

# Mass Observation Trade Directive Linguistic analysis

by

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## 1. Acronyms and definitions

Table 1 provides definitions of acronyms and technical terms used throughout this document.

Table 1 Definitions of acronyms and technical terms

<b>Term</b>	<b>Explanation</b>
<i>baseline corpus/dataset</i>	The reference data set against which we compare out target data set. the baseline corpus consists of the responses to the Mass Observation's 12 <sup>th</sup> May diaries 2010-2019
<i>CAL</i>	<a href="#">Concept Analytics Lab</a>
<i>concept</i>	The meaning of a word or a group of synonyms with near-identical meaning, plus its hyponyms, e.g. the concept state.n.04 can be represented by words such as <i>country</i> and <i>land</i> , as well as more specific terms (hyponyms) such as <i>Australia</i> and <i>Russia</i> . Cf. <i>sense</i> definition
<i>corpus</i>	A body of language, usually deposited in specialist software
<i>MO</i>	Mass Observation
<i>PMI</i>	Pointwise Mutual Information, a measure of association
<i>sense</i>	The meaning of a word or a group of synonyms with near-identical meaning, e.g. the sense country.n.02 includes the words <i>country</i> and <i>land</i> . Cf. <i>concept</i> definition
<i>TD</i>	Trade Directive
<i>Trade Appendices</i>	Additional documents containing more detailed and relevant information, especially data sent as a separate file.

## 2. Executive summary

The Mass Observation's (MO) Project's Autumn 2021 Trade Directive (TD) provides rich detail regarding public attitudes towards Britain's past, but mainly present and future, trading relationships with other nation states. The respondents to the TD reflect the typical socio-demographic skew of MO directives, towards older middle-class females from the South-East of England. It is important to note that responses to the TD are typically much shorter than average responses to MO directives. This is consistent with many respondents who commented that they do not possess a great deal of knowledge regarding trade deals.

Possible trading relationships are a cause of concern for many of the respondents to the TD. However, these attitudes are not homogenous, but nuanced, with slightly different concerns being foregrounded in relation to different nations. For example, in the context of the USA, respondents highlighted concerns around food production standards, particularly chlorinated chicken, while respondents commented on alleged human rights violations in the context of trading with China. While the ethical and/or environmental standards of nations with whom trade deals have been speculated are perceived negatively, EU standards, and, by extension, existing British standards, are perceived as world-leading and as a gold-standard against which other nations are evaluated. Relatedly, respondents comment on the importance of the provenance of products that they purchase, with a strong preference for local, i.e. British, goods. Goods produced in the EU and Commonwealth countries were also viewed positively by some. China was perceived most negatively for their human rights record, their environmental record, and concerns regarding food production. No other nation was discussed in such negative terms for such a range of factors.

Another key theme in our analysis is that respondents highlight a disconnect between their priorities for trade deals such as animal welfare, production standards, and environmental impact on the one hand, and the governments perceived primary motivation which was financial, on the other. This speaks to a broader feeling about distrust in the government and an awareness of perceived vested interests of politicians. Thus, while many respondents recognised the potential of trade deals to improve standards, few viewed this as a realistic possibility, especially under the current government. Respondents typically feel that while the financial impacts of trade deal are a priority for the government, the financial opportunities of such deals are limited in comparison to the financial benefits related to membership of the EU.

While trade deals are generally recognised as highly important aspect of macro-economic policy, many respondents to the TD highlight that leaving the EU is an opportunity to engage more with local and seasonal produce. Economic and environmental justifications are cited for this. Many respondents feel an obligation or a desire to support British farmers, particularly in the context of potentially cheaper products from overseas which are perceived to undercut British produce financially due to lower regulatory standards. As well as a general focus on local produce, many respondents had strong feeling about sectors which should be avoided from future trade deals. The most common areas that respondents wanted to be excluded from trade deals are arms and the health sector, as well as products which can be adequately produced in Britain. Others expressed the opinion that in the interests of competition, nothing should be off-the-table for trade deals.

While many respondents identified the value of trade deals within the broader context of Britain, most do not feel that trade deals have the potential to impact them personally or their local community directly. Thus, while respondents generally recognise the economic value of trade deals, the way that they can impact specific families or communities is not widely

understood. While some respondents were clear that they did not think that trade deals would impact them or their communities, many others states that they simply are not aware of potential benefits at a local level.

## 2.1. Overview of report

This report provides an analysis of the TD that was a part of the MO Project's Autumn 2021 directive. We begin in Section 3 by describing the pre-processing steps that were necessary before we could conduct the analysis, the method for which is outlined in Section 4. We then describe the properties of the TD in Section 5, focusing on the response rate and socio-demographic profile of respondents. We then provide an overview of the characteristic senses and concepts in the TD in Section 6. In Section 7 we take the key senses and concepts identified in Section 6 and conduct a more detailed analysis, structuring the analysis around the questions asked in the TD. Then, in Section 8 we provide further analysis of writers' perceptions. In Section 9 we highlight the key terms and expressions emerging in TD. In Section 10, we contrast themes that emerge from word processed vs handwritten responses to the TD, before concluding in Section 11. References are provided in Section 12 and Appendices in Section 13.

## 3. Data preparation

Before it is possible to conduct our analysis on the date set, there are a number of steps that must first be taken. Each of these steps are outlined in this section.

### 3.1. Cleaning and anonymising data

Upon receipt of the data from the MO team, our first task is to ensure any identifying information is removed from the documents, i.e. names, addresses, or place names which can identify the author. Names and addresses are replaced by four xs, i.e. xxxx. We also 'clean' the responses so that they are ready for computational analysis by removing headers, footers, and anything that is not text, e.g. some respondents include pictures or drawings, or not written by the respondent, e.g. the questions from the directive. In the case of handwritten directives it is sometimes the case that some words are illegible, in which case we replace the illegible word with four question marks, i.e. ????.

### 3.2. Biographical information

The biographical categories included in the data and analysis are gender, age, occupational status, and place of domicile. The biographic information is registered in an excel document in the format presented in Figure 1. This excel document with all meta-data (biographical information and external properties of the responses) is included in the *Trade Appendices* folder.

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H
1	MO NO	Prefix	Gender	Yr of Birth	Age	Occupation	SEC 9 point scale	SEC 3 point scale
2		2 A	F	1942	79	Retired Accountant, assistant		4
3		1706 A	F	1946	75	Retired Artist, teacher		2
4		5854 A	No gender given	1945	76	Visual artist		3
5		7000 A	F	1959	62	Locum Solicitor		2
6		42 B	F	1949	72	Manager, nursing agency		2
7		1752 B	F	1947	74	Library Assistant,		4
8		3227 B	M	1967	54	Not in paid work(made redundant throu		9
9		4290 B	F	1970	51	Public sector worker	Unknown	Unknown
10		5725 B	F	1960	61	Lecturer on literacy (Retired). Co-Directc		2
11		6664 B	F	1958	63	Carer		6
12		7216 B	F	1993	28	Theatre Archive co-ordinator		3
13		7306 B	F			retired manager	Unknown	
14		7546 B	F	1954	67	Retired	Unknown	Unknown
15		5991 C	F	1953	68	Retired office worker		9
16		7022 C	M	1957	64	Charity worker (p/t)		7

Figure 1 The meta-data spreadsheet, as included in the Trade Appendices

### 3.2.1. Gender

Most participants identified as male or female, while some identified as non-binary or declined to provide any information relating to gender. Gender is recorded exactly as it appears in the meta-data files.

### 3.2.2. Age

The age data we record is the precise year of birth, e.g. 1986. From this, we also aggregate data in decades. We also calculate the individual's age at the time of writing of the directive, which is useful for longitudinal analysis if needed.

### 3.2.3. Occupational status

We use the [The National Statistics Socio-economic classification \(NS-SEC\)](#) index (see Trade Appendices) to classify occupations into the nine major groups, with lower numbers corresponding to occupations with greater socioeconomic status and higher numbers corresponding to lower socioeconomic status- e.g. a CEO will have a score of 1 while a car park attendant will have a score of 9.<sup>1</sup> As well as the 9-point index, we also present and analyse the occupation status as a 3-point scale, giving a values of 1, 2, or 3, to occupations which had values of 1-3, 4-6, 7-9, respectively, on the 9-point index.

<sup>1</sup> Unemployed writers are included in group 9.

### 3.2.4. Place of domicile

Place of domicile is considered in terms of region, e.g. 'South West' or 'East Midlands'. The regions are labelled such as South West, South East, East, London, East Midlands, West Midlands, North West, North East, Yorkshire and the Humber, as well as Scotland, Wales, and Northern Ireland.

### 3.3. Software

Once cleaned (see Section 3.1), directive responses are uploaded to two software platforms. The responses to the directives and the biographical meta-data are uploaded to a corpus software platform SketchEngine (the TD corpus can be shared with the client on request via a link). This enables us to do detailed searches of words and phrases in their contexts of use. We also upload the responses and meta-data to CAL's bespoke language analysis tool, the Concept Cruncher which computationally extracts distinctive senses and concepts. These two tools are used in a complementary fashion, with the Concept Cruncher identifying what is most distinctive of the target data set and the corpus being used for a more contextualised exploration of what the Concept Cruncher has highlighted. Senses and concepts are semantically tagged using the Supervised Word Sense Disambiguation (Papandrea et al. 2017) tool.

### 3.4. Baseline dataset

In order to determine which words, senses, or concepts are characteristic of the TD data set, we need a point of reference to determine expected frequencies. The baseline corpus consists of the responses to the Mass Observation 12<sup>th</sup> May diaries from 2010-2019. Table 2 outlines the size of this corpus, including tokens (defined by Sketch Engine as 'anything between spaces'), words, and sentences. The May 2010-2019 Diaries were chosen as the baseline because they include narratives of general daily thoughts and activities and are, therefore, not skewed towards any particular topic as other Mass Observation directives may be.

Table 2 The token, word, and sentence count in the baseline corpus

<b>Baseline Corpus</b>	<b>Tokens</b>	<b>Words</b>	<b>Sentences</b>
May12th Diaries 2010-2019	4,257,029	~3,693,628	179,238

## 4. Method

### 4.1. Concept Cruncher

The first step in the analysis is to determine which senses and concepts are distinctive of the TD data set. We use the Concept Cruncher to facilitate this. We determine which senses and concepts are most distinctive relative to the baseline corpus. We measure this distinctiveness using Pointwise Mutual Information, which is a measure of association, that is, to what extent is concept Y associated with the TD as opposed to the baseline. If a sense or concept has a high positive PMI this means that it occurs more in the TD than would be expected, given how often it occurs in the baseline.

PMI compares the probability of two events occurring together to what this probability would be if the events were independent. PMI has been described as "one of the most important concepts in NLP" (Jurafsky and Martin 2021). It measures the association between two events, which can be two words/senses/concepts or, as in this report, a word/concept/sense and some meta-variable, such as the TD directive, relative to how frequent the word/sense/concept would be expected to appear by chance, given a particular baseline (Weeds 2021).

By the means of the PMI we extract the 100 most distinctive senses in the TD, such as the noun *waste* 'useless or profitless activity; using or expending or consuming thoughtlessly or carelessly', which is presented as *waste.n.02*.<sup>2</sup>

By the means of the PMI we extract the most distinctive concepts in the TD. Concepts are semantically more complex and are situated in a hierarchy with more specific and also more general meanings. This hierarchy is numbered, consisting of the most general concepts, e.g. *entity.n.01* at level 0 and increasingly more specific terms as the levels increase, e.g. *cattle.n.01* is at level 16.

The top 100 concepts for each level from 0 to 17 are displayed in the 'Trade Concept Hierarchy' document in the Trade Appendices. Fewer than 100 concepts exist for higher levels in the hierarchy (more nuanced, specific uses). We use the Concept Cruncher to determine which words and senses comprise those distinctive concepts. These words are used to query the TD text to elicit paragraphs that are read and analysed by traditional corpus linguistic techniques and close reading explained in sections 4.2-4.4.

#### 4.2. Keywords, multi-word expressions, n-grams

We complement the insights provided by the Concept Cruncher by using corpus linguistic techniques (Baker 2006). The main aim of this stage in the analysis is to extract the themes that are more often brought up by TD writers than would be expected by chance. This allows us to make claims about topics salient to TD writers. The main techniques to extract this information allow to extract key words, multi-word expressions, and n-grams.

The keyword analysis identifies words which occur more often than would be expected by chance in TD in comparison to the baseline corpus. Similarly, we identify distinctive strings of words and distinctive formulaic phrases, i.e. *key n-grams* and *key multi-word expressions*, respectively.

An *n-gram* is a sequence of a number of items (bigram = 2 items , trigram = 3 items ...n-gram = n items). An item can refer to anything (letter, digit, syllable, token, word or others).

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<sup>2</sup> Each sense is allocated a particular number, e.g. *box.n.01* is defined as 'a (usually rectangular) container; may have a lid' while *box.n.02* is defined as 'private area in a theatre or grandstand where a small group can watch the performance'.

In the context of corpora and corpus linguistics, n-grams typically refer to tokens (or words). Generating a list of the most frequent n-grams will help us linguistic phenomena that might go unnoticed when using other tools. n-grams can identify discourse markers or chunks of language which are used as fixed phrases.

A *co-occurrence* is a term which expresses how often two terms from a corpus occur alongside each other in a certain order. It usually indicates words which together create a new meaning. These are called [multi-word expressions](#), e.g. *chlorinated chicken* or *working condition*.

#### 4.3. Collocations

We use a collocation analysis in order to find out words that typically occur in the vicinity of the words which have been identified from the Concept Cruncher analysis as described in Section 4.1.

[A collocation](#) is a sequence or combination of words that occur together more often than would be expected by chance. We usually use the window of 20 words around a selected word, meaning that we include words that occur up to ten words prior and ten words after a target word. This window size of about 10 to 20 words approximates that the level of a sentence. The strength of collocation is expressed by the MI ([Mutual Information](#)) score.

#### 4.4. Close reading

Close reading involves using words, phrases and concepts identified via the methods explained in Sections 4.1-4.3 to navigate a more focussed reading of narratives. By doing that we develop a detailed and contextualised understanding of more subtle linguistic and therefore cognitive characteristics of themes discussed in the TD. This analysis is often iterative, i.e. linguistic characteristics identified via close reading are then used in computational interrogations of the text.

### 5. Trade Directive: Basic information and properties

In the current section we present the core properties of TD responses including socio-demographic profiles.

#### 5.1. Questions asked

The Trade directive was issued in Autumn 2021, alongside 'Kindness' and 'UK events'. The questions that the panel were asked are available [here](#).

The Trade directive was split into two key themes, namely 'values and standards' and 'you and your locality'. In the first of these themes, 'values' and standards', panellists were asked the following questions:

- *How do you feel about the ethical, financial and/or environmental impacts of a trade deal?*
- *Do you have any thoughts on how new trade deals could improve standards for the environment, food, and animal welfare?*
- *How far do you think trade deals should be just about improving the economy and how far should they consider other issues such as health? Is there anything – for example, sectors or goods – that you think should be excluded from a trade deal?*

For the ‘you and your locality’ section, panellists were asked the following questions:

- *Is it important to you, how and where goods are produced and manufactured? Do you research where and how the goods you buy are produced? Does this influence on what and where you shop?*
- *Do you have any concerns about the food production standards of goods produced outside the UK?*
- *What do you think the UK’s new trade deals could do for the community where you live? How could the deals improve life for you and your family? Have you been personally affected by any trade deals? If so, please share your experiences.*

## 5.2. Response rate, length, and format

Trade directive responses were submitted either in a digital word-processed format or as handwritten documents. Although 131 responses were submitted, we have access to 125 of these responses. Table 3 presents the total number of responses, tokens, words, and the mean number of words per response.

Table 3 The number of responses, tokens, words, and mean words per response for the TD corpus

Number of responses in corpus (response rate)	Tokens (Response length)	Words (Response length)	Mean words per response
125	64,013	~56,840	454.72

In the current section we contextualise properties of TD responses by comparing TD information to other directives collected during 2020-2021.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>3</sup> Please note that we provide comparisons with available information, it is not always the case that these comparative analyses contain all directives from 2020-2021. If requested, we can liaise with the Mass Observation Project to be given access to additional meta-data.

### 5.2.1. Response rate

The response rate can be used as one of indicators of conceptual salience of topics. A high response rate to a given directive may indicate that volunteers see a given topic as relatively more important in their lives and more important to report on and engage with.

The number of respondents to the TD was relatively low. 132 members of the Mass Observation panel responded to the directive. This is somewhat lower than other directives from 2020-2021 (see Figure 2). However, it is important to acknowledge that responses to the other sections of the Autumn 2021 directive, Kindness and UK Events, were the only other topics which amassed fewer than 150 responses. Thus, Autumn 2021 in general secured a low number of responses and we cannot say that TD shows a lower conceptual salience for MO writers.<sup>4</sup>

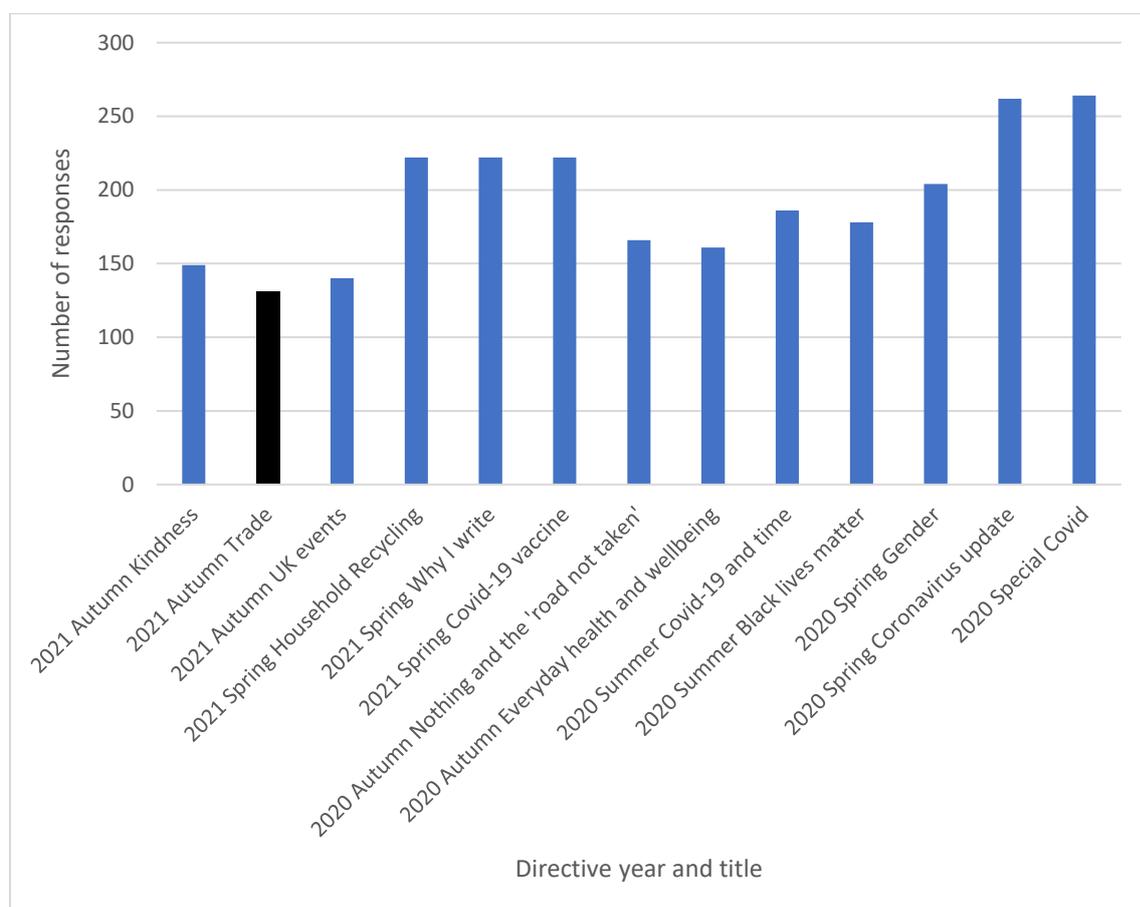


Figure 2 The number of responses to the 2020-2021 directives

<sup>4</sup> We have not done statistical testing on these numbers.

### 5.2.2. The response length of TD in relation to other directives

The response length can be used as one of indicators of conceptual salience of topics. Longer responses to a given directive may indicate that volunteers see a given topic as relatively more important in their lives and more important to report on and engage with.

In the current section we present the mean and median number of words per directive response as well as the standard deviation (see Figure 3, see also ‘metadata averages’ document in Trade Appendices). Figure 3 shows that the average length of the responses to the TD was much lower than any other directive from the 2020-2021 period. This may suggest MO writers have less intricate knowledge or experience with trade deals to report in the TD.<sup>5</sup>

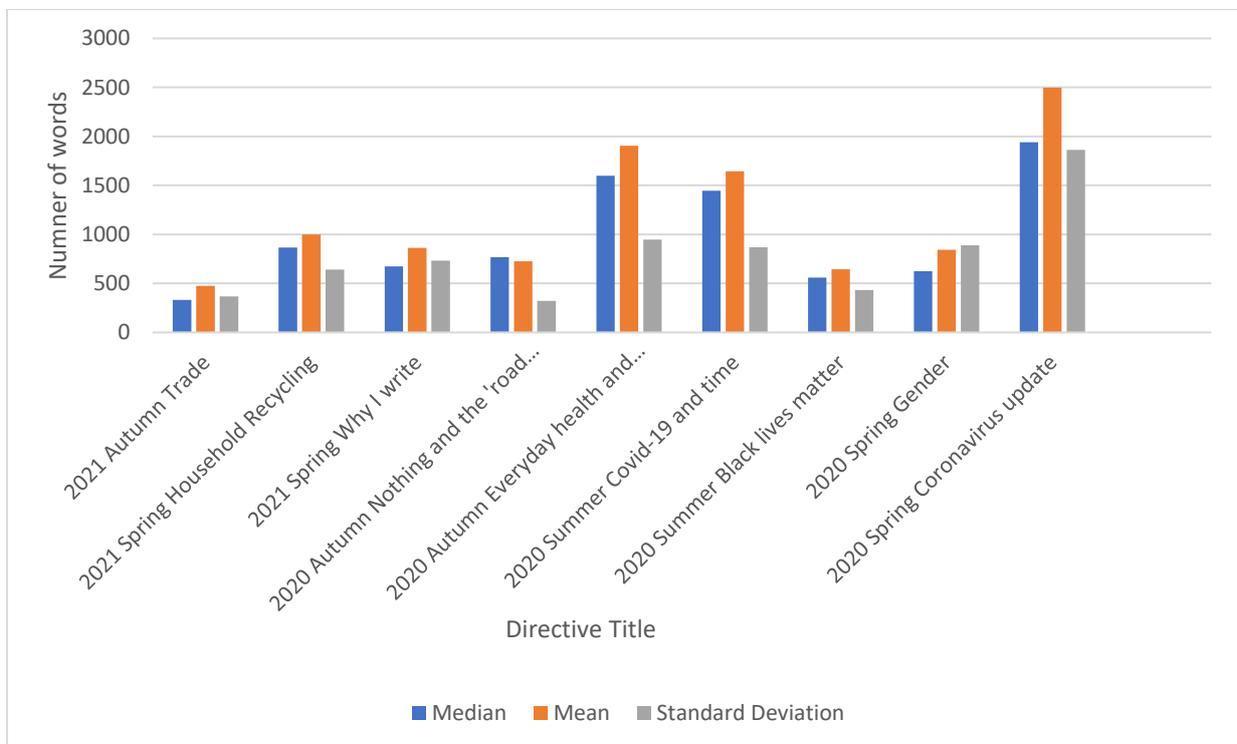


Figure 3 The median, mean, and standard deviation of the word count of responses to the 2020-2021 directives

One common trend throughout the 2020-2021 directives is that the mean word length is almost always higher than the median value, suggesting that there are several much longer responses which inflate the mean. The mean-median distribution for TD is not at odds with the MO diaries in general and therefore does not bear consequences on our understanding of the writers’ behaviour in terms of engagement specifically with the TD.

<sup>5</sup> We have not done statistical testing on these numbers.

### 5.2.3. Length of the directive for socio-demographic groups

We also break down the length of responses by age and gender. Figure 4 displays the length of the responses by decade of birth, with the Y axis showing the number of responses.

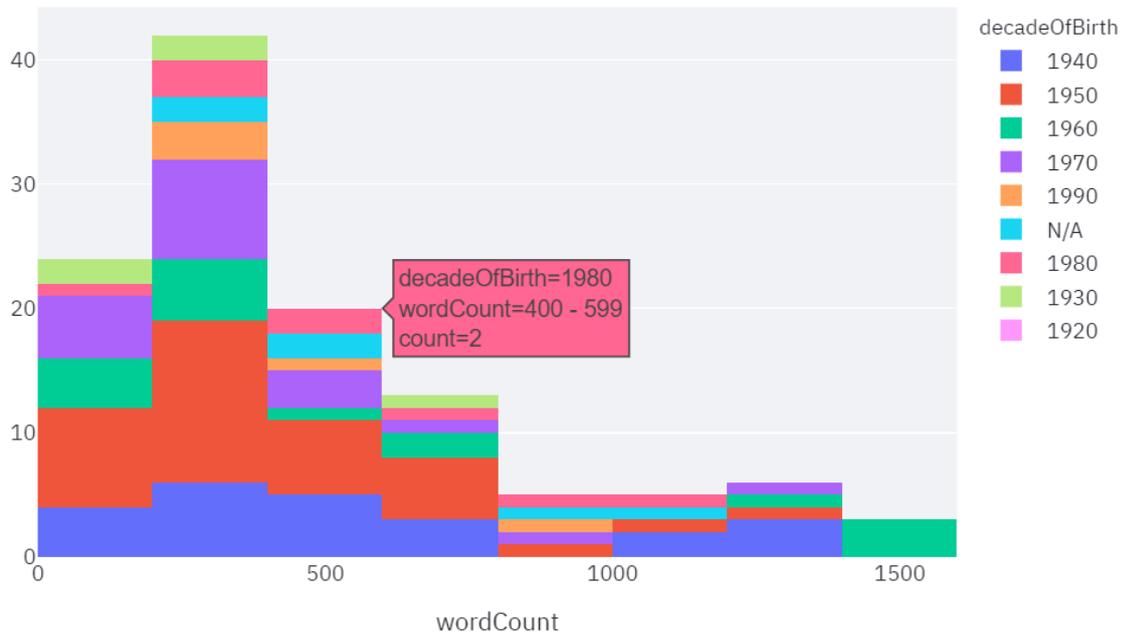


Figure 4 The length of responses by decade of birth

Figure 5 displays the length of responses by gender, with the Y axis showing the number of responses.

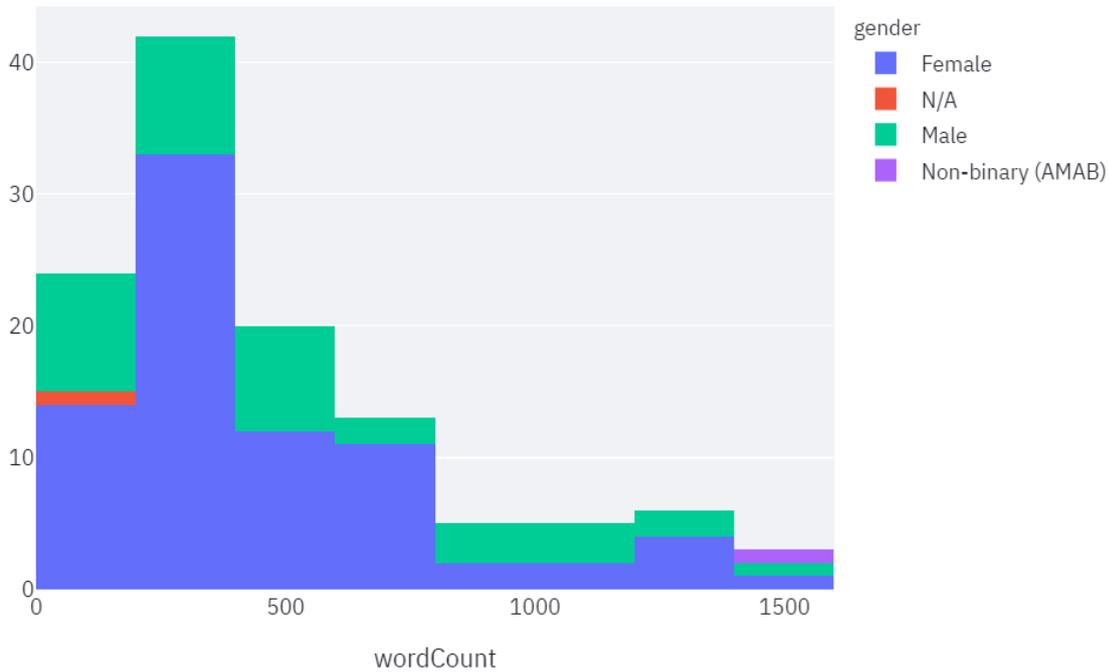


Figure 5 The length of responses by gender

### 5.3. Socio-demographic profile

The responses to the TD, as with any Mass Observation directive, are not balanced for socio-demographic information. Thus, we account for the socio-demographic composition of the data set. We detail the socio-demographic composition of the TD and also provide a point of comparison, which is the comparable figures from all directives 2020-2021. The raw socio-demographic data is available in the '2020-2021 meta-data' file in the Trade Appendices and we present social variation of these directives in the 'metadata averages' document.

#### 5.3.1. Gender

The respondents for TD are mainly female, which is typical of Mass Observation data. Specifically, excluding one individual who did not specify their gender, 70% of the respondents to the Trade directive are female, with 29.2% male and the rest identifying as a gender outside of the binary (see Figure 6).

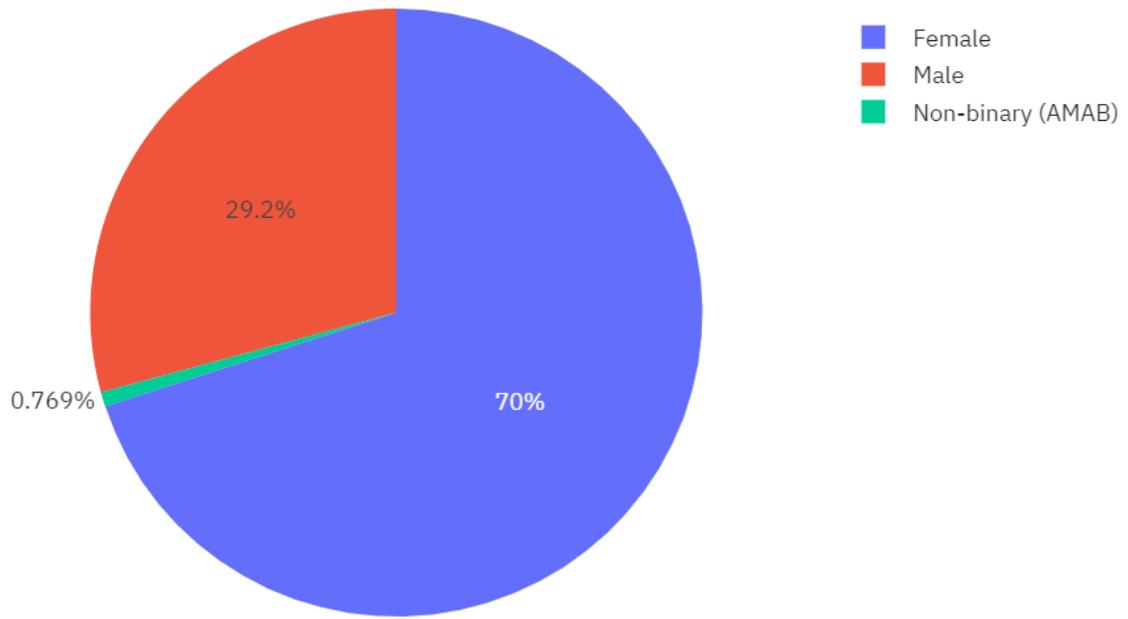


Figure 6 The relative frequency of respondents to the TD by gender

Figure 7 demonstrates the gender distribution of respondents in relation to all other directives from 2020-2021. This demonstrates that TD is within the typical range of the responses to Mass Observation directives, although there is a marginally higher proportion of male responses to the TD than any other 2020-2021 directive.

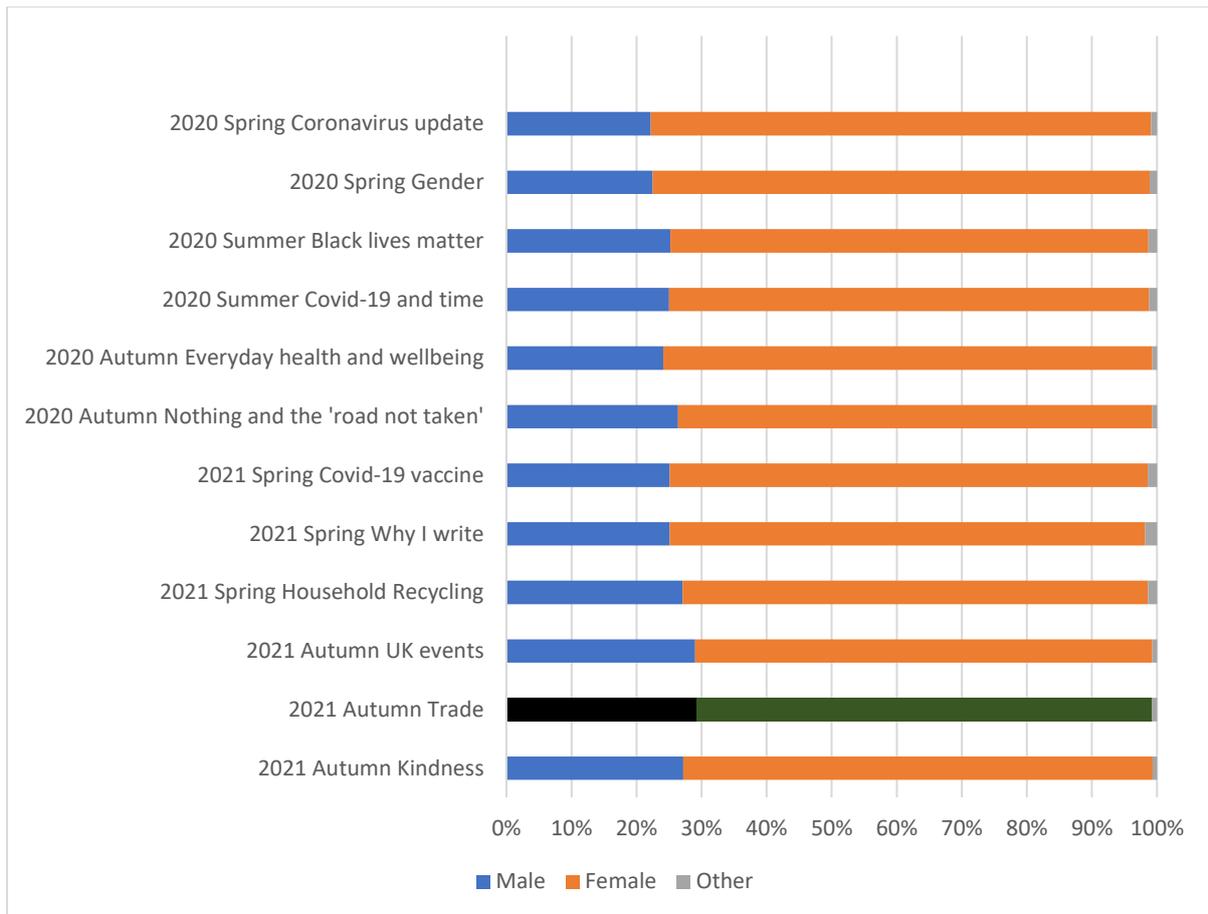


Figure 7 The gender distribution of the 2020-2021 directives

### 5.3.2. Age

The mean average age of respondents to the TD is 61.16, with a median age of 64 and a standard deviation of 14.49. This is slightly higher than the typical respondent's age since 2020 (see Figure 8). However, the age of writers within the entire Autumn 2021 Directive is higher. Even if there is meaningful difference age-related variation here it is just as likely to be attributable to the salience of Kindness or UK events among the older population. Thus, we cannot conclude an age-related interest in the TD among the MO respondents.

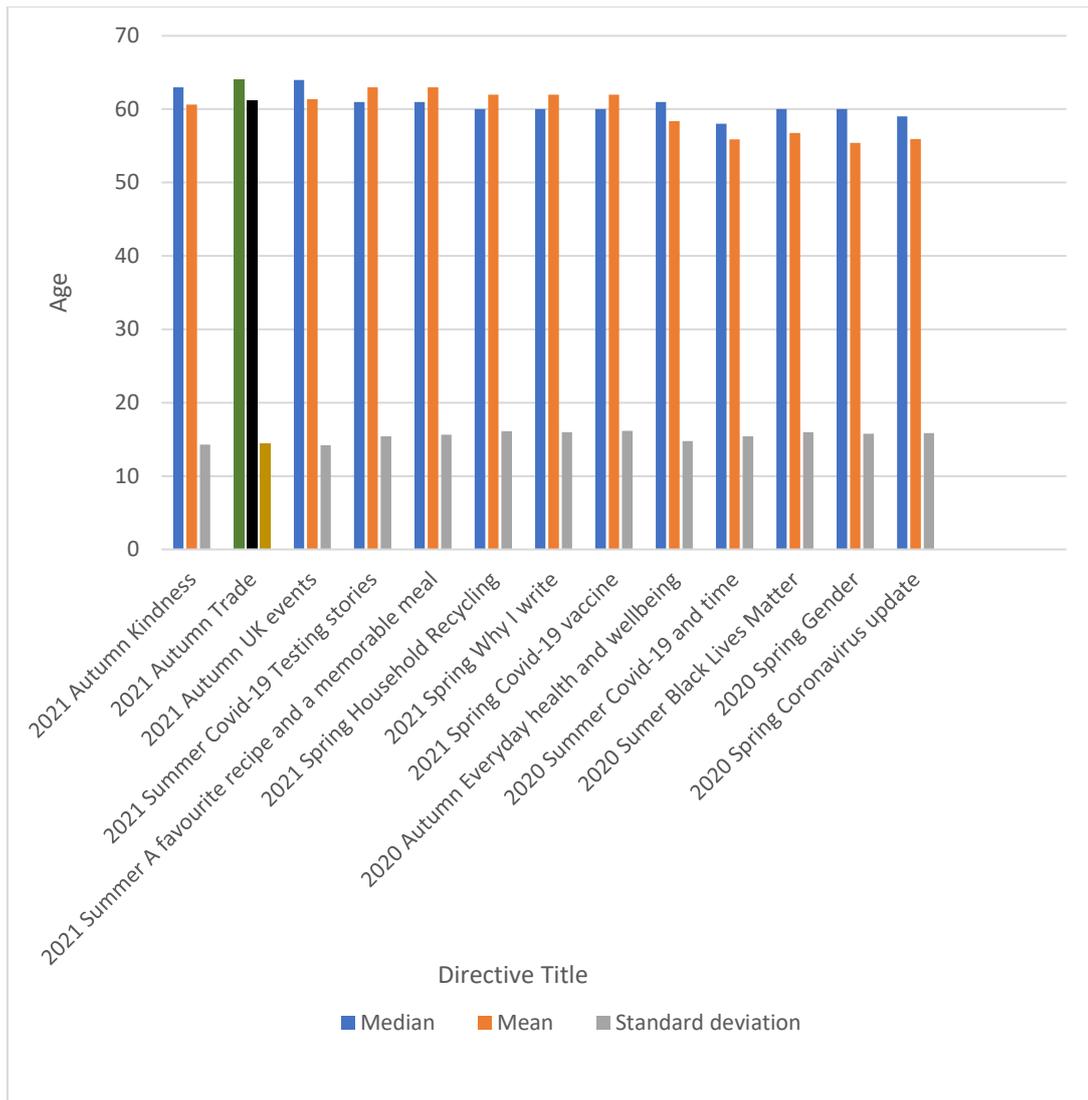


Figure 8 The median and mean age of the TD writers (Y-axis) and standard deviation of the 2020-2021 directives, with the TD highlighted

### 5.3.3. Gender x decade of birth

Figure 9 displays the cross-section of gender and decade of birth. It shows that the most common decades of birth for both males and females is the 1950s and 1940s. However, there are a larger proportion of males born in 1980s and 1990s than females, while there are a larger proportion of females born in the 1970s.

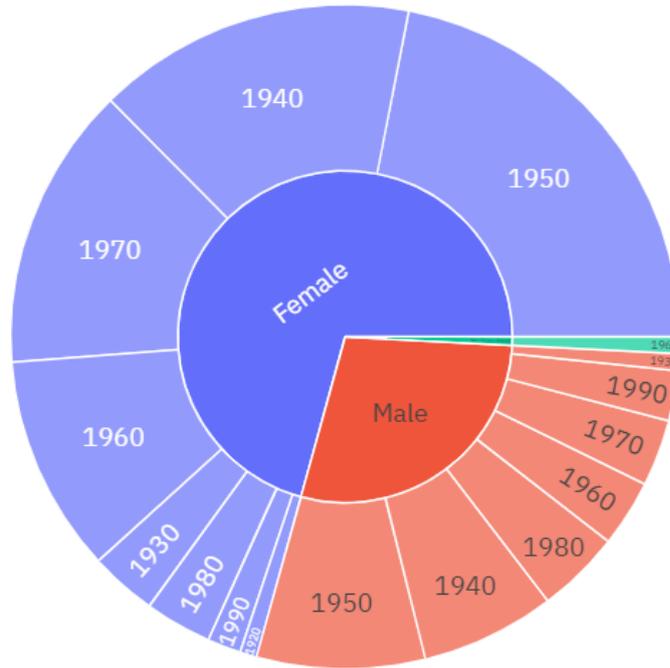


Figure 9 Decade of birth and gender of TD respondents

This data is visualised slightly differently in Figure 10. While the respondents to the TD directive, as with all MO directives, are predominantly female, this is not the case with the youngest panel members. For those born in the 1980s and 1990s more males than females responded to the TD (5 vs 4 and 3 vs 2). However, it is important to acknowledge the low numbers for these groups.

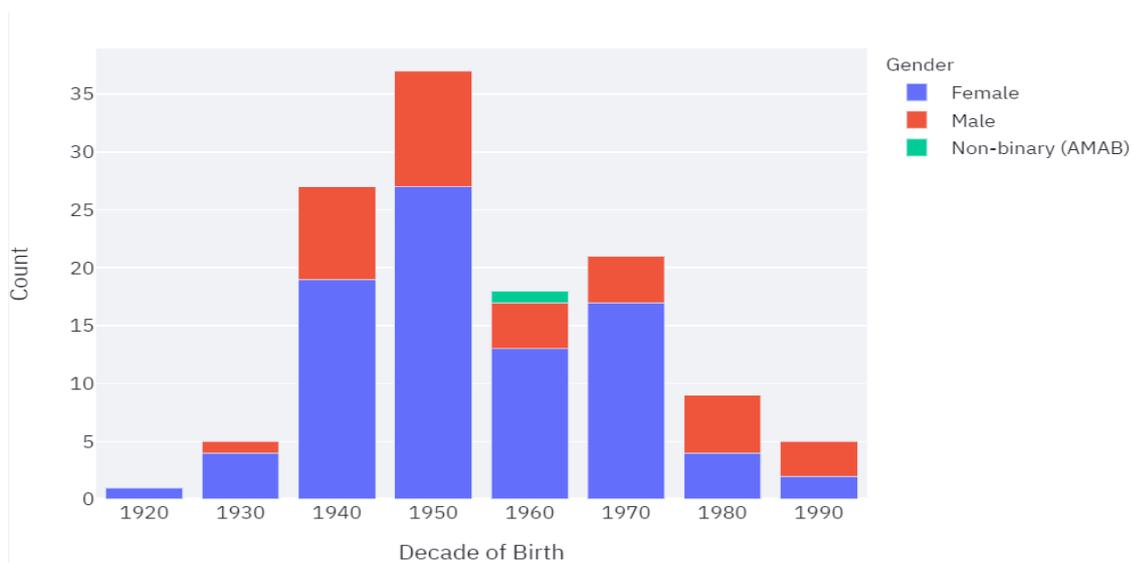


Figure 10 Decade of birth and gender TD respondents<sup>6</sup>

<sup>6</sup> Visualisations similar to those in Figure 9 and Figure 10 for other directives from 2020-2021 are available on request.

### 5.3.4. Occupational status

It was not possible to determine the occupational status of 36 respondents for TD. They either declined to share their occupation or who shared information that was too vague to be classified accurately, e.g. NHS worker. The distribution of occupational status can be seen in Figure 11, with the Y axis displaying the number of individuals who responded to the trade directive and the X axis displaying occupational status (9-point scale, see Section 3.2.3). Figure 12 represents the same data using a 3-point scale of occupational status.

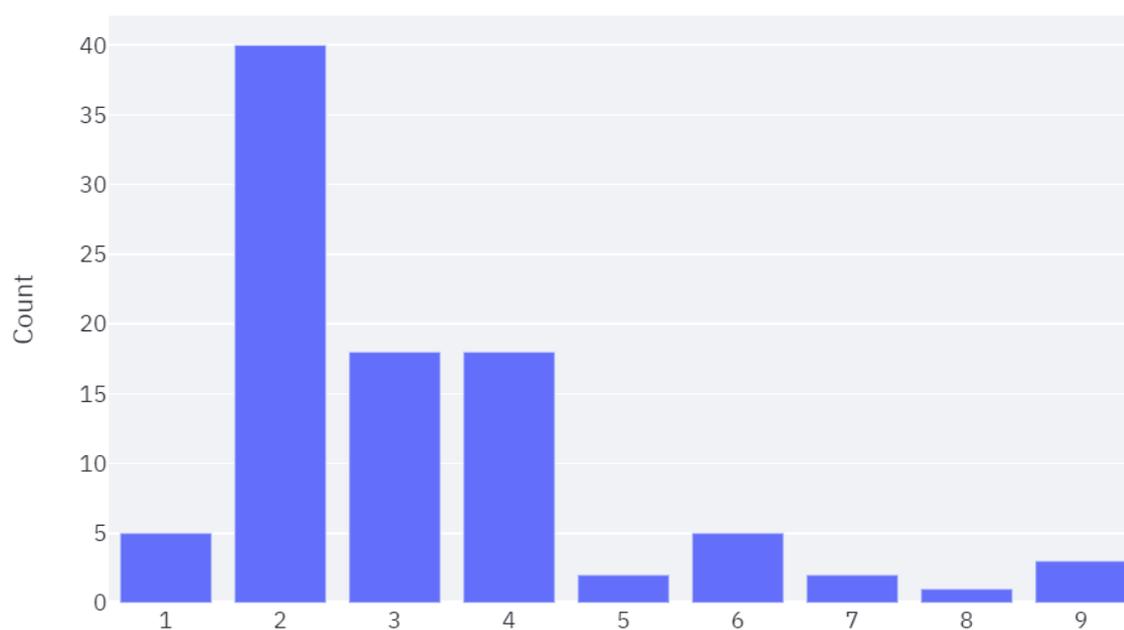


Figure 11 The occupational status of respondents to the TD, using a 9-point scale

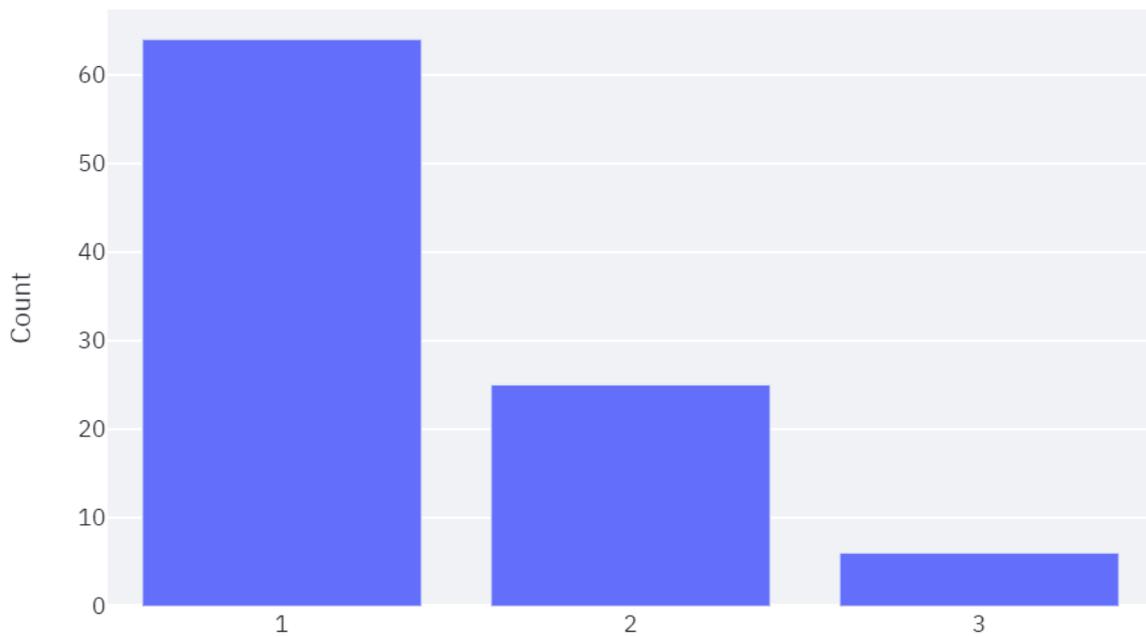


Figure 12 The occupational status of respondents to the TD, using a 3-point scale

Figures 11 and 12 show that the respondents to the TD are skewed towards those in jobs with higher occupational status. However, this is typical of responses to Mass Observation directives. Figure 13 shows that the socio-demographic composition of the respondents to the TD is largely typical of Mass Observation 2020-2021 directives.

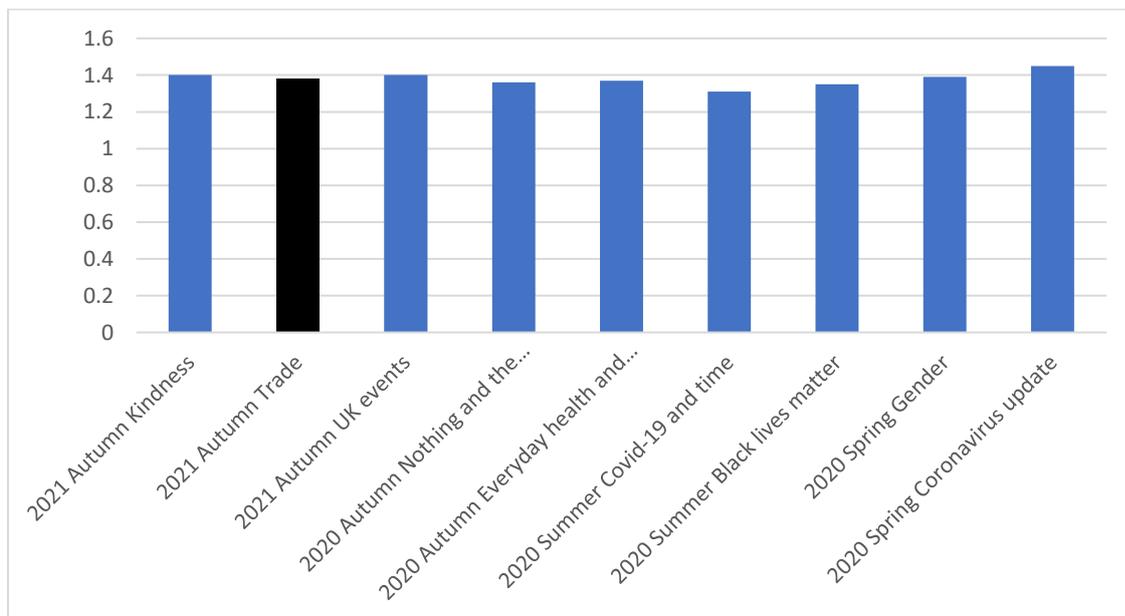


Figure 103 The occupational status, 3-point scale, of the directives from 2020-2021

### 5.3.5. Gender x occupational status

Cross-sectional analysis of gender and occupational status (see Figure 14) demonstrates that the distribution of gender was much more even, although still female-heavy, in the highest occupational status group, relative to the second highest occupational group. There are too few individuals in the lowest socioeconomic group to draw any meaningful conclusions. However, the data that we do have indicate that this group is more balanced according to gender.

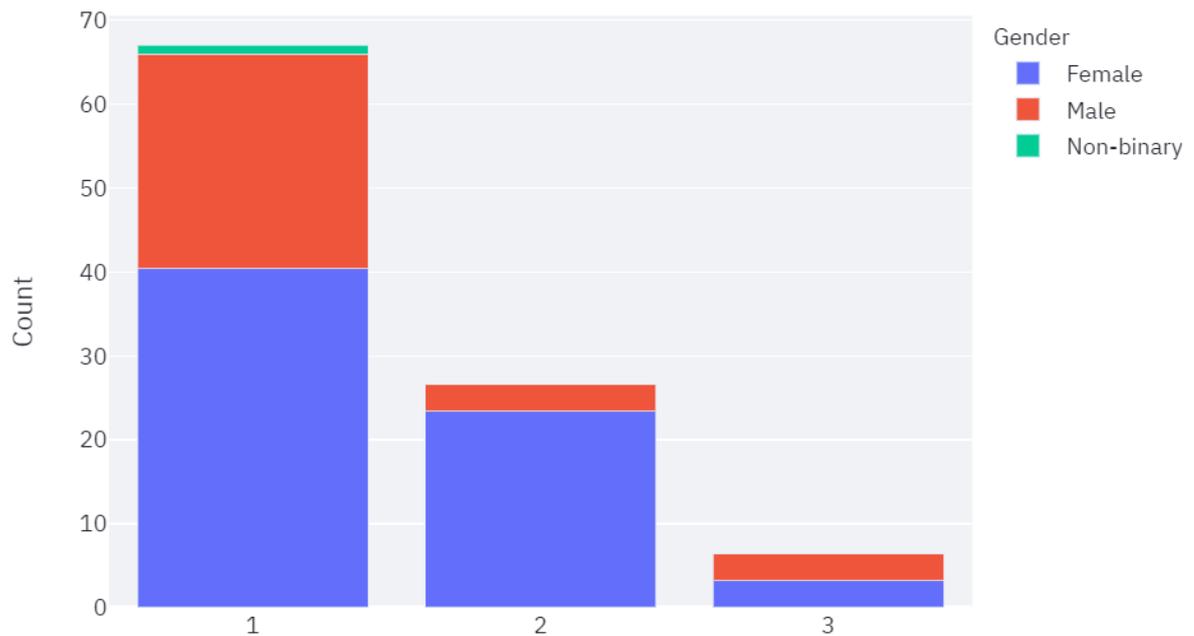


Figure 14 Occupational status of respondents to the TD by gender

### 5.3.6. Place of domicile

Figure 15 presents the place of domicile, by region, of respondents to the TD, excluding unknowns, alongside other directives from 2020-2021.

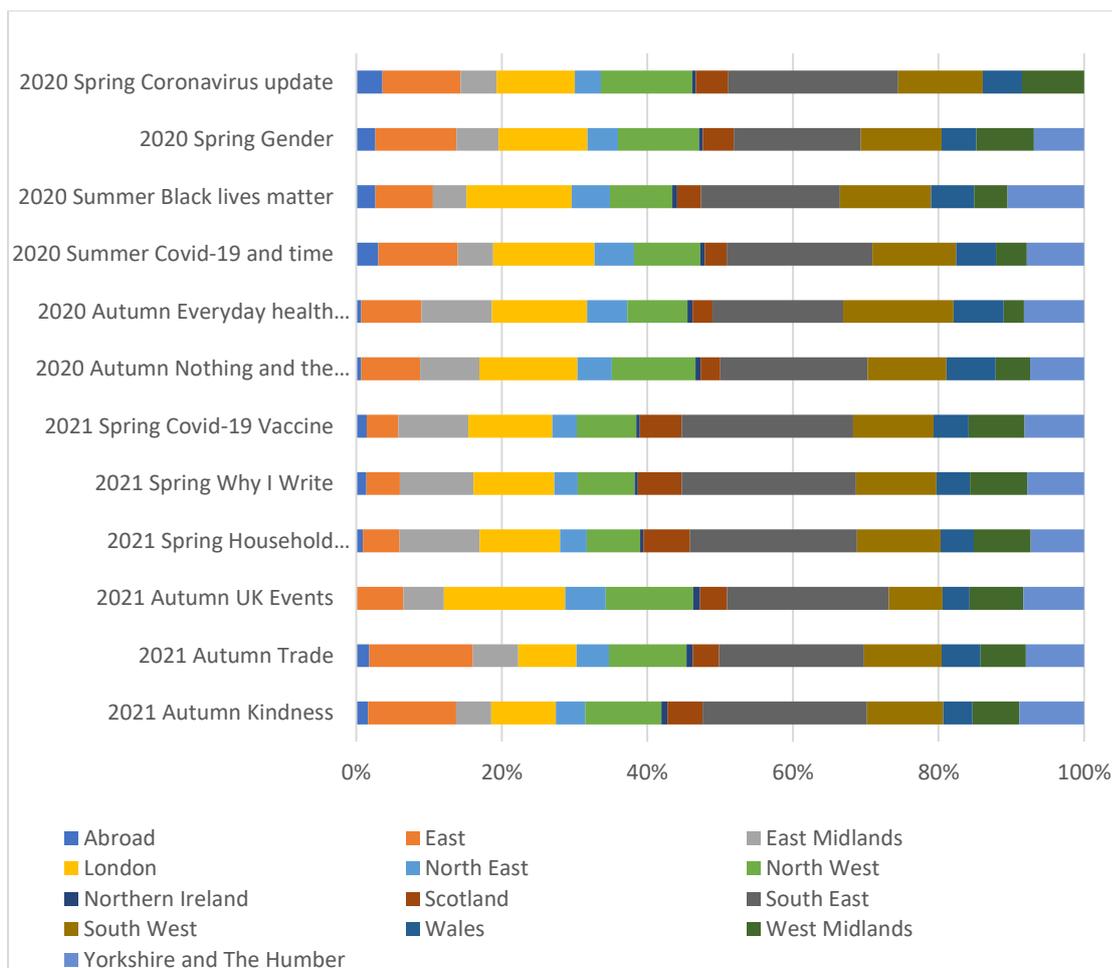


Figure 15 The place of domicile of respondents to directives from 2020-2021

Figure 15 shows that as with other directives from the same period, there are a large proportion of respondents from the South East. However, it is notable that there are fewer respondents from London and more from the East for the TD than is typical in relation to the other directives.

## 6. Trade Directive: Sense and concept analysis

### 6.1. Top 100 senses

We identify the top 100 senses that are distinctive of the TD in relation to a baseline data set which is responses to the Mass Observation's [12<sup>th</sup> May day diaries](#) from 2010-2019 (see Figure 16). We measure this distinctiveness by using PMI. In Figure 16, the darker the colour and the larger the square, the higher the PMI, i.e. the more characteristic it is of the Trade directive. Senses with a raw frequency of below five were excluded from the analysis.

PMI

chlorinate.v.01 10.1	leverage.n.02 8.52	ethical.a.02 7.68	trade.v.01 7.3	consumer.n.01 6.92	standard.n.01 6.78	production.n.07 6.74	ethic.n.01 6.73	pesticide.n.01 6.61	bargain.n.01 6.59	trade.v.02 6.56	foodstuff.n.02 6.52
trade.n.01 9.52	import.n.01 8.37	ethical.s.03 7.63	rigorous.s.02 7.2	source.v.01 6.52	infrastructure.n.02 6.2	slave.n.01 6.2	sustain.v.04 6.2	welshman.n.01 6.2	farming.n.01 6.15	economy.n.01 6.13	commodity.n.01 6.08
import.v.01 9.13	ethically.r.01 8.2	ethical.a.01 7.58	trade.v.03 7.2	impact.n.01 6.51	expense.n.02 6.05	industry.n.02 5.81	palm.n.03 5.78	merchandise.n.01 5.77	animal.s.01 5.75	impingement.n.01 5.74	greed.n.01 5.71
importing.n.01 9	newfangled.s.01 8.2	export.n.01 7.52	criterion.n.02 7.03	environmentally.r.01 6.46	produce.n.01 6	prosperity.n.02 5.71	product.n.02 5.49	agreement.n.01 5.46	contingent.s.02 5.46	sustainability.n.01 5.46	value.n.06 5.41
pandemic.n.01 8.86	manufacture.v.01 7.89	shellfish.n.01 7.42	circumstance.n.03 7	unethical.a.01 6.46	peru.n.01 5.93	produce.v.02 5.7	cheaply.r.03 5.39	weapon.n.01 5.25	boycott.v.01 5.2	globally.r.01 5.2	influence.n.02 5.2
new_deal.n.01 8.78	export.v.01 7.86	good.n.01 7.35	additive.n.01 6.93	manufacturer.n.02 6.41	damaging.s.01 5.91	sustainable.a.01 5.61	human.a.02 5.36	pollute.v.01 5.2	environment.n.01 5.14	example.n.01 5.14	net_income.n.01 5.13
chlorinate.v.02 8.52	deal.n.01 7.81	social_welfare.n.01 7.32	environmental.a.01 6.93	trading.n.01 6.25	saudi.n.01 5.83	negotiation.n.01 5.59	consideration.n.01 5.35	regulation.n.01 5.2	economic.a.02 5.12	product.n.05 5.08	transport.v.04 5.08
		vaccine.n.01 7.31	stockholder.n.01 6.93	arabian_peninsula.n.01 6.2	craft.n.03 5.81	emission.n.01 5.54	emission.n.01 5.35	south_america.n.01 5.2	negotiate.v.06 5.12	planet.n.01 5.08	satellite.n.02 5
						china.n.01 5.51	farmer.n.01 5.29	animal.n.01 5.17	farm.v.01 5.08	carbon.n.01 5.03	exemplar.n.01 4.98



Figure 11 The top 100 senses which are distinctive of the TD in relation to the baseline data

The most distinctive sense is that of chlorinate.v.01<sup>7</sup> which is unsurprising given how seldom (N=0) this occurs in the baseline data. Also, given the topic of the directive, it is unsurprising to see that trade.n.01 is highly distinctive of the Trade directive (see also trade.v.01, trade.v.02, trade.v.03, and trading.n.01). Another key theme that emerges is the movement of goods, e.g. import.v.01, import.n.01, export.v.01, export.n.01, and transport.v.04. The theme of ethics is also distinctive of the Trade directive, e.g. ethically.r.01, ethical.a.02, ethical.s.03, ethical.a.01, social\_welfare.n.01, unethical.a.01, value.n.06, and ethic.n.01. The theme of the environment is also clear from Figure 16 through environmental.a.01, sustainable.a.01, sustainability.n.01, emission.n.01, environmentally.r.01, and environment.n.01. There are also a number of senses which relate to cost, such as. expense.n.02, greed.n.01, cheaply.r.03, bargain.n.01, economic.a.02, economy.n.01, net\_income.n.01. We also see that goods.n.01, animal.n.01, and product.n.05 are distinctive of the Trade directive. Another notable theme in Figure 16 is that of countries (or trading blocks), e.g. peru.n.01, arabian\_peninsula.n.01, china.n.01, saudi.n.01, european\_union.n.01, south\_america.n.01, state.n.04.

<sup>7</sup> This refers to the meaning of chlorinate as a verb. Each sub-sense is allocated a number, in this case chlorinate.v.01 is glossed as ‘treat or combine with chlorine’.

## 6.2. Top concepts

The fill concept hierarchy is presented in the 'Trade Concept Hierarchy' document in the Trade Appendices. In the current section we present top TD concepts in bold and the words representing these concepts in italics.

**Farming.n.01-** *farming, agriculture, and husbandry*

**Produce.n.01-** *strawberries, apples, bananas, potatoes, produce, vegetable, veg, beans, tomatoes, asparagus, pears, avocado, cherries, oranges, endive, empire, melons, peas, raisins, grapes, beetroot, lemons, greens*

**Animal.n.01-** *animal, fish, lamb, sheep, chicken, pollinators, cattle, pigs, lion, Devon, livestock, turkey, Welsh, human, man, humankind, cow, adult, clam, cockles, Cornish, crabs, molluscs, oysters, prawns, spider, salmon, goat, poultry, hens, deer, beef, cock, toad, games, mates, fly, cat, Brits, pets, ladybird, bulls*

**Prosperity.n.02-** *health, welfare, wellbeing, prosperity*

**Merchandise.n.01-** *product, stock, refill*

**State.n.04-** *country, nation*

**Value.n.06-** *ethics, values, principles*

**Negotiate.n.06-** *negotiate, renegotiate, haggling, bargained*

**Bargain.n.01-** *deal, compromises, pact, treaty, insurance, policy, contracts, agreement*

**Weapon.n.01-** *arms, weapons, guns*

**Influence.n.02-** *impacts, influence, exposure, enticement*

**Commodity.n.01-** *clothing, goods, commodities, jerseys, mask, import, singlet, clothes, exports, jumper, products, groceries, foodstuffs, shirts, stock, underwear, ties, suits, range, basics, staples, laundry, refill, trousers, jeans, bowler, hats, waterproof, coats, pullover, socks, garments*

**Produce.v.02-** *produce, made, following, replicated, breed, printing, published, conform*

**Transport.v.04-** *ship, transport*

**Group\_action.n.01-** *swap, business, deal, trade, trading, investment, production, transport, line, farming, agriculture, husbandry, industry, manufacture, vote, importation, referendum, mining, treatment, packaging, war, exporting, finance, sale, cronyism, imposition, tourism, mercy, collaboration, sell, requirements, conflict, election, distribution, direction, spending, certification, government, world, commerce, monoculture, responsibility, duty, intervention, dealing, privatisation, oversight, marketing, case, march, protest, defence, involvement, return, sale, banking, general (election), output, crops, cultivation, implementation, association, NAFTA*

Each of these concepts, and the words that represent them are included in the analysis of the responses to particular questions within the TD discussed in section 7.

## 7. Trade Directive questions: Analysis and discussion

In the current section, we identify key themes that are relevant to each of the questions asked in the TD (see Section 5.1). However, it is first important to acknowledge two key themes that relate to the directive as a whole rather than to particular questions; a lack of knowledge which often prefaced answers to the directive question and the theme of group action.

One of the most striking things when reading the responses was the relatively large number of respondents who prefaced all or part of their answer by apologising for their perceived lack of knowledge about the topic of trade deals. For example:

I'm sorry, I know little about this subject and it is too depressing to do any research into.

I'm sorry, my responses to this are very poor, but as I am poorly informed I can't offer more.

Well I'm sorry that I know rather little about the Trade Deals, and I will try and learn a little more!

Others expressed similar sentiments, without apology:

I know absolutely nothing about business or "trade" and the politics of trade  
I am out of my breadth of knowledge to comment confidently on this subject.

First thought, I don't know about UK trade deals.

I dont know enough to be able to intelligently comment.

I'm afraid I'm woefully ignorant on this subject.

I'm afraid I know very little about Trade Deals.

The awareness of a perceived lack of understanding of the subject matter is consistent with the low number of responses (see Figure 2) and the low mean word count of the submitted responses (see Figure 3).

Another key theme which does not directly relate to any particular question but is present throughout the directive is that of *group\_action.n.01*. The large number of words that represent this concept (see Section 6.2) highlights the ways in which the trade is fundamentally a collective endeavour, one that involves the involvement of multiple parties, who share in successes and failures of trade agreements.

### 7.1. Q 1a) How do you feel about the ethical, financial and/or environmental impacts of a trade deal?

Ethical, financial, and environmental impacts of trade deals were all discussed by respondents to varying extents and they were all acknowledged to be important issues to consider. A collocation analysis with *impact* revealed that *environmental* was its most distinctive collocation, with *financial* being a slightly less strong collocation. A subsequent analysis of these collocations enables the patterns of co-occurring words to be understood in their broader context.

Respondents often commented that environmental impact was critically important to trade deals.

We should be putting the health and safety of our plant at the top of the agenda in all that we do. The environmental impact of importing things we grow or produce ourselves, must be huge and also damaging for the people here producing those goods.

I have been a vegetarian for 6 years, and I am also under 30, so the environmental impacts of foreign trade on all levels (transport of goods; agriculture; etc) concerns me most.

I think it is imperative that those who negotiate for trade also consider the impact on the workers and the environment when they make their deals.

More specifically, two key themes that emerge relating to the environmental impact of trade deals are: (i) a focus on concerns relating to the transport of goods and, (ii) a discussion of the role of, mainly food, production on the environment.

Respondents noted the environmental impact of trade deals with nations geographically distant from the UK.

I am conscious of the air miles involved with groceries from further-flung countries

I really don't like the idea of importing things from thousands of miles away when it is often unnecessary to do so.

Importing from that country and Australia may involve more sea miles, fossil energy consumption and carbon release.

It would be helpful if new trade deals favoured local production, which would reduce transport needs and therefore be more environmentally friendly.

We're facing a climate emergency so my most immediate worry is about the carbon footprint of goods being transported across the globe

Concerns regarding environmental impact of food production on land are attested in the following examples:

I loathe battery farming, or denying animals natural light and space for our food. Or denying wildlife a habitat because of monoculture farming.

I would like to think that trade deals that we do with other countries have the same standards that we insist our farmers follow. That people who are employed in producing the food, products all receive a decent wage and have good working practices and also keep in mind the environment that they are working in to ensure that no damage is done to the land.

I also care about the environmental impact of the use of pesticides and the way land is farmed.

There's no point signing up to deals at COP-26 if we're still going to persist in buying and flying stuff from all over the world, or getting really good deals on foods that use palm oils and destroy vast areas of forest.

The importance of an ethical trade deal was commented upon by many. The main domains in which ethical considerations were mentioned were that of the treatment of animals and the treatment of workers, as well as broader human rights issues:

My first priority with our trade deals, in my opinion, has to be ethical. Obviously financial and environmental standards are extremely important, I feel ethical concerns should over ride everything else. If animals are involved, their care and comfort should come first above everything else, as should health and safety. People should not be exploited in the manufacture or transportation of products either being imported or exported.

I think the ethical treatment of staff and animals needs to be a priority in trade deals

Economic considerations are important, but not necessarily the most important issue. Obviously jobs are important, but health, ethics and well being are more important. I don't know how much trade deals are dependent on economics as the predominant factor, it probably is quite high. Most Governments put economics as a priority

It is very important to me how and where goods are produced. I do not want to buy from a country that uses child, slave or indentured labour. I do not want to support a country that disregards basic human rights and democracy. I do not want to buy from a country that ignores than impact of climate change.

It is so very important that any trade deals the UK signs with countries around the world are built on good ethical values, especially when dealing, or not, with countries with appalling human rights reputations like China.

There is a strong belief that the U.K. should avoid deals with nations that abuse human rights.

One specific ethical issue that respondent commented upon was the transport of live animals. This is a topic that evokes strong emotions from the respondents and some reflect on feelings of guilt given that they are consumers of meat:

I feel slightly hypocritical saying this as I enjoy meat. I believe that the journeys of all live animals should be minimised as much as possible so on this vein live exports to other countries should be curtailed, whatever the enticement.

The export of live animals, for example, has always seemed to me to be wrong and I was aware of the long-running campaign to stop the practice.

In an ideal world trade deals would be conditioned by the elimination of: Live animal export Growth chemicals in animals and ill treatment.

I do not approve of live animal exports - from anywhere.

And why are live animals being transported long distance at all? Anywhere? Ever? I'd like to think that all our trade deals had been so closely scrutinised that we could all sleep soundly in our beds, knowing that every ethical, humanitarian, environmental and health box had been ticked by some utterly trustworthy expert, but... Ah yes, someone mentioned economics, didn't they?

While environmental and other ethical considerations were acknowledged as key priorities in any trade deal for many respondents, they also stated that they did not trust that the government shares these priorities. Specifically, respondents commented that the government is primarily concerned with the financial aspects of trade deals. This is a marked difference between the way that ethical and environmental concerns were framed, as concerns of the respondent, and final concerns, which are framed as the concerns of the government. This highlights a perceived disconnect between the policy agendas of the government and policy makers on the one hand and the public on the other.

It is very important that trade deals should be ethical, but in the Capitalist society that we inhabit in this country, it is unfortunately not important to the Government, whose only consideration is financial.

I am certain that financial impacts of any deals will be given top priority -- there must be something in it for the UK. I am sure lip service will be paid to the environmental impacts or somehow these will be offset by more financial gain!

I feel that making the best financial deal is only ever the highest priority of those in charge, even in the face of other issues which they may make token claims to consider.

I feel that the ethical and environmental impacts of a trade deal are extremely important, but that too often it is the financial effects of the deal that take precedence.

In an ideal world, new trade deals should improve standards for the environment, food animal welfare and health, but I suspect politics and greedy businesses get in the way of achieving these laudable goals.

Environmental impact is a lesser concern, but nonetheless an important one which I don't think will get much attention by British politicians in their efforts to bring down prices (yet they'll shall increase dramatically) in order to save face and stay in power rather than to protect the interests of the British people.

I think the key thing going forward is that trade deals need to centre such standards and particularly the challenge of climate change. That might involve reducing some forms of trade or, at least, the carbon footprint of those kinds of trade. I think trade deals have the potential to address these issues but I'm not sure that is always the UK Government's priority

I feel that the ethical and environmental impacts of a trade deal are extremely important, but that too often it is the financial effects of the deal that take precedence.

I don't trust the Government to make ethical trade deals. </s><s> There is always greed in it and unfairness.

These comments suggest that many respondents do not feel hopeful that their concerns about trade deals will be key elements in the negotiation of such deals, with financial considerations being perceived as the central concern of the policy makers. Thus, they feel that financial impacts of trade deals will be prioritised

In order to dig deeper into people's feelings, hopes, and concerns about the impact of trade deals on various issues, we investigated argument structure of verbs such as *feel*, *concern*, *hope*, *think*, *see*, *have*, *believe*, *consider* with the lemma *impact* or *deal*. The patterns here reveal generally quite a downcast mood in general, with little hope for improvements and much more talk of negative impacts (also see Section 8).

Adjectival collocations of verbs to *have* with *impact* are generally negative and refer to largeness, e.g. *huge*, *negative*, *awful*, *serious*, and *devastating*. The concordances talk about a mixture of prior events, such as the closure of the mines, the effects of Brexit and then current to possible future events in the context of new trade deals. The issue of New Zealand lamb and the impact on Welsh farmers was mentioned twice here, as well as secondary impacts of the deal.

Trade deals have affected our locality - the influx of frozen New Zealand lamb at vastly cheaper prices than locally produced meat (how is this possible??) has had an awful impact on the farming industry.

Welsh mountain areas are usually not suitable for arable farming, meaning that they are grazed, and the trade deals for overseas meat have had an awful impact.

A secondary impact has been on the sale of fleece - it now costs a local farmer, far more to take his fleece to the nearest central market in Porthmadog far more than he will get for it.

There are several food production plants near to where I live, obviously trade deals can have a serious impact on those workers and their lifestyles.

Co-occurrences of *concern* to *impact* and/or *deal* revealed how broad writers' concerns are, and how interconnected the impacts can be. This is shown by concerns about broader economic systems, the vulnerability of this system to political manipulation because of the complexity of this supply and demand system, plus a number of different concerns about the impacts of trade deals. Concerns relate to the economy, labour market, environment, ethics, food standards and animal welfare. This, coupled with the lack of knowledge the respondents profess to have, could be indicative of a very important measure of how society is dangerously disconnected from the many complex processes that exert huge influence over individuals' lives.

I have been concerned for some time about the impact on the environment of the system that produces food and goods like my trousers and gilet and ferries them around the world using fossil fuels. - not directly about impact of trade deals

if the last few months have shown anything, regards fuels - gas and to an extent oil is that even with agreements or without them a country or a bloc can use it as political leverage in the case of both the EU and Russia, which does sort of produce some concern with a very dependent network of agreements + trade deals and worrying still the peoples jobs who become dependent on such deals, they are the people who suffer and will continue to suffer the fluctuations political and economical (in my opinion).

I am concerned about the effect of new trade deals on Wales due to its precarious financial situation and the fact it benefited considerably from our previous trade deals with the EU.

I am concerned about food standards falling as a result of changed deals following Brexit.

I'm very concerned about the new trade deals . I didn't support Brexit and am certain that some of the new deals will have an impact on UK farmers and producers and on the welfare of animals

It is also of concern to me that any deal should give consideration to the local context in which imported goods are made.

As identified in other parts of the analysis, the overriding fear is of a lowering of standards.

There is also the fear that a US trade deal would open up the NHS to US pharmaceutical companies. I'm very much against both of those things; I don't want to see a diminution of standards in the UK.

I fear the trade deals recently made with Australia accepted lower standards of welfare than we have in the UK.

Sadly many other countries like, for instance the US and Australia do not hold to those practices and it is a worry that we are signing, or hoping to sign trade deals with them.

I am most concerned about the laws pertaining to the import and export of animals and their welfare. I was worried to read recently that people may once again be allowed to use animals in scientific experiments even for beauty products. This is obscene. I would hope that any deals would protect animals.

There is a concern of a government who cannot be trusted to uphold these standards or act in the best interests of the country:

I do not feel comfortable nor trust the trade deals being negotiated currently by the UK government that neither consult nor are transparent and which I believe have already been seen to risk good farming practices e.g. the impact of say the Australia deals on the livelihood of Welsh hill farmers.

Many respondents commented on specific ethical impacts which they perceive in relation to particular nations. In this analysis, I consider the ways in which ethical standards are discussed in the EU, the USA, China, Australia, and New Zealand, as each of these appear in the concept hierarchy analysis.

### *7.1.1. USA/US/America*

Respondents commented on perceived lack of regulation in the US which is often conceptualised as being unethical and of particular concern in the context of a trade deal:

The ethical and standards of UK goods as ensured through the EU must be maintained, for example the lack of regulation in the US is thoroughly dangerous to us as it is to citizens in the US where they are even greater run by large corporations and who has more money to bypass regulation.

whichever country we negotiate with will be able to demand objectives that will provide a better situation for themselves at our expense. For example, as we are aware from press speculation, in negotiations with the US, they will almost certainly demand less regulation of food standards to the lower levels in place for food producers in the US.

There were also specific concerns regarding the USA's healthcare system and that trade deals with the USA may include the NHS, with a perceived negative impact on health services in the UK:

There is also the fear that a US trade deal would open up the NHS to US pharmaceutical companies. I'm very much against both of those things

On another issue, I fear we're being led into a damaging scenario in terms of the US's interest in the NHS. The US has been keen to supply drugs to the NHS for some time and if the government does allow the US to muscle in on the NHS we will see huge increases in the cost of drugs and a serious decline in service provision. Again, I have little trust in this government's ability to protect the NHS, particularly as there are so many opportunities for politicians to make money for themselves.

I wish we could follow Scandinavian footsteps and enact feminist trade deals, along with feminist foreign policy - but the current government is only interested in money - and to be honest, it stands to their benefit to run down the UK health as then they can sell the NHS to the highest US bidder in another even better health trade deal.

I understand there are already GP practices that have been bought by US firms - I'd hate to see more and more of the NHS come into private hands - it seems to have only caused issues and challenges for the people that are still trying to deliver services in the NHS.

The excerpts above serve to exemplify the ethical concerns that respondents have regarding perceived American influence on the NHS as a result of a future trade deal.

### 7.1.2. *China*

The ethical concern most typically mentioned in the context of China was that of working conditions.

Where and how things are made is important to me and I will pay more to have things done correctly so I will not buy stuff made using sweat shop labour or slave labour in China.

The reason China and many other countries can supply cheaper goods, is because of slave labour. We should not import clothing from these countries as, by doing so, we are turning a blind eye to the disgusting practise of slavery.

I am nervous deals with certain economies, notably China , whose practises particularly the health & safety of employee's is questionable

China are ethnically cleansing the Uighar minority, so ideally they would be someone I'd be avoiding if it was possible.

These quotes highlight strong condemnation of China's human rights record and a strong desire to avoid further developing a trading relationship with China.

Another ethical consideration mentioned in the context of China is that of plastic pollution, for example:

Another trade that should be stopped, is the huge amount of useless plastic tat that is imported to the UK from China. Most of it is absolutely pointless rubbish and will end up being thrown out within a very short space of time, following its first use; everything about this stuff is environmentally unfriendly.

Do we really need all the plastic crap shipped from China? Would it not be better to pay for things that cost and support jobs, wages and the manufacturing base in our own country?

If China's economy depends on huge factories which produce pointless plastic tat for worldwide distribution then there's something wrong and it should stop. I don't care how many jobs it creates -- create better jobs for people.

If we do a deal with China for some new tech that is cheaper than producing it ourselves even with import costs, how carefully do we consider the environmental impact of more tech that will probably end up in the bin, could create more microbes and bad vibes?

### 7.1.3. Australia:

In relation to Australia, the key ethical concerns were that of the environment and animal welfare standards, particularly the methods used to raise animals *en masse*:

Australia, however, has lower welfare standards and can raise herds of cattle in vast numbers thus producing cheaper meat that our farmers can't compete with.

I believe it's critical to retain our high animal welfare standards and not import products that are produced to lower standards. Meat and cereals that are produced more cheaply on very large farms in, say, Australia, will be sold at lower prices and will put our small-scale farmers, who produce food to high welfare and environmental standards, at a disadvantage.

I looked at the trade deal with Australia and saw how much it lowered animal welfare standards and diluted food quality.

I fear the trade deals recently made with Australia accepted lower standards of welfare than we have in the UK.

It also worries me that in seeking these trade deals we are restricted in having anything like a comprehensive ethical foreign policy. For example, Australia refuses to stop or produce coal production, which is harmful globally.

### 7.2. Q 1b) Do you have any thoughts on how new trade deals could improve standards for the environment, food, and animal welfare?

Respondents considered the impact of new trade deals on standards for the environment, food and animal welfare. Collocation analyses based on concepts and words identified in the bottom-up analysis (*environment, produce, welfare, negotiate, impact*), along with an analysis of some key words from the question itself (*improve, standard*) identified how strongly respondents felt about improved or maintained standards. The sorts of improvements mentioned include using new trade deals to leverage improved standards in other countries, as well as how a local focus could improve environmental, food and animal welfare standards. However, respondents expressed doubt across the board that these improvements would come into fruition. Thus, the putative benefits are typically framed as a best-case scenario, but one which they do not have faith in the government to enact.

As identified in the previous question, ethics is deemed to be important, e.g. 'I feel ethics are important...'; 'Of course these deals should take into account ethics, morality, the environment...'; 'it is very important that trade deals should be ethical'. The term ethics here is seen as a complement to standards because of the value judgments behind standards and how standards come to be. Some respondents did provide examples of how they believed standards could be improved through the new trade deals. This focused often on using leverage to improve human rights conditions or other aspects in trade partner countries:

I think that all trade deals should include a provision to ensure they evidence that they don't adversely the impact the human rights of those affected by any deal and conversely that they be made to show how they improve the human rights of those affected by the deal.

We also need to be sure that trade deals are built on fair trade that brings the maximum benefits to both people and their environments not maximum profits for big business which brings both human suffering and environmental devastation We already know the end result of those policies, and now we need to re-set the balance. Workers rights must be part of any trade deal along with animal and environmental protections. A "worker cantered trade policy" is to me and many others the only right way forward.

Transport, quality of goods, working conditions, wages all become bargaining chips, so that those qualities become the norm, and even unscrupulous business people can see that their good reputation will increase, customers are more satisfied, workers are happier, so everyone benefits, and everyone's life improves. I know this is all completely la la land, because at the moment, I feel the amount of profit required by each side is the most important aspect.

I think any trade deal should maintain, or preferably improve , environmental and working standards. This would be an opportunity, for example, to put tariffs on goods coming in made by child or sweatshop labour, or by labour made by those on less than the UK minimum wage (adjusted for purchasing power in the exporting country). That would nullify the cost advantages of unethical practices, levelling the playing field for things made decently and humanely. I can't see that happening though, I think there will be a general weakening of standards in the horsetrading - given the size of our economy, we're in a very weak negotiating position relative to the EU, US and China, so we're not really in a position to lay down the law on the ethics of their production.

Very strongly that we should maintain and improve the environmental and ethical impacts of any trade deal. This is a great opportunity to lead the way in alternative food production. Yes we should reject food that is not produced to the highest standard of environmental, human and animal welfare.

Trade arrangements should be shaped to better support those most in need and to reduce the suffering of billions of people around the world. World trade has huge potential to improve the lives of many. Although I am trying to do better with this, I am still not as good as I should be about buying locally and supporting the work of those who live nearby

Countries such as Brazil, Malaysia and India have poor track records with regards to employment rights, and the UK should use the negotiations over trade deals to encourage these potential partner nations to improve their employment policies. Similarly, the UK should question which countries it would not be prepared to deal with because of employment concerns, and sometimes ethics and morals should trump economic factors as to whether a trade deal is agreed.

Maybe animal welfare and food production standards could be improved in other countries if we incentivised them with support in other areas, for instance science.

It can also be noted that those who suggested these possible improvements, usually qualified these possibilities with doubt as to the likelihood of their implementation. Some respondents highlighted that deals on paper do not ensure enforcement. They also commented on the futility of trying to enforce such standards in relation to trade freedoms:

There are also ethical implications - we are building trade deals with countries in the Middle East such as Bahrain, the UAE and Saudi Arabia which have abysmal human rights records, whether that be gender, religion or sexual preference - and this worries me that they then build leverage with the government and a way to impact on ours. While the government could build caveats into trade deals relating to human rights or animal welfare, while the trade partner may make all the right noises during discussions, there is no realistic way of enforcing this without impacting on our ability to trade.

I think that using trade deals to improve environmental impacts, food and animal welfare are laudable and worthy aims. The problem you have is that globally we cannot get nation states to agree to a comprehensive plan to respond to climate change, so being able to include such conditions in trade deals is no easy task. Likewise whereby trade is managed by regulation, unless companies carry out the necessary due diligence to ensure that environmental protections are enforced, even when such commitments are made they have little value. Examples are the UK's regulations to prevent the import of illegally logged hardwoods from the Amazon basin in Brazil, they haven't stopped the UK trade in illegal timber.

Again, in the case of local production, three respondents championed it as an approach to reduce environmental impact, protect supply chains and support local economies:

Trade deals should consider ethical, financial or environmental impacts, but I fear that some pay only lip service to them. It would be helpful if new trade deals favoured local production, which would reduce transport needs and therefore be more environmentally friendly.

Rather than import cheap meat from overseas whilst at the same time lambasting British farming methods, they should invest more in home-produced farm produce. Standards here are already some of the highest in the world; buying home produced goods would boost the economy far better than imports. There would be no import taxes, true - but simple investment in infrastructure here would decrease unemployment, have far less impact on the environment and protect vital supplies against any future issues.

Doubt is the overriding theme in response to this question. This ranges from a generalised feeling of doubt (identified through *improve* collocated with negative verbs of cognition: *know*, *think*, *believe*, *see*) that trade deals will improve standards.

1	<input type="checkbox"/> doc#2181 to enjoy the brightly decorated shops. I can	not see how new trade deals could improve	standards for the environment, food and animal welfare
2	<input type="checkbox"/> doc#2181 taking the masks etc, including the UK. I do	not believe that more trade deals will improve	the economy. Much better to find ways to m
3	<input type="checkbox"/> doc#2295 many consumers here. Apart from that I can	not see how trade deals might improve	our lives. I'm sure I have been affected by tra
4	<input type="checkbox"/> doc#2364 Money is the only thing that takes. I do	n't believe any trade deal will improve	standards, as we enjoyed such a high level of environ
5	<input type="checkbox"/> doc#2563 impact they may have on a wider society. I do	n't know how a trade deal could improve	standards for the environment, food or animals as I b
6	<input type="checkbox"/> doc#2612 with China for example. In short terms, I do	n't think they will improve	standards. Governments create these deals
7	<input type="checkbox"/> doc#2674 Australia, China. The new trade deals are	not going to improve	standards for the environment, food or animal welfare
8	<input type="checkbox"/> doc#2675 provides a problem - and of course most goods are not sustainably manufactured. More-or-less goes for food too - improving		food standards means paying more, so if a trade de
9	<input type="checkbox"/> doc#2723 hope for standards to be maintained, and certainly	not to be improved	I have concerns too over gene editing.

A corpus search to identify possibilities of improvement in the context of trade deals reinforced the idea that most respondents doubt standards will improve as a result of the trade deals. Here we can also see a gap in what people believe should be possible and what will actually happen. Some blame politics and greed in general and others talk specifically about the current UK government.

**CQL [lemma="improve"] filter ( [word="could"])( [word="will"])( [word="might"])( [word="should"])**

Details      Left context    KWIC    Right context

1	<input type="checkbox"/> doc#2181 sed to enjoy the brightly decorated shops. I cannot see how new trade deals could improve standards for the environment, food and animal welfare. Animal welfare is much hig
2	<input type="checkbox"/> doc#2181 making the masks etc, including the UK. I do not believe that more trade deals will improve the economy. Much better to find ways to make this country more self sufficient. cl
3	<input type="checkbox"/> doc#2206 more for quality items which are durable. In an ideal world, new trade deals should improve standards for the environment, food animal welfare and health, but I suspect politics and gre
4	<input type="checkbox"/> doc#2295 cem to many consumers here. Apart from that I cannot see how trade deals might improve our lives. I'm sure I have been affected by trade deals. The deal we did with
5	<input type="checkbox"/> doc#2364 this. Money is the only thing that takes. I don't believe any trade deal will improve standards, as we enjoyed such a high level of environmental, food and animal welfare stand
6	<input type="checkbox"/> doc#2469 I do what I can. If I become aware of an issue I do research to find out how I could improve what we're doing. Because of this we get our loo roll delivered from Who Gives a Cr
7	<input type="checkbox"/> doc#2495 ore local devastation and poverty, so it is vital that they get this right. Things could improve so very much if we get more UK goods and they are affordable, there will be more jobs and
8	<input type="checkbox"/> doc#2563 the impact they may have on a wider society. I don't know how a trade deal could improve standards for the environment, food or animals as I believe politicians are selfish and only th
9	<input type="checkbox"/> doc#2612 solely nothing to do with China for example. In short terms, I don't think they will improve standards. Governments create these deals to make them money, I doubt they eve
10	<input type="checkbox"/> doc#2659 onmental impacts of a trade deal Do you have any thoughts on how new trade deals could improve standards for the environment, food, and animal welfare? How far do you think trade
11	<input type="checkbox"/> doc#2675 just stopped all world trade in its tracks! Currently there is no trade deal that could improve environmental standards, mainly because most transport is still contributing to our severe c
12	<input type="checkbox"/> doc#2677 y of buying quality and not quantity , specially when it involves clothing . Possibly this will improve standards amongst those that produce goods , and will also aid the environment . Returnin

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I am so utterly fed up with this corrupt government, that I feel everything they do is just to benefit themselves and I become less and less interested in everything. It is very depressing. We should be putting the health and safety of our plant at the top of the agenda in all that we do. The environmental impact of importing things we grow or produce ourselves, must be huge and also damaging for the people here producing those goods.

In an ideal world, new trade deals should improve standards for the environment, food animal welfare and health , but I suspect politics and greedy businesses get in the way of achieving these laudable goals.

The cost of improving standards is also seen as an obstacle:

I have little expectation that any deals will be done that improve those standards. Higher standards than ours would presumably come at a cost and I cannot see any deal being done to import goods that would cost more than the home grown ones

The reasons for the doubt can be split into a number of themes, i.e. the UK perceived as being in a weak position for trade deal negotiations, financial gains perceived as taking precedence over standards, and UK standards as generally higher than in other parts of the world.

UK's weak position was identified through a collocation search for *negotiate*. In this, *position* appeared as the first collocate, which gave the following examples:

The screenshot shows a search interface with two filters: 'simple negotiate • 35' (546.24 per million tokens • 0.00081%) and 'filter weak\_position -10, 10 • 9' (140.2 per million tokens • 0.00016%). The results are displayed in a table with columns for document ID, snippet, and actions. The snippets highlight the collocation 'weak negotiating position'.

Doc ID	Snippet
doc#2385	ing of standards in the horsetrading - given the size of our economy, we're in a very <b>weak negotiating position</b> relative to the EU, US and China, so we're not really in a position to lay down the
doc#2448	t going to be easy to replace.</s><s>This country will now be in a weaker <b>position</b> when <b>negotiating</b> trade deals, and could end up having to comprise standards to achieve a deal.</s><s>I w
doc#2452	had under the EU.</s><s>Because we need these deals more than the countries we're <b>negotiating</b> with we are in a <b>weak</b> position and end up being disadvantaged by the terms of each deal
doc#2515	r perhaps a reaffirmation of existing deals.</s><s>In my opinion in any trade deal that we <b>negotiate</b> post-Brexit, we will be negotiating from a <b>position</b> of weakness.</s><s>Unlike HM Gover
doc#2515	ng deals.</s><s>In my opinion in any trade deal that we negotiate post-Brexit, we will be <b>negotiating</b> from a <b>position</b> of weakness.</s><s>Unlike HM Government, I have assumed that Mass
doc#2515	ne NHS by their pharmaceutical and health industries.</s><s>In each case, since we are <b>negotiating</b> from a weaker <b>position</b> and have a more urgent need to cement a deal, we may well have
doc#2515	has befallen the UK by Brexit.</s><s>As I have already discussed, Brexit will weaken our <b>negotiating position</b> in any new trade deal.</s><s>We have various views on what "normality" is and
doc#2646	standards themselves far from ideal.</s><s>But that looks a remote possibility.</s><s>Our <b>negotiating</b> hand is <b>weak</b> against the might of the American market.</s><s>Trade deals should cert
doc#2718	ronmental and financial impacts of trade deals in negotiations because a whole block was <b>negotiating</b> and they were in a stronger <b>position</b> to protect those interests.</s><s>I do not believe or

These examples focused on the position the UK currently occupies outside the EU, lowering its bargaining power as being a small state outside the block. Besides this, a number of respondents make reference to the UK's weakness by mentioning the dominance of its new partners.

The prospects of the UK improving standards domestically or internationally is thought to be unrealistic due to a perceived asymmetric distribution of power in trade negotiations. Specifically, the US, as well as other countries, is perceived to be negotiating from a position of power in relation to the UK, e.g.:

The US are likely to want greater access to the NHS by their pharmaceutical and health industries. In each case, since we are negotiating from a weaker position and have a more urgent need to cement a deal, we may well have to accept such conditions to our detriment from a cost and environmental perspective.

Surely it's obvious that cut loose from the mutual protection and benefits of the European Union, the UK is in a weak position when it comes to making substitute trade deals ? Of course these deals should take into account ethics, morality, the environment, animal welfare, etc., but we are hardly in a position to insist if our new, likely more dominant, partners don't want to co-operate.

All the early runes indicated that the USA would play hardball with environmental and animal welfare standards, with little sign of a willingness to adopt the concept of equity in negotiations

When the UK were desperate for a trade deal with the USA, one of the key demands of the US negotiators was that the UK accept the import of chlorinated chickens and growth enhanced meat products which were banned under EU law.

I assume that the UK has little option but to accept what is on offer from anyone, having abandoned the greatest trading network we have had in modern times

In my opinion in any trade deal that we negotiate post-Brexit, we will be negotiating from a position of weakness.

We are very much the ones with the begging bowl internationally.

I can't see any improvements for the environmental, food, and animal welfare ?????<sup>8</sup> so many of the new deals are desperate ones by a nation that is seen to be on the back foot, so principles will be compromised to save face.

Respondents felt that the economy and financial gain are given excessive weight during trade deal negotiations, and that this hampers standard maintenance and improvement. Some respondents also questioned the improvement of the economy as such (implying that it only favoured some sectors of society), whereas others referring specifically to financial gain which seems to want to convey the same message. This imbalance is attributed to vested interests, lack of political will to champion standards and the capitalist society that we live in, as well as the financial situation the UK finds itself in currently. This last point is inextricably linked to the lack of leverage described in the last point about the UK's position in the negotiations.

I think that at present the balance of consideration with regard to trade deals is far too concentrated on improving the economy (improving it for whom being one of the key questions) and ethics, health and the environment should play a much greater part.

I am sure lip service will be paid to the environmental impacts or somehow these will be offset by more financial gain! I don't believe ethics is often considered

Sadly I don't think Trade Deals will be considered on anything other than Financial gain or political point scoring, ethics and the environment will be covered by some bland meaningless statement.

I don't know how much trade deals are dependent on economics as the predominant factor, it probably is quite high

It is very important that trade deals should be ethical, but in the Capitalist society that we inhabit in this country, it is unfortunately not important to the Government, whose only consideration is financial.

I feel ethics are important particularly if the country we are seeking to trade with, has human rights abuses, however, I think in the times of Post-Brexit, our

country is in such a dire financial need for investment and opportunity, that ethics will take a back seat

It would be good if all deals were backed by best practises so that everyone benefits. Transport, quality of goods, working conditions, wages all become bargaining chips, so that those qualities become the norm, and even unscrupulous business people can see that their good reputation will increase, customers are more satisfied, workers are happier, so everyone benefits, and everyone's life improves. I know this is all completely la la land, because at the moment, I feel the amount of profit required by each side is the most important aspect.

Respondents also express fear that standards will actually fall. These fears are linked to the beliefs expressed by respondents of the EU holding the highest standards as regards the environment, food and ethics, the weak position the UK finds itself in, lack of political will on the part of the Tories and this excessive emphasis on money and financial gain over standards as described in the previous section. Another theme that arises here is the cost of living crisis, which one respondent mentions as a factor that will help the government to throw standards out the window in the name of reducing household outgoings, as well as another respondent indicating that weakening the health system would actually serve as politically beneficial for the government, which may lead them to include the health system in a way to undermine it for their own personal gain. The departure from the EU and how this exposes us to serious disadvantages is mentioned by a number of respondents in this case: the impact this has on prices, its role in UK's weak negotiation position, the 'myth' of the freedom to set own standards really meaning that standards will be compromised.

We risk a decline in ethical and environmental standards from those enjoyed by our EU counterparts.

Every other country is in a stronger position than the UK for a trade deal - so what hope is there that any ethical , environmental regulation will be upheld - to say nothing of the torys shameful track record on this. Money is the only thing that takes. I don't believe any trade deal will improve standards, as we enjoyed such a high level of environmental, food and animal welfare standards as part of the EU. And, in fact, proposed trade deals have already stated they will flood the markets with chlorinated chicken (USA) or poor quality produce (Australia) - I can afford to buy local/organic but most people in the UK will not be able to do so.

I think, too, that because of the sharp rise in the cost of living the government will try to get cheaper food to keep household bills down and turn a blind eye to health and environmental issues I try to buy goods which have been produced under the same conditions which I would expect here.

but the current government is only interested in money - and to be honest, it stands to their benefit to run down the UK health as then they can sell the NHS to the highest US bidder in another even better health trade deal.

It has become apparent in the Brexit aftermath that we had been benefiting from cheaper imports with no tariffs and access to a European export market that is

now costing us dear. How any of this can be improved upon in the future, I'm afraid I am at a loss. It would be nice to think we had some leverage.

I have no faith for improvement in any standards through UK trade deals, all areas will see decline. It is a common misconception where the Tories men\*on we'll have the freedom to make our own deals and therefore also improve upon them.

There is some pretence that we are now free to set our own, improved , standards but this seems to be nonsense.

I'm very concerned about the new trade deals. I didn't support Brexit and am certain that some of the new deals will have an impact on UK farmers and producers and on the welfare of animals. I feel that the government wants to be seen to be making Brexit work and will therefore make deals that compromise the standards that were in place when we were part of the EU.

The need to broker trade deals with countries that have lower standards than the UK outside the EU is seen as an important obstacle to maintaining or raising standards in the process. The specific countries mentioned in these sections are analysed in more depth in the previous section.

In order to get some countries to trade with us we are looking to lower environmental and welfare standards in our own production. In turn we are accepting food produced using hormones or other lower standards as part of the reciprocity.

Animal welfare is much higher in the UK than many others foreign countries. On TV or in magazines you see reports of the shocking way many overseas countries treat animals.

I have huge concerns for food production values of other countries, and similar for animal welfare . Chlorinate chicken is just one things that comes to mind, and the mental picture of a Chinese animal market has to be quickly removed

I don't know why we needed a deal with New Zealand for lamb, when we have an abundance of sheep here and it has been reported that our animal welfare standards are higher, so why?

Lower food welfare standards (including of hygiene) mean that American chicken carcasses are sprayed with a solution of chlorine dioxide to reduce harmful bacteria which may cause diseases such as salmonella

Food that comes from the United States is not produced with the same concern for animal welfare as it is here, and is full of cheap and nasty ingredients.

Lower food welfare standards (including of hygiene) mean that American chicken carcasses are sprayed with a solution of chlorine dioxide to reduce harmful bacteria which may cause diseases such as salmonella.

All the main countries we are dealing with have terrible reputations for animal welfare and food additives, amongst other things. It is terrible that many things in

this country, regarding animal welfare and the treatment of non-British people, seem to be going backwards in the UK.

Broadly I think that leaving the EU was motivated, to a large extent, by the desire to lower standards and impose new, rather unpleasant, values. I fear that animal welfare environmental + worker rights issues will all be diluted or scrapped.

We must not allow those standards to slip by allowing the importation of food from other countries, such as the USA and Australia, which is produced to lower standards. If those countries wish to trade with the UK, it is up to them to improve their own standards. The same standards must apply to all aspects of trade.

- 7.3. Q 1c) How far do you think trade deals should be just about improving the economy and how far should they consider other issues such as health? Is there anything – for example, sectors or goods – that you think should be excluded from a trade deal?

Analysis in the previous section identified the excess weight assigned by the government to the importance of the economy versus other issues. These quotes also highlighted financial gain, which relates more to unequal wealth sharing rather than an improvement to the economy as a whole. A search for *economy* with a collocation search revealed that *improving* was the strongest collocate, followed by *health* (2nd), *terms* (7th) and *issues* (8th). All these entries highlighted how the economy should not be involved to the detriment of other issues, as well as questions as to the ability of trade deals to improve the economy as well as how wealth is distributed as a more important factor.

I do not believe that more trade deals will improve the economy.

I think that at present the balance of consideration with regard to trade deals is far too concentrated on improving the economy (improving it for whom being one of the key questions) and ethics, health and the environment should play a much greater part

I think its clear from my answers that I think improving the economy has to take less precedence

Trade deals must be about improving the economy, but not at the expense of the health and wellbeing of the people who produce or use the products on offer.

Clearly trade deals have to consider issues other than the economy.

Trade deals should not just be entirely about the economy because they fail to address some of the far more pressing issues which the economy often exacerbates such as healthcare, education or the environment.

I think, while the economy is important, these environmental issues are of major concern and health is extremely important.

Despite the emphasis that economic factors were excessively prioritised, the question as to in whose interest is very apparent, particularly when considering some of the comments made by people using the phrasing ***new/recent/any/0+trade deal(s)+ might (7)***.

Respondents collocated this phrase with the words *improve, impact, jeopardise*, although mostly saying they have no idea or negative. Concerns about factory closures were voiced. Again, with the phrasing ***new/recent/any/0 +trade deal(s)+would (8)***, it collocated with *enable, impact, consider*. Again the phrases were attached to lack of knowledge or negative thoughts, with fear and worry collocating strongly. Lower income families being impacted was another theme, demonstrating a concern about the outcomes for lower echelons of society as a result of these deals (cf Section 8.2).

Some respondents commented on how an excessive focus on economic factors may aggravate issues in other important areas, such as health and the environment. In particular, the USA was mentioned in the context of health and the NHS, with the commonly-held perception being that the NHS would be a target for US pharmaceutical companies, e.g.:

The US has been keen to supply drugs to the NHS for some time and if the government does allow the US to muscle in on the NHS we will see huge increases in the cost of drugs and a serious decline in service provision.

There is also the fear that a US trade deal would open up the NHS to US pharmaceutical companies.

As regards those sectors that should be excluded from trade deals, a collocation analysis on exclude was performed that revealed the following as the most strongly collocated words: *sectors* (1st), *product* (5th), *from* (4th), *should* (6th).

From these collocations, we identified that respondents felt that arms, health and the NHS, and farming (with a focus on local products) were sectors that should be beyond the reach of trade deals. Both health and local produce featured most highly. Health was highlighted to protect the system and allow for investment into the service, although one respondent also highlighted the issue of pharmaceuticals and whether that would come under the umbrella of health, given that pharmaceuticals are private companies. The emphasis on local produce was presented in a way to protect the environment and also safeguard welfare and other standards.

Sectors suggested to be excluded are arms, health, local products, and nothing.

### 7.3.1. Arms

wish we never did any arms or military trade deals - in an ideal world, these would not exist/ would be excluded from a trade deal, but that will not happen in the UK market.

would like to see arms excluded from any deal - we are already capable of making our own killing and defensive equipment.

I don't think there should be any trade deals that relate to weapons or fossil fuels.

### 7.3.2. *Health*

I would always exclude the NHS and healthcare from foreign trade deals, in an ideal world I'd be including all government services.

The health and farming sectors should most definitely be excluded from trade deals. Rather than import cheap meat from overseas whilst at the same time lambasting British farming methods, they should invest more in home-produced farm produce.

On the healthcare front, removing this from trade deals would enable investment in infrastructure and personnel, reducing the stress faced by the NHS, increasing public confidence and reducing public health issues - a far better use of funds.

There are some areas I don't think should form part of trade deal - which are non-negotiables and that would include health and the NHS. Any prospect of the NHS being negotiated as part of say a deal with the US I would find abhorrent.

some things need to remain our own. The NHS for example / police and fire service. You shouldn't and can't privatise them.

However, one respondent did express support the inclusion of the NHS and the broader pharmaceutical industry in trade deals.

Given the NHS is and always has been a state and private hybrid health system there is obviously a place for commercial entities within it under any trade deals. The drugs it uses come from private companies, are we really saying we'd exclude pharmaceuticals from a trade deal with India or the USA when there could be enormous benefits in both directions?

### 7.3.3. *Local products*

I would like to see products that can easily be grown in the UK excluded from international trade deals.

We should exclude any products that can be grown, farmed or produced in the UK. It is vital that the government protects and helps UK farmers to grow safe, high welfare and environmentally sustainable food.

The health and farming sectors should most definitely be excluded from trade deals. Rather than import cheap meat from overseas whilst at the same time lambasting British farming methods, they should invest more in home-produced farm produce.

#### 7.3.4. *Nothing*

There were other respondents who felt that nothing should be off-the-table when it comes to trade deals:

I do not think that any sector should be excluded from trade deals. Trade is how we live. All of the other factors are important and each trade deal should be considered on its merits. Restricting trade does not make economic sense and will hurt the UK consumer and economy.

I can't think of any sector that I think should be excluded from trade deals on principle. Allegedly they are supposed to provide two-way benefits, right?

Whilst it might be beneficially to exclude some goods or sectors from trade deals, it might be more effective to include them in order to negotiate a higher degree of regulation. If a sector is excluded from a deal there is less chance that one of the parties to the deal will have a say in how it is regulated.

I'm not sure what I'd exclude though, I'd just want to make it fair for all and done in good faith more than actually including or excluding certain things.

- 7.4. 2a) Is it important to you, how and where goods are produced and manufactured? Do you research where and how the goods you buy are produced? Does this influence on what and where you shop?

Many respondents report that they research the provenance of goods that they buy, with British goods being favoured over those produced elsewhere:

It is important to me to try and support local business wherever I can and I try to do that.

I will continue to buy locally sourced products when I can and search for quality products, preferably manufactured in the UK.

I like to buy goods that are produced and manufactured in the UK, where possible.

Two respondents went further and outlined a hierarchy of preferences for the provenance of their food:

I always choose British food first; after that, food from European sources; and only then, for items that are not available closer to home, the rest of the world.

locally produced goods come before other, then nationality produced next and last of all if at all foreign.

Two respondents, both born in the 1940s, commented that they favour buying goods that are produced and manufactured in the Commonwealth when buying goods from outside of the UK:

Only happy to buy from Commonwealth countries.

I find my gut reaction to new deals with Australia and New Zealand is not to worry about the large distances involved but to be pleased that we are returning to old habits and dealing with our old Commonwealth family.

One theme that emerged from the responses to the directive was that while buying British is the preferred scenario, this is not always practicable. The phrase 'buy British' is a distinctive collocation according to n-gram analysis. Examples include:

I do my best to 'buy British' but it is very difficult now that so little is manufactured here.

When replacing household goods, its impossible to buy British I need a new lawn mower shortly and thought I would buy a Spear and Jackson but most are now produced in Asia Before I decide I will read reviews.

In recent years I have become more aware of where my food is produced and will not, for example buy Kenyan beans when we can grown perfectly good beans in the UK. One huge problems that cannot be undone is that we have been persuaded that we need all foods throughout the year -- we no longer accept seasonality. One particularly annoying aspect of trading for me is Fish. We continually seem to be at war with someone over fishing rights. Whenever I buy fish, however, I check the 'origin' and its North Atlantic, Berient sea or somewhere obscure like that. I am talking about cod, nothing special and the salmon is often Scottish but I live within 5 miles of the coast so why can't I buy British fish?

I find the range of options fairly limited if I wish to buy GB goods. It seems to me that the manufacturing of goods is restricted in that sense. If I can buy British then I will but I'm not aware of many opportunities to do so.

I am not too fussed about where things are made or grown, but do try to ' Buy British ' where costs are comparable.

Buying British goods is often considered to be a luxury, a privilege of the wealthy/middle-class, e.g.:

I am interested in where and how goods are produced. However, to be quite honest, our budget is so low at the moment that beggars can't be choosers, so I rarely act on that information. If we had more money, I would be looking to buy

more of our food direct from producers - e.g. buying a whole pig, or subscribing to a veg box scheme.

We wouldn't buy cheap meat from abroad, only UK produced meat and as often as possible organic produce. I know this is a luxury of being pretty well off and 'middle class', but it is important if humans are going to live sustainably on this planet

I do think that perhaps we could go back to simpler times, with locally produced food. We could all also simply buy less stuff. We perhaps wouldn't need such complicated trade deals that might also be a bit dubious ethically. But perhaps that's quite a white, middle class view of things?

I could probably source more local food, from local farms or whatever, but I'm not sure I have the budget. That's terrible, I know, but I think there are limits to what we can practically do - the economy has been set up a particular way, and you can only really opt out of that if you have money behind you.

A minority of others mentioned that the provenance of their food produce is not a priority for them, with some highlighting other considerations that they perceive to be a higher priority, such as convenience or standards, e.g.:

I really don't care if the beef in my stew tonight is British, Irish or European. I do expect it to be fit for consumption, I also expect it to have been reared and kept in an acceptable manner, not having spent its life locked inside a metal crate and never having felt the sunshine on its back, whilst being pumped full of steroids.

I have to say, I don't particularly buy locally. If there is something I want, I tend to go for the quickest and cheapest option. Local produce would involve 'shopping around' which I do not usually do. My main food shopping comes from the nearest Supermarket. I don't usually look at where the food comes from

If I need fruit, I'll buy it. I don't care if my strawberries are British or Spanish as long as I can get a punnet. I don't care if my lamb came from Yorkshire or France. As long as it was killed hopefully humanely and kept in hopefully hygienic environments until I buy it I don't care.

I can't say I do research where goods come from to any great degree. I try hard to avoid any product coming from China but these days that's almost impossible. It is obviously very much better in every way if things can be produced locally and distributed locally. The less mileage products have to do the better. I do worry about food standards elsewhere in the world. But I'm afraid I'm a very shallow person, so although I worry about such things I don't worry enough to actually put effort into finding locally produced goods.

I don't really think about where things come from, I think that's a losing battle. Even if you're getting UK veg, its food miles could be absolutely ridiculous - I remember some TV expose a few years ago which was looking at UK potatoes which were farmed in Scotland, taken to the Midlands to be sorted and cleaned, then driven somewhere else to be packaged before ending up in Scottish branches of the supermarket.

Some respondents displayed a degree of apathy with respect to where their food comes from:

I am interested to know where lots of the goods and services I buy come from or where they are manufactured but that's it. I don't do in depth research into how, where, why or who makes things as I don't care that much.

One respondent commented that they do not check the provenance of food products out of habit as they trusted the quality of produce within the EU:

In terms of buying goods, I do not generally research how they are produced and manufactured or where they are produced and manufactured. Again, I think this is a by-product of being acclimatised to being in the EU. I didn't have to worry about goods produced in the EU; nor for that matter did I consider the EU to be 'foreign' (not that I particularly like the word 'foreign' in reference to anywhere).

7.5. 2b) Do you have any concerns about the food production standards of goods produced outside the UK?

Respondents made clear that they had concerns about standards of goods produced outside of the UK.

I do have some concerns that food production standards of goods outside the UK may not reach our standards.

I am concerned about food production standards and animal welfare.

I have some concerns about food production standards of goods produced within the UK as well as outside - e.g. animals which spend their whole lives in indoor sheds - but my concerns are particularly pronounced with regard to goods coming in from countries where there are fewer laws and inspections with regard to animal welfare rights/worker conditions etc

I do have concerns about food production standards outside the UK.

I do worry about the welfare of animals reared abroad for meat , feeling sure that other countries don't have the same ethical standards as we do.

When discussing specific types of food production, most referred to the rearing of animals (see above), although some did also refer to plants:

Any product that can be grown or reared to high standard in the UK must be supported and any lessening of our standards cannot be tolerated or allowed. There is no excuse for lessening our standards of animal welfare and crop growth or accepting it from any other country.

We also face the prospect of our supermarket shelves being filled with meat and poultry from caged animals, filled with hormones & antibiotics again as well as fruit & vegetables grown with chemicals at huge cost to people and environments.

Firstly other countries do not stick to the same rules we do. This could mean worse animal welfare standards which makes me not want to buy the products. There are probably lower standards for what chemicals can be put in food and how hygienic it does/does not need to be. So foreign goods might be worse than ones produced in the UK.

I am worried that the current government is already watering down the former EU legislation that was protecting the environment, animals and consumers in the UK, and as a result things such as neonicotinoid pesticides, banned in the EU are being allowed again here. We also face the prospect of our supermarket shelves being filled with meat and poultry from caged animals, filled with hormones & antibiotics again as well as fruit & vegetables grown with chemicals at huge cost to people and environments.

The concerns regarding standards expressed differed both qualitatively and quantitatively depending on the country being discussed.

*Meat* collocates with *locally* and *British* while its hyponyms, the specific types of meat, exhibited distinct collocational patterns with different nations. For example, *beef* collocated most strongly with *Australia*, *lamb* with *New Zealand*, *Welsh*, and *Australia*, and *chicken* with *USA* (also written as *US*). *Pork* did not strongly collocate with any nation, although there was a single example of *pork* being discussed in the context of *China*.

In the following analysis, we consider the concerns about standards relating to the countries (and trading block) most frequently discussed in this context, that is, Australia, the US, China, New Zealand, and the EU.

#### 7.5.1. Australia

One of the strongest collocates with *Australia* is *lower* with the respondents suggesting that Australian food standards are not satisfactory, i.e. they are lower than that of the UK:

I fear the trade deals recently made with Australia accepted lower standards of welfare than we have in the UK

We must not allow those standards to slip by allowing the importation of food from other countries, such as the USA and Australia , which is produced to lower standards.

We must not allow those standards to slip by allowing the importation of food from other countries, such as the USA and Australia , which is produced to lower standards.

We can't keep eating cheap chicken reared in appalling industrial conditions on a farm in Thailand or hormone-enriched beef from Australia , neither of those are sustainable ways of farming.

I like to get locally produced food (meat and veg) and am concerned that meat etc coming from Australia etc will not meet EU standards

Meat and cereals that are produced more cheaply on very large farms in, say, Australia , will be sold at lower prices and will put our small-scale farmers, who produce food to high welfare and environmental standards, at a disadvantage.

Clearly the deal with Australia will undermine British Farmers who still have to comply with certain standards that Australian farmers don't.

I fear the trade deals recently made with Australia accepted lower standards of welfare than we have in the UK.

Specifically, respondents objected to the conditions in which cows are reared in Australia.

I would not want to buy Australian or US beef (enormous industrial ranches and hormone fed cows)

Australia , however, has lower welfare standards and can raise herds of cattle in vast numbers thus producing cheaper meat that our farmers can't compete with.

I have no clue as to what the Australians want from us so badly, soap and toilet rolls perhaps? But whatever it is, they are proposing that in return we open our markets to their beef . Apparently the Australian farming community can breed, raise, feed, care for and ultimately kill beef cattle, butcher them, freeze them and finally transport them around the planet to Felixstowe. And we are to believe they can do it cheaper than European farmers? They can do it better than our own farmers? To a higher standard of care and welfare for the beasts involved? Come on. Of course not.

We can't keep eating cheap chicken reared in appalling industrial conditions on a farm in Thailand or hormone-enriched beef from Australia, neither of those are sustainable ways of farming. If we are going to eat less meat, I think we should eat higher quality meat, with animals treated well, farmed in a sustainable fashion, and preferably as locally as possible.

### 7.5.2. USA

Concerns regarding standards of produce from the USA often centred on low quality and potentially dangerous impacts of the importation of chlorinated chicken and chemically-injected beef:

I am concerned about the beef raised in the USA with chemicals injected into it to increase volume.

I don't believe any trade deal will improve standards, as we enjoyed such a high level of environmental, food and animal welfare standards as part of the EU. And, in fact, proposed trade deals have already stated they will flood the markets with chlorinated chicken (USA) or poor quality produce (Australia)

Food should be safe, affordable and good for our health and not compromise by allowing in food that has been produced outside regulations allowed in the UK. As an example, even if chlorinated chickens are sold in the USA, that practice is not accepted here currently and should not be agreed to as part of any trade deals.

I do have concerns about food production standards outside the UK. Specifically America - although no doubt if I were better informed I would discover more horrors than mere chlorinated chicken.

The USA is widely perceived as having lower ethical standards in relation to the EU. One of the key themes relating to these allegedly lower ethical standards relates to the treatment of animals, in both life and death:

Our main trading partner by a long way, according to Wikipedia is the United States, which represents much that we have luckily been able to avoid until now; one of the most unethical countries on Earth in terms of the treatment of its poorer citizens, a lack of good, free medical care and its treatment of farm animals . Food that comes from the United States is not produced with the same concern for animal welfare as it is here, and is full of cheap and nasty ingredients.

Lower food welfare standards (including of hygiene) mean that American chicken carcasses are sprayed with a solution of chlorine dioxide to reduce harmful bacteria which may cause diseases such as salmonella.

In particular, our deal with the USA will have many drawbacks regarding food standards and animal welfare.

Some respondents also noted concerns about additives added in food products in American being detrimental to food standards:

I don't think that anyone in this country wants our food standards to be reduced, however, there has been a lot of discussion about food being imported from America - if you've ever bought processed food from America, you can see that it's full of chemical additives that we wouldn't allow presently. This is just anecdotal evidence of a standards mismatch, however, the media reported lots of issues with the quality of meat which could be imported - it seems that this country and the EU did a lot to improve the standards for producing meat and I wouldn't like to see those standards be eroded in new trade deals.

One respondent also raised concerns regarding America also include the quality of labelling on food products:

There's also been talk about a trade deal with the US as the government are refusing to add laws that align us to EU food standards. This opens the market for the Americans to insist that we do a deal that buys their chlorine-washed chicken, because they can't be bothered to have proper animal welfare standards. The answer from some quarters is "just don't buy it then", with an insistence that you will just have to read the label to see where the meat has come from. Except the Americans reportedly are pushing back on this and saying they don't want food labelling. They could try matching our food standards, but I think their arrogance is getting in the way there.

### 7.5.3. *China*

While most of the concern relating to China centred around human rights violations (see Section 7.1.2), a small number of respondents mentioned their aversion to food produced in China:

Nothing from China makes me feel confident about eating it (I have been there and seen the state of their hospitals, never mind animal facilities.)

Before doing trade deals with countries I think we do need assurances that they have high standards for food production and animal welfare in particular. I have very little knowledge to base my feelings on but I hate to think of any food coming from China or many other Asian countries, where they definitely have a different attitude towards the lives of animals.

I would no more eat anything from China than fly to the moon I research everything I eat.

I bought a bag of salmon fillets -- when I got home and looked on the back of the packet it said 'produce of China' -- so they got thrown away. I would never eat any food that originates from China

One respondent also commented on China's perceived role in the spread of Covid-19 which has led some people to avoid trade with the nation:

Since the pandemic arrived in the UK from China , I have not bought anything made in that country. China has made huge profits from supplying masks etc. 'Rewarded' for bringing the pandemic to our shores.

#### *7.5.4. New Zealand*

While there were no explicit concerns regarding food standards in New Zealand, two respondents did query how it is possible to import lamb from New Zealand that is cheaper than lamb from the UK:

Trade deals have affected our locality - the influx of frozen New Zealand lamb at vastly cheaper prices than locally produced meat (how is this possible??) has had an awful impact on the farming industry.

Lamb from New Zealand is both more available and cheaper. Isn't this barmy? I suppose that some smart economist will be able to explain how this has happened, but it certainly doesn't make much sense to me!

One respondent was highlighted New Zealand as having safe standards for in terms of the ethics and standards of its produce:

New Zealand seems to be the only safe bet for quality and humanity.

#### *7.5.5. EU*

The EU is perceived as having high standards in the production of food and other goods:

My main concern is that the EU set high standards in animal welfare and use of pesticides which will not be replicated in countries with which we will now be forced to deal.

it seems that this country and the EU did a lot to improve the standards for producing meat and I wouldn't like to see those standards be eroded in new trade deals.

The EU has high standards in quality, pesticides etc the same can't be said for the USA, Australia, China.

I don't believe any trade deal will improve standards , as we enjoyed such a high level of environmental, food and animal welfare standards as part of the EU

- 7.6. What do you think the UK's new trade deals could do for the community where you live? How could the deals improve life for you and your family? Have you been personally affected by any trade deals? If so, please share your experiences.

For the analysis of the final cluster of questions in the directive, we consider each question individually.

*7.6.1. What do you think the UK's new trade deals could do for the community where you live?*

There was an overwhelming tendency for respondents not to think of benefits of trade deals at the level of the community. For example, while *affect* and *help* were the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> strongest collocates of *community*, a closer reading of these excerpts makes clear that the sentiment being expressed is that a trade deal will not, at least directly, benefit their community. As community is of particular relevance to the excerpts below, we include the location of the respondent below each passage.

I am not sure how the UK's new trade deals could help my local community , nor have I been knowingly personally affected by any of these deals. B5725 from Chester

Whether a trade deal can really help a community on a local level, I'm not sure. F7368 Northwich, Cheshire

It is hard to see how a trade deal could directly affect my community. M4859 Devon

I really don't know how the UK trade deals could affect my community , or improve life for me and my family. M6897 London

I think it is a bit early to say if the trade deals will help our community. I1610 Oxford

I live in a largely rural community based around an agricultural economy (albeit tourism also plays a large part), so trade deals relating in particular to sheep-related trade have the potential to detrimentally impact the local economy, demographics (e.g. more young people moving out of the area) and longer-term the historical landscape which has been carved out by centuries of hill farming. F4813 Bedale North Yorkshire

There are several food production plants near to where I live, obviously trade deals can have a serious impact on those workers and their lifestyles. </s><s> Job losses would ultimately lead to break downs in the local community and less trade. R5429 Unknown location

I personally think the new UK trade deals will do nothing for my local community and likewise for the country. M5198 Unknown location

It is hard to see how a trade deal could directly affect my community. M4859  
Devon

Or that the respondents are not aware of the benefits of trade deals to their community, or in terms of changing standards, e.g.:

I have no sense at all of how the recent trade deals might affect my life, or my family or community. M6940 Essex

I am not sure how the UK's new trade deals could help my local community, nor have I been knowingly personally affected by any of these deals. B5725 Chester

It is hard to see how a trade deal could directly affect my community. M4859  
Devon

I'm not aware of any particular industries in my community that would be affected by new trade deals. B3227 Birmingham

Not a single respondent remarked on real or imagined future benefits of trade deals on them personally or their local community. One individual did suggest that this may change if the community were more informed:

I don't feel I know enough to answer this question satisfactorily; perhaps one way new trade deals could affect the community is by the community being better informed and engaged. L6798 Unknown location

An analysis of the location of the respondents who expressed the view that they do not envisage trade deals having positive impacts on their local communities does not reveal any systematic geographical variation. That is, from the available data, it does not appear that those in one particular region are more or less pessimistic about the prosperity brought by trade deals than those in another. We do not have access to information regarding rurality/urbanity which may prove insightful for such analysis.

#### *7.6.2. How could the deals improve life for you and your family?*

As regards to how new trade deals could improve the lives of themselves or of others, only one remarked that price could be the one thing that might be able to improve people's lives, although still with a caveat relating to lowering of human rights' standards.

That seems to be against our economic interest. </s><s> It might benefit consumers if the imports are of the same quality but cheaper, although cheapness may be at the expense of the exploitation of overseas workers [...] Apart from that I cannot see how trade deals might improve our lives.

Two of the key words in the directive question, *life* and *improve* collocate with each other in contexts that describe the failure of trade deals to improve people's lives, or how they could in imaginary situations, as seen below.

Transport, quality of goods, working conditions, wages all become bargaining chips, so that those qualities become the norm, and even unscrupulous business people can see that their good reputation will increase, customers are more satisfied, workers are happier, so everyone benefits, and everyone's life improves. I know this is all completely la la land, because at the moment, I feel the amount of profit required by each side is the most important aspect.

To further this, when the term *new trade deal* is analysed, the top collocates identified are *community* (1<sup>st</sup>), *improve* (2<sup>nd</sup>), *doubt* (3<sup>rd</sup>), *anything* (4<sup>th</sup>). These concordances on a closer reading include phrases mentioned before, including how deals *could* or *should* be used to improve standards or lives but would not. Doubt was expressed in relation to improving people's lives or whether the quality of the deals themselves would improve.

*7.6.3. Have you been personally affected by any trade deals? If so, please share your experiences.*

The first five collocates for the verb *affect*: *community* (1<sup>st</sup>), *personally* (2<sup>nd</sup>), *industries* (3<sup>rd</sup>), *families* (4<sup>th</sup>), *by* (5<sup>th</sup>). The community examples have been covered by previous questions. A theme seems to be that the awareness of how people may be affected is often hidden:

As far as I know I have not personally been affected by any trade deals.

I am not sure how the UK's new trade deals could help my local community, nor have I been knowingly personally affected by any of these deals.

I am sure we all are individually affected by trade deals, whether we realise it or not

I am not aware of any direct or specific impact of trade deals on me or my family but our lives, like everyone else, will be affected by access to all kinds of commodities that the nation trades in - just about everything!

Any potential impacts mentioned seem to be negative, both when talking about people or the population in general and industries. In the case of industries some felt that the industry couldn't be affected because it was all dead and buried but others mentioned potential negative impacts such as on the farming industry

As to how these trade deals will affect me personally, well I can't help but think it will make the country poorer.

I don't feel that trade deals are likely to affect me personally. I suppose they will have an effect on food prices, but I'm unlikely to notice that very directly. I am on maternity leave/a SAHP and my husband is studying, so we are unlikely to be affected in our employment.

Farmers may well find their livelihoods under threat if new trade deals mean cheaper foreign imports of meat. Another group affected by this example will be Animal Rights.

The negative affect on our own industries and production should always be a factor in our negotiations.

I have highlighted how our environment and regulation of our business and public service can be affected by trade deals and clearly, these days trade deals go well beyond traditional issues like tariff policy.

## 8. Trade Directive: Writers' attitudes and perceptions

In the current section we query the entire TD dataset with an aim of identifying cognitive stances of the TD writer. In order to do that we explore verbs of cognition (e.g. *think, know, feel*), modal verbs (e.g. *should, could, will*) which point to writers' credence in propositions they make about trade deals, and reasoning patterns through investigation of the *because* construction.

### 8.1. Writers' thoughts, beliefs, feelings, knowledge

In the current section we provide further insight into the TD writers' thoughts, beliefs, feelings, and knowledge. These are investigated by analysing verbs of cognition, such as *know, think, believe, feel, see*.

#### 8.1.1. Knowledge (*know/see/understand*)

The most frequent use of the verbs of knowledge indicates lack of knowledge of the topic (examples a-d) or insufficient knowledge of the topic (examples e-g).

- a. I don't know **enough**;
- b. I know very **little**
- c. I have little knowledge of
- d. I think I've just proven how **ignorant** I am on this topic
- e. I know absolutely **nothing** about business
- f. **Not know how** deals can affect me or make a difference;
- g. **Not know why** we get new zealand lamb; why(...) chlorinated chicken

### 8.1.2. Thoughts and beliefs (think/feel/believe/doubt/suspect)

The key references that writers think about are in the domains of the following terms/ideas in the order of importance (measured as a strength of collocation, see Section 4.3), i.e. *ethical, animals, governmental, environmental, Brexit*. Writers have specific ideas on how these domains should and should not be dealt with.

In terms of ethics and ethics and ethical standards writers mention those along with environmental issues (a-c). However, this is unsurprising as this conceptual bundle follows from the way the TD questions were phrased. Ethical standards are also discussed in terms of a nation and therefore juxtaposed with an expressed or silent other (examples d-f). Finally, when talking about ethical standards writers emphasise their position to a greatest extent in comparison to other areas of cognition. They do this by using adverbs such as *quite strongly* (c) or *extremely* (b).

- a. I think the ethical and environmental aspects should be routinely considered
- b. I feel that the ethical and environmental impacts of a trade deal are extremely important
- c. I feel quite strongly about ethical trade deals and the environmental impacts
- d. I think British standards are generally good and are to be trusted,
- e. I feel it is hypocritical to import goods made using methods that would be illegal
- f. UK must hold to the high standards that were present when we were in
- g. the ethical treatment of staff and animals needs to be a priority in trade deals

In terms of animals, writers are mainly concerned with the travel of animals. Animals (alongside the ethical issues) are the topics that evoke feelings and guilt or internal conflict, a personal clash with ethical concerns.

I don't approve of live animal exports

I believe that the journeys of all live animals should be minimised as much as possible

I feel slightly hypocritical saying this as I enjoy meat I believe that the journeys of all live animals should be minimised as much as possible

I feel very strongly about animal welfare in particular.

Writers' environmental concerns mainly relate to the origin of food. They emphasise talking about local produce.

I believe that we should buy as much locally as possible

No Trade deals should be with weapons or fossil fuels

Other sectors of economy of trade deals are occasionally mentioned.

Any sector should be excluded

I do not feel that medicines and medical supplies should not be subject to deals.

When referring to governmental issues respondents express lack of conviction that the negotiations are managed well.

No good deal under the present government  
Don't trust the deals negotiated by the current government  
I doubt the government will be sufficiently stringent  
I suspect lots of deals are going under the radar  
I suspect that profit-making will always override ethical considerations  
I have little faith that our new deals will be any better  
I have no trust in the current political establishment  
I'm also sceptical about the body's independence from central government

### 8.1.3. *Wants (not/want/like/approve, despair, dislike, fear)*

The key references that writers desire are in the domains of the following terms/ideas in the order of importance (measured as a strength of collocation, see Section 4.3), i.e. Fair trade goods, right price, to be happy about the origin, to know the origin, good price, ethical, local.

Food-issues that writers don't want mainly refer to the travel of food. On the one hand, writers don't want "out of season food" or "farmed prawns". On the other hand, other writers don't want to "to be confined to buying goods that are only from the UK" or say:

I don't care if my strawberries are British or Spanish as long as I can get a punnet.  
I don't care if my lamb came from Yorkshire or France

Other areas that writers don't want to see when discussing the topic are related to health services and local economy, i.e.

US running out health service  
I fear we're being led into a damaging scenario in terms of the US's interest in the NHS  
UK firms going bust  
to see small producers losing their livelihoods because of cheap imports  
I despair of there ever being a sensible government in charge of the UK

and to global environmental and ethical issues, i.e.

to buy from a country that ignores than impact of climate change  
to buy from a country that uses child, slave or indentured labour  
I fear that some of the finance now coming into the UK will be less than ethical & clean  
I fear the trade deals recently made with Australia accepted lower standards of welfare

## 8.2. Writers' credence in propositions about trade deals

In order to assess writers' credence, belief in a proposition they make about trade deals we analyse modal verbs (e.g. *should, could, will*) which follow a term *trade deal(s)*. A modal claim is a claim about how things could be or must be given some constraints. We present the propositions that followed the structure of *trade deal(s)+ a modal verb*. In the analysis below there are propositions which are the key areas of concern for the writers in response

to their beliefs about trade deals. We also made note of adjectives used to describe a trade deal about which a belief is stated.

Most of the extracted modal statements come with the verb *should*. *Should* expresses futurity and desirability about the trade deals and is supported by the fact that the adjectives describing trade deals here are *good, new, future*. These are affirmative statements.

### ***good, new, future, Ø + trade deals + should + proposition (33 instances)***

Examples of propositions:

- Ethical environment
- Economy
- Working standard
- Respect
- Human rights record
- Animal welfare
- Green policy
- Create benefits
- All round benefit

All other statements of belief extracted in this analysis (***trade deal(s) + could, will, might, would***) are framed as negative probability statements. In several instances these statements indicated the writer's lack of knowledge about the trade deals and that's why they are framed as negative statements. But in most cases this negative framing means that writers hedge on their beliefs that trade deals can make a positive impact. The change is expressed as verbs of change, i.e. *affect, impact, jeopardise*.

### ***new, Ø +trade deal(s) + could + proposition (15 instances)***

Examples of propositions: *improve standards, affect, have power, help*

Almost all are used in negative statements.

I cannot see how new trade deals could improve standards

I am not sure how the UK's new trade deals could help my local community, nor have

I am guessing these trade deals could affect farmers, but I don't know

I'm wary of energy trade deals that could make us dependent on other countries

### ***recent, new, any, Ø +trade deal(s) + will + proposition (18 instances)***

Examples of propositions: *Improve, impact, help, do much, do nothing*

Almost all are used in negative statements.

Sadly I don't think Trade Deals will be considered on anything other than Financial gain  
 I do not believe that more trade deals will improve the economy.  
 I doubt the UK government's trade deals will do much for my local community.  
 I am not sure if trade deals will have much of an effect on my life

When a modal verb is used to express the speaker's opinion about a statement, knowledge about a statement, then this is epistemic modality: It might be true. Here, the speaker is expressing their attitude about whether it is true or not, accepting that there is a possibility, but not being certain.

**recent, new, any, Ø +trade deal(s) + might + proposition (7 instances)**

Examples of propositions: *improve, impact, jeopardise*

Almost all are used in negative statements.

any trade deals that might lead to the closure of those factories  
 But how a trade deal might impact on this - or if it could - I have no idea

**recent, new, any, Ø +trade deal(s) + would + proposition (8 instances)**

Examples of propositions: *enable, impact, consider*

Almost all are used in negative statements.

There is also the fear that a US trade deal would open up the NHS to US pharmaceutical companies  
 I do worry that the proposed trade deals would impact lower income families deals don't really interest me that much - if I feel particularly strongly about a trade deal I'd research it first then probably write ???? about it.

8.3. Salient areas of writers' reasoning about trade directives

In the current section we analyse the reasoning processes presented by the writers. In order to locate the salient areas writers feel they need to provide justification for, we analyse statements containing the word *because*. As most of the propositions we make in language are without justification, such as *I live in a village*, the presence of justification for propositions is highly meaningful. Justification for propositions is conversational (we need an audience who we feel needs this extra bit of information) and assumes knowledge or the lack of on the part of the audience. Justification for propositions also can indicate that the ideas proposed by the writer are their stances and beliefs. Finally, the justification for propositions also can indicate that the ideas proposed require an additional support, defence. In this way, the analysis of sentences with the word *because* can lead us to propositions of blame assignment.

The following examples present an argument structure of *because* where a proposition (the left of the column) is matched with the reasoning (the right of the column). The verb phrase is omitted from this analysis and please note that the verbs here come in both negative and affirmative forms. The key of this analysis is to demonstrate which arguments are seen as connected in consequential relation, regardless of whether the relation is positive or negative. The full concordance dataset from the corpus is presented in Appendix A.

The key areas writers provided reasoning via *because* are trade deals, farming, import, purchased products, other countries, standards in other countries, and Brexit. The reasoning introduced by *because* is often surrounded by a negative stance, as in “I **dislike** trade deals **because** they push the idea that what can be sold should be included(...)”. On that basis, we hypothesise that the data presented in examples below and the examples of particularly salient impotence and in most cases dissatisfactions that writes of the directive bring forward.

### ***X because X***

#### **Trade deals**

Trade deals	Incompetence and pettiness
Trade deals	complicated
Trade deals	piddling and inconsequential
Trade deals	push the ideas what can be sold not the resource is beneficial
Trade deals	fail to address issue offside the economy
Trade deals	I do not want UK to go bust
US deals	UK does not have clout to negotiate

#### **Farming**

Farmers in the UK do not [love low prices]	expected to have low prices
Sheep farming reduced	no longer a market

#### **Import**

Economy	shopping local is better
UK sellers	minimise cost of import

#### **Purchased products**

Local food	supports local producers and environmentally
Not buy local	limited market here
Buy specific product	few alternatives

Specific products	only ones that are available
Seasonal food	I know where it comes from
Israel (products from)	illegally occupying Palestine
Clothes from China	affordable

### Other countries/standards

Europe	more ethical, environmental
Countries	I disagree with their morals
Brexit	UK can not prosper on its own
Labels standards	they are not held to meaningful
Unfair processes in the US/AUS	cannot reach the UK's animal standards
Food production standards in other countries	not supported by research

One of the most distinctive word surrounding *because* is *Brexit*. Below are the instances of blame arguments in response to Brexit.

### **Because of Brexit**

- The cost of those items has already gone up
- my local plant shop has been unable to source many plants
- Her supplies came from a European country and stopped
- We are now considered to be a third world country
- Excluded the UK [from an EU-US trade deal]

### **X because X**

Europe	more ethical, environmental
Brexit	UK can not prosper on its own

Close reading of the directive responses points towards a strong anti-Brexit attitude in the data set, through negative affective stances expressed towards Brexit. While numerous respondents say that they favoured Remain, few exhibited attitudes consistent with a Leave vote. As demonstrated in Section 5.1, the panel includes a disproportionate number of those who are older, women, middle-class, and from the East and South-East of England. The clear anti-Brexit zeitgeist in the data is somewhat surprising given that many of the demographic features over-represented in the data set also were more likely to vote for Brexit. For example, older people were more likely to vote for Brexit (Nouvellet, 2017; Finlay, et al., 2019). In terms of region, while the South-East leave vote percentage of 51.8% is almost identical to the UK average, 51.9%, the East of England exhibited a relatively strong

skew towards Leave (56.5%). There is no widespread gender-effect attested in Brexit voting behaviour (Campbell & Shorrocks, 2021). The demographic feature is consistent with the anti-Brexit narrative in the TD is the occupational status of the respondents. Alaimo and Solivetti (2019) that those in higher status occupations were less likely to vote Leave. Given the strong skew among the TD respondents towards those in high status occupations, the anti-Brexit comments are consistent with the occupational profile of the respondents.

## 9. Trade Directive: Keywords, multi-word expressions, and n-grams

The analysis of keywords, multi-word expressions, and n-grams presented in the current section confirms the findings of the analysis carried out in the earlier sections. Thus, to avoid repetition only a brief summary of key themes is presented and cross-referenced with other sections where necessary. The top keywords, multi-word expressions, and n-grams can also serve as list of expressions that can be further explored using Nvivo or any other qualitative analysis.

### 9.1. Top 20 keywords in TD vs MO Diaries reference corpus

Top 20 keywords bring the themes of pandemic (*pandemic, vaccine*), food/farming (chlorinate), trade (*import, manufacture, export, trade, consumer, sourced, trading*), value (*welfare, ethic, ethical, ethically, standard*) environment (*environmental, sustainably, environmentally*). There is emphasis on ethics and environment in the context of trade.

---

Rank	Keyword
1	<i>Trade</i>
2	<i>Import</i>
3	<i>Chlorinate</i>
4	<i>Covid</i>
5	<i>Ethical</i>
6	<i>Pandemic</i>
7	<i>Manufacture</i>

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8	<i>Export</i>
9	<i>Ethically</i>
10	<i>Consumer</i>
11	<i>Welfare</i>
12	<i>Importation</i>
13	<i>Ethic</i>
14	<i>Environmental</i>
15	<i>Sustainably</i>
16	<i>Vaccine</i>
17	<i>Sourced</i>
18	<i>Environmentally</i>
19	<i>Standard</i>
20	<i>Trading</i>

---

## 9.2. Top 20 multi-word expressions in TD vs MO Diaries reference corpus

Top 20 multi-word expressions bring the themes of trade (*trade deal, new trade, new trade deal, uk trade deal, production standard, uk trade, trade agreement*), food (*food production, food standard, chlorinated chicken, food price, home delivery*), standards/welfare (*animal welfare, welfare standard, environmental standard, animal welfare standard, environmental impact, production standard, high standard, ethical standard, environmental protection, working conditions*), environment (*environmental impact, environmental standard, environmental protection*), rights (*working condition*).

---

<b>Rank</b>	<b>Multi-word expression</b>
-------------	------------------------------

---

- |    |                                 |
|----|---------------------------------|
| 1  | <i>trade deal</i>               |
| 2  | <i>animal welfare</i>           |
| 3  | <i>new trade</i>                |
| 4  | <i>new trade deal</i>           |
| 5  | <i>food production</i>          |
| 6  | <i>welfare standard</i>         |
| 7  | <i>food standard</i>            |
| 8  | <i>chlorinated chicken</i>      |
| 9  | <i>environmental standard</i>   |
| 10 | <i>animal welfare standard</i>  |
| 11 | <i>uk trade deal</i>            |
| 12 | <i>environmental impact</i>     |
| 13 | <i>production standard</i>      |
| 14 | <i>working condition</i>        |
| 15 | <i>high standard</i>            |
| 16 | <i>uk trade</i>                 |
| 17 | <i>ethical standard</i>         |
| 18 | <i>other country</i>            |
| 19 | <i>environmental protection</i> |
-

These key term searches do serve to indicate the importance of topics of food, the environment and animal welfare in trade deals or in the discussions.

### 9.3. Top 10 n-grams in TD

Key n-grams extracted in reference to the baseline corpus did not bring new insights which are not visible in the analysis so far. Key n-grams just highlighted trade deals.

Top 10 n-grams (3-4) are the most frequent n-grams in the TD Directive as such. This is more interesting because 5 of first 10 n-grams are negative, and also include negative verbs of cognition. The importance of verbs of cognition in this directive draws to a closer look at verbs of cognition in Section 8 and is one of the important findings/themes for the report.

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Rank	n-gram	Frequency (number of occurrences)
1	<i>I do n't</i>	118
2	<i>in the UK</i>	69
3	<i>a trade deal</i>	46
4	<i>I do not</i>	37
5	<i>new trade deals</i>	31
6	<i>I try to</i>	29
7	<i>a lot of</i>	28
8	<i>do n't think</i>	28
9	<i>I do n't think</i>	25
10	<i>I am not</i>	22

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## 10. Trade Directive: Handwritten vs word processed data

An additional way in which the data is analysed in by comparing the modalities of the responses, i.e. word processed and handwritten. The quantities of word processed and handwritten directives are displayed in Table 4 for each section of the Autumn 2021 directive.

Table 4 The modality of the Autumn 2021 directive, split by its three topics; Kindness, Trade, and UK events

Directive	Number of responses	Digital + handwritten
2021 Autumn Kindness	149	125+24
2021 Autumn Trade	131	106+25
2021 Autumn UK events	140	115+25

In order to find out the key differences between the two subsets we extracted multi-word expressions characteristic of (occurring in) one subset (e.g. word processed) and not another (see ‘multiword terms words processed trade’ and ‘multiword terms handwritten trade’ in Trade Appendices). Table 5 provides the top 25 multi-word expressions characteristic of each subset. These are also colour-coded for the main themes observed on these expressions.

specific products, goods, e.g. *plastic*

evaluative terms, e.g. *tat*

ethical and environmental issues, e.g. *slave labour*

references to county, state, e.g. *saudi arabia*

reference to local business, e.g. *local farm shop*

Table 5 The characteristic expressions of the word processed and handwritten responses to the TD

	Trade word processed		Trade handwritten	
Rank	Item	Frequency	Item	Frequency
1	fair trade	12	poor quality	5
2	local business	10	other place	3
3	uk government	10	everyone benefit	3
4	local farm	10	goods etc	3
5	supply chain	7	plastic tat	3
6	world country	6	proposed trade deal	2
7	food safety	6	much time	2
8	safety standard	6	fairtrade good	2
9	uk farmer	6	number of items	2
10	free market	6	regarding animal welfare	2
11	third world	6	transporting good	2
12	local farm shop	6	vulnerable people	2
13	saudi arabia	6	personal level	2
14	rain forest	5	bus ride	2
15	deal with other countries	5	limited income	2
16	red line	5	live animal export	2
17	local supermarket	5	pointless plastic tat	2

18	palm oil	5	strawberry in winter	2
19	good quality	5	main trading partner	2
20	uk business	5	impact of any deals	2
21	third world country	5	large number	2
22	carbon emission	5	fresh fish	2
23	impact of trade deals	4	many area	2
24	child labour	4	mutual agreement	2
25	slave labour	4	main trading	2

Initial analysis of this data indicates that the mode of responding to the directive may have influence on topics discussed by writers. Word-processed responses cover more formal topics, which relate to macroeconomic issues. They also talk more about space and provide contrast between local spaces, conceptualised as local businesses versus global spaces, conceptualised as countries. On the other hand, handwritten responses refer to specific every-day products. They also provide more evaluative statements which may indicate a lower level of formality of handwritten responses in comparison to the word-processed ones.

This analysis needs to be adjusted for information about socio-demographic profile of contributors to each subset. Also a more detailed analysis of examples from Table 6 can be carried out if needed. However, the initial look at the data from the point of view of the mode of response does provide support to the hypothesis that the mode of response affect the information provided in a response to the directive questions.

## 11. Conclusion

To summarise this report into the MO TD, we have provided a summary of the socio-demographic profile of its respondents, identified characteristic senses and concepts in its responses, and summarised trends in relation to the question asked within the directive.

We have shown that the respondents to the TD were skewed female, in high status occupations, older, and from the South-East and East of England. However, we have also shown that the socio-demographic profile of the TD is not dissimilar to other MO directives.

In terms of linguistic analysis, we have used a bespoke Concept Cruncher developed by CAL to identify key themes in the data set. We have then used corpus linguistic tools to shed further, contextualised, light on these key themes. We have used these key themes to summarise trends in the answers to the questions in the TD. This analysis was complemented by further analysis of respondents' perception in Section 8. Key terms for further exploration was provided in section 9 and concepts in different modes of submitted responses presented in Section 10.

## 12. References

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### 13. Appendix

#### A. Concordances of *because of*, *because there*, *because they*, *because I*

This screenshot shows a list of 20 concordance results for the phrase "because of". Each result includes a document ID (e.g., doc#2180), a snippet of text with "because of" highlighted in red, and a small icon for document details. The snippets discuss topics like growing pineapples, import duties, Brexit, and food production.

This screenshot shows a detailed view of a concordance search for "because there". The search bar contains the query "CQL [word=="because"] [word=="there"]" and shows 4 results. The results list document IDs and text snippets where "because there" is highlighted in red. The snippets discuss food production standards and market availability.

CONCORDANCE Health MO

Trade directive x CQL [word=="because"] [word=="they"] • 12  
168.02 per million tokens • 0.00021%

Details Left context KWIC Right context

1	doc#2238	s>Consumers love low prices but manufacturers and farmers in the UK do not <b>because they</b> are expected to have low prices whilst following all the rules that imported goods
2	doc#2238	reated the more they cost.</s><s>I don't know very much about trade deals <b>because they</b> are complicated and there are always problems about
3	doc#2317	ada and Australia also adopt this process.</s><s>It is used in these countries <b>because they</b> cannot reach the UK's animal standards, so they have to pollute their inferior n
4	doc#2358	these issues are not going to be so important for Scotland and NI in the future <b>because they</b> will be back in the EU and trade deals will be collectively bargained by the EU
5	doc#2363	ave not been paying as much attention to trade deals as I should have mostly <b>because they</b> all appear to be piddling and inconsequential so far (eg didn't we sign a deal fo
6	doc#2384	if you have money behind you.</s><s>I do avoid buying products from Israel, <b>because they</b> 're illegally occupying Palestinian land in defiance of UN resolutions going bac
7	doc#2391	up and tottered towards each other on the desk top.</s><s>Except they didn't <b>because they</b> fell over long before they clashed.</s><s>The laughs lasted a few minutes anc
8	doc#2417	often, however, there is little or no choice when it comes to specific products <b>because they</b> are the only ones that are available.</s><s>If one is in a supermarket where th
9	doc#2574	You end up having poorer choice and having to buy things from certain places <b>because they</b> are the only ones available.</s><s>However I am sure someone somewhere v
10	doc#2607	><s>However, I would say that most of my clothes are manufactured in China <b>because they</b> are affordable, and my electrical items come from Germany because of reputa
11	doc#2636	><s>Looking at it from a socialist perspective, personally I dislike trade deals, <b>because they</b> push the idea that what can be sold should be included, not what resource is b
12	doc#2643	as a result.</s><s>Trade deals should not just be entirely about the economy <b>because they</b> fail to address some of the far more pressing issues which the economy often

Rows per page: 500 1-12 of 12 < < 1 / 1 >

Trade directive x CQL [word=="because"] [word=="I"] • 18  
282.03 per million tokens • 0.00032%

Sort word x

Details Left context KWIC Right context

1	doc#2643	pecially as we seem to be mostly accepting inferior terms to our previous deals - <b>because I</b> associate them with the incompetence and pettiness that's characterised the ent
2	doc#2343	n local shops wherever possible, primarily to support the local economy but also <b>because I</b> believe that shopping local is better for the environment.</s><s>We are lucky to
3	doc#2717	y based on kindness.</s><s>One of the reasons I wanted to stay in Europe was <b>because I</b> believed there was more consideration of the ethical, environmental and financia
4	doc#2468	lly, while the prices have gone up.</s><s>I do buy clothes from cheaper places, <b>because I</b> can't afford not to, but I look for more ethical things, recycled materials etc. I buy
5	doc#2499	my community, or improve life for me and my family.</s><s>I was against Brexit <b>because I</b> didn't see how it would be possible for the UK to prosper by pulling away from th
6	doc#2622	lers wherever possible.</s><s>I try to avoid buying goods from certain countries <b>because I</b> disagree with their ethics and morals.</s><s>However with the increase of takec
7	doc#2238	all imports should meet the standards our own producers have to.</s><s>Partly <b>because I</b> don't want UK firms to go bust but also because we have decided how livestock,
8	doc#2358	ndards in the UK.</s><s>Therefore, I don't want to see a trade deal with the US <b>because I</b> don't think the UK has sufficient clout to negotiate a deal that maintains standard
9	doc#2358	in EU standards.</s><s>Plus, I make some minor decisions in the supermarket <b>because I</b> don't like having the Union Flag shoved in my face as part of a British/English na
10	doc#2474	be really useful but it's a start.</s><s>I don't trust the labels that are on products <b>because I</b> don't think they're really held to meaningful standards.</s><s>I had a few interes
11	doc#2519	ad sellers only, partly because I want to minimise the carbon footprint, and partly <b>because I</b> don't want to be landed with the cost of import taxes.</s><s>Straight after Brexit
12	doc#2530	id don't give anything back.</s><s>I'm aware that I'm slightly hypocritical though <b>because I</b> do give money to big corporations (it's very hard not to in some way).</s><s>I ha
13	doc#2350	cling site which remained open.</s><s>I have put off writing anything about this <b>because I</b> feel I know so little.</s><s>What I do know is that trade links are part of political
14	doc#2489	y are produced.</s><s>As far as possible, I buy locally produced, seasonal food <b>because I</b> know where it comes from and trust the producers.</s><s>I have huge concerns
15	doc#2611	lations and not always looking out for people.</s><s>Hmm interesting question <b>because I</b> think it could be interpreted in a few different ways.</s><s>I'd exclude China fro
16	doc#2712	produced.</s><s>I have always tried to buy food that has been produced locally <b>because I</b> think it supports local producers and is more environmentally beneficial (reduced
17	doc#2468	id, but it's very hard for me to find shoes in any shops, never mind second hand, <b>because I</b> 've got big feet for a woman, so I get what I can.</s><s>I am concerned about th
18	doc#2519	website like eBay or Etsy I'll always set the filter to UK based sellers only, partly <b>because I</b> want to minimise the carbon footprint, and partly because I don't want to be land

22 08 05 JAR\_Proc...xlsx Response to Fronti...xlsx 945643 Manuscript.PDF Show all