irish government.

Moderator: The DUP and the Irish government?

T539: I think it's more so than the Irish government and the English government {inaudible} that's where it's coming from, it's not really Stormont per say, it's more the DUP because they've been taking sides with the conservative government.

Moderator: Do you think there's been more tension between DUP and the Irish government since the decision?

T539: Since the decision, since that last negotiation. No, it hasn't always been there. Paisley had a good relationship with Bertie Ahern, it's only a recent thing.

Moderator: And what is that tension over do you think?

T539: Over the border.

Moderator: Over the idea of a border?

T539: Well over the idea that the north might be leaving the customs union and the single market.

Moderator: Okay, then, you talked about some of the things that have changed since the decision to leave the EU. What about when it actually happens – when the UK leaves the EU? How do you think that will impact relations between NI and ROI?

T548: I think it depends on what way the border's going to be.

T519: Yeah, if it's going to be a hard border or not.

T548: That will factor into a lot of things.

T519: If there's trouble and all at the border it would upset the other crowd again, wouldn't it?

T539: It depends whether or not Stormont comes back because if they don't, what I see is British ministers and Irish ministers making decisions for a country.

Moderator: Do you think it would be better or worse if there was a government here, for relations?

T539: If Stormont was back up?

T529: It has to be better. Some government is better than none.

Moderator: But with regards to the relationships with the south?

T548: I think we need to get NI talking about it instead of London and Dublin. There needs to be people here in NI sorting it out.

T510: and talking to Dublin maybe once a week, what's going on? I think it would be better if they were back, to get talking.

Moderator: Are there any other ways you think relations between NI and ROI will change if the UK leaves the EU? What about in terms of the citizens then instead of the government?

T539: As I said, I did work for a cross border industry. I think if we leave the customs union and the single market, as an Irish passport holder, I'll still be entitled to all the UK rights allegedly. Some of my friends and people I work with are unionists, who don't have an Irish passport. They might not have all the employment rights that I have. That's possible.

Moderator: You think that your rights then will depend on what kind of passport you have?

T539: If you're an Irish passport holder, you're also an EU citizen so it means you're entitled to EU rights and if you're not, are you entitled to them? There's questions there that need asked. It's a big thing with workers like.

Moderator: Okay, going back to the rights then, that would also be something that you would know more about, how the employment rights would be affected?

T539: The EU directives and health and safety, all those things come from the EU.

T510: It's a personal choice of whether to have an Irish passport or a British passport.

T539: So if somebody doesn't want to have a British passport, or an Irish passport, that's their right to choose. Does that mean they'll have different employment rights to work and so on than someone with an Irish passport?

T529: That should be the same. Who is going to deliver that?

T539: But if you're an EU citizen in America, what rights do you have? It's the same as that. But what I'm saying is if you're an EU citizen, living in the north, if you've an Irish passport you have the right to call yourself an EU citizen. Is the EU the court? Are they going to uphold your rights?

T529: But it would still be the same for somebody in Australia that holds an Irish passport, it should be. You know, there should be no reason why, if we completely leave and we're out, that's it. It should be a case of, if you want those rights, go to the EU.

Moderator: Okay, just to move on to, do you think the relations between NI and ROI can be improved? You think they're pretty good at the minute, that's what you said at the start, that at the minute the relations are not too bad. In what ways could it be improved? First of all, who thinks it could be improved?

T504: I think it could be improved if we got the government up and running. If we got the government up and running it could change a lot.

Moderator: In what ways?

T504: They could sit every week with Dublin and talk to each other.

Moderator: So you think if there was a government here there'd be more communication and that that would improve relations? Anybody anything else? What about you?

Moderator: Do you think the relations between the north and ROI could be improved?

T529: With leaving?

Moderator: No, just in general do you think it could improve?

T529: Yeah I think it could always improve.

Moderator: Can you think of any ways it could change for it to improve?

T529: Just getting the government back.

Moderator: Any other ways anyone could think of? What about you?

T519: I think they're sort of good at the minute.

Moderator: And then just to spend a quick second on, I'm not sure if you heard them mentioning the North South Ministerial Council? To what extent do you feel that you're informed with what that is? Was anybody aware of that before that presentation? A couple of nods. Most people hadn't heard of it at all. Do you guys have any idea of what it is or what their role is?

T539: As far as I'm aware they're overseeing the six strands of the Good Friday Agreement. So people would report to them {inaudible}

Moderator: Okay, so they oversee the Good Friday Agreement?

T529: It's a load of nonsense. A shambles.

T539: I think it's the British and Irish ministers. I don't know completely what it's about but I think it's British and Irish politicians and local politicians and British ministers meet.

Moderator: Just moving on then to talk about relations between ROI and GB. So how do you feel relations are between ROI and GB?

T519: I think they're good.

Moderator: Anybody think differently?

T539: Apart from the rhetoric that comes from the politicians. There's a lot of Irish people that go across and work. We speak the same language; we watch the same TV shows.

Moderator: What about between the governments?

T524: I think I'd be quite offended if I was part of the Irish government and the UK had this plan to leave but had no plan in place for the border and had no idea what they want to do with it. So I think it's just ridiculous that they've got to this stage. The vote has been, Brexit's gone through and they have no clue. They haven't given a second thought to what's going to happen. I think I'd be very offended if I was in...

Moderator: in Stormont or ROI?

T524: In the south but probably in Stormont as well.

T510: Maybe it's because our politicians haven't been sitting in Stormont and they haven't been talking. That's probably why they have no clue about the border.

T524: But not even, like take us out of the equation. If you were part of the Irish government and London was sort of telling you, right we're leaving but with no plan in place for what's going to happen to the border.

T535: But is that not about who's going to pay for it?

T524: Not even paying for it. What's happening with it? What is the plan? They don't have a plan.

T529: It's like they just decided to have Brexit on the back of a fag packet.

T524: Yeah and had no thought for the Friday morning when we all woke up.

T529: It's going to change lives of probably two generations of people and nobody knows anything about it.

Moderator: So have you seen any changes in the relations between ROI and GB since the decision to leave the EU?

T539: I have friends living in England who are considering coming back here.

Moderator: Friends that are in England that are considering coming back here? And why is that?

T539: Well they think as EU and Irish citizens living in England their rights will be impeded.

T548: Coming back to live in NI or across the border?

T539: Either.

T548: If we had a border they would think of going down south, you mean?

T539: No they're not keen on staying in England anymore because they think things are going to change so much. They think they'd have better opportunities... probably, more likely, to the south because they're still in the EU. They can work in computers, they can work in Holland, France. They just don't think England or the UK are going to provide opportunities for them.

Moderator: Any other changes you have noticed between GB and ROI? What about you?

T514: I haven't noticed any.

Moderator: You haven't noticed any differences?

T510: The Irish government are flying over to London and I think they're negotiating.

Moderator: Do you think there will be any changes then once the UK leaves the EU? Do you think there'll be any changes in relations between ROI and GB?

T524: Just even doing trade with them. They won't be as desirable to work with after Brexit. It probably will be more expensive and why would you choose to work with a country that is more expensive. When you're in the south of Ireland, you can just look to the rest of Europe with a whole other part of the world to do trade with. Why would you choose to...

Moderator: You think that ROI might be put off doing any trade with GB?

T539: I don't know if they would cut it off, but it's going to be easier for them to trade with the rest of Europe. Which is daft whenever it's 13 miles away.

Moderator: And do you think the relations between ROI and GB can be improved?

T524: Are you saying if they have a plan in place? Just nobody knows what they're trying to do. There's a lot of confusion, a lot of questions unanswered. I don't blame other countries for being annoyed or getting frustrated at that.

T539: I think some of the tabloids in England are portraying Varadkar as being very hard-line. But he's not really, he's just looking after their interests {inaudible}. England/Britain are doing it and the rest of us have to deal with the consequences.

T524: We're doing it and we've no plan in place for what it's going to look like and you all just have to work with us.

Moderator: You think that the relations could be improved if there was a clearer idea of what was going to happen?

T524: Yeah.

Moderator: Any other ways the relations could be improved?

T544: I don't know

Moderator: Okay, I'm just asking to see if anyone has any questions they'd like to put forward to Queen's to answer after this?

T519: To Queen's?

Moderator: You don't have to ask. I'm going to take a sheet of them.

T519: To who?

Moderator: The guys that were doing the presentations.

T514: About the border?

Moderator: Not just about the border

T548: Well they're not going to tell us anything that we don't know.

Moderator: Some people at other tables just wanted to ask questions on maybe things that they mentioned in their presentations or something. Does anyone have anything?

T529: I'd like to know what they think this is going to achieve? Like the research.

T524: Yeah, what they're going to get it out of it.

T529: And what they're going to do with it.

T548: Are they panicking now and that's what it's came down to? It's a year too late.

T524: Yeah, is it going to London or what's it for?

Moderator: Is that the only questions? Okay, so just so I can just kind of sum up what we've been talking about. What shall I say is our general consensus from this table? If you give me a point on the situation in NI. What have I written down here, most people don't think it really makes a difference whether there's a government here or not. That Britain doesn't want to listen to us anyway. Is that correct if I say that? Yes? That if they're interested at all, they're only interested in the DUP and not in Stormont in general.

T519: The DUP call the shots. They're saying we're not doing this; we're not doing that. They've got far too much... they call the shots. And there's other parties and they can't do anything. They probably want the government up and running.

T548: You are right.

Moderator: Okay. So then we asked you, considering the UKs decision to leave the EU, do you think there should be changes to how power-sharing should be set up in NI? So is that a yes or a no to that? Changes to power-sharing?

T529: There needs to be changes. There's too much walking away. You know, pulling out over stupid things.

Moderator: And how would you suggest it was changed?

T529: Handcuff them or something

T524: Stop paying their wages when Stormont isn't there. If I didn't turn up for my job I wouldn't get paid.

T548: Like my wages are paying for them to do no job. They've done nothing.

Moderator: What would you like to see instead?

T548: What's the point in a government when there's nobody there? It's such an important time.

T539: If they don't want to do it let the British and Irish governments take control.

Moderator: So on the next section on views on a referendum on the reunification of Ireland, so you all pretty much thought that that was a good idea to have a referendum on that. Sorry I forgot to ask you, when do you think that should be if there is a referendum?

T504: 2021

T548: I don't think right now. I think we're too heated, we still don't know what's going to happen. Once we know what's going to happen, the border and everything else, yeah. I think you'll get different opinions now and then.

Moderator: So some of the pros of having a referendum would be that people get to have their say and the decision isn't made for them and it means that it's not just the very passionate people that we hear the views of. You get to hear everybody's. If everyone's had a say, then that's how it is. The cons would be that people don't have enough information on what a united Ireland would be. You don't think you have enough information at all and you don't know who to trust. You feel like we're fed information on Brexit which then turned out not to be true. What information should be provided? You'd like to know how it's going to impact the euro, how it's going to impact whether people are British or not.

T548: That passport thing, is it going to impact British ones and the EU rights on the Irish ones.

Moderator: Okay. Relations between NI and ROI, you think are pretty good. Someone said that people in ROI feel a bit sorry for the people in NI because we're leaving. Or why do you think they feel sorry for us?

T524: I think because we're leaving and there's so many unknowns about what's going to happen and it doesn't look like it's going to be the best for us.

T544: And the decision was made for us by English people.