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EU citizens in the UK

*An interpretive analysis of the organisational
response of EU citizens to Brexit*

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Abstract

EU citizens living in the United Kingdom have experienced a degree of legal uncertainty after their future rights became unclear following the Brexit referendum of 2016. This paper has aimed at describing the legal uncertainty situation and the main concerns of EU citizens of living in a post-Brexit United Kingdom. Amid worries about their future status and rights, organisations have emerged that are actively seeking to improve the situation of EU citizens in the UK. This paper has investigated how by lobbying and providing legal advice, EU citizens have organised themselves to respond to Brexit. It has been found that via both inside and outside lobbying EU citizens are raising their voice in the organisational context of doing something about their uncertain situation. This paper has conducted an embedded case study with multiple units to accurately describe this phenomenon of EU citizens responding to a perceived decline in their rights by raising their voice through organisations seeking to challenge policy makers and the wider public to engage with the objectives of their citizen rights' campaign.

Key words: Legal uncertainty, Brexit, citizen rights', campaigning, advocacy, lobbying, EU citizens

Table of Contents

1. Introduction	3
1.1 Background	3
1.2 Research question	6
1.3 Research approach	7
2. Theoretical Framework	9
2.1 Diffuse interests	10
2.3 Role of the media	13
2.4 Legal uncertainty	14
2.5 Hypotheses	15
3. Methods	19
3.1 Case selection	19
3.2 Methods of data collection	21
3.3 Methods of data analysis	23
3.4 Coding	24
3.5 The themes	24
4. Analysis	27
4.1 Organisational characteristics	28
4.2 Legal uncertainty	31
4.3 Strategies and tactics	36
5. Conclusion	41
5.1 Answers to the sub questions	41
5.2 Answer to the research question	43
5.3 Discussion	44
List of references	45
Appendices	50

1. Introduction

1.1 Background

In a historic vote on the 23rd of June 2016, the people of the United Kingdom (UK) voted to leave the European Union (EU). This vote for 'Brexit' comes with great consequences for citizens of the EU living in the UK. After years of uncertainty, the House of Commons finally approved the withdrawal agreement bill in January 2020. This bill, among many other things, sets out the legal framework for EU citizens on how to remain in the UK. According to members of the European Parliament (MEPs), EU nationals risk being discriminated against as the British government does not provide them with physical documents of proof of their legal residence (Rankin, 2020). Under the current regulations, EU citizens have to apply for a so called 'settled status', where 'EU citizens and any of their non-EU family members who arrived before 31 December 2020, and have been continuously resident in the UK for five years by the time of their application, will be eligible for settled status enabling them to stay indefinitely' (Free Movement, 2020). EU citizens and their family who have been living in The UK for less than 5 years will have to apply for pre-settled status. Obtaining the status means not only being able to stay in the UK but also keeping the right to work, study, make use of the British healthcare (NHS), rent a home and claim a pension. The fact that EU citizens have to apply for a settled status and are not being granted automatic leave to remain is a breach of the promises of the leave campaign as signed by home secretary Priti Patel and Prime Minister Boris Johnson who stated that 'there will be no change for EU citizens already lawfully resident in the UK. These EU citizens will automatically be granted indefinite leave to remain in the UK and will be treated no less favourably than they are at the present' (the3million, 2020).

Even though the British government claims the process of applying is going well, worries remain present. 'The 3m group, which lobbies for EU citizens, cites cases of unexplained delays. As many as two in five applications have, often incorrectly, been granted only "pre-settled status" that is time-limited' ('EU citizens' rights' 2020). The deadline for applying for the settled status scheme is 30 June 2021 and even though 2.8 million people already applied, no scheme reaches 100 percent according Kuba Jablonowski, Exeter university (the3million, 2018). This means there will always be people left who have not applied due to administrative failures or due to a lack of awareness beyond their fault. 'The Government must be mindful of the fact that there will be some EU nationals who do not register through no fault of their own. This is likely to include children who believe, wrongly, that they are British' (Home Affairs Select Committee, 2018). What will happen to these people is also doubtful and creates further uncertainty among EU citizens. Issues such as voting rights, having a physical proof of their settled status and having it enshrined in legislation are among other deeply rooted concerns (The Economist, 2020). Especially not having a physical document is a heavily disputed topic as 'this poses a problem for EU nationals living in Britain, where virtually every aspect of life—including employment, renting a home, visiting a doctor's office, and opening a bank account—requires proof of legal status in the country. If somebody gets a job on the first of November and goes to their employer, how do they

evidence that they have a right to work (Serhan, 2019). 'A copy of a letter confirming an applicant's settled status ... states, "This letter is not proof of your status in the UK"' (Serhan, 2019).

The EU citizens remain in further legal uncertainty as the negotiations between the UK and the EU about freedom of movement are still ongoing and citizenship rights are unclear in the withdrawal agreement. Under current EU regulations all citizens in the EU have the right to live, work and travel freely throughout all EU member states. As migration from EU nationals to the UK has been a strong incentive for people to vote leave in the 2016 referendum the pressure on the government to end freedom of movement has been strong. The 2016 leave vote has been much talked about and especially the position of EU citizens played a role in the leave vote and in the campaign. Such sociological matters have thus been researched as a way to explain Brexit. Hobolt argues that 'British Leave voters were motivated by anti-immigration and anti-establishment feelings' (Hobolt, 2016). The leave voters are often people who feel they have been left behind due to globalisation.

It is felt that migrants bring a cultural and economic change. The loss of identity being cultural and the loss of jobs being economic (Hobolt, 2016). While there is no evidence presented in the literature that the influx of EU-migrants caused a significant number of Leave voters to lose their jobs, the perception is present among those who voted to leave the EU in the 2016 referendum. Several opinion polls held around the Brexit date confirm that migration is seen as one of the main reasons to vote leave. 48 percent of surveyed people told Ipsos MORI in 2016 that immigration was mentioned as the most important issue facing Britain (Ipsos MORI, 2016). According to Lord Ashcroft 33 percent mentioned gaining back control over migration and Britain's own borders was the most important reason to vote for Brexit among leave voters (Lord Ashcroft, 2016). Immigration to the United Kingdom from EU countries increased strongly after the accession to the EU by eastern European countries. Before 2003 the average migration from EU countries to the UK was 61,000. This increased to 268,000 a year in 2014 (Migration Observatory, 2019). Not every area saw such an increase though. Leave voting areas are not typically characterised by high numbers of migrants. It becomes interesting when one turns around the equation. 94 Percent of the areas that saw an increase of more than 200 percent of the foreign born population voted to leave (The Economist, 2016).

This does not per se mean that these areas have a relatively high number of migrants, it merely means that there was a strong rise in migration. The conclusion made is that such a change bothers people. Now these people have voted for change and as research shows, for many this was triggered by the strong presence of European migrants residing in the United Kingdom. But what does this Brexit vote actually mean for the millions of EU citizens living in the UK? How will their rights change and what impact does the vote to leave the EU have on their lives? With the primary focus of the academia being on other issues relating to Brexit such as the Irish border and the trade deal, this paper will aim to identify how EU citizens cope with the uncertainty of Brexit and how they have organised themselves.

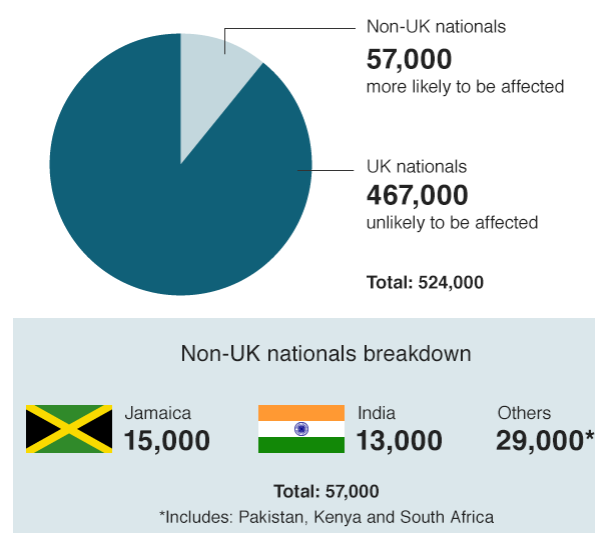
Brexit has meant a transformation of Britain in a way never seen before. It has been described as the biggest change of a lifetime. For EU citizens this also has sociological

implications. After the referendum result, a rise in racism has been observed by EU citizens (Booth, 2019). Both on social media and in real life, racist comments towards minorities have increased. Worries about racism rose to the surface once more during the much debated 'Windrush' scandal in which came to light that the UK government may have illegally deported immigrants from the Caribbean and other Commonwealth countries, who had been living in the UK for decades, back to their countries of birth. After the second world war many of these people had come to Britain after the country dealt with labour shortages. These labour migrants, who came to the UK from former British colonies, did not need official documentation at that time to work and live in the UK. As many of these former British colonies became independent after the second world war, the legal status of these migrants in the UK had changed. The British government decided that anyone who had arrived from these former colonies, called the Commonwealth now, before 1973 was allowed to stay in the UK. However, no physical documentation was issued by the British government to give them this assurance. When in 2010 the Conservatives rose to power and Theresa May became Home Secretary, the government's policy on migration changed. Back in 2012, Theresa May said 'the aim is to create, here in Britain, a really hostile environment for illegal immigrants' (Hill, 2017). This hostile environment policy was aimed at making it as hard as possible for people with no leave to remain to stay in the United Kingdom, aiming to live up to the promises of the 2010 Conservative Party Election manifesto (Hill, 2017). The migrants from the Caribbean and other Commonwealth countries do not live in the UK illegally, yet some of them have been asked to prove their right of residence and those who could not do so may have been deported.

Figure 1: Commonwealth migrants arriving in the UK before 1971

Commonwealth migrants arriving in the UK before 1971

2017 estimate of current population



Source: Migration Observatory analysis of Labour Force Survey, nationality self-reported.



Up to 57,000 people could have been affected as they do not have the British nationality.

When the scandal rose to the surface in 2018, the government has admitted to having unjustly deported migrants back to the Caribbean, with former immigration Minister Caroline Nokes saying: 'Potentially they have been. And I'm very conscious that it's very much in error and that's an error I want to put right' (Stenhouse, 2018). Home secretary Amber Rudd eventually resigned 'apologising for the appalling treatment of migrants' (Stenhouse, 2018). The Home Affairs Select Committee, made up of Members of Parliament (MPs) from across the House of Commons, has warned that if the department is not overhauled the scandal will happen again to another group of people' (Agerholm, 2018). The same committee also explicitly stated their worries about children of EU citizens, saying that the government should ensure they are not 'locked out of living a lawful life as we have seen happen to members of the Windrush generation'(Home Affairs Select Committee, 2018).

Preventing another Windrush scandal is among the aims of organisations seeking to represent EU citizens and migrants from other countries (Free Movement, 2020). This paper will focus on those organisations, how they manifest themselves, which resources they use to represent EU citizens and what presence they have gained in the current debate on citizenship rights. The UK has officially left the EU on the 31st of January, marking the start of a transition period. This transition period, in which the legal status of EU citizens living in the UK does not change, ends at the 31st of December 2020. By that time the British government hopes to have negotiated a trade deal with the EU and Brexit will practically happen. But before that time EU citizens do not passively undergo the process of being in a position of legal uncertainty. They have organised themselves in organisations such as the3million with an aim to represent their interests and 'protect EU citizen rights' through advocacy in UK and EU institutions' (the3million, 2020). EU citizens thus do not quietly wait for their faith to happen. They take opportunities to organise themselves and do something about the legal uncertainty they are facing amid living in a post-Brexit Britain. This brings up questions on how they are doing so, what means they are using and to what extent they can have an influence on the current discourse of the Brexit negotiations between the UK and the EU. Therefore the research question has been defined as a descriptive question to assess the situation on how EU citizens organise themselves in this context.

1.2 Research question

Research question: *To what extent have EU citizens organised themselves to defend their interests amid the legal uncertainty of living in a post-Brexit United Kingdom?*

Sub questions:

1. What are the characteristics of organisations seeking to represent EU citizens living in the UK?
2. How do these organisations address the legal uncertainty situation in post-Brexit Britain?
3. Which strategies and tactics are applied to address the issues of legal uncertainty?

1. What are the characteristics of organisations seeking to represent EU citizens living in the UK?

In the first chapter, this paper will outline how EU citizens rights' organisations have organised after Brexit. Who are their members and who do they seek to represent? As leaving the European Union could mean a change in their status as citizens, EU citizens may have channelled their concerns through organisations which seek to represent them at a national level. It is important to understand what organisations are at play, what their characteristics are and how they work.

2. How do these organisations address the legal uncertainty situation in post-Brexit Britain?

Chapter two analyses what challenges are emerging for EU citizens in a post-Brexit United Kingdom. It will investigate whether the vote to leave means a change in their legal status as EU citizens and what sociological implications Brexit has on the lives of EU citizens. What are the key points of concern of these organisations? These concerns about the legal uncertainty EU citizens have, may be instrumental to the way interest groups are organising themselves.

3. Which strategies and tactics are applied to address the issues of legal uncertainty?

Interest groups seeking to represent EU citizens have to raise their voice in a field of many other lobby groups and organisations seeking to gain influence on a national and supranational level. It is crucial for this paper to understand how interest groups representing EU citizens try to stand out and what strategies and tactics are used to do so? This is what the third sub question will focus on.

These three sub questions then lead to the final research question of this paper which is

'To what extent have EU citizens organised themselves to defend their interests amid the legal uncertainty of living in a post-Brexit United Kingdom?'

1.3 Research approach

The goal of this paper is to get an understanding of the consequences of Brexit on the lives of EU citizens. The concerns about their rights and their lives as an EU citizen in the United Kingdom are vital in understanding this. By analysing surveys, newspaper articles, journals, social media and interests groups this paper aims at describing the legal and sociological impact of the process of withdrawal by the United Kingdom from the European Union on EU citizens living in the UK. Different methods of analysis will be used. The EU citizens rights' groups are the organisations seeking to represent the EU citizens on a national and possibly an international level. Representatives of these organisations are interviewed to understand which strategies and tactics are applied by them in order to address the issue of legal uncertainty. The interviews conducted with those interest groups are analysed by using thematic content analysis to make sure the interviews fit with the theme this paper is researching and to get an understanding of the broader patterns beneath the surface. 'Thematic content analysis is a descriptive presentation of qualitative data' and 'it portrays the thematic content of interview transcripts by identifying common themes in the text

provided for analysis' (Anderson, 2007). The surveys, documents and newspaper articles will be carefully analysed to determine to what extent EU citizens perceive to experience legal uncertainties and how these legal uncertainties are addressed. Further journals and documents are needed to analyse the impact of the EU citizens' representative organisations. This paper will represent an interpretive study that seeks to deal with the issue of Brexit and its consequences on the lives of EU citizens living in the UK. Research about UK citizens living in the EU therefore falls outside of the scope of this research paper but would be interesting for other researchers to investigate. A recommendation shall be made towards the end of the paper as to how interest groups representing the concerns of European citizens in the United Kingdom can utilise their resources to maximise the results of their efforts.

2. Theoretical Framework

Brexit has paved the way for many theoretical approaches to define the process the UK went through in the European Union, from being an outsider to requesting exemptions to eventually leaving the EU. One could argue ever since the UK joined the EU in 1973 it has tried to change it from within by raising its voice. In his influential book: *Exit, Voice and Loyalty* (1970), Hirschman describes how one may do so in response to a perceived decline in organisations. The perceived decline was thus mainly visible among the leave voting British public but may also be found among remain supporters. It was former Prime Minister David Cameron who campaigned for remain, while continuously looking for exemptions for the UK within the EU. Seeking exemptions and trying to influence the shape and decision making processes of the EU is a way of raising your voice as a consequence of a perceived decline in an organisation. The other way how one may respond is by choosing for exit. This is what eventually happened in the 2016 referendum where the UK chose to exit the EU. This scheme of exiting or raising your voice also applies to a wide range of organisations according to Hirschman. When an organisation is perceived to be transparent and open to feedback it minimises the risk of its members choosing to exit the organisation when a perceived decline in quality occurs. Another factor that decreases the risks of exit would be when this option comes with negative consequences such as financial damage or few job opportunities. On the other hand, the more attractive the option of exit becomes, the more likely it will become the prevailed option over voice.

It is here where Hirschman adds another aspect, that sort of interplays with voice and exit; loyalty. A strong loyalty, a firm commitment to an organisation, could also prevent exit. There has not been such a strong feeling of loyalty among UK citizens towards the EU though. While a perceived decline in the quality of the EU may have been one of the reasons for the leave vote, the choice for exit comes with strong implications for the UK's economy, trade policy, immigration policy and thus citizenship rights of EU citizens living in the UK. As the legal uncertainty for them is growing and their rights are not physically defined, they may perceive a decline of quality of living in the UK. For them also the option of exit is imaginable. Yet the organisations which are formed for and by EU citizens to defend their interests would be examples of EU citizens rather choosing for the option of raising their voice. As the literature indicates 'protest is an important political resource for interest groups, particularly citizen groups and groups representing the powerless' (Thrall, 2006). Now the large number of applications for settled status indicates that most EU citizens do want to stay in the UK. It is these interest groups that wish to raise their voice and improve the quality of living for these EU citizens. The following paragraphs are describing how interest groups can raise their voice, what strategies they could use and how these groups may deal with diffuse interests.

Organisations such as the 3million and the Joint Council for the Welfare of Immigrants (JCWI) are organisations seeking to address the concerns of EU citizens living in a post-Brexit Britain. Interest groups like these are, however, not alone in advocating for their cause. There are many groups seeking to gain influence on policy makers and the wider public. These interest groups in the Brexit debate are doing so on a national and multinational level. Before investigating these specific organisations, their strategies and their organisational and operational strength, this part of the paper will describe what different theories and

strategies interest groups have adopted and what their organisational structure says about their operational strength.

2.1 Diffuse interests

Interest groups may have different organisational structures. Small and large interest groups with specific and diffuse interests are seeking to represent and address issues and concerns in a different way. Mancur Olson (1965) developed an influential theory that noted the difficulties large organisations were having to motivate all of its members. Free riders' behaviour may easily develop in a large group where people may take advantage of the work of others. When only members of a group that are actively participating earn the benefits of the group's work, this free riders behaviour should not occur. This theory is especially applicable on large interest groups, such as citizen's organisations with diffuse interests. According to Olson, large organisations with diffuse interests are less likely to succeed in achieving their goals than smaller organisations with specific interests.

Whereas Olson marked the foundation of the theory that interest groups representing diffuse interests are often having a harder time to organise, this theory has also been critiqued. Trumbull (2012) argues that diffuse interests do not necessarily lead to a lower organisational strength. He theorized how 'diffuse but pragmatic consumer interests have systematically dominated national policy processes in trade policy, competition policy, retail liberalization and labour policy for the past forty years' (Trumbull, 2012). Diffuse interests, according to Trumbull, gain more legitimacy, by mobilising public support for their interests. Specific interest groups may be viewed with some more suspicion. It is therefore likely that diffuse interests groups engage more in outside lobbying as the resources to shape public opinion are imperative for those diffuse interests groups.

However, it has been argued by Chalmers and Shutton (2015), that it is precisely these types of interest groups that lack financial strength. They are therefore expected to more frequently reach out to the public to indirectly interact with policy makers. Berkhout (2013) adds to this point that organisations that seek to represent those with diffuse interests are more likely to 'engage in a broader range of both institutional and public activities than organisations that represent narrower interests.' This means the issue of both human and financial resources plays a crucial role as the interests group is expected to be active in multiple fields. When diffuse interests are strongly present within an organisation it is expected that the leadership of these organisations are facing more challenges in holding the group together and applying a coherent strategy (Olson, 1965) (Berkhout, 2013). Being pragmatic is offered as a solution to this problem of perceived different interests. Trumbull argues that 'once pragmatic concerns were recognised the diffuse actors could and did mobilise to represent their interests' (Trumbull, 2012). This means goals set by interest groups representing people with diffuse interests should be pragmatic and focussed on cooperation with other groups to successfully be able to transform these diffuse interest into pragmatic policy goals.

In overcoming problems caused by diffuse interests, Berkhout, De Bruycker & Hanegraaff (2018) add that 'diffuse citizen interests face fewer difficulties when positioning themselves on policy issues compared to business interests'. These issues, that a citizen rights campaign would focus on, tend to find a higher approval among the public than business interests,

causing these kinds of campaigns of diffuse citizen interests to more often engage in outside lobbying, according to the authors. When groups mobilise because of 'shared ideological or noble values' they are more likely to be able to make these values concrete and adapt concrete policy positions (Berkhout et al., 2018).

2.2 A two-dimensional process

Interest groups, or advocacy groups, thus may play a crucial role in developing a platform for people to make their voice heard and shaping public opinion and informing policy makers. Whereas interest groups do not necessarily operate on a membership basis with members having a vote on how the interest group conducts business, 'interest groups are expected to act on behalf of their constituents and (are) seen as channels through which legitimate policy is produced' (Flöthe, 2019). This means it is the case that there is a two-dimensional process at play with the 'constituents' needing to inform the interest group about their interests and the interest group needing to report back to the constituents about how they are operating to promote their interests. With information going back and forth 'there is almost always at least a two-way flow of communication and interaction' (Van Schendelen, 2002).

This flow of information does not merely happen between the constituent and the interest group though. Interest groups, with their know-how and expertise, also often function as knowledge sources for policy makers. Whereas a policy maker may have a great deal of expertise regarding policy making, politics and the law, he may not have all the required proficiency to fathom a specific issue. This is when expert knowledge is required and advocacy groups come into play. 'Among scholars there is a common view that policymakers are dependent on advocacy groups for political support and expertise' (De Bruycker, Hannegraaff & Lucas, 2019). These interest groups thus, do not only play an important role in representing their constituents but they also operate in the context of sharing information to their constituents as well as to policymakers requiring expert knowledge. According to De Bruycker, Hannegraaff & Lucas (2019), the knowledge of advocacy groups is more critically needed when lawmakers face a great deal of political pressure. When an issue becomes highly critical, very politicized and increasingly complex, like the climate change problem or the refugee crisis, chances are likely high that special interest groups are involved as knowledge sources who can provide politicians with crucial expert knowledge. It is the case that 'in many countries interest groups are formally consulted about government proposals' (Van Schendelen, 2002). In addition to that, according to Flöthe, 'interest groups act as transmission belts and may be able to enhance a government's ability to respond to citizens by informing policymakers about public preferences' (Flöthe, 2019).

All communication between policymakers and interest groups are interactions between democratically elected officials, with a need to be transparent to their electorate, and interest groups, who need to report back to their constituents about the way they conduct business. Both, therefore, act in an institutional and policy context in which their exchanges are critically mediated (De Bruycker, Hannegraaff & Lucas, 2019). It is seen as crucial that interest groups act in a transparent and democratic way so that they can be held accountable by their constituents. Interest groups are often not the sole advocates of their cause. Van Schendelen (2002) argues that it is healthy in a democracy to have multiple groups competing: 'the more competition between lobby groups, the better for EU

democracy, as long as the competition remains open to newcomers. Open competition ensures that a few cannot dominate the arena and take all' (Van Schendelen, 2002). Avoiding monopolies among interest groups is thus seen as important. Lobbying in the EU, as was briefly mentioned, is a way of impacting and informing policy makers. EU bureaucrats have been open to lobbying and 'more and more civil servants have become the target of lobbying' (Van Schendelen, 2002). An essential practice how interest groups seek to promote their goals is by lobbying. Groups may lobby bureaucrats and politicians, approach the media and engage in protest activities' (Binderkrantz & Krøyer, 2012).

The literature identifies two different ways of lobbying: inside lobbying and outside lobbying. Inside lobbying refers to the direct contact between the lobbyist or interest group representative and the policy maker. The attempt to exert influence is thus directly made here without attracting media attention to the cause. When an organisation or advocacy group seeks to address a topic directly with policy makers only it is often the case that the policy position of the group is unpopular with the public. 'When advocating positions that lack broad approval in media debates, lobbyists can increase success if they primarily focus on inside lobbying' (De Bruycker & Beyers, 2018). In this context their success may even decrease if they shift their focus to outside lobbying. Outside lobbying, namely, includes a strong media strategy where an interest group tries to exert pressure on the policy maker by shaping the opinion of the public regarding a certain issue. This way the pressure from outside could persuade the policy maker in adopting the preferred policy option of the interest group. According to De Bruycker and Beyers (2018) the strategy of outside lobbying can become particularly successful if strong coalitions are formed with 'diverse stakeholders'. The question that should be the starting point for each lobby group as to how to develop their strategy is 'do the policies interest groups pursue generate public support or are they unpopular with the wider public?' (De Bruycker & Beyers, 2018). Van Schendelen (2002) notes other important questions interest groups are dealing with when developing a lobby strategy. He argues that 'The question of style is widely considered as crucial' (Van Schendelen, 2002). Next to acting directly or indirectly other issues include choosing for a defensive or offensive strategy, being reactive or proactive, low-key or high-key, formal or informal and confrontational or appeasing (Van Schendelen, 2002). Adopting the right strategy is thus regarded to be one of the most important tasks of a lobby group in order to influence policy makers as well as the public opinion of the wider public.

An interest group, thus, does not merely try to attempt to impact policy makers with their policy goals. Also shaping public opinion is a key aspect in gaining support for the interest group's goals and for pressuring policymakers in adopting them and engaging in dialogue. 'An interest group that strongly favours a specific policy, but is unable to convince decision makers of the policy's merits, may try to have an indirect impact on decision making by mobilising and shaping public opinion' (Dür, 2018). Decision makers may act more favourably towards interest groups' policy goals when the pressure of the public is high to adopt them. Interest groups thus, often face two different groups they need to convince of their policies; the policymakers who are actually able to implement the preferred policies and the wider public who are seen as a 'pressure medium' and can be used to increase pressure on policy makers.

2.3 Role of the media

Using different kinds of media is a means of shaping public opinion. Not just for interest groups, but also for political parties, commercial enterprises and foundations. Media coverage does not only draw public attention to a topic, it can also influence and shape how people are perceiving the issue. 'The agenda-setting influence of the news media is not limited to this initial step of focusing public attention on a particular topic. The media also influence the next step in the communication process, our understanding and perspective on the topics in the news' (McCombs, 2011). Media serve as a mechanism to reach the people. This does not necessarily have to be through advertisements but can also be realised through appearing on talk shows and other programs. Thrall (2006) argues that media strategy has become an important aspect of interest groups. 'Studies have repeatedly cited media coverage as critical to the success or failure of social movements and interest group efforts from the civil rights and anti-war movements of the 1960s onward' (Thrall, 2006). Whether they may be small or large interest groups, in order to shape public opinion media is seen as a useful tool. According to Thrall, interest groups are, by being visible in the media, not only generating attention for their cause, they are also gaining more allies and are increasingly gaining 'legitimacy in the political process'. This means a greater pressure can be exerted by the interest groups on policy makers (Thrall, 2006). This argument is supported by Kollman (1998), who argues that interest groups often 'lack a formal role in the policy process'. This is why 'many groups seek to mobilise public support, stimulate grassroots activity, and generate favourable media attention to issues in order to exert pressure on policymakers' (Kollman, 1998). However, not all interest groups have the same opportunities to make their voice heard in the media. In fact 'very few groups of any type make enough news to pursue a robust outside strategy'. Making news takes significant organisational resources, and most groups simply do not have enough of them. The most resource-poor groups, in particular, are not only almost invisible in the national news but when they do appear, the coverage they receive tends to undermine their cause' (Thrall, 2006). When interest groups do not have the financial resources to buy ads and appear on the news, it becomes increasingly difficult for them to generate attention.

A way for interest groups to avoid having to use the media is to shift their focus directly to the policy makers and bureaucrats. Thus not all interest groups pursue a strategy of using the media to impact the political discourse and policy makers. Binderkrantz, Christiansen and Pedersen (2014) set out that the different interests of groups lead to different ways of operating. Groups operating to affect the political agenda will much more likely make their cause through the media, whereas interest groups who try to exert influence on the policy implementation process are more likely to approach policy makers. Not only traditional means of media like TV, radio and newspapers are being used by advocacy groups to communicate their message. Social media has increasingly become part of lobby groups' media strategies. Chalmers and Shutton (2015) even claim that social media could change the face of advocacy. They note the low entry costs of social media which can be particularly useful for diffuse interest groups who are often 'personnel rich but poor in monetary resources'. While Chalmers and Shutton note that interest groups do make use of social media, they are not using it as much and as effectively as possible. An explanation could be that lobbying, especially in the EU, has become highly institutionalized and rigid. While it may be hard to change this, social media has a large potential for interest groups to shape

public opinion as a means of outside lobbying and to mobilise their supporters. This potential is yet to be further utilized.

When an interest group approaches the media it has most likely already developed a strategy on how to communicate the group's message. This message that an interest group seeks to promote is often framed to such an extent that their preferred way of thinking about the issue impacts the public debate. Framing is therefore an important part of strategies of interest groups. According to De Bruycker (2016) 'framing should be seen as an intentional and strategic process, part of the communication by interest groups. It is assumed that interest groups strategically deliberate about which frames are best suited to promote their policy goals and ideas' (De Bruycker, 2016). By framing an issue, interest groups try to highlight a certain aspect that characterises the issue from their perspective and brings forward a problem definition that suits the discourse of the interest group. The arguments that are being used are crucial in framing the issue and convincing the wider public of the group's message. According to Dür (2018) 'interest groups mainly matter for public opinion via the arguments that they convey'. A plan on how to influence the public via the media is thus an imperative aspect of developing a lobby strategy.

2.4 Legal uncertainty

The interest groups to be at the heart of analysis of this paper are the interest groups representing EU citizens living in a post-Brexit UK. These interest groups organise themselves around the issue of legal uncertainty for EU citizens. The following section will elaborate on that legal uncertainty and how a change in citizenship rights may trigger a response. According to Isin and Turner (2002) citizenship should be viewed as 'a statement of equality'. It refers to certain rights and obligations that are equal for all citizens. EU citizens used to have such an equal citizenship to that of those citizens with a British passport. With both the UK and the country of the EU citizen being in the EU, the citizens would have the same rights and obligations. Now there has been a fundamental change as the UK has left the EU. The citizenship of an EU citizen is now fundamentally different. Whether it will be perceived to become unequal is thus up to the outcome of the ongoing Brexit negotiations.

This is where the interest groups come into play. As the issue of uncertainty has been broadly discussed in a body of literature, the uncertainty regarding citizenship rights has been particularly frequent. The literature distinguishes between two kinds of uncertainty. A legal and a sociological dimension are described. Worrying about one's legal rights may have an impact on one's well-being. According to Steward and Mulvey (2013) this can be seen at 'an emotional and psychological level, as respondents expressed fear and uncertainty over their future'. The legal part of uncertainty is the responsibility of civil servants, policy makers and politicians to provide the migrant with a framework. They are the ones that set out the guidelines for migrants and decide on whether a migrant does have the right legal status to be able to stay in the country. The legality of this constitutes the continued process of negotiating and political pressure by stakeholders involved on policymakers to adopt guidelines favourable to them.

Next to being able to legally live and work in a country, claiming benefits is another heavily disputed right in citizenship rights' cases. In the European Union, member states have increasingly backed away from their responsibilities in providing benefits for EU migrants.

'They are able to partly shift the burden of legal uncertainty from national administrations to EU migrants' (Blauberger & Schmidt, 2014). Shifting the burden of proof from the national administration to the individual migrant means a change in the relationship between EU member state and migrant. Not only does it affect a state's national administration's workload, it also means migrants are expected to actively engage in the process of maintaining all their rights. This increases the risk of some migrants falling by the wayside due to administrative errors or them being unaware of the specific processes they have to go through in order to get the right legal documents or status to claim all of their rights. The perceived threat of not being able to obtain their rights leads to a feeling of uncertainty among the migrants according to Blauberger & Schmidt (2014) and Stewart & Mulvey (2013). It is even argued that imposing such strong requirements of proof may reduce the willingness to apply in the first place.

According to Birkvad (2019), having citizenship and thereby having the same rights as native citizens of a country creates legal stability. This legal stability may be the prospect of a future with many opportunities. However, being in the process of not knowing whether you will actually get the status and whether you will maintain the same rights as native citizens can create an instability which may be harmful. Birkvad explains how this feeling of continued uncertainty about one's future may affect a migrant's life. A condition or status called 'liminal legality' occurs among migrants living in fear and uncertainty regarding their future status in the country of residence. This status is the phase in between the application period and the final legal decision where a migrant is thus in a process of waiting whether he will be allowed to exercise the same rights as native citizens. If this phase endures long or 'if it extends indefinitely, it may produce enduring uncertainty and anxiety' (Birkvad, 2019). Legal uncertainty thus occurs among migrants waiting for their status to be determined. They are subjected to this legal uncertainty by policy makers, civil servants and politicians. The burden of proof brings along another challenge for migrants. 'Domestic legislative reforms shift this uncertainty to EU citizens by raising the burden of proof required for these citizens to successfully claim social benefits' (Blauberger & Schmidt 2014). In this case, the migrant is next to being in uncertainty, also made responsible for obtaining his own rights rather than national administrations. Together with the decision making process on behalf of the civil servants, they account for the legal uncertainty faced by migrants who are uncertain how their future citizenship status may work out as their future rights are unclear.

2.5 Hypotheses

The study of citizenship does not merely refer to the uncertainty of legal rights, but also attributes value to the groups of citizens advocating for their rights. A long way back in history citizens have already organised themselves to call for citizenship rights. As EU citizens have organised themselves in interest groups such as the 3million it is observed that they do not passively undergo the process of change in their legal status. The literature has shown evidence of past movements advocating for citizenship rights to be successful, yet citizen rights' campaigns have often been characterised by diffuse interest which could make it harder for groups to organise themselves and find common support for their campaign goals (Olson, 1965). The theory part of the paper has tried to give an insight in the theoretical approaches as to how interest groups are organised, the strategies they may want to pursue given a specific context and their organisational strength. For the research part of this paper,

it is particularly interesting to get more insights into the specific interests of EU citizens living in the UK. Are these interests diffuse or specific? How are these interests manifested in organisations and what strategies and tactics do the organisations seeking to represent EU citizens pursue? To give insights in these issues, hypotheses have been developed for each sub question of the research. These hypotheses do not aim at predicting what the outcome of the research will be but are merely there to help the researcher understand what considerations should be taken into account while doing research. The hypotheses therefore provide an assessment of aspects that are expected to occur within this research as theory on interest groups has provided the researcher with a certain understanding.

What are the characteristics of organisations seeking to represent EU citizens living in the UK?

H1: Being pragmatic in dealing with diffuse interests adds to the organisational strength of the organisations.

The first sub question has a descriptive nature. It aims at describing the nature of the organisations seeking to represent EU citizens in the UK and what this nature says about their organisational strength. It has been argued by Olson (1965) and Berkhout (2013) that citizenship rights' organisations that typically represent a group of people with diffuse interests, are having a hard time organising themselves. The diffuse interests that are likely to be present among EU citizens could therefore hinder the organisational strength of the organisations. On the other hand, having pragmatic diffuse interests does not necessarily result in a negative influence on the organisational strength according to Trumbull (2012). The key here is developing pragmatic policy goals and thereby creating a coherent framework to operate. Next to that, Berkhout et al., (2018) have described how groups that share a ideology or have shared values can more easily 'translate those values into concrete policy goals'. Therefore it is hypothesized that while the interests of EU citizens are likely to be diffuse, the organisations can still operate in the context of lobbying if they are pragmatic and focus on their shared values. This means the groups need to take into account the limited financial resources they are expected to have and therefore need to set pragmatic policy goals and work together with other organisations in order to cope with the diffuse interests they are likely to represent.

How do these organisations address the legal uncertainty situation in post-Brexit Britain?

H2: By raising their voice, the organisations can address EU citizens' concerns with policy makers and the wider public.

The second sub question tries to answer how the organisations are addressing the issues and concerns that come along with the legal uncertainty situation that EU citizens are currently facing. As EU citizens perceive a decline in their status and rights of living in the UK there may be different ways to respond. Hirschman has set out different types of reactionary moves. The organisations through which EU citizens channel their responses are hypothesized to have opted for 'voice' (Hirschman, 1970). By raising their voice the organisations try to address the concerns with the wider public and policy makers. However, according to Chalmers and Shutton (2015) and Thrall (2006) it is these citizenship rights' organisations with typically diffuse interests that are often financially weak. Therefore, it is

hypothesized that the organisations seeking to represent EU citizens work with the help of volunteers who address the legal uncertainty situation with policy makers and the wider public by engaging in lobbying. The way the groups are framing the legal uncertainty situation is also important (De Bruycker, 2016), in this regard it is likely that the groups will frame their campaign to be perceived as being on the side of people struggling for justice.

Which strategies and tactics are applied to address the issues of legal uncertainty?

H3: Due to the likely financial limitations, the groups are expected to engage more in outside lobbying than inside lobbying.

Lobbying strategies are an instrumental part of interest groups (Binderkrantz & Krøyer, 2012). As the organisations are hypothesized to be financially weak or dependent on (local) government funding, they have to be creative in order to successfully lobby for their cause. It is hypothesized that due to the lack of financial strength the groups are having a hard time conducting a successful lobbying campaign. However, in the House of Commons there are many MPs, typically from opposition parties, that are supportive of the cause for EU citizens' rights. It is hypothesized that this means the groups can make their voice heard with MPs, but due to the current composition of the British government, influencing policy this way probably remains out of the scope of the groups. Because of this, it is hypothesized that the organisations engage more in outside lobbying to indirectly influence the policy process. Bringing out personal stories in traditional and social media could be part of a campaign that tries to influence the wider public's opinion by engaging in framing. However, as has been argued by Thrall (2006), the lack of financial resources could hinder the establishment of a successful media campaign. It is therefore likely that the organisations that conduct a lobby campaign are dependent on volunteers and a creative way of working.

For the purpose of this research paper a hypothesis to the research question: *'To what extent have EU citizens organised themselves to defend their interests amid the legal uncertainty of living in a post-Brexit United Kingdom?'* has been developed too.

Hypothesis: While having diffuse interests, EU citizens, organised in special interest groups, have exercised a certain amount of influence regarding the legal uncertainty issue on policy makers and the wider public due to their ability to mobilise support for their cause by engaging in outside lobbying.

In this case, EU citizens have organised themselves in interest groups around the issue of legal uncertainty by not letting diffuse interests drive a wedge between its constituents. Engaging in advocating for their pragmatic interests with the wider public will have drawn support for their cause and they have been able to indirectly influence policymakers. It is hypothesized that due to the way the groups are structured and due to the fact citizenship rights' campaigns often lack financial resources, they do not have the network to exercise influence directly on policy makers. A more common platform for them would be the media, getting their stories out and exercising their influence indirectly. In this instance, EU citizens have been able to frame their concerns and have drawn attention to their cause. However, it is also expected that the media landscape of the UK does not render equal attention to the campaigns of the groups. It is therefore hypothesized that the kind of audience that is being reached will differ. People that are more likely to be supportive of the group's cause could

be more easily reached. Yet, these people are the one most likely to raise their voice and put external pressure on the policy makers (Hirschman, 1970). However, having a campaign that draws larger support to their cause that will convince a new audience is expected to lay outside the scope of the organisations.

3. Methods

This section is aimed at introducing the methods this research paper is using to accurately investigate how interest groups are functioning in the context of EU citizens' rights in the UK. The main source that will be used to assess this are interviews conducted with representatives from three interest groups functioning in the UK who are committed to fighting for EU citizens' rights. The organisations that are analysed have been chosen carefully and in this chapter the data selection will be explained. Next to data from the interviews, also secondary data from surveys, newspaper articles and legal documents will be used to widen the researchers understanding of the struggle for EU citizens' rights in the UK. This chapter aims at setting out how these two types of primary and secondary data are to be collected and how they will be analysed. Both types of data will be discussed as well as how the type of case study may contribute to the validity of this research. By constructing a concrete and thorough case study, this paper aims at establishing knowledge about the two main pillars of this research, which are: finding out what the concerns among EU citizens are and how the organisational response has been in interest groups representing EU citizens.

An embedded case study with multiple units

This paper is aimed at giving a largely interpretive analysis of qualitative data that measures EU citizens' response to Brexit. Individual EU citizens are not the only unit of analysis though. Next to them, interest groups that seek to represent the concerns of EU citizens are subject of analysis too. Different methods are used to assess the responses to Brexit. Both primary and secondary data are consulted to successfully gain an insight in the organisational response to Brexit by EU citizens living in the United Kingdom. An embedded case study with multiple units is therefore the preferred option to conduct this research. According to Yin (2003), data retrieved in such a case study can give the researcher an in-depth insight into the topic of research if data retrieved from several research methods is combined. Triangulation could contribute to the validity of the research. Combining secondary data such as data from surveys, forums and newspapers with primary data from interviews could add to the strength of research if done properly. An embedded case study is well suited to answer research questions that can be characterised as mainly descriptive. This particular research strategy has been meticulously chosen as the research requires an in-depth understanding of descriptive phenomena concerning EU citizens' concerns and rights, which might or might not be accurately channelled through interest groups. The aim of this chapter is to accurately describe organisations that represent EU citizens on a national level in the UK. Next to that, by conducting interviews with the organisations this research paper aims at investigating to what extent activities such as lobbying, influence the decision making process on EU citizens' rights.

3.1 Case selection

Several criteria ought to be met for a group or organisation to be considered relevant for the scope of this research. Firstly, a group must focus on EU citizens' rights in the United Kingdom. This must be the main aim, or one of the main aims of the groups. The group must be based in the UK and aim its activities at the EU citizens residing in that specific country. There are other groups of migrants in the UK and Europe as well as UK citizens in the EU whose interests mirror those of EU citizens in the UK. These groups of people may have

similar interests but fall outside the scope of this research paper as the setting and unit of analysis differ. Next to focussing on a specific group of people, an organisation must also meet criteria regarding its key activities. As the aim of this paper is to investigate to what extent EU citizens have responded to Brexit in an organisational aspect, it is important that the organisations are either composed of EU citizens or lobby for EU citizens' rights in the UK after Brexit. The organisations may be established after Brexit as a response to the perceived threats to EU citizens' rights after the UK would leave the EU, but may also be organisations that have changed internally as a response to Brexit. Keeping these criteria regarding the composition of the organisations, its main target groups and its key activities in mind, three organisations have been chosen to be subject of analysis of this paper on how EU citizens have responded to Brexit and how those organisations that have been established may impact the struggle for EU citizens' rights after the UK formally leaves the EU. The following interest groups are analysed for their response to EU citizens' concerns.

the3million:

the3million describes itself as the 'largest campaign organisation for EU citizens in the UK' (the3million, n.d.). After the UK voted to leave the EU, the3million was formed by EU citizens who wanted to campaign for their citizenship rights during the Brexit negotiation process. The organisation is run by EU migrants and its aim is to defend the interests of EU citizens living in the United Kingdom. the3million has been chosen to analyse as an interest group that is expected to have a large influence among EU citizens. As the3million has been acknowledged to run the most prominent campaign for EU citizenship rights, the organisation is particularly interesting to analyse to learn more about the concerns among EU citizens the3million is aiming to defend and the strategies and tactics it is pursuing to reach policymakers and the wider public. the3million meets the criteria of being an organisation composed of EU citizens who have established the organisation as a direct response to Brexit. Therefore the3million is a key organisation to analyse for the scope of this research paper. the3million also meets the criteria of being an organisation that lobbies for the rights of EU citizens in the UK.

Joint Council for the Welfare of Immigrants (JCWI):

The Joint Council for the Welfare of Immigrants (JCWI) is not an organisation that has been established as a result of Brexit. It is not composed primarily of EU citizens either. The JCWI was formed a longer time ago in 1967 as an organisation which committed itself to fighting against racism towards migrants and improving migrants' rights in the UK. 'JCWI has had a key role in promoting justice, fairness and equality for the past 50 years' (Sadiq Khan, Mayor of London) (JCWI, n.d.). Before the Brexit referendum of 2016 the organisation did not focus on EU citizens' rights as EU citizens did not need the same kind of legal help and migration reform as did other migrants from non-European countries. However, after the UK voted to leave the EU, JCWI changed and decided to focus too on the rights of EU citizens. It now meets the criteria of being an organisation that campaigns for EU citizens' rights and is an organisation that changed internally as a response to Brexit.

Settled:

The third organisation subject of analysis in this paper is Settled. Settled is a charity, rather than a campaign group. It is composed of EU citizens who provide other vulnerable EU citizens with legal help and assistance should they need it during the application process for settled status. Next to being an organisation composed of EU citizens it also meets the criteria of being established as a response to Brexit. The organisation has a specific focus on vulnerable citizens who are at risk of falling through the cracks of the system (Settled, n.d.). It is therefore well equipped to understand the concerns of both EU citizens and EU citizens' rights organisations regarding the most urgent issues facing the migrants from the EU and is likewise a useful organisation to analyse.

3.2 Methods of data collection

Data from the groups is to be retrieved by using primary data. This will be done by interviews conducted with representatives of the interest groups. A multiple case study is the method of research that is used for this particular way of retrieving data. The interest groups have been chosen in a careful manner paying attention to their relevance with the subject of research and their organisational capabilities regarding EU citizens' response to Brexit. Preference has been given to the quality of data that can be retrieved from these interest groups, rather than the quantity of interest groups. As the 'rights of EU citizens in Britain' is a very specific topic, the number of interest groups is not very high. This means the data should be considered quite rare and a qualitative analysis that a case study would give is therefore the preferred option over a quantitative analysis. As mentioned, the interest groups have not been chosen randomly. Instead, the interest groups with most relevance to the researched topic are analysed to increase the quality of the data. A case study has been formed with multiple units of analysis.

Primary data (Interviews)

Not all the interest groups of this research are organisations that are solely focussing on the rights of EU citizens in the United Kingdom. Therefore an embedded case study has been chosen as the method of this research as this approach focuses on specific parts, multiple units of analysis, of a case rather than the case as a whole (Yin, 2003). These organisations will be analysed by conducting Skype interviews with a representative of the interest groups. The format of the interviews will be semi-structured. This type of in-depth interviewing has the advantage that the researcher will be able to identify new insights that have not been taken into account prior to the interview. The interviewee will be able to speak his or her mind without having to stick to a number of prepared questions. Rather than only asking strictly planned questions, topics/themes will be prepared. 'Semi-structured interviews are based on semi-structured interview guide(s), which is a schematic presentation of questions or topics and need to be explored by the interviewer' (Jamshed, 2014). It is up to the interviewer to lead the conversation in such a way that all topics will be addressed, and the questions that were prepared and have come up in the researcher's mind during the discussion of these topics, will be asked.

For each specific topic, open ended questions will be asked so that a discussion can develop around the topics of interest and unprepared follow up questions can be asked. Next to that,

generating open ended answers will also add to the quality of the research data. As the aim of this research is to find out about the organisational abilities of EU citizens in the UK, it is useful to generate data that can give in-depth insights by allowing the interviewee to answer open-ended questions rather than closed questions. This type of interviewing is suitable for qualitative research as it allows the researcher to get an insight in specific phenomena that may have not been predicted before, rather than sticking to a rigid pattern. Semi-structured interviewing requires a participant to be actively engaging with the researcher. Likewise, when a participant is not eager to talk or hesitant about sharing sensitive information, this type of interviewing could result in not getting enough meaningful data. Therefore it is imperative that the researcher is well prepared for the interview. Asking open-ended questions and intelligent follow-up questions, listening actively and being sensitive are qualities that should be incorporated while conducting these kinds of interviews (DeJockheere & Vaughn, 2019). A participant will feel more at ease to answer sensitive questions when the researcher shares the aim of his study and perhaps why he or she is interested in the specific topics. The interviews will be recorded for the purpose of transcribing and analysing them and for this permission shall always be asked. Three interviews with three different organisations are conducted.

Secondary data

To further understand the response of EU citizens towards the impact of Brexit, the concerns and organisational incentives, individual responses of EU citizens as well as outside lobbying tactics are to be measured by using secondary data. This analysis will focus mainly on forums, newspaper articles and surveys conducted among EU citizens. As these types of data already exist, it will be less cost-effective since the data does not need to be produced by the work of the researcher. These types of secondary can be quite easily found and are providing this research paper with answers for the descriptive questions.

Newspaper articles:

Newspaper articles are relatively easy, yet useful to analyse, not just because there is an online archive available of almost all reported news items, but also because newspapers allow people to write columns. Addressing these columns helps this research to understand the sentiment among certain parts of the population, especially among EU citizens. Next to columns, it is interesting to analyse reports in newspapers on EU citizens' lives and struggle for their rights after the 2016 referendum. Newspapers such as The Guardian and The Independent have engaged in reporting from an EU perspective next to reporting Brexit from a British perspective. EU citizens have thus been able to raise their voice in these media platforms. As described earlier, raising your voice is an important part of responding to a perceived decline (Hirschman, 1970) and analysing how and to what extent EU citizens have raised their voice will add to a better understanding of how EU citizens have responded to Brexit.

Surveys:

Surveys have been chosen as a method of analysis since surveys, if accurately conducted, can enlighten this research with knowledge about EU citizens' concerns regarding living in the United Kingdom after Brexit. It is interesting to compare the perception among EU

citizens of living in the United Kingdom before and after the 2016 referendum. Meaningful data will be retrieved by surveys conducted among EU citizens from polling agencies such as Eurobarometer, YouGov and Ipsos. These are organisations that have been evaluating not just EU citizens' perceptions but also opinions on EU citizens by the British public. For this research it will be interesting to see whether there is a correlation between the perception the British public has on EU citizens and vice versa. Next to that, the main concerns of EU citizens should become clearer by evaluating the survey data. 'Do EU citizens feel more discriminated against or less welcome in the UK after the 2016 referendum than before?' is one of the issues survey data can add to this research. As these surveys that will be analysed are not conducted by the researcher, it is important to select surveys that fit within the scope of the research and to analyse datasets that corresponds with the research question and sub questions (Johnston, 2014). This part of the methodology can be described as quantitative since surveys are not an individual conversation with the respondents where the interviewee can ask improvised follow-up questions. Rather, the aim of a survey is to find a large enough sample so that the retrieved data can be generalised on the population of research. An advantage of analysing secondary survey data is the cost effectiveness. It takes less time to analyse surveys as they have already been coded, whereas conducting interviews requires transcribing and coding them before a meaningful analysis can be carried out. As Baxter, Jones & Khanduja (2013) note 'advantages of surveys include having a large population and therefore a greater statistical power'. It is therefore an appropriate quantitative method for this part of the research.

3.3 Methods of data analysis

The interviews will be analysed by using thematic analysis. This method of analysis is referred to by scholars as one of the most relevant approaches when analysing qualitative data (Norris, Nowel & White, 2017). The idea is that common themes, patterns and topics are coded so that the researcher gets an understanding of the importance of the topics which then can be analysed. Thematic analysis can be best described as 'a method for identifying, analysing, organising, describing, and reporting themes found within a data set' (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Statements that are relevant for EU citizens' concerns or how interest groups work to address these concerns will thus be thoroughly investigated and will be allocated to different themes within the research. This paper will take a deductive approach while doing so. As the theory has given a broad insight in what one can expect from interest groups and the issue of legal uncertainty, topics have already been established. It depends on the coded data from the interviews whether the existing content of these topics has indeed been applicable to interest groups campaigning for EU citizens' rights in the UK.

As this method of analysis notes importance to the interpretation of the researcher, it is possible that some nuances are missed. It is therefore of great importance that all data will be analysed in a careful manner and interpretations will be carefully reflected upon by the researcher. Likewise, a semantic approach has been chosen to analyse the statements of the interviewee. Since this research does not focus on the behaviour of the interviewee but rather on the organisation the interviewee represents, it has been decided that a latent approach, that would focus on the social context of the interviewee, shall not be useful for this type of research. The aim of this research is not to analyse the interviewed individuals. Instead, the organisations they represent are the unit of analysis here. The themes that have

been established prior to coding the data from the interviews will help in answering the sub questions of this research. This method of analysis suits well with this paper's mostly descriptive nature of research as it is argued by Braun and Clarke that thematic analysis in this regard can be described as an 'independent qualitative descriptive approach' which enables the researcher with 'a method for identifying, analysing and reporting patterns within data' (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Since thematic analysis is a rather flexible approach compared to other qualitative methods of analysis, it allows the researcher to more easily find common patterns and themes in the transcribed interview data.

3.4 Coding

The interviews with the organisations seeking to represent EU citizens have been analysed by using a coding scheme. As theory on Brexit and interest groups have given a broad overview of the way organisations are working in the field of lobbying, a deductive approach has been taken with regards to developing a coding scheme for the purpose of analysing the interviews. However, it should be noted that one particular code ('Research') has been developed after the interviews were conducted, allowing the researcher some freedom to optimize the framework for analysing the interviews. As all interviews, except one, have been conducted in English, it was chosen to merely develop the coding scheme in English. The relevant codes and citations from the interview that was conducted in Dutch have been translated into English. Extra caution was observed here to avoid mistakes in interpretation. As the researcher was able to understand Dutch, translation issues could be prevented and the citations and codes have been translated within their context. The coding scheme can be found in the appendix.

3.5 The themes

As the interviews are not structured in a rigid way, the possibility for establishing themes in the interview emerges. By preparing themes in advance the interview leads to the interviewee being able to adapt his or her view to the different themes that relate to EU citizens' rights. The coding of the interviews happens after the transcription of the interviews. The themes relate to the sub questions of this research.

1. What are the characteristics of the organisations seeking to represent EU citizens living in the UK?

By introducing the theme of 'organisational characteristics', this part of the interviews aims at exploring the legal relevance of the organisations in the field of interest groups in the UK. The organisations must be able to raise their voice in a competitive field with different stakeholders. By understanding the organisations characteristics, the interviews aim at describing how the organisations are constructed. Answers that relate to the presence of EU citizens' rights organisations in the UK and their organisational aspects are coded under the theme of organisational characteristics. Different sub themes are also developed to categorise the work the organisations are doing in engaging with EU citizens as well as their composition and financing.

2. How do organisations address the legal uncertainty situation in post-Brexit Britain?

The theme that summarises this sub question is 'legal uncertainty'. The interviews with EU citizens' rights organisations together with secondary data from surveys and newspapers create a framework for this research to describe the legal uncertainty felt by EU citizens regarding their future rights. This legal uncertainty, that has been described as a potential 'liminal legality' (Birkvald, 2018), may affect the way the organisations are framing their activities. The patterns regarding legal uncertainty in this interview have been established to be able to code the concerns of EU citizens and how these concerns are channelled through the organisations subject of this research. 'Concerns' of EU citizens are anticipated to be diffuse and the specifics of these concerns are among the subthemes of this part of the analysis.

3. Which strategies and tactics are applied to address the issues of legal uncertainty?

Thematic analysis means establishing patterns between different statements made in the interviews. On its own these statements may not say much or may be considered statistically insignificant, but together they form a pattern and create a theme (Nowel et al., 2017). By sticking to the 'code manual' a third theme for this sub question has been developed. This sub question relates to the core activities of the organisations and are characterised by the need to understand a possible correlation between the continued negotiation process of stakeholders involved in the EU citizens' rights campaign and the nature of these activities of the organisations. 'Strategies and tactics' is therefore the third main theme of this research paper. All activities of the groups that relate to lobbying are analysed under this theme with inside lobbying and outside lobbying being the two sub themes that run as a thread to this theme and are instrumental in understanding whether there is a significant correlation between the work that the organisations are doing and the outcomes of the negotiation processes for EU citizens' rights.

After the themes have been coded it will be possible to interpret in what manner and to what degree EU citizens are able to exert influence of the part of the Brexit negotiations and decision making processes which are directly concerned with their legal status after the UK formally left the EU and the transition period has ended on December the 31st 2020.

By establishing different themes in analysing the interviews this research can develop a sequence of understandings on how EU citizens' rights organisations in the UK function. The themes enable the researcher to allow for more freedom in the interview, facilitating a broader discussion with the organisations. It is important to act with cautiousness between the qualitative data of the interviews and the coding process. The qualitative data provides the researcher with a source for research. The coding process is part of the analysis and here interpretation of the data is key to establishing an analysis. Interpretation biases are phenomena that could occur in this kind of thematic analysis. Confirmation bias should be avoided by all means. Conclusions about the data should not be made by choosing to 'evaluate evidence that supports one's preconceptions differently from evidence that challenges these convictions' (Kaptchuck, 2003). Therefore caution is necessary when interpreting qualitative data from the interviews during the coding process.

By explaining the methods of data collection and the methods of analysis, this chapter has aimed at setting out how the data used in the context of an embedded case study with multiple units contributes to constructing a meaningful analysis about the struggle for EU citizens' rights in the UK. This type of case study will give the researcher an in-depth insight into the researched topic and triangulation then could contribute to the validity of this research (Yin, 2003). The case selection of the interviews used to retrieve primary data has been thoroughly done and with caution, to make sure the organisations subject of this research meet the criteria that have been considered significant by the researcher within the context of groups struggling for EU citizens rights' in the UK. The secondary data, which is used less frequently, but still adds a considerable amount to the research, has been retrieved from newspapers, surveys and other legal documents. Using thematic analysis and a coding scheme to analyse the data enables the researcher then to draw conclusions and make his own interpretations from the data, while taking into account extra caution to avoid interpretation and confirmation bias.

4. Analysis

The position of EU citizens living in the United Kingdom has fundamentally changed after the Brexit vote in 2016. As their rights have arguably become more uncertain, the question rises how they have responded to this growing legal uncertainty. What are the issues regarding their rights and future status that fuels this uncertainty and what can interest groups do about this? These are questions instrumental in understanding the struggle of EU citizens for maintaining their rights in a post-Brexit United Kingdom. This paper analyses three interest groups involved in both lobbying activities and giving legal advice to EU citizens and by EU citizens. The three organisations differ in composition and size but all are committed to the cause of EU citizens' rights in the UK. By analysing the qualitative data of three interviews with EU citizens' rights organisations, this chapter aims at describing how EU citizens have responded to a perceived decline of their rights in the UK and the threat of legal uncertainty. By analysing the organisational characteristics as well as the strategies and tactics the organisations are pursuing, a second aim of this analysis is to establish relationships between the independent variable, the work of the organisations and the dependent variable, EU citizens' rights.

The three organisations are not the only ones that are dealing with the cause of EU citizens' rights in a post-Brexit United Kingdom though. There is a wider spectrum of organisations and stakeholders involved in the process. Yet, these three organisations meet the criteria of being relevant for the scope of this research. Of the organisations, the3million is arguably the most well-known organisation among EU citizens. It has a Facebook page with a following of over 40,000 people. From the interview with the3million it became clear that the issues it is fighting for, differ for groups of people they seek to represent. Especially vulnerable people are at risk according to Settled and JCWI. Their concerns may be different from other EU citizens.

Combined with the three coded interviews, this analysis used secondary data from newspapers, legal documents and surveys to describe the issue of legal uncertainty and the concerns EU citizens are facing. Secondly it has put forward an evaluation of what the nature of these concerns may mean to the organisational strength of the organisations. This is what the second of three themes of this analysis is about and it is describing the concerns that the legal uncertainty situation brings along and are channelled through the groups subject to this research. The third theme then takes on the activities of the groups, and in particular the lobbying processes of the interest groups that are at heart of the efforts to influence the decision making processes with UK policy makers and the wider public. But first this analysis starts with the first theme, which focuses on the organisational characteristics of the groups and what this means in terms of their strength and effectiveness.

Interviewee 1: the3million

Interviewee 2: Joint Council for the Welfare of Immigrants (JCWI)

Interviewee 3: Settled

4.1 Organisational characteristics

The first theme characterises the very nature of how the groups are organised. It relates to the first sub question of *'What are the characteristics of organisations seeking to represent EU citizens living in the UK'*? the3million and Settled largely consist of EU citizens. They are, thus, examples of EU citizens who have organised themselves to do something about the consequences of Brexit, which are perceived as a threat to their rights as citizens of the UK. The JCWI, in this regard, differs from them. It had been established long before the Brexit problem arose. In 1967 the JCWI started off as an organisation that sought to campaign on migrants rights and help them where possible. Since the Brexit vote they saw an increase in their membership and more and more EU citizens are being worried that they may face the same problems migrants from non-EU countries have been facing. The JCWI has therefore, like other organisations such as the3million and Settled, also decided to focus on EU citizens' rights with the difference being that JCWI consist mainly of British nationals and the3million and Settled consist of EU citizens from different kinds of European countries who bring aboard different views and can represent different concerns of this diverse group. The more than 3 million EU citizens currently residing in the United Kingdom are thus far from a homogeneous group.

'Different nationals require different kinds of help' (Interviewee 3).

It is thus possible to make a distinction between people from different countries. It is up to the organisations to respond to those different needs of the people they seek to represent. The diffuse interests are thus characterised by EU citizens from different countries requiring different kinds of help. Yet the organisations that seek to represent them, and were subject of analysis in this paper, are not established to represent the concerns of one particular group. Whereas the concerns and issues people require assistance with may differ, the organisations aim to represent all EU citizens' concerns. According to Olson (1965), having such a large group of people accompanied with a diffuse interest may lead to organisational decline. It is therefore important to analyse how the particular groups have organised themselves to represent such a wide and diverse group of people. While concerns among different groups seem to be different, the issues that are channelled through the interest groups are not contradictory. The groups can quite well maintain a balance in focussing on addressing the issues by campaigning and giving legal advice. Due to the way the organisations are organised they seem to have taken care of the fact that different groups of EU citizens require different attention. That the groups are mainly composed of EU citizens helps with that.

'For the volunteers we have deliberately chosen for people who also speak the language of one of the EU-member states' (Interviewee 3).

This gives an advantage and means it becomes easier for, let's say, a Romanian EU citizen to channel his or her concerns through a fellow Romanian citizen. Having multiple nationalities present in the organisation lowers the complexity of functioning with a strongly heterogeneous group. The concerns EU citizens are having will be easier understood and incorporated by the groups when they know what they are dealing with themselves. The issues and stories of people can become personal and this may lead to a great understanding and a strong motivation of the people working for the interest groups. Yet, this may also

lead to members of the organisations being emotionally attached. However, this has not been a problem that could be observed from the interviews. Secondly, the quote indicates the reliance of groups on volunteers. As expected in the hypothesis, the volunteers are at the heart of the organisations.

The three organisations that were subject of this analysis are not all organised in the same way. Interest groups seeking to represent the more than three million EU citizens in the UK focus on different aspects and are structured differently. the3million is arguably the most well-known organisation representing EU citizens in the UK. Next to lobbying and helping EU citizens with migration advice, the organisation is also doing research. This aspect differentiates the3million from the other interest groups in this area. This research is used to understand the concerns that EU citizens are having and what impact Brexit could have on their lives. Next to that, the research is also aimed at alerting the government on particular issues EU citizens may struggle with. The research papers conducted by the3million together with other organisations are then made available on the online library of the group. Results from research done by the3million did show for example a lack of awareness among young EU citizens residing in the UK about the actions required from them to be able to legally stay in the UK. (Bulat, 2020).

The organisations are also funded differently. The JCWI is, in a way, unique in its funding because it is not dependent on government grants. Neither local government or national government funding is part of their financial resources. It is argued that this makes them more independent as they can now be a more critical voice of the government since they are not dependent on their money.

'It means that we can be kind of critical of the home office and challenge where they need to be challenged.' (Interviewee 2).

the3million and Settled do make use of government grants. Also philanthropists, donors and even EU subsidies are part of the funding of the interest groups. Even though some of the organisations are quite well known among the target groups, like the3million, they are not necessarily big in size, with the3million only having the equivalent of five full time staffers. The rest of the work relies on volunteers of whom there are about twenty active in the organisation. Also the JCWI and Settled rely to a certain extent on volunteers. All organisations have stressed the importance of volunteers and the large extent to which they contribute to the work of the organisations. This is in line with the hypothesis. As citizenship rights' organisations will generally have financial limitations (Thrall, 2006), they are indeed more likely to rely on volunteers. Both Settled and the JCWI have a network of lawyers who give out free advice to EU citizens needing counselling and to those EU citizens and other migrants who would need judicial support, they can be provided with lawyers doing pro-bono cases.

As interviewee 2 outlined, there is *'a team of lawyers, who provide free immigration advice to clients'*. *'Generally their clients will be from outside the EU because those cases tend to be the most complex ones'* (Interviewee 2).

Whereas now most lawyers are thus working on cases of non-EU migrants it is expected that after the deadline for the application procedure ends in June 2021, more EU citizens will need legal assistance.

While some of the organisations rely on (local) government grants, the relationship with the national government has not always been one of shared interests. The government has made clear its ambition to develop a successful application procedure that would not make EU citizens fall by the wayside, but regarding a number of issues that the organisations of this research are campaigning on, the government shares a different view. It is therefore interesting to see that the organisations get quite some support from local authorities that are more sympathetic to their cause. Also a close relationship with the devolved administrations of Scotland and Wales has been observed. Whereas the JCWI is independent from government funding, the 3million and Settled do apply for grants with the local governments and the devolved administrations and cooperate with the devolved administrations.

As Interviewee 3 outlines *'The government in Wales hired a lawyer firm to support people who have come into big trouble and also we (Settled) now get support from the government in Wales'*.

This highlights the importance of (local) government funding for most of the organisations. Also the Home Office in the UK has made public money available for organisations who seek to help those people who may end up in trouble during the procedural mazes, Interviewee 3 adds. It is noticeable that the devolved administrations in the UK as well as local governments that were mentioned in the interviews as supportive of the organisations, all are composed of opposition parties. Especially the main opposition, the Labour party, but also the Scottish government consisting of the SNP has been often mentioned as being supportive. This is in line with the national picture of the SNP, the LibDems, the Greens and large parts of the Labour Party opposing Brexit, let alone a hard Brexit.

As the more than three million EU citizens are such a large and diverse group it might be hard for the groups to actually reach all groups of EU citizens. Staying in touch and providing a continued exchange where the target group of the organisations is being informed by the activities and progress that is being made is important to maintain a strong balance between interest group and target group (Flöthe, 2019). In this regard, it is interesting to note the strong presence of social media. The online presence of the groups is strong and contact is often being maintained via the internet.

'There's first of all the social media presence. So, every time I have, you know, a meeting...we report that on the forum and other social media channels' (Interviewee 1).

Next to a forum, online newsletters, Facebook and WhatsApp are said to be important communication channels. The groups, thus, use social media and the internet as a communication tool between themselves and the group of people they seek to represent. As van Schendelen (2002) notes the importance of a 'two-way flow' of communication between interest group and constituent and interest group and policy maker, this can also be observed in the organisations of this research. Strong lines of communications exist between the group and EU citizens. Yet, the policy makers play a role too in this process. Especially,

the opposition MPs who are more supportive of the organisations' cause are briefed and informed about the specific issues by the groups.

The organisations subject of this research know a different organisational structure. Settled is a charity without members. Like the3million they engage with their target group by hosting events and meetings (pre-Covid) and by being active on the internet and social media. By keeping contact with EU citizens, the organisations can more easily get a grasp of the issues that are concerning them.

the3million has *'a Facebook forum of over 40,000 EU citizens who kind of regularly write about their concerns'* (Interviewee 1).

Next to the research the3million is doing to stay informed of the concerns of EU citizens, the Facebook forum is another means for the organisations to stay updated with concerns of EU citizens and a means for the EU citizens to reach their representative group and talk about the issues with each other.

The current largely digital ways of communication between the groups and the EU citizens does raise the question how they can reach people that are not so comfortable with using digital platforms. Physical meetings did take place before the Covid-19 pandemic hit the UK (Interviewees 1,2 and 3). Since the pandemic has caused the digital way of functioning to become even more important, caution is required to also reach people who do not feel comfortable using digital platforms. In this organisational regard, the organisations differ from each other. The JWCI is a membership based organisation. Having members means you should be able to have a clear view of the people you are representing and you would be able to relatively easily contact them. Both after the 2016 referendum and the 2019 general election, the JCWI saw a strong rise in their membership. This means that the Brexit vote had not been the only political event that made EU citizens worry a lot about their status and future rights. Also the 2019 election, in which the Conservative Party obtained a large majority with a much tougher stance on Brexit than during the 2017 election, thus, worried EU citizens.

'I imagine what we'll see after next year and after the cut-off point, it's more and more EU citizens needing legal help' (Interviewee 2).

The cut-off point (the deadline for applying for Settled Status) is thus expected to cause problems for EU citizens. In that regard, the role of the organisations will become more important as more EU citizens will be aware and in need of help from the organisations in the form of either legal help or a campaign to increase the position of their rights.

4.2 Legal uncertainty

The second theme of this analysis is on understanding the issues the organisations and interest groups seeking to represent EU citizens are campaigning on. This is instrumental in understanding the way these interest groups can and do function in the context of UK politics. This theme relates to the second sub question of *'How do organisations address the legal uncertainty situation in post-Brexit Britain?* The concerns EU citizens are having, caused by legal uncertainty regarding their future rights, can be best described as 'diffuse concerns'. The concerns are not the same for all EU citizens in the UK. Whereas 'older' migrants, who

have been in the UK for a longer period of time, worry more about the sociological impact Brexit has on their lives, 'new' migrants, who arrived more recently to the UK are

'more concerned about getting settled status and the right of residence in the first place' (Interviewee 3).

This claim demonstrates that there is a difference in the concerns for new and old migrants. This difference between new and old EU citizens can be extrapolated to a further extent when looking at the specific issues that are often highlighted. The new migrants tend to come more often from Eastern European countries, such as Romania and Bulgaria, who joined the EU only in 2007. 'People who arrived more recently, especially those from our new EU-member states such Bulgaria and Romania etc. have a different approach. They are more used to these kinds of situations.

So, in a way, they accept it more' (Interviewee 3).

This implies that the 'new' migrants are more likely to accept the situation as it is and are less likely to feel sociologically rejected by Brexit. They feel less of a change in their situation than the 'old' migrants from Western Europe. The new migrants have already felt a kind of unpleasant atmosphere towards them before the Brexit vote of 2016.

'The press coverage about Romanians has been very negative' (Interviewee 1).

Also before Brexit, media coverage about new Eastern European migrants in the UK has been negative and has contributed to the vote to leave the EU. This signifies a relevant difference between new and old migrants. For many of the recent migrants this situation is not something new. Western European migrants on the other hand, who have often been living in the UK for a longer period of time, view the situation quite differently. This is new to them. They haven't been 'labelled' before. From a sociological perspective, the referendum has impacted them a lot.

'(They) feel really offended at the idea of having to apply to live in somewhere that they call home' (Interviewee 2).

Migrants from Western European countries do particularly share this sentiment. These are often 'older' migrants, migrants who have generally been living in the UK for a longer period of time and now strongly feel the sociological aspect of feeling like a foreigner in the UK, something other migrants may have felt for a longer time. Old' and 'new' migrants thus worry about different aspects of living in a post-Brexit United Kingdom. Another difference can be found between people who are of a young age and people who are of an old age. Especially the continued digitalisation of the process is a source of worry for old people. On the other hand, some young people may not even be aware of what they have to do in order to legally maintain living in the United Kingdom (Bulat, 2019). According to the groups here also lies a role for the government. It is their task to inform the people living in the UK about the legal procedures after Brexit. Not knowing what to do for young people and not being able to find your way in the digital world for old people may add to the legal uncertainty and frustration EU citizens are having after Brexit. Such frustrations do not seem to be expressed by refusing to even apply to the settlement scheme. Blauburger & Schmidt (2014) have noted that the extra burdens of proof on migrants may even cause them to not apply for

their legal status in the country of residence in the first place. However, no evidence that could support his claim has been found. Instead EU citizens want to see an improvement in their rights. In this case, the theory of Hirschman (1970), where people can respond by raising their voice to a perceived decline in an organisation, applies. EU citizens do raise their voice about their concerns and the perceived legal uncertainty through (social) media and through the organisations seeking to represent them. At least for now this appears to be the preferred option of responding instead of choosing for the 'exit' option and leaving the country. While it does not appear to be the case that EU citizens have left the UK in large numbers after Brexit for now, it should be noted that, on the other hand, this has been seriously considered by a large number of EU migrants. According to a survey conducted by business data platform Statista half of those surveyed indicated that they felt increasingly unwelcome and that UK citizens have treated them differently after the Brexit vote. This has contributed to considering leaving the UK (Statista, 2019).

Whereas this continued stage of worry and uncertainty has been something migrants from outside the EU have been used to, this is a new phenomenon for EU citizens. Especially Western European, predominantly white EU citizens have not been subject to this 'hostile environment' towards migration that had been adopted by the Home Office back when Theresa May was Home Secretary. Even though, after a backlash and criticism, its name has changed to the 'compliant environment' the treatment remains the same and is still perceived as hostile. A clear difference has thus been observed between this group of predominantly white, Western European migrants and migrants from outside the EU with the latter having experienced a hostile environment long before the Brexit vote. For many EU citizens this is new. They were used to being treated the same way as white British citizens. The Windrush scandal is the clearest example of how institutional racism has caused predominantly black migrants from outside the EU to be illegally deported. A scenario like this had never been a worry of EU citizens as the UK's membership of the union and its commitment to freedom of movement secured their place in the country. Now this has changed and EU citizens need to go through a lot of fuss to get their case in order. The worry among representative groups of EU citizens that this process will be

'Another Windrush in the making' (Interviewee 1)

is therefore big. This can be interpreted as a sign that the citizenship rights as they are set out by the British government are not acceptable for the groups. Migrants being unjustly deported from the UK is something the organisations are determined to prevent. Although the government has apologised for the Windrush scandal and promised this would never happen it has been used by pressure groups as

'A campaign tool' (Interviewee 2)

However, with a lack of physical documentation this could theoretically still happen to EU citizens. This is why the groups demand more than only words and campaign for a physical proof of documentation. Windrush is thus being used by those campaigning for EU citizens rights', to show what may happen if no physical proof of documentation is provided. In media outlets described as supportive of this campaign, stories can be found of EU citizens who express this fear (Gentleman, 2019).

Next to that, the current system in place for EU citizens to apply for their legal status has been met with lots of criticism. After the Brexit vote it became clear that the EU agreed to allow each country some freedom in implementing a system to deal with the future rights of British citizens in an EU member state and EU citizens in the UK. Spain, for example, chose for a declaratory scheme. This means that British citizens there have been automatically granted the right of residence, without having to apply for it. The UK chose a different system where EU citizens do have to apply in order to be able to legally stay in the country. Whereas the process of applying has been criticized, according to the government most people have applied. However, a main worry of the groups is that there will be people falling through the cracks of the system. As a scheme which is responsible for more than three million people never reaches 100 percent, there will always be people who have not applied. This may be due to administrative or technical errors or people simply not being aware they have to apply. The fact of the matter is, however, that people theoretically could be deported without knowing they did something wrong. This is why the scheme causes a lot of concern among the organisations. A second problem here, is that it is not actually known how many EU citizens there are currently residing in the UK.

‘What we know is that actually there’s a lot more people... EU citizens living in the UK than any of us are aware of in the official figures’ (Interviewee 2).

Because of this, it is impossible for the groups, as well as the British government, to factually know how big a percentage of EU citizens has applied.

So next to it being very hard to have the scheme reach all EU citizens in the first place, it is even harder for the government and the groups to estimate how large the percentage of EU citizens actually is who have now applied. There are also people who do not know they have to apply (Bulat, 2020), or they think this application procedure does not apply to them, whereas it actually does. The fear among the groups therefore is that there will be vulnerable people who will not achieve settled status.

‘We are worried about at-risk or vulnerable people slipping through the cracks (of the system)’ (Interviewee 2).

Hence, the work of the groups is particularly aimed at vulnerable people by raising awareness and providing free legal advice. None of the groups wants Windrush to be repeated in a sense that there will be children falling through the cracks of the system who then later grow up and are deported because they do not have the correct legal status. The system can be confusing for families because children who have been born at the time their parents have been in the UK for longer than 5 years do get British citizenship automatically. However, when born when the parents have been living in the UK for shorter than 5 years, this rule does not apply and they will not get British citizenship. This means even children from the same families can have different nationalities. What can also be damaging to families is the rule that is currently in place which says that for your non-EEA (European Economic Area) spouse to be able to legally stay with you in the UK, you have to earn at least 18,600 pound a year. This rule is called the minimum income requirement. For all these reasons and issues, groups such as the 3million and the JWCI are campaigning for a declaratory scheme which would lay the burden of taking action not with the EU migrant but

with the UK government who ought to ensure the migrant, who legally resides in the UK, gets his or her right of residence.

Another criticism of the scheme, and one that the groups have been strongly campaigning on, is that once successfully applied and having acquired settled status, people do not actually get a physical proof of their status. Only via a digital portal they can prove their right of residence. This brings along concerns with data protection. Especially people who do not feel comfortable by using digital platforms may be disadvantaged. The groups have stressed that people of an older age fall into this category of people not able to, or not capable of, using digital platforms and worry this may lead to discrimination:

'We're really concerned that future discrimination may occur because we don't have a physical proof' (Interviewee 1).

The government's line as to why EU citizens do not receive a physical proof of their settled status is that they just *'happen to be'* the first group of migrants who will be subject to this digital environment (Interviewee 2).

However, this adds to the group's worries that another Windrush is in the making. The migrants that were illegally deported in the Windrush scandal, too, did not have a physical proof of documentation. This is likewise another motivator for the groups to pressure the government on the issue. EU citizens have also strongly indicated that having no physical proof is one of their biggest concerns. Almost 90 percent of EU citizens are dissatisfied with the fact that they can only see their status digitally according to a survey conducted on behalf of the 3 million (Bueltmann, 2019). The digital only processes are already a thorn in the eye for especially elderly EU citizens (Gentleman, 2019).

Voting rights is an issue some of the groups are campaigning on too. EU citizens now have the right to vote in local elections in the UK. The aim is to keep that right alive. However, this issue seems not to be one that has the highest priority, also because many EU citizens have not used the right to vote in the past. Here again, there is a difference between the more recent EU citizens from predominantly Eastern Europe and Western European citizens.

'A lot of people from East European states tend to be less likely to vote in local elections' (interviewee 1).

Whereas voting rights is an issue being campaigned on, it is indeed the case that EU citizens, particularly 'new' EU citizens, at this stage, worry more about their future right of residence and the sociological impact of Brexit.

Next to that, there may also be groups of people that are easily overlooked at or forgotten. Here again, these people can be characterised as 'vulnerable'. They may not master the English language or they may even be illiterate. People from the Roma community, for example, are a main source of worry in this regard according to the organisations. Also non-EU family members of EU citizens risk falling by the wayside. The JCWI in particular, who had been established as an organisation fighting for migrants rights from all over the world but only recently has come to focus on EU citizens due to the Brexit vote, pays attention to this issue.

The interest groups subject to analysis in this paper have thus been working on a number of issues concerning the rights of EU citizens. Whereas Brexit has had a strong sociological impact on EU citizens, predominantly on 'old' EU citizens, the interest groups focus their work mainly on legal affairs. Here again, their work can be classified into two categories. Firstly, by lobbying the groups try to influence policy making to their advantage and secondly the groups do work to help EU citizens with legal advice concerning the application procedure where needed.

4.3 Strategies and tactics

The third theme assesses to what extent the lobbying strategies of the groups have had an influence on the decisions taken regarding EU citizens' rights. This theme relates to the third sub question of the research design: *'Which strategies and tactics are applied to address the issues of legal uncertainty?* Both the 3million and the JCWI have focused their campaign on lobbying. Both organisations have access to policy makers who they try to both influence and enlighten with their policy goals. Contrary to the hypothesis, which hinted at a minimum of inside lobbying, these groups do engage quite frequently in parliamentary lobbying. However, as a lot of cross-party lobbying work is being done, not all MPs in the House of Commons are supportive of their cause. There is a clear difference between the current MPs from the governing Conservative party and the MPs from the main opposition party Labour and other smaller opposition parties. the 3million and the JCWI work mostly with Labour but also lobbying takes place at other levels of the political arena. The Home Office and Conservative MPs too, are targeted by the campaign of the groups. By understanding the lobbying strategies and means of influencing policy makers and the wider public, this paper can enhance its understanding of EU citizens' response to Brexit.

The campaigns of the organisations deal with, but are not limited to, many of the issues mentioned in the previous subchapter. The campaign goal of JCWI is to achieve a 'legislative change'. Together with the 3million they have been conducting a parliamentary campaign to persuade members of the House of Commons, or make them more sympathetic, to back the idea of a declaratory scheme, rather than the application scheme that is currently in place in order for EU citizens to get settled status or the indefinite leave to remain. With this parliamentary campaign the groups have been targeting MPs from across the House and the political spectrum. Especially before the 2019 election both campaign teams have been actively engaging with Conservative MPs. Then and now the Conservative Party is the party of government and therefore the party most crucial to persuade from the perspective of the interest groups. One of the successes of the campaign on EU citizens' rights is a key example of how lobbying a Conservative MP has resulted in a success. The so-called 'Costa amendment', initiated by Conservative MP Alberto Costa said that the House 'requires the Prime Minister to seek at the earliest opportunity a joint UK-EU commitment to adopt part two of the Withdrawal Agreement on Citizen Rights and ensure its implementation prior to the UK's exiting the European Union, whatever the outcome of negotiations on other aspects of the Withdrawal Agreement' (Costa Amendment, 2019). The amendment passed unopposed. It should be noted that after the 2019 general election the dynamics of parliament have changed. Especially those within the Conservative Party. Quite some moderate Conservative MPs, sympathetic to the cause of the EU citizens' rights groups, have lost their seats. The election result also meant the groups had to make a shift in their tactics.

'I think we had to kind of change our strategies slightly after the election. Where before we were kind of just targeting Tory MPs to talk to them about what it was that we needed and now there's such a strong majority, we're also prioritising working closely with the opposition so that they're really well briefed on what we need and what to campaign on' (Interviewee 2).

The process of briefing and informing MPs fits with the theory of De Bruycker et al. (2019), who have stressed that that policymakers are dependent on the expert knowledge of advocacy groups. The role of the EU citizen rights' organisations cannot be seen without taking this context of information sharing in perspective where it should be noted that opposition MPs who are more supportive to the cause of the groups tend to work more closely with the groups. Especially since the dynamics of the House of Commons changed after the 2019 elections, this is the case.

So, next to a growing group of concerned EU citizens and a rise in demand for the group's work, the general election result of 2019, thus, also meant a change in lobbying strategies. The opposition parties have become more important in this regard. While the opposition parties in parliament had been traditionally more supportive of the ideas of the pressure groups, they have now become more important sources of influence for the groups. Also before the composition of parliament had changed, opposition parties have been working closely together with the interest groups.

'We have, like, key contacts in each of the main political parties. So in terms of things in parliament such as proposing amendments when bills are discussed or kind of getting parliamentary questions, we do tend to work with, especially, the Labour Party' (Interviewee 1).

Opposition parties, thus, play a large role in parliamentary lobbying of the organisations. Whereas the role of opposition parties seems limited when the government has a stable majority, it should be noted that there have been opposition amendments in the past (the Costa amendment for example) that have been adopted. Next to that, the opposition parties play a significant role in select committees and holding the government to account about EU citizens' rights and are therefore an important channel through which the groups hope to reach a policy change. However, due to current government being less sympathetic to the groups' cause, inside lobbying has become harder.

Next to targeting politicians and policy makers, the3million and the JCWI have also been actively engaging in a media campaign. Both in the traditional media and on social media they are active. Not all media presence has been focused on campaigning. There has also been 'reactive' media.

'If Boris Johnson comments something about EU citizens, then we react to that' (Interviewee 1).

A need is then felt to react to statements that involve EU citizens or the procedural processes that EU citizens are dealing with.the3million, alongside with the JCWI, also makes use of the media to inform the wider British public of the struggles EU migrants are facing after Brexit and with the current guidelines and procedures placed upon them by the British government. According to the groups this can be an indirect way of pressuring the

government to adopt changes to their policy. A way of doing so via the media can be to revive the public with personal stories of EU citizens.

'Getting their stories out, first person accounts that will increase public awareness to then ask the public to write to their MP to put pressure on them' (Interviewee 2).

By using media platforms and bringing out the stories of EU citizens, people can be made sympathetic to their cause. It is a typical example of outside lobbying. De Bruycker and Beyers (2018) have theorised that when engaging in outside lobbying, groups ought to advocate for positions that have 'large approval' of the general public. An example of such a personal story is a campaign JCWI joined with a Polish chef:

'We have like an online campaign that we set up with a chef.. who.. he is a Polish chef who works here and he's got quite a big following and...we did a whole campaign with him called 'feeling unsettled'' (Interviewee 2).

The idea is to inform people that even though an EU citizen may have achieved settled status or indefinite leave to remain, he or she still feels 'unsettled'. The idea of this campaign has been to raise awareness among the wider public regarding the sociological impact Brexit has had and has been having on many EU citizens living in the UK. Also the3million engages in this campaign of bringing out EU citizens' personal stories by sharing them on their social media platforms. By engaging in this method, the groups are framing their issues with the wider public by doing a 'moral appeal' on them hoping to convince people, backed up by the stories of EU citizens, the changes the groups are fighting for are morally right.

This way of outside lobbying can have indirect effects on the government and policy makers. If people are indeed convinced by such a media campaign and national outrage occurs, with many people writing to their MPs for example, they may in turn put pressure on the government and make them change their minds. The groups deliberate whether a campaign has a higher chance of succeeding by engaging in inside or outside lobbying.

'So, we think quite carefully about, like, is this more public or parliamentary facing campaign and therefore how do we need to go about achieving it' (Interviewee 2).

However, it can be hard for interest groups who wish to engage in a media campaign to have the financial resources and actually reach many people. A social media campaign, in this regard, is cost-effective and can easily reach many people.

As there are diffuse interests between different groups of EU citizens, it is interesting to see that the organisations seeking to represent EU citizens work together on a number of issues. As they have been able to adapt themselves to situations where diffuse interests occur, they can more easily come up with a campaign that is targeting policy makers and the House of Commons. While lobbying, the groups have two main aims which can be related back to inside and outside lobbying. While engaging in outside lobbying via the media, the main goal of the groups is to create awareness among the general public and play into their sentiments.

'I think what we have done is really work to kind of create awareness of why that is so needed and what the risks are if we don't get that' (Interviewee 2).

The second, overarching aim, is to bring about a policy change of the British government regarding their approach to EU citizens' rights. Inside lobbying via MPs in the House of Commons and outside lobbying by raising awareness among the British public and asking them to write to their MPs are the means of the pressure groups in achieving this goal.

The groups do have contacts in Brussels too. but the lobby is for the most part focussed on Britain. Of the groups subject to this research, the 3million is most actively lobbying in Brussels with the EU and with its representative counterparts in Brussels. Also here a collaboration of interest groups to enhance its chances of success is observed. the 3million works together with an organisation called 'British in Europe'. This organisation is basically mirroring the request on the other side of the Channel.

Together they have been involved in meetings with chief negotiator from the EU side, Michel Barnier and other 'top players in the EU' (Interviewee 1). The meetings in Brussels and the meetings with MPs and government representatives are, thus, examples of inside lobbying where members of the groups, directly, try to enlighten the policy makers with their concerns and exercise influence on the policy making process. Next to campaigning in Brussels, the EU also still hands out subsidies for projects it deems useful for, in this case, helping EU citizens in the UK. Settled is an example of an organisation who has applied for funding from a European Union project.

Whereas a lot of issues are still to be decided on and are under negotiation between the UK and the EU, there are a large number of issues the UK can decide on unilaterally. Such an example can be found regarding the NHS charges for migrants. The law previously in place meant that foreign NHS (National Health Service) workers had to pay an additional fee of 400 pounds to be able to use services of the NHS themselves. This has been an issue of the campaign of the pressure groups. After an extensive campaign in which the groups found Labour on their side, the government made a remarkable U-turn in promising it would now scrap the fee.

Next to certain political parties being more open to the arguments of the pressure groups, also some media outlets are more receptive than others. As newspapers in the UK have been quite heavily politicized, it is the case that more space has been given to the organisations in certain media outlets.

'Usually more left-leaning newspapers, especially the Guardian' (Interviewee 1).

The audience the interest groups reach are, thus, often more left-wing leaning and presumably already largely in favour of their ideas. However, for an interest group it is important to enlighten and inform people that have the potential to be supportive of your cause. Trumbull (2012) has suggested that citizens' right groups typically engage in outside lobbying by undertaking a media campaign. The question here rises how sympathetic the media has been towards receiving those stories from the organisations. From the interviews it becomes clear that indeed not all media outlets seem to give space to the groups. As left-wing newspapers are the main source of traditional British media willing to give the groups a voice, they may risk missing a number of British people from other political traditions. However, the question is whether the aim of the groups is to convince people that would not be initially supportive of their campaign goals or whether the aim is to put pressure on

MPs by motivating and informing people supportive of their campaign to take action. This is something still to be explored in further research.

Next to the traditional media such as newspapers, radio and TV channels, social media has become an increasing source of information for people. Therefore also social media, to a lesser extent, has been the focus of campaign activities.

'So in the social media we do react quite instantly to different news and like different treats about EU citizens, so we have a social media manager who does that' (Interviewee 1).

Among the groups, the presence on social media is most strongly seen with the 3million. Next to having a website that keeps being updated regularly it has a 'publication library' in which all campaign activities are published for the public. This being available for everyone adds to the transparency of the organisation. EU citizens, as well as others interested, are able to follow the progress the organisation is making. As social media has become an increasingly important source of information for many people, it is important to note that also parts of the outside lobbying strategies of the groups rely on its social media presence

Summary

This chapter has aimed at analysing the primary data from the interviews conducted with three organisations seeking to represent EU citizens in the UK, as well as combining this with the secondary data of surveys, newspaper articles and legal documents. By having structured this chapter in three themes the researcher has hoped to shed light on the different aspects of the interest groups, the organisational characteristics and the strategies and tactics applied in dealing with the legal uncertainty among EU citizens caused by Brexit. It can be said that this legal uncertainty manifests itself in three main concerns among EU citizens: wanting a declaratory scheme, wanting a physical proof of documentation and a third, psychological concern, of feeling unsettled. As different groups of EU citizens do not have the same concerns, it can be said that the organisations represent a group of people with rather diffuse interests. This could make it harder for them to organise. However, by being pragmatic, focussing on their shared values and organising themselves in a way that they can incorporate and understand all varieties of concerns, the groups have adapted themselves to this situation. By providing legal help and lobbying, the organisations try to improve the situation of EU citizens in the UK. The strategies and tactics pursued by the organisations have been found to focus both on inside and outside lobbying. Due to the current composition of the House of Commons, inside lobbying becomes more difficult and a shift in tactics among the organisations has been observed. Outside lobbying, however, continues to play an important role. By bringing out the concerns, issues and personal stories of EU citizens the groups do influence people via a media campaign which then is indirectly aimed at influencing policy makers.

5. Conclusion

By combining the thematic analysis of the interviews conducted with organisations seeking to represent EU citizens in the UK and primary data from Surveys, newspapers and other legal documents, this research has aimed at describing the legal uncertainty situation of EU citizens after Brexit and to what extent they have responded to this. By raising their voice (Hirschmann, 1970) through organisations and (social) media EU citizens have channelled their concerns and have been able to address their issues with policy makers and the wider public. However, due to a lack of financial resources and media being politically polarised in the UK, it remains a challenge to reach a wider audience as well as EU citizens who may not be aware of all the legal processes and those who are vulnerable and might need legal help. The interviews, together with the secondary data, have gained insights that can answer the three sub questions as well as the general research question that have been developed in the research design of this paper.

5.1 Answers to the sub questions

Question 1: What are the characteristics of organisations seeking to represent EU citizens living in the UK?

The organisations that are seeking to represent EU citizens can be described as quite diverse in range. Most of the organisations consist mainly of EU citizens who wanted to do something about the problems Brexit had caused for them and to help their community. An advantage of most organisations is that they have incorporated a response to the challenge of 'diffuse interests'. Since the interests, the language and the socio-economic background of the more than 3 million EU citizens living in the UK is not the same, the organisations have multiple staff members from various backgrounds in Europe to communicate with EU citizens. With people speaking multiple languages it has become easier for them to get into contact with EU citizens from various backgrounds. The organisations are thus different in size and composition but they do work together to achieve their goals of campaigning for an improvement in the legal status of EU citizens and giving legal advice to those most vulnerable. As the theory had anticipated, EU citizens are, thus, characterised by having diffuse interests. On the hand this makes citizenship rights' organisations vulnerable in terms of the sacrifices they have to make (Olson, 1965) on the other hand it opens up opportunities. The researched groups seem to have adapted themselves and taken up these opportunities. With people from different backgrounds having expert knowledge, the organisations have been able to maintain strong ties to their constituents and being able to represent their concerns. The diffuse interests do not hinder their links with their constituents nor do they raise barriers for the groups to put forward common and broadly supported campaign goals.

Question 2: How do these organisations address the legal uncertainty situation of living in a post-Brexit Britain?

Whereas the organisations differ in their main activities they share common themes that have been analysed in this paper. The legal uncertainty that EU citizens are facing manifests itself in two ways. A legal and sociological worry. A distinction can be made between two main activities of the groups. Firstly, the advocacy and campaigning part. This has been an

imperative part of most of the group's structures. By lobbying and campaigning the groups try to, either directly or indirectly, influence the policy making process regarding EU citizens' rights in the UK. The second task focuses on helping EU migrants by providing them with advice on how to apply for settled status and what steps they should take in the process as well as providing legal advice, if necessary. By talking to and having close contacts with EU citizens from various backgrounds, the organisations are well aware of the problems and issues EU citizens in the UK are currently facing. Being aware enables them to address the legal uncertainty situation to a wider public and to policymakers.

With the research the 3million is doing they can dig down deeper into the concerns and legal uncertainty of EU citizens and present the results to the public and policy makers. In one of their research papers they show how the application procedure has only given a quarter of EU citizens certainty about their status (Bueltmann, 2019). By presenting these kinds of results about the legal uncertainty EU citizens are facing to policy makers and the media, they can back up their frame with research. So next to bringing out personal stories, academic research is, in a way, also used to alert policy makers of the issues EU citizens are facing. The groups that have been subject of the analysis have also been working together with each other in the lobbying process. By cooperating they hope to increase their chances of success and being able to conduct a coherent campaign. The groups, thus, do not view each other as competitors but as entities who can increase their prosperity and success by working together in addressing the legal uncertainty of EU citizens and advocating for legislative changes. An important part of the work the groups are doing is addressing the issues that are vital to EU citizens with policy makers. This may happen directly or indirectly. De Bruycker (2016), has described framing as being an important method in this regard. The groups subject to this research mainly focussed on framing by engaging in outside lobbying. The groups 'morally appeal' to the wider public by bringing out stories of EU citizens in the UK that are subject to both judicial and physiological problems because of the vote to leave. In this regard the policy changes the groups would like to see happening are being framed as the morally right thing to do.

Question 3: Which strategies and tactics are applied to address the issues of legal uncertainty?

A distinction in tactics can be made here between inside and outside lobbying. The groups that lobby are having close contacts with politicians and policy makers. By actively trying to persuade Conservative MPs they try to increase their chances of a significant policy change as Conservative backbenchers tend to have an influence on the Conservative government. It must be said that since the 2019 election this has become harder since moderate Conservative MPs who were more supportive of the groups' campaigns have lost their seat. A shift is thus observed to increase the lobbying with the opposition parties as well as informing them about the issues at stake and progress that is made or is not made.

The issues that cause so much legal uncertainty for EU citizens are also addressed to the wider public by outside lobbying from the groups. Making people hear the stories of EU citizens can make them sympathetic to their cause and in turn put pressure on members of parliament to do something about it. Both traditional and social media have been used by the groups. However, as media outlets are often politicized in the UK the groups do not get much attention in all media. Also finances play a role here. The diffuse nature of the

citizenship organisations makes them dependent on financial contributions from outside. This may be government funding, donors or philanthropists. The financial limitations and the lack of corporate support means that engaging in a strong traditional media campaign has been difficult, supporting the theory of Thrall (2006), who notes the importance of a media campaign but highlights the financial difficulties citizen rights' groups typically face. Left-wing leaning newspapers such as The Guardian or The Independent tend to be more willing to give space to the message of the organisations than others. The risk here is creating an echo chamber where only people that are already supportive of the cause are hearing the message. It is important that these people stay informed of the processes but one also wants to reach other members of the public to convince them. Both for outside and inside lobbying this has been an increasingly difficult task.

5.2 Answer to the research question

Research question: *To what extent have EU citizens organised themselves to defend their interests amid the legal uncertainty of living in a post-Brexit United Kingdom?*

Since the UK voted to leave the EU in 2016, EU citizens started to worry about their future rights and status within the UK. As negotiations between the UK and the EU started about citizens' rights, EU citizens have not undergone their faith passively. They have organised themselves in interest groups seeking to represent their concerns on two levels. With both legal advice to other, often vulnerable, EU citizens and with an active lobbying campaign they have tried to influence the future rights and status of EU citizens living in the UK. However, not all EU citizens are aware of the organisations that seek to actively represent them and not all EU citizens are even aware of what is required from them to be able to legally stay in the UK after the cut-off point in June 2021. The interest groups representing EU citizens have therefore, with different campaigns, tried to raise awareness among politicians and the wider public about the struggles EU citizens are facing due to the current legal processes as well as the sociological impact Brexit is having on them. Both traditional and social media are used to reach a large audience and the groups have close contacts with MPs from across the House (of Commons). Yet they tend to work mostly with the opposition parties, especially the Labour Party. It is also often the case that Labour run local governments are willing to support the group's campaign goals with a financial injection. The broader financial position of the groups is to be understood in the context of diffuse interests among citizen rights' groups. It has indeed been the case that due to financial limitations, as argued by Thrall (2006), have resulted in a need to carefully assess their media strategies as the politicized media landscape in the UK does not give equal attention to the groups' cause.

As the EU citizens are not a homogenous group and their interests are quite diffuse, the groups have organised themselves well to respond to this. Almost every nation is represented among the groups consisting of EU citizens to increase the probability of reaching as many vulnerable EU citizens as possible. This is important for the groups in order to be able to help and in order to understand what the concerns are of the people that are most at risk of the legal struggles the EU citizens are facing. As the current British government consists of many 'Brexiters' the job for the groups has not become easier. However, over the years notable successes have been achieved and the groups continue to work together to achieve their main campaign goals.

5.3 Discussion

The results of this research provide a basis for understanding citizenship rights' organisations in the context of the UK. Conclusions have been drawn for EU citizens' rights. Echoing the discussion on diffuse interests, the work of Olson (1965) and Trumbull (2012) can be seen influential for this research. The citizenship rights' organisations, in this context, have been able to pragmatically deal with the diffuse interests of the groups of people they seek to represent. This means setting pragmatic goals and working together with other groups and stakeholders in the field of lobbying for citizenship rights is key in developing an effective campaign that can deal with diffuse interests. This is in line with the hypothesis and Trumbull's theory on diffuse interests. The addition of organisational structures, that take into account the different characteristics of the diffuse groups the organisations seek to represent, has also contributed to this. From this research it became clear that when diffuse citizen rights' groups have shared ideological values, they are more likely to be able to construct a meaningful campaign. This is in line with Berkhout's et al. (2018) response to Olson's theory on diffuse interests.

It could thus be noted that the intention of the organisations has been mobilising public support by engaging in outside lobbying to gain more legitimacy and to influence policy makers indirectly. Hirschman (1970) would call this raising your 'voice' when a perceived decline in quality occurs. This is how the organisations through which EU citizens channel their concerns can best be described. Inside lobbying, directly with politicians, also takes place, but the new composition of the British government has made this tactic subject to change. While this research has thus assessed how citizenship rights' groups have been functioning in the context of UK politics, a limitation has been that the voice of EU citizens has only been understood through that of interest groups, who function in a particular context. It would be interesting for future researchers, who have larger means available, to research the sociological impacts of the vote to leave on EU citizens by interviewing a representative sample of EU citizens living in the UK. This way, the diffuse interests can be even better understood and the organisations could incorporate this in their institutional response to the effect of Brexit on EU citizens' rights.

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Appendices

Coding scheme

Variable 1: Organisational Characteristics

Code	Definition
Composition	The way the organisations are structured.
Tasks	What the organisations describe as their main goals in the EU citizens' rights campaign.
Funding	How the organisations receive their financial resources.
Research	To what extent the organisations are conducting research to inform themselves and policy makers of EU citizens' concerns.
Reporting	The process of how the organisations are staying in touch with EU citizens to report the progress they have made and inform themselves of EU citizens' concerns.

Variable 2: Legal Uncertainty

Code	Definition
Concerns	The issues EU citizens are facing and are channelled through the organisations.
Uncertainty	The continued process among EU citizens of not knowing what will happen to their rights.
Sociological Impact	The impact of Brexit felt in daily lives of EU citizens
Diffuse Interests	The heterogeneity of EU citizens and their interests.

Variable 3: Strategies and tactics

Code	Definition
Inside Lobbying	The type of lobbying that the organisations conduct with policymakers and MPs of the House of Commons.
Outside Lobbying	To what extent the organisations are engaging in a media campaign to influence public opinion and thereby indirectly the policy process.

Awareness	The type of awareness the organisations are trying to raise for their cause.
Social Media	The role that social media plays in raising awareness for the cause of EU citizens' rights.

Interview 1 with the3million (22/04/2020)

Interviewer: Then I start recording. So I would like to tell you a bit about the study first, about the paper I'm writing. So the aim of this paper is to find out to what extent EU citizens have organised themselves, for example in organisations, such as the3million to react to the concerns that come along with the legal uncertainty of living in a post-Brexit United Kingdom. So I'm trying to find out what the concerns among EU citizens are, like what are the pressing issues. And secondly, how the3million is organised to respond to those issues. Like what your strategies and tactics are in reaching policy makers and the wider public and which projects exist. So, the aim of the paper, that is what this study is about, and you can always ask any questions about the study if you wish.

Interviewee: Yeah, so you're interviewing organisations, right? So you're interviewing different representatives of org...

Interviewer: Yes, exactly. That represent organisations that try to defend the interests of EU citizens in the United Kingdom after Brexit, yes. So, but before I start asking questions I should ask a few official things. So I do have permission from the ethics committee of my university to conduct this interview. But I need to confirm a few things. That is, firstly, I would like to ask you to confirm that you understand what the study is about and that you can ask any questions you want...

Interviewee: Yeah, I do understand that.

Interviewer: And secondly, I would like to ask you to confirm that your participation is voluntary and that you understand that you can refuse to answer any question if you don't want to, and that you can also withdraw from the research any time you want without having to give a reason.

Interviewee: Yeah I understand that, exactly.

Interviewer: Yeah so these are just official protocol things that I have to ask.

Interviewee: Yeah.

Interviewer: Okay, so I guess then we can start talking about the issues. I did not prepare a list of strict questions but rather a few topics that I would like to discuss. And the first one is about Brexit and the impact it has on EU citizens. So I've talked a bit about this legal uncertainty and my first question to you would be: to what extent would you say there is uncertainty among EU citizens, regarding their legal status and their future rights in the UK?

Interviewee: I think it depends on how back, you know, we want to go like, you know, Brexit obviously, the referendum happened in 2016, So I think for a couple of years this has been a lot of uncertainty regarding our rights, whilst the negotiations were still ongoing.

Interviewer: Yes..

Interviewee: Now since March 2019, the UK launched the EU settlement scheme that basically provide a new immigrations status. So EU citizens, EEA citizens, Swiss nationals and non-family members have to apply for this new status, settled status or present a status. You know what this... For some people, especially who had a more straightforward life, and can evidently get residency it has released some uncertainty but I think some.. The EU citizens community as a whole still feels quite uncertain because it is not only about getting status and being legally allowed to be in the UK.

Interviewer: Yes..

Interviewee: It is also about all the rights that are attached to it. So one example, at the moment, myself, I'm Romanian. As an EU citizen I can vote in the local elections. That's still under negotiation, so there's still different kind of part of our rights that are still being negotiated. Although, kind of, the EU settlement scheme has sorted some of the issues, there are still some issues that are under negotiation currently. So let's say compared to 2016, there is less uncertainty, but still there is...

Interviewer: It still remains...

Interviewee: still going.. Yes..

Interviewer: So talking about the issues, you mentioned voting rights as one of the issues. What are other issues? I read about wanting to have a physical proof of documentation, for example, could you tell more about the issues?

Interviewee: yes, I mean, in the 3 million we have different campaigns and this is largely, you know, it depends on what people raise as issues. So, we do have for example a Facebook forum of over 40,000 EU citizens who kind of regularly write about their concerns. We do different research, so firstly, I can manage research projects based on focus groups with younger Europeans, between 16 and 30 years old. So there are different kinds of research projects where we get our data and kind of represent us our concerns.

Interviewer: Right

Interviewee: So I would say, I mean, there are different things that we're working at the moment. Voting rights, the local elections voting rights is one aspect that's still under negotiation. So, what we would like to see is everyone who is here in the UK, EU citizens, who have this right to vote, to be able to continue having those rights. We... For what happens in other countries, I do not want to go in legal detail, but at the moment the negotiation strategy is bilateral. So, we may end up in a situation where, for example, Spain agrees that British people there can still keep their right to vote.

Interviewer: Yes..

Interviewee: While Romania hasn't yet, so we may end up in a situation where Spanish people in the UK can vote and Romanians cannot because...

Interviewer: Right... But you'd... You would like to see this reproduced in.. of.. All of Europe, actually?

Interviewee: Yeah, yeah, I mean, I would. I'm not campaigning for the British people's rights in other member states, but I would basically like everyone who is in a way a victim of Brexit to keep the rights they already have.

Interviewer: Yeah..

Interviewee: In a way we didn't .. As you know, the EU citizens didn't have a vote in this referendum and most British people abroad didn't have either because British people lose the right to vote in UK elections if they are long term residents in another country. I think it's after 15 years.

Interviewer: Right.

Interviewee: You lose the right to vote. So we. yeah we campaign on voting rights, we also campaign on more kind of legal aspect of the current EU settlement scheme. So, at the moment, when I applied for settlement scheme, I got settled status in the UK for almost 8 years now. But there's different.. You know. Although it did sort out some problems, there's still different things that could be improved. So, for example, no one get a physical proof of status.

Interviewer: Right.

Interviewee: I only get.. So I, I have.. I have a pdf attached to my email, when I was successful saying this is not proof of your residency, and to prove your status you have to go through an online system. So if they, I don't know, my employers wants to check that I', lawfully in the UK, they have to go through a government online portal to put, he put some data on me,

Interviewer: Yeah..

Interviewee: So there's a whole question on data protection and how employers and landlords will use the system, and they will kind of get a digital token and they will get my picture on the screen saying unless I have settled status...

Interviewer: Yeah, I understand that..

Interviewee: A lot of organisations have concern about how this data is used as well. Because, when you apply for the EU settlement scheme you have to tick a box saying that 'I agree that my information will be shared with private and public organisations'.

Interviewer: Okay.

Interviewee: And there is no clarity of who...

Interviewer: Who these organisations are...

Interviewee: Yeah. Because, no way is the data based on over 3 million people who are EU citizens and family members. So there is a whole debate around data protection as well. But also physical document, because a lot of people, especially people who are not confident using digital platforms, they do want to have some physical proof of status. And it's also shown in various.. for.. for various. for various other organisations that this can reduce discrimination as well.

Interviewer: Yes.

Interviewee: Because it is quicker to check a physical card that says you have to login in the systems and follow those ten steps and then wait for it and so on.

Interviewer: Yeah.

Interviewee: So, we're really concerned that future discrimination may occur because we don't have a physical proof.

Interviewer: yes, because I.. I read about the windrush scandal. Probably you've heard about it too.

Interviewee: Yeah..

Interviewer: Migrants that were legally in the UK, they were deported because, I think, they didn't have such a physical proof of.. of residence. So is that something that... would you say, EU citizens are also afraid of?

Interviewee: Yes, so I mean, there's two different parts of the issue here. Like one is... there is a deadline for the scheme. I mean, I work in the 3million as a researcher but I also work as an immigration adviser. So, I actually do help people apply and get status...

Interviewer: Yeah.

Interviewee: And I do need that every.. . Now we can't do this anymore with the current virus.. But makes me do online advice. But every time I went out with the committees and spoke to people and kind of presented that, you know, they have to acquire this new status. A lot of citizens think, you know, this applies to them. So, I often get people saying, you know, I worked in the UK for a very long time, or I have been here since 90s. Why should I apply to stay.

Interviewer: Yeah.

Interviewee: or people didn't necessarily know. So really... First of all we are concerned that the deadline will pass and that... you know in June 2021, it is basically far away, but there will be some people... it may be thousands, it may be more...

Interviewer: yeah.

Interviewee: who won't have legal status. So in a way, it is another Windrush scandal in the making. Because they will have been in the country without status and they will only realise they don't have status when they will try to access work, or welfare and they would be rejected because they don't have status. So that is...

Interviewer: Right...

Interviewee: a problem...

Interviewer: Yes because I... I read there are about 3.5 million EU citizens in the UK, and they say a scheme never reaches a 100 percent, so yeah it means there could always be people that are left out from this scheme...

Interviewee: Yeah, and I mean, there's an issue with numbers, because unlike other EU countries, so like, I don't know, if you come as a British person to Romania, you have to register at the local level and then there is, you know, a record....

Interviewer: Yeah.

Interviewee: In the UK, there is no... because British people don't have ID cards. Don't have passports... you know.. There are about 7 million or 8 million British people who never have a passport. So, people use driving licenses, proof of address, like those other things.

Interviewer: Yeah.

Interviewee: And because the UK didn't operate ID system for their own citizens, it is against discrimination rules because you can't have ID's only for migrants.

Interviewer: Yeah obviously.

Interviewee: Haha, you get that right?

Interviewer: Yeah.

Interviewee: So, of course that's because.. Yeah I mean it's... You know, breaks EU rules on this. And because of this, there is no actual number. So, the numbers that we reach between 3 to 3.8 million, and they're estimates based on international passengers, surveys, different labour market statistics, and actually the migration observatory may be interesting to find that online that recently they published a report on how far off those estimates can be and how much they could actually underestimate...

Interviewer: Right.

Interviewee: So we've seen, at the moment, they compared how many of the cases for the settlement scheme, with how many they estimate, there are from each nationality. And according to their estimates, a 150 percent of Bulgarians applied... so you can...

Interviewer: A 150 percent? Haha, that's interesting.

Interviewee: So some estimates are very far off from the reality haha.

Interviewer: Yes. Haha

Interviewee: So and that's why... I mean, that's a massive problem. Because, you just can't know when the scheme has everyone, because you don't have a number...

Interviewer: Yes, that's a problem...

Interviewee: You can't assess, you just can't know...

Interviewer: Yeah... I can see why that's a problem. And I mean there are.. So there are... like... I think 28 or 27 EU countries, 27 different countries, 27 different nationals in the UK, would you say the concerns among these EU citizens is the same or is it maybe country specific?

Interviewee: Oh well, let's say from our observations, there are different kinds of concerns, depending on... Not necessarily nationality, but like how long you have been in the UK. So, a lot of people who have been in the UK for a longer time are more concerned about things like data protection, for example, or other issues in the settlement scheme like physical document whereas some more recent people, who came to EU from, for example, Romania... Romanians, who, like myself, came to study more recently or to work...

Interviewer: Yeah, newer EU member states....

Interviewee: Yeah, newer members states, who have more, you know, fewer years in the UK. Perhaps they are more concerned to get the status in the first place.

Interviewer: Yes...

Interviewee: So it really depends how well connected you are in your local communities, because if you are working a part of a precarious job you are more concerned of getting a status, you don't worry so much about physical document...

Interviewer: Yeah.

Interviewee: That they, like I don't know, a German or a French citizen, who have lived in the UK since the 80s and you are now retired, you'll have more time to be informed and think about all those other aspects that we're campaigning on.

Interviewer: Yeah, I understand.

Interviewee: Or more recent, I did focus groups with young Europeans, and there's a lot of more people from East European states and they tend to be less likely to vote in local elections for example. There's some people... People who came here as children from West European states, for example. So, there's a difference...

Interviewer: Yeah, there's a difference...

Interviewee: of how...

Interviewer: I also know it from talking to my aunt. She's Dutch and she also lives in the UK for, I think, like 25 years and she says: 'I just feel less welcome here in the UK'. Would you say, this is a general feeling among EU citizens? That they feel less welcome?

Interviewee: I think that, I mean, I cannot give... it depends on their own personal story I guess. So, I remember when the referendum was in 2016, I was doing my Masters' degree actually then. We were watching with all my colleagues, at 5 am in the morning, and my French colleague who was my colleague at university, after she saw the result to leave she said it is the first time I felt like a migrant in the UK.

Interviewer: Hmm hmm.

Interviewee: Because I was an equal EU citizen, and I found this, that this illustrates the kind of different opinions because I arrived here as a Romanian in 2012, there were traditional work restrictions, I had to apply for a work permit, I didn't have complete freedom of movement in that sense and the... discourse about Romanians in the press has been very... very negative.

Interviewer: Right, I have read about it.

Interviewee: Compared to other nationalities. Yeah, so in a way, if you're like, more targeted by politicians or the media, perhaps then it doesn't come as much as a surprise. So, for me nothing has... I mean, my legal rights have changed, in that I have to apply for a new status, but in terms of how people react towards my nationality is still quite similar.

Interviewer: Right.

Interviewee: But a lot of my colleagues who haven't been labeled before, you know, as this bad migrant..

Interviewer: Yeah, yeah.

Interviewee: It's very different and it has impacted them a lot, you know, the referendum.

Interviewer: Yes, okay. Thank you for that answer. So maybe we can talk now a bit more about the3million and what it is doing, so maybe you could explain to me a little bit about what your organisation is, what are its goals for example?

Interviewee: Yeah, so, I mean the3million formed, initially there was a group of mainly French citizens that met after the referendum in Bristol...

Interviewer: Hmm hmm.

Interviewee: And they went out and said, what do we do about this? Because this will impact our rights and that's how the3million started. Very informally, from social media, from a Facebook group, and then the3million got incorporated in 2017 and then we developed a team from there, you know, having a CEO, having different positions, having people on pay rolls as well. You know, I've been with the3million since 2017, I was initially a volunteer and then I've been working with them since 2019 and a lot of people started as volunteers. In terms of the aims I would say there are two main aims. One is to represent the concerns of EU citizens...

Interviewer: Hmm hmm.

Interviewee: And that is the research I'm doing both online and offline.

Interviewer: Yeah.

Interviewee: In various ways. And... and the second is the... so a part that is linked to representation and influencing policy to ensure that everyone who has been here doesn't get affected by Brexit in the sense that all their rights are preserved exactly as was promised by politicians.

Interviewer: Yes, right.

Interviewee: And of course, to preserve rights we have legal challenges, we have parliamentary lobbying in the UK, and we did lobbying in the EU in Brussels.

Interviewer: Hmm hmm.

Interviewee: And there is activities.

Interviewer: Okay, before I ask questions about lobbying, I would like to clarify one point. The3million is it... is composed of EU citizens only or is it also Brits that are working there?

Interviewee: So initially it started... The whole idea of the3million is that it is a migrant led organisation, EU-citizens led organisation.

Interviewer: Hmm hmm.

Interviewee: Yet we wanted... There was no other organisation that represented EU citizens. In terms of the theme, the vast majority is... I mean we do have a few people that are dual nationals that are EU citizens and, you know, they apply for EU citizenship after the referendum haha.

Interviewer: Right.

Interviewee: I think our legal advice are... is British. But yeah, the vast majority of people and almost all our volunteers are EU citizens.

Interviewer: EU citizens... Okay, okay. And how does the organisation operate, like how do you report what you're doing back to the people that you're trying to represent, like how do you report what you're doing to EU-citizens? And I heard you mentioned the forum, but is it also... do people have... Do you have members? Do EU citizens become a member and then you send them an email with what you are doing or how does this work?

Interviewee: Yeah, so there's first of all the social media presence. So, every time I have, you know, a meeting, let's say a group of us goes to Brussels to have some meetings, we report that on the forum and other social media channels...

Interviewer: Hmm hmm.

Interviewee: Like we have twitter and... and in terms, we have a regular newsletter, like that comes out every week, that summarises the activities, I'm not sure, I'm not managing that but that has over 10thousand subscribers.

Interviewer: Oh alright.

Interviewee: So, we have the website for instance, so you can subscribe to the newsletter, you can sign and get the updates on what happens to rights, but also our activities in terms of lobbying and so on. And then we also do different activities, you know, like evidence submissions, so what I've been working on recently is a home affairs select committee. Evidence submission in which I ask people to submit their problems to the 3million and then I try to represent them and through... You know, to send evidence submission to different committees in parliament and then if I get answers for that, obviously I get back in touch with the people that contributed and more widely.

Interviewer: Yeah.

Interviewee: Through our platforms. We used to do that with events, so obviously before the lockdown we used to do different gatherings ranging from pub quizzes with questions about life in the UK and life after Brexit haha.

Interviewer: Haha yeah.

Interviewee: That we use far less fundraising events but also to get kind of more people engaged and we did have regular events, every 2 or 3 months we had an activist meeting in London that people from across the country were invited...

Interviewer: Hmm hmm.

Interviewee: And we had different meetings where we'd plan and strategize with other people who couldn't volunteer but were interested.

Interviewer: So, is it mainly organised in London then... or also throughout the country?

Interviewee: So there are... there is online presence and there are local groups as well but I would say still pretty much everyone does converge around London in a way because most of the volunteers are in or around London. And, I mean, I personally live in Cambridge and our CEO is in Bristol and that's where the3million started, in Bristol.

Interviewer: Right. Yes.

Interviewee: And we have people in Scotland as well, to kind of represent some of the concerns there with Scottish authorities. We have someone who volunteers regularly in Wales, working closely with the Welsh government, so we do try to engage the devolved administrations as well. But I'd say most of the supporters still are London centred, you know...

Interviewer: yeah, I understand that. Yeah.

Interviewee: Giving information out to different local groups.

Interviewer: Okay. okay, so you've been talking a bit about lobbying already, both in Brussels and in the UK. So, maybe starting with the UK, with whom are you lobbying? Is it MPs in parliament for example?

Interviewee: Yeah. So, we do have for example, there is another colleague in the3million who is in charge of lobbying activities in the UK and policy development and policy proposals in the UK. So, since the beginning, since 2016, the3million has said we didn't have a position on Brexit or a particular party.

Interviewer: Yes, I read this.

Interviewee: So, cross-party. And we said now, like, the referendum happened, each of us has their personal views of course.

Interviewer: Yeah, of course.

Interviewee: But as an organisation we said we want to secure what was promised regardless of what type of deal Brexit there will be.

Interviewer: Right.

Interviewee: So in terms of the politicians, we do work with different... We have like key contacts in each of the main political parties. So in terms of things in parliament such as proposing amendments when bills are discussed or kind of getting parliamentary questions, we do tend to work with, especially, the Labour Party.

Interviewer: Right.

Interviewee: The official opposition, but we do have contacts in the Conservative party as well. Especially, one of the key success that the3million, and I would say, which was last year, was the so called 'Costa amendment' when Alberto Costa, who is a Conservative politician, passed an unanimously an amendment that basically said that we need to reinforce EU citizens' rights regardless what happened with other particles of the negotiation, we need to protect this.

Interviewer: Yes, okay. And this passed?

Interviewee: There is support in different parties, but of course there is also opposition to our... our campaigning haha.

Interviewer: Yes haha. So yeah, I can imagine you are more in contact with people that are supportive of your cause, but I wonder if you are also trying to reach the government ministers, policymakers like Conservative MPs that think differently, maybe to try to convince them.

Interviewee: Yes, I mean like Alberto Costa was an example of someone from the Conservative Party and he did quite a lot, you know lobbying with his own party, with some of our people campaigning, but also in terms of other kind of parliamentary activities, we do a lot of letter writing, so we write a lot to the immigration minister, or the home office of our different issues, so there's many different letters that we have our own publications on our website, there is a publication... There is a publication library, it's in the letters we sent throughout since 2016 till now and that is usually on specific issues on the latest such as coronavirus where a lot of EU citizens struggle to access welfare support in this period. So, a few days ago we wrote again to the government, so to the immigration minister and the home office, to ask what they are doing about people who can't access funds in this period.

Interviewer: Okay, and lobbying in Brussels does this also happen? With the EU?

Interviewee: Yes, so it... after the referendum we actually started with the Brussels lobbying and the UK lobbied a lot more because since the very beginning the3million collaborated with an organisation British in Europe which is basically mirroring the request on the other...

Interviewer: Yeah, yeah I get it.

Interviewee: And because a lot of campaigning was common, the sort of protection that we wanted was the same protections that British people in member states wanted, so in that context the EU lobby was always in collaboration with British in Europe, so we'd have like a delegation, you know, the 3 million and British in Europe meeting with, meetings with Michel Barnier for example on issues.

Interviewer: Right.

Interviewee: We had, you know, communicated with Guy Verhofstadt and other like, you know, top players in the EU.

Interviewer: Yes, they are very...

Interviewee: So, a bit more, you know, we targeted different member states as well. So, I personally went, as one of the Brussels lobbyists, to speak to the Romanian permanent representation to the EU and similarly some of my other colleagues, some of my German colleagues would go to German representatives and some of my, yeah, Dutch colleagues would go to the representatives of them.

Interviewer: Yeah.

Interviewee: That's how we also operate on a more individual basis but as an organisation the kind of bigger meetings would always be in collaboration with British in Europe and we had joint papers and with British in Europe at that time.

Interviewer: So would you say that these lobbying activities have been successful?

Interviewee: One of the key things that... I mean, it is kind of difficult to explain without using any kind of legal framework...

Interviewer: Right.

Interviewee: So, at the mo... so, under EU law people need to exercise treaty rights to be lawfully in the country.

Interviewer: Yeah.

Interviewee: You need to be self employed, student or worker or another category. And there were in the UK... there was a scandal a few years back, because if you're a student you need to have, you know, a comprehensive health insurance. And the NHS access, in the UK the health system is free, at the point of use, and a lot of students didn't know about this requirement. So, in a way, legally speaking, a lot of students didn't have this private health insurance, and were breaking treaty rights. And a lot of people also stay at home, parents are the people who are not economically active, who also need this insurance.

Interviewer: Yeah.

Interviewee: And didn't have it. And in a way one of the successes was to say that everyone needs to be protected and to say that, you know, that... and the settlement scheme doesn't check the exerc... you need to exercise treaty rights, it checks the recipe. So in a way, that's a win, because it does cover a lot of people who would otherwise not have been covered if you strictly apply the rules. So the NHS... so, the evidence that you need to submit is my evidence of residency, my work or study or... you're having health insurance. So, I think a lot of things did... a lot of other things haven't happened so far. Like the physical document. A lot of people are sympathetic to this, there have been debates in the UK parliament touching upon this issue. There have been different meetings in Brussels as well, but a lot of the... the decisions with... who have social... A lot of them are political and it really depends on the timing as well.

Interviewer: Yeah.

Interviewee: I guess in terms of success, we did get perhaps a more simple system to... for people to get their status. It is not exactly what we wanted, we wanted people to register for their status rather than apply for their status. So, we wanted to, you know, the legislation to basically say, if you have been in the UK before Brexit, or before this day, you have the status by law.

Interviewer: You'd automatically have the status...?

Interviewee: Yeah and then you have to register for proof.

Interviewer: Okay.

Interviewee: Yeah, but... and that we'd have been avoiding the situation where you have the deadline and if people don't apply they're unlawfully in the country. Whereas, if you had what's called the declaratory system of registration, then you would have, you know, if you don't apply by the dead... If you don't register by the deadline, rather than apply, you still have the right in law. You only don't have a way to prove that, and then you can register...

Interviewer: Right, okay.

Interviewee: And yeah... And that's, in a way, in the withdrawal agreement if you read the citizens' rights part. The EU gives member states a choice, of an application or a registration system. And the UK chose an application system.

Interviewer: Right, so...

Interviewee: It was there, it was on the table.

Interviewer: So, I do wonder, like, what is the argument against... against handing out this physical proof of documentation?

Interviewee: The, I mean, The UK government's line is that we, EU citizens, just happen to be the first group who have digital status and that in the future all the immigration system will move to this wonderfully digital...

Interviewer: Right haha.

Interviewee: Yeah... digital status, which by the way a lot of organisations who represent other migrants groups, non-EU migrant groups who campaign a lot against this, because there are very many, you know, difficulties with having a whole digital system.

Interviewer: I can imagine, yeah.

Interviewee: So, that is their argument and they just say that they are moving to this direction and that we just happen to be the first group who goes through this, while there are arguments from a lot of campaigners in the UK that you can have both, you can still have this digital system and just have an option, especially for people who have, you know, using this or proving their status, or just want more certainty to have an option to get a physical proof. I... we don't have an official kind of line to that, apart from the idea that we are moving towards a digital system anyway.

Interviewer: Yeah.

Interviewee: I suspect it is also a costs issue, and, you know, the government wanted to reduce costs a lot with this system and, in a way, producing a physical card, which is interesting because if you are a non-EU family member who applies through the settlement scheme, so if I had... if my partner was from India, let's say...

Interviewer: Yeah.

Interviewee: And they applied for the settlement scheme through the relation with me they would get a physical card, so it is possible to have physical proof under the EU settlement scheme and non-EU family members to get physical proof.

Interviewer: Okay, so maybe going back to lobbying, we've talked about lobbying with politicians, but there is also another way of lobbying in which you try to influence the public by using... using the media for example, commercials, ads...

Interviewee: Yeah.

Interviewer: Social media... I... Is the 3million also doing this?

Interviewee: Yes, so we do have quite a lot... I mean, we do have a person in this organisation, Maïke, who works specifically on the media...

Interviewer: Hmm hmm.

Interviewee: So, I mean, there's different types of strategies, so we do... we do quite a lot of reactive media, so if something comes up in the news saying like Boris Johnson comments something about EU citizens that's....

Interviewer: Yeah.

Interviewee: Then we can react to that, otherwise when the immigration bill is debated, we do react to that in the media. When there is any update every month, they have updates every month on the EU settlement scheme and how many people apply, how is it going... And the government always goes, oh it is wonderful, you know, this system is working very well...

Interviewer: Yeah.

Interviewee: And then we just work out the issues, so a lot of reactive stuff does happen. So, we do get quoted quite a lot, we do press releases, we also do some... regularly press conferences with international media. So, we do work with the foreign press association, so we do get covered internationally every so often as well. And we do check for some more practice stuff but it's really difficult because you have a lot of things to react to. So...

Interviewer: Haha, yeah. I can imagine. So the...

Interviewee: Yeah, the... Yeah?

Interviewer: So, these reactions, are they happening on television, on... in... in newspapers, social media?

Interviewee: Yeah, so in the social media we do react quite instantly to different news and like different tweets about EU citizens, so we have a social media manager who does that. Yeah and in terms of... Yeah, so my colleague who works on the media... on the mediafront, she does press releases every so often on specific topics. So this gets quoted by, like, various UK newspapers. Usually more left-leaning newspapers, especially the Guardian, so I think our highest reach is in the Guardian.

Interviewer: Yeah. Independent maybe.

Interviewee: The Independent. And, but... Depending on the issue, because with, you know, the Covid situation for example, we did get an article a few days ago in the Financial Times, we get like a Telegraph code. So, I think it really depends on the issue as well. And also in terms of radio and television, we did quite a lot of appearances. Again, when something to react to. So, I am one of the media spokesperson, spokespeople...

Interviewer: Right.

Interviewee: For the organisation and I did go on like, I don't even re... I go on CNN, on BBC, on SkyNews...

Interviewer: Oh wow that's impressive haha.

Interviewee: Yeah, typically like a reaction to something, so I get asked to, yeah, comment on the figures or get asked to... or get to debate, some person has a different opinion than we have haha.

Interviewer: Haha.

Interviewee: And so yeah haha. And from other organisations, we had like a couple of panels with people from Migration Watch, who is an NGO who campaigns to reduce immigration to the UK, so yeah.

Interviewer: Okay, so that's quite an extensive media campaign, okay. Thank you. And another question I have, well it seems that the3million is representing, like, a lot of people... But... How is it funded? Is it like crowdfunding or from donors or...?

Interviewee: Yeah, I mean that. Yeah it's an interesting question because a lot of... When I go to different events, a lot of people assume that the3million is quite a large organisation. We have the equivalent of 5 full time staff. So...

Interviewer: Okay.

Interviewee: Really small and on top maybe 20 volunteers but in terms of the equivalent it's like 5 full time staff.

Interviewer: Well, it's very visible in the media, like, as the biggest campaign, so...

Interviewee: Yeah, so... Yeah, I mean like, there is this impression that the organisation is bigger. But a lot of the work, especially the outreach, the messaging relies on a lot of people who are volunteers. So, I work two days a week for the3million and I went in the media a lot, but we have a couple of volunteers who are really good at media who went on radio, tv and so on in the past. So, a lot of the work relies on that. In... in terms of how it's funded it depends on the aspect. So, a lot... Some of the core funded... funding comes through different grants or foundations. You... but we did start with crowdfunding, so when the organisation was started...

Interviewer: Yeah.

Interviewee: Before it got incorporated, it did go through the crowdfunding platforms.

Interviewer: Yeah.

Interviewee: We have a system of supporters, so people can sign up through the website and to direct debit or one off donations, but I would say donations are probably less than 10 percent...

Interviewer: Okay.

Interviewee: So, but... we do have a regular group of supporters who do donate monthly.

Interviewer: Right

Interviewee: And that goes for the core functions. And then we have specific projects, so I manage a project which is more specifically on young people and that is a grant that I applied for through the 3million from the local government of London. So, there's a lot of kind of funding that funds specific projects.

Interviewer: Hmm hmm

Interviewee: The voting rights work gets funded through another grant, so it depends on... on the issue, so yeah.

Interviewer: So these projects are... they are basically aimed at the concerns that we talked about previously?

Interviewee: So we did the research side of it...

Interviewer: So, you've talked about projects, the 3million has different projects. What are these projects about?

Interviewee: Yeah, so for example. So, we campaign on these key issues like, everyone has, like, kind of the similar, you know, same message, and doesn't pick up everything in the organisation but then several of us work on specific aspects. So, we have one person who works more specifically on developing the voting rights campaign.

Interviewer: Yeah.

Interviewee: That is a grant, specifically for the research sector to develop work on voting rights. My own project that I manage is on Young Europeans issues. So again, this is a research project, but of course the research results are used as a basis of recommendations and lobbying. So...

Interviewer: Right.

Interviewee: I did run a focus group research... It was just... Yeah now it's all written up, so actually we're going to disseminate it in May... online... haha. So, I'm actually looking currently at conferences and stuff haha. And that is a research project that does show the concerns about a particular, you know, type of group of people, so I focus on Young Europeans from certain countries who are less represented in public policy making. And then we have different recommendations about the EU settlement scheme and citizenship policy that come from that. Yeah, so, in a way those projects kind of feed into the main activity of lobbying.

Interviewer: Yeah.

Interviewee: In different ways... So yeah...

Interviewer: Alright, cool. And then, basically the last question I had... you've talked about it a bit already, but to what extent would you say the 3million has been successful... in addressing the concerns of EU citizens and also getting results?

Interviewee: I think, in... I mean, in a way, if you're in the kind of... a kind of like, legal/policy field you do see a lot of changes, because you have been reading the details in the beginning and you know how the negotiations look like.

Interviewer: Yeah.

Interviewee: And how they look before...

Interviewer: How it evolved yeah...

Interviewee: But I think from a public perspective, I think it's very difficult to... see, you know, the meaning, what does this mean in practise? You know, what does it mean that people who are not normally covered by... treaty rights, now can actually get status. I mean, it is a very big deal for a lot of people.

Interviewer: Yes, it is.

Interviewee: But a lot of... it's very difficult... a lot of things are difficult to communicate to the public. And often because of the perception that perhaps we're a big organisation or we have like more funding than we actually have, a lot of people do have things that they would like to see, you know, why the physical document, you know, is not coming...

Interviewer: Yeah a lot of expectations.

Interviewee: Yeah, so there's like a lot of... expectations because, you know, of course, I mean I was before working in the sector... I wasn't aware of how many different layers of policy makers you have to go until you can even make... a proposal for something.

Interviewer: Yes.

Interviewee: And in terms of representing... I think that this varies in areas as well, because a lot of people will have concerns, especially, I work with a lot of East European groups, a lot of people who have concerns about rights at work, or rights to welfare, or the right to... of their children. And those are, in a way, of course linked to your legal status.

Interviewer: Yeah. I understand.

Interviewee: The legal status... To have any of those.... Or you have very limited access. But... yeah, I think a lot of the concerns perhaps are not necessarily directly represented because

they are a part of the status. So, we're trying to secure the status first and then, of course, even people who have secured their status, there is still more work to be done on making sure that, you know, rights at work are respected, that there is, you know, lower discrimination in the rental market, you know, there are so many different aspects. But then again, a lot of other organisations work on this. So, JCWI, the Joint Council for the Welfare of Immigrants, they work a lot on discrimination in the rental market for example. So, we do try to collaborate with others.

Interviewer: Hmm hmm.

Interviewee: So, because we're a very small team we try to focus on the EU settlement scheme and making sure those rights are protected and then we collaborate with other organisations like JCWI, and support some of their companies... or... or.... Yeah, other organisations have more specific expertise in certain areas of law that we don't...

Interviewer: It sounds like a lot of work for a small team. Haha

Interviewee: Haha, yeah. Yes it is. I mean, like, in a way, because everyone started as a volunteer, like it's pretty much... You know people are there full time who have started part time....

Interviewer: Yeah.

Interviewee: I think it's also because... we are, most of us, EU citizens and almost all of us came from, like, a personal experience. So, one of our most active volunteers, for example, she joined the 3million when she... I mean, her story was featuring in the Guardian, because she was rejected permanent residence.

Interviewer: Really...

Interviewee: When the EU system was in place, so before settled status, the EU permanent residence card. And it kind of made her think that... She should get involved...

Interviewer: She wanted to do something about it.

Interviewee: Yeah, yeah.

Interviewer: Okay, okay. Alright. Thank you so much for all your... answers. It really helps my research.

Interviewee: No problem.

Interviewer: I can also, when I finish the paper, maybe send it to you, if you're interested.

Interviewee: Yeah that would be great. Please send me what you write. It will be interesting to see.

Interviewer: And I want to wish you good luck with everything you're doing.

Interviewee: Thank you! And if you need more information, just, yeah, write me an email, but you find a lot of those publications on the page as well, so...

Interviewer: Yeah, that's true, that's true... There is a lot of information. But I will send you an email when I am finished.

Interviewee: Okay then. Good luck!

Interviewer: Again, thank you so much for your time.

Interviewee: Thank you! Bye, bye.

Interviewer: Bye, bye.

Interview 2 with the Joint Council for the Welfare of Immigrants (JCWI) (15/05/2020)

Interviewer: So, the aim of the paper is to find out how EU citizens have responded to Brexit, for example through organisations such as the joint council for the welfare of immigrants. And, yeah, how they reacted to the concerns that come along with the legal uncertainty of living in a post-Brexit United Kingdom.

Interviewee: Hmm Hmm

Interviewer: So, I am trying to find out what the concerns among EU citizens are, like what are the pressing issues and secondly how organisations such as the JCWI is organised to respond to those issues.

Interviewee: Okay.

Interviewer: And if you are also lobbying, like what your strategies and tactics are in reaching policy makers or the wider public.

Interviewee: hmm hmm

Interviewer: And which projects exist. Yeah...

Interviewee: Okay.

Interviewer: So that's what this study is about and you can always ask any questions about the study if you wish.

Interviewee: Okay, that sounds fine.

Interviewer: So before I start asking questions, I have to ask a few official things..

Interviewee: hmm hmm.

Interviewer: So, I do have permission from the ethics committee of my university to conduct this interview.

Interviewee: Okay.

Interviewer: But I need to confirm a few things first. That is firstly, I would like to ask you to confirm that you understand what the study is about and that you can ask questions any time you want...

Interviewee: Yeah, that's fine.

Interviewer: And secondly, I would like to ask you to confirm that your participation is voluntary and that you understand that you can refuse to answer a question if you don't want to and that you can withdraw from the research at any time without having to give a reason.

Interviewee: Yeah, that's fine.

Interviewer: Yeah, so these were just a few, you know, official things I have to ask.

Interviewee: Hmm hmm. Yeah.

Interviewer: So yeah, we can start talking about the issues. You know, I did not prepare a strict list of questions, but rather a few, yeah, topics that I would like to discuss. So first about Brexit and the impact it has on EU citizens.

Interviewee: Hmm hmm

Interviewer: So, I have mentioned this legal uncertainty. So to what extent would you say there is uncertainty among EU citizens in the UK regarding their legal status and future rights?

Interviewee: Yeah, I think... I think there is a great deal of uncertainty. I think.. Even though... So, just to explain my role at JCWI, I kind of campaign around the EU settlement scheme which is the scheme that's been set up through which everyone, all EU citizens, need to apply by next June in order to continue living here legally after the... after the Brexit date.

Interviewer: Right..

Interviewee: And.. Although the scheme, for a lot of people, is relatively straightforward and quite easy and quick. That doesn't... that's not the case for everyone. And so my job is particularly concerned around at-risk or vulnerable people that we're worried about slipping through the cracks, they may not know they need to apply in time and will fall out of status and become vulnerable for the UK's hostile immigrations system after that point. So there's a lot of people feeling a lot of uncertainty and worry if they might be.. They fall in one of those groups, that struggles more. For example, older people, people who don't feel comfortable using an online app, people who.. People, like from the Roma communities, people who maybe don't have the digital skills needed...

Interviewer: Hmm hmm

Interviewee: So, homeless people, people... and people who suffer from domestic violence, children who are in care... So there's a lot of kind of... there's a lot of groups that we're worried about. Not applying in time, slipping through the cracks. But I would say that, even the EU citizens who have applied, they got their status..

Interviewer: Right..

Interviewee: Who legally are safe, a lot of the people we have spoken to have told us that there is still a real sense of uncertainty, even if you have that legal protection. It doesn't change the fact that the country that you are living in voted to, even if it's only by a tiny.. Tiny majority.., voted leave, voted to leave the EU..

Interviewer: Yeah..

Interviewee: And how that makes you feel. So, yeah.

Interviewer: Yeah..

Interviewee: The research that I have been doing over the past few months is.. speaking to EU care workers, so people working in the care sector. And a lot of them have said that the Brexit process has made them feel unwelcome..

Interviewer: Right..

Interviewee: Has made them feel uncertain about the future, quite insecure, it's made them feel like for the first time they have to prove something in order to be here. And I know a lot of people, especially migrants who have been living here for a long time, feel really offended at the idea of having to apply to live in somewhere that they call home when maybe they have children here, grandchildren here. So, I would say that even when there is that legal protection, that doesn't mean that people necessarily feel secure.

Interviewer: Yeah, so it's not just legal concerns, but also, yeah, the social implications of Brexit

Interviewee: Yeah, I mean attitudes that people feel and how Brexit has changed people's perceptions and things like that, yeah.

Interviewer: Yeah, I heard this from my aunt too. She is also Dutch and she also lives in the UK and it.. She got the settled status, it was not a problem, but she said she felt, for the first time, a bit unwelcome and then she notices it is people saying to her it is not about people like you, probably not about white people..

Interviewee: Yeah, yeah.

Interviewer: Still she gets this sense of yeah.. That she feels unwelcome, so...

Interviewee: Yeah, yeah. And I think that, like that's quite an interesting topic as well because I think the work that we do at JCWI, that we have been doing for over 50 years has predominantly been concerned about non-EU migrants..

Interviewer: Right, yeah..

Interviewee: Because until now, EU migrants had freedom of movement. And.. And it's interesting that a lot of European, predominantly whiter, more privileged people are feeling.. Are feeling, understandably, very upset and outraged. But what they're facing is things that other migrants have been dealing with for decades. So the work that we do here is constantly trying to bring it back to the bigger picture and saying this is why we need to tackle the hostile environment for all migrants..

Interviewer: Right.. yeah.

Interviewee: Not just the EU citizens so that it can be fairer and better for everyone. But the fact that it's quite a privileged, predominantly white community means that more attention is being given to it. Which is kind of good and bad. Haha.

Interviewer: Yeah, because, you know, I've also read about the Windrush scandal in which..

Interviewee: Yeah.

Interviewer: Migrants from, I think, mostly the Caribbean, were even, yeah, illegally deported actually.

Interviewee: Yeah.

Interviewer: And I wonder if this a fear that exists among EU citizens too, because they don't get a physical proof of documentation.

Interviewee: Yeah, exactly. So, I think part of my job has been kind of trying to talk about the EU situation alongside Windrush in a way that feels kind of responsible and sensitive to the Windrush community.

Interviewer: Hmm hmm.

Interviewee: And acknowledging that their.. their experiences are very unique, and it's predominantly eh.. predominantly a black community, whereas the Europeans are predominantly a white community and a lot of instances.. So they are very different. But the thing that is worth saying, and a lot of Labour MPs and Lib Dem MPs have been saying that after the cut off point... The term that's been thrown around is: it will be another Windrush but even bigger..

Interviewer: Yeah..

Interviewee: So many people will fall out of status. And actually what's interesting is, with Windrush, as you say, people were illegally subjected to the hostile environment and in some cases deported because they had the right to be here. There were a lot of them... most of them were British.

Interviewer: Yeah.

Interviewee: And all of them had had their rights. But in the case of the EU settlement scheme, what we're worried about happening is... is people won't apply in time, they won't have that legal right. So it's not... it's like... I'm not saying one is worse than the other, but in the case of Windrush people have that legal framework down there that could be relied on.

Interviewer: Yeah.

Interviewee: And unfortunately wasn't relied on in all cases, people were removed, awful things happened.

Interviewer: Yeah.

Interviewee: And in the case of... with EU citizens, if they don't apply in time they lose their status, they lose their rights, that's it. And they won't have that legal protection. So, in some ways it can be seen as kind of quite a different situation. But I understand why it's been used as a campaign tool because there is.. There can be parallels that are drawn.

Interviewer: Right.. Yeah. So this is more... about applying in time. Because I know there are, I think, more than 3 million EU citizens in the UK and...

Interviewee: Yeah.

Interviewer: You know this settlement scheme, probably a scheme never reaches a 100%, so there will always be people, as you said, that will be left out.

Interviewee: Yeah, exactly. And I... my campaign goal at JCWI, as well as... I don't know if you have heard of the organisation called the3million cause you should definitely talk to them...

Interviewer: Yes I have done an interview with them before, yeah.

Interviewee: Yeah, okay. So, along with the3million we're campaigning for a declaratory scheme, which is... at the moment you have to apply and if you don't you lose your rights.

Interviewer: Yeah.

Interviewee: And we're saying people should be granted automatic settled status...

Interviewer: Right.

Interviewee: If they've been living here before the cut-off point and then people can register for proof of that. But it shouldn't be a situation where the government strips you of your rights and status if you don't apply in time. That should have never been the outcome.

Interviewer: Because this is the case now?

Interviewee: Yeah, yeah. So, I think that some countries, I don't know what The Netherlands are doing, but I know that in Spain they've made their system for UK citizens declaratory. So, people will be given automatic leave to remain and that's what we want to see here in the UK. And lots of... Labour supports us, the Lib Dems support us, the European Council supports it, lots of European people support it but it's just trying convince the Conservatives that it's the right thing to do. Because we're either gonna be in a situation where tens of thousands

of people have no status, lose the right to work, to rent accommodation, to open a bank account.

Interviewer: Right...

Interviewee: All will be in situations where a similar number... maybe they haven't applied in time, so they have time to then do that.

Interviewer: Yeah.

Interviewee: If they haven't lost their rights.

Interviewer: Yeah.

Interviewee: Yeah. So, that's our main kind of campaign that we're doing around the EU.

Interviewer: Alright, okay. Yeah and about this... about these EU citizens, more than 3 million people, I can imagine this is like a diverse group and I wonder if the concerns the EU citizens have are the same or if they differ among different groups of EU citizens?

Interviewee: Yeah I think they... I think they differ. I think the kind of bottom line concern is around feeling insecure and feeling worried about rights and their ability to kind of continue living in the UK, claim pensions and whatever they want to do but I agree... I think they are not a homogeneous group and their...

Interviewer: Yeah...

Interviewee: And we're taking into account the concerns and needs of different groups. So for example, one of the kind of groups that is rarely spoken about is non-EU nationals who are still eligible. So, family members, third country nationals who might be dual citizens, who often maybe aren't aware that they can apply and maybe their concerns are often... not always, but can be... a group with kind of less privilege and understanding of the UK systems possibly.

Interviewer: Hmm hmm

Interviewee: And I know that... I mean, yeah... It would be... it would be kind of a longer conversation to go into the individual concerns of each group and I would say I am probably not the best person, you wanna speak to people from those groups but I'm sure that... A lot of charity for the Roma support group have done loads of work with the Roma community...

Interviewer: Yeah...

Interviewee: Community in the UK and they have really distinct concerns and issues around like... a lot of them may be.... Are illiterate or don't know how to use a smartphone, are on the move and they might not have fixed addresses, often the women don't work so they

might not be able to prove they've been living in the UK. So, there are different concerns for different groups. And if you want I can give you like some kind of more resources on that and stuff later but...

Interviewer: Yeah, that'd be nice, thank you. Yeah, actually first the idea of my research was that I would go to the UK and interview EU citizens... But my.. Yeah, my supervisor said that this is not possible because you need to interview hundreds of people in order to get a representative sample.

Interviewee: Yeah, yeah...

Interviewer: And now it is not possible anyway to come due to the...

Interviewee: Yeah, yeah...

Interviewer: The virus... So it's good I chose this option

Interviewee: Yeah...

Interviewer: Yeah so, now I would like to talk a bit more about the JCWI and maybe you could explain me a bit about the organisation, like what are its goals and what is doing?

Interviewee: Yeah. So, as I said JCWI is one of the oldest migrants rights charities in the UK. we've been around for over 50 years and campaigning for a kind of fairer immigration system

Interviewer: Right

Interviewee: A good thing about JCWI is... Because we don't take any government funding we can have quite a loud critical voice, we're not reliant on funding from the government and that means that we can be kind of critical of the home office and challenge where they need to be challenged. Up until recently, we mainly campaigned, I would say, for the rights of non-EU migrants. But when Brexit happened, they decided they needed someone who is focussing on the EU stuff, so that's when I came in.

Interviewer: Right.

Interviewee: And our main... So, the way we're kind of structured is... there's my team which is policy, advocacy and campaign. So we're kind of... we do the kind of desk thing stuff, I guess you can say. And then you have a team of lawyers, who provide free immigration advice to clients who... maybe... asylum seekers, victims of trafficking, people who want to apply for family life in the UK. So, it's kind of split between the lawyers and the advocacy, campaign...

Interviewer: Right, so if I understand it correctly, there is a part of the organisation that, yeah, that directly helps EU citizens and a part that focuses on advocacy and lobbying?

Interviewee: Yeah, exactly. But, the part that directly works with migrants, they're mainly... So I would say when I've spoken to lawyers, they do work with some EU citizens, but generally their clients will be from outside the EU because those cases tend to be the most complex ones.

Interviewer: Yeah, I.. Right.

Interviewee: I imagine what we'll see after next year and after the cut off point, it's more and more EU citizens needing legal help, if they don't apply in time for example. And the kind of... the kind of main overall campaign for the whole of the organisation is to dismantle the hostile environment... I don't know if you're familiar with the hos...

Interviewer: Yeah, I think Theresa May introduced it.. Right? A few years ago..

Interviewee: Yeah, exactly. She said she wanted to create a hostile environment for all illegal migrants, even though they don't wanna use that phrase.

Interviewer: Yeah.

Interviewee: And what that meant in reality is that creating a hostile environment for all migrants, as well as for minority ethnic British people in the UK who fall foul of the same systems. So we're trying to tackle that kind of one part at the time with things like challenging NHS charging, data sharing between the home office and for example if you go to the NHS your data might be passed on, if you seek housing assistance your data might be passed on to the home office. So, that's our kind of big campaign goal and within that I lead on EU, like my colleague Mary leads on 'our families together' project which campaigns against the minimum income requirement which means that you have to earn over a certain amount to have your foreign spouse live with you...

Interviewer: Oh really? I didn't even know that... Wow.

Interviewee: Yeah, so that's... that doesn't... that applies to EU citizens obviously...

Interviewer: Yeah...

Interviewee: You have to earn... it's over something like 18,600 a year but that increases for every child that you have and it means obviously, you're a single person if your spouse is abroad. So, it's keeping families apart and she campaigns on that. And then finally, I have a colleague who also campaigns for the rights of undocumented migrants and trying to create more safe.... regularisation.

Interviewer: So this hostile migrant environment. What was it called? Hostile...

Interviewee: The hostile environment...

Interviewer: The hostile environment. Is that still the official policy of the government?

Interviewee: So, it's quite interesting because a few years ago, I can't remember the exact date but they changed the name to the compliant environment because I think they caught hold of the fact that it was not a good name haha to call it, it kind of exposed the underlying hostility of the policies. But what we say is we're still using the term because they haven't changed any of the policies, they just changed the name and the policies themselves are still incredibly hostile towards migrants.

Interviewer: Yeah.

Interviewee: Although they kind of... now they say.. If you're ever in a meeting at the home office they say 'no no no it is the compliant environment' but it's like well nothing's changed.

Interviewer: Right, so you would say the name has changed but the official policy remains the same.

Interviewee: Yeah, yeah.

Interviewer: Alright. Okay, so you mentioned you were in the, yeah, advocacy part of the organisation. So, maybe you can tell me a bit about how you are lobbying. So, for example I have identified two different kinds of lobbying: for example with... directly with policy makers, like you mentioned with Labour and Lib Dem MPs. And secondly, maybe you also try to influence the public by using the media.

Interviewee: Yeah, yeah. So, for my project... so, it kind of varies, as I said we have those three projects that I mentioned in my team and with my project in particular because the campaign goal is a legislative change, we want people to get an automatic settled status. The majority of my campaigning has been kind of parliamentary facing. So, as you say I've been... trying to meet with Tory MPs and have met with Tory MPs to talk to them about why we think the declaratory scheme is necessary, why we think it will benefit migrants...

Interviewer: So these... These Tory MPs are then actually MPs you wanna convince of your ideas, because they would not be initially supportive of that, right?

Interviewee: Yeah. So, in the Conservative party there's kind of one... one or two MPs who showed support for the idea in the past. But on a whole they don't support the idea.. So my job has been trying to kind of convince MPs...

Interviewer: Yeah...

Interviewee: Why it's in their benefit, why it's best that the EU citizens' rights in the long run. And because... So the majority of my campaign has been parliamentary facing. Because in theory, if we could get 15 to 20 Tory MPs to agree, then we would have what we want... what we're asking for...

Interviewer: That would be a majority?

Interviewee: Yeah, exactly. We'd have a majority, so I have done... I have done public facing parts of the campaign. So, we have like an online campaign that we set up with a chef.. who.. . he is a Polish chef who works here and he's got quite a big following and he did this, I can send it to you after..., he did... we did a whole campaign with him called 'feeling unsettled'...

Interviewer: Yeah...

Interviewee: And the idea of being, even if you got your settled status, you still feel incredibly unsettled, calling for automatic settled status which is our campaign goal and it got, I can't remember the number now, but it got a lot of...

Interviewer: Views?

Interviewee: A lot of people signed up to it...

Interviewer: Alright, yeah.

Interviewee: We're trying to create more public awareness that way. But then, with my colleague Mary's project on the minimum income requirement, that one, she works a lot more with the public. So, she really has a strong relationship with... with British citizens who have a foreign spouse who is not able to come to the UK. And she does a lot more through, kind of, media, getting their stories out, first person accounts that will increase public awareness to then ask the public to write to their MP to put pressure on them and say 'look, scrap the.... Scrap the MIR, scrap the minimum income requirement'. So, we think quite carefully about, like, is this more public or parliamentary facing campaign and therefore how do we need to go about achieving it.

Interviewer: Yeah alright, as I understood it, it's you doing both. Both by..

Interviewee: Yeah.

Interviewer: Yeah, okay. Alright, and you mentioned it already earlier. You are not funded by the government, but... you do not have to answer this question, but how is your organisation funded?

Interviewee: So we... you can have a look on our website, it's all up there, but we basically get our funding through lots of different kinds of charitable grants, philanthropics...

Interviewer: Philanthropics yeah...

Interviewee: Who... So... we apply for... Basically, rather than it all coming from one place it comes for lots of different kinds of charitable grants.

Interviewer: Hmm hmm.

Interviewee: So, my project is funded by something called the transitional advice fund and they support a lot of people working with EU citizens. So, yeah. Basically that's... that's what sets us apart in a lot of ways is there's no central or local government funding.

Interviewer: Alright. And is your organisation also member based?

Interviewee: Yeah, we are a membership organisation, my colleague Ruth, she's our membership engagement worker and... Unsurprisingly, both after Brexit and after the terrible general election result...

Interviewer: Yes...

Interviewee: In last December our membership increased...

Interviewer: Increased...

Interviewee: A lot. So that's good yeah.

Interviewer: Yeah, it's good for the organisation. Haha. yeah. So, to what extent would you say that the JCWI has been, yeah, successful in reaching some of its goals for... for my migrants and EU migrants?

Interviewee: Yeah...

Interviewer: What have you achieved? Yeah.

Interviewee: So.. Yeah, yeah, yeah. So, in terms of our.. Our campaign goal, I would say that obviously we haven't yet succeeded in getting automatic settled status, but I think what we have done is really work to kind of create awareness of why that is so needed and what the risks are if we don't get that. And to kind of keep holding the home office to account.

Interviewer: Right..

Interviewee: On.. On.. they might be saying 'look 3.4 million people have applied to the EU settlement scheme, that's really great' but what we know is that actually there's a lot more people... EU citizens living in the UK than any of us are aware of in the official figures, it is likely to be more like 4-5 million, so we are... We're that voice who kind of says, along others like the 3million, actually it's not all as good as it seems, there are gonna be people who are left out.

Interviewer: Right.

Interviewee: Kind of constantly working. We're working closely with labour and with the opposition to keep those issues on the page. I would also say one of the other things that we're campaigning for, that kind of sticks alongside that, is for EU citizens to have physical documentation.

Interviewer: Right.

Interviewee: Because, we're worried that otherwise that leads to discrimination, if it's all digital and it's all online. And that's something we've been calling for and that's something we've got a really great deal of support from all opposition parties and so people are kind of... we've got really strong relationships with MPs who are in parliament every day who keep raising those issues, keep challenging them.

Interviewer: Right

Interviewee: And actually I saw a couple of months ago that the Conservatives were saying that they were considering it now...

Interviewer: Okay.

Interviewee: Which they have never said before, so that's a really good thing.

Interviewer: So as you mentioned...

Interviewee: And we've had...Sorry, go on.

Interviewer: No sor.. So, you met with Tory MPs but you also met with other MPs from other parties like Labour, Lib Dems, SNP.?

Interviewee: Yeah, yeah. Exactly. Yeah, I think we had to kind of change our strategies slightly after the election. Where before we were kind of just targeting Tory MPs to talk to them about what it was that we needed and now there's such a strong majority, we're also prioritising working closely with the opposition so that they're really well briefed on what we need and what to campaign on...

Interviewer: So maybe some... some moderate Tories, or like Dominic Grieve, I think they lost their seat, so maybe the... Also the Tory party has changed a bit?

Interviewee: Yeah exactly. So, I am not gonna lie. It's definitely more challenging, now that ,like, the Tory party has changed. And there are less of those moderate Conservatives in place. But it's definitely still a winnable campaign. And I think something that we're seeing is, I think, it will be really interesting to see what happens as we get closer to the deadline. Because I think now we're still... the deadline is over a year away, Coronavirus is taking over everything

Interviewer: Yeah.

Interviewee: So when we get closer, like... Right now, because of Coronavirus, a lot of the support systems that are there to help EU citizens apply are... have stopped. People can't get the assistance or support that they need, so I think there's gonna have to come a point where the government really has to look and think what can we do given that it's nearly the

end of the transition period. A lot of people maybe haven't been able to apply who would have otherwise applied and it's not a priority on people's mind right now.

Interviewer: So, is there also a campaign to extend the deadline?

Interviewee: Yes, so that's something that organisations are definitely talking about. We feel that it's not the right thing, right now to campaign on as it's further away but it's something that we'll definitely be looking at. So, I think in the sense that you can kind of... you can see kind of hard outcomes and soft outcomes and obviously, a declaratory scheme is not yet the case in the UK. But, have we increased public awareness? Yes. Have we got sympathetic MPs onside, who are really well burst with the argument? Yeah. There are successes and things that have been done and what I'm hoping to do is research about EU care workers which we started doing before anything... before corona hit...

Interviewer: Yeah.

Interviewee: But it's extra relevant now.. Is kind of trying to shed awareness on the fact that it's not just vulnerable groups that we should be worried about. It's also workers and people that are of working age, they can speak English but maybe they work in sectors that don't give them enough support. They're not unionised, they don't know about the scheme. So that's been a really good piece of work. When the report comes out, I can send that to you as well.

Interviewer: Yeah, that'd be nice, thank you.

Interviewee: Yeah, I can imagine coronavirus also changes a lot for EU citizens as well so...

Interviewer: Yeah, and I would also add that I think our work... our other projects are obviously like... there are also successes of EU citizens now... who now will also be subject to the same policies after... after the cut off point. So we have one campaign against the right to rent policy, which makes landlords have to check the immigrations status of their tenants.

Interviewee: Right.

Interviewer: We took the government to court over it, a couple of.. No, it was last year. So the first court. And we're arguing that it causes discrimination on the basis of race and nationality. And the high court agreed that it did. So then we took it to the court of appeal. They said yes it causes discrimination, but it's not unlawful, which is interesting. And now it's gonna be going to the supreme court. And if that wins, and it is quite exciting already that it has gone that far, that would be... that would be a win for....

Interviewee: That would be a major success, yeah.

Interviewer: Yeah, yeah.

Interviewee: Alright, okay yeah, so. I think I've asked everything about the topics I wanted to...

Interviewer: Okay.

Interviewee: So, thank you so much for your time and cooperation.

Interviewer: Yeah, you're welcome. That's fine, it was nice meeting you and I hope that, yeah, it'd be interesting to read your project..

Interviewee: Yeah, that's what I wanted to say. I would like to send it to you once it's finished, I guess somewhere in July I hope it will be finished.

Interviewer: Great, cool. Well, let me know.. You can just email if you think of any other questions.

Interviewee: Yeah, I will do that. Thank you so much again.

Interviewer: No worries. Take care, have a good day.

Interviewee: You too, bye bye.

Interviewer: Bye.

Interview 3 met Settled (20/05/2020)

Interviewer: Oke, ik neem nu op. Voordat we beginnen dacht ik dat het misschien verstandig is als ik u iets over mijn scriptie vertel.

Geïnterviewde: Ja.

Interviewer: Dus het doel van mijn scriptie is om erachter te komen hoe EU-burgers in het Verenigd Koninkrijk gereageerd hebben op Brexit. Bijvoorbeeld, met hulp van belangenverenigingen zoals Settled. Hoe ze hebben gereageerd en omgaan met de juridische onzekerheid, the legal uncertainty, die Brexit met zich meebrengt en de onzekerheid van het leven in een post-Brexit United Kingdom. Dus ik probeer erachter te komen wat de zorgen van EU-burgers zijn, wat de belangrijkste issues zijn en ten tweede hoe belangenverenigingen van EU-burgers en migranten georganiseerd zijn om hierop te reageren en daarnaast kijk ik ook naar belangenverenigingen die ook echt actief lobbyen voor de rechten van EU burgers en daar heb ik ook interviews mee gedaan met the3million en the Joint Council for the Welfare of Immigrants. Maar zoals ik uit uw mail begreep is Settled echt een organisatie die EU-burgers probeert te begeleiden in het proces van verlijfsvergunningen als ik het goed begreep.

Geïnterviewde: Ja.

Interviewer: Dus dan is het zeker nuttig om met u te praten, om zo de zorgen van EU-burgers beter te begrijpen. Dus dit is waar m'n onderzoek over gaat en u kunt altijd vragen stellen ter verduidelijking mocht u dat willen. Mocht je dat willen...

Geïnterviewde: met wie heb je gesproken van the3million?

Interviewer: Uhm oh God, hoe heet. Alexandra Bulat zo heette ze.

Geïnterviewde: Alexandra Bulat, ohja, oke.

Interviewer: Ja, een Roemeense. Ik weet niet of je haar kent

Geïnterviewde: Ja ik ken haar, ik ken Alexandra wel. Ja, is interessant, nee goed ja. Ga maar door.

Interviewer: Ja was een goed gesprek dus ja. Maar voordat ik begin moet ik een paar officiële dingen vragen aan u dus ik heb toestemming van de ethische commissie van mijn universiteit om dat interview te doen. Maar ik moet u vragen of u wilt bevestigen dat u begrijpt waar mijn onderzoek over gaat en dat u altijd vragen kunt stellen...

Geïnterviewde: Ik begrijp waar je onderzoek over gaat en ik zal zeker vragen stellen als ik dat nodig vind.

Interviewer: Oke, top. En ten tweede dat u deelname vrijwillig is en dat u begrijpt dat u altijd kunt weigeren een bepaalde vraag te beantwoorden en als u niet langer mee wilt doen kunt u zich op elk moment terugtrekken zonder een reden te hoeven geven...

Geïnterviewde: Geen probleem, dat zal ik... Dat begrijp ik.

Interviewer: Goed, top. Dan kunnen we met de onderwerpen beginnen. Eerst over Brexit en de impact op EU-burgers, dus ik heb het al iets gehad over die juridische onzekerheid, die legal uncertainty, en in hoeverre zou u zeggen dat er zo'n onzekerheid is bij EU-burgers over hun toekomstige status, hun rechten en hun toekomst in het Verenigd Koninkrijk?

Geïnterviewde: Dat hangt... er van af. En ik geloof dat de grote meerderheid wel weet wat... wat... de... de toekomstige rechten zijn, wat de situatie is en dergelijke. En een groot deel... dat er een groot deel is dat... dat zich onzeker voelt omdat ze, of de situatie niet begrijpen, of het echt moeilijk vinden om te accepteren.

Interviewer: Ja..

Geïnterviewde: En... en daar zijn zoveel verschillen reden en voor. En he.. En... Ik persoonlijk, ik woon hier meer dan dertig jaar.

Interviewer: Hmm hmm.

Geïnterviewde: en ik heb mijn grootste deel van mijn leven hier nu doorgebracht, ik heb carrière gemaakt en dergelijke...

Interviewer: Ja...

Geïnterviewde: Ik heb bijgedragen aan de maatschappij, ik heb hier altijd m'n belasting betaald en dingen gedaan. Ik... ik voel me gewoon, ja, opzij gezet, beledigd en boos... noem maar op.

Interviewer: Ja.

Geïnterviewde: Want ja, wat is dat nu. Is dat die... je hele bijdrage aan de maatschappij hier wordt dus gewoon opzij geschoven en dat doet er niet toe...

Interviewer: Ja.

Geïnterviewde: En hoeveel mooie woorden de regering daar probeert te verbinden, het is duidelijk een volkomen... Ja negeren van... van... van wat mijn positie in deze maatschappij is geweest en ja...

Interviewer: Ja.

Geïnterviewde: Het is een soort van verraad dat je voelt.

Interviewer: Dus voor u... voor u en veel andere EU-burgers is het niet alleen juridische onzekerheid maar ook.... ook een stuk.... een sociaal stuk, als dat u zich misschien ongewenst voelt of...

Geïnterviewde: Ja. Maar dat we ook delen met veel Britse.... veel Britse burgers, he... Die vinden ditzelfde, het raakt ons gewoon een beetje meer persoonlijk in die zien. Aan de andere kant heb ik altijd gedacht van, ja, maar ik ben nog steeds een EU-burger, ik heb nog steeds mn Nederlandse EU paspoort, eigenlijk kom ik beter eraf dan vele anderen. Haha.

Interviewer: Ja, dat voor Britten die hebben Geen EU...

Geïnterviewde: Dit...

Interviewer: Britten hebben natuurlijk geen EU-burgerschap meer, dat klopt.

Geïnterviewde: Nee. Maar de consequentie daarvan is dat ik me daardoor minder deel van deze maatschappij voel. He? Als een gevolg daarvan.

Interviewer: Ja.

Geïnterviewde: Dan heb ik toch zoiets van, ja, we waren allemaal EU-burgers, we waren allemaal uit hetzelfde bootje, mijn vrouw hetzelfde, he, mijn vrouw is Brits...

Interviewer: Ja..

Geïnterviewde: Mijn kinderen zijn Brits...

Interviewer: Ja.

Geïnterviewde: Ik ben Nederlands, dat was allemaal niet zo'n probleem. Nu is het ineens een probleem. En.. en je voelt je toch opzij gezet op die manier.

Interviewer: Ja...

Geïnterviewde: Hoewel ik me... hoewel ik begrijp dat... Ja, gelukkig ben ik Nederlander want ik werk dus met veel andere collega's uit andere landen. Nederland is ontzettend positief geweest op dit gebied. De ambassade hier in Groot-Brittannië has.. is ontzettend behulpzaam.

Interviewer: Hmm hmm.

Geïnterviewde: He, dat is een duidelijk andere houding dan, zegmaar, sommige van de Oost-Europese landen, of kleinere landen waar dat heel wat moeilijker was.

Interviewer: Ja. Ja, het stukje wat u zegt herken ik ook wel van mijn eigen tante, die woont ook al, ja, iets van 25 jaar in het Verenigd Koninkrijk, ook getrouwd met een...

Geïnterviewde: Ja.

Interviewer: Iemand uit het Verenigd Koninkrijk, maar zij voelt dat ook heel erg, ja weggezet of zo, en ze zegt ook ik ga misschien wel voor een Brits paspoort aanvragen want die Boris Johnson die vertrouw ik helemaal niet, zegt ze. Dus ja, ik merk wel dat, dat leeft onder EU-burgers.

Geïnterviewde: Ja.

Interviewer: Goed. Maar, als we toch naar de... meer het juridische stukje komen, van wat... wat zijn denkt u daar de zorgen van EU-burgers?

Geïnterviewde: Ik denk dat de zorgen van EU-burgers... Want ik krijg... Dat hangt een beetje vanaf... van... van welke groep en zeker wat de omstandigheden zijn. Ik heb een aantal oudere Duitsers gesproken die het gewoon niet vertrouwen. Die zeggen van ja wat gebeurt er straks dan, he? Dit is natuurlijk, he... Gaan ze nu nog verder die rechten afpakken? Gaan ze ons dan nog het land uitzetten? Het proberen? Proberen ze... he? Dus dat gevoel van, dit is alleen maar het begin. Dit kan erger worden. En... en... In het begin dacht ik, nou dat zal wel meevallen. Maar nu, als ik zie hoe de nieuwe immigratiewet uitpakt en dergelijke denk ik, ja eigenlijk haha... Houdt het hier wel mee op?

Interviewer: Ja.

Geïnterviewde: Wat is de volgende stap? Wat is, he? Kunnen ze inderdaad ons het leven nog moeilijker maken? En ik denk dat er een... een deel is dat, dat best zou willen doen. Dus er is wel dat wantrouwen, van we voelden ons zeker, we wisten hé lidmaatschap zal altijd duren, dat is geen probleem, we zijn veilig, we worden alleen maar sterker en beter. Nu gaat het duidelijk de andere kant uit. Dus dat... Mensen...

Interviewer: Ja.

Geïnterviewde: Het geeft je veel onzekerheid.

Interviewer: Ja.

Geïnterviewde: Voor andere mensen, zeg maar meer recente mensen, mensen die meer recent zijn aangekomen, speciaal van onze nieuwe EU-landen zoals Bulgarije, Roemenië en dergelijke, hebben een andere houding. Die zijn meer gewend aan dit soort situaties, dus die accepteren het aan de ene kant meer...

Interviewer: Ja.

Geïnterviewde: Zij waren er dan ook vlugger bij om aan te vragen. Ze zagen dat gewoon als een proces. Aan de andere kant vinden ze het moeilijker om hun status te bewijzen, om de...

de... de taal te begrijpen, en dat soort... dus hun onzekerheid is meer rond het process, en... en... you know... kunnen ze het land makkelijk in en uit. Dat soort dingen.

Interviewer: Ja, snap ik.

Geïnterviewde: Dus dat is meer praktisch.

Interviewer: Ja.

Geïnterviewde: Dus voor mensen zoals ik is het meer een emotioneel probleem en een wan... een wantrouwen op de lange duur voor anderen. Het is meer een... een... een... direct probleem. He, de... de... de... het gemak waarmee je het land in en uit kwam veranderd en het is... zijn ze onzeker of hoe ze daar nu mee om moeten gaan.

Interviewer: Ja, snap ik.

Geïnterviewde: Dat was een Bulgaarse man die ik sprak een tijdje geleden, die was dus bezorgd dat... dat... hij kwam naar Groot-Brittannië voor dat Bulgarije deel van de EU was, hij moest dus werkvergunningen aanvragen en dergelijke. En hij was dus bezorgd dat ie in die situatie terug zou komen

Interviewer: Ja, snap ik.

Geïnterviewde: He, dat ie dus weer die... He, nee. Bulgarije is nu deel van de EU dus het is een.. Een overeenkomst met de EU, niet met Bulgarije. Dus he. Dus het... dus het... die werkvergunningen zijn niet nodig. Maar, dat soort onzekerheid komt dus weer naar voren bij mensen... over weer dat lastige process.

Interviewer: Ja, snap ik. En...

Geïnterviewde: You know, en dan zijn er mensen met echte grote problemen. Mensen met in... in relaties die heel moeilijk zijn, waar geweld is, waar... dat soort dingen, die slachtoffer van slavernij zijn geweest, die... zonder woningen... hoe noem je dat nou? Zonder... zonder... Zonder adres en dergelijke op straat wonen.

Interviewer: Daklozen, ja.

Geïnterviewde: Ja, die hebben echt hele grote problemen.

Interviewer: Ja, snap ik. Ja, u refereerde er al even aan, dat... dat u toch wel, dat had ik ook als vervolgvraag opgeschreven, dat er misschien wel verschillen zijn tussen EU-burgers, wat voor zorgen zij hebben. Of er ook verschillen zijn tussen nationaliteiten of tussen leeftijden, of tussen hoe lang ze al in het Verenigd Koninkrijk zijn.

Geïnterviewde: Ja, ja, ja.

Interviewer: Dus...

Geïnterviewde: Ja, en of ze familiebanden hebben. Ik, zeg maar, in mijn familie hier ben ik de enige Nederlander, de enige buitenlander, he. Dat was geen probleem, maar ja. Mijn kinderen hebben dus Britse nationaliteit, ik heb Nederlandse nationaliteit, dat was nooit een probleem, nu is het een probleem. Andere families die jij kent zijn allemaal Nederlands, he. De kinderen die zijn Nederlands, of je krijgt verschillen voor... Bijvoorbeeld, waar... Want dat... je krijgt nu al die... kijk dat die... die merkwaardige dingen met die immigratiewet, worden ineens belangrijk. Dus, kinderen die, zeg maar, geboren zijn toen de ouders hier nog geen 5 jaar woonden.

Interviewer: Ja.

Geïnterviewde: Kunnen niet automatisch de Britse nationaliteit krijgen. Kinderen die geboren nadat de ouders hier langer wonen dan 5 jaar krijgen dat wel, Dus dan krijg je een familie, die is gesplit in verschillende nationaliteiten....

Interviewer: Ja.

Geïnterviewde: En verschillende rechten, he.

Interviewer: Ja, echt verwarrend.

Geïnterviewde: Die jongere kinderen kunnen Brits worden, automatisch. De oudere kinderen niet.

Interviewer: Ja, snap ik..

Geïnterviewde: Haha. En dat soort dingen... de ouders zijn dan niet... niet Brits en zijn nog steeds Nederlands bijvoorbeeld. So, je krijgt these... die verschillende soort van... van... een groot verschil in nationaliteit. En dat is heel gecompliceerd.

Interviewer: Ja, erg lastig.

Geïnterviewde: En dat... er zijn er veel, he. Ik ken een aantal mensen hier die Soedanees of Somalisch, die zijn voor ge... he... Zij hebben nu Nederlandse paspoorten, soms ook Zweedse paspoorten of Finse paspoorten, He, die zijn... die hebben al een soort van... soort van... proces van... van... nationaliteitsverandering doormaakt, doorgemaakt dat heel traumatisch was, he.

Interviewer: Ja.

Geïnterviewde: Ze zijn vaak vluchtelingen en dergelijke van moeilijke situaties, hebben een nieuw leven kunnen vinden in Europa, hebben een Europees paspoort. Hebben dat omhelsd en proberen, he... the freedom of movement, de bewegingsvrijheid pastte hun heel goed. Ze kwamen...

Interviewer: Ja.

Geïnterviewde: Wel naar Nederland en Nederland heeft ze ontvangen en dat is geweldig. Maar ze voelden zich nooit echt thuis in Nederland. Er zijn een aantal omstandigheden in Nederland waar ze... waar ze niet gelukkig mee waren. Discriminatie, maar ook een soort van opzij zetten in Nederland, he?

Interviewer: Ja.

Geïnterviewde: In Nederland is toch een houding van, oh vluchteling, ja fijn je mag hier wonen en we zorgen voor je, maar je mag verder niks doen. En dat vonden ze heel moeilijk, ze mochten niet werken en dergelijke, dus kwamen ze naar Engeland waar ze mak... veel makkelijker konden werken en niet weer op kunnen zeggen....

Interviewer: Ja.

Geïnterviewde: Die hebben echt dat Europees staatsburgerschap omhelsd, van nou wat mooi, we kunnen heel Europa nu gebruiken als ons land, en dat doen ze. Ze voelen zich ook weer Somalisch, ze voelen zich Nederlands en ze voelen zich Brits.

Interviewer: Hmm hmm.

Geïnterviewde: En die zitten nu ineens weer... worden ze nu ineens weer geconfronteerd met... met... zo'n situatie waar ze een keuze moeten maken tussen een land.

Interviewer: Ja.

Geïnterviewde: En.. en.. Dat is... dat is.... Dat vinden ze moeilijk ook en dat... die... die traumatische ervaring komt weer naar voren vaak.

Interviewer: Heeft dat misschien ook iets te maken met die 'hostile environment for migrants' dat...

Geïnterviewde: Ja.

Interviewer: Toen onder Theresa May is ingesteld.

Geïnterviewde: Ja, al heb je dat... al, heeft dat geen directe inslag op zijn status, want ze hebben een Nederlands en Europees paspoort... paspoort. Zo heeft toch... he... ze zijn daar met donkere huidskleur dus ze worden gezien als een... als... als Afrikaans.

Interviewer: Ja. Ze worden niet als Europeaan aangekeken.

Geïnterviewde: De hostile environment heeft heel veel te maken met. Met... met.. De aard van de gesprekken die ik vaak heb met mensen is van, oh ja maar die immigranten. Maar ik ben dan ook immigrant. Ja, nee, nee jij bent oke. Jij bent Nederlands.

Interviewer: Ja, heel herkenbaar.

Geïnterviewde: Ik ben een immigrant, net als iedere andere immigrant. Mijn huidskleur en dergelijke maakt niks uit.

Interviewer: Ja, precies. Nou dat hoor ik mijn tante ook vaak zeggen, want die zegt precies hetzelfde en dat zeggen ze tegen haar, nee jou bedoelen we niet. Omdat ze wit is of westers ofzo waarschijnlijk.

Geïnterviewde: Ja, dat is...

Interviewer: Ja, dat... Maar goed, die EU-burgers, uzelf denk ik ook, heeft dan moeten. Apply.. Uhm... aanvragen zo'n settled status.

Geïnterviewde: Hmm hmm.

Interviewer: Zijn daar ook issues, problemen met die settled status? Met het aanvragen van de settled status voor EU-burgers?

Geïnterviewde: Natuurlijk altijd... Afgezien van de emotionele problemen, er kunnen technische problemen zijn. Een aantal mensen hebben technische problemen ervaren met de aanvraag. En meer dan grote deel van de aanvragen gaat goed en makkelijk.

Interviewer: Ja.

Geïnterviewde: Dus er zijn genoeg verhalen van mensen die zeggen, nou het duurde maar 2, 3 dagen...

Interviewer: Hmm hmm.

Geïnterviewde: Het is geen probleem.

Interviewer: Ja.

Geïnterviewde: Dat... doet niet af aan het feit dat er een aantal mensen zijn die daar dus duidelijk een probleem mee hebben, die dus gevraagd worden voor meer informatie, en he, daar is duidelijk een... een.. He, ze checken dus automatisch de aanvraag... je aanvraag tegen het.... Belastingregister of het enige... he, hoe noem je dat, benefits. Hoe heet dat in het Nederlands?

Interviewer: Uitkering.

Geïnterviewde: Uitkering en dergelijke.

Interviewer: Ja.

Geïnterviewde: En... en als daar dus een gat in zit, en dat klopt, als daar dus een jaar in zit waar ze geen informatie over hebben, bijvoorbeeld omdat je nog je belastingaanslag niet hebt ingediend...

Interviewer: Ja.

Geïnterviewde: Dan komen ze terug met een vraag van, ja, waar was je dan? Kan je bewijzen dat je in het land was?

Interviewer: Hmm hmm.

Geïnterviewde: Nou daar moet je dus dan weer bewijs aanvoeren en dat kan soms een beetje lastiger zijn. Nou, maar dan zijn er een aantal zaken zoals bijvoorbeeld mensen die zegmaar familieleden, die niet Europese burgers zijn, maar familieleden van Europese burgers.

Interviewer: Hmm hmm.

Geïnterviewde: Die aanvragen duren een heel stuk langer, er zijn technische problemen geweest. Mensen die gewoon in het systeem verdwenen en dan duurt het vaak heel lang daar weer uit te kruipen. Mensen die het proces niet helemaal begrepen, een adviseur in dienst hebben genomen die niet helemaal koosjer was, die dus geen goed emailadres hebben gegeven, of informatie vast hebben gehouden, die geen berichten doorsturen.

Interviewer: Ja.

Geïnterviewde: Er zijn een aantal zaken waar we mee... mee omgaan waar mensen dus geen... hun... hun... hun account niet meer kunnen be... be... activeren omdat ze dus de informatie niet hebben en dergelijke, moeten helemaal terug en opnieuw beginnen, met resolutie centre van home office overleggen en dergelijke, hoe we dat weer... hoe we de oorspronkelijke aanvraag kunnen annuleren en weer een nieuwe aanvraag indienen. Dus er zijn een aantal zeg maar technische problemen, of mensen die gewoon geen paspoort hebben. Dat komt veel voor. Kinderen die geboren... hier geboren zijn, een aantal Portugese families hier in Wales, met kinderen die hier geboren zijn en die kinderen hebben geen paspoort, geen ID documents...

Interviewer: Ja.

Geïnterviewde: Om die aan te vragen duurt heel lang, moeten mensen vaak terug naar Portugal...

Interviewer: Oh jeetje.

Geïnterviewde: Dat is kostbaar, de aanvraag is kostbaar, dus het is een heel lastig proces, dus wat krijg je dan is dat de ouders settled status hebben, hebben aangevraagd, maar de kinderen het niet hebben, hebben geen aanvraag voor de kinderen ingediend. Ja...

Interviewer: Jeetje.

Geïnterviewde: Het risico is dat je kan... je hebt vast wel van windrush gehoord... Dat...

Interviewer: Ja.

Geïnterviewde: Het dus kan zijn dat die kinderen onder het systeem glippen en dan 10, 20 jaar later...

Interviewer: Dat was eigenlijk ook mijn vervolgvraag omdat ik gehoord dat je niet een physical proof of documentation, en dat ja, je het op papier ook krijgt, of er dan ook onder EU-burgers zorgen leven dat zoiets als een windrush schandaal ook kan ontstaan voor hen?

Geïnterviewde: Er is dat... Ja. Het is een risico. He. merkwaardig genoeg, ik val dus in een categorie, ik ben over de 60. Ik heb indefinite leave to remain.

Interviewer: Ja.

Geïnterviewde: Dat is ongeveer hetzelfde als settled status. En dat is dus... ik had dus niet...ik hoefde niet settled status aan te vragen. Als ik niet wil, he.

Interviewer: Oke.

Geïnterviewde: Maar... het zou dus veel moeilijker zijn voor mij om te bewijzen dat ik hier wel mag wonen, want het is indefinite leave to remain, dit gaat heel wat jaren terug en dergelijke. Dus... Het is een blauw kaartje die ik ergens in een la heb liggen.

Interviewer: Ja..

Geïnterviewde: Maar, het is... Dat wordt vast niet geaccepteerd door mensen, mensen begrijpen dat niet.

Interviewer: Nee.

Geïnterviewde: He, want ze hebben een ander systeem. Dan heb je natuurlijk het feit dat als je settled status je hebt, je het alleen maar digitaal kan bewijzen dus dan moet je door een process gaan, he..

Interviewer: Ja, ja.

Geïnterviewde: Je moet een code aanvragen, die code doorgeven, dan moet iemand weer die code intypen, dus dat duurt een tijdje, dat is lastig.

Interviewer: Ja.

Geïnterviewde: Je moet verbinding hebben. Dus als er een keuze is tussen een Britse burger waarvan mensen dus zeggen, ja jij mag dit huis hebben, jij mag deze baan hebben, geen probleem. Of een EU burger waar ze dus dat langer process moeten dan...

Interviewer: Ja.

Geïnterviewde: Van, he... dat ze dat dus automatisch voor die Britse burger...

Interviewer: Ja, dat snap ik...

Geïnterviewde: Dus het is een discriminatie element, er kunnen problemen zijn om... om dus die code weer aan te vragen he...

Interviewer: Ja.

Geïnterviewde: Simpele, technische problemen, maar ook inderdaad informatie, je kan informatie verliezen, het kan zijn dat je niet op tijd je paspoort... nummer... veranderd hebt als je een nieuw paspoort hebt, adreswijzigingen, er kan zoveel mis gaan met die informatie, of toegang te krijgen tot die informatie.

Interviewer: Ja.

Geïnterviewde: Het is altijd een probleem, en een kaart... een fysieke kaart...

Interviewer: Ja, ik kan me voorstellen dat...

Geïnterviewde: Van kijk ik heb settled status.

Interviewer: Ja...

Geïnterviewde: Is veel makkelijker.

Interviewer: Ja, ik kan me voorstellen dat, dat veel makkelijker is dan dat je weer door zo'n heel proces moet en misschien zijn er ook wel EU-burgers die dan dat proces niet snappen ofzo.

Geïnterviewde: Oudere mensen zeker niet.

Interviewer: Ja, precies.

Geïnterviewde: Überhaupt ja.

Interviewer: Ja, dus ik kan me voorstellen dat, dat erg lastig is. Oke. Ik zou ook graag met u over Settled willen praten en misschien kunt u er iets over vertellen, wat jullie doen, wat zijn jullie doelen, wat... zijn.. Ja, wat doen jullie precies?

Geïnterviewde: Well, Settled komt voor uit the3million en the3million realiseerde zich dat... dat... dit proces doorgaat, dat is duidelijk, het was duidelijker dat er geen... het niet tegengehouden werd.

Interviewer: Ja.

Geïnterviewde: Maar dat er veel mensen zouden zijn die dus daar problemen mee zouden hebben en die dus hulp nodig hadden. En die... de home office maakte geld beschikbaar, de organisaties die dus de mensen met problemen zouden helpen.

Interviewer: Ja, oke.

Geïnterviewde: En samen met een paar andere organisaties hebben we er dus een aanvraag voor gedaan, dat was succesvol en Settled was opgezet als deel van dat consortium, als een... als een charity, dus een... hoe heet dat in het Nederlands, een charity?

Interviewer: Een goed doel?

Geïnterviewde: Ja, goed doel als in, yeah you know, als in... Dus niet als een campagneorganisatie, maar om dus echt mensen te helpen.

Interviewer: Ja.

Geïnterviewde: Dus...

Interviewer: Bijstaan.

Geïnterviewde: Ja, bij te staan, met het doel om die mensen uit... uit categorieën, waar ze dus... waar... waar... ze een bepaalde onzekerheid hebben, of een... of een kwetsbaarheid, he dus mensen die zeg maar in een gewelddadige relatie zitten, die het slachtoffer zijn van slavernij, moderne slavernij, die zonder... geen huis hebben...

Interviewer: Ja.

Geïnterviewde: Die op straat wonen, die... handicaps hebben en dergelijke. Dus het mensen die doof of blind zijn, of ouder, of mensen die niet met technologie om kunnen gaan. Dus alle mensen die dus bepaalde categorieën van kwetsbaarheid hebben, om die te helpen met het proces. Wat we geleerd hebben is dat die kwetsbaarheden vaak niet zo'n groot probleem zijn, soms wel in een aantal dingen, dat überhaupt veel mensen zich kwetsbaar voelen.

Interviewer: Ja.

Geïnterviewde: Dus het proces niet begrijpen, of er bang voor zijn, of, he. Het is... heel simpel... hoewel het een simpel proces is op zich... Het is alleen maar simpel als je leven ook heel simpel is.

Interviewer: Ja.

Geïnterviewde: Als je een gecompliceerd leven hebt is het niet meer simpel. Want dan moet je ineens vragen gaan beantwoorden... die... die je moeilijk kunt beantwoorden. En... en ook als je daar gewoon bang voor bent, het is toch... het is een hele ingreep op je leven, dus als je iets verkeerd doet, kan dat... Het is een groot risico, dus ze zijn daar bang voor.

Interviewer: Ja, snap ik.

Geïnterviewde: En willen gewoon iemand naast hun hebben, die hun hand vast houdt en...

Interviewer: Ja.

Geïnterviewde: En zegt van, nou dat is goed, doe dit maar, kijk, doe dat maar, ja dat is goed, dat is juist, stuur het nu maar in. En ik.. Dat... ik kan met dat heel goed voorstellen. He, ik ben intelligent, ik begrijp de processen, ik heb er veel over nagedacht, veel in verdiept, toch vind ik het moeilijk.

Interviewer: Ja.

Geïnterviewde: Omdat de beslissing zo belangrijk is in je leven.

Interviewer: Dus, het is eigenlijk een soort van adviserende rol die jullie spelen als ik... als ik het goed begrijp.

Geïnterviewde: Ja. Dat... dat... we helpen mensen, we adviseren mensen, en waar dat is.. Waar er complicaties zijn, waar mensen dus echt een complicatie hebben dan sturen we deze door naar... naar advocaten en dergelijke. Dus we werken in Engeland samen met een advocatenbureau, dat zijn dus vrijwilligers.

Interviewer: Ja.

Geïnterviewde: He, dat is ook een charity. Dus die geven gratis advies in Engeland en Wales. De.... heeft de... Welshe regering.... Een advocatenbureau ingehuurd om speciaal informatie en hulp te geven aan mensen die dus echt grote problemen hebben. En er zijn een aantal categorieën, er is een bureau, dat heet OISC, Office of Immigration Service Commissioner. En je mag dus alleen maar immigratie advies geven als je daar geregistreerd staat en toestemming van hebt. En er zijn verschillende categorieën, er zijn dus heel eenvoudige dingen, wij kunnen gewoon mensen helpen met hun aanvraag en die dus het juiste advies geven, dat ze een succesvolle aanvraag kunnen maken. Als er iets meer gecompliceerd is, zeg maar als ze familieleden hebben die geen EU-burgers zijn of andere problemen hebben met migratie...

Interviewer: Ja.

Geïnterviewde: Dan sturen we ze door naar... naar juiste... naar gratis advies ook dat beschikbaar is.

Interviewer: Ja.

Geïnterviewde: In... door... door andere organisaties.

Interviewer: Hebben jullie ook... Zijn dat veel EU-burgers die jullie benaderen? Is het een grote groep?

Geïnterviewde: Ja. Ja, en nog steeds. Ik kan je geen precieze nummers geven, maar toch wel he. We hebben een site, die wordt zo'n... Het is nu wat minder maar we hadden toch zo'n 8.000.... Hoe noem je dat, menigvolle clicks, meaningful engagements, per maand.

Interviewer: Ja.

We hebben een netwerk van... van... van vrijwilligers die dus ook met mensen opgaan en er zijn dus over het afgelopen jaar hebben zo'n 4-5 duizend mensen geholpen met een aanvraag.

Geïnterviewde:

Interviewer: Zo.

Geïnterviewde: En dat is alleen maar ons, er zijn een aantal andere organisaties die hetzelfde doen.

Interviewer: Ja.

Geïnterviewde: Dus ja. Er is duidelijke grote interesse, groot noodzakelijkheid voor deze hulp ja.

Interviewer: En bestaan jullie zelf ook echt uit EU-burgers of zijn het ook Britten, is het gemixt?

Geïnterviewde: Voornamelijk EU-burgers, sommigen zijn Brits geworden.

Interviewer: Ja.

Geïnterviewde: En hebben dus de 'dual nationality'. Er zijn een paar Britse burgers, vaak ook met hun partner of familieleden zijn EU burgers, ze hebben vaak een verband met een ander land. Voor de vrijwilligers hebben we ook speciaal gekozen voor mensen die een taal spreken van een van de EU-landen. Speciaal dus de oost-Europese talen, dat is belangrijk. Dus, you know, dat is een van de dingen die we dus ook bieden, zeg, we kunnen mensen in hun eigen taal helpen als dat noodzakelijk is.

Interviewer: Ohja, en u had het al even over dat de Home Office ook geld opzij had gezet voor organisaties, dus mijn vraag is ook hoe worden jullie gefinancierd? Is dat alleen door de Home Office of dono.... Donoren?

Geïnterviewde: Het.. het.. dat ... dat is dus een speciaal project met de Home Office, dat loopt nog steeds tot Juni dit jaar en dan is het mogelijk een verlenging, om dus een nieuwe aanvraag die je kunt indienen voor dat geld...

Interviewer: Hmm hmm.

Geïnterviewde: En ondertussen hebben we ook steun van de regering in Wales, in Cardiff.

Interviewer: Oke, ja.

Geïnterviewde: En ook steun van de regering in Schotland. Maar omdat Schotland toch legaal een beetje anders is, doen we dat... doen we dat via een andere organisatie want Settled is dus een charity in England and Wales maar niet in Schotland.

Interviewer: Niet in Schotland..

Geïnterviewde: In Northern Ireland... In Noord-Ierland doen we niet veel op het moment, maar we hebben een aantal dingen en er zijn ook een paar organisaties bezig, we zijn daar dus... daar gaan we dus meer mee samenwerken op het moment.

Interviewer: Ja.

Geïnterviewde: We hebben ook wat geld van andere bronnen, kleine stukjes, we krijgen donaties van mensen, mensen geven geld. Op het moment zijn... doen we een aanvraag voor een project van de Europese delegatie. Dat hangt... dat is een competitie, zou moet je dat maar zien, of we krijgen het of niet...

Interviewer: Ohja.

Geïnterviewde: We hebben een relatie met de.... De plaatselijke overheid in Leeds en in Bradford, die gaven ons dus een tijdje een... een klein bedrag om daar wat extra werk te doen en dergelijke, dus het zijn verschillende potjes, ja.

Interviewer: Oke. En hebben jullie zeg maar leden of zijn jullie een stichting of hoe zijn jullie eigenlijk georganiseerd?

Geïnterviewde: We zijn een charity, dus dat is zeg maar een... een.. Hoe noem je dat nou een charity in het Nederlands?

Interviewer: Haha. Ja ik weet alleen goed doel eigenlijk als vertaling.

Geïnterviewde: Ja, ja een organisatie die dus opgezet is voor een goed doel. Dus dat betekent dus dat je... dat je aan bepaalde dingen verbonden bent.

Interviewer: Ja.

Geïnterviewde: Ik zat even te kijken hoe ik dit nou het beste in het Nederlands vertaald kon krijgen, sorry.

Interviewer: Geeft niks.

Geïnterviewde: Dat zit me dus een beetje dwars.

Interviewer: Geeft niks.

Geïnterviewde: Hahaha.

Interviewer: Haha.

Geïnterviewde: Ja, liefdadigheid, een charity... Charity, ja een. Een organisatie met een liefdadig doel, dat is duidelijk he?

Interviewer: Ja.

Geïnterviewde: En in die zin kunnen we dus geld aanvragen van verschillende organisaties, dat betekent dat je een bepaald organisatiemodel hebt, met bestuur en... en mensen die daar dus werken, we hebben geen leden, we zijn geen lidmaatschap organisatie.

Interviewer: Oke, ja. Dus hoe kan... hoe kan de... de doelgroep eigenlijk... hoe kan die jullie vinden?

Geïnterviewde: Verschillende.... Verschillende wegen. We werken dus samen met een consortium. Wij gaan vaak de mensen, die ons nodig hebben, he, dat... dat... dat vrijwilligersnetwerk is een deel van ons... onze... ons personeel hebben dus connecties, zijn bijvoorbeeld Italiaans, weten goed hun weg in de Italiaanse gemeenschap...

Interviewer: Hmm hmm.

Geïnterviewde: Bulgaarse is erg actief. Alexandra is erg goed met Roemenië.

Interviewer: Ja, snap ik.

Geïnterviewde: Met mensen uit Roemenië, dus die is daar druk mee bezig. Dus we hebben allemaal onze eigen netwerken en dergelijke. Maar we adverteren, we staan op verschillende websites waar mensen dus voor informatie gaan kijken.

Interviewer: Ja.

Geïnterviewde: In Wales heeft dus de regering een website, een informatieportaal opgezet. En wij staan daar zelf ook en dergelijke, dus mensen vinden ons via verschillende routes en dan hebben we een, he, in het begin zetten we dus een heleboel informatieavonden op in verschillende plekken, die adverteren we dus in allemaal... in bepaalde organen...

Interviewer: Ja.

Geïnterviewde: En mensen komen er naartoe. Dat gebeurt nu allemaal online, we kunnen dat niet meer doen fysiek op het moment, maar natuurlijk ook door, we hebben Facebook pages, Whatsapp, Fyber. Nou dus een aantal van die platforms en dergelijke...

Interviewer: Ja.

Geïnterviewde: Die dus nog steeds erg actief zijn.

Interviewer: Ziet u dan ook een verschil in nationaliteiten van mensen die met u in contact komen?

Geïnterviewde: Ja, we hadden net een vergadering een half uurtje geleden, onze Italiaanse collega zei dus ik ben ontzettend druk op Facebook, de Spaanse, Venezueelse, Zuid-Amerikaanse collega's zeggen dus ik ben ontzettend druk op Whatsapp.

Interviewer: Oke haha.

Geïnterviewde: Op de... De Bulgaarse zegt, nee de Bulgaren zitten allemaal op Fyber.

Interviewer: Ja, allemaal verschillende...

Geïnterviewde: Allemaal verschillende platforms.

Interviewer: Ja. Ja, snap ik. Maar ik bedoelde eigenlijk zijn het meer... meer Bulgaren, Roemenen die hulp nodig hebben of meer Nederlanders, ziet u daar nog een verschil in?

Geïnterviewde: Ja... De verschillende nationaliteiten hebben verschillende soorten hulp nodig.

Interviewer: Oke, ja.

Geïnterviewde: En de Nederlanders zijn voornamelijk, omdat ze een beetje arrogant zijn...

Interviewer: Haha

Geïnterviewde: Ja ik ga het niet aanvragen, ik moet eerst nog maar wat meer weten, wat betekent het nou precies voor mijn leven, wat he, wat gaat er nu gebeuren, moet ik dat nou wel doen of niet doen? Dus die willen al die informatie weten voordat ze dat gaan afwegen. Bulgaren die hebben meer een probleem van, die begrijpen niet, wat betekent dit, wat moet ik nu doen, wat is hiermee, dat soort problemen. Oh, ik heb m'n paspoort niet, kan ik nog wel heen en weer, mijn moeder moet straks nog komen die wordt ook wat ouder...

Interviewer: Ja.

Geïnterviewde: Dus dat is weer, dat soort praktisch gericht. En de... Italianen daar zit een aantal... een aantal Italiaanse families die zijn hier al... even... meer dan een halve eeuw, die zijn allemaal net na de oorlog gekomen...

Interviewer: Ja.

Geïnterviewde: He die kwamen, he die kwamen hier dus, gingen hier wonen, hebben hier kinderen gehad, maar die kinderen hebben nooit de Britse nationaliteit aangevraagd of gekregen.

Interviewer: Nee.

Geïnterviewde: Die kregen de Italiaanse nationaliteit, dat doet er allemaal niet toe, dat kon ze niks schelen, nu ontdekken ze ineens dat de hele familie Italiaans is en die zeggen: 'wij hoeven toch niet aan te vragen, want wij hebben hier altijd gewoond, ik ben hier geboren'... Ja, nee je moet het wel doen.

Interviewer: Ja jeetje.

Geïnterviewde: Dat... dat... je hebt een Italiaanse nationaliteit, je bent niet Brits, dus je moet die aanvragen maken. Die begrijpen dat gewoon niet dat ze dat moeten doen, die hebben gewoon... die vinden dat dis... he... ze kunnen dat niet bevatten.

Interviewer: Nee.

Geïnterviewde: Ik heb hier mijn hele leven gewoond, wat is het probleem.

Interviewer: En vinden het misschien ook onrechtvaardig?

Geïnterviewde: Ja. Portugezen ook, er zijn een aantal Portugezen. Ja maar ik denk nog niet eens onrechtvaardig, ze denken allemaal dat gaat om die andere immigranten he...

Interviewer: Ja.

Geïnterviewde: Die recenten, die oost-Europeanen. Dat heeft niks met ons te maken...

Interviewer: Nee, want dat heeft ook op hun betrekking natuurlijk.

Geïnterviewde: Ja, en dat is echt een verrassing, ik vond het een verrassing, die mensen komen naar je toe, ja maar ik hoef toch niet aan te vragen want ik woon hier toch, ik heb hier m'n hele leven gewoond... Ja maar heb je een Brits paspoort? Nee. Ja, dan moet je dus wel aanvragen.

Interviewer: Ja... Goed, ik heb denk ik alles wel gevraagd wat ik zou willen weten van u.

Geïnterviewde: Ja.

Interviewer: Dus, ja. Ik zou graag als ik klaar ben, het stu... het verslag naar u sturen.

Geïnterviewde: Geen probleem.

Interviewer: En ik wil u echt heel erg bedanken voor uw tijd en hulp.

Geïnterviewde: Doet er niet toe. Veel succes met je studie, ik vind het ontzettend interessant dat je een studie in Nederland en in in Duitsland doet.

Interviewer: ja klopt, het is een soort... soort double degree, en dan de scriptie is dan weer onderdeel van het deel in Nederland. Maar ja, ik kan nu toch niet naar de universiteit toe, dus... Wat dat betreft heb ik geluk dat ik met m'n scriptie bezig ben, dat ik het gewoon vanuit huis kan doen.

Geïnterviewde: Goed. En in Het Nederlands neem ik aan, niet in het Duits?

Interviewer: Ja, in het Engels dan haha.

Geïnterviewde: Oh in het Engels haha.

Interviewer: Ja precies, dus ik..Sorry?

Geïnterviewde: Dan hadden we het toch misschien in het Engels moeten doen haha.

Interviewer: Ja, het maakt niet zoveel uit hoor haha.

Geïnterviewde: Nee, nee, nee.

Interviewer: Het is meer met... je zit altijd met die Engelse termen in je hoofd nu en dan even denken van wat is dat ook weer in het Nederlands, dus..

Geïnterviewde: Nee dat ook... ik vind het af en toe wel leuk om een beetje Nederlands te spreken want je raakt het zo kwijt anders...

Interviewer: Ja precies. Haha snap ik. Nogmaals heel erg bedankt.

Geïnterviewde: Geen probleem. En veel succes!

Interviewer: Dank u!

Geïnterviewde: Oke.

Interviewer: Tot ziens.

Geïnterviewde: Tot ziens.