

THE BBC and 'EUROPE'

Analysis of the BBC Radio 1's 'Newsbeat'

15 April – 23 June 2016

It is generally thought that the BBC was less biased than usual in its coverage of the EU Referendum campaign. But News-watch has now analysed its main news programme for young people, Radio 1's Newsbeat, which reveals strong pro-Remain bias. Its coverage of referendum themes was also extremely narrow, amounting to bias by omission.

October 2016

SUMMARY: Newsbeat 15 April – 23 June, 2016

- Newsbeat devoted only 10.7% of its available airtime to the referendum, and 83% of this coverage was in the three weeks immediately before June 23. **Many issues particularly affecting young voters were ignored.** There was a narrow editorial focus on immigration and the economy. Important topics, such as national sovereignty, the ideas behind the EU and how it works, travel and residence in the EU, and the impact on universities were only very briefly mentioned. **This was thus major ‘bias by omission’** and an over-simplification of the issues involved.

The BBC news programme with the biggest audience of young people between the ages of 18 and 25 did not explore the referendum sufficiently to meet the BBC Public Purposes requirements.

- **Newsbeat audiences were 1.5 times more likely to hear a Remain supporter than a Leave supporter.** 238 guest speakers contributed to the various discussions on the referendum. The analysis shows that 45% spoke in favour of Remain, 30% in favour of Leave, with a further 25% giving a neutral, undecided or factual perspective.
- Of 38 Newsbeat reports with guest speakers, 19 (50%) were in favour of Remain, and only five favoured ‘leave’.
- **Politicians** supporting Remain outnumbered those wanting Leave by 47 to 34. In terms of the number of words spoken by politicians, Remain supporters received 64% of the airtime, compared to 36% for Leave - a ratio of approximately 2:1.
- There was a much greater **breadth of opinion** in Remain contributions – they came from Conservatives, Labour, the Liberal Democrats and Green Party. Conversely, the Leave side featured only Conservatives and UKIP. **There were no Leave contributions from the Labour party or wider Left.** There was no input at all from the nationalist parties in Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland.

- Just over half the contributors were 'ordinary' people - vox pop interviewees, members of the public or Newsbeat listeners. **On occasions, the programme appeared proud of its 'anti-politician' stance**, portraying the debate as 'a playground argument' and promising in one edition that there would be 'no boring EU experts'. This diminished the debate.
- Editorially, Newsbeat enhanced and amplified the view of those supporting Remain and did not subject such views and alleged related facts to due rigour.
- Conversely, opinions and alleged facts in favour of Leave were robustly scrutinised, made to look ignorant or contradictory, xenophobic or unfounded (Section 2.4). The most striking example of this was the Leave claim that EU membership cost the UK £350 million a week was categorically said to be untrue, whereas, George Osborne's estimation that Brexit would cost each household £4,300 annually was subjected to little scrutiny.
- In an immigration special from Wisbech, significantly more prominence was given to views favouring EU immigration, and the 'fact checking' sequence was similarly skewed about the economic contribution of EU incomers.
- A special report from Berlin strongly supported the EU, took for granted its role in creating 'peace', featured young expats who strongly agreed with the free movement of people, and contained unfounded warnings that Brexit would damage the UK car industry.
- Overall, Newsbeat gave biased 'Fact check' assessments. It said that immigrants contribute more cash to the UK than they receive in benefits, and the impact on the UK of current levels of immigration was minimised.
- Opponents of current levels of immigration were cast as xenophobic and inward-looking, whereas those who approved of immigration were made to appear outward-looking, open and broad-minded.
- Newsbeat denigrated the use of 'experts' in the EU debate, and suggested their contribution was 'boring'. Their appearances on the programme were limited to a handful. This meant that by a large margin, most contributions came from members of the public and politicians.

- Newsbeat strongly encouraged its young audience to register to vote (Was this in the light of the perceived wisdom that young people were more likely to vote Remain?)
- There were several occasions when the Remain case was put by contributors in the strongest possible light, whereas equivalent Leave contributions were edited to be more qualified, less convincing and less robust.
- Also on this theme, alleged benefits of remaining in the EU were clearly identified in some items, for example, visa-free travel, or 'very cheap travel', but there was limited mention of the of Brexit's advantages.

PART ONE - STATISTICS

1.1 Overview

Newsbeat is the flagship news programme on BBC Radio 1 and BBC Radio 1Xtra. The programme is produced by BBC News with a remit to provide content tailored specifically to a younger audience. Fifteen-minute editions of the Newsbeat programme are broadcast at 12.45pm and 5.45pm on weekdays, and these are complimented by shorter bulletins aired throughout the schedule.

The lunchtime and evening editions of Newsbeat have a combined weekly reach of approximately 3.3 million listeners and more 15 to 24-year-olds receive their news from the programme than from any other BBC outlet.¹ Its audience is half male and half female (which means the programme has a higher proportion of female listeners than most other BBC News output) and 10% of the audience are students.²

In May 2016, then-Culture Secretary John Whittingdale singled out Newsbeat as one of the BBC's 'most distinctive programmes' alongside series such as 'Life on Earth', 'The Wonders of the Universe' and 'Strictly Come Dancing'.³

Although often the same reports are duplicated on the lunchtime and early evening editions of the programme, sometimes material only appears in one bulletin, or is edited differently in each.

1.2 News-watch's Methodology and the BBC's Referendum Guidelines

News-watch monitored all lunchtime and evening editions of Newsbeat for ten weeks between Friday 15 April and Thursday 23 June 2016. All programme items covering the referendum were full transcribed and details were entered into News-watch's bespoke database. Line-by-line analysis was undertaken of all referendum-related transcripts.

Part-way through the monitoring interval, Newsbeat announced a standalone debate programme (Newsbeat: In or Out) to be broadcast at 9pm on 14 June, simultaneously on BBC Radio 1, 1Extra and the BBC News Channel. Given that it fell outside the original survey parameters, that it was

¹ <https://www.theguardian.com/media/2014/oct/12/radio-1-newsbeat-youngsters-news>

² Hudson G, Rowlands, S, *The Broadcast Journalism Handbook*, Pearson Education, London, 2007, p.540

³ <http://www.radiotimes.com/news/2016-05-12/bbc-white-paper-john-whittingdales-statement-in-full>

predominantly a studio debate rather than a news bulletin, and that its audience reach was potentially much lower than Newsbeat's daytime programmes, it has been excluded from the statistical and textual analysis presented here to avoid the collected data being skewed. The full transcript, however, is presented in Appendix II.⁴

This survey interval was selected to coincide exactly with when the BBC's Referendum Guidelines were in effect, and 'broad balance' ought to have been achieved between both sides of the argument.⁵ The guidelines stated:

3.1 Due impartiality is not necessarily achieved by the application of a simple mathematical formula or a stopwatch, but the objective – in a referendum with two alternatives – must be to achieve a proper balance between the two sides. This will be irrespective of indications of relative levels of support. However, referendums are seldom fought purely on the basis of just two opposing standpoints – on each side, where there is a range of views or perspectives, that should be reflected appropriately during the campaign. Achieving due impartiality during the campaign means finding "broad balance" between the arguments and not necessarily between the designated Campaign Groups. There may be circumstances in which other voices, beyond the formal representatives, are relevant to the arguments: these too should be weighed in terms of the broad balance.

News-watch, in a written submission to the BBC Trust's Consultation on the Referendum Guidelines on 14 January 2016, questioned the vague phraseology used in the document⁶, which appeared to warn against employing quantitative analysis (including 'stopwatch' measurements) to assess impartiality. Given the clear opposition to quantitative investigations of news coverage at the BBC's very highest levels⁷, News-watch was concerned that Section 3.1 was an attempt to head off any future criticisms of coverage based on formal media analysis.

In response to News-watch's concerns, the BBC Trust's 'Outcome of Consultation'⁸, published in February 2016, said that the Draft Guidelines did not explicitly rule out 'stopwatch' and 'mathematical' measurements or any other quantitative approach, emphasising that the Guidelines only stated that due impartiality is not *necessarily* achieved by these means.

⁴ Analysis of the transcript showed that the word counts of speaker contributions for Remain outnumbered those for Leave in the Newsbeat Special by 53% to 47%, a smaller margin than the main lunchtime and evening editions of Newsbeat, but not insignificant.

⁵ http://downloads.bbc.co.uk/bbctrust/assets/files/pdf/our_work/peb/2016/eu_guidelines/ref_guidelines.pdf

⁶ A view shared by The Green Party, who in their submission to the Referendum Guidelines consultation expressed 'concerns that the terms used in the proposals were vague and might not allow for the full range of views on EU membership to be fairly covered by the BBC.' http://downloads.bbc.co.uk/bbctrust/assets/files/pdf/our_work/peb/2016/eu_guidelines/consultation_outcome.pdf p.11

⁷ David Jordan, Director of Editorial Policy and Standards, in an appearance before the House of Commons European Scrutiny Committee on 20 October 2015 said that monitoring was 'unhelpful'. BBC Trust Chairman Rona Fairhead giving evidence to the same Committee on 2 December 2015 said impartiality, 'cannot be done by maths, it has to be done by judgment' and was critical of the concept of 'impartiality by numbers.'

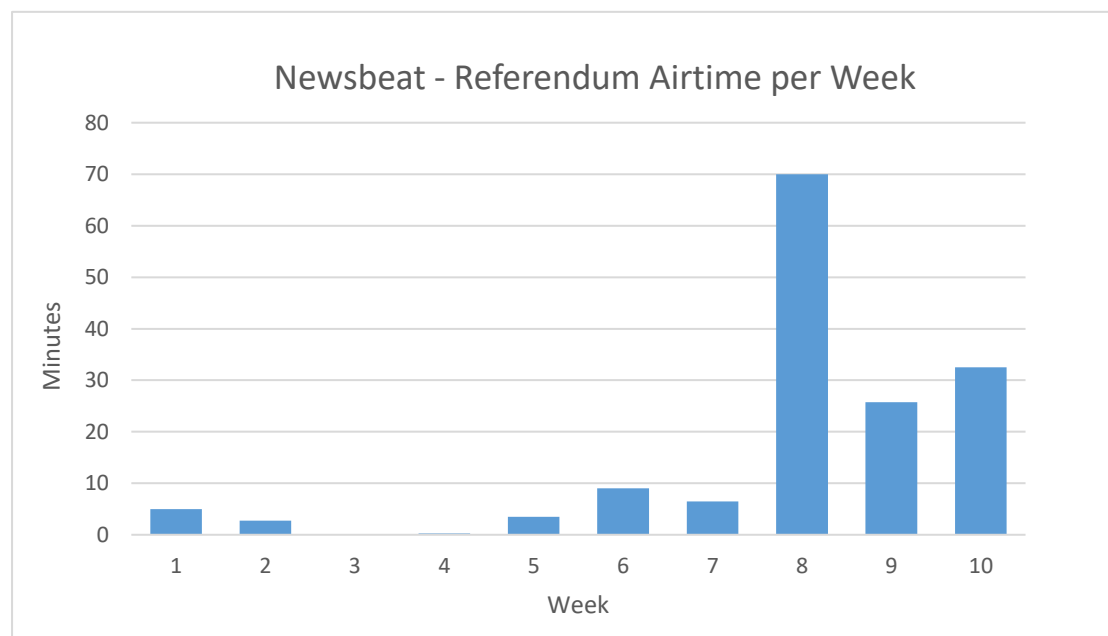
⁸ http://downloads.bbc.co.uk/bbctrust/assets/files/pdf/our_work/peb/2016/eu_guidelines/ref_guidelines.pdf

This reassurance by the BBC Trust was vital: it validated a key monitoring process deployed by News-watch (and university departments assessing the coverage⁹). Although focus of the Referendum Guidelines was on the *achievement* of ‘due impartiality’ rather than the *assessing* of it, the inference was that a fundamental component of ‘broad balance’ would be parity for each side in terms of the number of speaker appearances and the overall time devoted to each case.

1.3 Airtime

There were 96 editions of Newsbeat broadcast between Friday 15 April and Thursday 23 June¹⁰, amounting to 24 hours and 7 minutes of airtime.¹¹

There were 40 individual features with a referendum theme, 20 in the lunchtime edition and 20 in the early evening programme. On eight further occasions, the referendum, or other EU-related issues, were mentioned in passing. There were 20 reports in each edition, but this was not because of simple duplication between the lunchtime and evening programmes. A number of reports featured in only one edition, and others were edited differently. The 40 reports had a combined duration of 2 hours 35 minutes. This was 10.7% of the total airtime available to the Newsbeat during the ten-week interval. The graph illustrates that the amount of referendum coverage varied from week to week.



⁹ Loughborough University Centre for Research in Communication and Culture produced a series of reports into news coverage of the Referendum Campaign. Pointedly, a key section of their analysis was entitled ‘stopwatch’ balance.

¹⁰ Although there were 100 weekdays in the survey interval, Newsbeat did not broadcast on the two Bank Holiday Monday which fell during the ten week period.

¹¹ A programme broadcast at lunchtime on 7 June from Wisbech had a duration of 16 minutes and on the same day the evening programme had a duration of 21 minutes, with both editions beginning slightly earlier than usual.

Referendum content was minimal in the first seven weeks of the survey, with an average of less than four minutes per week, or 2.6% of Newsbeat's available airtime. Week three (29 April to 5 May) featured no coverage at all, and week four (6-12 May) carried only a 15-second mention of the referendum.

There was a sharp increase in coverage the eighth week (3-9 June), with 70 minutes of airtime (45% of Newsbeat's available space) given over to referendum-based reports. The content included information on registering to vote, two full editions devoted to the issue of immigration, coverage of the aftermath of the systems failure which led the government's voter registration website to crash, and the subsequent extension to the registration deadline.

The final two weeks before polling day carried 26 minutes (17% of available airtime) and 33 minutes (22% of available airtime) of referendum news respectively. A major concern is that 83% of referendum coverage was in the last three weeks of the campaign. Only 37 of the 96 individual editions of Newsbeat therefore carried referendum-based features and 59 editions carried no referendum reporting at all. This brings into question whether there was sufficient commitment to examine properly the issues involved in the referendum campaign in the period before June 3.

Table 1 lists all news stories carried by Newsbeat during the fourth week of the survey. Broadly in line with other weeks before June 3, there were only 15 seconds of referendum-related news.¹²

¹² The previous week (29 April – 5 May) carried no referendum coverage at all, but there were only eight editions of Newsbeat on account of the Bank Holiday Monday. In addition, a significant proportion of airtime, including two full programmes, were devoted to Leicester City becoming football's Premier League Champions. Week Four (6 – 12 May) was therefore selected for close analysis as it carried the second lowest amount of referendum coverage, but in a more 'typical' week of Newsbeat, and therefore provides a greater appreciation of the range of stories that programme generally chooses to cover.

Table 1. All items broadcast on Newsbeat, Week Four, 6-12 May 2016

Friday 6 May - Lunchtime	
Results of English local elections and the national elections in Scotland and Wales. ¹³	8 min
Last night a Syrian refugee camp was bombed in an air strike, with at least 30 killed.	2 min 15 sec
Temperatures could hit 27 degrees, report on the dangers of skin cancer.	2 min 30 sec
Liverpool have made it to the Europa League Final.	3 min 30 sec
Friday 6 May - Evening	
Results of English local elections and the national elections in Scotland and Wales.	4 min 30 sec
Today a judge dismissed complaints against an Algerian man in the first trial linked to the Cologne New Year's Eve 2015 assault and robbery incident	1 min 45 sec
Last night a Syrian refugee camp was bombed in an air strike, with at least 30 killed.	3 min 15 sec
Liverpool have made it to the Europa League Final.	1 min 30 sec
Boxing: tomorrow night Amir Khan has the biggest fight of his career	30 sec
Temperatures could hit 27 degrees, report on the dangers of skin cancer.	3 min 30 sec
Monday 9 May - Lunchtime	
Newsbeat Special – Anorexia: a boy in a girl's world	15 min
Monday 9 May - Evening	
Newsbeat Special – Anorexia: a boy in a girl's world	15 min
Tuesday 10 May - Lunchtime	
Singer Meghan Trainor has had her new video taken down, complaining that she's been digitally altered.	2 min 45 sec
One man has been killed and three others injured in a knife attack outside Munich	30 sec
Campaigners to leave the European Union said the prime minister failed when he negotiated a deal to crack down on migration	15 sec
The hunt is on for a SATS test marker after a spelling, punctuation and grammar test was published online	15 sec
The government is being urged to justify its use of drone strikes outside armed combat	3 min 30 sec
The mother of Ben Needham has spent almost 25 years searching for her son and has made a fresh appeal for information on his disappearance	3 min 30 sec
Will Gary Lineker really present Match of the Day in his underpants after betting that Leicester wouldn't win the league?	6 min 15 sec
Rita Ora became the latest star to quit X-Factor today	30 sec
Tuesday 10 May - Evening	
Singer Meghan Trainor has had her new video taken down, complaining that she's been digitally altered.	4 min
The mother of Ben Needham has spent almost 25 years searching for her son and has made a fresh appeal for information on his disappearance	3 min 30 sec
The government is being urged to justify its use of drone strikes outside armed combat	3 min 30 sec
West Ham are playing their final game at Upton Park after 112 years	3 min 45 sec
Wednesday 11 May - Lunchtime	
At a garden party yesterday the Queen and the Prime Minister made indiscreet remarks on tape	3 min 45 sec
West Ham played their final game at Upton Park after 112 years, the Manchester United team bus was smashed up	3.75
The BBC has figures which show more than 13,000 people in England have jumped bail after appearing in court are still in the run	2 min 30 sec
Singer Justin Bieber has posted a message saying that he is sick of having phones shoved in his face and feels like an animal at the zoo	3 min 30 sec
US rapper Azealia Banks has started a Twitter spat with Zane Malik, as well as Lady Gaga, Rhianna, Nicki Minaj.	30 sec

¹³ The item began by stating 'results are coming in from the biggest set of votes before the General Election in 2020' – ignoring the upcoming EU referendum completely. There was also mention of UKIP gaining seven seats in the Welsh Assembly, but this wasn't linked to potential upsurge in support for Brexit.

Singer The New York Police have taken a man to hospital who was ringing the buzzer at Taylor Swift's apartment block, claiming he belonged there	15 sec
Actress Emma Watson has been mentioned in the Panama Papers scandal, but claims she pays the correct amount of tax	15 sec
Wednesday 11 May - Evening	
At a garden party yesterday the Queen and the Prime Minister made indiscreet remarks on tape	2 min 45 sec
West Ham played their final game at Upton Park after 112 years, the Manchester United team bus was smashed up	3 min
Singer Justin Bieber has posted a message saying that he is 'sick of having phones shoved in his face' and feels like an animal at the zoo	3 min 30 sec
US rapper Azealia Banks has started a Twitter spat with Zane Malik, as well as Lady Gaga, Rhianna, Nicki Minaj.	3 min
There is bad news for Roy Hodgson ahead of Euro 16, with Danny Wellbeck ruled out of the tournament due to a knee injury	2 min 30 sec
Thursday 12 May – Lunchtime	
The government has released plans for the BBC over the next ten years.	5 min 45 sec
Victims whose Facebook pictures were put onto a pornography website say they feel violated	3 min 15 sec
A 27 year old receptionist has forced her employer to change their dress code after originally being told she had to wear high heels and was sent home in flats with no pay.	3 min 15 sec
Newcastle and Norwich have been relegated from the Premier League	3 min 15 sec
Tower Records is the subject of a new film	1 min
Thursday 12 May – Evening	
The government has released plans for the BBC over the next ten years.	4 min 15 sec
Four years ago unarmed black teenager Trayvon Martin was shot dead in Florida. Earlier on today the gun he used to kill the 17 year old appeared for sale on an auction site	3 min 30 sec
A 27 year old receptionist has forced her employer to change their dress code after originally being told she had to wear high heels and was sent home in flats with no pay.	3 min
Everton Football club have sacked their manager	3 min 30 sec
Tower Records is the subject of a new film	1 min

This illustrates that Newsbeat carries a mix of traditional news and 'softer' stories, with a heavy focus on sport, music and celebrity.

What emerges is that a number of the 'issue'-led items were not especially time-sensitive. For example, the report on male anorexia (May 9) had no discernible urgency or news angle, but accounted for 30 minutes (20% of total available airtime). The item about Gary Lineker presenting Match of the Day in his underpants commanded more than six minutes. Could these two items have been substituted with features on the referendum in order that Newsbeat better met the BBC's Public Purposes requirements?

A survey of University students, with interviews conducted at roughly the same time covered by Table 1, found that almost two thirds of those asked couldn't name the date of the referendum, and over

half were even unable to name the month of the vote.¹⁴ A tenth of Newsbeat's audience are students. Is it possible that the lack of airtime devoted to the referendum by Newsbeat in these seven weeks could have contributed to this overall lack of awareness?

1.4 Referendum Subjects on Newsbeat

Full transcripts of all referendum reports broadcast by Newsbeat during the ten-week survey interval were analysed on a line-by-line basis and categorised according to the particular subject area or areas being addressed in each report.

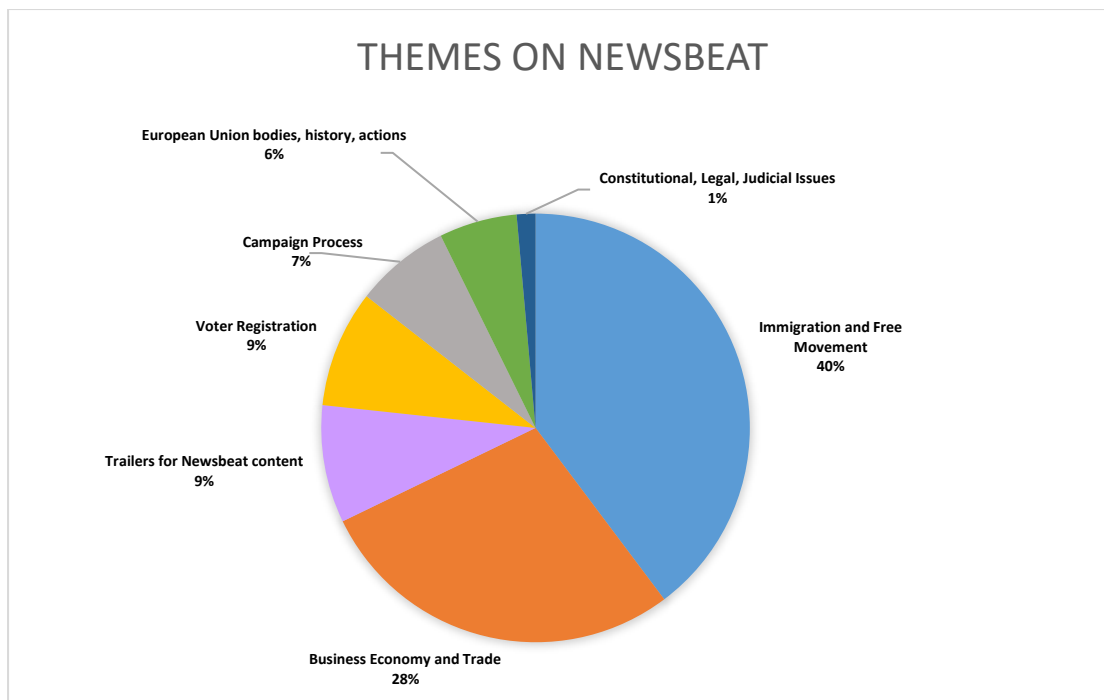
The coding frame used as its basis the referendum analysis of Loughborough University's Centre for Research in Communication and Culture. The Centre looked at the most prominent referendum issues across television and the press, although over a shorter time-span.¹⁵ The Loughborough research found that the most prominent subject areas covered by the wider broadcast and print media were: Referendum Conduct and Process (30.9%); Economy and Business (18.9%); and Immigration (13.2%).

Analysis of the Newsbeat content presents a significantly different picture. Immigration (40%) and Economy and Business (26%) dominated. Much less space was devoted to Referendum Conduct and Process (7%).

Newsbeat also differed from the Loughborough figures in that significant time was devoted to the discussion and promotion of voter registration. This is analysed fully in Section 1.7.5. Significant space was also given to trailers for Newsbeat's standalone one-hour debate show, and to external content on Facebook, Twitter and iPlayer.

¹⁴ YouthSight conducted a Student Omnibus survey with 2,007 UK students over the course of seven days, between 4 and 11 May 2016. 63% of students were not able to name the date of the referendum, 54% of students did not know in which month the referendum is taking place. <http://www.youthsight.com/eu-referendum-students-universities-uk-poll-registered-wrong-address/>

¹⁵ Loughborough monitored: Channel 4 News (7pm), Channel 5 News Tonight (6.30pm), BBC1 News at 10, ITV1 News at 10, Sky News 8-8.30pm, along with: The Guardian, The Times, Daily Telegraph, Financial Times, Daily Mail, Daily Express, Daily Mirror, The Sun, Star and the I, between 5 May and 22 June 2016. <https://blog.lboro.ac.uk/crc/eu-referendum/uk-news-coverage-2016-eu-referendum-report-5-6-may-22-june-2016/>



Received wisdom during the referendum campaign suggested that discussion of immigration favoured the Leave side, while coverage of Business and Economic issues favoured Remain.¹⁶ However, content analysis shows that the dominance of immigration in Newsbeat's referendum reporting was not necessarily positive for the Leave argument.

The majority of Newsbeat's immigration coverage was contained in two extended editions, broadcast from Wisbech in Cambridgeshire on 7 June. Together, these accounted for 37 minutes of airtime. This was more than half the total discussion about immigration, and just under a quarter of Newsbeat's total referendum coverage.

These reports are analysed in detail in Section 2.1. They emphasised the benefits of immigration far more than the negatives. Elsewhere, a report from Berlin on 13 June (see Section 2.3) provided only a positive perspective on the EU's free movement principle; and a report from the Greek Island of Zante on 21 June (see Section 2.4), although including a contributor speaking against free movement, positioned him as rather duplicitous, in that he criticised foreign workers for taking British jobs, while working abroad himself.

The dominance of immigration was compounded by the very limited – and at times inadequate and skewed – coverage of most other issues. For example, the category 'European Bodies, History and Actions' accounted for only 6% of referendum coverage, and the topic was discussed only superficially

¹⁶ <https://blog.lboro.ac.uk/crcc/eu-referendum/media-coverage-eu-referendum-report-1/>

and from an overwhelmingly pro-EU perspective. More than 90% of coverage focused on the perceived benefits of the EU: a section of a report from Berlin which noted that the EU flag symbolised ‘unity, freedom, freedom of rights, freedom of speech’, and said that the Union had brought peace to the European continent after the Second World War; and a sequence with two pro-EU Norwegians who suggested that their country was isolated outside the European Union, which ‘does so much good work, like bringing Europe together.’ Conversely, the 9% that was critical of the EU contained only a short mention of financial difficulties faced by Greece and a brief vox pop soundbite in which a Norwegian contributor indicated he was happy that his country is outside the EU.

A wide range of subjects – Sovereignty, Defence, Security, EU Corruption, Devolution, the Environment, Development Issues, Health, and Education – were either mentioned in extremely limited terms, or ignored altogether.

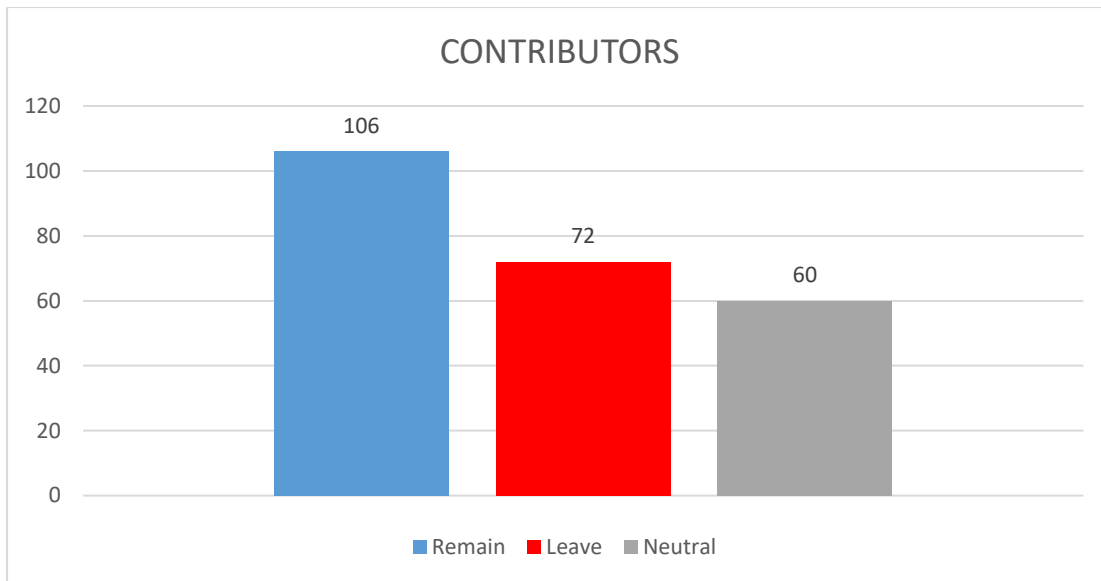
1.5 Contributors to Newsbeat

238 guest speakers contributed to Newsbeat’s referendum during the ten-week survey interval, with such speakers featuring in 38 of the 40 broadcast referendum reports.

Each contributor was coded according to whether they supported Leave, Remain or offered a neutral or undecided perspective. Some speakers were categorised in terms of whether, editorially, they were included to support or bolster Leave or Remain, for example, if they were clearly positive or negative towards specific EU policies such as the free movement of people or the common agricultural and fishing policies, but were not explicit about their own voting intentions.¹⁷

The analysis shows that 106 contributors (45%) spoke in favour of Remain, or bolstered the Remain case. 72 contributors (30%) spoke in favour of Leave, or bolstered the Leave case. 60 speakers (25%) gave a neutral or factual perspective, or said they were undecided on how to vote, asked a question, or provided a contribution which could not be categorised neatly.

¹⁷ A number of speakers were discounted from the coding process on the basis that their voices were used simply to add ‘colour’ to a particular report rather than to make any specific argument, most notably 12 speakers across the lunchtime and evening editions of a report from Wisbech on 7 June, who simply said ‘Hello’ in a variety of languages.

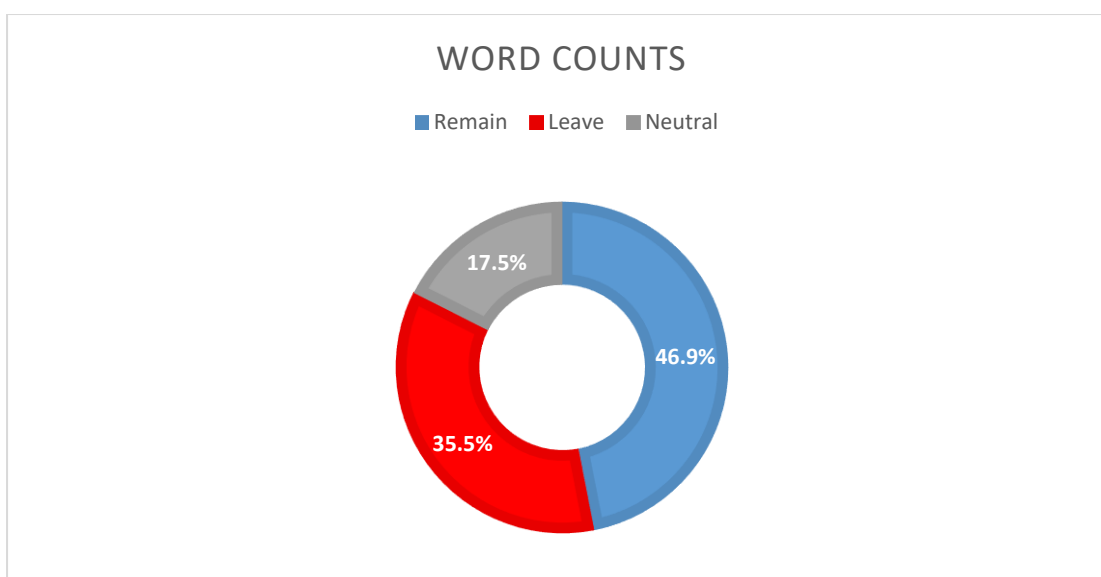


The data shows that the Newsbeat audience were exactly **1.5 times more likely** to hear a speaker supporting Remain than they were a speaker supporting Leave during the survey interval.

In practise, this imbalance meant that of the 38 Newsbeat reports that included guest speakers, exactly half of them, 19, showed a speaker weighting in favour of Remain. 14 reports contained an even numbers of speakers from each side, and only five were weighted in favour of Leave.

1.6 Word Count Analysis of Contributors

A similar discrepancy occurred when contributors were assessed on the number of words spoken. Remain supporters were afforded 5,174 words (46.9% of those spoken), Leave supporters 3,915 (35.5%) and Neutral/Factual/Uncategorised speakers 1,933 words (17.5%).



As with the speaker totals, there was a significant differential in the amount of space given to the two sides in the referendum debate. The survey spanned the precise period in which the BBC's own guidelines stated that 'broad balance' ought to have been achieved. Patently, it was not. There was again a very significant imbalance.

There were a number of borderline coding decisions which, had they been taken differently, would have led to an even greater disparity in favour of Remain. These are discussed in greater detail in the following section, which looks at the range of opinion offered by Newsbeat.

1.7 Range of Voices

The next line of analysis was the range of voices that were heard on Newsbeat during the ten weeks of the campaign. They can be broken down as follows:

Category	Leave	Remain	Neutral	Total
Members of the Public, Vox Pops, Listeners	30	42	54	126
UK Politicians, Official Leave/Remain Campaigns	34	47	0	81
Business, Finance, Trade Bodies	6	13	0	19
Artists, Musicians, Celebrities	2	2	2	6
Think Tanks, Pressure Groups and Charities	0	0	4	4
Non-UK, Non-EU Politicians	0	1	0	1
Academics	0	1	0	1
EU Politicians	0	0	0	0
Total	72	106	50	238

1.7.1 Members of the Public, Vox Pops, Listeners.

The biggest category, adding up to more than half (53%) of all contributors, was members of the public, vox pop interviewees, or Newsbeat listeners. They outnumbered the next biggest group, politicians, by 1.5 times.

Those in this group who supported or bolstered the Remain argument outnumbered those supporting Leave (33% to 24%). The largest number, 43%, were 'neutral'. In this grouping were undecided voters, those asking questions rather than made a direct political point, or those were unable to be categorised as making a clear point in favour of either Leave or Remain.

A proportion of this category were recruited or pre-vetted rather than being part of a random sample (as might ordinarily be the case in 'vox pop' samples). For example, a pre-selected group of three people, one Remain, one Leave and one 'undecided' was part of the Wisbech sequence on immigration.

The heavy emphasis placed by Newsbeat on 'ordinary' voices raises issues. Although it is important that news coverage and analysis reflects 'ordinary' concerns and perspectives, there is also an editorial need to ensure that coverage is not simply a cacophony of conflicting opinion.

On occasion, Newsbeat appeared to take undue delight in its anti-politician stance. For example in the whole-programme sequence from Wisbech dealing with immigration (June 7), presenter Chris Smith announced:

Here's the promise: no politicians before one o'clock, no boring EU experts, just straight talking.

A similar guarantee was repeated in the evening edition, along with criticism of the tenor of the debate:

Well, we did promise you no politicians on Newsbeat today, because a few of you have been telling us that their debating is starting to sound a little bit too much like playground arguments.

To amplify this point, the programme included two children, eight year old Molly and six year old Sam, who proceeded to shout 'Leave' and 'Stay' back and forth with increasing ferocity. This was followed by both children reading out scripted arguments on the issue of immigration:

SAM: Immigrants pay more in taxes than they cost the country. The work they do helps British businesses and services, boosting the economy. Even if we leave the EU, we may still have to allow people from EU countries to work here, so we can trade with them as part of the single market. We want to limit benefits for those coming here from Europe for four years after they arrive.

CS: And here is Molly, with the key points for Leave campaign.

MOLLY: It's impossible to control immigration if we stay in the Europe . . . European Union. Too many people are coming to this country and putting a strain on things, like schools, hospitals and housing. Foreign workers are pushing down wages. We want to bring in a points-system so only people with useful skills can work here.

Putting aside that the Remain argument was lengthier and that the Leave argument delivered more hesitantly and less articulately by the younger child, the *mode* of delivery became the central focus of

this sequence, with the most striking impression being that the referendum debate and the politicians involved were childish.

With limited space and such a low volume of referendum coverage, Newsbeat's time might have included more contributions from the politicians and 'boring EU experts' it was seemingly trying to avoid. Its heavy reliance on 'ordinary' people, though giving some valuable insight into the views of young people, seriously reduced the amount of time available for informed comment.

1.7.2 UK Politicians, Official Leave/Remain Campaigns

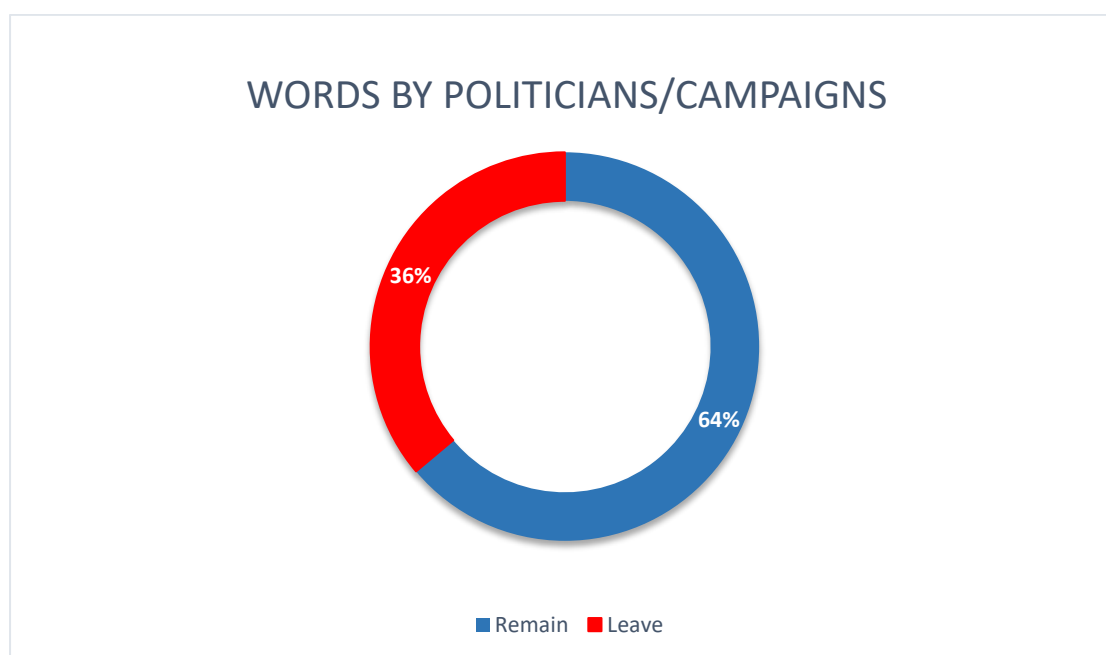
Leave	Remain	Neutral	Total
34	47	0	81

As already noted, this was the second largest category, with 81 contributors. The word count illustrates graphically how relatively little time each political contributor had, and thereby underlines the narrowness of Newsbeat's coverage. Most amount to only a few sentences, and even David Cameron's 17 appearances and 567 words equates to less than four minutes of airtime¹⁸. The political appearances are listed in the table below.

Name	Party	Stance	Appearances	Total Words
David Cameron	Conservative	Remain	17	567
Boris Johnson	Conservative	Leave	12	271
Dominic Raab	Conservative	Leave	2	270
Sam Gyimah	Conservative	Remain	2	230
John Major	Conservative	Remain	4	156
Chuka Ummuna	Labour	Remain	2	152
George Osborne	Conservative	Remain	2	134
Nigel Farage	UKIP	Leave	7	95
Tim Farron	Lib Dem	Remain	3	85
Steve Hilton	Former Cameron Advisor	Leave	2	78
Tony Blair	Labour	Remain	7	68
Michael Gove	Conservative	Leave	4	62
Sarah Woolaston	Conservative	Remain	1	59
Vote Leave Video	Vote Leave	Leave	3	51
Piri Patel	Conservative	Leave	1	44
Harriet Harman	Labour	Remain	2	38
Alistair Darling	Labour	Remain	2	36
Andrea Leadsom	Conservative	Leave	2	36
Natalie Bennett	Green Party	Remain	2	28
Remain Video Material	Britain Stronger in Europe	Remain	2	26
Lord Sugar	Labour	Remain	1	20
Theresa Villiers	Conservative	Leave	1	15

¹⁸ Assuming a rough rate of delivery of 150 words per minute (not calculated precisely).

In terms of total appearances, Remain politicians outnumbered Leave supporters by 47 to 34. They dominated the discussion in terms of word count by almost 2:1, as shown by the chart below:



Prime Minister David Cameron, with 17 appearances (in 96 programmes), was the most prominent political contributor. He spoke more than twice the length of the most prominent Leave contributor, Boris Johnson. The Prime Minister's dominance mirrored observations by Loughborough University during the campaign. They found through an analysis of TV and newspaper coverage that the referendum had been 'presidential' in tone and dominated by centre-right speakers.

Coverage of the campaign has been highly presidential and dominated by Conservative representatives from both camps. The IN cause is heavily dependent on the Prime Minister and Chancellor as its main media spokespeople and the OUT campaign on Boris Johnson, Michael Gove and Iain Duncan Smith.¹⁹

Newsbeat's overall limited coverage meant its main political contributors were less mainstream than those in the Loughborough survey. For example, Newsbeat's 'top six' in the table above included Remainer Chuka Ummuna and the Leave supporter Dominic Raab. This was because they had appeared in a standalone Newsbeat referendum special (June 14), and extracts from that were included in the two Newsbeat programmes the following day.

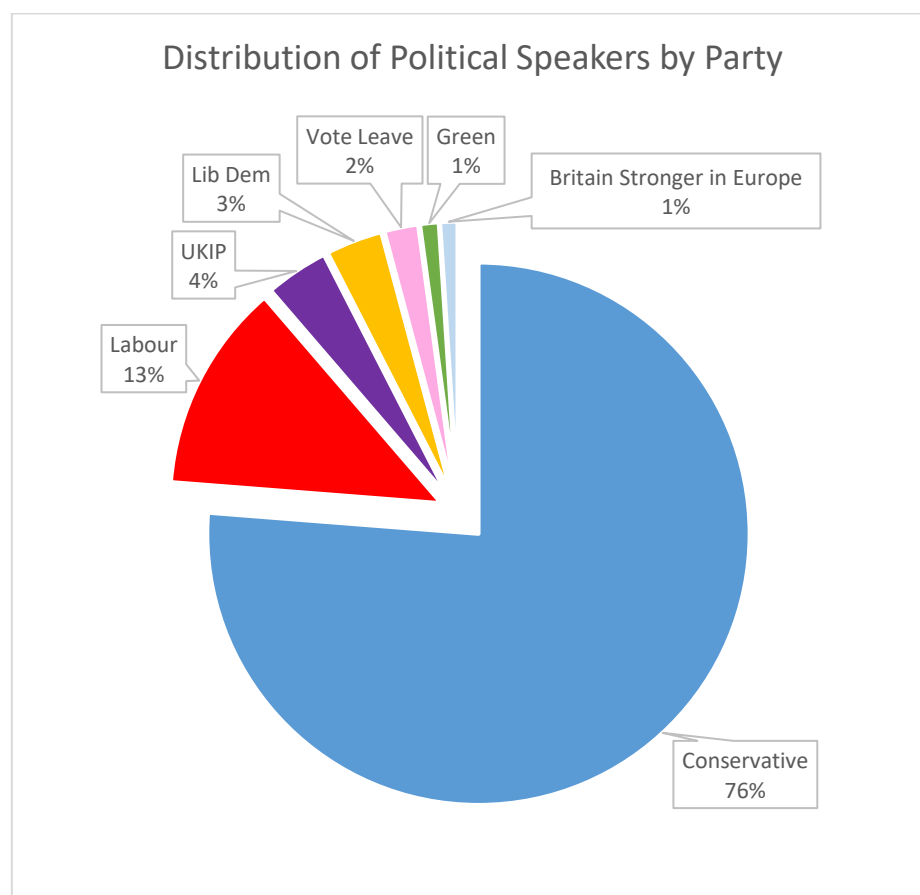
Overall, there was a much wider breadth of political opinion from Remain. Contributors were drawn from the Conservatives, Labour, the Liberal Democrats, and the Greens. Conversely, the political opinion speaking in favour of Brexit came from only two parties, either the Conservatives or UKIP.

¹⁹ <http://blog.lboro.ac.uk/crcc/eu-referendum/media-coverage-of-the-eu-referendum-report-3/>

There were no Leave voice from the Labour Party (even though two of its MPs, Gisela Stewart and Kate Hoey, were prominent in different elements of the Leave camp) or from across the wider political left.

In addition, Newsbeat featured no contributions from the SNP, Plaid Cymru, or politicians from Northern Ireland. This raises doubts whether there was a fair mix between the parties, and seriously questions whether the young Newsbeat audience was provided with a full overview of the range of opinion involved in the referendum debate.

Another issue related to political appearances, illustrated in the next chart, is the dominance of the Conservative Party. More than three-quarters (76%) of the words spoken by political contributors came from Tory MPs (or those closely associated with the party).



This dominance of Conservative voices in the referendum debate in the wider news media was also noted in research by Dr Stephen Cushion and Professor Justin Lewis from the Cardiff University School of Journalism, Media and Cultural Studies. In their survey, they analysed the evening news bulletins across the terrestrial TV channels and Sky during the campaign and recorded that 71.2% of political sources were from the Conservative Party, compared to only 18.4% from Labour. Although their

analysis focused on a headcount of speakers rather than the space allotted, it correlates with the data from Newsbeat suggesting that the programme was typical of news reporting more widely in its chosen mix of political guests.

The Consultation on the Referendum Guidelines made it clear that ‘broad balance’ was to be achieved between the *arguments* rather than political parties²⁰. This, therefore, is not necessarily a problem in terms of balance, though it is perhaps worth noting that the volume of Labour contributions from both Leave and Remain was very low. Was it not incumbent on Newsbeat to make more effort in this respect? And following on from that, the dominance of the Conservative Party meant that there was apparently no space for Leave arguments from the broader political left.²¹

1.7.3 Business, Finance and Trade Bodies.

Leave	Remain	Neutral	Total
6	13	0	19

The majority of the speakers included in this category were actually small business owners or employees with a specific sector expertise, and might equally have been categorised as ‘ordinary people’ had they not been introduced by their job title, and spoken professionally rather than personally.

Name	Job Title	Stance	Appearances	Total Words
Emma	Hovercraft Business Owner	Leave	2	590
Jonathan	Founder of SoPost	Remain	2	420
David Devine	Farmer	Leave	2	234
Chloe	Farmer	Remain	2	220
Markus Kerber	German Federation of Industries	Remain	2	208
Stephen	Fisherman	Leave	2	136
John Minace	Estate Agent	Remain	2	112
Dan	Web Designer	Remain	1	76
Paul Johnson	Institute of Fiscal Studies	Remain	2	68
Alexander Smith	Food Business Manager	Remain	2	42

²⁰ In response to a suggestion by UKIP that it should be ensured prominence, the Committee responded, “impartiality in the referendum is applied to arguments and not political parties or parties that adopt a particular referendum position.”

http://downloads.bbc.co.uk/bbctrust/assets/files/pdf/our_work/peb/2016/eu_guidelines/consultation_outcome.pdf

²¹ News-watch’s long-term analysis has shown that the BBC has regularly viewed EU issues through the prism of Tory splits and divisions between the Conservative Party and UKIP. Appearances by to left-wing supporters of British withdrawal from the EU have been very rare - for example in surveys of Radio 4’s Today programme undertaken by News-watch between March 2004 and June 2015 found that from 4,275 speakers on EU matters, only four (0.07%) were left-wing advocates of Brexit. <http://news-watch.co.uk/monitoring-projects-and-reports/>

The longest contribution came from Emma, a Brexit-supporting owner of a hovercraft business. The length of her contribution meant that the word count imbalance here was less pronounced than in other categories, (54% Remain to 46% Leave). However, there was still a failure to achieve the ‘broad balance’ stipulated by the Referendum Guidelines. Additionally, Remain supporters in this category outnumbered Leave supporters by a ratio of more than 2:1.

Only two contributors (making four appearances in total) were of a senior level – Paul Johnson from the IFS and Markus Kerber from the German Federation of Industries – who both made arguments in favour of Remain. This numerical imbalance in business opinion was bolstered further by Alex Forsyth from the BBC’s Reality Check who contributed to the two editions of Newsbeat broadcast on 15 June. She said:

Well, what we know is, of course, when it comes to jobs and wages the big question is whether leaving the EU would be good or bad for the economy and as it stands, the weight of economic opinion suggests that it would be bad for the economy, particularly in the short term. That isn’t all economists, by any means, but there are some quite big, credible names in there.

By contrast, Newsbeat didn’t at any point seek opinion from economists whose opinions differed from this ‘weight of opinion’, and as such, this speaker category was clearly skewed.

1.7.4 Artists, Musicians and Celebrities

Leave	Remain	Neutral	Total
2	2	2	6

The six contributions in this category came from three musicians who appeared in a single report which featured in the lunchtime of Newsbeat on 9 June, and was repeated in full during the same day’s evening show.²²

The totals are an even split. But there are problems revealed by content analysis (dealt with more fully in 2:1 below). The main issue is that the arguments for Remain were put strongly and robustly by one musician. The Leave argument, however, was advanced less passionately by another musician who seemed reluctant to say that he shared these views.

²² Arguably Lord Alan Sugar could have been coded as a celebrity rather than a politician, given his long-running and prominent role fronting *The Apprentice* on BBC1. This would have shifted the numerical balance in this category in favour of Remain, given his single appearance in the lunchtime edition of Newsbeat on 31 May.

Further imbalance (not reflected in the speaker totals) was caused by the introduction to the item. It mentioned an additional celebrity endorsement of the Remain campaign.

CHRIS SMITH: With just two weeks to go before the vote some of the UK's biggest musicians have been telling us what they think about the debate. For example, if you follow Ellie Goulding on Twitter, you'll know she's an 'innie' – here's our music reporter, Sinead Garvan.

SINEAD GARVAN: From writing 'very important' next to the link to register to vote, to re-tweeting the arguments to stay in the EU, Ellie Goulding is firmly with the In camp. She's in an industry that relies on travelling a lot, touring, festivals, promotion, artists need to fly and move around countries all the time.

Similarly on 21 June, Instagram comments by David Beckham were directly quoted by Newsbeat:

CHRIS SMITH: David Cameron and co-will be hoping the backing of another big-name could help persuade a few wavering voters. Yeah, even David Beckham's getting involved, he has posted support for a Remain vote on his Instagram, saying 'We live in a vibrant and connected world, and together as a people we are strong.'

News-watch coding practice is to only include actual appearances made by contributors, and thus these pro-Remain views are not included in the wider statistical calculations for the survey.

An issue here is therefore the extent to which these 'indirect' celebrity endorsements may have had on audience voting intentions. Ellie Goulding and David Beckham both have very strong followings among young people.

There were no equivalent indirect endorsements from the Remain side.²³ Yet England footballers Sol Campbell, John Barnes and David James all came out in support of Brexit in the run up to the referendum, arguing that leaving the EU would help Britain nurture home-grown sporting talent. Given Newsbeat's heavy focus on sport, these issues could have been explored in detail, or at least used to balance the quote from David Beckham, but it was a theme never pursued.

²³ The Independent compiled a list of celebrities backing each side of the referendum debate. Many of those supporting Leave were perhaps outside of the Newsbeat demographic, but included: Sir Michael Caine, Liz Hurley, Roger Daltrey and John Cleese.

1.7.5 Think Tanks, Pressure Groups and Charities

Leave	Remain	Neutral	Total
0	0	4	4

The four appearances listed here were by figures urging young people to register to vote. There were two identical contributions from Mike Sani of youth democracy charity, Bite the Ballot and two separate clips from Voter Registration advertisements, presumably created by the Electoral Commission, although unattributed.

They are marked 'neutral'. However, given the target demographic, it could be argued that the inclusion of these voices was a strongly biased editorial decision, given that younger voters were far likely more to vote Remain.²⁴ Did Newsbeat mount a deliberate push to bolster the Remain side?

Guardian journalist Jessica Elgot noted in an interview with Mike Sani (May 21): 'Young voters, twice as likely to vote to remain as to vote to leave, are suddenly the voters Cameron needs.'²⁵ She continued, 'three weeks before the voter registration deadline for the European Union referendum, Sani got the call from Downing Street, meeting the (*sic*) Cameron with a delegation from Google, Facebook, Twitter and BuzzFeed', and then explained that Bite the Ballot was pushing for half a million new voter registrations before the 7 June deadline, in a campaign called #TurnUp, in collaboration with the anti-fascist group Hope Not Hate.²⁶

In terms of content and purpose there was little difference between Mike Sani's contribution and the words of David Cameron and pro-Remain Conservative Sam Gyimah. Mr Cameron stressed the deadline, and all three men referred to the ease of the registration process, with Mr Sani and Mr Gyimah pointing out that the process could be completed on a smartphone, and that a National Insurance Number was required.

However, it is ultimately beyond the scope of the coding process to adequately reflect the deeper issues at play, and as a consequence Mike Sani was categorised as 'neutral.' On balance, taking into account all the above, it is arguable that overall push for registration among younger voters was politically motivated. Newsbeat – whether complicit or not – ought to have been aware that the

²⁴ Polling done after the referendum suggested that 75% of voters in the 18-24 year-old category had voted Remain <https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/jun/24/meet-the-75-young-people-who-voted-to-remain-in-eu>

²⁵ <https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/may/21/bite-the-ballot-gets-tory-call-to-help-boost-eu-referendum-turnout>

²⁶ The #TurnUp collaboration was particularly interesting in the context of the referendum, given Hope Not Hate's widespread opposition to UKIP during the 2014 European Elections, publishing a 'hard-hitting' leaflet, which explained 'why their racist anti-immigrant rhetoric is wrong, goes through the reasons why UKIP is not the party for ordinary working people and reveals some true facts about immigration that are conveniently ignored by the right-wing press. <http://www.hopenothate.org.uk/blog/nick/new-anti-ukip-leaflet-3526>

significant amount of time and space they devoted to this aspect of the campaign was not politically neutral, given that it reflected a wider desire by the Remain side to see as many young people as possible participate in the referendum.

1.7.6 Non-UK, Non-EU Politicians

Leave	Remain	Neutral	Total
0	1	0	1

The only entry in this category was a short soundbite contribution from US President Barack Obama (April 22). He said that the outcome of the decision was a matter ‘of deep interest’ to the US ‘because it affects our prospects as well,’ and that ‘the United Kingdom is at its best when it’s helping to lead a strong Europe’.

The same item featured Boris Johnson contesting the President’s statement, so balance was provided. However the single entry in this category underlines that Newsbeat did not explore the referendum on a more global level – it focused very narrowly on the domestic political implications.

1.7.7 Academics

Leave	Remain	Neutral	Total
0	1	0	1

The lack of input on Newsbeat from academia was surprising given its target audience. It was perhaps in line with its dismissal of ‘boring EU experts.’²⁷, but cut off the large number of students in its audience from opinion from people in their daily orbit.

Leave campaigner Michael Gove’s statement in a Sky News debate during the campaign, ‘people in this country have had enough of experts’ was roundly criticised by sections of the press, particularly following the referendum, with some claiming that an ‘anti-expert mood’ was partially to blame for the public’s decision on June 23.²⁸ But this sorry figure confirms that Newsbeat did very little during

²⁷ Newsbeat presenter Chris Smith, lunchtime and evening editions, 7 June.

²⁸ <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/politics/brexit-project-fear-had-reason-on-its-side-but-anti-experts-caught-public-mood-a7101841.html>

the campaign to introduce balanced commentary from anyone with specific academic knowledge of the EU.

The only contributor in this category was Madeleine Sumption from the Oxford Migration Observatory. Although she was said to be ‘neutral’ in reporter Rick Kelsey’s preamble, the quote from her was not.

RICK KELSEY: And there have been questions about the points-based system itself. There have been comparisons to the way Australia does it. Madeleine Sumption is neutral in this debate, her job is to track migration, and she says the Australian system isn’t designed to stop people getting in.

MADELEINE SUMPTION: Australia has a system that is basically designed to increase migration, by assigning people points and kind of trying to increase the pool of people who might want to go to Australia by as much as possible, and then they select from that pool.

Ms Sumption was therefore coded as bolstering Remain.

1.7.8 EU Politicians

Leave	Remain	Neutral	Total
0	0	0	0

Over the course of the ten-week survey, there were no contributions from MEPs or from the wider EU.

While the inclusion of such voices would likely have skewed the balance even more in favour of Remain, their absence meant Newsbeat’s overall handling of the referendum debate was primarily through Westminster-based political argument, and, as illustrated in the previous section, principally between two wings of the Conservative party.

Some attempts were made to broaden the debate out onto the continent, with location reports from Germany, Greece and Norway. However, in these reports it once again generally fell to ‘ordinary’ people to make the case for or against the EU, with no contributions from any of the EU institutions themselves, which may have helped the audience in understanding of the role and purpose of the EU, and allowed those in favour of Brexit the chance to challenge any statements made.

1.8 Conclusion to Statistics

Had News-watch approached some of these coding decisions differently (for example, to reflect the inclusion of the celebrity endorsements from Ellie Goulding and David Beckham, the lukewarm arguments for Brexit made by one of the musicians, or the political subtext of Bite the Ballot) then the numerical inequalities between the Remain and Leave arguments would have been even greater. Part Two goes beyond the raw data to explore how the difference in treatment of the two arguments was also qualitative, with examples of imbalance from the transcripts themselves.

PART TWO: CASE STUDIES

This section shows that the problems with Newsbeat related to requirements for impartiality went far deeper than the statistical imbalances outlined in the previous section. There was also a failure to achieve ‘broad balance’ in content terms.

2.1 Conservative Splits and Cross-Party Unity on Remain, Monday 6 June

Newsbeat’s headline said that they would be looking into ‘claims the Conservative Party is tearing itself apart over the vote to stay in or quit the European Union.’ The main report began with presenter Chris Smith explaining the two positions in simple terms:

Now, when you are in a team, part of a group, or part of a political party, the idea is that you all believe in the same sort of thing, right? Well, not when it comes to the vote on whether the UK should stay in or leave the European Union, due to be held in just over two weeks. It is causing major problems in the Conservative Party. In fact, it’s all been a bit nasty.

Correspondent Lindsay Brown noted that it wasn’t often ‘you get a former Prime Minister talking like this,’ followed by two soundbites from John Major who said, ‘I am angry at the way the British people are being misled,’ and ‘This is much more important than a general election, this is going to affect people, their livelihoods, their future, for a very long time to come.’ Ms Brown explained:

He’s from the Conservatives, so you’d expect him to be having a go at people from the Labour Party, the Scottish Nationalists, or the Liberal Democrats. What makes this political attack different though is that he is talking about people from his own party, including former Mayor of London, Boris Johnson.

There followed a soundbite from Mr Johnson:

What people want to hear the arguments, and what we’re setting out is an agenda for the government to take back control on June 23 of a lot of things that really matter to the people of this country.

Ms Brown said that ‘things had got personal’, and introduced another clip from John Major who accused Mr Johnson of being ‘a very engaging and charming court jester.’ This was juxtaposed with a second appearance from Mr Johnson who warned against the temptation of turning the referendum debate into ‘a personality driven conversation’, while a fourth soundbite from Mr Major had him conclude, ‘He will not have the loyalty of the party he divided.’

Ms Brown said, 'Whereas a lot of people from the Conservatives are arguing amongst themselves, others are making new friends,' followed by the Prime Minister heralding 'an unprecedented display of cross-party unity', and adding 'There are many things that we don't agree about, many things we argue about, but on this we are absolutely united.' Ms Brown explained that Mr Cameron had taken 'the very unusual step of campaigning alongside senior politicians from opposition parties', and introduced soundbites from Labour's Harriet Harman, who said she strongly believed that it was in Britain's national interest that we remain part of the European Union; the Liberal Democrat leader Tim Farron, who spoke about the show of party unity being a demonstration of how important they all felt the issue was; and Green Party leader, Natalie Bennett, who said her party celebrated the free movement of people in the EU. A soundbite followed from Leave campaigner and Conservative MP Michael Gove, who said, 'We can at last control the number of people who come here and that's a big prize,' but his comment was contested through the reappearance of the Prime Minister who said, 'There are good ways of controlling migration and there are bad ways.' The report ended with a reminder from Ms Brown that tomorrow would be the final day to register to vote.

Foremost, the sequence contained a significant imbalance: two speakers for Leave, both from the Conservative Party, against five speakers for Remain, from four different parties. In terms of word count, the Remain side were allotted 68% of the space available, compared to 32% for Leave, a huge margin that was compounded by the same item appearing in both the lunchtime and evening editions of Newsbeat that day.

When concerns about similar imbalances have been raised by News-watch historically, the BBC has regularly countered that it is achieving 'due impartiality' through providing audiences with a 'breadth of opinion'.²⁹ But the Referendum Guidelines were unequivocal: in the binary debate 'broad balance' should relate to the *arguments*³⁰, rather than to the mix of political parties. In this feature, this very specific requirement was not met.

The Newsbeat item reported the debate wholly in terms of Conservative splits and contrasted this with supposed 'unity' amongst the other main parties.

²⁹ For example, on 23 January 2015, BBC2's Newsnight devoted a whole programme to David Cameron's announcement of an in/out referendum and included a collection of nineteen guests, only one of whom was Leave supporter. A complaint about this was rejected by the BBC's Editorial Standards Committee, on the grounds: 'the Adviser concluded that . . . the question of withdrawal is not binary or a "see saw" debate but very much more a wagon wheel of the type that the Bridcut report advocated that the BBC should adopt to deliver impartiality. <http://news-watch.co.uk/wp-content/uploads/2015/03/2.-Editorial-Standards-Committee-decision-on-Newsnight-Complaint-17-November-2013.pdf>

³⁰ http://downloads.bbc.co.uk/bbctrust/assets/files/pdf/our_work/peb/2016/eu_guidelines/ref_guidelines.pdf

Given that no Leave-supporting Labour politician appeared in any of the 96 surveyed editions (nor in the hour-long Newsbeat debate programme) its young audience may have presumed that the whole referendum debate was primarily a disagreement between two factions in the Conservative Party. Newsbeat should have done far more to contest the stage-managed display of party unity, and provided an indication to its listeners of the strength of Leave opinion across a much broader political spectrum.

2.2 Report from Wisbech – Tuesday 7 June

Newsbeat devoted both its lunchtime and evening editions on 7 June fully to the subject of the referendum, reporting from Wisbech in Cambridgeshire and focusing on the issue of immigration. Both editions were extended, amounting to 37 minutes of coverage in total.

The introduction to the lunchtime broadcast included brief views from three young people – one supporting Remain, one supporting Leave, and one undecided. The item continued with reporter Nick Rotherham providing what he said were the ‘facts’ about immigration. His role was seemingly in line with the promise made in the introduction (and mentioned in 1.7.1 above) that the programme would contain ‘no boring EU experts, just straight talking’.

At the heart of his contribution was that the contention that, ‘...figures show immigrants actually contribute more cash to the UK economy than they get back in terms of benefits’.

Some sources claiming to be experts on the impact of immigration may support such a view, but others are not sure. For example, Migration Watch UK estimates that in global terms, looking at all immigrants, there is a substantial net cost to the UK economy, and with EU immigrants from the latest EU-accession countries, there is also a substantial net cost.³¹ The only positive contribution mentioned in the Migration Watch analysis relates to the original EU-14 countries – incomers from these areas had made a net benefit contribution to the UK economy.

It was not clear from Nick Rotherham’s analysis to which ‘figures’ he was referring, but it can be inferred that his points related to the impact of all EU immigrants on the UK, in that he also mentioned in the sequence ‘all 27 EU countries’. If that is case, his firmness in stating baldly that immigrants contributed ‘more cash than they get back in terms of benefits’ was misleading and misplaced. Another Migration Watch analysis headed ‘20 Bogus Facts for Mass Immigration’, posted 2 February

³¹ <https://www.migrationwatchuk.org/briefing-paper/381>

2016³², explains the dangers of making such sweeping assumptions and the complexities involved in laying out the overall fiscal impact. Clearly this is an area of controversy. But it is certain from the Migration Watch analysis that (at the very least) ‘experts’ do not agree that EU immigrants do contribute positively financially to the UK economy. Nick Rotherham’s core assumption was thus built on wrong foundations and was seriously misleading to the audience.

Other factors in Nick Rotherham’s analysis indicated that his aim was to minimise the importance and impact of immigration. He noted that there were four EU citizens in every 100 people in the UK, then immediately added that Ireland had eight in every hundred, and that (overall) six EU countries had higher rates than the UK. But another way of presenting this this would have been to say that the UK had among the top six highest immigration rates in the EU, and thus 21 member countries had lower rates of influx. He could also have pointed out that, because the UK is already among the most densely and highest-populated of EU countries, the actual volume of immigrants was among the highest.

Finally, he claimed that leaving the EU would not necessarily close the doors to EU workers, because if the UK stayed part of the single market it would still have to accept free movement, as was the case with Norway. Of course, the ‘Norway option’ was relevant in the equation of possible future immigration levels, but the primary intent appeared to be to throw doubt on the idea that leaving the EU would reduce the EU influx and that doing so was in any case difficult. If his main purpose was to provide balance, he could have also pointed out that the ending of the free movement provision was a primary goal of the Leave side.

This introductory sequence was thus biased in three respects: in saying without qualification that EU incomers contributed more to the UK economy than they took; by stressing that immigration figures were not as high in the UK as in some other EU countries; and in claiming that leaving the EU would not solve the immigration ‘problem’ (if indeed it was one).

The package that followed, presented by correspondent Hannah Morrison contained a range of opinion. From those who had concerns about immigration, it was said that Wisbech had become too crowded because of immigrants, that immigrants were stopping locals from getting jobs, and that some migrants too advantage of the system.

The first point from a contributor who favoured immigration said that 90 per cent of his employees came from Europe and they were needed. He added that they were not stealing jobs from locals. Two incomers from Latvia then said that jobs were not being ‘stolen’ from locals – they were available to

³² <https://www.migrationwatchuk.org/briefing-paper/269>

everyone – it was because locals would not get up at 4am, and because one Latvian worked as hard as two Britons. Another immigrant said that she paid her way and contributed to the economy and could get by without learning English, while another said she had learned English and it was important.

In addition to reaction from locals and immigrants, Ms Morrison also made several points in her commentary. She explained that the immigrant population of Wisbech had risen from three percent in 2004 to nine percent in 2011. She gave no actual numbers, but then said this was because ‘farmers around Wisbesch need their labour’. She said that in consequence, ‘some’ felt the town had grown too quickly, with local schools having ‘non-British students’ and ‘full doctors’ surgeries’. She asked the local employer in the piece why more British people were not working on the land. He did not answer and Morrison did not push the point. She also noted that it became clear in Wisbech that ‘Brits and Eastern Europeans don’t mix’.

After this section, Newsbeat presenter Chris Smith spoke to Marie-France, originally from Leicester, who had been introduced in the opening sequence of the feature as an ‘undecided’ in terms of her voting intention. Her reaction to Ms Morrison’s report was that she had grown up with immigrants from all over, and had learned Polish to try respond better to them. She added:

I think that, especially a town like Leicester, where I live, I have benefited so much, I don’t think I’d be the person I am today if it wasn’t for all the immigrants, and everyone just gets on in our area, and we’re so lucky to have these people, the things I’ve learned from all of them, it’s so positive, and I really just hope that continues for years to come, I don’t want to lose that.

In the next sequence (also analysed in 1.7.1 above), two children – one six and one eight – gave scripted arguments for and against leaving the EU. Sam, 8, said she realised that immigrants contributed taxes, boosted the economy and enabled trade with the EU. Molly, 6, said it was impossible to control immigration while Britain was in the EU, that immigrants were pulling down wages and that an entry points system was needed.

Sam’s contribution, in effect, neatly summarised the arguments for immigration in the opening ‘factual’ sequence presented by Nick Rotherham, while Molly’s summed up the anti-immigration points made by a combination of Mr Rotherham and Ms Morrison in their commentaries. But the latter contribution (as already noted at 1.7.1), because Molly was only six, was delivered more hesitantly and was slightly shorter.

The final sequence was more alleged ‘fact checking’, this time presented by Chris Smith under the ‘Real or No Real’ heading. His first point was that opponents of immigration had claimed that 27 schools would be needed over the next 20 years to accommodate new arrivals. Mr Smith said this was

true (without giving the actual numbers of children involved) but said the figures were equivalent to 'only' one child per school across the country as a whole. He also said it was true that 1.75 million new homes (equivalent to 240 new houses per day) would need to be built over the next 20 years to meet the needs of 4 million incomers. Mr Smith finally pointed out that the Calais 'jungle' was not, in effect, an EU issue; it was dealt with through bilateral arrangements between the UK and France.

Mr Smith, by choosing to describe the schools issue as the equivalent of only one child per UK school, minimised or side-stepped a key point raised in the Wisbech report (and more generally by those concerned about the impact of immigration), which was that up to one third of pupils in some schools were not from the local area, or put another way, that immigration pressures were concentrated in areas of high influx. His handling of the housing issue was, by contrast, straightforwardly factual. The point about Calais was based on a claim by the Prime Minister that Brexit would lead to immigrants from the 'jungle' moving unhindered to Kent³³, but the counterargument was not presented without doubt: Chris Smith noted that the bilateral agreement wouldn't *necessarily* be affected if Britain were to leave, and the brevity of the exchange, coupled with a lack of sufficient context, served to underline that leaving the EU would not solve all immigration issues.

Overall, this Newsbeat programme undoubtedly stressed the importance and benefits of immigration more than the negatives. The way it did so was partly dishonest because it claimed to be based on 'facts' presented by Newsbeat reporters and presenters that were, in important respects, opinions or disputed 'facts'. Further, in the editing of the feature and the selection of comments from interviewees, there was a concentrated effort to minimise the importance of the high volume of immigration, and a failure to highlight or explore the problems that a large influx created.

This editorial skew was worsened by that – although some negative aspects of immigration were mentioned – greater prominence was given to the opinions of those who thought otherwise, notably Marie-France, the employer in Wisbech, the two Lithuanian immigrants, and, more marginally, young Sam. Guest contributors supporting Remain were allotted 48% of the space, compared to 35% supporting Leave, with the remaining 17% undecided or offering a neutral/factual point of view.

³³ <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-politics-eu-referendum-35519210>

2.3 Report from Berlin – Monday 13 June

During the referendum News-watch conducted blanket monitoring of all BBC TV and Radio content, amounting to approximately 10,000 programme editions and news bulletins. Every item was recorded and archived for future reference. As part of the wider monitoring process, News-watch also set up a bespoke website – BBCcomplaints.com – and invited submissions from the public of perceived bias.

On Monday 13 June, the following submission was received about Newsbeat:

Shocking bias on EU report which described a few very pro EU arguments. Specifically they went to Germany and spoke to expats (obviously pro EU), German residents (pro EU), then to an employee in BMW who said it would be hard to train Mini employees. There were no arguments the other way, one of the most appalling “news” stories I’ve listened to.

The report was broadcast in the lunchtime and evening bulletins that day. Presenter Chris Smith began the sequence by noting, ‘it’s not just people in the UK interested in the referendum result’, and pointed out that Germany was one of the EU’s richest countries, and the UK’s biggest trading partner. He said that one of the country’s main news magazines had placed the British flag on the front with the message ‘Please don’t go.’

Reporter Greg Dawson then delivered the three-part location package from Berlin. It began with contributions from two German men, Nicklaus from Flensburg and Hendrik from Düsseldorf. Nicklaus said the EU flag symbolised, ‘unity, freedom, freedom or rights, freedom of speech’, and Hendrik said his sense of pride came ‘not seeing the flag, but more like seeing Germany as party of Europe.’ Hendrik added:

The EU encourages peace all over Europe, so that’s basically the achievement of the whole European Union. And maintain this peace.

Mr Dawson then commented that Berlin was ‘a city with a lot of history, much of it bleak’, noting that the reminders of World War II were never far away, ‘with memorials and even the shells of bombed out buildings.’ He said the citizens thought the decades of peace since then had ‘much to do with the EU’. This point was then bolstered by another quote from Nicklaus, who commented said he thought future stability would not be guaranteed if Britain were to leave the EU.

Mr Dawson then said ‘thousands of young people who’ve left the UK to settle here (Berlin)’ in recent years. Arthur, from Essex, explained that he’d moved to Berlin to take a job. He said:

I basically had to fill in no paperwork, there was no risk for me, I just turned up and it's weird to think that all of that might disappear after June 23.

Mel from Derby then said she had lived in Berlin for five months and that being in the EU had 'brought a lot of benefits, more than it brings negatives I think.'

The third part of the report was from a car production plant. Mr Dawson noted, 'there are worries here about what Brexit means for Business,' Next was Markus Kerber from the German Federation of Industries. Mr Dawson said he represented 100,000 German companies, including BMW, which in the UK, produced the Mini. Mr Kerber noted that Britain was Germany's second biggest trading partner. He added:

Hundreds of Britons involved in producing that car regularly travel and get trained in Germany, and all that, I think, would become a little bit more difficult - and I'm not sure whether the parent company BMW would see that necessarily as an incentive to invest more in that company.

Mr Dawson then asked him if Germany was 'acting in self-interest' because of the impact Brexit might have on its economy. Mr Kerber concluded:

I don't think we're acting in self-interest, we're acting out of the common interest between Britain and Germany that together we cannot only shape the European Union, but we can shape many, many other parts of the world.

Thus, in summary, the three distinct sections provided between them unchallenged arguments that the EU had been responsible for peace since the Second World War (and that Britain leaving could threaten this stability); that freedom of movement was beneficial to young British people; and that maintaining the status quo was vitally important for investment and trade. The narrative throughout was pro-EU and anti-Brexit, and even the weak devil's advocate question to Markus Kerber – that Germany might be acting in self-interest – simply led to an affirmation of the benefits for both countries if Britain were to stay within the Union.

2.4 Balance between the Opposing Views

On 9 June Newsbeat announced in its introductory sequence, 'some of the music stars you hear on Radio1 and 1Extra every day have their say on the Europe debate.' This was a sloppy use of the word 'Europe' - the feature was specifically about the European Union. The package opened with news that singer Ellie Goulding had re-tweeted arguments for Remain, followed by two differing viewpoints. The first came from Jamie, frontman of the band Bombay Bicycle Club, who said:

Primarily, I am interested in the implications for touring around Europe. At the moment, musicians don't have to travel with visas around Europe, so there's no visa fees. If you're an up and coming band when touring Europe, it's very expensive in the first place, and the EU has also enabled very cheap flights, and it's also created a deal with the US, which means cheap flights from Europe to the US as well. The EU has just abolished roaming charges, erm, and even just crossing borders and not having to get up in the middle of the night to get out everywhere.

Newsbeat's music reporter, Sinead Garvan, added a caveat that, 'we don't know what the situation will be when it comes to travel and working within the EU, if the UK vote to Leave - potentially, it might not be affected', then added that a survey by the British Phonographic Industry, with responses from around 40% of UK record labels, showed that two thirds didn't want to leave the EU. She introduced Yannis Philippakis frontman of the group Foals, who said:

My main concern, and I guess that the things that these, that the Brexit people are playing upon is a fear that the population will expand to 80 million people in Britain, and when you already have problems with the NHS, you have problems with schooling, there are a lot of . . . there are problems within British society's infrastructure, and my concern would only be that you don't have serenity, you don't have ability to control what is happening in your own country.

Ms Garvan noted that Mr Philippakis's family was Greek, and thus had first hand experience of 'how difficult it was for Greece during the eurozone crisis.'

They held referendums to not go along with the austerity measures, that you start to realise that what you think of as your country and your democratic say has been stripped away. And that's not to say that I'm with the people that are Brexit, but I think that there are, like, very legitimate concerns.

The problem here was that the two speakers were not evenly matched. Jamie identified several perceived benefits of EU membership: visa-free travel, 'very cheap flights' to both Europe and the US, the abolition of roaming charges and the ease of travel within the Schengen Area. On the other hand, Yannis Philippakis appeared reluctant to come out fully in favour of the Leave campaign. He seemingly distanced himself from it, speaking about the views of 'the Brexit people' rather than identifying them as his own opinions. This vagueness was magnified when he added, 'that's not to say I'm with the people who are Brexit,' before finishing with an observation that some of their concerns about

population expansion and strain on services were 'legitimate'. Overall, given that Mr Philippakis did advance clear arguments for Brexit (despite apparently not completely supporting them himself) News-watch coded his contribution as supporting Leave, but the two contributions were clearly not straightforwardly Leave and Remain – the Leave side was strongly qualified.

On the final day of campaigning, June 22, a short sequence demonstrated a similar inequality in the treatment of Leave and Remain. Newsbeat presenter Chris Smith opened:

CHRIS SMITH: And it's nearly time to make up your mind, which were you going to go, in or out? Politicians from both sides of the EU referendum have been touring the UK in a last ditch effort to win.

DAVID CAMERON: If we want a bigger economy and more jobs, we're better if we do it together. If we want to win against the terrorists and keep our country safe, we're better if we do it together.

NIGEL FARAGE: People who made their minds up to vote leave in my view would crawl over broken glass to go and do it, and that is why I still think we're going to win.

This was Nigel Farage's longest single contribution to Newsbeat over ten weeks, but rather than the journalists selecting a soundbite from Mr Farage to counter David Cameron's two clear and specific arguments for EU membership, or an extract providing a positive case for Brexit, the comment spoke only about his confidence that his vote would turn out and that he would win. It was at best a 'dog whistle' to anyone complacent that the Remain vote would prevail.

Elsewhere, choice of speakers or specific editing decisions made Leave supporters sound unreasonable, hypocritical and potentially xenophobic. On 15 June, Newsbeat presented a summary of its one-hour debate programme which had taken place the previous evening in Birmingham. The first two soundbite contributions were as follows:

UNNAMED MALE: Immigration is a disgrace and pretty much an insult to working-class British people.

UNNAMED MALE 2: Honestly, I believe it's quite ignorant and quite awful as well to believe that immigration as a whole is negative to the UK. These are people who are coming over to do the work that is needed to be done.

The first man's viewpoint taken in isolation was potentially xenophobic; there was no qualification for his opinion and with an extract so brief it was impossible to know if he believed that the whole idea of immigration was 'a disgrace', if he was referring to the government's handling of the issue domestically, or if he was opposed wider EU rules governing freedom of movement. By contrast, the second speaker was allowed both to attack those with an anti-immigration stance as 'ignorant' and

make the argument about the importance of migrants for ‘work that is needed to be done.’ The programme’s editors deliberately amplified this difference. The transcript of the Birmingham debate shows that the actual contribution from the first speaker, Ellis Tustin, was far more detailed and articulate:

ELLIS TUSTIN: We hear a lot of pessimism from the Remain side. Instead of seeing this as a negative step for Britain, this is more a golden opportunity. Immigration is a disgrace, and pretty much an insult to working-class British people. Our sovereignty is in tatters, and it’s time we realised we’re worth more than a star on someone else’s flag.

A decision had been made in the editing process that the point on immigration was central, and that this was somehow more important than the positive argument being made about the ‘golden opportunity’ or the concept of sovereignty. The selection of this brief remark, and its positioning against a statement from the other side which suggested anti-immigration views were ‘ignorant and awful’ demonstrated a clear bias and suggested that editors believed that disagreements on the subject of immigration were viewed as more newsworthy than those about sovereignty.

In other sequences, Leave contributions were framed by Newsbeat as hypocritical. Examples included an interview with Wade, an Englishman working on the Greek island of Zante, in a report broadcast on both main Newsbeat editions on 21 June:

WADE: I don’t want to be racist or nothing, but the immigrants and that, too many foreigners in our country, more jobs for more English people, that’s what I think.

UNNAMED MALE: But on the other side of the token, you’re doing the exact same, you’re going to a different country and taking a Greek person’s job.

W: No, but there’s loads of them coming, and there’s just loads of them doing nothing, seeking benefits and that.

Meanwhile, on 7 June, in the report from Wisbech in Cambridgeshire (covered in detail in Section 2.2), correspondent Hannah Morrison interviewed Isabella, originally from Poland:

ISABELLA: I pay tax, I work for NHS, I speak fluent English. A lot of my friends are English, and my old boyfriend is English.

HANNAH MORRISON: But she has a surprising view.

ISABELLA: It seems like the . . . you know immigrants is, are taking over. Of course, people do come here to England for, to seek a better life, however, I also believe some migrants do take an advantage of the system.

News-watch categorised these contributions as bolstering the Leave campaign, given that they were both speaking against immigration. But a clear element here was that these contributors were holding double standards, enjoying one of the fundamental freedoms of EU membership, but wishing to deny it to others. Although they expressed opinions broadly in favour of Leave, it is therefore arguable whether such contributions would have made the Newsbeat audience regard their perspective positively; indeed, they may have viewed these opinions as contradictory, and the speakers as unreliable or selfish.

In the days and weeks following the referendum, a number of commenters from within the BBC and more widely lamented that the BBC hadn't done enough to challenge the alleged lies and exaggerations made during the campaign referendum campaign.³⁴ At the forefront of this analysis was the claim made by the Leave Campaign that the UK pays £350 million a week to the EU. However, the figure was strongly challenged in Newsbeat's coverage. On June 9, after the MP Sarah Wollaston 'defected' from Leave to Remain, she said:

I couldn't have stepped foot on a battle bus that has, at the heart of its campaign, a figure that I know to be untrue, and I think they know to be untrue as well. So, I think if you're in a position where you can't hand out a Vote Leave leaflet, you can't be campaigning for that organisation.

Vote Leave's Priti Patel then said the £350 million was a gross figure, and that it was UK taxpayers' money going over to the EU 'that we have no control over whatsoever.' This was followed by a quote by Shelley Phelps from the BBC's Reality Check team. She was categorical in her appraisal:

SHELLEY PHELPS: Hi. We're not giving £350 million a week to Brussels, Britain pays £276 million a week to the budget, and that's because of the rebate, which is a bit like a discount Britain gets. Erm, it's a figure which has been described by Sir Andrew Dilnot, who's the head of UK's statistics watchdog as potentially misleading.

By contrast, George Osborne's claim on 18 April that each household in Britain would be worse off by £4,300 per household was not subject to the same level of scrutiny by reporter Greg Dawson, despite the figure being strongly disputed in some quarters³⁵:

GREG DAWSON: The chancellor George Osborne has released some maths done by the Treasury that he says proves leaving the EU would make Britain poorer, not for a few months, not for a few years, but forever.

³⁴ For example Radio 4's Feedback interview of Paul Johnson of the IFS, on 23 September 2015, where presenter Roger Bolton pushed him repeatedly as to whether BBC journalists ought to have explicitly stated that the £350 million claim by Leave was untrue.

³⁵ Fraser Nelson, writing the same day in *The Spectator*, pointed out three deceptions contained within George Osborne's figure: the claim that people would be 'permanently poorer' when he was talking about the difference between 29pc GDP growth and 37pc GDP growth; that GDP per household is 'a bogus invention' and bears no relation to household income; and the Treasury divided GDP in 2030 by the number of households *today*, when, due to increases in immigration, there would be many more households by 2030.

GEORGE OSBORNE: And Britain would be worse off by £4,300 per household. Britain would be permanently poorer if we left the European Union.

GREG DAWSON: Now, to be clear, that's not how much every family would lose, but a rough guide. He says leaving would mean losing out on trade deals that help UK businesses, making it more expensive to buy and sell abroad.

The caveat that this was 'a rough guide' to the amount each family would lose did little to explain or address the concerns in the media more widely around how the Chancellor had utilised the Treasury calculations in a misleading way. Of course, this is a complex subject, but the idea of being 'poorer forever' was a very strong statement.

Newsbeat carried no balancing commentary from other speakers, or from its own Reality Check team, to suggest the calculations were a misrepresentation, as it did when assessing Vote Leave's claim.³⁶ Later in the campaign, the £4,300 figure was criticised by the Treasury Select Committee: 'Neither government departments nor other spokespeople for the Remain side should repeat [this] mistaken assertion . . . to persist with this claim would be to misrepresent the Treasury's own work.' And yet the lack of any on-air correction, or further exploration of George Osborne's claims meant that Newsbeat listeners may have believed the £4,300 figure was uncontested.

³⁶ <http://www.publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm201617/cmselect/cmtreasy/122/12210.htm>

CONCLUSION

The evidence presented here provides conclusive proof that Newsbeat failed to achieve the ‘broad balance’ required by the BBC Trust’s Referendum Guidelines, in both quantitative and qualitative terms. The programme:

- Did not provide an impartial and balanced cross-section of important arguments
- Weighted speaker numbers and airtime proportions heavily towards the Remain side
- Fell short in its obligation to explore referendum issues of importance to its young audience, focusing instead on a very limited range of subject areas (primarily immigration and the economy). This was bias by omission.

Why this happened is impossible to know from the outside. It could have been that programme-makers set out consciously to skew the debate in favour of Remain; or that the bias was *unconscious*, and the imbalance occurred because those charged with producing Newsbeat did not implement a system of simple checks and balances required to ensure impartiality; or, perhaps, a mixture of these factors. Whatever the causes, the result was a severe breach by Newsbeat of the Corporation’s very clear Referendum Guidelines.

The Wilson Report of 2005 into BBC News coverage of EU issue, written when a UK referendum on the proposed EU Constitution was being proposed, spoke of what it described as an ‘institutional mindset’ at the BBC, and noted:

Senior managers appear insufficiently self-critical about standards of impartiality. They seem to take it as a given, with little serious thought as to how it applies in practice. This attitude appears to have filtered through to producers, reporters and presenters in the front line. There is no evidence of any systematic monitoring to ensure that all shades of significant opinion are fairly represented and there is a resistance to accepting external evidence. Leaving decisions to individual programme editors means that if there is bias in the coverage overall, no-one in the BBC would know about it.

The BBC Management’s formal response to Wilson said, ‘we recognise the need for a robust system of monitoring coverage of the European Union’. Senior news management pledged a guarantee that their systems would be strengthened, to ensure ‘programmes log their output accurately and contemporaneously by subject area and noting the position of key interviewees’. The BBC has never disclosed the extent of this monitoring, or any results of it. But over subsequent years this

commitment was – without telling the outside world – sidelined and eventually dropped³⁷. Also relevant to the Corporation's self-monitoring of impartiality, after the BBC Trustees' 2007 Bridcut Report³⁸ and its follow-up by Stuart Prebble³⁹ about 'breadth of opinion', BBC News settled on the self-determined interpretation of 'due impartiality' tied closely to 'breadth of opinion' and governed by 'editorial judgement' rather than any concept of *true* parity between two sides in a given debate.

Senior news management also revealed for the first time, in an appearance before the House of Commons European Scrutiny Committee in 2015 that they had dropped any form of systematic internal monitoring of output linked to assessment of impartiality, and had replaced this with ad hoc judgment through a process of daily meetings.

However, the referendum presented a binary choice to the British public. The nebulous (and contested) definitions of impartiality presented by Bridcut and Prebble that have become the mainstay of the BBC News approach, became redundant during the campaign period: 'broad balance' between the two sides ought to have been achieved, and by the manifold measures presented in this report, it clearly was not.

News-watch, in its submission to the BBC Trust's Consultation on the Referendum Guidelines noted that the draft made no mention of any monitoring process other than 'editorial judgement', and argued:

Without rigorous, structured monitoring based on academic principles, impartiality cannot demonstrably be achieved. For example, how can the editor of a daily programme, who is charged under the Guidelines with achieving such balance over the course of the week, keep track?

A similar suggestion was made by an unnamed MP, writing in a personal capacity to the BBC Trust. The Outcome of Consultation Document summarised his argument:

That it was essential that there was a proper monitoring system within the BBC itself, with output "properly logged and recorded...by date, time and immediately after the programme has taken place." Some means must be devised, he added, for all news and current affairs programmes to be required to reproduce the content of their programmes on request. Furthermore, the Trust needed to have this information available for them to evaluate whether a complaint was justified.

³⁷ David Jordan, Director of Editorial Policy and Standard, in an appearance between the House of Commons European Scrutiny Committee on 20 October 2015 revealed that monitoring of EU output had been given up because they had found it 'actually very unhelpful – not helpful at all – in defining whether we were impartial', and adding that it was also 'very expensive and time-consuming'. <http://data.parliament.uk/writtenevidence/committeeevidence.svc/evidencedocument/european-scrutiny-committee/eu-scrutiny-follow-up/oral/23350.html>

³⁸ http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/shared/bsp/hi/pdfs/18_06_07impartialitybbc.pdf

³⁹ http://downloads.bbc.co.uk/bbctrust/assets/files/pdf/our_work/breadth_opinion/breadth_opinion.pdf

The Committee responded to these shared concerns in a single paragraph:

The Committee's Decision:

Monitoring: Trustees noted that it was not appropriate to refer to monitoring within the Referendum Guidelines. The issue was discussed with the Executive, who were asked to explain their plans for monitoring coverage in order to inform their editorial judgement as to how the BBC is meeting its obligation to be duly impartial. The Executive confirmed that through the normal daily meetings held by the News Directorate and through the steering group established for the referendum it would be monitoring coverage editorially. In addition there would be meetings with the BBC's Audience Councils across the United Kingdom during the campaign, in each nation, for observation and feedback.

The evidence presented in this paper shows, without doubt, the decision of the Committee was incorrect. Editorial judgement and daily meetings alone were woefully inadequate as a process of identifying issues related to impartiality.

The BBC Trust were fully alerted to these issues ahead of the referendum campaign, and yet chose to wholly dismiss the concerns presented to them.

APPENDIX I:

NEWSBEAT REFERENDUM TRANSCRIPTS 15 April – 23 June 2016

Monday 18 April, Lunchtime

CHRIS SMITH: You probably know about the vote coming up this summer on whether or not we leave the European Union, so what would actually change if that happened? Well according to the government it would cost each household in the UK more than £4000. (*word or words unclear*) the people campaigning for us to leave though, they claim it would make us all richer. Let's try and clear this up with our politics reporter Greg Dawson.

GREG DAWSON: For some people all of the warnings about the dangers of Britain leaving the EU are starting to sound a little like something you might find in Hollywood.

DEEP VOICE, IN STYLE OF FILM TRAILER: This summer.

GEORGE OSBORNE: It would be the poorest would be hit, if we left the European Union.

DEEP VOICE: One big decision. Get it wrong, face the consequences.

GO: We're certainly safer within it rather than breaking up the European Union.

GD: But David Cameron says the campaign to stay in the EU is not Project Fear, it's Project Fact and today we're getting one of the biggest warnings yet.

GO: This is a sober and serious look at the costs and benefits of remaining in the EU or leaving it.

GD: The Chancellor George Osborne has released some maths done by the Treasury that he says proves leaving the EU would make Britain poorer, not for a few months, not for a few years, but forever.

GO: And Britain would be worse off by £4,300 per household. Britain would be permanently poorer if we left the European Union.

GD: Now, to be clear, that's not how much every family would lose, but a rough guide. He says leaving would mean losing out on trade deals that help UK businesses, making it more expensive to buy and sell abroad. But wherever there is a government warning about why we should stay, expect a hopeful message about why we should leave. This is a video released by the team campaigning for Britain to quit the EU, and those hopeful violin strings are telling you 'Don't be afraid.'

EXTRACT FROM VIDEO: Don't believe those who talk Britain down, who say we're too weak to control our own affairs.

GD: They say you can't believe these figures from the Treasury and Britain can set its own rules outside the EU, setting up its own trade deals and making more money.

BORIS JOHNSON: In their scare tactics of Project Fear they are woefully underestimating this country and its people and what we can do.

GD: Mayor of London Boris Johnson is used to backing the government but he and other senior Tories believe Britain should leave the EU. Both sides say they are dealing in facts – you've got until June 23rd to decide who to believe.

Monday 18 April, Evening

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Friday 22 April, Evening

CHRIS SMITH: He's already had lunch with the Queen, and in a while he'll be sitting down to dinner with Prince William and family. Barack Obama's making the most of his final trip to the UK as US president. He is also using the visit as an opportunity to do David Cameron a bit of a favour by calling on voters to keep the UK in the European Union ahead of that public vote in June. Our politics reporter, Greg Dawson, has more from Downing Street.

GREG DAWSON: With a fleet of military helicopters over the skies, there was nothing subtle about President Obama's arrival at Windsor Castle. Wherever he is in the world the President uses his own limo, nicknamed The Beast, driven by his own security, but not when you're a guest of the Queen. She put him in the front seat of her Range Rover with 94 year old Prince Philip and the wheel.

BARACK OBAMA: I have to say, I have never been driven by a Duke of Edinburgh before, and I can report that it was very smooth riding.

GD: While they enjoy tea, the police Downing Street were getting ready for the Presidential motorcade. It's been five years since Barack Obama last rolled into Downing Street to see David Cameron, but this visit was about much more than smalltalk and photo opportunities.

BO: Yes. The Prime Minister and I discussed the upcoming referendum here on whether or not the UK should remain part of the European Union.

GD: In his campaign to keep the UK in the European Union, David Cameron is looking for as many people as possible to back him up. And they don't get much more influential than the US president.

BO: The outcome of that decision is a matter of deep interest to the United States because it affects our prospects as well. The United States wants a strong United Kingdom as a partner. And the United Kingdom is at its best when it's helping to lead a strong Europe.

GD: Barack Obama says this is a decision for the British people, but in his view the UK is much more influential on the world stage inside the EU. (*speaking to vox pop interviewee*) I'm just wondering whether, as a voter, whether that has any play on your mind, that the president of the United States has that opinion.

VOX POP MALE: No, not really. It doesn't make a difference. It's not going to sway my opinion one way or the other really.

VOX POP FEMALE: Yeah, well, we work really closely with America and stuff, so I think it is important to have their opinion and stuff.

GD: But some think this is double standards from the President.

BORIS JOHNSON: He has a perfect right to enter into this debate, of course he does.

GD: Mayor of London, Boris Johnson, is campaigning for Britain to leave the EU.

BJ: I think what perhaps our friends in America don't appreciate is that the EU has really changed, it's become something else and it's something to which the Americans would never submit.

Tuesday 10 May, Lunchtime

CHRIS SMITH: Campaigners to leave the European Union said the Prime Minister failed when he negotiated a deal to crack down on migration. They say Germany forced David Cameron to drop one of his main demands. The PM's team say he simply decided there was a better way of dealing with it.

Friday 13 May, Evening

CHRIS SMITH: Just before we go, we've got to mention that other big vote happening in Europe. Here's Declan Harvey.

DECLAN HARVEY: The debate about whether the UK stays part of the European Union is like your belly button, you're either an 'inny' or an 'outy'

DAVID CAMERON: We'll be better off if we stay in.

NIGEL FARAGE: We're good enough to run our own country.

TONY BLAIR: It's a completely unacceptable gamble.

BORIS JOHNSON: If we vote to leave the EU, we will not be voting to leave Europe.

DH: Before the big vote on the 23 June, we're planning to get Newsbeat listeners into a room in Birmingham with the two campaigns looking for your support. It's your chance to ask the questions.

UNNAMED FEMALE: What will it mean for my job?

UNNAMED MALE: Will it change how many migrants come here?

UNNAMED MALE 2: Will leaving help or damage the economy?

UNNAMED FEMALE 2: Who should I believe?

DH: Our promise is to try to get you a straight answer, and if you want to be in Birmingham with us on the 14 June, that's a Tuesday night, email us, newsbeat@bbc.co.uk

Tuesday 17 May, Lunchtime

CHRIS SMITH: And just before we go, Tina wants a quick word on how you can get involved with a Newsbeat special that will be on the radio, online and on TV in a couple of weeks.

TINA DAHELEY: The debate about whether the UK stays part of the European Union is like your belly button, you're either an 'inny' or an 'outy'

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Wednesday 18 May, Lunchtime

GREG DAWSON: It's usually one of the biggest days of the year in Parliament, and definitely the one with the most tradition and ceremony. But this year, it's fair to say the government's been a tiny bit distracted ahead of the Queen's Speech.

DAVID CAMERON: You will decide, and whatever your decision, I will do my best to deliver it.

GD: You've got the Prime Minister campaigning for people to keep Britain in the European Union, ahead of that vote in June, meanwhile, some of his closest friends in government spending their time doing the opposite.

MICHAEL GOVE: There are many things the Prime Minister's done in our relationship with Europe which are good, but it is safer for us to vote leave.

GD: That's justice secretary and fellow Tory, Michael Gove, who want Britain to quit the EU. But for one day only the campaigning has stopped. (*moves on to discuss the Queen's speech*)

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Tuesday 24 May, Lunchtime

TINA DAHELEY: The debate about whether the UK stays part of the European Union is like your belly button, you're either an 'inny' or an 'outy'

DAVID CAMERON: We'll be better off if we stay in.

NIGEL FARAGE: We're good enough to run our own country.

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BORIS JOHNSON: If we vote to leave the EU, we will not be voting to leave Europe.

DH: Before the big vote on the 23 June, we're planning to get Newsbeat listeners into a room in Birmingham with the two campaigns looking for your support. It's your chance to ask the questions.

UNNAMED FEMALE: What will it mean for my job?

UNNAMED MALE: Will it change how many migrants come here?

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Wednesday 25 May, Lunchtime

CHRIS SMITH: So, another day, another row over whether or not we should leave the EU. Today, independent researchers are warning leaving would hit the UK's economy so badly we'd need two more years of cuts to deal with it. Leave campaigners say that's not true, and now they're turning their focus onto immigration. Newsbeat's Kat Collins and Greg Dawson can explain what both sides have to say.

KAT COLLINS: On one side of all of this, there's the Prime Minister with the Stay campaign.

DAVID CAMERON: There is no doubt we are better off in and we would be worse off out.

GREG DAWSON: On the other, the likes of Boris Johnson, UKIP leader, Nigel Farage, and the Leave campaigners.

BORIS JOHNSON: Vote Leave on June 23, and we'll have a glorious, brighter future.

KC: So, on Monday, we got another doomsday scenario from David Cameron.

DC: The shock to our economy after leaving Europe would tip the country into recession.

KC: He says, if we vote to leave the EU at next month's referendum more than half a million people in the UK would lose their jobs, because of things like international companies pulling out of the UK to get better trade deals with Europe.

GD: But Leave campaigners say, 'he would say that though.' His main argument for staying is all about the economy.

DC: Economy. Economy. Economy.

KC: Alright, we get it. But now, an independent influential research group, the Institute for Fiscal Studies or IFS has backed him up, saying leaving would cause the UK's economy to shrink (*swanee whistle sound*) and that would mean more deep cuts needed to public services for an extra two years save money.

GD: Obviously, Leave campaigners don't agree. They say being out of the EU would instead turbocharge the UK's economy (*sound effect*) leading the UK to focus on trading more freely with the rest of the world.

KC: Of course, that is highly debatable though. Economic predictions can never be more than an educated guess, and we still don't know what kind of trade deal the UK would have with the EU if it leaves.

GD: Now, Leave campaigners also say the group behind this research is biased, because it gets funding from . . . the EU.

KC: Paul Johnson from the IFS strongly denies that though.

PAUL JOHNSON: The IFS has really built its reputation on the independence and integrity of our work, and actually, there is no sum of money from anywhere in the world which would influence what we said.

KC: This is just the latest big report to claim the economy would be weakened by a British exit, or Brexit. In fact, the general feeling among top economists is that it's inevitable the economy would be hit to some extent in the short term at least.

GD: But there's much more in play here than just the economy. Leave campaigners say they want to bring back more control over all of the UK's laws and its borders. For the next four weeks, expect them to talk less about the economic arguments and much more about the other big issue: immigration. (*echoing of the word immigration*)

KC: The number of people from other parts of the EU coming to work in the UK increased by nearly a quarter of a million last year, reaching more than 2 million.

GD: And campaigners say leaving's the only way the UK can get those numbers down, as long as you're in the EU you're signed up to rules about freedom of movement.

KC: On the other hand, though, it's argued free movement helps Britain study, work and retire in Europe.

GD: But, the only thing we know for certain . . .

KC: . . . is that neither side knows sure what would happen if we left the EU.

GD: *Neither* side.

KC: Because nothing like this has ever happened before.

GD: So, it's voters who will have to work out which side they believe at the referendum on June 23.

ANDREA LEADSOM: People are getting a bit sick and tired of this overwhelming stuff about how the economy is going to end in tears.

ALISTAIR DARLING: If we leave, it will come at a cost, and that's a cost we don't need to take.

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Tuesday 31 May, Lunchtime

CHRIS SMITH: It's just over three weeks now till one of the biggest votes in the UK for decades, when we decide whether Britain stays in or leaves the European Union. Our politics reporter Greg Dawson is here with a bit of news on what's happening today.

GREG DAWSON: Yeah, not for the first time, both sides are spending the day talking about how voting their way will be better for your pocket. And this man has even got himself involved in the row.

ALAN SUGAR: Welcome to the boardroom, and if you think this process is tough, it's just got a whole lot tougher.

GD: Lord Sugar claimed the UK would be seen as 'the mugs of the world', if it votes to leave the EU, because of all the trade we do. Meanwhile, Leave campaigners say quitting would mean a cut on the amount of tax we pay and fuel, they say VAT on your bills can't be scrapped under EU rules. So with all the squabbling on both sides, we thought we try and help you out.

FROM VIDEO: Leave campaigners say Britain's lost too much power to the European Union, and most laws are made in Brussels not Britain.

GD: The first of our videos, explaining the arguments about Britain and the EU is upon Newsbeat's YouTube channel and Newsbeat online. This one is all about how much power the UK has to make its own laws.

FV: Leave campaigners say Britain's lost too much power to the European Union, and most laws are made in Brussels not Britain. (*sic, same audio is repeated from previously*)

GD: Over the next few weeks, will also look at the arguments about immigration, the economy and security. Plus, two weeks today your chance to have your say when Newsbeat hosts its big EU debate live on Radio One. It's one of your best chances to get answers to all the things you may be

confused about. Let us know your questions. You can Tweet @BBCNewsbeat or you can always text 81199, start your message EU.

Tuesday 31 May, Evening

CHRIS SMITH: Before we go, and this has been pretty hard to miss – the UK and one of the biggest votes in its history. Yeah, the vote on whether we should stay in or leave the European Union. Not been mentioned much, has it? But if you're still struggling to get your head around the various arguments, maybe our politics reporter Greg Dawson can help.

GREG DAWSON: Just under three weeks to go then until we decide whether Britain should stay in or leave the European Union, and if you're still not sure which way you plan to vote, we thought we try and help you out.

FROM VIDEO: Leave campaigners say Britain's lost too much power to the European Union, and most laws are made in Brussels not Britain.

GD: The first of our series of short videos explaining the arguments about Britain is up, just search Newsbeat on YouTube. This one is all about how much power the UK has to make its own laws.

FV: The Remain camp, though, point out that in issues of defence, foreign policy and the raising and spending of taxes UK government has sole control.

GD: Over the next few weeks, these will also look at the arguments about immigration, the economy and security, plus, two weeks today, a chance to have your say when Newsbeat hosts its big EU debate live on Radio One and One Extra. Got a question you want answered? Let us know. Tweet @BBCNewsbeat or text 81199, start your message EU.

Wednesday 1 June, Lunchtime

Introduction

CHRIS SMITH: Also coming up – for many people it's one of the biggest issues in the decision whether to stay in the EU or not. The Leave campaign wants a points-based system for people coming into the country, some are all for it.

CHARLOTTE: Then we will have an equal system where, where Britain is thriving through immigration instead of being drained.

CS: But the other side thinks this would wreck our economy. Our reporter will explain it all.

Main story

CS: Immigration, it's one of those things that gets people riled up, no matter where they stand on it, and today we've heard what the people who want us to leave the EU would do about it. They're planning a points-based system for everyone who wants to live and work here, but the campaign to stay says this would trash our economy. Here's Newsbeat's Rick Kelsey.

RICK KELSEY: At the moment, EU nationals can come and travel and work in the UK with few restrictions. One area with lots of immigration is Cambridgeshire, where 18 year old Charlotte's from.

CHARLOTTE: People who come into our county, we'll have . . . equal amount, instead of being determined on their personal circumstance.

RK: Charlotte's training to work in the NHS, she likes the idea of the points system the UK currently uses for people coming from outside the EU being used for everybody.

C: At the moment, people who are coming over are in a worse situation, which, reality, they can't bring much to the UK straight off.

RK: That points-based system for non-EU people currently has four tiers. Tier one is high-value talent, so entrepreneurs for example. Tier two is skilled workers with jobs that can't be filled by EU or UK workers - that could be a job transfer. And then there are visas for students and temporary migrants. The Leave campaign says this would offer us a fairer, more humane way of doing things. And the golden number is seventy points. And Charlotte sees that as a good system.

C: If you have equal, an equal system, where you bring people in from (*sic*) their capabilities, their qualities, their skills, what they can bring to the UK, then we all have an equal system where, where Britain is thriving through immigration instead of being drained.

RK: The Remain campaign say this proposal would wreck the UK economy and make it harder for us to get jobs in Europe. And there have been questions about the points-based system itself. There have been comparisons to the way Australia does it. Madeleine Sumption is neutral in this debate, her job is to track migration, and she says the Australian system isn't designed to stop people getting in.

MADELEINE SUMPTION: Australia has a system that is basically designed to increase migration, by assigning people points and kind of trying to increase the pool of people who might want to go to Australia by as much as possible, and then they select from that pool.

RK: The most recent official figures suggest a similar number of people come into the UK from the EU as they do from the rest of the world.

DAN: I just don't see how a points-based system's going to work.

RK: Dan is a web designer from the Wirral and thinks the idea makes no sense.

D: Europeans would say, 'Well, you'd need work permits to come and work in, in here with us.' I just think we've been working in each other's countries for many, many years, and it's been really successful. You know, I've worked with people from Spain, people from Germany and they've been brilliant, and they really add something to . . . you know, the way that our country works.

CHRIS SMITH: Every time we've talked about that vote on whether Britain should stay in the European Union, you've been telling us that immigration is one of the most important topics to you. So, next week, we're taking Newsbeat to Wisbech in Cambridgeshire to get some facts on what's happening in this country at the moment, and what both sides of the argument want to do. If there's something you want to know, email us now. Newsbeat@bbc.co.uk.

Friday 3 June, Lunchtime

Introduction

TINA DEHALEY: This lunchtime, are you an 'inny' or an 'outy' – it's Europe we're talking about not belly buttons.

AMBER: I don't know everything the EU has done for me. I mean, we've been in the EU, but it's never really been . . . a massive thing that people know about.

TD: If, like Amber, you're not sure, don't worry, we've got all you need to know about the crucial EU vote.

Main Report

TD: For weeks he's been urging people to trust what he says and keep Britain inside the European Union, but last night, for the first time, David Cameron came face to face with voters and some tough questions about the EU.

DAVID CAMERON . . . the threats we face, okay, now I'll answer your question about Turkey . . .

UNNAMED FEMALE: (*speaking over*) No, no, no . . .

DC: (*fragment of word, unclear*) Turkey, okay . . .

UF: (*speaking over*) no, let me finish now . . .

DC: (*speaking over*) Okay, alright . . .

UF: . . . because I've seen you interrupt many people beforehand . . .

DC: (*speaking over*) Okay, alright, sorry . . .

UF: I'm an English literature student, I know waffling when I see it (*laughter from audience*)

TD: Things got a little heated for the Prime Minister at the Sky TV debate, our politics reporter, Greg Dawson, was watching.

GD: This was an hour-long grilling for the Prime Minister who once again talked about why he thinks voting to leave the EU would be bad for British jobs and the economy. He was also asked about immigration. He agreed controlling numbers was a challenge, but he said quitting was a bad way to deal with it.

DC: A good way is doing what I did in my renegotiation, which is to say to people, if you come to our country, first of all, you don't claim unemployment benefit, second of all, after six months if you haven't got a job, you have to leave.

GD: He also pointed out the benefits of immigration, including the skilled people working in the NHS. His main point though was that even he has problems with the EU, but that's not a good enough reason for Britain to get out.

DC: And sometimes this organisation drives me crazy, but do I sit there and think, 'Britain would be better off if we left?' You know, are we quitters? Do we think we quit the European Union, we quit the single market, and that somehow we would be better off? Absolutely not.

GD: But remember, this decision is not up to the Prime Minister, it's up to voters, but to get involved, you need to register, and the deadline is next Tuesday, the 7 June. So we've been to Wakefield to hear people's thoughts on this vote, but also some of the problems stopping people from signing up. (*from Wakefield*) They've gone to a lot of effort in the common room at this college to try and give people something to do during their break. There are pool tables, even ping-pong, but in truth, most people are just scrolling through their phones. And it's on phones that many have been targeted for votes in recent weeks.

VOICE FROM LEAVE VIDEO: At the end of the war, Britain created the NHS, but it's in danger.

AMELIA: Even the fact that they're getting involved with social media is like really important now, I love it, like, because it's always there and it's part of democracy, like, but it's not easy to find out the facts, because you don't know where . . . half of them are coming from.

VOICE FROM REMAIN VIDEO: Over three million UK jobs are linked to our trade with the EU.

AMBER: The track record of a lot of politicians, you're always wondering, like, why they're saying this.

GD: Amelia, Amber and Anastasia are students here and still can't make their mind about how they'll vote, and they say much of that is down to the EU itself.

AMBER: A lot of young people, well, we've not been informed about the EU all these years, we don't know what's done for us. Like, I don't know everything the EU has done for me. I mean, we've been in the EU, but it's never really been . . . a massive thing that people know about.

GD: In last year's general election, less than half of 18 to 24-year-olds bothered to vote. But with claims that the group least likely to turn out for this referendum are the people most likely to vote Remain, it's no surprise they've been getting so much attention from the likes of this man.

DC: . . . generation. If you haven't registered to vote yet, you only have till June 7 to do so. It only takes . . .

ANASTASIA: The fact that all of a sudden they want young people to be engaged, and they're grasping for our votes, you feel like you're being used in an aspect. It's kind of like you woke up one morning and we've been faced with this issue of the EU referendum, and . . . throughout our lifetimes we haven't been informed about what the EU does for us.

GD: Not everyone is so cynical though. At this coffee shop in central London, a group called Bite the Ballot is hosting an event to get people signed up.

MIKE SANI: You guys are the guys this decision matters to the most, you're going to live with it the longest. (*speaking to reporter*) Bite the Ballot is essentially a movement to try and reach out and engage with our youngest citizens and get them to feel like they're change-makers, they can drive the political agenda based on the issues they care about.

GD: Mike Sani runs Bite the Ballot, who've been stepping up their efforts this week to get thousands registered. There has been a problem though. They say of 3800 clicks to sign up via their site last week, just ten people successfully registered.

MS: The bounce rate normally comes when you have to give your National Insurance number, and if they've not got it on them, because let's be honest, most people are doing this on their phone, so people that don't know them, it's off-putting and they, and they leave.

SAM GYIMAH: I'm Sam Gyimah, and I'm a minister in the education department. We have the simplest way of registering to vote in this country. You can register to vote on a smart phone in four minutes. Of course it asks you for your national insurance details, because you only want those eligible to vote to end up on the register.

MS: Do you accept that it looks like the government is courting the votes of young people this time around, when last year perhaps they didn't do it as much?

SG: What I would say to young people is: this is the time to make your voice heard, whatever your views are. This is not the time to complain about the politicians, but this is a time to show where you stand on the issues, and that is the most important thing you can do for yourself.

Friday 3 June, Evening

Introduction

TINA DAHELEY: Tonight, we've got all you need to know that registering to vote on Europe.

CHRIS SMITH: It takes just a few minutes and you can do it on your phone, just search 'gov.uk'

FP: Don't panic, you've got four more days to sign up.

Main Story

TD: For weeks he's been telling us why we should trust what he says and keep Britain inside the European Union, but not everyone is convinced by David Cameron.

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UF: I'm an English literature student, I know waffling when I see it (*laughter from audience*)

TF: Yeah, some tough questions for the PM during Sky's TV debate, but he pushed on with why he thinks an exit would be bad for British jobs and the economy. Ultimately though, the decision's not down to him, it's down to us. Well, if you've registered to vote. The deadline's next Tuesday, the 7 June, and Newsbeat's Greg Dawson's been to Wakefield to find out why people aren't necessarily rushing to sign up.

GREG DAWSON: They've gone to a lot of effort in the common room at this college to try and give people something to do during their break. There are pool tables, even ping-pong, but in truth, most people are just scrolling through their phones. And it's on phones that many have been targeted for votes in recent weeks.

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Monday 6 June, Lunchtime

Introduction

CHRIS SMITH: Before one o'clock, we're looking at claims the Conservative Party is tearing itself apart over the vote to stay in or quit the European Union.

Main Story

CHRIS SMITH: Now, when you are in a team, part of a group, or part of a political party, the idea is that you all believe in the same sort of thing, right? Well, not when it comes to the vote on whether the UK should stay in or leave the European Union, due to be held in just over two weeks. It is causing major problems in the Conservative Party. In fact, it's all been a bit nasty. Newsbeat's Lindsay Brown has this one.

LINDSAY BROWN: It's not often you get a former Prime Minister talking like this:

JOHN MAJOR: I am angry at the way the British people are being misled.

LB: Sir John Major was in charge of running the UK for most of the 90s.

JM: This is much more important than a general election, this is going to affect people, their livelihoods, their future, for a very long time to come.

LB: He's from the Conservatives, so you'd expect him to be having a go at people from the Labour Party, the Scottish Nationalists, or the Liberal Democrats. What makes this political attack different though is that he is talking about people from his own party, including former Mayor of London, Boris Johnson.

BORIS JOHNSON: What people want to hear the arguments, and what we're setting out is an agenda for the government to take back control on June 23 of a lot of things that really matter to the people of this country.

LB: And now, with just over two weeks to go until the vote, things have got personal.

JM: He's a very engaging and charming court jester.

BJ: There is going to be temptation to try and turn it into a personality driven conversation.

JM: He will not have the loyalty of the party he divided.

LB: Whereas a lot of people from the Conservatives are arguing amongst themselves, others are making new friends.

DAVID CAMERON: We come together today in an unprecedented show of cross-party unity.

LB: Like Prime Minister, David Cameron.

DC: There are many things that we don't agree about, many things we argue about, but on this we are absolutely united.

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Monday 6 June, Evening

Introduction

CHRIS SMITH: Also coming up: politicians arguing. It's not exactly news, but the EU referendum debate is getting so heated, those on the same side are tearing into each other.

Main Story

CHRIS SMITH: Now, when you are in a team, part of a group, like, say, a political party, the idea is that you all believe in the same sort of thing, right? Well, not when it comes to the vote on whether the UK should stay in or leave the European Union, it's happening in just over two weeks, and in the Conservative Party at least, it's all getting a bit nasty. Here's Lindsay Brown.

LINDSAY BROWN: It's not often you get a former Prime Minister talking like this:

JOHN MAJOR: I am angry at the way the British people are being misled.

LB: Sir John Major was in charge of running the UK for most of the 90s.

JM: This is much more important than a general election, this is going to affect people, their livelihoods, their future, for a very long time to come.

LB: He's from the Conservatives, so you'd expect him to be having a go at people from the Labour Party, the Scottish Nationalists, or the Liberal Democrats. What makes this political attack different though is that he is talking about people from his own party, including former Mayor of London, Boris Johnson who's been speaking this morning.

BORIS JOHNSON: I think it is time for us in this country on June 23 to take back control and speak up for freedom.

LB: And now, with just over two weeks to go until the vote, things have got personal.

JM: He's a very engaging and charming court jester.

BJ: I think we are winning the arguments today and that is why you're hearing quite so much rattling from the other side.

JM: He will not have the loyalty of the party he divided.

LB: Whereas a lot of people from the Conservatives are arguing amongst themselves, others are making new friends.

DAVID CAMERON: We come together today in an unprecedented show of cross-party unity.

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Tuesday 7 June, Lunchtime

CHRIS SMITH: And Today's Newsbeat is for you, if you've ever asked, 'Are too many foreigners coming into the country?' Do we need to shut borders? And would leaving the European Union make a difference?' There are just two weeks now until that big vote on whether the UK should stay in the European Union or leave it, and you've been telling us that one of the big issues for you is immigration. So, today we are in Wisbech in Cambridgeshire, a town where migrants make up 15% of the population, that's according to the latest official count. Here's the promise: no politicians before one o'clock, no boring EU experts, just straight talking and we've got a game of Real or No Real coming up as well. So, good afternoon from Wisbech, we've set up our little radio car here in the market square of this very pretty town in the East of England. Just down the road from the market, a nice bread stall there, and looking for some local attractions, I see from the signpost there that we're just down the road from Octavia Hill's birthplace. Emma's nodding, she's a local, are you familiar with Octavia Hill?

EMMA: Yeah.

CS: Oh right, me too, because I just looked her up on Wikipedia, the prominent 19th-century social reformer. Erm, (*laughter in voice*) so anyway, we've got Emma here, as you've just heard, Stephen's here as well, and Marie-Francis. Just quickly guys, I mean, how are you feeling about this vote Stephen? Do you feel ready, do you have all the facts you want ahead of your vote in a couple of weeks' time.

STEPHEN: Well I feel like I've got all the facts, erm, and my opinion is 'Out'.

CS: Okay, you're going to go Out. Emma, what about you? Is there anything else you want to hear in the next couple of weeks?

EMMA: I just want a bit more information about what we think is going to happen if we leave or if we stay. I'm just . . . I don't feel like I'm ready to make my vote yet.

CS: And Marie-Francis, what do you make of the campaign so far, do you feel like politicians are kind of straight talking with you?

MARIE-FRANCIS: No, I feel like it's been quite disappointing actually, and would like to hear some more facts, rather than the scare tactics that are coming from both sides, it's not very fair on people who are voting.

CS: Yeah, well actually one of the big things we are hearing about this EU vote is people do seem to be confused, and . . . a bit sick of both sides, just kind of spewing out a whole load of arguments that sometimes don't make too much sense. And you're telling us that what you would like is some facts. As ever, we've tried to listen. We've put up a handy video about immigration and the European Union on Newsbeat's YouTube channel. It's full of – you guessed it – it's full of facts, you can thank our reporter Nick for this one, and here he is with some of the main points.

NICK ROTHERHAM: So, you asked for facts. Well, I'm going to give you facts. I'm going to give you *so many facts*, you're going to be sorry you ever even asked for facts. Facts, facts, facts, facts, *(speeding up, repeating the word facts over and over)*

UNNAMED MALE: Okay. That's annoying.

NR: But the first fact you need to know is that the European Union doesn't have any control over who's let into Britain from outside of the EU, from countries like Syria.

FEMALE: *(voice speaking Arabic?)*

NR: And Afghanistan.

MALE: *(voice speaking Pashto?)*

NR: Likewise. And the EU can't force Britain to take refugees from places like this. Another fact? Well, the EU *does* have control over those who come from inside the European Union.

MALE VOICE: Bonjour.

MALE VOICE 2: Hallo.

FEMALE VOICE: Buenas tardes.

NR: Member countries agreed to a rule called the freedom of movement. Now, this means that anyone within the EU can come and live and work in the UK. In return, we're allowed to go and live and work in other places within the EU. The upshot – when it comes to deciding if you're in or out based on immigration, then EU migration is the key thing to look at. Phones out for a quick sum on the old calculators. Last year it's estimated 270,000 people came to live here from the EU. Now, take away the number that's left and that leaves 184,000 – fewer than those who came from outside the EU. And remember they're the ones that we actually have control over. How about some quickfire stats? There are currently 3 million people from the other 27 EU countries living in the UK – that's 3 million people using the NHS, schools and other services. That's four foreign EU citizens in every 100 people. Think that sounds high? Well, it's actually higher in six other EU countries: in Ireland it's 8 in every 100. Figures show immigrants actually contribute more cash to the UK economy than they get back in terms of benefits, and 60% have work lined up before they arrive. However, there's evidence that in low paid jobs, immigration may drive down the wages of UK workers. Enough? Tough. One more. And this one's worth considering. If Britain left the European Union it doesn't necessarily mean our doors will be closed to EU workers. We may want to stay part of what's called the single market

which helps trade between EU countries. If you're part of that, you still have to allow EU citizens to come and live and work in your country. That's the situation in Norway.

MALE VOICE 3: Hi, hi.

NR: And it actually has more EU migrants per head than the UK.

CS: Okay. You can watch that video on the Newsbeat Facebook page. Anything there guys that surprised you? Let's come to you first, Stephen, because you're, you're firmly 'Out', you've made your mind up already.

S: Yeah.

CS: Did that surprise you with that fact about Norway, perhaps, at the end?

S: Yeah, I didn't . . . I wasn't too aware that Norway was still a part of the common market, but actually out of the EU.

CS: Yeah, and they still allow the free movement of people. I mean, is . . . you know, stopping such high levels of immigration, is that part of the reason why you want to vote Out?

S: Well, my reason is mainly economic. Erm, I love multicultural (*sic*) I love people coming from different, like, all round the world and bringing things to England, you know what I mean?

CS: Yeah. Okay. And Emma, you're, you're a local girl from . . . from Wisbech. What sort of impact has immigration had on this town?

E: Well, there are a lot of immigrants in Wisbech, and I know a lot of the locals are very . . . angry towards the immigrants, saying, 'Oh they've taken our jobs', but I think if they keep to themselves, it's not really the biggest problem, but I just . . . I don't like it if there's immigrants here who aren't do . . . like giving it back to the community, that's what I think should be done, giving to the community.

CS: Okay, let's find out a little bit more about how immigration's impacted on a town like this. Newsbeat's Hannah Morrison's been finding out.

HANNAH MORRISON: Spend five minutes in the centre of Wisbech and you'll not only see, but hear how many different nationalities live here.

FEMALE VOICE 2: Dzień dobry! That's in Polish.

FEMALE VOICE 3: Labas. Lithuania.

FEMALE VOICE 4: Bună. Romania.

FEMALE VOICE 5: (*word unclear*) Bulgarian.

MALE VOICE 3: (*word unclear*)

HM: And that's Russian.

MV3: Yeah, Russian.

HM: Little more than ten years ago, it was a different story, but things started to change in 2004, when ten new countries joined the European Union. Many were from Eastern Europe, and a wave of people came here to find jobs. It's largely down to the kind of work on offer. Fields surround Wisbech, which mean fields and veg farming is big business. Manpower is needed to pick it and process it, the work's low paid, but compared to places like Latvia and Poland, the money is good. The town grew quickly, official stats for 2001 show just 3% of people in the area were born outside the UK, by 2011, that had increased to 9%. So how does it feel to grow up in a place like this? We dropped in on a mechanics workshop at the local college.

UNNAMED FEMALE: Because I've . . . known it for most of my life, to live with people from different countries, so it's just been normal for me.

UNNAMED MALE: I think it's interesting to learn about different cultures.

HM: But some feel the town has got too big too quickly. Some of the schools have as many as a third non-British students, and doctors' surgeries are full. So what are you working on here today?

UNNAMED FEMALE 2: I've been doing the oil change. A bit of a mess, but going alright.

HM: So, have you always lived in Wisbech?

UF2: Yeah.

HM: What's your sort of stand on it?

UF2: It's been too crowded from all the EU people. And I think we need kind of less of them, so we can all get a job, because I've applied for loads, and erm, they've been filled up.

HM: People employing foreign workers say this country needs them. Broccoli is being packed in this factory on the edge of town.

VOX POP MALE: We're taking the stalk out, getting it ready for slicing.

HM: How many people working in here at the moment are EU?

ALEXANDER SMITH: Probably 90-odd percent at least.

HM: Alexander Smith helps run the business, he said he'd struggle without the migrant workforce. I'm just trying to understand why there aren't more British people working on the land?

AS: It's hard work, but certainly, you know, I wouldn't say EU people are stealing the jobs.

HM: Elaina and Daria have been here six years. They're from Latvia, and insist jobs are there for everyone, but only the eastern Europeans want to do the work.

ELAINA: Show me any British one who is going to wake up and start on the field at four o'clock, none of them are going to do it.

DARIA: From my experience they put two English people, only one migrant worker will be enough.

HM: Spending time in Wisbech, one thing stands out: Brits and Eastern Europeans don't seem to mix. For some, there is little need to learn English, because they're with others who speak their own language. How long have you been here for?

VOX POP FEMALE 2: Five years.

HM: But you speak no English?

VPF2: No (*laughs*)

HM: Are you not learning English?

VPF2: No.

VOX POP FEMALE 3: She says how much she understands is enough for her.

HM: It's definitely not the attitude of all migrants though. In the pub with Isabella, originally from Poland, we get a very different story.

ISABELLA: I pay tax, I work for NHS, I speak fluent English. A lot of my friends are English, and my old boyfriend is English.

HM: But she has a surprising view.

I: It seems like the . . . you know immigrants is, are taking over. Of course, people do come here to England for, to seek a better life, however, I also believe some migrants do take an advantage of the system.

CS: So, that's the picture here in Wisbech, and there are similar stories in other towns in this part of the country, and across the Midlands as well, in fact Marie-Francis, you're a Leicester girl, right?

MARIE-FRANCIS: Yeah, I'm from Leicester.

CS: An area that had a lot of migration over, well, over a long time now.

MF: Yeah, an awful lot, and I . . . feel like the lad said in that clip – I'm grown up with, erm, immigrants from all over the world. In my area we have Polish, er, we have Romanians, and we all just muck in. I even learnt Polish about three years ago to get on with my Polish neighbours.

CS: Oh, give us a blast of Polish.

MF: Dzień dobry jak się masz (*laughs*) It's just like, 'Hello, how are you?'

CS: So, do you know how you're going to vote in two weeks' time?

MF: Yeah, I'm pretty sure now, I was a bit on the fence the other week, with some of the scare tactics from both sides, but I think I'm going to vote to Remain. Yeah, definitely going to vote to Remain now.

CS: And what do you make of the, the immigration argument that we're discussing today? Why, you know, given both sides of that argument, why do you want to stay in the EU?

MF: I think that, especially a town like Leicester, where I live, I have benefited so much, I don't think I'd be the person I am today if it wasn't for all the immigrants, and everyone just gets on in our area, and we're so lucky to have these people, the things I've learned from all of them, it's so positive, and I really just hope that continues for years to come, I don't want to lose that.

CS: Okay. So what do each side in this vote Leave and Remain claim that they can do about migration? Well, we said no politicians didn't we . . . and a few of you have told us that their debating is starting to sound a little bit like a playground argument anyway.

MOLLY: I think we should leave.

SAM: I think we should stay.

MOLLY: Leave.

SAM: Stay.

MOLLY: Leave.

SAM: Stay.

MOLLY: Leave.

SAM: Stay.

CS: Go to your rooms. With that in mind, we decided to get six year old Molly and Eight year old Sam to help us tell you what each side thinks you should do about migration. So, with the main points on immigration for the Remain campaign, here's Sam.

SAM: Immigrants pay more in taxes than they cost the country. The work they do helps British businesses and services, boosting the economy. Even if we leave the EU, we may still have to allow people from EU countries to work here, so we can trade with them as part of the single market. We want to limit benefits for those coming here from Europe for four years after they arrive.

CS: And here is Molly, with the key points for Leave campaign.

MOLLY: It's impossible to control immigration if we stay in the Europe . . . European Union. Too many people are coming to this country and putting a strain on things, like schools, hospitals and housing. Foreign workers are pushing down wages. We want to bring in a points-system so only people with useful skills can work here.

CS: Well, Stephen, you are going to vote 'Out' in a couple of weeks' time. You spoke positively about migration earlier on, but do you think too many people are coming to settle in the UK?

S: Yeah, my personal opinion is that we are a small country, we've only got so many jobs and so much houses. So for loads and loads of people coming in, in masses, we simply don't have the resources for it.

CS: Okay, well obviously, lots more arguing to be done over the next couple of weeks. If you need a re-cap, look at BBC Newsbeat on Twitter, it is all in there. Just quickly then, you're going to vote Out Stephen, Marie-Francis, you're going to vote In. Emma, have you made your mind up?

E: No.

CS: Okay. You've got a couple of weeks to do it, as long as you're registered to vote by midnight, have you done that?

E: I've registered to vote, so it's okay.

CS: Brilliant, if you haven't, we'll tell you all about that in a minute. Er, first, time to see how much we know about immigration and the referendum. Here is that round of Real or No Real we promised you, hopefully Scott won't mind. Yes, we may possibly have stolen this idea from the Scott Mills Show, but the rules are simple, I give you a statement, and you have to say if it is Real or No Real. And all of these things have actually been said during the referendum campaign over the last few weeks. I'll be playing the part of Scott Mills today, and, confusingly Ben Mundy will be playing the part of me. So, first up. Real or No Real.

BEN MUNDY: To cope with the amount of migrant children in the UK, we would need to find extra school places equivalent to building 27 new average-sized secondary schools each year.

CS: Emma, let's start with you: 27 school every year, or the equivalent of, Real or No Real.

E: No Real.

CS: Oh, sorry that was a bad start, it is actually real. Based on the numbers of 5-18 year olds coming here in 2014, 25,000 of them, and yep that is equivalent to 27 secondary schools. Which sounds like a lot, but if you look at it a different way, it's less than one pupil for each school in the country. So, let's move on. Real or No Real.

BM: We need to build around 240 houses every day for the next 20 years, just to be able to cope with increased demand for future migration.

CS: Stephen, what are you saying?

S: I'm going to go for Real.

CS: You are absolutely correct, there, you're putting yourself in the lead there. Those sums do add up. The Office for National Statistics forecasts the population will go up by 4 million in 20 years, if migration continues as it has. There are, on average, 2.3 people in every household in the UK, so four million people, does indeed equate to around 1.75 million homes, which is 240 houses a day. But that number is based on immigration from outside and inside the EU. EU immigration accounts for about half of that. Right, final one, a chance for you to pull it back Emma. Real or No Real.

BM: Britain has a deal with France, which means UK border officials can carry out checks on French soil to stop illegal migrants coming here. Leaving the EU would mean that stops, and thousands of migrants currently in France would be able to cross the channel to England.

E: No Real?

CS: Yes. Correct. Ten points each. Yes, France and the UK are bound by an agreement which means the UK carries out immigration checks on French soil, but it is not an EU agreement, so if the UK votes to leave that deal will not necessarily be affected. So that's the end of Real or No Real – Scott will have the proper one on Radio One about 3.45. And if all of this has got you a bit fired up, but you have not sorted out your vote yet, you've got until midnight it's very easy to do, you can find all the details about how to register at Newsbeat online, and there's lots more from us live here in Wisbech at 5.45.

Tuesday 7 June, Evening

CHRIS SMITH: And today's Newsbeat is one for you if you've ever asked, 'are too many foreigners coming into the country, do we need to shut the border, and would leaving the European Union make a difference?' There are just two weeks until the big vote on whether the UK should stay in the European Union or leave it, and you're telling us that one of the big issues for you is immigration. So, we're here live in Wisbech in Cambridgeshire. This is a town where migrants make up 15% of the population, that's according to the latest official count. So, here's the promise: between now and six o'clock, no politicians, no boring EU experts, just straight talking and we've even got a game of Real or No Real coming up too. So, good afternoon from Wisbech. We're in the market square of this town in the East of England, and walking round, you really can see the effects of that figure we just mentioned, 15% of the people who were born outside the UK. And there are more shops than usual selling Polish foods, in fact, there's one just round the corner there that's got a sign offering Latvian and Lithuanian food as well. And as you walk around this market square you do hear a lot of Eastern European accents as well. With us here in Wisbech this afternoon, we have got Marie-Francis and we've got Charlotte. Marie-Francis, let's come to you first, because you're closest to me. How are you feeling about the vote in two weeks' time? Do you know which way you're going to go?

MARIE-FRANCIS: I think I've decided now, for a while I didn't know, but I think I'm going to vote to Remain in the EU.

CS: And is immigration something which concerns you, something that you are glad that people are discussing ahead of the vote?

MF: I am really glad that people are discussing, because it is such, erm, it is such a difficult question to talk about and it's really good to hear both sides of it. But I . . . definitely believe that immigration is very positive for this country.

CS: And Charlotte, you've moved to this area, to Wisbech quite recently, and I think you were surprised, weren't you, by the amount of people who live here that were born outside the UK.

CHARLOTTE: Er, yeah, I was surprised, erm, coming in from somewhere . . . er, somewhere like Norwich, where there wasn't many eastern Europeans, erm, and immigration was low, and coming to somewhere, somewhere where immigration was so high and it was so noticeable, erm, it was such a shock to come into a village and . . . a little town where, erm, you had so many different languages all around you.

CS: And is it affecting how you're going to vote in a couple of weeks?

C: Erm, I will vote to Leave, but it (*fragment of word, unclear*) immigration's not that . . . not a main priority for me because immigration, like many people say, is a positive thing.

CS: Okay. So one of the big things we're hearing in general about this EU vote is that people are really confused and actually just sick of both sides spewing out a whole load of arguments that sometimes don't make much sense and contradict each other of course. Now, you're telling us what you would like is facts, and as ever, we've tried to listen to that. We've put up a handy video on immigration and the European Union on Newsbeat's YouTube channel. And it's full of – you guessed it – facts, you can thank our reporter Nick for this one, and in fact, here he is now with some of the main points.

NICK ROTHERHAM: So, you asked for facts. Well, I'm going to give you facts. I'm going to give you *so many facts*, you're going to be sorry you ever even asked for facts. Facts, facts, facts, facts, *(speeding up, repeating the word facts over and over)*

UNNAMED MALE: Okay. That's annoying.

NR: But the first fact you need to know is that the European Union doesn't have any control over who's let into Britain from outside of the EU, from countries like Syria.

FEMALE: *(voice speaking Arabic?)*

NR: And Afghanistan.

MALE: *(voice speaking Pashto?)*

NR: Likewise. And the EU can't force Britain to take refugees from places like this. Another fact? Well, the EU *does* have control over those who come from inside the European Union.

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MALE VOICE 2: Hallo.

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CS: So, you can watch that video from Nick on the Newsbeat Facebook page. Charlotte and Marie-Francis, you've been listening to that, you look a bit shellshocked with all Nick's facts there. Charlotte, was there anything there that surprised you, any facts you picked up on?

C: Erm, it surprised me that, erm, if we leave the EU so many amount of people will be able to come over, it won't affect immigration massively.

CS: Yeah, it's (*fragment of word, unclear*) hard to say, isn't it, how, how it's going to affect things either way, because certainly half of the immigration at the moment is from, is from outside the EU. I mean, you said a few minutes ago, you think immigration is a positive thing. Do you think in general, levels have been too high though, in this area maybe?

C: Yeah, a lot of areas are getting too high immigration, erm, obviously it's not a majorly bad thing, because they bring different cultures and skill sets, but with my point, with the Leave campaign, they're suggesting to bring in a points system that will make sure people who come into Britain can bring something that erm, is positive like their skills er . . .

CS: Yeah, they're coming to fill jobs that are there, basically, which is what the Leave campaign say, and that sounds positive to you, does it?

C: Yeah, the thing . . . the thing is that they'll bring something positive, instead of being a drain to the system like so many people believe.

CS: Okay, and Marie-Francis, what . . . what do you make of that? Would you like to see a points-based system for immigration?

MF: I don't know if I would. I think in Australia they've got that in place and it's not always worked perfectly. I do think we want people here who are going to work, and who are going to contribute. So it may work, but I think it does have consequences as well.

CS: And where you live, you live in Leicester, right, obviously, that's an area that had high immigration for a long.

MF: Yeah, it's had a lot since about 2004 with the Polish immigrants coming in, it's a fantastic place for all these migrants from the EU coming in, they've contributed so much, and things like Polish shops, going round Wisbech here, they're so many, in Leicester it's the same, I get a lot of my food and things from Polish supermarkets, so it's fantastic.

CS: Okay, well let's talk a little bit more about Wisbech, where we are live, this afternoon, and how does immigration impact on a town like this? Newsbeat's Hannah Morrison's been finding out.

HANNAH MORRISON: Spend five minutes in the centre of Wisbech and you'll not only see, but hear how many different nationalities live here.

FEMALE VOICE 2: Dzień dobry! That's in Polish.

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HM: And that's Russian.

MV3: Yeah, Russian.

HM: Little more than ten years ago, it was a different story, but things started to change in 2004, when ten new countries joined the European Union. Many were from Eastern Europe, and a wave of people came here to find jobs. It's largely down to the kind of work on offer. Fields surround Wisbech, which mean fields and veg farming is big business. Manpower is needed to pick it and process it, the work's low paid, but compared to places like Latvia and Poland, the money is good. The town grew quickly, official stats for 2001 show just 3% of people in the area were born outside the UK, by 2011, that had increased to 9%. So how does it feel to grow up in a place like this? We dropped in on a mechanics workshop at the local college.

UNNAMED FEMALE: Because I've . . . known it for most of my life, to live with people from different countries, so it's just been normal for me.

UNNAMED MALE: I think it's interesting to learn about different cultures.

HM: But some feel the town has got too big too quickly. Some of the schools have as many as a third non-British students, and doctors' surgeries are full. So what are you working on here today?

UNNAMED FEMALE 2: I've been doing the oil change. A bit of a mess, but going alright.

HM: So, have you always lived in Wisbech?

UF2: Yeah.

HM: What's your sort of stand on it?

UF2: It's been too crowded from all the EU people. And I think we need kind of less of them, so we can all get a job, because I've applied for loads, and erm, they've been filled up.

HM: People employing foreign workers say this country needs them. Broccoli is being packed in this factory on the edge of town.

VOX POP MALE: We're taking the stalk out, getting it ready for slicing.

HM: How many of the people working in here at the moment are EU?

ALEXANDER SMITH: Probably 90-odd percent at least.

HM: Alexander Smith helps run the business, he said he'd struggle without the migrant workforce. I'm just trying to understand why there aren't more British people working on the land?

AS: It's hard work, but certainly, you know, I wouldn't say EU people are stealing the jobs.

HM: Elaina and Daria have been here six years. They're from Latvia, and insist jobs are there for everyone, but only the Eastern Europeans want to do the work.

ELAINA: Show me any British one who is going to wake up and start on the field at four o'clock, none of them are going to do it.

DARIA: From my experience they put two English people, only one migrant worker will be enough.

HM: Spending time in Wisbech, one thing stands out: Brits and Eastern Europeans don't seem to mix. For some, there is little need to learn English, because they're with others who speak their own language. How long have you been here for?

VOX POP FEMALE 2: Five years.

HM: But you speak no English?

VPF2: No (*laughs*)

HM: Are you not learning English?

VPF2: No.

VOX POP FEMALE 3: She says how much she understands is enough for her.

HM: It's definitely not the attitude of all migrants though. In the pub with Isabella, originally from Poland, we get a very different story.

ISABELLA: I pay tax, I work for NHS, I speak fluent English. A lot of my friends are English, and my old boyfriend is English.

HM: But she has a surprising view.

I: It seems like the . . . you know immigrants is, are taking over. Of course, people do come here to England for, to seek a better life, however, I also believe some migrants do take an advantage of the system.

CS: Well, Hannah's here with us now, let's clear one thing up, because we discussed this briefly with Charlotte a minute ago. So, if the UK leaves the EU, it doesn't necessarily mean there will actually be an end to EU migration, does it?

HM: No it doesn't. If Britain leaves it may well decide to remain part of what's called the European single market, which basically means it is easier for British businesses to do trade with businesses in other countries. To stay in that single market, Britain is likely to have to agree to freedom of movement still, and that would mean EU people are just as free to work here as they are now. That's what Norway does at the moment, and interestingly it has a higher percentage of EU migrants in the UK.

CS: Okay, thanks very much, Hannah. Now, as well as Wisbech, there are similar stories in towns all over this part of the country. Let's chat a bit more to Marie-Francis and Charlotte who are still here. Erm, do you feel that life has changed in the last ten years or so, Marie-Francis, since we've had these high levels of migration from other parts of Europe.

MF: I think life has changed very much. Where I live in Leicester, we have an awful lot of EU migrants, but definitely for the better, we learn so much from them, and I know, like, from my experience in my school and in my college, I've just learnt so much about their cultures and their way of life, and they've learnt the same from me, that it's a brilliant thing to have.

CS: And in fact, you've been learning a bit of Polish, even, haven't you? You like to go to your local Polski Sklep and have a chat in Polish, don't you?

MF: *(laughs)* Yeah, I know a little bit of Polish, erm, and yeah, can talk to people in Polish shops and things like that, it's really, really good to know, and I find that people do want to learn English and do want to be, you know, involved in our community too.

CS: Erm, so Charlotte, tell us a bit more about the impressions you've had since you've moved to Wisbech, about the pressures that maybe people feel migration has put on this town.

C: Erm, well, it's definitely . . . well, you can definitely notice the different, Eastern Europeans and the British people it's in . . . well, they group together, they do sometimes segregate themselves, not everyone erm . . . makes an effort to become a part of the community, so you'll have many students who don't bother trying to learn English, which obviously puts a barrier in the college I go to with the teaching and learning. However, we do get by. So, it's never a bad thing, but there are good and bads, always.

CS: Okay. So what do each side in this vote, Leave and Remain, claim that they can do about this? Well, we did promise you no politicians on Newsbeat today, because a few of you have been telling us that their debating is starting to sound a little bit too much like playground arguments.

MOLLY: I think we should leave.

SAM: I think we should stay.

MOLLY: Leave.

SAM: Stay.

MOLLY: Leave.

SAM: Stay.

MOLLY: Leave.

SAM: Stay.

CS: So, with that in mind, we decided to get six year old Molly and eight year old Sam to help us tell you what each side thinks you should do about immigration. So, with the main points on immigration for the Remain campaign, here's Sam.

SAM: Immigrants pay more in taxes than they cost the country. The work they do helps British businesses and services, boosting the economy. Even if we leave the EU, we may still have to allow people from EU countries to work here, so we can trade with them as part of the single market. We want to limit benefits for those coming here from Europe for four years after they arrive.

CS: And here is Molly, with the key points for Leave campaign.

MOLLY: It's impossible to control immigration if we stay in the Europe . . . European Union. Too many people are coming to this country and putting a strain on things, like schools, hospitals and housing.

Foreign workers are pushing down wages. We want to bring in a points-system so only people with useful skills can work here.

CS: Okay, let's really quickly look ahead to that vote in two weeks' time then. Charlotte, just a few words, which way are you going to vote and why?

C: I'm going to vote to leave, erm, hopefully they'll bring in a points system, it's uncertainty and we don't know which way it'll go, erm, so let's . . . hopefully it'll be for the best.

CS: Okay, and Marie-Francis, where are you putting your X and why?

MF: I'm going to stay, want to put stay in the EU, erm, because I think we don't know what's ahead if we leave the EU, and also I think it's better to be part of something together, rather than go it alone.

CS: Okay, if you need another recap on any of that, do have a look at BBC Newsbeat on Twitter, we put everything up there, and we've got more details on how you can register to vote in just a minute. So this is Newsbeat, live in Wisbech in Cambridgeshire, looking at a big one for you before this vote on the UK and the EU, and that's immigration. We've been getting loads of comments from you since our programme here live this lunchtime. And Hannah's back.

HM: Yeah, this is a text that came in this afternoon, it's from a lorry driver who says EU migrants have driven down wages in this sector the most. The wages are, on average, little more than working in McDonalds.

CS: Michael on Facebook says, 'We are never going to have any kind of control over immigration being part of the EU. The government has promised and promised and promised to bring numbers down, they have repeatedly failed.

HM: And someone else agrees with the person we spoke to here in Wisbech earlier. They say British people are lazy and they use foreign people as an excuse for not taking the hands on jobs.

CS: So, if you've been listening to us since twenty to six, and you're feeling fired up about all this, then you will need to make sure that you have a vote on June 23. You've got six hours left to do it, as Nesta can explain.

NESTA: Midnight tonight is the cut-off point and it should take about . . .

VOICE: Five.

N: . . . minutes . . .

VOICE: Four.

N: . . . you to complete the process. You'll need . . .

VOICE: Three.

N: . . . key bits on info . . .

VOICE: Two.

N: . . . be able to vote. National Insurance Number, Address, Date of Birth. Then come June 23 the . . .

VOICE: One.

N: . . . big question: should the UK remain a member of the European Union or leave?

UNNAMED FEMALE: It's such a vital issue and you deserve to be heard and take part really.

UNNAMED FEMALE 2: I didn't register, because I don't really think we have that much effect on what happens.

UNNAMED MALE: 23,000 after the UK Parliamentary General Election in 2015 tried to register one day late, so do it today, not tomorrow.

CS: And remember, you have got to do it today, six hours before that deadline. Right, it's Real or No Real time. Yeah, okay, we've nicked the idea from the Scott Mills show. The rules are simple. I'm going to give two of our friends here a statement, we've got Marie-Francis here, and we've got Charlotte, and basically you both have to say if you think what you hear is Real or No Real. The clue's in the title. So, all these things have actually been said over the referendum campaign, over the last few weeks. I'll be playing the part of Scott Mills today, Ben is playing the part of me, everyone confused already? Yeah? Good. Ok, brilliant. Okay, first up, listen in. Real or No Real.

BEN MUNDY: To cope with the amount of migrant children in the UK, we would need to find extra school places equivalent to building 27 new average-sized secondary schools each year.

CS: Marie-Francis, let's start with you. 27 new secondary schools each year, or the equivalent of that – real or no real?

MF: Going to go with No Real.

CS: Aww! It is actually real. Based on figure for the number of 5-18 year olds coming here in 2014, there were 25,000 of them, and that is equivalent to 27 secondary schools, which sounds a lot of people. Erm, but look at it a different way, and it less than one pupil for each school in the country. Okay, next over to you Charlotte. And a Real or No Real about houses.

BM: We need to build around 240 houses every day for the next 20 years, just to be able to cope with increased demand for future migration.

C: Erm, No Real.

CS: Why do you say that?

C: Well, I'm not sure, I just don't think it's No Real (*sic*) I, I don't think it's real.

CS: Okay . . . it is real. Sorry. The sums do actually add up there. The Office for National Statistics forecasts the population's going to go up by four million in 20 years if migration continues as it has. There are 2.3 people on average in each household in the UK, so four million people does equal about 1.75 million homes, 240 homes a day. But, that figure is based on immigration from outside and inside the EU – the EU immigration accounts for about half of it. Okay, final one, back to you Marie-Francis, Real or No Real.

BM: Britain has a deal with France, which means UK border officials can carry out checks on French soil to stop illegal migrants coming here. Leaving the EU would mean that stops, and thousands of migrants currently in France would be able to cross the channel to England.

MF: I think that's one of the scare tactics they've put in place. I'm going to go with No Real.

CS: You are absolutely right. Yes, France and the UK are bound by an agreement which means the UK carries out those immigration checks on French soil, but that is not an EU agreement, so if the UK votes to leave the EU that deal will not necessarily be affected. Right, that is the end of Real or No Real, Marie-Francis, you are our winner, let's have a whoop.

MF: Whoo!

CS: And Scott will have the proper one on Radio One at 3.45 tomorrow. And that's all from us here in Wisbech. But if you've still not made up your mind about what you're going to do on June 23, don't worry Nick's got news on something that might help.

NICK: We'll be in Birmingham next Tuesday night, with people like Sam.

SAM: I'm voting for the Leave campaign, because of my views on immigration and the strain that it's having on frontline public services.

N: Chloe's going to be there too.

CHLOE: I'm going to be voting to remain in Europe, because bigger problems like climate change can't be tackled by Britain alone.

N: And a few others that have got questions.

ARIF: Hi, I'm Arif, and I'll be there too, and I'll be asking, if we remain, how can we expect to meet UK immigration targets.

SARAH: Hey it's Sarah. Next week you'll hear me ask about how the consequences of the referendum will affect NHS services.

N: As well as the questions, we'll get the answers, from the people after your votes – and the most important bit, we'll do the facts. That's 'in or out – a Newsbeat special' live from Birmingham, next Tuesday night at nine. Listen on Radio 1, 1 Extra, or watch us on the BBC News Channel.

Wednesday 8 June, Lunchtime

Introduction

CHRIS SMITH: We've been chatting to people who wanted to have their say on whether or not the UK leaves the European Union, but got beaten by technology.

UNNAMED MALE: It looks like I have . . . can't have my say now in the EU referendum, which, you know, I think is massively unfair. I think we should be given an extra chance to have our say.

CS: There is some news on that coming up – it looks like people like him can still register.

Main Story

CS: It is one of the biggest votes ever to take place in this country. But if you had a go at registering for the EU referendum late last night, you might not be having your say. That's because the government's website for voter registration crashed about 90 minutes before the midnight deadline. Now, there are calls for that cut-off point to be extended though, and if you weren't allowed to register, the Prime Minister is telling you not to worry. Here's our politics reporter, Greg Dawson.

GREG DAWSON: In the last few days, you've not been able to escape people reminding you to register to vote.

UNNAMED MALE: It takes just a few minutes, and you can do it on your phone.

GD: The Prime Minister got involved.

DAVID CAMERON: It only takes just a few minutes.

GD: So did Newsbeat.

NESTA: Midnight tonight is the cut-off point to register, and it should take about . . .

GD: And it seems like a lot of people were paying attention yesterday and logging on. And more and more people logged on. At one point, 50,000 people at the same time. And then the website crashed.

FRANK: I tried to log on last night, about 11pm, and it didn't let me do it.

GD: Frank in Cornwall failed. So did Leon in Swansea.

LEON: I tried to register last night for a good 40 minutes, but, erm, the site just kept crashing.

CS: We've also heard from Heather in Brighton.

HEATHER: I kept trying, kept seeing error messages, it kept crashing, saying 'sorry, too many users.'

CS: It's thought that more than half a million people logged on yesterday, but the law says you had to make sure everything was done before midnight. Or it's too late.

LEON: It looks like I have . . . can't have my say now, in the EU referendum, which, you know, I think is massively unfair. I think we should be given an extra chance to have our say.

HEATHER: I haven't been able to register, and therefore I'm not going to be able to make my vote, which I'm very disappointed about.

CS: By this morning, it wasn't just voters complaining, politicians were also angry. In the last hour, the Prime Minister has urged anyone who couldn't register to try again, saying the government is in talks to make sure people who tried and failed last night will get a say. Labour leader Jeremy Corbyn also called for the deadline to be extended, plus Lib Dem leader Tim Farron.

TIM FARRON: This is the most important vote, certainly in a generation, maybe in people's lifetimes, and those people who are doing their best to get themselves registered, and through no fault of their own have been found that they've been kicked out ought to have that opportunity at least until midnight tonight.

CS: It's not that straightforward though. The decision to make June 7 the deadline is written in law, it now needs MPs to speedily push through a change that law to allow the extra time. With all the focus on the voters, it almost took the attention away from the politicians arguing with each other.

NIGEL FARAGE: Just calm down there, a little bit.

UNNAMED FEMALE: I asked it perfectly calmly.

NF: No, no, no, no, no.

DAVID CAMERON: We don't want Little England of Nigel Farage, we want to be Great Britain.

CS: Last night on ITV, UKIP leader, Nigel Farage, and David Cameron appeared separately before an audience. Nigel Farage said the UK would have more power outside of EU.

NF: Will trade with Europe, cooperate with Europe, but govern ourselves.

CS: But the Prime Minister, as expected, said we'd be weaker and poorer if we left.

DC: We need to be in this organisation, fighting for British interests and for British jobs. Leaving is quitting, and I don't think Britain, I don't think we're quitters.

Wednesday 8 June, Lunchtime

Introduction

CHRIS SMITH: You've now got more time to register to vote in the EU referendum – the deadline was last night, but thousands of you reported problems with the website where you sign up.

Main story

CS: If you left it late to register to vote to have your say on the EU, there's a good chance that you would have ended up very frustrated last night. The government's official website for registration crashed about 90 minutes before the deadline, meaning thousands could have missed out. But, after complaints, the government's now put that deadline back until midnight tomorrow. Here's our politics reporter, Greg Dawson.

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HEATHER: I haven't been able to register, and therefore I'm not going to be able to make my vote, which I'm very disappointed about.

CS: But, by this morning, it wasn't just voters complaining, politicians were also unhappy. Labour, the Lib Dems, the SNP, were all calling on the government to take action, and the Prime Minister agreed.

DC: I'm very clear that people should continue to register today. The Electoral Commission have made a statement this morning urging the government to consider options that would effectively extend at the deadline.

CS: Extending the deadline actually means MPs have to speedily change the law on this, but this will get done, it means people now have a new deadline and should register by tomorrow midnight at the latest. Some MPs have been complaining that people should have been prepared and ready to sign up long before midnight last night, but Heather has been given a second chance, and she didn't waste any time.

HEATHER: Needless to say, I went online and registered straightaway, a lot of people will be happy about it, erm, at the end of the day, all we want to do is have our say.

Thursday 9 June, Lunchtime

CHRIS SMITH: Coming up, some of the music stars you hear on Radio1 and 1Extra every day have their say on the Europe debate.

STORMZY: And all, like my voice can travel and have like a little bit of influence. We're voting, like, I feel like it's just a thing where young people need to know that they can if they want to, innit?

CS: We'll also get a reality check on some of those EU facts being thrown around.

CHRIS SMITH: But first, we've heard plenty from politicians about whether we should stay in or leave the European Union, with just two weeks to go before the vote some of the UK's biggest musicians have been telling us what they think about the debate. For example, if you follow Ellie Goulding on Twitter, you'll know she's an 'innie' – here's our music reporter, Sinead Garvan.

SINEAD GARVAN: From writing 'very important' next to the link to register to vote, to re-tweeting the arguments to stay in the EU, Ellie Goulding is firmly with the In camp. She's in an industry that relies on travelling a lot, touring, festivals, promotion, artists need to fly and move around countries all the time.

JAMIE: Hi, I'm Jamie from Bombay Bicycle Club. Primarily, I am interested in the implications for touring around Europe. At the moment, musicians don't have to travel with visas around Europe, so there's no visa fees. If you're an up and coming band when touring Europe, it's very expensive in the first place, and the EU has also enabled very cheap flights, and it's also created a deal with the US, which means cheap flights from Europe to the US as well. The EU has just abolished roaming charges, erm, and even just crossing borders and not having to get up in the middle of the night to get out everywhere.

SG: As yes, we don't know what the situation will be when it comes to travel and working within the EU, if the UK vote to Leave - potentially, it might not be affected. Last year, one in four albums sold across Europe was by a British artist, with, of course, Adele leading the way. The British Phonographic Industry, or the BPI, asked record labels in the UK what they thought about it. Around 40% replied and within that, two thirds said they didn't want to leave the EU. They expressed concerns about having less say in changes to copyright law and believe it would be harder to promote their artists. But not every artist is coming from the music industry perspective. Yannis Philippakis frontman for Foals says he has concerns with staying in the EU.

YANNIS PHILIPPAKIS: My main concern, and I guess that the thing that these, that the Brexit people are playing upon is a fear that the population will expand to 80 million people in Britain, and when you already have problems with the NHS, you have problems with schooling, there are a lot of . . . there are problems within British society's infrastructure, and my concern would only be that you don't have serenity, you don't have ability to control what is happening in your own country.

SG: His family are Greek, so he's experienced first-hand how difficult it was for Greece during the euro zone crisis.

YP: They held referendums to not go along with the austerity measures, that you start to realise that what you think of as your country and your democratic say has been stripped away. And that's not to say that I'm with the people that are Brexit, but I think that there are, like, very legitimate concerns.

SG: Then there are lots of musicians who say the most important thing is that you vote. Like Stormzy.

STORMZY: I'm very particular, like, with how I speak on politics, because I don't . . . I know that now that, like, I've got a few more hits on YouTube and sold a few records, like, I know that my voice can travel and have like a little bit of influence, so . . . with voting, like, a feel like . . . it's just a thing where young people need to know that they can, if they want to, innit. They can contribute if they want to.

CS: So, the EU debate is as fierce as ever, and it headed to Northern Ireland earlier, where two former prime ministers are trying to convince people to vote in. Newsbeat's Declan Harvey is there too.

DECLAN HARVEY: We're not quite in Northern Ireland, we're still in the Republic of Ireland, but . . . *now* we are in Northern Ireland, we've just crossed the border it is the only land border the UK has, and, well, it's just like crossing from one county to another, you'd barely notice it. But some people say if the UK leaves the EU this will become what's called a hard border, think passports, customs, maybe checkpoints and what that might do to things like trade. Today, two former prime ministers who used to be political rivals, so John Major and Tony Blair have come to Northern Ireland to say that leaving the EU would damage the stability and peace that has grown here in recent years.

SIR JOHN MAJOR: The unity of the United Kingdom itself is on the ballot paper in two weeks' time.

TONY BLAIR: Think of the chaos produced by the possibility, never mind the reality, of Britain actually quitting Europe.

DH: The Northern Ireland secretary, Theresa Villiers though, says that's not true, and that Northern Ireland would be safe as houses if it left.

SP: Thanks Dec, meanwhile in England, the boss of machine company JCB has written to his 6500 staff to explain why he thinks we should leave the EU.

CS: Thank you very much Steffan.

Thursday 9 June, Evening

CHRIS SMITH: Coming up tonight, we've heard plenty of politicians talking about Europe, now for this lot. Artists who play on Radio1 and 1Extra tell us whether they are in or out.

CHRIS SMITH: But first, it is just two weeks now until we vote on whether to stay in or leave the European Union. We've heard from plenty of politicians and business people about what they think we should do, but now some of the UK's biggest musicians are having their say. If you follow Ellie Goulding on Twitter, you will already know, probably, that she's an 'innie' – here's our music reporter, Sinead Garvan.

SINEAD GARVAN: From writing 'very important' next to the link to register to vote, to re-tweeting the arguments to stay in the EU, Ellie Goulding is firmly with the In camp. She's in an industry that relies on travelling a lot, touring, festivals, promotion, artists need to fly and move around countries all the time.

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CS: So, as we said, just two weeks left before the vote and campaigning is as fierce as ever. We've even had one prominent MP changing her mind about which way to vote today. Our reporter Steffan Powell's got the details, and for once he's not actually sitting in the studio next to me.

STEFFAN POWELL: Yeah, don't take it personally Steve, I'm out in the office, because we have a special guest here at Newsweek today, we've got Shelley from the BBC Reality Check team and swing all your EU referendum questions on Snapchat, so make sure you're following us, BBCNewsbeat to get involved, but before we hear from her, let's talk about that Conservative MP and supporter of the Leave campaign Sarah Wollaston, well . . . she used to support them.

SARAH WOOLASTON: I couldn't have stepped foot on a battle bus that has, at the heart of its campaign, a figure that I know to be untrue, and I think they know to be untrue as well. So, I think if you're in a position where you can't hand out a Vote Leave leaflet, you can't be campaigning for that organisation.

SP: Now, she says she is now going to vote to stay in Europe, but that's because, she says, she doesn't believe the claim made by the 'Outies' that the UK spends £350 million a week on EU membership, money they say that could be used on the NHS instead. Well, who better to tell as if that is true or not than Shelley from BBC Reality Check. Hi Shelley.

SHELLEY: Hi. We're not giving £350 million a week to Brussels, Britain pays £276 million a week to the budget, and that's because of the rebate, which is a bit like a discount Britain gets. Erm, it's a figure which has been described by Sir Andrew Dilnot, who's the head of UK's statistics watchdog as potentially misleading.

SP: Lovely, thank you very much Shelley, so that's what BBC Reality Check says about that £350 million figure, but Leave campaigners are defending their maths on this, and they say the figure is true, here's MP Priti Patel, who's voting 'Out'.

PRITI PATEL: We have been absolutely crystal clear that that is a gross figure, and importantly that is money, that is UK taxpayers' money that is given to the European Union, that is money that goes over to Europe that we have no control over whatsoever.

SP: Now, two former prime ministers are in Northern Ireland today trying to commit people to remain in the EU, and Newsbeat's Declan Harvey is there too.

DECLAN HARVEY: We're not quite in Northern Ireland, we're still in the Republic of Ireland, but . . . *now* we are in Northern Ireland, we've just crossed the border it is the only land border the UK has, and, well, it's just like crossing from one county to another, you'd barely notice it. But some people say if the UK leaves the EU this will become what's called a hard border, think passports, customs, maybe checkpoints and what that might do to things like trade. Today, two former prime ministers who used to be political rivals, so John Major and Tony Blair have come to Northern Ireland to say that leaving the EU would damage the stability and peace that has grown here in recent years.

TONY BLAIR: Here we stand as two former prime ministers and we say to the Leave campaign, very directly, you have fundamental questions to answer about Northern Ireland.

DH: He claimed a Brexit would make this part of the UK more unstable, and that could even damage the peace process here. But that would never happen according to the Northern Ireland secretary, Theresa Villiers.

THERESA VILLIERS: Support for the political settlement and the peace process in Northern Ireland is rock solid.

DH: Leave campaigners like her also say that border crossings, like this one in Strabane in County Tyrone would be unchanged. But, like so much else in this debate, no one can really be sure yet. And the warnings didn't stop there.

JOHN MAJOR: The wrong outcome on June 23 will affect our union.

DH: John Major said if the UK voted to leave the EU, people in Scotland voted to stay, then that could spark a new independence referendum.

JM: The unity of the United Kingdom itself is on the ballot paper in two weeks' time.

CS: Newsbeat online for more facts about the referendum.

Monday 13 June, Lunchtime

CHRIS SMITH: Now we're going from France to Germany next. There are just ten days until we vote on whether to stay in or leave the European Union. But it's not just people in the UK interested in the result. Germany is one of the EU's richest countries, and the UK's biggest trading partner. This week, one of the country's main news magazines has the British flag on the front with the message, 'Please don't go'. Our politics reporter, Greg Dawson, has more from Berlin.

GREG DAWSON: We're in Pariser Platz, one of the most touristy areas of Berlin, all the cameras here point towards the Brandenburg Gate, one of the city's main landmarks. And here's another thing you can't miss:

NICKLAUS: The flag symbolise (sic) unity, freedom . . . freedom of rights, freedom of speech.

GD: The EU flag flies from several buildings here, even the Reichstag Germany's parliament. You don't get that in Westminster.

HENDRIK: The pride is not coming from seeing the flag, but more like seeing Germany as a part of Europe. My name is Hendrik, I'm from Düsseldorf in Germany.

N: I'm Nicklaus, I'm from Flensburg, a northern town in Germany.

GD: Nicklaus and Hendrik say they're both proud Germans, but feel strongly tied to the European Union.

H: The EU encourages peace all over Europe, so that's basically the achievement of the whole European Union. And maintain this peace.

GD: Berlin is a city with a lot of history, much of it bleak. The reminders of World War II are never far away, with memorials and even the shells of bombed out buildings. People here think the decades of peace since then has much to do with the EU.

N: If Britain would leave, I feel like this stability would not be guaranteed any more. I think the UK at the moment is a very strong player in the European Union, if they don't see it sometimes maybe.

GD: Another thing you notice as you move around Berlin: British accents. In recent years, the city's become home to thousands of young people who've left the UK to settle here.

ARTHUR: My name is Arthur, I'm from Essex in the UK, I moved out here to take a job, I basically had to fill in no paperwork, there was no risk for me, I just turned up and it's weird to think that all of that might disappear after June 23.

MEL: Hi, I'm Mel, I'm from Derby.

GD: How long have you lived in Berlin?

MEL: About five months now. Being in the EU it's kind of, it's kind of . . . it's brought a lot of benefits more than it brings negatives I think.

GD: That's probably not very surprising to hear British people living in another EU country being so in favour of Remain. But it's not just the expats. Germany does a huge amount of trade with the UK. That noise you can hear in the background is one of the big sellers - last year, about one in five German cars was sold in Britain, and there are worries here about what Brexit means for business.

MARKUS KERBER: Britain is our second biggest trading partner. We're probably not closer to anyone else but, er, Britain.

GD: Markus Kerber runs the German Federation of industries, a group of more than 100,000 German companies, including BMW who own mini, a car made in the UK.

MK: Hundreds of Britons involved in producing that car regularly travel and get trained in Germany, and all that, I think, would become a little bit more difficult - and I'm not sure whether the parent company BMW would see that necessarily as an incentive to invest more in that company.

GD: Is this Germany acting in self-interest to say, 'don't leave', because of the impact it might have on your economy?

MK: I don't think we're acting in self-interest, we're acting out of the common interest between Britain and Germany that together we cannot only shaped the European Union, but we can shape many, many other parts of the world.

Monday 13 June, Evening

CHRIS SMITH: We're off to Germany next, just ten days to go now before many of us make a massive decision about our future. So should that future be inside or out of the European Union? Our politics reporter Greg Dawson has been to Berlin, where the main message seems to be 'please don't go'

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Tuesday 14 June, Lunchtime

CHRIS SMITH: If you ever find yourself unexpectedly in Norway, you'll almost certainly need the following phrase.

NORWEGIAN FEMALE *Speaks Norwegian.*

CS: Translation, 'Hello, may I have some of your delicious herring?' But Norway is not just famous for its lovely fish, it's often used as the perfect example of how the UK could be if it's left the European

Union. So, with just nine days to go before the referendum, we sent Newsbeat's Anna Collinson there to see what it's like living in Europe, but not being part of the EU.

ANNA COLLINSON: And it's summertime in the Norwegian capital, Oslo, a city surrounded by water, forests and mountains. At this time of year it's light and warm nearly 24 hours a day, which means busy bars, parks and coffee shops long into the night. But underneath all that bustle, do the Norwegians ever feel a tiny bit left out, because they're not part of the EU?

VOX POP MALE: Not a tiny bit. Never ever been a thought crossed my mind.

AC: Most people we spoke to say they prefer being out of the EU, but are still keeping a close eye on the UK's upcoming vote. It's even headline news.

UNNAMED MALE: On the front page they have: 'Brexit – the British identity crisis.'

FRODA: So we're at a small lake outside of Oslo called (*name unclear*) looking out over the lake, some nice lily pads.

AC: That's Froda, he's 26 and has brought me on a fishing trip with his dad and his workmate Del, a Londoner who now lives in Oslo.

F: And now we wait.

AC: Okay.

F: A big part of fishing.

AC: 22 years ago, Norway voted against joining the EU. 1994, how old were you?

F: 6.

GUNNA: He had already been fishing for four years, I think, when he was 6.

DEL: So no change really then. (*laughs*)

AC: Despite being outside of the EU, Norway has little control over its borders, that's because in order to trade with Europe it agreed to allow EU citizens freely move in and out of the country. So if Britain voted to leave, but could reach a similar deal, meaning it might not be able to manage immigration levels.

D: We'll try and do this without as much splash as possible, just in the middle of them pads there look.

AC: I don't know much about fishing, but that looked good.

D: (*laughs*)

AC: That's Del.

D: I would like to leave the EU, but . . . I can't see immigration being the, the argument. I don't think it's fair for the politicians to be using that to try and sway the vote.

AC: But Del is all for the UK going it alone.

D: They should do the half-way step, like the Norway sort of thing, which is, 'Okay, we'll pass these regulations, will look these regulations over first, see if it's good for us.' Yeah, so we just let the line sink.

AC: The Leave campaign argues that Britain is charged billions of pounds a year to be part of the EU and gets little in return. The Remain camp says that's not true, and Froda's dad, Gunna, says Norway's situation is worse.

GUNNA: We are paying the EU fairly similar to what we would pay as a full member, to be part of the single market.

AC: So, as David Cameron, our Prime Minister would say, you pay, but have no say?

G: And that's, that's a fair description, yes.

AC: Gunna is the only Norwegian who's admitted to us that he wishes they were part of the EU club.

G: I think the EU could give us protections, because we are isolated in Europe.

D: I don't actually think you need the umbrella of the EU, I think Norway is a strong enough voice as it is, it's why it's constantly voted as the best country to live in. I just had a bite on that rod, that's a nice healthy roach.

AC: Would your view of Britain change if we left the EU?

F: It would sort of go into the whole colonial image, sort of see yourself above everyone else, if you're considering yourself too good to cooperate with the rest of Europe.

AC: Do you think people might think that about Norway?

F: To a degree, yeah. The European Union does so much good work, like bringing Europe together, leaving that would seem very selfish in a way.

D: I don't think so. I think it's just a time for Britain to sort of, maybe keep its identity, rather than being swallowed up, you know, if this happens where does it go in another 100 years' time? Does Europe just become one country?

CS: Well, if you're still working out which way to vote, Newsbeat is here to help. With just eight hours to go, an audience of Newsbeat listeners are on their way from across the country to Birmingham, for tonight's 'In or Out' programme. You're being asked to vote next Thursday 23 June, on whether the UK should remain or leave the European Union, but lots of people still have lots of questions.

UNNAMED FEMALE: What will it mean for my job?

UNNAMED MALE: Will it change how many migrants come here?

UNNAMED MALE 2: Will leaving help or damage the economy?

UNNAMED FEMALE 2: Who should I believe?

CS: Tonight, Tina Dehealy will be putting those questions to both campaigns.

TINA DEHEALY: Let's go straight to the audience, can we come to you? You obviously disagree.

NICK ROTHERHAM: I'm Nick Rotherham, and from wherever you are you can get involved too.

UNNAMED FEMALE 3: You should be speaking to us like human beings, not an age group.

NR: Send your questions via Newsbeat's Facebook and Twitter and we'll try and get them answered. That's a Newsbeat Special – In or Out – Tonight from nine on Radio 1 and 1Extra, and you can watch it on the telly too, on the BBC News Channel.

Tuesday 14 June, Evening

Introduction

CHRIS SMITH: And, it's not quite Eurovision, but . . .

FRODA: Hello from Norway, I'm Froda and I'm 26 years old. I know shortly you guys are going to have a big vote about whether Britain should remain in the European Union, so, we're going to tell you what life is like in a European country which isn't in the EU.

Main story

CHRIS SMITH: Now, if you ever find yourself unexpectedly in Norway, you'll almost certainly need the following phrase.

NORWEGIAN FEMALE *Speaks Norwegian*.

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CS: Well, if you're still working out which way to vote, Newsbeat is here to help. Tonight, we've got a special live debate on the radio and on the TV, it's coming from Birmingham, and our politics reporter Greg Dawson is there now live.

GREG DAWSON: Yeah, thanks Chris, we're at the O2 Institute in Birmingham, which is usually a gig venue, it's been transformed for this event tonight, we've even got some special Newsbeat mood lighting and a machine pumping out some missed, is quite foggy in here now. Now, if like so many people you're still unclear about this vote, if your head is still full of questions, tonight's view. We've got someone from the Leave campaign, Tory MP Dominic Raab, we've got Labour MP Chuka Umunna here from the Remain team, and much more importantly, we've got a group of you lot too – 18 Newsbeat listeners will be in the audience grilling our politicians, two of them have kindly arrive nice and early, we've got Layla who thinks she'll probably vote Leave, we've got Chenise, Chenise you think you're probably going to vote Remain?

CHENISE: Yeah.

GD: Now, importantly, what's the thing you want to learn from tonight, what's the question you've still got in your head?

C: What's the government going to do to ensure that people don't lose their jobs if we was to leave the EU?

GD: Layla, we're just over a week out from the referendum, what about you, what are your questions still?

LAYLA: I would like to know what it means for me as a young person, and what changes it would make in my life.

GD: Okay, thanks you guys, and we'll obviously hear a lot more from you both later. Another very important person tonight is Alex Forsyth from the BBC's Reality Check team, you've got a crucial role tonight – no pressure - just tell us what you'll be doing.

ALEX FORSYTH: Well, there's been a lot of big claims chucked around in this debate from both sides, like if we leave there could be a bomb under the economy, if we stay we could be filled with floods of EU migrants, and we're going to try and pick through some of those claims, find the facts and tell you what it's going to mean for you, for your jobs, for your house prices, for way you study, even your mobile phone bill.

GD: Lots of facts coming your way then. Is the really important part, 9 PM tonight on Radio One and 1Extra, it's Tina presenting, we're on the telly too, on the BBC News Channel, and want your questions, tell us what you want to know before you vote next week. You can text 81199 start your message News – or on Twitter too the hashtag is Newsbeat.

CS: Thanks very much Greg, and we are live right now on our Facebook page, you can join Nick Rotherham for a behind the scenes tour of that debate, and you can post questions as well, and find out more about those big issues. That is it from Newsbeat for now, have a great night.

Wednesday 15 June, Lunchtime

CHRIS SMITH: A week tomorrow, we vote on whether to remain part of the EU or leave. But last night, #newsbeat was trending in the UK as Tina and Nick hosted our own 'In or Out' debate. Some of you joined them in Birmingham to put your questions to both campaigns. Declan Harvey is there for us this lunchtime.

DECLAN HARVEY: We're pretty sure the O2 Institute in Birmingham hasn't held a gig quite like this before.

TINA: Well, we've got just nine days until one of the biggest vote of our lifetime. The question is 'in or out'.

UNNAMED MALE: Immigration is a disgrace, pretty much an insult to working-class British people.

UNNAMED MALE 2: Honestly, I believe it's quite ignorant and quite awful as well to believe that immigration as a whole is negative to the UK. These are people who are coming over to do the work that is needed to be done.

UNNAMED MALE 3: British people, especially young British people, and I grew being told this, are lazy – we are not lazy. I have done jobs in factories, I've worked in McDonald's and we can do just as much.

DH: Among the main points discussed were immigration, how much cash will be in your pocket if we leave the EU and much, much more.

CHUKA UMUNNA: I think the problem comes down to the lack of control.

DH: For the Remain camp was Labour MP, Chuka Umunna; for Leave Dominic Raab, a Conservative MP.

DOMINIC RAAB: In Bulgaria and Romania, the average wage is around £3 an hour, in this country the minimum wage is £7.20 an hour, and you got to think about the downward pressure it has on wages in this country and also the strain it puts on infrastructure like housing and the impact it has on public services like the NHS and schools.

CU: This idea that we have housing problems, we have challenges in the NHS, school place challenges and all the rest of it, because all of these immigrants is complete nonsense. We've got 2 million Brits living and working in the European Union and enjoying the benefits that that brings.

DR: But Chuka, you seem to be suggesting that if we leave the European Union we can never work in Europe again, that's nonsense, it is scaremongering, you can all go work in Europe (*applause*) you can apply for a visa.

CHLOE: I'm Chloe and I live in Birmingham, er, I just wanted to say that myself and many other people on this side of the room are voting Remain because of the fear of the unknown. Personally, I'm really fed up of Vote Leave trivialising that as an invalid reason.

T: But this is about whether or not the UK would have more clout as part of a market of 500 million people, or as a country with 65 million.

DR: Well, Tina I don't like confessing this to you and in front of such a young audience, but size isn't everything and the problem with the EU is its size and scale bogs it down.

T: Chuka Umunna, do you agree, size isn't everything?

CU: (*laughs*) Look, the EU itself is our biggest customer, so 44% of our exports go to them.

DH: For once there wasn't a lot of shouting, but some very strong opinions, and in the middle of the crowd we had Alex Forsyth from the BBC's Fact Checker, making sure all claims were right.

T: Big claims about the economy, Alex, can you tell us?

ALEX FORSYTH: Well, what we know is, of course, when it comes to jobs and wages the big question is whether leaving the EU would be good or bad for the economy and as it stands, the weight of economic opinion suggests that it would be bad for the economy, particularly in the short term. That isn't all economists, by any means, but there are some quite big, credible names in there.

DH: A big part of the debate was hearing from you at home, using #newsbeat, and you can still get in touch that way if you like, but here's a message we got from Victoria. She said, 'Finally firmly decided how I'm voting next week, thanks to Newsbeat' – yeah, but Victoria wouldn't reveal which way she's going to go.

T: That is it from this Newsbeat special, good luck (*applause*)

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T: That is it from this Newsbeat special, good luck *(applause)*

Thursday 16 June, Evening

CHRIS SMITH: Both sides have stopped campaigning on the EU referendum for the rest of the day following the death of Jo Cox. Prime Minister David Cameron says he is thinking of her family. He's cancelled a planned Remain rally in Gibraltar, while Boris Johnson called off a visit to Ipswich with the Vote Leave battlebus.

Monday 20 June, Lunchtime

Introduction

CHRIS SMITH: We're all over the place in today's Newsbeat, first up, with three days to go until that big vote on whether the UK should stay in the European Union or not, we're on the farm in Northern Ireland.

DECLAN HARVEY: The Counties of Londonderry and Down, we'll look at the huge influence the EU has on farmers and fisherman.

Main Story

CS: Three days to go until the UK votes on whether to remain a part of the EU or leave. And both sides are ramping up their campaigns. Newsbeat's Declan Harvey is here with details.

DECLAN HARVEY: Yeah, we've had the chair of the Premier League saying the 20 top clubs in the top tier want to remain. Senior executives from the British car industry said the same, erm, now the Leave Campaign insist we be better off out of the EU, but on the face of it, the Leave camp also suffered a blow after a senior Conservative, Baroness Warsi swapped sides, saying she now wants to

Remain. But then the Leave campaign said they didn't know she was part of their group anyway, so it doesn't really matter.

CS: Okay, so today we are looking at farming and fishing - to industries, of course, massively important to rural communities, but also to the rest of us as well, because they grow or catch a lot of the stuff that ends up on our dinner plates.

DH: And since it started, the European Union has been heavily involved in these industries and depending on who you speak to, that's either been a really good thing or it's been strangling British farming and fishing. We've been to Londonderry in Northern Ireland to find out more. Today there's a particularly erm . . . distinctive smell in the air?

DAVID DEVINE: Yeah, yeah, we're cutting silage here, first cut silage, a bit of heat gets up, you don't need no aftershave.

DH: David Devine's farm is around 200 acres in the hills overlooking Derry City.

DD: 1900 cows, 130 ewes.

DH: He's voting to leave the EU, and as he shows around, his reasons become clear.

DD: (*words unclear*) slurry because of EU directives, EU directive (*words unclear*) EU directives, like, EU directive too. And every week there's a new directive on this or there's a directive on that, there's a filing cabinet in the house full, busting, of paperwork. (*sighs*) it's soul destroying.

DH: These directives, or rules, apply to farmers across the EU, but for David that just doesn't make sense.

DD: The South of France, South of Spain has the same rules and regulations, and that does not work whenever you come to the Western . . . weather toilet of Northern Ireland.

DH: Living in the 'weather toilet' of Europe, as David puts it, means environmental rules around managing rainwater create a massive amount of work for him, and building containers for all that rain is expensive too.

DD: That was a massive financial burden.

DH: Farmers in drier climates don't have that worry. David's also not a big fan of tags he has to put in every one of his animals.

DD: Those tags are a disaster, they catch in fences, pulling bits out of the cattle's ears.

DH: You can hear in his voice just how frustrated people like him can get. Down the road to Chloe though, on a smaller farm, Chloe is feeding her dad's sheep.

CHLOE: The EU isn't perfect, but I think it's better than being out on our own.

DH: Here, the sheep have tags too, they look like earrings (*sheep ba*) I swear one of them back there said something back to you. The funding that many farmers get here in return to sticking to the rules help them survive.

C: There's a lot of farms around here.

DH: So, this is an area that does pretty well out of EU funding?

C: It does, yeah.

DH: Leave campaign say if we left, farmers would still get subsidies from the UK government, the country would be quids in compared to how much goes to the EU now, but trade is also an issue.

C: 97% of all our lamb goes to the EU, and I think that if we didn't have that trading prices would be a lot more expensive to get into the EU. Five, 10 years ago, dad would have spent most of his time out here, but I'd say probably now he spends most of his time doing paperwork. It does bother me, but if we left the EU, the UK government would probably still want to keep a lot of legislation, a lot of rules.

DH: Seagulls the size of dogs are circling the fishing port in Ardglass County Down. Stephen is busy on his trawler, giving it a bit of a spruce, but you can physically see him annoyed at even the mention of the EU.

STEPHEN: Very, very annoyed, definite, totally. This is my livelihood, and that's destroying us there.

DH: (*word unclear*) marches us to the other side of the pier to show us his fishing net.

S: Three metres long, by one and a half metres wide.

DH: Along one side he has to put big holes. Why does the EU want you to have big holes in your net?

S: Because they're classed as a cod avoidance system.

DH: Cod can get out, in fairness?

S: Cod can get out . . .

DH: And so can all the prawn.

S: And all of our catch we're supposed to make a living off.

DH: Protecting cod and other fish stocks has been a central part of the EU's fishing policy. Officials say the rule stop overfishing and mean we'll still have cod to catch in 15 years. But people like Chris say British politicians gave away too much fishing rights in order to get a better deal for the UK industries.

S: Prawns'll just go straight out through that.

DH: The waters surrounding EU countries are fair game for its members, but depending on where your boat is registered, limits will be placed on how much you can catch. If we left the EU, there's no guarantee that the UK waters would be exclusively for UK trawlers, that would depend on what deal was done with the EU.

S: It'll be a ghost town if there's no fishing here.

DH: And the chance to rant about the EU Common Fisheries Policy means we've attracted a bit of a crowd here.

UNNAMED MAN: You're going out there, you're working twice the hours for less money.

CS: If you head to the Radio 1 channel on the iPlayer, you can watch our short explainers, which should help you make up your mind for Thursday, if you still haven't decided. You can also see our EU in or out debate, recorded last week in Birmingham. And all the rowing over that vote later on this week has bitterly divided politicians from many parties. But for a while this afternoon those differences will be put to one side . . .

(moves on to discuss Jo Cox memorial)

Monday 20 June, Evening

Introduction

CHRIS SMITH: There are just three days to go until that huge vote on whether the UK should stay in the European Union or leave, we've been on the farm in Northern Ireland.

DECLAN HARVEY: The Counties of Londonderry and Down, we'll look at the huge influence the EU has on farmers and fisherman.

Main story

CS: Three days and counting until the UK votes on its membership for the EU, and next we're looking at two of the most affected areas when it comes to EU rules – farming and fishing. Some claim the laws have strangled these industries, others say they've helped them survive. Declan Harvey's been to County Londonderry.

DECLAN HARVEY: It's a bit pongy today right?

DAVID DEVINE: Yeah, yeah, we're cutting silage here, first cut silage, a bit of heat gets up, you don't need no aftershave.

DH: David Devine's farm is around 200 acres in the hills overlooking Derry City.

DD: 1900 cows, 130 ewes.

DH: He's voting to leave the EU, and as he shows around, his reasons become clear.

DD: *(words unclear)* slurry because of EU directives, EU directive *(words unclear)* EU directives, like, EU directive too. And every week there's a new directive on this or there's a directive on that, there's a filing cabinet in the house full, busting, of paperwork. *(sighs)* it's soul destroying.

DH: These directives, or rules, apply to farmers across the EU, but for David that just doesn't make sense.

DD: The South of France, South of Spain has the same rules and regulations, and that does not work whenever you come to the Western . . . weather toilet of Northern Ireland.

DH: Living in the 'weather toilet' of Europe, as David puts it, means environmental rules around managing rainwater create a massive amount of work for him, and building containers for all that rain is expensive too.

DD: That was a massive financial burden.

DH: Farmers in drier climates don't have that worry. David's also not a big fan of tags he has to put in every one of his animals.

DD: Those tags are a disaster, they catch in fences, pulling bits out of the cattle's ears.

DH: You can hear in his voice just how frustrated people like him can get. Down the road to Chloe though, on a smaller farm, Chloe is feeding her dad's sheep.

CHLOE: The EU isn't perfect, but I think it's better than being out on our own.

DH: Here, the sheep have tags too, they look like earrings (*sheep ba*) I swear one of them back there said something back to you. The funding that many farmers get here in return to sticking to the rules help them survive.

C: There's a lot of farms around here.

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Another report in between on the death of a Hollywood actor.

CS: Let's go back now to talking about what impact leaving the EU could have on some of the UK's oldest industries. Fishermen have been telling us that the existing rules from Brussels are strangling their businesses and they're angry. Declan went to the village of Ardglass in County Down.

DH: Stephen's giving his boat a bit of TLC with an angle grinder, but after just a mention of the EU his body language changes and he's marching us over to the other side of the pier to show us how it affects him.

STEPHEN: Very, very annoyed, definite, totally. This is my livelihood, and that's destroying us.

DH: The 'that' he's pointing to is a section of his prawn net that has to have large holes in it under EU laws.

S: Three metres long, by one and a half metres wide. Prawns'll just go straight out through that.

DH: Why does the EU want you to have big holes in your net?

S: Because they're classed as a cod avoidance system.

DH: Cod can get out, in fairness?

S: Cod can get out . . .

DH: And so can all the prawn.

S: And all of our catch we're supposed to make a living off.

DH: Protecting cod and other fish stocks has been a central part of the EU's fishing policy. Officials say the rule stop overfishing and mean we'll still have cod to catch in 15 years. But people like Stephen say British politicians gave away too much fishing rights in order to get a better deal for the UK industries.

S: How on earth can you, you make a living with something, with that size on your net.

DH: The opportunity to rant about the EU means quickly we're surrounded by a group where everyone has an opinion.

UNNAMED MAN: There's small boats like this, and they give us nets like that.

UNNAMED MAN 2: You're working twice the hours for less money.

UNNAMED MAN 3: It'll be a ghost town if there's no fishing here.

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CS: And if you want more information ahead of Thursday's in/out vote, head to the Radio 1 channel on the iPlayer, you can watch our short documentary explaining your options.

Tuesday 21 June, Lunchtime

Introduction

CS: And campaigner have just a few days now to convince you whether the UK should stay part of the EU or not. Today we're in Greece.

DANIEL ROSNEY: This is Newsbeat's Daniel Rosney, talking to some of the British workers and holidaymakers here in Zante about what may or may not happen to your lads on tour holiday if the UK votes to leave the European Union.

Main story

CS: Now, if you believe the polls, things are still looking very tight ahead of Thursday's big vote about whether the UK should stay in or leave the European Union. So David Cameron and co-will be hoping the backing of another big-name could help persuade a few wavering voters. Yeah, even David Beckham's getting involved, he has posted support for a Remain vote on his Instagram, saying 'We live in a vibrant and connected world, and together as a people we are strong.' Meanwhile, a man who used to be one of David Cameron's most loyal advisors has accused his old boss of making false promises about immigration. Steve Hilton, who backs leave says the prime minister was told way back in 2012 that his target to cut numbers moving here to below 100,000 wasn't realistic, as long as the UK stays in the EU.

STEVE HILTON: Making promises that clearly can't be kept is not a good way to build trust in politics.

CS: So one of the big questions that keeps coming up as we countdown to Thursday's vote is how will things change for your future holidays abroad, if we end up quitting the EU. We sent Newsbeat's Daniel Rosney to the Greek island of Zante to find out.

DANIEL ROSNEY: The strip in Laganas is packed with bars, clubs, lads on tour t-shirts, and plenty of people who are taking full advantage of the cheap zombies and jagerbombs. So who's in Zante for some sun? (*cheering*) Who's in Zante for some sea? (*cheering*) And who's in Zante for some chat about the EU referendum? (*silence*) Luckily for me, there are a few.

UNNAMED FEMALE: If we vote 'out' prices will go up so much.

UNNAMED FEMALE 2: (*word unclear*) prices go up.

UNNAMED FEMALE 3: (*speaking over*) They need, they need, they need our money for tourism.

UF2: No, literally the NHS will drop, we won't have an NHS anymore.

UF3: No, I'm out, I'm out.

DR: Let's just get a few things clear as we can about what will happen if the UK does vote to leave the European Union?

UNNAMED FEMALE 4: Will flight prices go up?

DR: Possibly, but that all depends, like most things, on any deal the UK'll be able to make with the rest of the EU. At the moment airlines like Ryanair and easyJet say they're able to offer cheap deals because of an existing agreement that the aviation industry has with the European Union. That deal let's EU airlines fly wherever they want within the EU, that's increased competition, and it's pushed down airfares in the past 20 years, and for a lot of people here that's exactly the reason they come to places like Zante.

UNNAMED FEMALE 5: What about working abroad?

PHOEBE: My name's Phoebe, I'm from Essex.

CS: So you've come to Zante to work for the whole summer?

B: I came here May 2 and I'm here to the middle of September now. I work from about 12 till about 9, ticket-selling, I earn good money, I probably earn better money out here than I do back at home.

DR: But leaving the EU could make it more difficult in the future of people like Phoebe, who fancy working abroad for the summer season

P: Oh really? Why's that?

DR: Because at the moment you can work abroad in other EU countries without a visa. That could change. But Leave campaigners argue UK citizens works in Europe long before the EU existed, so there's no reason why that shouldn't continue. But again, that depends on what sort of deal the UK can negotiate with the EU if it leaves. Phoebe wants the UK to remain part of the EU, but Wade, who's across the street trying to get people into G-Spot bar disagrees.

WADE: Bit quiet at the moment, but it's going to pick up, it's going to pick up, don't you worry about that. I don't want to be racist or nothing, but the immigrants and that, too many foreigners in our country, more jobs for more English people, that's what I think.

UNNAMED MALE: But on the other side of the token, you're doing the exact same, you're going to a different country and taking a Greek person's job.

W: No, but there's loads of them coming, and there's just loads of them doing nothing, seeking benefits and that.

DR: Let's leave Wade there now, and head across to the medical centre, where we're going to chat some healthcare.

THANASIS: My name is Thanasis, my formal name is (*words unclear*) which is Greek, I know, and difficult for you to pronounce.

DR: Yeah.

THANASIS: Laganas is a . . . it's an English nation, on the majority of erm . . . percent of 98% British citizens have travel insurance other than their blue card.

DR: He's talking about the European Health Insurance card there, that's a card that allows you to have free state medical care in any European Union country, so what about those that use it while there abroad? Well, the Leave Campaign points out that Switzerland and Iceland are outside the EU, but they still get to use it.

Tuesday 21 June, Evening

Introduction

CS: Leave, Remain, 'in', 'out', 'stay' or 'go' – only a few days to decide whether you want the UK to still be a part of the European Union. Today we've headed to Greece.

DANIEL ROSNEY: This is Newsbeat's Daniel Rosney, talking to some of the British workers and holidaymakers here in Zante about what may or may not happen to your lads on tour holiday if the UK votes to leave.

Main story

CS: For the last few months the Prime Minister has done little else but try to convince you to keep the UK in the European Union.

DAVID CAMERON: Good afternoon. We are near the end of a frenetic campaign.

CS: With time running out, David Cameron stepped out onto Downing Street earlier to make another plea for people to vote Remain on Thursday.

DC: Brits don't quit, we take a lead, we get things done. If we left our neighbours would go on meeting and making decisions that profoundly affect us, but we wouldn't be there.

CS: But he's faced some tough words today from the man who used to be one of his most loyal advisors.

STEVE HILTON: He's been wheeled out by some rather panicky spin doctors, it seems to me, there's nothing new in what he's said.

CS: Not anymore though, Steve Hilton, who's campaigning for the UK to leave the EU says the Prime Minister and his team are getting desperate.

SH: They've lost the economic argument, they've lost the argument of immigration. We need to leave the EU, and that's the argument, I'm afraid, that they're losing, that's why you saw that rather weird statement from the Prime Minister just now.

CS: One of the big questions that keeps coming up as we count down to Thursday's vote is how things could change for your future holidays abroad, if the UK does end up quitting the EU. We sent Newsbeat's Daniel Rosney to the Greek Island of Zante to find out.

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WADE: Bit quiet at the moment, but it's going to pick up, it's going to pick up, don't you worry about that. I don't want to be racist or nothing, but the immigrants and that, too many foreigners in our country, more jobs for more English people, that's what I think.

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W: No, but there's loads of them coming, and there's just loads of them doing nothing, seeking benefits and that.

DR: Thanks for that Wade, now let's talk healthcare quickly, some people are concerned if we were to leave the EU, it would mean they wouldn't be able to use the EHIC, that's the European Health Insurance Card, which gives you access to free medical care in state hospitals within the EU, but one medical director at a clinic here in Zante says only 2% of Brits use them, because most have separate travel insurance, and Leave campaigners stress that countries like Switzerland and Iceland are able to use the card, despite not being part of the European Union

Wednesday 22 June, Lunchtime

Introduction

CS: Just one day to go then till you vote on whether to leave or stay in the EU. That means today is our last chance to clear it all up for you. It's not all EU though, we've got these guys (*moves on to discuss football and Glastonbury*)

Main story

CS: So. In our out of the European Union? Not long now, tomorrow is the big vote, but still, lots of people want to know how leaving could affect them personally. Things like wages, house prices, maybe even your job. Declan Harvey has tried to get some answers for you.

ESTATE AGENT: It's(*words unclear*) having furniture in a room, it's hard to sort of see where everything goes.

DECLAN HARVEY: Yvetta and Ludo are looking to buy their first house.

EA: You could use this room as a dressing room.

YVETTA: Yeah.

DH: As we speak, they're checking out this three bed in East Belfast, the rooms are small, but there's a new kitchen at the back, and it's what estate agents would call cosy, but a typical first step on the housing ladder.

Y: We are renting at the moment, so we're looking for a new house.

DH: Are you first time buyers?

Y: First time buyers, so . . . you know, it's just really hard to find the one that you really, really, really like.

DH: Despite picking up a little Northern Ireland twang, you might be able to hear Yvetta is not from this part of the world, neither is Ludo.

Y: Well, I'm from the Czech Republic.

LUDO: And I'm from Slovakia.

DH: These two could be used by both the Leave and Remain campaigners to justify their arguments.

EA: (*words unclear*) has all been put in, so it's all brand new.

DH: On the one hand, Yvetta and Ludo are foreigners about to buy a house instead of, say, a local person getting it, but on the other hand, they've come, works hard and saved to buy a house, which helps the economy. And everything you're about to hear comes down to the economy.

CLAIRE: Is everything, the washing machine's all in there?

EA: Yeah, so you've got your fridge freezer.

DH: We're in another house now, this time Claire is having a second viewing. What kind of place are you looking for?

C: Something homely in a quiet area to raise the kids and good sized bedrooms, like a long-term home.

DH: A family home.

C: Yeah.

DH: House prices come into the Brexit debate because most economists predict leaving the EU will force the UK economy into a dip, if only for a few years. John Minace is the Estate Agent.

JOHN MINACE: An economic downturn affects the house prices because it affects employment, and as soon as employment declines, house prices decline with it.

DH: Of course, lower house prices could be good for first-time buyers.

JM: Okay, that might bring the price of houses down, but you know, my staffing level from 35 will cut to 20 or 15, so no one will have any money to buy houses anyway.

DH: Yes, jobs – not matter how long an economy dips for, jobs will be affected, and that includes wages. Here's Claire again, she's holding her four-week old baby.

C: I'm mean because I'm currently, I suppose, on quite a low income myself, so . . . but I don't, again, I don't know really what way that will go if we leave.

DH: But those who want to leave the EU believe in the long-run the economy will bounce back bigger and stronger. The last house we visited was a young couple from Eastern Europe, and there are people who will hear that, go, 'You see, that's the problem, there are people coming to this country and they're buying up the housing stock and we don't have enough housing'.

C: Something my parents, you know, I think and the older generation have heard a lot more talk about, they don't really want, you know, they don't want immigration coming and they're causing all these problems. We don't even know if we're going to vote, because we feel quite . . . I don't . . . it feels very vague. There's so much information that is just very, each side is so biased and . . . you don't know what's . . . what's guaranteed if we leave.

DH: Feel free to disagree with Claire, as always we're on Twitter and Facebook. But here's something you might agree with her on. Like Claire, lots of you have told us you don't feel like the issues have been clearly explained. But here's the thing: if you're waiting for someone to explain exactly what the UK would be like after leaving the EU, well you'll be waiting a while, no one can be totally sure, both the Remain and Leave campaigns are working on estimates.

CS: Well, at the end of Newsbeat today, we're going to give you the chance to test the claims made by both sides, we'll be flipping over so you can watch others live on Facebook with the BBC's Reality Check. It's your last chance before you vote tomorrow to ask any questions that you might

have. And still to come, while we're talking about the economy, today more than 12,000 business leaders have signed a letter backing the UK's membership of the EU. We'll be hearing from businesses both for and against.

12.50pm

CS: In a couple of minutes, we'll be switching to Facebook live to get your questions on the EU vote answered by the BBC Reality Check team, who've got all the facts. First though, a bit more info for you about all of it. This time on small businesses. Important this one, because they employ more than 15 million people in the UK, keeping the economy ticking over, so what do they think? In or Out? Our Politics Reporter Greg Dawson's been finding out.

EMMA: So this is a three to four-man hovercraft

GREG DAWSON: Emma's warehouse in Kent is home to 15 members of staff, and one staffie guard-dog, Pebbles.

E: This is the (*dog barks*) I'm going to chuck her out, hang on. My name's Emma Pullen, I'm managing director of the British Hovercraft Company in Sandwich, and we make small hovercraft.

GD: Just in case anyone is in any doubt what Emma thinks about the referendum there's a huge Vote Leave banner on the fence outside.

E: On the 24 June, if we have decided to Remain, I will be incredibly disappointed. I strongly believe it'll be very, very tight vote. This is the lamination department, this is where all of the hulls are made. The biggest country we export to America at the moment, and there's Australia, South Korea we've been selling to recently, but very, very little into the EU. If you want to buy a boat in the EU, you have to show that it complies with an EU rule saying how the boat should be built. Now, unfortunately, hovercraft are not allowed to be part of that ruling, it's an absolute nightmare, and most of the time they'll go and buy a boat or jet ski instead. The main reason I'd like to leave the EU is I want us to be able to go on trade with countries who need our help and that we want to trade with at the moment, erm, we don't have an African trade deal and I'd like to be able to trade with the African nations, I'd like to be able to trade with Brazil and the South American countries. If we leave the EU, we will be able to go in and start these trade deals and negotiations immediately. We should be very proud of our engineering, we should be very, very proud of our manufacturing in the UK, and we should be proud and strong enough to be able to go and sell that on the world market on our own.

J: Hello.

GD: (*beeping sounds*) Hi, I'm here to see Jonathan?

J: Hey come on up (*words unclear*).

GD: So, for a different view, we've come to a business which has an office in Newcastle, and one here in central London.

J: Hey, how's it going nice to meet you. Hi, I'm Jonathan, erm, I'm the founder of a business called SoPost, which works with erm, a lot of brands, beauty companies, to help them get promotional product samples into people's hands over social media. I'm 25, and I launched the business about four years ago. We do a lot of work with consumable products like chocolate and soft drinks. If I woke

up the day after the referendum and found out that we'd voted to leave the EU, to be honest I think I'd be a little bit shocked and very scared.

GD: Jonathan says the reason he was ever able to make a success of his company is because of a fund from the EU to kickstart his business.

J: I wasn't able to get funding from anywhere. Without the support that was available from the EU, the business simply wouldn't exist. If my business does well we're not only creating employment which is generally good for the economy, but the business is also going to be paying tax, I'm going to be paying tax (*phone rings*) Hello, Jonny speaking.

GD: Jonathan's business does the bulk of its trade with the US, and he says being part of the EU nudges his company closer to the front of the queue when it comes to doing deals.

J: Right now, we're part of the largest single market in the world which gives us, you know, the ability to go into any country, whether that is France or the US or even China. It's very easy right now, and the terms are in our favour.

CS: Okay, so lots of people probably still a bit confused about all of this, people still have questions, so we've invited Anthony Reuben from the BBC's Reality Check for you to throw any questions you like at, and it is all just about to happen on Facebook Live with Sinead.

SINEAD: Yes, you can watch us for the next 20 minutes, send us your questions that you want Anthony to answer, anything that you like, EU –related. We've already had a couple from David and Isvan (*phonetic*) please keep them coming in.

CS: Okay, and you go to Newsbeat's Facebook page to get involved.

S: Yeah, grab your phones, stick your headphones, this is the last lunch break you're going to get before the vote, to get your head around all of this. And we're going live in three, two, one.

CS: So that is it from Newsbeat on the radio, but do join us on Facebook live, we'll answer your questions with the Reality Check team, so stay with Sinead and Anthony it's live on Newsbeat's facebook page for all those EU answers.

Wednesday 22 June, Evening

Introduction

CS: And it's nearly time to make up your mind, which were you going to go, in or out? Politicians from both sides of the EU referendum have been touring the UK in a last ditch effort to win.

DAVID CAMERON: If we want a bigger economy and more jobs, we're better if we do it together. If we want to win against the terrorists and keep our country safe, we're better if we do it together.

NIGEL FARAGE: People who made their minds up to vote leave in my view would crawl over broken glass to go and do it, and that is why I still think we're going to win.

CS: If you've still got questions, this our final chance to help you decide.

Main story

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C: Yeah.

DH: House prices come into the Brexit debate because most economists predict leaving the EU will force the UK economy into a dip, if only for a few years. John Minace is the Estate Agent.

JOHN MINACE: An economic downturn affects the house prices because it affects employment, and as soon as employment declines, house prices decline with it.

DH: Of course, lower house prices could be good for first-time buyers.

JM: Okay, that might bring the price of houses down, but you know, my staffing level from 35 will cut to 20 or 15, so no one will have any money to buy houses anyway.

DH: Yes, jobs – not matter how long an economy dips for, jobs will be affected, and that includes wages. Here's Claire again, she's holding her four-week old baby.

C: I'm mean because I'm currently, I suppose, on quite a low income myself, so . . . but I don't, again, I don't know really what way that will go if we leave.

DH: But those who want to leave the EU believe in the long-run the economy will bounce back bigger and stronger. The last house we visited was a young couple from Eastern Europe, and there are people who will hear that, go, 'You see, that's the problem, there are people coming to this country and they're buying up the housing stock and we don't have enough housing'.

C: Something my parents, you know, I think and the older generation have heard a lot more talk about, they don't really want, you know, they don't want immigration coming and they're causing all these problems. We don't even know if we're going to vote, because we feel quite . . . I don't . . . it feels very vague. There's so much information that is just very, each side is so biased and . . . you don't know what's . . . what's guaranteed if we leave.

DH: Feel free to disagree with Claire, as always we're on Twitter and Facebook. But here's something you might agree with her on. Like Claire, lots of you have told us you don't feel like the issues have been clearly explained. But here's the thing: if you're waiting for someone to explain exactly what the UK would be like after leaving the EU, well you'll be waiting a while, no one can be totally sure, both the Remain and Leave campaigns are working on estimates.

CS: Well, if you're still not sure how you are going to vote, there's a quick video guide to the arguments on both sides, covering all the main issues online. Go to the radio one channel on BBC iPlayer and we'll have more on the EU referendum in a bit.

5.54pm

CS: So, back to tomorrow's big EU vote, less than 24 hours now before you can pop your cross in the box, even Leave or Remain, many of you are still telling is that you don't know which way to go.

So today we are taking a final look at one of the key issues for you: the economy. Our Politics Reporter Greg Dawson's been talking to small businesses about the benefits of In or Out.

EMMA: So this is a three to four-man hovercraft

GREG DAWSON: Emma's warehouse in Kent is home to 15 members of staff, and one staffie guard-dog, Pebbles.

E: This is the (*dog barks*) I'm going to chuck her out, hang on. My name's Emma Pullen, I'm managing director of the British Hovercraft Company in Sandwich, and we make small hovercraft.

GD: Just in case anyone is in any doubt what Emma thinks about the referendum there's a huge Vote Leave banner on the fence outside.

E: On the 24 June, if we have decided to Remain, I will be incredibly disappointed. I strongly believe it'll be very, very tight vote. This is the lamination department, this is where all of the hulls are made. The biggest country we export to America at the moment, and there's Australia, South Korea we've been selling to recently, but very, very little into the EU. If you want to buy a boat in the EU, you have to show that it complies with an EU rule saying how the boat should be built. Now, unfortunately, hovercraft are not allowed to be part of that ruling, it's an absolute nightmare, and most of the time they'll go and buy a boat or jet ski instead. The main reason I'd like to leave the EU is I want us to be able to go on trade with countries who need our help and that we want to trade with at the moment, erm, we don't have an African trade deal and I'd like to be able to trade with the African nations, I'd like to be able to trade with Brazil and the South American countries. If we leave the EU, we will be able to go in and start these trade deals and negotiations immediately. We should be very proud of our engineering, we should be very, very proud of our manufacturing in the UK, and we should be proud and strong enough to be able to go and sell that on the world market on our own.

J: Hello.

GD: (*beeping sounds*) Hi, I'm here to see Jonathan?

J: Hey come on up (*words unclear*).

GD: So, for a different view, we've come to a business which has an office in Newcastle, and one here in central London.

J: Hey, how's it going nice to meet you. Hi, I'm Jonathan, erm, I'm the founder of a business called SoPost, which works with erm, a lot of brands, beauty companies, to help them get promotional product samples into people's hands over social media. I'm 25, and I launched the business about four years ago. We do a lot of work with consumable products like chocolate and soft drinks. If I woke up the day after the referendum and found out that we'd voted to leave the EU, to be honest I think I'd be a little bit shocked and very scared.

GD: Jonathan says the reason he was ever able to make a success of his company is because of a fund from the EU to kickstart his business.

J: I wasn't able to get funding from anywhere. Without the support that was available from the EU, the business simply wouldn't exist. If my business does well we're not only creating employment which is generally good for the economy, but the business is also going to be paying tax, I'm going to be paying tax (*phone rings*) Hello, Jonny speaking.

GD: Jonathan's business does the bulk of its trade with the US, and he says being part of the EU nudges his company closer to the front of the queue when it comes to doing deals.

J: Right now, we're part of the largest single market in the world which gives us, you know, the ability to go into any country, whether that is France or the US or even China. It's very easy right now, and the terms are in our favour.

CS: We've said this before, but an extra reminder, because it is so important, if you're still not sure which way to vote head to the Radio 1 channel on BBC iPlayer and you can watch Newsbeat's quick video guide to the arguments on both sides.

APPENDIX II:

Transcript of Newsbeat Special: The European Union – In or Out, 13 June 2016, 9pm

TINA DAHELEY: You don't normally get Newsbeat at 9pm on Radio 1 or 1Extra, but tonight we're on for a whole hour, live in Birmingham with . . . quite a few of you. (*applause*) You can watch us as well, we're on the BBC News channel. Why? Well we've got just nine days until one of the biggest votes of our lifetime. The question is: In or Out? Should the United Kingdom stay part of the European Union or should it leave? Plenty of you say you're confused, so whatever you want to know, we'll do our best to get the answers to your questions before ten. Now loads of you say you want more facts, so Alex Forsyth is here from BBC Reality Check with loads of stuff that we know for sure.

ALEX FORSTYH: Yeah Tina, we've had some big claims thrown around by both sides in this campaign about whether staying or leaving would affect your jobs, your wages, even your mobile phone bill. So we're going to try and sift through those and separate some of the fact from the fiction.

TD: Great stuff. Nick is over there with all your texts and tweets.

NICK ROTHERHAM: Yes, hello Tina, I am Billy no-mates at the bar tonight, so I'm relying on you at home to get in touch so I have somebody to talk to. Do you have any questions on jobs, immigration, anything - the last ten minutes of the show is yours, so get in touch - hashtag Newsbeat.

TD: And we've got both sides are here too. For the Remain campaign, Labour MP Chuka Umunna. And for the Leave campaign, the Conservative MP Dominic Raab. (*applause*) So, with nine days to go, how are you guys feeling about the vote?

SHANISE: My name's Shanise, I'm from Telford and I'm voting Remain because I believe the economy is going to be stronger if we stay in the EU. We need migrants' help to boost the economy. And everyone's just assuming the worst if we was to stay.

TD: Okay, over here?

ELLIS TUSTIN: Hello, my name's Ellis Tustin, er we're going to hear a lot of pessimism from the Remain side. Instead of seeing this as a negative step for Britain, this is more of a golden opportunity. Immigration is a disgrace, and pretty much an insult to working-class British people. Our sovereignty is in tatters, and it's time we realised that we're worth more than a star on someone else's flag. (*applause*)

TD: Okay, what's your response to that?

SHANISE: I completely counteract that. I disagree completely. Migrants are really helping to boost the economy. We have an ageing population, which unfortunately they can't keep paying into. So obviously the migrants are just putting in more money for the NHS to help them.

TD: Okay, to be discussed, whether you are with us online or watching on TV, you'll have noticed we're at the O2 Institute, not the usual sort of gig they have here. We've split the audience into two, the people who think they are going to vote to leave and the people who think they're going to vote

to stay. So, time for the topic, you say is one of the most important: immigration. Here's Nick with the stuff you need to know.

NICK ROTHERHAM: So, you asked for facts. Well, I'm going to give you facts. I'm going to give you *so* many facts, you're going to be sorry you ever even asked for facts. Facts, facts, facts, facts, (*speeding up, repeating the word facts over and over*)

UNNAMED MALE: Okay. That's annoying.

NR: But the first fact you need to know is that the European Union doesn't have any control over who's let into Britain from outside of the EU, from countries like Syria.

FEMALE: (*voice speaking Arabic?*)

NR: And Afghanistan.

MALE: (*voice speaking Pashto?*)

NR: Likewise. And the EU can't force Britain to take refugees from places like this. Another fact? Well, the EU *does* have control over those who come from inside the European Union.

MALE VOICE: Bonjour.

MALE VOICE 2: Hallo.

FEMALE VOICE: Buenas tardes.

NR: Member countries agreed to a rule called the freedom of movement. Now, this means that anyone within the EU can come and live and work in the UK. In return, we're allowed to go and live and work in other places within the EU. The upshot – when it comes to deciding if you're in or out based on immigration, then EU migration is the key thing to look at. Phones out for a quick sum on the old calculators. Last year it's estimated 270,000 people came to live here from the EU. Now, take away the number that's left and that leaves 184,000 – fewer than those who came from outside the EU. And remember they're the ones that we actually have control over. How about some quickfire stats? There are currently 3 million people from the other 27 EU countries living in the UK – that's 3 million people using the NHS, schools and other services. That's four foreign EU citizens in every 100 people. Figures show immigrants actually contribute more cash to the UK economy than they get back in terms of benefits, and 60% have work lined up before they arrive. However, there's evidence that in low paid jobs, immigration may drive down the wages of UK workers. Enough? Tough. One more. If Britain left the European Union it doesn't necessarily mean our doors will be closed to EU workers. We may want to stay part of what's called the single market which helps trade between EU countries. If you're part of that, you still have to allow EU citizens to come and live and work in your country. That's the situation in Norway.

TD: Immigration - what are the types of conversations you're having with your friends?

STEPHEN: Well, for me, immigration's actually quite a personal thing, because I'm actually a second generation immigrant. My mum's Romanian.

TD: What's your name?

STEPHEN: Stephen, I'm from Aberdeen. My mum was, grew up in Romania, er, my dad grew up in Canada. And, you know, I grew up in Scotland and spent my entire life there. And, the point about immigration is no-one in the Leave campaign is suggesting that we're going to pull up the drawbridge or we're not going to allow immigrants to come to this country. We're not that sort of campaign and that's not our message. What we're wanting is to be like any other country in the world, that are not one of the 27 EU member states, that have their own immigration policies to make it work for their own countries. There is nothing wrong with the immigration policies that those countries have, so why can't we have that same privilege that they do? Why can't we have immigration policies that work in the need of our own employment, that can cope with our own NHS, and that could cope with our own industries? For me, the immigration point just seems like common sense. The arguments for Leave, and it's a point that the Remain campaign have got no answers on. And when it comes to immigration for Remain, we have xenophobic literature being produced by the likes of the Conservatives' In campaign, which said that vote Remain to stop immigration coming from other side, er, other non-EU countries, which I think is quite an ugly and distasteful campaign as well. And also today in Scotland Menzies Campbell said a Brexit vote would damage race relations. This really shows the shameful, negative Remain campaign which has turned from project fear to project ugly. *(applause)*

TD: Okay, when we say Brexit, of course we mean Britain exiting the European Union.

JOSHUA: Well, I'm Joshua and I'm from Birmingham, but honestly, I believe it's quite ignorant and quite awful as well to believe that mass immigration or immigration as a whole is negative to the UK. You look back through history, immigration has always been something fundamental within British society. It has upheld our values it's upheld our industry. It has upheld our country. After World War II, the Gurkhas coming over, taking the jobs we needed to be done. With er, at present we've got an aging population of around 55%. These are people who are coming over to do the work that is needed to be done as well as ensuring the prosperity and future of our country. On a further note, as well, I think it's quite . . . I think it's quite awful as well, when you look at people like myself of a dual heritage, people that have had the opportunity of our ancestors to come over. My, er my family on one side came over from Jamaica in the 1950s. They've worked constantly since they've come over. Yet, it's always understood that it's the worst thing that can possibly happen. It's always seen as completely negative when we don't look at the positive benefits and the benefits that it brings to British society and the future for our country too.

TD: Okay, Dominc Raab, What's your response? This idea of fear when it comes to immigration?

DOMINIC RAAB: Like, like Joshua, I come from a background of immigrants. My father is a refugee to this country from Czechoslovakia. I have a Brazilian wife, and I want Britain to be an outward, open country and a global player with global horizons, I want that for my family, I want that for our country. I certainly agree with you about the benefits of immigration. Erm, I think the problem comes down to the lack of control. Now, the truth is no-one on the Remain side is suggesting that in relation to non-EU immigration we open our borders. There is no other country in the world or other region in the world that has open border, open door immigration. And I don't think the Remain camp can just airbrush the costs as well as talking about the benefits. So, let me give you a concrete example: in Bulgaria and Romania, the average wage is around £3 an hour. In this country, thankfully, the minimum wage is £7.20 an hour. And you've got to think about the pull factor that has, the downward pressure it has on wages in this country and also, the strain it puts on infrastructure like housing and the impact it has on public services like the NHS and schools. So, people can say, the Remain camp can say, you know, this is just a price worth paying, but be honest about it and be honest about who is

bearing the brunt, because it's going to be your generation as well as a lot of the working and lower middle income families across the country that will feel those pressures.

TD: What do you make of that response?

JOSHUA: Well, when you say it's going to be our generation taking the brunt of it. I believe our generation has more compassion than that, I believe we have more unity. We have more of a bright future together. It's about a unity. We can't discriminate or segregate against these people because they're from a poor background in Eastern Europe, for example. They're coming over specifically for benefits or specifically for a certain type of wage. We need to look at coming together as one rather than causing constant segregation and discrimination, which ultimately is just tearing us apart. The whole point of the European Union . . .

DR: (*speaking over*) Can I just come back on that?

TD: (*speaking over*) Constant discrimination and segregation, is that what the Leave campaign stands for?

DR: Absolutely not. Our current rules are discriminatory, because we have open-door immigration with Europe in relation to non-EU immigration, all the talent and all the benefits that we could get from that we have a very different points-based system. So the question is why we wouldn't, I mean, if you really believe in open-door immigration, wouldn't you advocate it for non-EU immigration? But there is no-one in mainstream politics that does. (*applause*)

TD: Chuka Umunna?

CHUKA UMUNNA: Well look, I wouldn't deny that immigration can pose challenges in our labour market. But that's why you need a good, national minimum wage at the highest level possible that is actually enforced, which it isn't always by the current government. I think people quit rightly, they want people to contribute into our Social Security system before they take out, and they're going to have to do that for four years, and they want also to help people who do come here to actually integrate, to learn our language. But this idea that we have housing problems, we have challenges in the NHS, school place challenges and all the rest of it, because of all of these immigrants is complete nonsense, and actually, lets the current Government off the hook. Let's not forget the other side of the equation here, like, lots of people here will probably want to go and live and maybe work in other countries at some point. We've got two million Brits living and working in the European Union and enjoying the benefits that that brings. And let's not forget the 100,000 EU nationals who work in our NHS here and help it go, help it keep going. Let's not forget the fact that we've got 1.5 million people employed *here* in EU citizen-owned businesses. So let's have a balanced debate on this. Let's not seek to dump all the blame for our country's problems on EU immigrants. (*applause*)

TD: Okay, what's your response to that?

NATHAN: I'm, I'm Nathan from Monmouth in South Wales, and before I get to my point, I just want to say that Chuka you seem to be suggesting that if we leave the European Union we can never work in Europe again. That's nonsense. It is scaremongering. You can all go and work in Europe. (*applause*) You can apply for a visa, like you would to any other country in the world, but that is beside the point I wanted to make. We talk about discrimination in the immigration system. I work in a Bengali restaurant and I see first-hand the discrimination in the immigration system. There is a discrimination

because people from outside of the European Union have to go through a double standard system. A lot of these people their grandfathers and grandmothers suffered through World War II for this country and the Commonwealth. We're friends. We have allies outside the European Union, hardworking people with skills that they need to bring here. Our curry industry, curry shops are closing at a rate of two a week in the United Kingdom

ED: (interrupting) Is that because of immigration policies?

NATHAN: Yeah, that, and that can be traced almost directly to immigration policies. It's incredibly difficult to source the skills within the UK for chefs in that industry.

TD: So do you want a limit on people from inside the European Union but more people to be able to come in from outside?

NATHAN: I want what the Leave campaign is advocating, which is a complete across the board points system that allows people with skills, people who want to come here to work, people who want to come here and work hard to come to the UK . . .

CU: But . . .

NATHAN: Not just because they're born in Europe by some kind of virtue of birth. That's wrong. That's discriminatory. I don't mind where you came from. Europe or outside of Europe, you should come here and work either way.

CU: But the points-based system that applies to non-EU immigrants who are coming here has nothing to do - the restrictions that you're talking about, mate, have nothing to do with the EU and everything to do with the Government's policy, which is to get immigration down to the tens of thousands. And if you adopt the points-based system which Leave advocates, which is this Australian points-based system, the system that they've got in Australia, they actually had that system in Australia to *promote* immigration. And they have at least two or three times the amount of immigration that we have. So look, I'm, as I said, I'm not denying that immigration poses challenges. But the idea that if we left the European Union immigration would fall away as an issue, as the, the package just showed is for the birds. We've got more people coming to our country from outside of the European Union than in the European Union. So we shouldn't be conning people that . . .

TD: (*speaking over*) It's slightly more, it's about level isn't it?

CU: . . . somehow it's a solution to all our problems, because it's not.

TD: Hmm. So what should happen? What should the immigration policy be? Because it is an issue for Labour voters as well.

CU: Absolutely. Like I've said, I don't deny that it's an issue. Enforce the national minimum wage. Ensure people contribute into our system before they take out. And I think one of the biggest things that we have failed to do, decade after decade, never mind immigration from the European Union, but from other countries as well, we have failed to properly ensure that we have integrated communities in this country. Here in Birmingham, where I represent in London, we pride ourselves on our diversity, the simple fact is we have communities living parallel lives. And we spend so much time focussed on the numbers of people coming in – and I'm not saying that, you know we shouldn't talk about that – we don't spend nearly enough time thinking about when people do actually settle here

and we have permitted them to come to our country, how do we make sure they're part of our community? Let us do that more. (*applause*)

TD: Okay, lady over there.

CASSIE DAGG: Hi, my name's Cassie Dagg, I'm from Stafford. I completely agree with Chuka tonight and not just because I'm on the Remain campaign. Erm, what I will say is that people say that immigrants and immigration are taking a massive toll on our whole welfare system, on our country, on everything that comes out of our pockets. But teenage pregnancy is at an all-time high. It's not just immigrants giving birth and having sex. It's not just immigrants who choose to be ill, or choose to have elderly parents or choose to go to a better country to have a better life. As long as you want to do well in the world, as long as you've not got a criminal record and you're not going to be a massive threat to anyone, I think you should be welcome anywhere, as long as there's space for you.

TD: Do you think there should be any limits to immigration in this country?

CASSIE DAGG: I think the limits that we have on now are being highly tested at the moment, especially by events that are going on around the world. A lot of people are forming their opinion of immigration on things that are being called terrorist attacks or by racial stereotyping and by xenophobia in the media.

TD: Okay. Dominic Raab, what does your campaign, the Leave campaign say about limits when it comes to immigration?

DR: Well look, we'd like the same kinds of limits we have in relation to non-EU immigration, which every other country around the world . . .

TD: (*interrupting*) But, but you say that, but those numbers are general level, aren't they? So in fact, more people came out— when you look at net migration, more people came from outside the EU.

DR: It fluctuates though. But the key thing is, in relation to EU migration, you have control. And the, the glaring thing in this debate is not whether EU immigration is all good or all bad, that's, that's, I don't think where anyone in this room is, it's whether you need to have some national democratic control. So yes, you yield the benefits both culturally, socially and economically, but also you can control the pressures and costs it has on local infrastructure. And you can't airbrush that out of this debate, which is why we've heard today three senior Labour figures, Tom Watson, Andy Burnham, I forget the third erm . . .

CU? Yvette Cooper.

DR: Not, not Yvette Cooper.

TD: Jeremy Corbyn?

UNKNOWN: Ed Balls.

DR: And Ed Balls saying that the EU rules on free movement have to change. And the reason I find this slightly disingenuous, not on Chuka's part because he's being honest about his view, but it's that we've just had a re-negotiation, the rules haven't changed. So if you really want to exert some control,

you have to vote on the 23 June to take back control, and not just over immigration, this whole debate shouldn't be consumed by that, but it is an important thing that working class, middle income families and a lot of young— youngsters feel very concerned about up and down the country.

TD: Chuka Ummuna, what's your response to that, specifically, within the Labour Party, we are hearing different things today from Jeremy Corbyn . . .

CU: Sorry, I didn't hear the beginning.

TD: We're hearing, we're hearing different things, so . . .

CU: Yeah.

TD: . . . from Jeremy Corbyn, the leader of your party, and then different things from Tom Watson. What's your response?

CU: Well, what I would, I haven't heard what they've all been saying today, but I think – I want to correct one thing, because I don't want people watching this programme to think there is no controls whatsoever. We're . . . we are not part of this thing called the Schengen passport-free area, so in most EU economies, EU countries you can move around without necessarily showing your passport. When you get off a plane at Birmingham International Airport from an EU country, you will have to show your passport. But the issue with free movement is, we, we've made this bargain, if you like. We have three to four million jobs that are linked, linked to our membership of the European Union. We're here sitting in the West Midlands, a great, industrial manufacturing heartland, you've got incredible industries here, not least the car industry . . .

TD: *(interrupting)* So are you saying those jobs would go if we left the European Union?

CU: Well, I'm not saying every single job would go, but what I'm saying is that the bargain we've made is that because of the economic benefits, we, we think that on balance we do far better, notwithstanding some of the challenges immigration poses, having access to the single market. And the problem that we've got, and again the package showed if, if we want to stay part of that single market, even if we leave, well, I mean, the model would probably be Norway. So Norway isn't a member of the European Union, but is part of that big free trading zone. But they've had to accept the free movement that goes with that. Erm, now I'm not saying that if we weren't part of the single market we would not be able to trade with Europe. Maybe there's some Remain people who do, I don't claim that. The question is on what terms? So when we go and buy things from these guys we don't pay the tariff and vice . . .

TD: *(speaking over)* Okay.

CU: . . . vice versa. And just to make, I suppose, to make that real for people, 28% of the produce on High Street shop shelves, from cheese, chocolate, wine and healthier things, they come here from the EU . . .

TD: *(speaking over)* We will get onto the economy.

CU: *(speaking over)* And when you buy that, you're not paying that tariff.

TD: *(speaking over)* That's a separate subject.

CU: Whereas if we're not in the EU . . .

TD: Yeah.

CU: You're obviously going to pay more for those goods.

TD: Yeah, we're coming to that. Alex, what can you tell us for sure when it comes to wages and migration?

ALEX FORSYTH: Well, there was a Bank of England report that looked at specifically this, and it found there was an impact of immigration on suppressing wages in some sectors, particularly in semi-skilled and unskilled sectors but it was fairly small. So it found a 10% increase in immigration, which is quite a lot would lead to a 2% drop in wages in those worst affected sectors. So fairly limited, although there is an impact. The other thing to bear in mind, of course, is you have to put that into the broader context of what might happen to the whole economy and the effect that could have on wages as well if we chose to leave the EU.

TD: Okay, Nick, what's happening online?

NICK ROTHERHAM: Tina, loads coming through already. Remember, those last ten minutes of the show are yours, so keep them coming, hashtag Newsbeat for your questions. Let's have a look, immigration has divided people on the floor, and it's the same on social media too: Matthew: "The immigration issue isn't racist. A bus can only fit so many people in. It works the same with the island we're on." Suzanne disagrees though, she hates the whole immigration debate – of course some people will come to use the system, and lie back, but the majority are humans like you and me. And Curtis picks up on something that's been mentioned a couple of times already: Terrorism is on the rise, our safety is at risk, and we must have secure border control and a points-based system. Back to you, Tina.

TD: Okay, thanks Nick. What about jobs, wages, getting a mortgage, how could all of that change once we've got a result at the end of next week? Belinda is one person who's confused, she got in touch on Snapchat and said, "If we leave the EU, is it true we face ten years of economic uncertainty?" Loads to talk about then. Nick's been taking a look for Newsbeat.

NICK ROTHERHAM: There are some big numbers being knocked around, by both the In and the Out brigade. The Leave camp is mentioning this one a lot:

BORIS JOHNSON: £350 million

ANDREA LEADSOM? £350 million

MICHAEL GOVE: £350 million

NICK ROTHERHAM: It's roughly the amount they claim the UK gives the EU each week in membership fees, money they say would be better spent on, say, the NHS. But, and there's a big 'but' £350 million doesn't actually get handed over, because there are firstly lots of discounts and secondly grants coming from the EU to the UK to support things like farming, universities and scientific research. So, the actual amount going to the EU each week is more like £160 million – still a lot of cash. But the Remain camp say you should think of it as an entry fee into a club – the value of free drinks you get is more than what you paid at the door. And when it comes to the EU, they say that extra value is in

trade and business deals. But the Remain camp are using figures that could do with some explaining too. They claim every family would be £4,300 worse off each year if we left the EU. But in truth that figure is a guess based on an estimate – a guesstimate. And even if it does come true, it wouldn't happen for 15 years. Next let's talk trade. As it stands, UK businesses avoid paying taxes when they buy and sell within the EU. If we leave, they'll have more control over how they do their business, but any deals to avoid paying those taxes and charges would have to be agreed again from scratch. And it's not clear how long that would take. But one thing that has been generally agreed upon, lots of experts have been predicting the British economy could take a dip, even if it's just for a few years if the UK leaves. That's the kind of thing that could affect your job, wages or house prices. The Leave group says it would all be worth it in the long run, the Remain side say it's a gamble and will hurt the recovery that's been building in the last few years. So it's up to you to decide which side you believe when you go to vote next Thursday.

TD: We are live on Radio 1, 1Extra and the BBC News Channel, for a special programme on the EU referendum. Next we're talking about the economy. What's your name?

HARRIS: Hi, my name's Harris, I'm from London. Erm, I just wanted to talk about how the US and the EU are currently negotiating a huge trade deal and if we were to leave the EU, we would be at a separate part of the table essentially, looking in. And I wanted to know how you think that we could sort of renegotiate a deal with the US when they already have one of the most lucrative deals already on the table with the EU?

TD: Okay, let's put that directly to Dominic Raab.

DR: Well, I think one of the golden opportunities of being outside of the EU is to be freed up to trade more energetically on a global scale with the States, North America, from Asia to Latin America. Those are the growth markets of the future. The reason I think that Britain will be better at free trade deals than the EU is because it's not hamstrung by the protectionism and the special interests of 28. So, the EU has not signed that deal with the US. It is in the mud. It was supposed to be done under Obama, and it's stalled. In fact the EU hasn't signed, sealed and delivered a free trade deal with an economy any bigger than South Korea, which is half the size of Britain's economy. If you look at small and mid-ranking economies, Switzerland, South Korea, Chile, Singapore, even a much smaller economy, they've got a much better record of signing free trade deals and also the quality of them is better. So, when the EU signs free trade deals, in the majority of cases, UK export growth goes down. When those other economies, Singapore, South Korea, Switzerland, sign free trade deals, in the majority of cases their growth in exports goes up. So not only is the . . .

TD: (*interrupting*) But this is about . . .

DR: So not only is the EU lousy at negotiating them, but the nature of those deals has been very poor. And the source, for our fact checker, is Michael Burridge who's done extensive research on this for Civitas.

TD: Alex is busily fact-checking. We will come back to you. But this is about whether or not the UK would have more clout as part of a market of 500 million people or as a country with 65 million.

DR: Well, Tina I don't like confessing this to you and in front of such a young audience, but size isn't everything and what really matters is the nature of your offer, the problem is, for the EU is its size and scale bogs it down. It's got all of those special interests of 28 countries, particularly the French

protectionism that comes from their farmers. And that's why, for example, Latin America, very dear to my heart, the trade block there is called MICOSA that on the Government's estimate, the government's campaign to stay in the EU . . .

TD: Okay . . .

DR: . . . it would benefit the British economy by £2.5 billion every year, just by being paralysed by special interests within the EU, that's a deal we could easily sign if we were independent.

TD: (*speaking over*) Okay, we're getting into a lot of detail now. Chuka Umunna, do you agree, size isn't everything?

CU: (*laughs*) Look, the first to reflect on for viewers and everyone here I suppose is the EU itself is our biggest customer, so 44% of our exports go to them. And to put it in context, if you look at the average number of exports from each of the 27 member states to us is about 5%, so we're . . . they are a far bigger customer to us than we are a customer to them, which is why we massively benefit from being able to trade freely with them. In terms of the rest of the world, the EU has agreements with over 50 other economies outside of the European Union, and there's another six coming down the track. So, for example, we've got trade agreements with Jamaica, Pakistan, Malaysia, I think is there, Japan is being negotiated at the moment. Now, as I said, I'm not saying that if we came out of the EU we wouldn't be able to negotiate those things, but the question is on what terms? Now, Dom talked about China. I, when I was the Shadow Business Secretary for the Labour Party in the last five years, I went on a trade mission to Beijing, and I can tell you the Chinese government told me, you have much more negotiation clout with us when you're sitting on one half of the table with half a billion other people negotiating with us, China, and our 1.3 billion people, than you would if you were sitting in the corner on your own with your 65 million people . . .

TD: (*speaking over*) Okay.

CU: . . . that's what they told me, and actually, I mean, if you say look at the Swiss deal, erm and, you know, Dominic was talking about how the Swiss have reached all these amazing deals. Their deal with China is not a good deal.

DR: (*speaking over*) But they have a deal.

CU: They have basically . . . that's true, that's true . . .

TD: (*speaking over*) Let's got to the audience, you've had quite a long time.

DR: (*speaking over*) The EU doesn't have a deal.

TD: (*speaking over*) Okay . . .

CU: (*speaking over*) But let's, but let's actually, I mean . . .

TD: (*speaking over*) Alright.

CU: . . . I, if you're talking about size, I, I, I'd say actually . . .

TD: (*speaking over*) We'll come back to you Chuka.

CU: . . . quality is pretty important in this, and if you're going to have a deal let it deliver for you. And basically, what the Swiss have done, they've given full access to . . .

TD: (*speaking over*) Alright.

CU: . . . almost immediately to their markets, and they don't get the same back.

TD: Fine, okay, size isn't everything, quality's the most important, over to you.

UNNAMED MAN: Erm, we're talking about economies, and we seem to forget about the family. Er, families are small economies and that's how they survive, a certain amount of income a certain amount of expenditure, it is laughable that the Remain campaign seems to be in favour, well, so they suggest, in favour of the British working class, when, as we discussed earlier, the suppression of wages is a very real fact and does affect people.

TD: Is that something you've experienced yourself?

UNNAMED MAN: Er, personally yes.

TD: Can you tell us?

UNNAMED: Er, no I won't, I won't go into personal circumstances with people, erm, in terms of knowing people who have lost out on jobs . . .

TD: Hmm.

UNNAMED MAN: Because of undercutting of er, especially, and er, dare I say it, Eastern European immigration, it does happen. Now, it's very easy for the London syndrome, which many of our political class can sit back in their chairs and say this doesn't happen. It does happen. And not only does it happen, but it happens on a large scale and we're not allowed to talk about it.

TD: What types of job? We can talk about it now, what types of jobs are you talking about, you don't have to give us names or anything.

UNNAMED MAN: Low, low-skilled.

TD: Okay.

UNNAMED MAN: Predominantly low-skilled jobs. Erm, and this has been allowed and, on the basis that the Lib-Lab-Con, as it so favourably called, has told everyone that British people, especially young British people, and I grew up being told this, are lazy. We are not lazy. I have done jobs in factories. I worked in McDonald's and we can do just as much. And to predict that the entire British youth are worthless to the jobs that they have is absolutely laughable.

TD: Does anyone here think British people are lazy, young British people?

UNNAMED MAN 2: No, of course they're not. I, I don't . . . I think what's actually quite astonishing about this debate is to hear people on the Leave side especially representatives of this current Government implying that the main problem facing our economy is the EU, is the common market, is immi— is the common market, is immigration. What . . . what's putting pressure on public services is

that the first thing this Government did when it got into office is cut the Buildings Schools of the Future programme and get rid of thousands of school places. It's . . . after flogging off some of the hospitals to Richard Branson, decided junior doctors weren't worthy of being paid and treated properly. It failed to build any houses. And now it's finally faced up to the fact there might be a housing crisis. It's building affordable starter homes, so-called affordable starter homes, that only 2% of the people on their much-vaunted new national living wage can actually afford.

TD: We've heard a real-life example of (*words unclear due to speaking over*)

UM2: (*speaking over*) So there's a reason they're passing the buck . . .

TD: Yeah . . .

UM2: . . . there's a reason that people like Nigel Farage, like Michael Gove, like Dominic, the biggest proponents of the Leave campaign, because they want you to believe that the problem is in Brussels, it's not in Brussels, it's in Westminster, it's in 10 Downing Street.

TD: What do you think when you hear stories like the one we just heard about people's wages being affected? Real life examples?

UM2: Sorry?

TD: Of wage compression, when you hear the story we just heard about someone's wages being affected . . .

UM2: Well . . .

TD: . . . because of people from other parts of the EU (*word or words unclear due to speaking over*)

UM2: (*speaking over*) Hundreds, hundreds of thousands of secure jobs have been stripped out of public services and replaced with insecure, zero hours contracts, the kind of employment that my entire generation is grappling with at the moment. It's nothing to do with immigration, it's, it's . . . it's the economic strategy pursued by this government for the last five years.

TD: Okay. Hello.

CHLOE: Hello, I'm Chloe, I'm from Northern Ireland, and I'm a farmer. I'm just wondering, if we leave the EU, erm, I know that 97% of our lamb produce, especially from Northern Ireland goes to the EU. And we don't get that much money for our lamb, but what, what would happen if we left the EU? Can you guarantee that we would still get a fair price?

TD: Can you guarantee that, Dominc Raab?

DOMINIC RAAB: Look, in a market economy I can't fix the price, but what I can tell you is this: and it goes back to the question that Chuka raised quite rightly about our trading relationship with the EU if we come out. Lots of people have talked about the relationship, whether it's the Swiss option, the Norwegian option, the Turkish option. The British economy's bigger than all of those combined. We're the fifth biggest economy in the world, and the European firms sell to us whether it's French farmers, or German car manufacturers £68 billion in goods and services more each year than we sell them. So there's clearly a very strong mutual interest, in fact, an even stronger interest on their side

in not erecting the kind of trade barriers that you're worried about. And I think those that are suggesting they would are scaremongering. But I also think that even if rational self-interest didn't win the day and the politicians in the EU decided to play vindictively, they would face huge pressure from the business lobby and the exporters in their own countries. So actually, in their more sober moments, the leading members of the Remain campaign all concede that we would have a very high ambitious trading relationship with the EU, whether we're in or out.

TD: I don't if we heard a yes or a no there though, can you make that guarantee?

DR: Say again?

TD: Can you make that guarantee?

DR: Well, there's no guarantees, there are risks and uncertainties whether we stay in the EU, whether we come out. But the point I was making is that the Prime Minister, the head of the CBI, Lord Kerr who used to be our ambassador to the EU, have all said it is absolutely inconceivable we wouldn't have a strong, ambitious trading relationship. And you've got to ask yourself, if not, if I'm wrong about that, if Brussels would cut its own nose to spite its face, is that really the most attractive reason to stay in that political club? (*applause*)

TD: Okay, what do you make of the response you've just heard?

CHLOE: But what you're saying is that, you know, 'it's going to be okay', but the majority of, erm, employment in Northern Ireland is from agriculture, we're not talking about England here, we're not talking about Scotland or Wales, we're talking about Northern Ireland, and I don't think you've been thinking about Northern Ireland in this whole process, about the borders or about the economy of Northern Ireland at all.

TD: Okay. Chuka Umunna?

CHUKA UMUNNA: I just wanted to pick up on what the gentleman in the red shirt was saying a bit earlier, because two things actually, one he said at the start of the programme, which was juxtaposing the interests of working class British people against that of immigrants. And I just wanted to perhaps take the opportunity to remind erm, the gentleman that a lot of British working class people are of immigrant stock, and secondly, he also talked about er, this notion of these people in London, well look, I, I represent a constituency in an inner London borough, inner London boroughs have a child poverty rate of 40%. So, the idea that everybody's having a party and they have a particular view in London and are out of touch with everyone else is nonsense. And this goes to the heart of part of the town, I suppose, of the debate, which is look, we are going through globalisation, it is changing everything. When Dominic and I were at university, he'll correct me if I'm wrong, there was no Twitter, Facebook, Snapchat or any of this stuff. The world is so different now . . .

TD: Yeah.

CU: Now, in this context, with change which is frightening people and offering opportunity, we can basically turn in on ourselves, set up against different groups, say it's that group of people's prob—you know, it's their fault or your problems, or actually we can work out, whether it's in London or Birmingham, whether you're working class or middle class, how do we meet these challenges together, and build a better Britain. Why don't we pick that avenue?

UNNAMED MALE: Sorry, I'd just like to bring up (*sic*) on the fact that you assumed that when I said British people I just meant er . . . the white people, you saying about people from immigrant backgrounds, er, you don't know whether I come from an immigrant background, some of my ancestry is Turkish, so in terms of you saying, er . . . in terms of trying to direct it down that route I think is . . . exactly what the Remain campaign has been doing the entire situation.

CU: At the start of the programme, and people can go back and watch it on iPlayer, you talked about, you, you set up this notion of what is happening and the impact of immigrants on our Labour market, against the interests of working class people, and to me . . . my father was an immigrant to this country and was working class. I suppose I'm simply saying to you that I just don't think it helps talking that way, because in the end, you know, we can blame one group of people have one thing . . .

UM: I'm not blaming anyone.

CU: But I'm not sure ultimately that's the way that Britain's going to continue what we do so well in the future.

TD: We'll get one quick response from you before we move on.

UM: Sorry, yeah, it's common sense in a business mind, that if you have more of a product, the product is worth less. It's the same with people power. If you have more people, they're worth is less in terms of their ability to work – the money they can get and the money they can give their families, that is common sense, that is a fact. I'm not blaming anybody, but I am saying when you have an open door you can't control, that is a direct effect upon that circumstance.

TD: (*speaking over*) Okay, does anyone have any concerns when it comes to the economy, buying houses for example?

UNNAMED MALE 3: Er yes, erm, we're not . . . buying houses, er . . . well, most of us in this aud—in the audience er, are young people, so we're going to be prospecting (*sic*) to buy ourselves a house, er, in the next 10 years or so, and when house prices in the UK are in excess of £200,000 I think, it, it can't just be blamed on the banks, as some of the Remain campaigners do, I think . . .

TD: (*interrupting*) What do you blame it on, who do you blame it on?

UM3: I think it's a simple case of demand and supply, I think when the, the demand goes up and the supply can't keep up, prices will go up. So I think we, we need immigration controls, we need to control er, the, the demand that we are faced with, and if we don't do that, then we're going to continue to fail to er, you know, give young people the opportunity to get on the housing ladder, to build themselves, to build themselves a life, and you know, I'm not looking forward to getting myself into the housing market when I look at the house prices as they are now.

TD: So you're planning to vote leave?

UM3: I'm definitely voting leave.

TD: When did you make your mind up?

UM3: Erm, a year ago, when the, the Conservative government made a pledge to give us an EU referendum, er, I started looking into the subject, and back then I was quite, I was quite cautious and I was, I was for Remain actually, because erm, I, I, I didn't want to risk anything, but then as, as you learn more and more about the nature of the EU, how it wants to become a federal superstate and the corruption that happens in there, and you know, the undemocratic nature of it, how we can't vote, vote out the people that make our laws, er, how most of, 60% of, of the laws in this country er, are, are given to us by Brussels . . .

TD: Well, we don't know the figure, I mean, some people estimate it's between 15% and 50%

UM3: The House, the House of Commons . . . the House of Commons predict its 59%. And . . . and then obviously, as, as, as I learn more and more about these, you know, revelations, it became clear to me that although there may be a short-term period of uncertainty, a short-term period of decline, I think in the medium to short-term, for ordinary and, ordinary and young people in this country, I think we're much better off if we leave, and if British businesses aren't strangled by the regulations that they're faced with, as being members of the EU, and if they're given the freedom to be agile without the burden of EU regulation, I think our economy will prosper at a much greater rate than it is now.

TD: Okay, thank you. (*applause*) Hi.

DAN: So, so my name is Dan, Dan Bridgwater, erm, I run a business in Birmingham, so we're a company called Hero Consultancy, we work with private sector companies to help them win public sector contracts. Erm, the gentleman has explained why he wants to, to Leave, I want to Remain because of the risk, and I think there's some huge risks when it comes to the single market. Now, I don't believe for a second that we're going to get the same deals that we have at the moment, the same trade deals that we have at the moment.

TD: Why don't you believe that?

DAN: Because why would they? So if other countries within the EU have this, have a doubt in the back of their minds, why, if we get exactly the same deal, they're going to be thinking, well actually, why do, why do we need to stay? So they're going to make it as difficult as possible and as unattractive as possible for other countries to want to leave. My second point around the risk is, let's say for example, that actually we do get the same trade deals, all we've done is . . . take a step away from the table, we don't have influence, we don't have power, we lose the decision-making capacity that we have at the moment, and I think that's just a huge risk to the economy in the future. (*applause*)

TD: Okay, we're hearing big claims about the economy, Alex, what can you tell us for *sure*?

ALEX FORSYTH: Well, what we know is of course, you know, when it comes to jobs and wages, the big question is whether leaving the EU would be good or bad for the economy. And as it stands, the weight of economic opinion suggests that it would be bad for the economy, particularly in the short term. That isn't all economists, but there are some quite big credible names in there and we've heard the Remain campaign repeat those several times. The longer term, again, economists suggest there might be some longer-term damage in things like growth, but that's much harder to predict, because as we've heard that's going to come down to what kind of deals we can negotiate, and what the country would look like in its relationship with other trading countries post-Brexit.

TD: Okay, thank you. Nick, what's happening online?

NICK ROTHERHAM: Well, unsurprisingly Tina, it seems we all care about how much cash we've got in our back pocket. Remember, hashtag Newsbeat on Twitter for all of your questions. Let's start with Katie, who sent us one on Facebook, 'It all depends on where you live within the UK as to how much you would benefit leaving or staying in the EU. Either way, there are some areas that are going to lose out.' Chris picked up on something that Dominic mentioned – 'Why do people think we'd struggle outside of the EU, we have the fifth-largest economy in the world, and we'd be allowed to trade with the rest of the world'. Chase says, 'This debate need some facts,' and he sent one of his own, he says, 'The UK is trade and benefit agreements would be unchanged if we leave the EU.' That's maybe one for you Alex in a sec, but we've also got Daniel who says, 'I'm voting Remain, mainly because of the strength of the single market and because of the funding which supports businesses.' So let's go back to Chase's comment, Alex, is he right, if he left would trade agreements be unchanged?

AF: No, that's not quite right. At the moment, as a member of the EU we are in the single market, which is effectively an area which allows the free movement of goods and trades and people. If we left, we'd have to negotiate the relationship. Of course, it may mean that we are free from some EU regulations, but what that would look like almost certainly wouldn't be completely unchanged.

TD: Okay, hi, what's your name?

CHLOE: Hi I'm Chloe and I live in Birmingham, er, I just wanted to say that myself and many other people on this side of the room are voting Remain because of the fear of the unknown. We don't know what Britain's place in the world is going to be like if we leave the EU, and personally I'm really fed up of Vote Leave trivialising that as an invalid reason for wanting to leave a political union that people of our generation have known since we were born. We've never not been in the EU, and for us, and for people of our age in particular, and I think a lot of the older generations voting in this referendum are ignoring, is the fact that it is security, and security is important. And I don't understand why you'd risk the deal we have now. (*applause*)

TD: What about the language that we hear, is part of that down to the language we hear, you know, we hear things like, 'putting a bomb under the economy', 'a bonfire of workers' rights' – do you think that's down, do you think that's got something to do with it?

CHLOE: Yeah, I think the discourse being used by Vote Leave is inflammatory, and I know I'm going to get a lot of angry faces at this, but I feel er, I feel it is a lot of erm, finger-pointing and it is a lot of blaming people for problems. And I, I just genuinely believe that when it comes to something like security being (*fragment of word, or word unclear*) the threats to Britain nowadays, they're so much bigger than being state-centric problems, it's not one state after another, its terrorism, its global warming, that's not even anything to do with any country, and Britain cannot deal with that in isolation.

DOMINIC RAAB: Well, first of all, I think the 'bomb under the economy' came from the Remain campaign, not from Vote Leave, but putting that aside, I, I mean, look, I'm not telling you there's no risks either way. The question is the risk versus the reward, and the problem I have with the Remain camp is they've airbrushed out the risks of staying in. We've got double-digit unemployment in the eurozone rising to 50% youth unemployment in countries like Greece, you've got the eurozone crisis still not being grappled with, and Italy with its debt problems that it looks like it's going to fall into the same rut. You've got the chaos on your borders, I think the bigger risk . . .

TD: *(interrupting)* What do you mean by chaos on borders?

DOMINIC RAAB: Well, I . . . look what we're seeing, we're . . . and, and the referendum is being held in June precisely because if it went into July or later into the autumn, you'd have a summer, another summer of the migration crisis and that would scare voters even more. So I think, you know, that's been a tactical judgement, but my . . .

TD: *(interrupting)* So are you blaming that on the . . . on us being part of the European Union?

DOMINIC RAAB: Well, there is clearly a problem with the free movement rules, as senior Labour figures and members of Vote Leave have been pointing out. But the point I'm making is that the EU has lost the will and the capacity to deal with its own problems, and I think on the risk front the greater risk, why are we staying in? I don't want to take up too much time. I also think we should be making more of the positive opportunities of leaving the EU, but I'll probably come back later.

TD: Will come back to you. *(applause)*

CHLOE: Erm, I think something that hasn't been really touched in this debate so far is the special status and the negotiations that took place, place in Brussels in February. David Cameron, amongst, what was it, 28 other European Union leaders, they've negotiated this special status. Once again, yes, it is a fear of the unknown, will that actually go through? But Britain already have a pretty good deal as it is, they've been able to opt into the single market, but opt out of, erm, the euro and other things they don't want. I just don't understand why you'd risk what is already a pretty cushy deal.

TD: Why would you risk what's a cushy deal?

CHLOE: 'Cushy deal' – I'm sorry!

UNNAMED MALE 4: Erm . . .

TD: Go on.

UM4: I'm not really undecided, I was more towards the farming side earlier, that was more of what my erm, point was, and I went up to Wales earlier in this month and erm, all the different farmyards, every single farmyard had Vote Leave, and I think more than anyone, I think the farmers would know whether or not that was good for them.

TD: What do you think?

UM4: I think . . . well, I'm not a farmer so I couldn't tell you whether or not it's going to be good for farmers, but I think . . .

TD: *(interrupting)* But you get a vote.

UM4: Yeah, I'm going to Leave. Erm . . . more so the immigration side of it, but I think it should be controlled, but with the points system, because I don't think why I think it's right for people to turn round and say people from a bad background come over and better their lives.

TD: Okay. Britain's place in the world.

FREDDIE: Hi I'm Freddie, I'm from Greater London. I'd just pick up on the lady's point, she said that Cameron's made a deal that erm, you have to hold a referendum if you have to transfer any more powers, but you saw in 2005 with the Netherlands and France, who had a referendum on the EU Constitution, they both outrightly said 'no' and they were completely ignored and the EU constitution was implemented into their nations anyway. I just want to ask Chuka a question. You're part of this new Corbyn more left party that's supposed to represent the working class and, I mean, we all know Corbyn's a, er, closet Eurosceptic, but how can you appeal to all them fisheries and all them coastal people who have lost their businesses, seen them destroyed, they were paid to burn their own boats and throw away their livelihoods because the EU wanted to share our waters?

TD: This theme of Labour and the working class keeps coming up again and again.

CHUKA UMUNNA: I know, look, er, well first of all, look, the Labour Party erm, seeks to represent everybody of all different backgrounds, that's, you know, what it was set up to do, the people's party. I think secondly, I just don't agree with your analysis. If you look at a lot of our seaside towns and I've visited a lot of them, er during my time as a shadow business secretary what you see there is quite a lot of industries which have moved on. They face more international competition etcetera. Now, I, I'll level with you, I think governments of all different political persuasions have made mistakes here in terms of different industries and different communities. We haven't, first of all, given them the tools locally to adapt to the changing circumstances, but we have implemented proper industrial strategies so that if industries fall away, because maybe they've become uncompetitive, I'm not saying this by the way, about fishing that you enable new industries to grow up there, and that's something, actually, I think is pretty much a domestic issue as opposed to one for the European Union. And just to the gentleman over there, actually, about there, the farmers, I mean, I don't represent a farming community, but what I do know amongst the farmers I, I've spoken to going round the country during this campaign is that they do want to stay in, because they believe, on balance, that's the right thing, the majority of them do, the National Farmers Union actually, there was a lot of debate as to what they would do, the National Farmers Union's formal position is for us to stay in the European Union. And the final thing I just wanted to say something on was, erm, er, the euro and this migration crisis. We've got to remind people, we're not part of the euro, a third of the countries in the European Union are not part of the euro. And secondly, in terms of the migration crisis, which Dom quite rightly, I mean, we should be talking about these things referred to, erm, look, that, what caused that to happen, it was instability in the Middle East, Syria in particular, and also we have growing instability in Africa. Now, as I said, those things will persist if we leave the EU. It's cross-border, and refugees who do come in from Syria etcetera, they do not have the same rights to move around freely in the European Union, but ultimately, we're only going to be able to deal with that problem which is global and cross-border if we work with our other European counterparts.

TD: (*speaking over*) What about Turkey? Will people be able to come here from Turkey? Will they be given a special status in . . .

CU: No.

TD: . . . exchange for accepting migrants?

CU: No, no. So this, I mean, I mean, we the Remain side have been accused of this kind of Project Fear, and one of the key, you know, kind of scare stories put out there by er, Leave campaigners from Nigel Farage to Michael Gove is that Turkey's joining very soon. Now, even Boris Johnson has said that (*laughter in voice*) Turkey joining the European Union is simply not on the cards. And in terms of

the deal that they've done, it does not extend to the UK. Because we're not part of the Schengen passport free zone, and if you want to know the truth of that go on BBC's referendum fact checker, because that will give you the true story . . .

TD: *(speaking over)* Nice shout for you Alex!

CU: A shout out for you there. But that'll give you the full story on Turkey. But that is the biggest scare story if you like, that is being put out by the Vote Leave . . .

TD: *(speaking over)* Okay, alright. Hi there, you've been waiting for a while to have your say.

HARRIET: *(speaking over)* Hi, my name's Harriet, I'm 22, and I'm from Southwest England. Erm, I'd like to talk about Britain's place in the world, erm, our military and industrial strength is brilliant at the moment, now we are in the EU, and I've got one question for you Dominic. Scotland will leave us, if we exit the EU, is that a good thing?

DOMINIC RAAB: Well no, I'd like Scotland to stay in the UK . . .

HARRIET: *(speaking over)* But, but they will leave.

DOMINIC RAAB: Well, you seem to know with the . . .

TD: I think you're being told they'll leave.

DOMINIC RAAB: . . . the foresight of a soothsayer that that's going to happen. Actually, all the polling suggests that regardless of the outcome of this referendum, the Scots do not think that they should have a second referendum. That's not the same as what the SNP are saying. But, look, on the broader issue of Britain's place in the world, I want Britain to be a global, outward looking player. Our military security *(someone shouts from audience, unclear, followed by some laughter)* is protected by NATO, not the EU. But there are examples, for example I used to work as a businessman, I also spent six years in the Foreign Office, working on things like the International Criminal Court, working on the WTO. Now, that's a good example, and I've made a passionate case for free trade, I think it's good for jobs, good for cutting prices in this country, that's a good example, well we've given up our vote in a global organisation, and we're held back by the special interests and the protectionism of the EU. So that's a good example of where we could be far more energetic global leader, global player on something that makes a difference, not just to Britain, not just to the global economy, but also the very poorest countries in the, in the world, who are only going to dig themselves out of the poverty trap if they're allowed to trade more freely.

TD: *(speaking over)* Okay.

DOMINIC RAAB: That's what Britain could achieve in the world outside the EU.

TD: Alex, what can you tell us about the UK, how powerful would it be outside of the European Union?

ALEX FORSYTH: Well that's an unknown, you know. Nobody's ever left the European Union before, and you have to remember one of the reasons this was set up, of course, in the er, post-war world that it was formed, but the UK is a member of other major national bodies as well, so you can't say that its global status hangs purely on the European Union, we've had warnings from both sides about

what the impact of that leaving might be, on the EU and the UK as well. Just worth mentioning one thing just for some clarification on the security measures, as well, which you've heard quite a lot of chat about, er, the Schengen zone is very confusing, but it basically means there's this section of the EU where you can move around without any passports, the UK isn't in it, so if people want to come to the UK you have to show a passport, even from within the EU, but they're not always subject to the same details security checks from outside the EU.

TD: Okay, thank you. Nick, what's happening online?

NICK ROTHERHAM: The audience at home are completely divided down the middle when it comes to the importance of the EU. On the one side, you've got people like James, he says: 'The EU makes laws to keep us safe, gives us holiday entitlement and fund medical science so we can help as many people as possible.' Then, on the other side, you have people like Mudasa – 'Every country should write its own destiny, it's necessary to be in a bond when one can negotiate a better way of life.'

TD: Okay, thank you Nick, we've got some questions that have come in online, this from Martin: 'What will happen to Northern Ireland if we leave, and will it affect the peace agreement which depends on the UK being part of the EU?' Dominic Raab?

DOMINIC RAAB: Well, I don't think that the peace deal that was struck with the parties in Northern Ireland and with erm, er, the Republic of Ireland does depend on the EU at all, and obviously that something that we would want to and absolutely 100% committed to, to maintaining in place. I, I don't know anyone who can responsibly say that we're going to go back to the troubles because of Britain leaving the EU. I think that falls into . . .

TD: (*speaking over*) Okay, okay.

DOMINIC RAAB: . . . the bracket of scaremongering . . .

TD: (*speaking over*) Fairly quickfire. We'll leave it there. Catherine this one is from, 'Other EU countries have now suggested an EU referendum, how will it affect us if other stable EU economies leave, but we remain? Chuka?

CHUKA UMUNNA: Er, she's saying that there'll be referendums in other countries?

TD: (*speaking over*) Referendums, yeah, how will it affect us if other stable EU economies leave and we stay?

CHUKA UMUNNA: I don't think it will be a good thing, I think what the European Union does is bind together, in the main, pretty advanced economies who are facing big global challenges and when we face instability and big global challenges, historically we've sometimes ended up in conflict. But one of the good things about the European Union it's brought us together and kept us interconnected and almost made us sort out those issues together. And I think my worry is, is that, you know, you can either go down the kind of Donald Trump avenue, and, you know, seek to look to who you can blame, whether that's people, individuals or other countries . . .

TD: (*speaking over*) Are you saying that's what the Leave campaign's doing?

DOMINIC RAAB: Come on Chuka

CHUKA UMUNNA: No, no, no, I'm, look, the Leave campaign can talk for themselves, I'm just explaining why I think working together with other economies and other countries that have similar challenges to us have the same respect for human rights, share our values, why, in the current context of instability, insecurity and massive change in the world, I think that's quite a good idea.

TD: *(speaking over)* Okay, fairly quickfire.

CHUKA UMUNNA: Instead of blaming other people.

TD: Alright. Hi.

TOM: Hi, I'm Tom, I'm 23, I'm an accountant from Worcester, Dominic, it's a question directly for you, er on the 7 June a dossier of 50 criminals was released, erm, and you said, 'UK families are at risk, er, security risk as part of being, er, part of the EU.' Erm, are you saying, therefore that I am less at risk walking down the street past a UK murderer, than I am walking down the street past a murderer from the EU? *(applause)*

DOMINIC RAAB: No, you're at the same risk, but let's do something and try and remove those that we can, because they're not citizens of this country, and *(applause)* just to pick up on . . .

TD: Quickly . . .

DOMINIC RAAB: . . . the key test is this, whether it comes to stopping people from coming into this country or removing them, we can only do it if they present a genuine, serious and present threat to our national security. Hold on a sec, so, as a matter of EU law, those are the fetters on us, and it makes a big difference, we're importing criminal risk, but the EU rules tie our hands in dealing with it, and I think that's a major security dividends that we gain if we, outside of the EU on the 23 June.

TD: A very quick reply.

TOM: *(word or words unclear)* a report from TUSC actually they have to present a likely, a likely threat, and it can look 10 years into the past, and they could present a future threat, not just present.

TD: Okay, let's hear from Richard online, the millions of pounds the Leave campaign keep saying we can use for the NHS, is there any guarantee it will be spent on the NHS?

DOMINIC RAAB: Well, what we've said is the net amount of money that we'll get back, of that we would spend something like, we think, we're not the government we're, we're a campaign group, but we think £100 million of that should go towards easing some of the pressures on the NHS.

TD: Will it ease pressure on the NHS if we left?

CHUKA UMUNNA: I think, just look at the people who are making this argument, so you've got Michael Gove, who shut down a load of school building projects in my constituency, you've got Iain Duncan Smith who's taken away support for things like education maintenance allowance from young people . . .

TD: *(interrupting)* NHS specifically though.

CHUKA UMUNNA: All of these people have been basically cutting funding to the NHS, and I'm telling you, if we vote to Leave, we're going to throw all this money at our public services, these people have no credibility at all, when it comes to arguing that they're suddenly going to spend money on our public services, they've never done so.

TD: Alex? Any . . . on the NHS, anything you can tell us, and in fact, anything else you've heard tonight.

ALEX FORSTYH: Just on this point about public services it's come back and back again, if you take the net contribution each week, you're left with about £161 million when you take away all the money we get back from the EU. Now, if you're going to spend £100 million of that on the NHS, it doesn't leave that much else for all the other things, but the big point about this is two-fold. The first is the, the Leave campaign isn't a government, as Dominic Raab says, so they can't make future pledges or promises, they can make suggestions about what might be done with this money, and a bigger point about this is that of course, anything we got back from the EU, then you'd have to again put that in the context of the overall impact on the economy that leaving might have.

TD: Okay, Nick, any more online comments from you?

NICK ROTHERHAM: Yeah, last few from me then, before we all go for a point. Let's have a look. James: The campaign is an absolute farce, I'm not joking. - I'm not sure who James is talking about there, the Remain or the Leaves. We've got one from Dan - 'As a young homeowner, I work hard to manage my finances, I cannot risk financial uncertainty. And let's leave with a note from Victoria: 'Finally, firmly decided how I'm voting next week, thanks to this Newsbeat debate, but she's not told us how, we've tweeted her back and she's staying shunt.

TD: You are very welcome, and if you can, we're just going to hear some quick wrapping up comments from both of you, from what you've heard tonight, very quickly, why should people vote Leave?

DOMINIC RAAB: I think if you want to be master of your own destiny as an individual and as a country, take back control over your laws, your money and your borders, but overall the future direction of this country for you, for your families, and for the next generation.

TD: Okay, Chuka Umunna?

CHUKA UMUNNA: I don't buy this talking down of British influence in the European Union. Nine times out of 10 we're on the winning side when there are votes in the European Union, and I think if we want to meet the big challenges of the next generation, we're going to have to deal with in the future, whether it's climate change, whether it's global terror, whether it's ensuring we have economies that continue to deliver the goods for people, I think we're stronger working with others to deliver the goods for people at home, rather than standing in the corner on our own shouting.

TD: Okay, Alex, a very quick shout out for where people can go to Reality Check themselves.

ALEX FORSYTH: The BBC's Reality Check website has facts figures, explanations on almost everything you've heard tonight, and plenty more. So, if you're still not sure of the fact then get online and take a look.

TD: Lovely, thank you, that is it from this Newsbeat Special – In or Out. A big thank you to the guys with us tonight in Birmingham, and to you for all of your tweets, texts, questions and comments. If you are still getting your head around it, do a search for Newsbeat on your phone, we've got videos, fact-lists and plenty more to help you make your choice before a week on Thursday. Good luck.