

# Understanding UK Farmers' Brexit Voting Decision: a Behavioural Approach

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**Abstract:** *In spite of the potential negative effects that Brexit could bring to the United Kingdom (UK), the majority of the electorate voted to leave the European Union (EU). As a result of this paradoxical choice, a number of studies have been developed to understand the factors that triggered this voting decision. Most of them take into account factors related to immigration from East Europe, national identity, and sovereignty recovering, among others. However, these factors do not seem to reflect the reasons behind farmers' Brexit voting choice. Using a behavioural approach based on the theory of planned behaviour, the aim of the study was to contribute to the body of literature by undertaking an indicative study of UK farmers' Brexit voting decisions. The study found that for the sample group, voting choice was strongly influenced by farmers' perceptions about EU legislation, their attitudes towards the EU, their perceived capacity to control factors that impact on the farm performance, their sense of self and their notions of autonomy within the confines of prescriptive agricultural policy and the influence of their social relationships.*

**Keywords:** *farmer, decision making, voting, preference, Brexit*

**Highlights:**

- 28 • **Geographic location influenced voting preference.**
- 29 • **Type of farm enterprise and farm size influence voting preference.**
- 30 • **Attitude towards the EU had the highest predictive power of voting intention.**
- 31 • **Farmers with greater social relationships more likely to vote to remain in EU.**

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34 **1. Introduction**

35 On June 23, 2016, a referendum held in the UK marked a turning point in the history  
36 of Europe in general, and the country in particular, as a majority voted to leave the EU in what  
37 is referred to as Brexit (Becker, 2016). Economists and policymakers at that time manifested  
38 significant concern about the possible negative impacts of this decision on British voters. The  
39 “Leave” versus “Remain” campaigns used a variety of narratives to engage voters and some  
40 have suggested there was a real juxtaposition between a discourse based on feelings rather than  
41 an objective discourse based on facts but the real element of voter engagement was around trust  
42 (Forss and Magro, 2017). Indeed Forss and Magro (2017) argues that the facts presented in the  
43 Brexit campaign were in themselves not free from association with ideology or inferred  
44 meaning and thus were not seen as neutral information, but were contextualised by voters  
45 especially by those who felt “left behind” and did not trust “expert” policymakers.

46 The EU Referendum result saw a turnout of 72.2% from an electorate of 46.6 million  
47 people with 16,141,241 individuals voting remain and 17,419,742 individuals voting to leave  
48 (Electoral Commission, 2019). A further breakdown of voting preference by region has been  
49 compiled in Table 1.

50 Table 1 Results and turnout at the EU referendum (Adapted from The Electoral  
51 Commission, 2019).

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<b>Region</b>	<b>Leave (%)</b>	<b>Remain (%)</b>
West Midlands	59.3	40.7
East Midlands	58.8	41.2
North Est	58.0	42.0
Yorkshire and the Humber	57.7	42.3
East	56.5	43.5
North West	53.7	46.3
South West	52.6	47.4
Wales	52.5	47.5
South East	51.8	48.2
Northern Ireland	44.2	55.8
London	40.1	59.9
Scotland	38.0	62.0
All regions	51.9	48.1

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54 A number of studies were assessed the impact of a “leave outcome” concluding that  
55 Brexit would cause significant economic damage to the country. For example, Sampson (2017)  
56 predicted that Brexit will make the UK poorer because it will lead to new barriers to trade and  
57 migration, and a decrease in foreign investment that altogether could cost between 1 and 10  
58 percent of per capita income. Likewise, Dhingra et al. (2016) predicted an annual cost of £850  
59 (£4,200 in the long run) per capita with a ‘soft Brexit’ as a consequence of an increase in non-  
60 tariff barriers and the exclusion from further EU market integration, and an annual cost of  
61 £1,700 (£6,400 in the long run) per capita in the ‘hard Brexit’ scenario as a result of additional  
62 non-tariff barriers as well as the introduction of bilateral trade tariffs. The negative impact of  
63 Brexit on the UK has also been predicted by a number of further studies (see for example  
64 Brakman et al. 2018; Dhingra et al. 2018; Kierzenkowski et al. 2016; Portes and Forte, 2017).

65 In spite of the possible negative effects of Brexit on the country, there was a majority  
66 of UK voters who voted in favour of leaving the EU. This was explicitly noted by Los et al.  
67 (2017) who point out that the regions that voted for Brexit in large numbers potentially have  
68 the most to lose from Brexit itself (Table 1). According to Garretsen et al. (2018), this  
69 paradoxical outcome can be explained by the fact the main driver for the voting decision was  
70 not economic self-interest, but instead a range of attitudes, feelings and perceptions. In this  
71 context, it is argued that negative attitudes toward immigration since the enlargement of the  
72 EU in 2004, as well as the perceived loss of economic sovereignty, national identities and fiscal  
73 resources for being an EU member are key factors behind the outcome of the referendum  
74 (Arnorsson and Zoega, 2018; Manners, 2018; Becker et al. 2017; Clarke et al. 2017; O’Reilly  
75 et al. 2016). Colantone and Stanig (2018) consider those communities that perceive themselves  
76 to be or are perceived by others to be the “losers in trade globalisation.” These are communities  
77 that have had to adjust most to the internationalisation of commerce and the inequity in gains  
78 derived from globalisation activities and as a result have negative feelings towards free market

79 policies and instead favour protectionism. Indeed they argue that “individuals living in regions  
80 that receive stronger import shocks [i.e. the negative aspects of trade globalisation in terms of  
81 job losses and austere working and social conditions] are more inclined to vote for parties that  
82 are nationalist and isolationist.” (Colantone and Stanig, 2018, p. 949).

83 In relation to these attitudes, feelings and perceptions, several studies have found that  
84 fear of immigration and multiculturalism were more pronounced amongst voters who were in  
85 a more vulnerable position in terms of labour market, poverty, lower levels of education, and  
86 also voters associated with demographics such as an older age, white ethnicity, collective  
87 narcissism (a belief in national greatness), adverse health, and low life satisfaction (see for  
88 example Alabrese et al. 2019; Becker et al. 2017; Golec de Zavala et al. 2017; Henderson et al.  
89 2017; Liberini et al., 2017; Hobolt, 2016). In considering these factors, Arnorsson and Zoega  
90 (2018) argue that immigrants as neighbours were probably seen as dangers posed to society  
91 and older individuals may be driven by nostalgia when remembering life outside the EU.

92 Other studies have added other considerations that contribute in explaining the results  
93 of the referendum. For example, Fetzer (2018) argues that the austerity induced welfare reforms  
94 adopted from 2010 by the Conservative-led coalition government are key drivers to  
95 understanding voting patterns for Brexit. On the other hand, Abrams and Travaglini (2018)  
96 point out that negative attitudes toward immigrants are amplified when political trust was low.  
97 Further, voters in the referendum living in their county of birth were more likely to support  
98 Leave in areas experiencing relative economic decline or an increase in migrant population  
99 (Lee et al. 2018). Garretsen et al. (2018) postulate that psychological openness (i.e. intellectual  
100 curiosity and preferences for other or new ideas and influences) is not only a relevant predictor  
101 of individual political preferences, but also can explain why UK counties with higher trade  
102 openness towards the EU predominantly voted in favour of Brexit, where people in these  
103 counties have on average lower scores on psychological openness.

104           While these arguments seem to give reasonable explanations for the outcome of the  
105 Referendum at the country level, it is difficult to consider the factors determined as key drivers  
106 of farmers' voting decision. Even if farmers had negative attitudes towards immigration, voting  
107 in favour of Brexit, especially for those who use migrant labour, could damage their  
108 competitiveness as a consequence of a decrease in the number of workers. As a result of the  
109 seasonal nature of labour demand and falling unemployment in the UK, a significant number  
110 of farm businesses, especially with high labour enterprises such as horticulture, depend on the  
111 permanent and seasonal EU labour force (Swales and Baker, 2016). Limiting access to this  
112 type of labour would bring detrimental effects on the horticultural and manufacturing sector,  
113 particularly because the industry has reported a current shortfall in workers putting at risk some  
114 high-value crops (McGuinness and Grimwood, 2017). Despite these potential negative effects,  
115 it has been reported that a proportion of farmers voted for the "Leave" option expecting that  
116 the more restrictive and bureaucratic aspects of the EU health and safety regulations would be  
117 eliminated (Olivas-Osuna et al. 2019).

118           The motivation for this research is to seek to determine what influenced reported voting  
119 decisions and whether they were influenced by specific factors such as farmers' perceptions  
120 of EU legislation, their attitudes towards the EU, their perceived ability to control factors that  
121 impact on the farm performance, and their sense of self and notions of autonomy within existing  
122 agricultural policy. The aim of this research is to contribute to the body of literature by studying  
123 farmers' Brexit voting decision from a behavioural lens based on the theory of planned  
124 behaviour. The paper is organised as follows. Section 1 provides context from existing  
125 literature and studies. Section 2 presents the theoretical framework adopted in this study.  
126 Section 3 describes the methodology employed, Section 4 results and analysis. The paper then  
127 explores and discusses the findings in Section 5 and Section 6 provides conclusions for the  
128 study.

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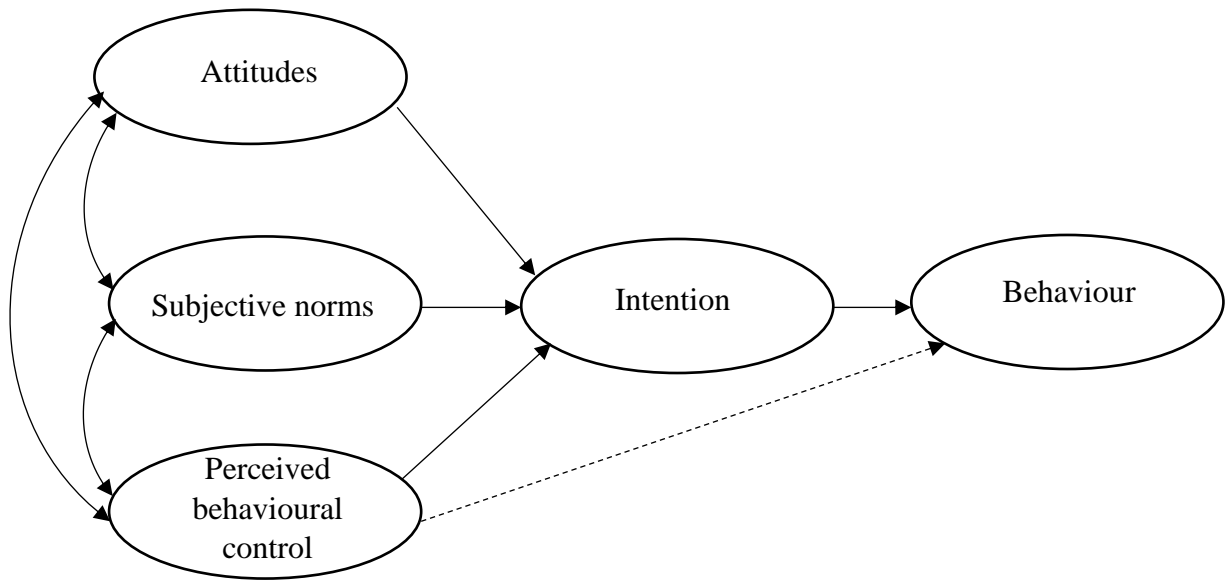
## 130 **2. Theoretical framework**

131           Socio-psychological approaches to study farmers' decision making are widely used to  
132 identify farmers' intention to pursue a determined behaviour such as technology adoption,  
133 policy adoption, participation in cooperation, entrepreneurial behaviour, and rural immigration,  
134 among others (Nakagawa, 2018; Deng et al. 2016; May, 2012; Bergevoet et al. 2004). Most of  
135 these studies are based on the theory of planned behaviour (developed by Ajzen, 1985).  
136 According to this theory, intention is a good predictor of behaviour. Intention is determined by  
137 positive or negative beliefs that an individual has that can be considered as attitudes (i.e.,  
138 positive or negative attitude towards a behaviour), subjective norms (i.e., the influence of  
139 important referent individuals or institutions when approving or disapproving a particular  
140 behaviour), and perceived behavioural control (i.e., an individual's conviction that he or she  
141 will successfully execute a behaviour leading to a particular outcome). In this framework,  
142 perceived behavioural control can influence both intention and actual behaviour because it is  
143 more likely that a behaviour will occur when the perceived behavioural control is greater  
144 (Bergevoet et al. 2003). The theory postulates that the balance of the beliefs related to attitudes,  
145 subjective control and perceived behavioural control are what determines a positive or negative  
146 intention towards a particular behaviour. The basic framework of the theory of planned  
147 behaviour is presented in Figure 1.

148           The theory of planned behaviour was used as the theoretical framework to explain  
149 farmers' Brexit decision following the methodology adopted by Deng et al. (2016). In this  
150 framework, actual voting choice made by the farmers originated from their intention to perform  
151 a given behaviour. In this paradigm, Brexit voting was considered the observed behaviour of  
152 the underlying intention of either leave or stay in the EU.

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163 Figure 1. The theory of planned behaviour

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Intention, in turn, is determined by farmers’ attitudes towards the EU, perceived social pressure (i.e. subjective norms) from family members, neighbours and government regulations, and farmers’ perceptions about their capacity to control the farming business.

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This hypothetical model contains five latent variables or constructs: Attitudes towards the EU (AEU); subjective norms (SN); perceived behavioural control (PBC); Brexit voting intention (IN) and actual voting behaviour (AB). The testing of the relationships between these variables informed the design of a questionnaire that was used in the study. Each of the latent variables is reflected by two or more observable five-point Likert scale variables (from “strongly agree” to “strongly disagree”) obtained from the questionnaire as answered by the sample of farmers in this study. Based on this theoretical framework, the following hypotheses were tested:

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1. H1. AEU, SN and PBC as individual variables influence farmers’ IN;
2. H2. The IN of farmers positively correlates with their AB;



- 179 3. H3. There are interactions between farmers' AEU, SN and PBC and their influence on  
180 IN; and
- 181 4. H4. PBC influences farmers' AB.

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183 In order to test the suggested hypotheses from the theoretical framework in Figure 1, the  
184 PLS-SEM method was employed (see Section 3). This model is composed of two stages: (1) a  
185 measurement model analysis that shows the relationships between the latent variables and their  
186 indicators; and (2) a structural model analysis that describes the relationships between the latent  
187 variables. Both stages have to satisfy the indicators of reliability and validity. They are shown  
188 in Section 4.2. The methodology is now considered in more detail.

189

### 190 **3. Material and methods**

191 The literature review was undertaken to provide context for the empirical research and  
192 inform the question design. The rationales for the measures tested are explained as follows. In  
193 the case of the construct attitudes towards the EU (AEU), six statements were selected.  
194 Following the literature review, some of them capture key ideas in the debate on Brexit such  
195 as national identity, feelings against the EU, and the movement of people and goods (i.e.  
196 AEU\_2, AEU\_3 and AEU\_5). Other statements related to economic perceptions of the farm  
197 and farming industry were included in the final questionnaire following comments by some  
198 farmers in a pilot consultation (i.e. AEU\_1 and AEU\_4). Finally, one statement was included  
199 to capture farmers' beliefs about possible negative effects of the EU on jobs and public services  
200 (AEU\_6).

201 For the construct subjective norms (SN), seven statements were included. Some of these  
202 statements capture the influence of both the Brexit campaign and beliefs about available  
203 information on farmers' voting decision (i.e. SN\_1, SN\_2 and SN\_5). Other statements capture

204 the influence of local relationships between neighbours (i.e. SN\_3 and SN\_4). Finally, two  
205 statements were added to capture the point raised by Olivas-Osuna et al. (2019) that farmers  
206 who voted to leave made this choice expecting that the more restrictive and bureaucratic  
207 aspects of the EU health and safety regulations will be eliminated (i.e. SN\_6 and SN\_7).

208 For the construct perceived behavioural control (PBC), six statements were selected.  
209 Five of them capture beliefs about the capacity to control different aspects of farm business  
210 (i.e. PBC\_1, PBC\_2, PBC\_3, PBC\_4 and PBC\_5), and one statement was including to account  
211 for farmers' beliefs about EU migrant labour force. The construct intention (IN) includes two  
212 statements associated with farmers' intention to vote before the referendum (i.e. IN\_1 and  
213 IN\_2). Finally, the construct actual behaviour (AB) includes one statement reflecting the actual  
214 voting choice made by the farmers (i.e. AB\_1). The constructs and measurements in the  
215 theoretical model are outlined in Table 2.

216 Quantitative data for the constructs of the theoretical framework and their significant  
217 relationships was obtained from a self-administered on-line questionnaire based on 5-point  
218 Likert scale statements (1: Strongly disagree; 2: disagree; 3: indifferent; 4: agree; 5: strongly  
219 agree). Exemptions were the statement reflecting intention "when you heard about the EU  
220 referendum, what was your initial intention to leave?" (1=Leave; 2=undecided; 3=Remain) and  
221 the statement reflecting actual behaviour "how did you actually cast your vote in the EU  
222 referendum on 23<sup>rd</sup> June 2016?" (1= Leave; 2=I did not vote; 3=Remain) (see Appendix A).  
223 Profile questions were also included and the responses are summarised in Table 3. In relation  
224 to the statements "when you heard about the EU referendum, what was your initial intention to  
225 leave?" (i.e. IN\_1) and "Before the referendum, I didn't think the UK should leave the EU"  
226 (i.e. IN\_2), it is important to highlight the fact that they rely on participant recall about their  
227 initial intentions to leave. This is a potential limitation of this research because imperfect recall

228 may introduce some biases in the data analysis. It is for this reason that the results have to be  
 229 considered with caution.

230 Table 2. Constructs and measurements in the theoretical model.

Construct	Variables	Description of statements	Average response (Standard deviation in brackets)
AEU (Attitudes)	AEU_1	Membership of the EU is a threat to a successful farming industry in the UK	2.95(1.15)
	AEU_2	The free movement of goods and people between EU member states is a positive thing	2.49(1.17)
	AEU_3	I have always been opposed to UK membership of the EU	2.46(1.10)
	AEU_4	The economic outlook for farming would improve if we left the EU	3.09(1.15)
	AEU_5	Membership of the EU required surrendering our national identity	4.41(0.69)
	AEU_6	Membership of the EU causes a negative impact on jobs and public services	2.48(1.21)
SN (Subjective norms)	SN_1	The Brexit debate produced much propaganda and little reliable analysis	4.15(0.92)
	SN_2	I considered the evidence on both sides of the Brexit debate before deciding how to vote	4.01(0.84)
	SN_3	My social relationships influence my attitude to the EU	2.75(1.09)
	SN_4	Relationships between neighboring farmers could be damaged by disagreement over the EU	2.72(1.10)
	SN_5	It is important to be well informed before taking important decisions	2.93(1.25)
	SN_6	The amount of regulation farmers have to comply with would be reduced if leaving the EU	3.12(1.28)
	SN_7	Farmers would be free from restrictions on agrochemical use if leaving the EU	2.87(1.17)
PBC (Perceived behavioural control)	PBC_1	Leaving the EU would make farming more profitable	3.12(1.17)
	PBC_2	Leaving the EU would encourage farmers to invest in increasing food production	3.35(1.04)
	PBC_3	Leaving the EU would give farmers more power in the marketplace	3.25(1.20)
	PBC_4	Leaving the EU would decrease risk and uncertainty in the farming sector	2.39(1.20)
	PBC_5	Leaving the EU would give farmers more confidence in making farm business decisions	3.25(1.11)
	PBC_6	Leaving the EU would prevent farmers from employing EU migrant labour	2.12(1.15)
IN (Intention)	IN_1	When you heard about the EU referendum, what was your initial intention to leave?	1.98(0.83)
	IN_2	I do not think the UK should leave the EU	2.85(1.50)
AB (Actual behaviour)	AB_1	How did you actually cast your vote in the EU referendum on 23rd June 2016?	1.96(0.97)

231  
 232 The questionnaire was tested in a pilot study (n=25) and as described above the  
 233 questions/statements where applicable were revised. The questionnaire was distributed to  
 234 farmers via a snowball sampling technique. According to Salganik and Douglas (2004), this  
 235 technique consists of selecting an initial small number of respondents referred to as seeds. After  
 236 that, the seeds recruit others respondents from their friendship network to participate in the  
 237 study. This process continues until the size of the sample selected for the investigation is  
 238 reached. The snowball technique used in the current research follows a similar approach to that  
 239 adopted by May et al. (2019) and Morais et al. (2017). That is, several seed farmers located in  
 240 different relevant UK counties were selected with the purpose of covering a range of different  
 241 geographical areas. The farmers who accepted to participate in the study were invited to  
 242 complete an online survey. Using this approach, a sample of 523 farmers was obtained.

243 A limitation of the current investigation is that the non-probability based snowball  
244 technique does not guarantee representativeness and cannot inform about the precision degree  
245 of the results because it is not a random sample. This means that the study findings should be  
246 seen as indicative rather than representative. However, the decision was made to select  
247 heterogenous seed farmers across the UK in order to guarantee heterogeneity in the sample and  
248 to obtain a sufficient sample size to guarantee the statistical power of the model. In addition,  
249 because the variables are not normally distributed, the PLS-SEM method was employed as this  
250 is a non-parametric method that is suitable to work with this type of variables (see the  
251 discussion below). One potential limitation in the research design is confirmation bias and the  
252 potential for an individual to recall information in a way that confirms prior beliefs or values.  
253 The authors have noted this when they have reflected on the findings.

254 In the data analysis phase, descriptive analysis was undertaken of the demographic data  
255 to group the farmers by category and by variable in terms of percentage response (Table 3).  
256 The variables included the voting decision, gender, age, education, role on farm, farm type,  
257 farm size, geographic location and type of tenure. Using the data from the study, the Structural  
258 Equation Modelling (SEM) technique was then employed to identify any significant constructs  
259 and interactions between them. This method is defined by Hair et al. (2013) as a second  
260 generation multivariate method that aims to relate data and theory where prior knowledge is  
261 incorporated into an empirical analysis. The SEM technique combines observable variables  
262 and constructs by considering two models referred to as measurement and structural models.  
263 The measurement model specifies the relationships between the observable variables and  
264 constructs and their indicators. The structural model, on the other hand, describes potential  
265 relationships between the constructs. The SmartPLS software was used to run these models  
266 (Ringle et al., 2015). It is important to clarify that there exist two techniques of analysis of  
267 structural equation models that involve different characteristic and objectives: the models based

268 on covariance structures referred to as covariance-based structural equation modelling (CB-  
269 SEM); and the partial least squares structural equation modelling (PLS-SEM).

270 The objective of the CB-SEM is to estimate the parameter values that best reproduce  
271 the variance-covariance matrix by means of maximum verisimilitude. This is done by imposing  
272 hypotheses of distribution of the data such as multivariate normality and independence of the  
273 data. Satisfying these hypotheses ensures consistency. For this purpose, it is necessary to have  
274 a large sample in relation to the number of variables included in the model.

275 On the other hand, the objective of the PLS-SEM models is to maximize the predictive  
276 power of the causal relationships of the model. This is achieved by minimizing the variance of  
277 the residuals of the model without imposing restrictions on the data distribution and requiring  
278 a relatively small number of observations (i.e. a minimum of 100 observations to ensure  
279 statistical power) with respect to the CB-SEM models (Martínez and Fierro, 2018).

280 In considering these differences, the current investigation adopted the PLS-SEM  
281 because this technique has to be selected when the investigation corresponds to either an  
282 exploratory study or the extension of an existing structural theory, no restrictions of normal  
283 distribution are imposed to the data, and the scale used for the items are ordinal (Marcoulides  
284 and Saunders, 2006; Henseler et al., 2016; Hair et al., 2013; Esposito Vinzi and Russolillo,  
285 2010). In addition, this approach is more suitable to predict the dependent latent variables of  
286 the model by maximising the explained variance,  $R^2$  (Rodríguez-Entrena, 2013).

287 The PLS approach was developed to reflect the theoretical and empirical conditions of  
288 social sciences and behaviour. The mathematical and statistical procedures are rigorous and  
289 robust. However, the mathematical model is flexible in the sense that it does not establish  
290 rigorous premises about data distribution, measurement scale, and sample size (Martínez and  
291 Fierro, 2018). The main objective of this methodology is to analyse casual-predictive  
292 consideration when problems are complex and when the theoretical knowledge may be limited

293 (Lévy and Varela, 2006). It is important to highlight the fact that the PLS technique can be  
294 used for explicative (confirmatory) investigation as well as for predictive (explanatory)  
295 investigation (Henseler et al., 2016; Hair et al., 2017; Rodriguez-Entrena et al., 2013).

296 According to Hair et al. (2017), the PLS-SEM has a number of advantages in  
297 comparison with other SEM techniques. First, this technique can employ small samples from  
298 52 observations, although larger samples increase precision. In this regard, it is suggested a  
299 sample size of minimum 100 observations in order to obtain robust results. Our research  
300 satisfies this requirement because it involves a sample of 523 observations. Note that previous  
301 related research has also used small samples to understand farmers' behaviour (see May et al.,  
302 2019; Morais et al., 2017; Deng et al., 2016). Second, it is not necessary to assume normal  
303 distribution of the data. This is because the PLS-SEM is a non-parametric method and the  
304 recommended scale for this technique is Likert. Finally, each construct can be composed of  
305 one or more items and the relationships between constructs and their indicators can include  
306 reflective and/or formative variables (Martínez and Fierro, 2018; Roldan and Cepeda, 2016).  
307 The current investigation considers reflective items or variables. That is, items are a reflection  
308 of latent variables.

309 In considering these advantages, the PLS-SEM was adopted for two reasons. Firstly,  
310 the interactions between the latent factors or constructs of the theoretical framework based on  
311 the theory of planned behaviour are unknown. As a consequence, an exploration of possible  
312 relationships is required. Secondly, although the sample is not small ( $n = 523$ ), the variables  
313 do not follow a normal distribution. This implies that the PLS-SEM is the most appropriate  
314 method for this study.

315

#### 316 **4. Results and analysis**

317 This section reports the results obtained from the questionnaire. It starts describing the  
318 profile and main characteristics of the sample. After that, the results of PLS-SEM approach  
319 based on the data collected from the sample and the theoretical framework in Figure 1 are  
320 presented in three steps: firstly the results of the measurement model; secondly the results of  
321 the structural model; and finally the total effect results.

322

#### 323 **4.1. Sample profile**

324 The main characteristics of the farmers in the sample and their Brexit voting choices  
325 are summarised in Table 3. During the literature review phase it was not possible to identify  
326 any source of data on farmer voting choice for Brexit so it cannot be included here to provide  
327 a comparison for the study. The descriptive statistics are organised as follows. The first column  
328 presents the dataset categorically, for example, 66% of the farmers in the category gender were  
329 male, and 34% were female. The other three columns inform about the reported voting choice  
330 made by farmers in each category. For example, 45% of females voted leave, 6% didn't vote,  
331 and 49% voted remain. Of the study population half stated they voted to leave, 45% stated  
332 they voted to remain and 5% stated they did not vote. Thus of those who voted in the survey  
333 population 52.6% voted to leave whilst 47.4% voted to remain. This is in line with to the  
334 national results of 51.9% voting to leave whilst 48.1% voting to remain (see Table 1).

335 Alabrese et al. (2019) identified attributes that were associated with voter decision on  
336 Brexit. These included employment status and they determined that those who were employed  
337 in the week before the vote were more likely to vote remain, but those with a permanent job as  
338 opposed to non-permanent were more likely to support leave. Further they highlight that those  
339 employed in manufacturing, construction and retail industries and self-employed individuals  
340 were more likely to support leave. As farmers mainly have self-employed status the research  
341 described herein would agree with Alabrese et al. (2019).

342 Table 4 shows the difference between the sample population and the proportion who  
 343 voted to leave and the electoral result. The data shows some alignment e.g. in Wales, great  
 344 diversity in terms of the reported farmers' vote and regional trend in favour of leave in Northern  
 345 Ireland and Scotland and the reverse in the East Midlands and North East.

346 Table 3. Farmers' profile and reported Brexit voting choices

Category (percentage of farmers in each category in brackets)	Reported Brexit voting decision		
	Leave (%)	I didn't vote (%)	Remain (%)
<u>Full sample</u>	50	5	45
<u>Age</u>			
Under 34 (41%)	48	10	42
35-54 (35%)	50	2	48
55 or more (24%)	51	2	47
<u>Gender</u>			
Male (66%)	52	4	44
Female (34%)	45	6	49
<u>Education</u>			
GCSE or equivalent (24%)	60	6	34
A level or equivalent (42%)	51	6	43
Degree (23%)	42	5	53
Postgraduate (5%)	20	0	80
Other (6%)	56	3	41
<u>Role on farm</u>			
Holder, partner, director (38%)	51	1	48
Other member of farming family (16%)	46	6	48
Unwaged family farmer (17%)	46	10	44
Waged labour (16%)	55	11	34
Other (13%)	49	3	48
<u>Farm type</u>			
Cereals (13%)	42	9	49
Dairy (21%)	58	4	38
General cropping (6%)	47	3	50
Lowland grazing livestock (16%)	50	5	45
Upland grazing livestock (10%)	52	2	46
Mixed (28%)	46	5	49
Pigs/poultry (3%)	53	13	34
Other (3%)	50	0	50
<u>Type of tenure</u>			
Mainly owned (25%)	37	10	53



Mainly tenanted (6%)	41	4	55
Owner-occupied (56%)	53	4	43
Tenant (11%)	50	0	50
Other (2%)	80	0	20
<u>Farm size (in hectares)</u>			
0-150 (28%)	43	7	50
151-300 (26%)	48	4	48
301-450 (13%)	56	8	36
451 or more (33%)	53	3	44
<u>Region</u>			
East Midlands (8%)	42	2	56
East of England (8%)	55	10	35
North East (3%)	39	17	44
North West (4%)	62	0	38
Northern Ireland (12%)	53	10	37
Scotland (2%)	67	0	33
South East (10%)	44	6	50
South West (13%)	44	6	50
Wales (15%)	51	3	45
West Midlands (12%)	60	3	37
Yorkshire and Humberside (12%)	55	2	43

347

348 Table 4. Comparison of Leave vote in sample population against national vote

Region	Proportion of sample population who voted to leave (%)	Leave vote in Electoral Commission data (%) (Electoral Commission, 2019)	Difference (%)
West Midlands	61.9	59.3	2.6
East Midlands	43.3	58.8	-15.5
North East	46.7	58.0	-11.3
Yorkshire and the Humber	53.0	57.7	-4.7
East	61	56.5	4.5
North West	62	53.7	8.3
South West	46.8	52.6	-5.8
Wales	52.6	52.5	0.1
South East	46.8	51.8	-5.0
Northern Ireland	58.8	44.2	14.6
London	-	40.1	-
Scotland	67	38.0	29.0
All regions	52.6	51.9	0.7

349

350

351 The option leave was in general the dominant choice in all categories and also for the

352 full sample. However, there are some exceptions. For example, remain was the dominant

353 reported voting choice by female farmers. Hozíć and True (2017) suggest this might be linked  
354 to the idea that de-regulation after departing from the EU could lead to the further removal of  
355 social supports, including some of the EU mandated maternity leave, and sources of public  
356 employment for women. However most of these women would be self-employed and as such  
357 have limited maternity rights so there may be other factors here that explain the differential. In  
358 relation to education, it was found that the majority of more educated farmers in the sample  
359 (i.e. farmers with either a degree or postgraduate qualification) reported that they voted remain.  
360 This finding is consistent with the voting trend associated with education status at the country  
361 level identified by other studies (see for example Alabrese et al. 2019; Becker et al. 2017;  
362 Henderson et al. 2017).

363 In relation to farm type, those who reported voting remain correspond to cereals,  
364 general cropping and mixed farms. Regarding type of tenure, this group correspond to mainly  
365 owned and mainly tenanted farming businesses. In the case of farm size, it is observed that the  
366 majority of farmers operating in small farms voted remain, but this choice is reversed as the  
367 size of the farms becomes larger. Finally, the results shows that the majority of farmers located  
368 in East Midlands, North East, South East and South West reported they voted in favour of  
369 remain suggesting that this option was the dominant in the east and south parts of the country  
370 in the case of the farming sector, which in part reflects the positioning of the national voting  
371 trends. We do not have explanations for these descriptive findings. However, some possible  
372 insights may be gained by using the behavioural model developed in this research and this is  
373 now considered.

374

#### 375 **4.2. Results from the PLS-SEM approach**

376 This section reports the results obtained from the PLS-SEM analysis and they are  
377 presented in the three steps followed in the study: fitting results of the measurement model;

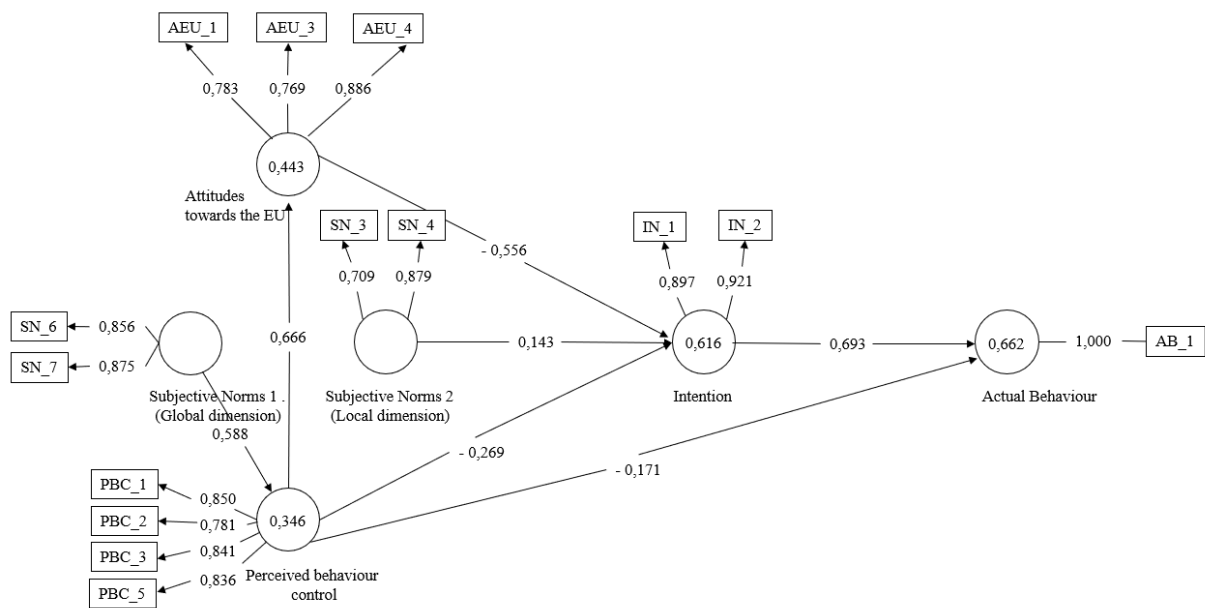
378 fitting results of the structural model; and total effect results. The discussion section provides  
 379 analysis of meaning. Note that sociodemographic dummy variables were not included in the  
 380 results because they were not significant (see Appendix B).

381

382 **4.2. 1. Fitting results of the measurement model**

383 The measurement model generated by the data describes how each construct is  
 384 explained by the observable variables. The results presented in Figure 2 and Table 5 show good  
 385 psychometric properties implying that the estimation of the constructs and the validity and  
 386 reliability conditions are all satisfied. This is explained as follows.

387



388 Figure 2. Measurement model.  
 389

390 Note that Figures 1 and 2 are not exactly the same. This is because the construct “Subjective  
 391 Norms” was split into two factors or latent variables because their items measure different  
 392 concepts: subjective norms associated with EU regulations (i.e. Subjective Norms 1); and  
 393 subjective norms associated with social relationships (i.e. Subjective Norms 2).

394 The reliability of the constructs or latent variables is used to determine consistence of  
 395 their indicators. That is to say, it considers simple correlations of the measurements or

396 indicators with their respective construct and valued by examining the loads or factorial  
 397 weights ( $\lambda$ ). Loads larger than 0.707 are considered appropriate implying that indicators with  
 398 lower load values should be eliminated (Hair, Ringle and Sarstedt, 2011). Figure 2 shows the  
 399 items that resulted reliable. The rest were eliminated because they did not satisfy the minimum  
 400 required values.

401 Table 5. CR and AVE indicators of the measurement model.

<b>Construct</b>	<b>Indicator</b>	<b>Individual reliability</b>	<b>CR</b>	<b>AVE</b>
		<b>Loading <math>\lambda</math></b>		
Actual behaviour	AB_1	1	1	1
Intention	IN_1	0.897	0.905	0.827
	IN_2	0.921		
Attitudes towards the EU	AEU_1	0.783	0.855	0.664
	AEU_3	0.769		
	AEU_4	0.886		
Perceived behavioural control	PBC_1	0.850	0.897	0.684
	PBC_2	0.781		
	PBC_3	0.841		
	PBC_5	0.836		
Subjective norms 2	SN_3	0.709	0.857	0.749
	SN_4	0.879		
Subjective norms 1	SN_6	0.856	0.773	0.632
	SN_7	0.875		

402

403

404 Internal consistency shows the reliability of the construct. The SmartPLS software  
 405 provides the composed reliability index (CR) and the Cronbach's alpha. The former is more  
 406 appropriate than the Cronbach's alpha for PLS because it does not assume the same weight for  
 407 all the indicators (Chin, 1998). Nunnally and Bernstein (1994) suggest values of CR lower than  
 408 0.7 to satisfy internal consistency.

409 Convergent validity indicates when a set of items represent an underlying single  
 410 construct which is validated by means of the AVE indicator. This indicator determines whether  
 411 the variance of the construct is explained by the selected items. That is, it provides the amount  
 412 of this variance in relation to the variance explained by the measurement error. A value of AVE  
 413 equal or higher than 0.5 is required because it means that the selected items determine at least  
 414 50% of the variance of the construct (Hair et al., 2013).

415 Table 3 summarises the results showing that the individual reliability of the observable  
 416 variables, composed reliability (CR), and convergent validity corresponding to the average  
 417 variance extracted (AVE) are all satisfied. On the other hand, discriminant validity indicates  
 418 what constructs are different from each other i.e. that variables are not related and similar and  
 419 instead are distinct constructs. In order to value the discriminant validity, the Fornell-Larcker  
 420 criterion (or cross loadings between the indicators of latent variables) is employed (Fornell and  
 421 Larcker, 1981). This criterion considers the variance that a construct captures with its indicators  
 422 (i.e. AVE), which has to be larger than the variance that this construct shares with other  
 423 constructs. That is, the square root of AVE of a construct has to be larger than the correlation  
 424 of this construct with another construct as shown in the following Table.

425 Table 6. Fornell-Larcker criterion for discriminant validity (square root values of AVE are  
 426 presented in the diagonal. The other values correspond to correlations between the latent  
 427 variables).

	<b>Attitudes towards EU</b>	<b>Behavior</b>	<b>Intention</b>	<b>Perceived behavior control</b>	<b>Subjective Norms</b>	<b>Subjective Norms2</b>
<b>Attitudes towards EU</b>	0.815					
<b>Behavior</b>	-0.696	1.000				
<b>Intention</b>	-0.746	0.803	0.909			
<b>Perceived behavior control</b>	0.666	-0.617	-0.643	0.827		
<b>Subjective Norms</b>	0.475	-0.390	-0.415	0.588	0.866	
<b>Subjective Norms2</b>	-0.081	0.139	0.197	-0.033	0.026	0.795

428

429

430 Following Fornell-Larcker’s criterium for discriminant validity, it is concluded that the  
431 constructs are different and each measures a different concept (Hair et al., 2013; Cepeda and  
432 Roldán, 2004).

433

434 **4.2.2. Fitting results of the structural model**

435 To achieve appropriate interpretation and to draw conclusions from the model, it is  
436 necessary to carry out an evaluation of the structural model which consists of determining the  
437 path coefficients ( $\beta$ ) obtained in Figure 2, the explained variance ( $R^2$ ), the predictive relevance  
438 ( $Q^2$ ), and the total effect on the endogenous constructs. First, the  $t$  value of the relationship  
439 between constructs is studied with the purpose of determining whether there is a statistically  
440 significant relationship. For this purpose, an equivalent of the  $t$ -Student statistic is estimated  
441 using a re-sampling approach that is based on the bootstrapping technique (Varian, 2005).  
442 Table 7 shows that the  $t$  values of the regression coefficients between the latent variables are  
443 highly significant at the 95% of confidence level. That is, if the absolute value of the  $t$  statistic  
444 is larger than 1.96, then the relationship is statistically significant for 95% of significant level.  
445 Consequently, the hypotheses stated in the conceptual model are supported by the data.

446 Table 7: Path coefficients ( $\beta$ ) and Bootstrapping results.

<b>Relationship between constructs</b>	<b>Standardised <math>\beta</math> values</b>	<b><math>t</math> statistic</b>
Attitudes towards EU → Intention	-0,556	12.678
Intention → Actual behaviour	0.693	21.600
Perceived behaviour control → Attitudes towards EU	0.666	22.951
Perceived behaviour control → Actual behaviour	-0.171	4.796
Perceived behaviour control → Intention	-0.269	6.043
Subjective Norms → Perceived behaviour control	0.588	18.625
Subjective Norms 2 → Intention	0.143	4.629

447

448           The path coefficients of standardised weights of the regression, identified by means of  
449 the arrows that link the constructs, are interpreted in the same way as the  $\beta$  coefficients obtained  
450 from traditional regressions and correspond to the direct effects. That is, an increase in the  
451 standard deviation of a determine construct by one unit will cause and increase of  $\beta$  standard  
452 deviations in the related construct. For example, for the first relationship in Table 7, if the score  
453 (in standard deviations) on “Attitudes towards the EU” increases by one unit, then “Intention”  
454 decreases in 0.556 units (in standard deviations). The same is valid for the other relationships  
455 taking into account the sign (i.e. positive means an increase and negative a decrease).

456           According to Chin (1998), a predictor variable should explain at least 1.5% of the  
457 characteristic to be determined for this relationship to be statistically significant.

458           Table 8 shows that the construct *attitudes towards the EU* (AEU) is the one with the  
459 highest predictive power in terms of variance percentage of the construct *intention* (IN). That  
460 is, the construct “Attitudes towards the EU” contributes by 41.5% of the variance of the  
461 construct “Intention” explained by the model which is calculated by multiplying the respective  
462 path coefficient  $\beta$  with the correlation between both constructs. The latter, in turn, is the  
463 construct with the higher predictive power for the construct *actual behaviour* (AB). The model  
464 overall explains 61.6% of IN and 66.2 % of AB. In order to evaluate the predictive relevance  
465 of the model, the Blindfolding approach by means of the  $Q^2$  index was adopted. In this  
466 approach, a fraction of the data of a determined construct is omitted when estimating the  
467 parameters. After that, these parameters are used to estimate the omitted data (Tenenhaus et  
468 al., 2005). As shown in Table 8, the results were all positive implying that the predictive  
469 relevance of the model is satisfied.

470           On the other hand, the  $R^2$  value refers to the quantity of variance of a variable that is  
471 explained by the dependent constructs. The acceptance level threshold for this indicator is 0.1.

472 This is because smaller numbers imply low predictive power (Falk and Miller, 1992). Table 9  
 473 shows that the four constructs have large values for the  $R^2$  indicator meaning that a large  
 474 percentage of the variance is explained by the model.

475 Table 8. Path coefficients ( $\beta$ ) of each relationship with IN and AB

<b>Construct</b>	<b>Relationship (<math>\beta</math>) from the construct to IN (<math>\beta_{IN}</math>)</b>	<b>Correlation between the construct and IN (CIN)</b>	<b>Percentage of explained variance (<math>\beta_{IN} * CIN</math>) of IN</b>
Attitudes towards the EU	-0.55646	-0.746	41.5%
Perceived behavioural control	-0.269	-0.643	17.3%
Subjective norms 2	0.143	-0.197	2.8%
Total explained variance in percentage			61.6%
<b>Construct</b>	<b>Relationship (<math>\beta</math>) from the construct to AB (<math>\beta_{AB}</math>)</b>	<b>Correlation between the construct and IN (CAB)</b>	<b>Percentage of explained variance (<math>\beta_{AB} * CAB</math>) of AB</b>
Intention	0.693	0.803	55.6%
Perceived behavioural control	-0.171	-0.617	10.6%
Total explained variance in percentage			66.2%

476

477

478 Table 9. Predictive relevance and explained variance by the model.

<b>Construct</b>	<b><math>Q^2</math></b>	<b><math>R^2</math></b>
Attitudes towards EU	0.275	0.443
Actual behaviour	0.648	0.662
Intention	0.484	0.616
Perceived behaviour control	0.223	0.346

479

480 In summary, the measure model presents good psychometric properties that validate  
 481 the estimation of the latent variables as the reliability and validity criteria are both satisfied. On



482 the other hand, the structural model shows relationships that are statistically significant  
 483 verifying the hypotheses proposed in the conceptual model. In addition, the predictive  
 484 relevance is verified and the values of the  $R^2$  indicator are larger than the accepted threshold  
 485 for the explained variance by the model.

486

487 **4.2.3. Total effect**

488 Table 10 shows the total effect of each construct on IN and AB. According to this table,  
 489 *perceived behavioural control* is the construct with the larger (negative) effect on IN, and IN  
 490 is the construct with the larger (positive) effect on AB.

491 Total effects are calculated by adding the direct and indirect effects. For example, the  
 492 total effect of “Perceived behavioural control” on “Actual behaviour” is calculated by adding  
 493 the indirect effects of the mediating variables “Attitudes towards the EU” (i.e.  $0.666*(-$   
 494  $0.556)*0.693$ ) and “Intention” (i.e.  $-0.269*0.693$ ) and the direct effect (i.e.  $-0.171$ ) resulting in  
 495 a value equal to  $-0.614$  (see Figure 2). Indirect effects, on the other hand, are calculated by  
 496 multiplying the coefficients of the links that connect two variables that are indirectly connected  
 497 through an intermediate variable that makes this connection possible.

498

499 Table 10. Total effects.

<b>Construct</b>	<b>Total effect of the construct on IN</b>	<b>Total effect of the construct on AB</b>
Attitudes towards EU	-0.556	-0.386
Perceived behaviour control	-0.639	-0.614
Subjective norms 1	-0.375	-0.361
Subjective norms 2	0.143	0.099
Intention		0.693

500

501

502 According to this result, if the standard deviation of the construct IN is increased by one unit,  
503 then the construct AB increases by 0.693 standard deviations. Similar interpretation applies to  
504 each construct.

505 In considering this table, it is concluded that a major result of the current investigation  
506 is the significant effect of the *perceived behavioural control* construct on intention to leave.  
507 This construct is a proxy of farmers' sense of self, identity and agency because it reflects  
508 farmers' desire to work autonomously and free from external control (see Stock and Forney,  
509 2014). Therefore, constraints on farming business choices by EU regulations can be perceived  
510 by the farmers as constraints to self-expression. Implications of this finding are presented in  
511 the next section.

512

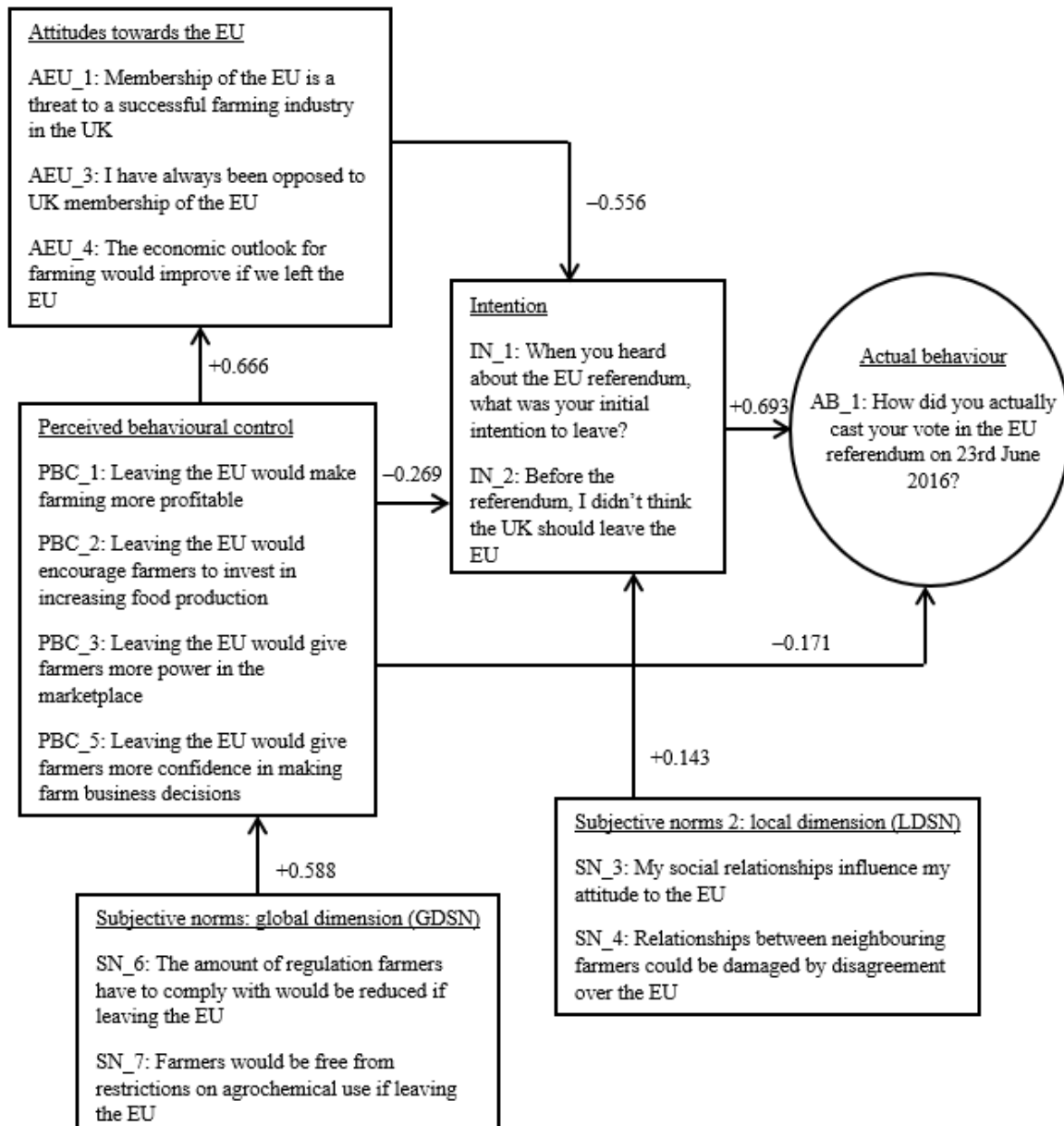
## 513 **5. Discussion**

514 This section focusses on the implications of the results obtained from the PLS-SEM  
515 approach. For this purpose, Figure 3 provides a more informative representation of the models  
516 depicted in Figures 1 and 2 and is used as the referential behavioural model for farmers'  
517 reported Brexit voting decision.

518 The behavioural model in Figure 3 shows the specific statements that form part of the  
519 constructs, the significant links between these constructs, and the direct effect that a construct  
520 has on another when they are linked. As explained above, the latter are reflected in the path  
521 coefficients of the regression ( $\beta$ ) which are presented in this figure as positive or negative  
522 numbers in the arrows that link related constructs. The subjective norms were split by the  
523 software into two sets of subjective norms. The first one captures the influence of regulation at  
524 a larger scale (i.e. EU regulations faced by farmers) and is referred to in Figure 3 as *global*  
525 *dimension of subjective norms* (GDSN). The second set captures the influence of people that

526 are relevant to a farmers at the local level (i.e. neighbours and social relationships in general)  
527 and is referred to in this article as *local dimension of subjective norm* (LDSN).

528 In relation to GDSN, this factor in explaining farmers' reported Brexit voting decision was  
529 already been noticed by Olivas-Osuna et al. (2019) (see the critique in the introduction). This  
530 means that this current research provides quantitative evidence to test the argument that many  
531 farmers voted Leave expecting that the more restrictive and bureaucratic aspects of the EU  
532 health and safety regulations would be eliminated. However, as shown in Figure 3, we found  
533 in addition that this factor did not directly affect this decision. On the contrary, there are explicit  
534 channels by which this factor influenced farmers' voting choices. This is explained as follows.  
535 According to the model, the GDSN strongly affects perceived behavioural control ( $\beta = +0.588$ ).  
536 This means that farmers who state that they feel that they face too many regulations imposed  
537 by the EU including restrictions for example on agrochemical use believe that they have less  
538 control over the farm business when in the EU. That is, these farmers believe that EU  
539 regulations, reduce personal agency and prevent them from making higher profits or being  
540 involved in investment initiatives, or having more market power or being more confident when  
541 making farm business decisions. Thus voting for Brexit is perceived as delivering more  
542 behavioural control over their businesses than the current situation. This negative perception  
543 towards the EU in terms of the ability to control the farm, in turn, strongly affects the attitudes  
544 that farmers have on the EU ( $\beta = +0.666$ ).



545  
546

547 Figure 3. Behavioural model of farmers' Brexit voting decision.

548

549 In other words, farmers who believe that they have reduced agency and less control over the  
550 farm business perceive this block as a threat that can damage their own business and the  
551 farming industry and this reinforces their opposition against EU membership.

552 What is interesting about this finding is that GDSN is a catalyser that directly reinforces  
553 pessimist beliefs about their sense of autonomy and control over the farm and indirectly  
554 reinforces negative attitudes towards the EU. However, it did not directly affect intention nor

555 actual behaviour. Intention was actually strongly influenced by attitudes towards the EU ( $\beta =$   
556  $-0.556$ ) in the sense that farmers who stated they had stronger negative feeling about the EU  
557 had more incentives to vote leave (i.e. an increase in the Likert scale for the statements in the  
558 attitudes construct caused a decrease in the scale of intention which, as explained in Section 3,  
559 corresponds to: 1= Leave; 2=I did not vote; 3=Remain). Perceived behavioural control also  
560 directly affects intention but the effect is less strong ( $\beta = -0.269$ ). This means that farmers who  
561 believed that they did not have control over the farm were more likely to vote leave. While this  
562 effect is smaller, it becomes stronger when adding the indirect influence of perceived  
563 behavioural control on attitudes towards the EU.

564 In relation to LDSN, it is observed in the research that this type of subjective norm had a  
565 positive effect on intention meaning that farmers who agreed with the statements contained in  
566 the LDSN construct were more likely to vote remain. This suggests that social relationships  
567 and the degree of contact with neighbours played a role in farmers' voting decision. However  
568 this impact is not as strong ( $\beta = +0.143$ ) as the negative influence shown by the perceived  
569 behavioural control and attitudes towards the EU constructs. This may suggest that farmers  
570 who suggest they feel a sense of injustice, and isolation from their social communities were  
571 more likely to vote to leave the EU. Indeed Stock and Forney (2014) state that for a farmer  
572 autonomy is an integral part of being and (continuously) becoming a farmer as the business  
573 changes and develops and that there is a clear interaction between self, identity and agency.  
574 Thus perceived behavioural control as a variable identified in this study is a proxy for the  
575 farmers' sense of self, identity and agency. Autonomy has been identified as a "key trait or  
576 tool of identification central to farmers themselves and how they rationalise their behaviour  
577 and as a neoliberal attribute focused on liberty, freedom from state control, regulation and  
578 reliance on others, entrepreneurship and freedom to produce food according to market drivers  
579 (Stock et al. 2014). Indeed, they argue autonomy can be lived on the individual level or

580 collectively as a social class, a farming class and this construct then positions feelings of self  
581 and others, of others being different and of self being isolated or threatened.

582         There are a number of implications that can be highlighted from this finding. Narratives  
583 related to national identity, fiscal resources and negative feelings on migrant labour (Arnorsson  
584 and Zoega, 2018; Fetzer 2018; Abrams and Travaglino, 2018) were not primarily explored in  
585 this study. Instead perceptions associated with the farmers' situated environment were  
586 explored. What the respondents identified as of importance to them was the ability to control  
587 their business and how they believed this ability was constrained, and frustrated by EU  
588 legislation. This is of interest, because it is complying with this very legislation that affords  
589 access to EU markets, and moving away from this legislation post-Brexit may well then  
590 become a barrier to trade with this market. However farmers' perceptions of an uneven level  
591 of compliance in standards adoption across EU i.e. that some countries are more equal than  
592 others when it comes to adoption of EU agricultural requirements may mediate attitudes  
593 towards the EU market. Serra and Duncan (2016) hint at a mixed experience of farming policy  
594 where the smaller farms are being forced out, there is a differentiated level of access to funding  
595 and finance and a driver for agricultural policy to be ever more focused on larger players in the  
596 industry. This study suggests that if similar legislation and policy is adopted by the UK in the  
597 future this may not be welcomed by farmers if it impacts on their agency and ability to be  
598 autonomous in their decision-making. The sense of disempowerment that some farmers feel  
599 and their reaction to it in the face of prescriptive compliance based market and regulatory  
600 governance has implications for future policy adoption and is worthy of further empirical  
601 research.

602         Secondly, the behavioural model developed in this article may be used to provide possible  
603 reasons for the voting choices made by the farmers when classifying them into categories. For  
604 example, more educated farmers voted remain (Table 3), although this was a trend and not a

605 statistically significant relationship. A possible explanation is that the education they received  
606 had provided them with more knowledge about markets and the economic impact of leaving  
607 the EU on the agri-food industry. They may also have realised that leaving this trading block  
608 does not imply less regulation and this level of regulation may be replaced by similar  
609 arrangements by the UK government in the event of Brexit occurring. However, correlation  
610 does not necessarily mean cause and effect. Goodwin and Heath (2016) note that on a national  
611 level graduates who live in low-skilled communities were more likely to vote for Brexit, and  
612 their voting patterns were more similar to those with low education, than graduates who live in  
613 high-skilled communities. They suggest that this is because of a sense of “being left behind”.  
614 Indeed they note “in low-skilled communities the difference in support for leave between  
615 graduates and those with GCSEs was 20 points. In high-skilled communities it was over 40  
616 points.” Thus the differential seen in this study, albeit much smaller than the Goodwin and  
617 Heath work, may not be a reflection of education level, but instead reflect this sense of being  
618 left-behind as individuals or communities. This finding too is worthy of further empirical  
619 research.

620 Small farmers had a tendency to report that they voted remain. Using the behavioural  
621 model, this choice may reflect the fact that these farmers feel that they are too small to benefit  
622 from any change, perhaps due to the lack of economies of scale, and/or they exhibit low trust  
623 in market relationships. Power in supply chains can have multiple attributes which are  
624 sometimes mutually exclusive. Power dynamics vary from coercion, relationship lock-in, the  
625 degree of power imbalance between different actors in the chain, and other more diffuse,  
626 oblique and systemic characteristics (Brookes et al. 2017). Manning et al. (2017) state that the  
627 interconnection between diverse pressures that operate at individual, organisational or supply  
628 chain level can lead to a complex, interlocked set of power relations. For the small farmers in  
629 this study remaining in the EU may be an option to secure themselves within this power

630 dynamic and ensure some income via EU subsidy payments. The influence of power dynamics  
631 on farmer perceptions of their ability to be autonomous or how they interact with supply chain  
632 dynamics is worthy of further study.

633

## 634 **6. Conclusion**

635 The Brexit voting decision has given rise to a number of questions, especially about farmers'  
636 voting decisions. The study found that, for the sample group examined, voting choice was  
637 strongly influence by farmers' perceptions about EU legislation, their attitudes towards the EU,  
638 their perceived capacity to control factors that impact on the farm performance, and their sense  
639 of self and notions of autonomy within the confines of prescriptive agricultural policy. The  
640 sense that leaving the EU would make agricultural policy less restrictive and the farmers' need  
641 to make farming more profitable, allow for reinvestment and to have more power in markets  
642 and have more confidence in their decision making were all key drivers of their voting  
643 preference, but will this happen in practice? This research identifies a range of influences that  
644 affect farmer decision making that are worthy of further research in different contexts to see  
645 how they inform and influence wider farmer decision making. An important research question  
646 that this study presents is that if attitudes against EU regulation and perceived capacity to  
647 control factors that impact on the farm performance are key to farmers' engagement with and  
648 acceptance of regulatory and market requirements and associated policy instruments, what is  
649 it that shapes those farmer attitudes and perceptions of agency and self-identity in a largely  
650 prescriptive regulatory and market environment?

651

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## Appendix A: Questionnaire

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### I. Profile questions

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816 Please select the word or phrase that best matches your response.

817

818

What is your gender?

- Male
- Female

What is your age?

- Under 25
- 25-34
- 35-44
- 45-54
- 55-64
- 65 or more

819

820

What is your highest level of education?

- A level of further education equivalent
- GCSE or equivalent
- Degree
- Postgraduate
- Other

What is your role in the farm?

- Employer manager
- Holder, partner, director
- Other family member
- Unwaged family labour
- Waged labour
- Retired
- None of the above

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822

In what region is located the farm where you work?

- East Midlands
- East of England
- North East
- North West
- West Midlands
- Yorkshire and Humberside
- South East
- South West
- Northern Ireland
- Wales
- Scotland
- Other

What farming activity is developed in the farm?

- Cereals
- Dairy
- General cropping
- Lowland Grazing Livestock
- Upland Grazing Livestock
- Pigs/Poultry
- Mixed
- Other

823

824

825

Type of tenure?

- Mainly owned
- Mainly tenanted
- Owner-occupied
- Tenant

Number of hectares in the farm?

- 0-150
- 151-300
- 301-450
- 451 or more

826 **II. Statements**

827

828 Use the scale below to indicate the option that best represent your opinion in relation to the  
829 following statements.

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Strongly disagree (1)	Disagree (2)	Indifferent (3)	Agree (4)	Strongly agree (5)
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- a) Membership of the EU is a threat to a successful farming industry in the UK
- b) The free movement of goods and people between EU member states is a good thing
- c) I have always been opposed to UK membership of the EU
- d) The economic outlook for farming would improve if we left the EU
- e) Membership of the EU required surrendering our national identity
- f) Membership of the EU causes a negative impact on jobs and public services
- g) The Brexit debate produced much propaganda and little reliable analysis
- h) I considered the evidence on both sides of the Brexit debate before deciding how to vote
- i) My social relationships influence my attitude to the EU
- j) Relationships between neighboring farmers could be damaged by disagreement over the EU
- k) It is important to be well informed before taking important decisions
- l) The amount of regulation farmers have to comply with would be reduced if leaving the EU
- m) Farmers would be free from restrictions on agrochemical use if leaving the EU
- n) Leaving the EU would make farming more profitable
- o) Leaving the EU would encourage farmers to invest in increasing food production
- p) Leaving the EU would give farmers more power in the marketplace
- q) Leaving the EU would decrease risk and uncertainty in the farming sector
- r) Leaving the EU would give farmers more confidence in making farm business decisions
- s) Leaving the EU would prevent farmers from employing EU migrant labour
- t) Before the referendum, I didn't think the UK should leave the EU

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836 **III. Question reflecting intention to leave**

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838 Use the scale below to indicate your answer to the following question:

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840 When you heard about the EU referendum, what was your initial intention to leave?

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Leave (1)	Undecided (2)	Remain (3)
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845 **IV. Question reflecting actual behaviour**

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847 Use the scale below to indicate your answer to the following question:

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849 How did you actually cast your vote in the EU referendum on 23rd June 2016?

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Leave (1)	I did not vote (2)	Remain (3)
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## Appendix B: Analysis of sociodemographic variables

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Several tests were carried out to determine significant effects (i.e. standardised path coefficient) of sociodemographic variables (measured as dummy variables in order to reflect the categories presented in the profile questions in Appendix A) on both intention and actual behaviour constructs. No significant effects were found for a 5% of significance level (i.e. the absolute value of the  $t$  statistic under the bootstrapping method is smaller than 1.96). This is illustrated in Tables B1 and B2 which include the dummy variables of the categories with the higher frequency for each sociodemographic variable (e.g. gender, education, etc.).

866 Table B1. Statistical effect of sociodemographic dummy variables on actual behaviour.

Direct relationships of the model	Standardized path coefficient	Standard deviation (STDEV)	Value   $t$	P Value
<b>Role in the farm -&gt; Actual Behavior</b>	-0.006	0.026	0.219	0.827
<b>Gender -&gt; Actual Behavior</b>	0.014	0.026	0.513	0.608
<b>Age -&gt; Actual Behavior</b>	0.000	0.027	0.004	0.997
<b>Education-&gt; Actual Behavior</b>	-0.021	0.025	0.817	0.414
<b>Region-&gt; Actual Behavior</b>	-0.024	0.028	0.827	0.408
<b>Farms Types-&gt; Actual Behavior</b>	0.006	0.025	0.237	0.813
<b>Tenure-&gt; Actual Behavior</b>	-0.027	0.025	1.078	0.281
<b>Hectares&gt; Actual Behavior</b>	-0.048	0.025	1.882	0.062

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869 Table B2. Statistical effect of sociodemographic dummy variables on intention.

Direct relationships of the model	Standardized path coefficient	Standard deviation (STDEV)	Value   $t$	P Value
<b>Role in the farm -&gt; Intention</b>	-0,028	0,027	1,028	0.304
<b>Gender -&gt; Intention</b>	0,034	0,027	1,247	0.212
<b>Age -&gt; Intention</b>	-0,023	0,028	0,808	0.419
<b>Education-&gt; Intention</b>	-0,015	0,027	0,575	0.565
<b>Region-&gt; Intention</b>	0,029	0,028	1,055	0.292
<b>Farms Types-&gt; Intention</b>	0,019	0,027	0,708	0.479
<b>Tenure-&gt; Intention</b>	-0,008	0,027	0,299	0.765
<b>Hectares&gt; Intention</b>	-0,025	0,026	0,980	0.327

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