

CSI Brexit Panel Technical Report

1. Description of the project

Attitudes towards immigration and the economy were considered to be major drivers of the vote choice in the EU Referendum, as were issues of sovereignty and 'taking back control'. At the time of starting this project, Theresa May had triggered Article 50 in March 2017, meaning that Britain would be expected to leave the European Union by the summer of 2019. The government had also expressed clear intention to keep faith with the electorate, and wanted to ensure that the post-Brexit immigration system and economic strategy meet with public approval. Yet voter preferences were always going to be challenging to translate into policy. Public opinion is highly diverse: as well as varying across different sections of the public, some attitudes may be held more firmly than others and thus represent a real constraint on policy-making. Expectations and consequences were likely to shift as the negotiations proceed or as new information became available over the period of the negotiations. Citizens may have been willing to allow trade-offs, for example accepting a certain level of immigration as a cost worth paying in order to keep trading options open. On the other hand there may have been 'red lines' which sections of the public were not prepared to cross. As well as looking at the public's preferences and expectations about outcomes, it was of considerable interest to look at the extent of knowledge about the actual situation. Attitudes towards immigration are largely contingent on perceived threat which in turn relies on perceptions of the number of immigrants. Yet public 'innumeracy' in estimating the number of immigrants has been consistently demonstrated. Knowledge was also likely to be of policy relevance. Our research aim was to provide high quality evidence on the aspects of public opinion that policy-makers wanted to understand during the course of the Brexit negotiations. We focused on three main research objectives. Firstly, examined the detailed structure of public attitudes and opinion, including willingness to make trade-offs, the degree to which there is regional variation, and understanding the policy areas in which people would accept supranational governance. Secondly, we sought to understand the dynamics of change in attitudes and expectations. To what extent were individual opinions on Brexit-related matters 'set in stone'? We were interested in patterns of change, whether we observed convergence over time or divergence and polarization between different segments of the population. We wondered if a crystallization of attitudes and identities would be evident over time, or a blurring of identity boundaries as the complexities of the negotiations become apparent. Thirdly, we sought to understand the drivers of changing attitudes, and the role played by individual factors (e.g. social class), social identities (e.g. Brexiteer), and contextual factors (e.g. macro-economic changes). To address these research questions, we conducted a new survey, in the form of an internet panel. Internet panels have the major advantage of being quick in terms of the data collection process, and collected eight rounds of data over the 26-month project period. Panel members were approached every three months with an online questionnaire made up of a mix of new questions (in response to political and economic events) and old (allowing us to measure how attitudes of individuals have changed). The panel was refreshed with new respondents in each round in order to keep the sample size at the required levels (around 3,000 per wave). We published short reports, aimed at policy-makers, on the CSI Nuffield Website. We expected our results to be of great interest to policy makers, including bodies such as think tanks, as well as to the general public.

2. Description of the Data

The data set consists of eight waves of survey data which were collected online by Kantar Public between July 2017 and August 2019, with one wave approximately every three months. There were 5300 respondents in wave 1, 3600 in wave 2, and around 3000 in each thereafter. After the first, each wave consists of a mix of return respondents from previous wave(s) and fresh 'top up' respondents. The aim was for each wave to be a representative sample of the UK, and as such efforts were made to recruit top-up respondents from groups with higher attrition rates (e.g. young

Londoners). A cross-sectional weighting variable is provided for each wave. Respondents were selected from the 'Lightspeed panel'. On response to the invitation, respondents read about the aims of the study before actively opting in. The eight surveys consist of a set of core questions on the topics of the Brexit negotiations, national identity, Brexit identity, political party identity interest in politics, most important issue, and political efficacy. There is a set of rotating topics including attitudes to immigration (various aspects), values, and social status. One-off topics include nostalgia, political knowledge, cultural capital, art preferences, experts, motivation for referendum vote, and more. Socio-demographic information was collected the first time the respondent took part in the study. We asked questions in every round including job status and subjective income, and asked about social class to all respondents in wave 5 (see table below). The data are provided in a single combined file in 'long format', where each respondent has a row of data for each wave in which they participated. Identifier and wave variables are provided. Refer to the questionnaires for question wording and variable names.

Sample size and fieldwork dates

Wave	Fieldwork period	Sample size	Retention rate (since prior wave)
1	Jul-Aug 2017	5311	-
2	Oct-Nov 2017	3607	53%
3	Feb-Mar 2018	3003	68%
4	Apr-May 2018	3027	66%
5	Jul-Aug 2018	3002	65%
6	Nov 2018	2991	54%
7	Mar-Apr 2019	3070	42%
8	Jul-Aug 2019	3076	68%

List of topics covered

	W 1	W 2	W 3	W 4	W 5	W 6	W 7	W 8
SOCIODEMOGRAPHICS								
Age	X	f	f	f	f	f	f	f
Sex	X	f	f	f	f	f	f	f
Postcode ^a	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Region	X	f	f	f	f	f	f	f
Educational attainment	X	f	X	f	f	f	f	f
Social class	X	f	X	f	X	X	f	f
Employed vs self-employed	X	f	f	f	X	f	f	f
Job status last week	X	f	f	X	X	X	X	X
Where born	X	f	f	f	f	f	f	f
Citizenship	X	f	f	f	f	f	f	f
Religion	X	f	f	f	f	f	f	f
National identity (multiple and preferred)	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Strength of national identity	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
British pride/ national pride							X	
Ethnicity	X	f	f	f	f	f	f	f
Marital status			X	f	f	f	f	f
Tenure			X	f	f	f	f	f

Household size			X	f	f	f	f	f
Parents' education					X	f	f	f
Household income in bands						X	f	f
GENERAL QUESTIONS								
Interest in politics	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Political party id	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Strength of party id	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Political party least support			X					
Vote choice (GE 2017)	X	f	f	f	f	f	f	f
Turnout (EU Referendum 2016)	X	f	f	f	f	f	f	f
Vote choice (EU Referendum 2016)	X	f	f	f	f	f	f	f
Scottish independence (asked to Scots only)			X					
European election vote (May 2019)								X
Most important issue	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Immigration	X			X	X		X	X
Subjective income	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Political efficacy	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Generalized trust	X			X	X	X	X	X
Newspapers		X						
Social Networks (position generator)		X						
Subjective Social Status		X			X			X
Civic vs ethnic conception of Britishness v1		X						
Civic vs ethnic conception of Britishness v2				X			X	
Relative deprivation		X					X	
Authoritarianism				X			X	X
Left-Right battery				X			X	X
Big 5 personality traits				X				
Identities: "isms"					X			
Nature or nurture					X			
Sport participation					X			
Subjective Social Status past and future					X			
Life Satisfaction							X	
BREXIT & RELATED ATTITUDES								
Brexit/ Remainer identity	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Strength of Brexit identity	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Negotiations: "On the table" ^b	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Divorce Bill v1	X	X	X					
Divorce Bill v2 (split halves)				X	X	X	X	X
If there was another referendum		X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Experts		X						
Local-national-supranational governance		X						
Trade-offs 1		X						
Trade-offs 2 (immigration)			X					
How are the negotiations going?		X	X	X				
Transitional arrangements		X						
Allow immigrants (by country of origin)		X						

Duty to carry out Brexit/ 2 nd Referendum			X					
Motivation for Referendum vote choice			X					
More in common: party vs Brexit			X					
More in common: place vs job			X					
Attachment to place			X				X	
Things getting better/ worse			X					
Approval of agreements in principle			X					
Trust in institutions				X				
Trust in countries				X	X			
Patriotism/ national pride				X				
Affective responses to national flags				X				
Biological/ cultural racism				X			X	
Restrictive communication concern (PC norms)				X				
Psychological reactance scale				X				
Social distance				X				
Cooperation and patriotism					X			
Nostalgia					X			
Northern Ireland Customs Union					X			
Personal Brexit trade-offs					X			
Consistency check (single market/ customs union)					X			
Brexit terminology					X			
Immigration economic/ cultural threat						X		
Allow immigrants (by job)						X		
Extended political efficacy questions						X		
Liberal economic attitudes						X		
Imagine a referendum with three options							X	
Stereotyping battery							X	
Social dominance orientation							X	
Perceived national conflicts & devolution battery							X	
Populism battery							X	
Gender role attitudes								X
Meritocracy attitudes								X
Climate change attitudes								X
Multiculturalism attitudes								X
Trust in party leaders/ prominent politicians								X
England own parliament								X
Regional inequality								X
In favour of May's deal								X
Lancaster House Speech: progress								X
EXPERIMENTS/ OTHER								
List experiment 1		X						
List experiment 2			X					
Aesthetics		X						
Knowledge Quiz 1 "Fact or Fake News"	X							
Knowledge Quiz 2			X					
Probability test			X					

Vignette experiment (European Court Human Rights) ^c				X	X			
Knowledge test 3					X			
“PC Norms” experiment						X		
About Britain Quiz						X		
Cultural Capital Quiz								X

Notes: X = all respondents; f = fresh respondents only
a = new version of the postcode question from wave 2
b = with additional item from wave 2
c = first attempt in wave 4 contained errors

Weights

One weight variable per wave was provided by Kantar Public. Weights are based on sex, working status, region, education, vote choice in the 2016 referendum, and vote choice in the General Election of 2017.

APPENDIX: Copy of proposal letter, including methodological details, from Kantar Public

20th January 2017

Kantar Public proposal to conduct Brexit tracking research

To: Anthony Heath, Lindsay Richards
CC: Bruce Hayward, Luke Taylor

Dear Anthony and Lindsay,

As requested we have written up a short description of our proposed methodology and provided you with the costs for this approach.

Primary research

Primary research will be used to monitor citizens' expectations on the outcomes of the UK exiting the European Union. This will cover attitudes and expectations around immigration, sovereignty, jobs and the economy. This research will be conducted among adults (aged 18+) living in the United Kingdom. In order to track how the public's attitudes and expectations change over time, this research project will be conducted over an 18 month period and will consist of six separate waves of research (at roughly quarterly intervals). We propose to conduct this research using an online access panel – and to use a broadly similar methodology to the British Election Study online panel.

The primary data collection will be managed by [Kantar Public UK](#) (formerly TNS BMRB), one of the UK's leading social research agencies. Kantar Public have considerable experience in conducting both longitudinal research – including working on UKHLS and LSYPE – and using online methodologies – e.g. on their political opinion polling, the Food Standards Agency consumer panel, and the BEIS (formerly DECC) panel. The data collection will be overseen by Luke Taylor, who is part of the Survey Methods team and who, as Head of Social and Political Attitudes, is responsible for online political opinion polling conducted by Kantar Public in the UK.

The sample for this study will be sourced from [Lightspeed](#) (a sister company of Kantar Public). Lightspeed are leading global experts in the management of online access panels and online data collection. In the UK the Lightspeed panel has over 120,000 active users that regularly participate in research. The Kantar Public team will work closely with Lightspeed, in particular the Lightspeed QuestionArts team led by Jon Puleston (<http://blog.lightspeedresearch.com/author/jon-puleston>). This team has a specific focus on how the optimisation of questionnaires and survey design can keep respondents interested in participating in research, thus increasing their propensity to complete surveys and remain on the panel for a long period of time. This team has particular expertise in this area having conducted an internal longitudinal study with their panellists around the 2015 General Election (six waves over six months).

Cross-sectional and longitudinal design

The research will consist of six separate survey waves, each of which will provide a cross-sectional snapshot of the general public's attitudes and expectations towards exiting the EU. This will allow for analysis of how opinion changes over time at an aggregate level. In order to also get an understanding change over time at the individual level, this research will also include a longitudinal design component.

Respondents that participate in the first wave of the study will be invited to participate in all subsequent survey waves. Based on the internal longitudinal study which Lightspeed conducted around the 2015 General Election, we would expect a re-interview rate of c.70% wave on wave to be feasible. To compensate for this attrition, fresh sample will be issued at each subsequent wave; this will negate the effects of any differential attrition and also ensure that the sample size for cross-sectional analysis offers precise survey estimates.

Sample size

The survey requires a sufficiently large sample size to (a) ensure robust estimates of attitudes and behaviours are obtained at both the overall level and for key sub-groups; and (b) to allow for disproportionate sampling by region (e.g. to boost the number of interviews in Scotland). With this in mind, we propose to target a minimum sample size of 3,000 interviews per wave.

In order to maximize the size of the longitudinal sample (that participate in all waves), we propose to interview 5,000 respondents at wave one. With a 70% wave-on-wave re-interview rate we would expect to have c.800 individuals participating in all waves.

	Total number of interviews	Number of interviews with respondents that participated at Wave 1
Wave 1	5,000	5,000
Wave 2	3,500	3,500
Wave 3	3,000	2,450
Wave 4	3,000	1,715
Wave 5	3,000	1,200
Wave 6	3,000	840
Total number of interviews	20,500	

Minimising attrition

Given the importance of longitudinal data analysis for this project, it is critical to ensure a high wave on wave participation rate. There are a number of steps (based on our experience of conducting longitudinal research) which we will take to minimise attrition:

- The initial sample selection will be limited to longer standing Lightspeed panellists, as attrition is much higher among new panellists
- The beginning of wave one will include an active opt-in to this research; panellists who are not willing to commit to participation in all six waves will be screened out
- Surveys will be short and engaging; where possible a narrative should be created to maintain participant interest. In particular, the QuestionArts team have found that the use of dependent interviewing (feeding-forward information captured at previous waves) can increase engagement
- A fieldwork period of 3-4 weeks, with multiple reminders sent out to panellists
- Incentives designed to encourage participation over multiple waves. As well as incentivising each wave, respondents will be entered into a prize draw with the number of entries tied to the number of waves they participate in
- Creating a memorable name and branding for the survey – this will help ensure that respondents remember the study and recognise the email invitations sent to them
- Inter-wave mailings - emails can be sent to panellists between the survey waves in order to maintain their interest levels in the study

Questionnaire design and survey scripting

Each wave of the survey will have a length of c.10 minutes (this approximates to c.30 questions) and will consist of closed questions (or un-coded open questions). There will be a core set of questions which are asked at every wave (for the longitudinal analysis) and new topical questions which will be developed for each wave of the survey.

Nuffield College will be primarily responsible for the questionnaire content. The Kantar Public and Lightspeed teams will advise on the questionnaire design to ensure that the questions are easy for respondents to understand, and that the questionnaire flows well and forms part of a compelling and engaging narrative.

The Lightspeed team will lead on the survey scripting and will ensure that the questions are displayed in an engaging manner and that the script is device-agnostic (can be answered on a range of digital devices). The Kantar Public team will check that the script matches the survey specification, that the wording matches the questionnaire and that the routing and logic checks are correctly in place.

Sampling and quotas

Lightspeed hold demographic details on all of their panellists and this information will be used for stratification at the sampling stage. Loose quotas will be set to ensure that the achieved sample is broadly representative of the population of the UK; quotas will be set by age and gender (interlocked) and region.

Data cleaning and weighting

Data will be produced in a SPSS format and the Kantar Public team will be responsible for checking the dataset. Firstly, top level checks will be made to ensure that the dataset includes all variables; secondly the internal validity of the questionnaire will be checked (e.g. ensuring that respondents have followed the correct routing); and lastly, variable and value labels will be reviewed to ensure they are correct and meaningful, and that single and multi-coded questions are structured appropriately and correctly outputted within the dataset.

Weighting will be required to ensure that results are representative of the UK population. Based on Kantar Public's polling for the EU referendum we would propose weighting by sex, age, region, educational status and political engagement. Targets will be sourced from both the ONS Mid-Year Population Estimates and the Annual Population survey. These weights will allow for cross-sectional analysis.

Additional costs have been provided should weighting be required for longitudinal analysis.

Data Provision

Kantar Public would provide the SPSS data file to Nuffield using the Accellion File Transfer System, which is a secure transfer system architecture that integrates existing infrastructure rather than duplicate existing systems. Kantar Public uses the Accellion System to securely transfer data files. The system is suitable for secure ad hoc file delivery, it incorporates login security to ensure identity of sender and recipients, and it uses SSL (Secure Socket Layer) to securely encrypt the transport later of delivery and provides an audit trail.

The SPSS data file provided to Nuffield will be fully anonymised.

Data Protection, Security, and Anonymity

Much of our survey work involves the validation and management of personal level data from large-scale surveys. We take the issues of data protection and information security very seriously and have excellent security controls that integrate our data and network security policies and procedures with the security requirements of our clients. Kantar Public is compliant with ISO 27001 – the international standard for data security and the UK Data Protection Act 1998. We abide by professional codes of conduct established by the Market Research Society and Social Research Association, to ensure that all data is kept strictly confidential.

All data collected are secured on database servers that only reside on private, backend servers that are behind layered firewall architecture. Data is never stored on a public network or outside the data tier. Relational database management systems (RDBMS) access is strictly controlled and limited to only a few authorized users whose access is limited to the minimum necessary to accomplish administrative tasks. Web and application servers communicate with the RDBMS only via a private network segment with a multi-layer firewall architecture in place. Access Control is provided to secure data directories. All client specific data is stored in restricted access data directories controlled by Access Control Lists.

Cost

Our price for this project would be £99,850. This price excludes VAT.

This price covers:

- Six waves of a 10 minute survey (consisting of closed questions) – with an overall total of 20,500 achieved interviews
- Questionnaire design
- Survey scripting and script checking
- Hosting the web survey
- Incentives for panellists
- Project management and fieldwork monitoring
- Checking and cleaning data
- Cross-sectional weights
- The provision of one SPSS data file after each wave of the survey
- A short technical report

Should weighting be required for longitudinal data analysis, the cost for this would depend on the complexity of the requirement, but we would expect this to be an additional £7,000 excluding VAT.

Commercial elements

Our costs are provided in GBP and exclude VAT.

We have based our pricing on single central billing to the UK in GBP.

These costs are valid for 90 days.

Key factors within the project specifications that are subject to change during the project or any changes made to the overall project planning may influence the final costs.

Kantar Public complies with ISO 9001 and ISO 20252 (International Service Standard for Market, Opinion and Social Research) and ISO 27001 (International standard for data security). Kantar Public adheres to the MRS/ESOMAR codes of conduct.

All information has been provided solely for the purposes of this proposal. It must be treated as confidential and not made publicly available.

Kantar Public retains all intellectual property rights in, and asserts rights of confidentiality over, all parts of its response submitted to the RFP. By submitting this response, we authorise you to make and distribute such copies of our proposal within your organisation and to any party contracted directly to assist with this RFP process, on a confidential basis and solely for the evaluation of our proposals. Any further use will be strictly subject to agreeing appropriate terms. This term overrides any contradictory term set out in the RFP.

This proposal is submitted on the basis that Kantar Public standard terms and conditions will apply – please see: [Terms and Conditions - Issue 19 December 2014](#).

Appendix A – Details on the Lightspeed Panel

Recruitment

The Lightspeed panel is composed of people who make a conscious decision to participate in online surveys through a double opt-in registration process.

Several methodologies are used to recruit panellists, including opt-in emails, co-registration, e-newsletter campaigns, traditional banner placements, as well as both internal and external affiliate networks. Lightspeed also recruits via social networks and offline surveys. Every effort is made to build a high quality panel and remove the inherent bias that could result from using a small number of recruitment sources.

Recruitment partners

Recruitment is managed through working with several panel recruiting partners. This includes portals and special interest sites, resulting in a diversity of panellist profiles. Key partners include portals, media agencies, channel sites (for example, for women, gaming or senior people) and email and marketing companies.

None of the partners represents a large proportion of overall recruits. Recruitment methodologies and sources are changed on a regular basis and the volumes recruited from each partner are varied from one month to the next. This ensures that Lightspeed reaches a good mix in its recruitment sources, which allows recruits to be diverse while also consistent over the year.

Detecting fraudulent respondents during registration

Lightspeed was among the first panel providers to implement technology-driven quality programs. Its proprietary panellist verification process, Lightspeed RealRespondents, is the result of significant ongoing investment in development and technology. It is a series of real-time checkpoints that new panel registrants pass through while completing the panel registration survey. Registrants who fail these checks are unable to join the panel. Checkpoints include:

- Proxy detection: detects a proxy server used to mask the registrant's true IP address and past fraudulent activity
- IP GeoFencing: locates the registrant's country location via their IP address and determines their eligibility for registration based on country-specific rules
- CAPTCHA: prevents automated programs from joining the site through challenge-response tests
- Email address verification: queries the Lightspeed database to ensure the email address is unique (all registrants must verify their email addresses through a double opt-in registration process)

In addition, registrants' postal address and postal code are verified against a current local address directory.

Those who pass the Lightspeed RealRespondents check are sent an email to confirm their email addresses. After clicking on a link within the email, they complete the double opt-in process and become members of the Lightspeed Consumer Panel.

Panellists invited to a survey will visit the Lightspeed website and enter their email addresses and passwords before accessing the link to the survey. This is more secure than sending the survey link in an email, which could be opened by anybody with access to that mailbox.

Data Quality checks to reduce undesired within survey behaviours

Lightspeed RealResults leverages technology and expertise to identify and remove fraudulent survey data. When a survey is programmed and hosted, a panelist who does not participate in the survey to the best of his/her ability is identified and those answers are removed from the final data set. The panelist's actions are also reviewed for possible removal from the panel. Lightspeed RealResults can use the following quality checks:

- Deduplication – Blocks survey respondents who attempt to complete the same survey multiple times either within a single panel or across multiple panels,
- Survey Speedsters – Respondents who rush through the survey are identified by comparing survey completion times to the norm,
- Grid Speedsters – Respondents who rush through grid questions are identified by comparing grid completion times to the norm,
- Respondent Satisfaction – Feedback from respondents is gathered and assessed to help determine the quality of the survey,
- Honesty Detector – Patent-pending technology that is an online lie detector that works in all countries around the globe.

Retention and refreshment

The Lightspeed panel is being constantly grown; the UK panel grows on average by about 10% per annum.

The typical length of time that people remain on the access panel varies according to age. The average respondent aged over 25 years old stays on the panel for 21 months before they decide to leave or are cleaned from the panel as a result of inactivity. People aged under 25 generally stay on the panel for less time, an average of 18 months.

Lightspeed continually analyse the key performance indicators of the panel and recruit to meet the research needs. If a particular sub-group are missing from the panel they are targeted for further recruitment.

Demographic data

Lightspeed monitor the panel composition and variables need for sample selection by collecting household and demographic information from every panellist. Furthermore, Lightspeed collects extensive socio-demographic profile information through a range of sector-specific screener surveys including finance, health and wellness, automotive, media consumption, and small business. Further profiling information can be added on an ad hoc basis.

Incentivisation

Upon completion of a survey, 'Lightspeed Points' are deposited immediately into a panelist's account, which gives instant gratification for survey completion. The number of points awarded for survey

completion is based on survey length, complexity and incidence rate. Research has shown that having a system where panellists accumulate points helps with panel engagement and retention. Once a points threshold is reached, panelists may redeem their points for online gift certificates, merchandise, and PayPal cash deposits.