Brexit and the Iraq War on BBC Question Time: Demographic and Political Issue Representation in UK Public Participation Broadcasting

Supplementary Information File

Contents

Dataset overview

This dataset contains information for all guest appearances on episodes of the BBC television show 'Question Time' between 2001-2019[1].

The data collection process involved multiple stages:
1. Creating the base dataset with all episodes and guest appearances
2. Manually coding guest information across:
    a. sex, ethnicity, educational background, profession, party affiliation
3. Manually coding guests' political positions
    a. Attitudes towards the 2003 UK invasion of Iraq
    b. Attitudes towards Brexit

The initial data that forms the framework of the dataset was sourced from the Wikipedia page that lists all episodes of the programme since its inception in 1979[2]. This information was collected using the WikipediaR package and R statistical software. All data collected by webscraping were then manually inspected and validated by the researchers to ensure that: Episode information and guest names were accurate, that the personal Wikipedia pages linked to each guest referred to the correct individual, and that any 'special episodes' (see below), were identified. Using open source publicly editable information such as Wikipedia can raise potential issues for data collection, as pages can contain incorrect information, or intentional disinformation, especially when pages refer to controversial topics or contested issues. The manual validation of the data indicated that the information on the page was consistently accurate, in part due to its almost exclusive focus on factual information about episode air dates and guests, which are referenced from Radio Times listings. The main Wikipedia entry for 'BBC Question Time' is on an entirely separate page, where potential issues about content being edited would be more likely to be encountered due to the focus on the actual content and controversies that

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[1] This paper is part of a larger project, for which we collected data on all episodes of the show from 1979-2019. Here we present a subset of the data covering the period of interest between 2001-2019.
[2] https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_Question_Time_episodes

have taken place on the programme. The main corrections made in the validation stage were for any minor spelling mistakes, and for the few guests where their embedded link went to the wrong person's Wikipedia page (e.g. a different individual with the same name, or a Peer in the House of Lords with a new title).

Coding Guest Information

Our primary unit of analysis is each individual **guest appearance** on the show. As guests can appear multiple times, sometimes changing profession, party affiliation, or their stances on political issues, the information being coded relates to that guest **at the time of their appearance**. With the initial dataset in place, we then began the process of manually coding information for each guest with regard to: Sex, ethnicity, and party affiliation (if a politician).

The specific coding scheme used for each variable is detailed in the codebook section below. The coding was completed by two research assistants as well the primary researchers. Coders received an in person training session to walk through the coding scheme in detail, with multiple follow-up sessions to discuss any coding or data collection issues. Regular meetings allowed for any questions regarding coding decisions to be discussed by the full team, with any agreed changes added to the coding scheme, and the coding of previous cases updated to ensure consistency across observations.

For each guest appearance, coders collected information on the relevant variables in the first instance by referencing the individual's personal Wikipedia page (if present). If the information was not included here, or the guest did not have a Wikipedia entry, coders then manually searched for publicly available online information. This included sources such as: personal websites, party websites, newspaper articles, media interviews, CVs, Linkedin pages, social media accounts, academic books and journal articles.

Data was publicly available for the vast majority of guests, however, for some, particularly those who: were relatively low-profile political candidates who only stood for office once; non-politician guests with little to no online presence (business-people, lawyers, think tank members etc.), public data was limited. Instances of missing or unavailable data are explicitly coded as 'No information available' in the dataset, as well as in any figures included in the paper.

For any appearances where the guest was identified as being a UK politician, we then coded their party affiliation. This was done by first collecting Party information from their personal Wikipedia pages if present. We then manually checked each individual entry to ensure that the Party affiliation was accurate (and whether the individual had changed party at any point), and updated information as needed.

Political Issue Positions

We also collected data on guests' positions on two political issues, split across three separate measures: attitudes towards the UK 2003 Invasion of Iraq; attitudes towards the 2016 UK referendum on EU membership; and Brexit preferences following the referendum.

Each of these three issues occurred at distinct periods in British politics, and as with the other variables, we are interested in **guests' views at the time of the event.** we only code guests' attitudes for all episodes during the relevant time periods detailed below:

Political Issue Variable	Relevant Episodes	Relevant Parliament
Iraq war	2002/09/20 – 2005-05-05	2001-2005
Brexit (2016 EU referendum)	2015/05/08 – 2017/06/07	2015-2017
Brexit (Post-referendum preferences)	2017/06/09 – 2019/12/11	2017-2019

All guest appearances between the 2015 and 2019 UK General Elections were coded in relation to guests' attitudes towards Brexit. These two time points were chosen for the Brexit issue coding as they spanned the full period between the first announcement that an EU referendum would take place (May 2015), and the final stages of the Brexit process (December 2019), while also coinciding with significant political events marked by the elections themselves.

The first stage involved manually coding each guest's stance on the EU referendum based on whether they supported the 'Leave' or 'Remain' side in the 2016 vote. Several sources, ranging from media reports, speeches, blog posts, and tweets were used to identify the political views for each guest where available. In order to capture the more nuanced positions that emerged following the referendum result, each guest was then

also coded in a way that allowed us to distinguish between different Brexit preferences, such as support for: a second referendum or revocation of article 50, leaving the EU with a Brexit deal, exiting the EU with no deal in place.

03. 00 Variable Codebook

Demographics
03.01 Sex
03.02 Ethnicity
03.03 Did guest attend a fee-paying school at any stage
03.04 Did guest attend a University degree course
03.05 Did guest attend a Oxford or Cambridge University (Undergraduate degree)
03.06 Did guest attend a Oxford or Cambridge University (Any degree)

Political Issue Positions
03.07 Attitudes towards UK 2003 invasion of Iraq
03.08 Vote choice in 2016 UK Referendum on EU membership
03.09 Post-referendum Brexit preferences

03.01 Sex

Description:
The coding for this variable focuses on guests' sex rather than gender identity, to ensure comparability with population estimates for the UK public and parliament. The 2021/22 UK census was the first to include any questions on gender identity, meaning that historic data is unavailable for comparison over earlier time periods. In light of the ONS consultations and proposals surrounding the questions on sex in the 2021 and 2022 census (Guyan, 2022: 72-75), we included an 'Other, please specify' coding category (of which no individuals in the dataset were ultimately coded in), and recorded sex as 'Sex as recorded on legal/official documents' or 'sex as living/presenting' (Guyan, 2022: 74).

Coding categories:
- Female
- Male
- Other (open-ended)
- NA = No information available

03.02 Ethnicity

Description:
Ethnicity was coded using the broad UK Census categories: White; Mixed/Multiple ethnic groups; Asian; Black; Other ethnic group.[3] The final aggregated variable compares the 'white' category, with all other ethnic groups. This was used to aid compatibility with figures on ethnic representation in Parliament that are only coded as 'White' and 'Ethnic minority', as well as to address the inconsistency in question wording and response options in Census data over time.The coding was based on information from guest's Wikipedia pages, interviews, media articles, and house of commons reports. Coding was based on self-identified ethnicity, or by information listing their ethnic background and parents place of birth. Information was more widely available for politician guests. Guests where information was unavailable were coded as 'no information'.

Coding categories:
- White
- Ethnic minority group
- No information available

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[3] https://history.blog.gov.uk/2019/03/07/50-years-of-collecting-ethnicity-data/; https://hummedia.manchester.ac.uk/institutes/code/briefings/dynamicsofdiversity/how-has-ethnic-diversity-grown-1991-2001-2011.pdf

03.03 Did guest attend a fee-paying school at any stage

Description:
This variable codes the educational background of BBCQT panelists, specifically whether or not they attended a private fee-paying school at any stage of their primary or secondary education. If an individual attended multiple schools, both state and private, they were still coded as having attended a private school if they attended one for any period.

Due to the variation in types of school available in the UK, and changes in education policy over time, we operationalised private schools as: a school that charges fees for attendance. This includes various types of fee-paying schools: private schools, public schools, and independent schools; as well as covering both day and boarding schools.

Even if private institutions offered scholarships or fee-waivers for a portion of their admissions, these schools were still classed as private schools. As such, even if an individual attended the school via a scholarship, they will be coded here as having attended a private school.Using the presence of fees as our defining criteria, schools with selective admission criteria were not classed as private schools (e.g. academies, or grammar schools under the old UK tripartite school system). Other examples of UK state schools include comprehensives, technical, and secondary modern schools.

The variable was coded by first: identifying the school that an individual attended; then collecting information on whether the school was a state or fee-paying institution **at the time the guest would have attended.** Information was collected primarily using guest Wikipedia pages (and subsequently school Wiki pages), as well as personal websites, media interviews, biographies, schools websites, and local council websites.

Cases where the type of school was unclear (e.g. non UK schools with vastly different education systems), or where there was no public information available were coded as 'No information'. Of all the education variables included in the dataset, this measure of school education contains the highest rates of missing data due to lack of information across either feature: where the individual went to school, and information regarding the type of school itself.

Coding categories:
- Attended fee-paying school
- Attended state school
- No information available

03.04 Did guest attend a University degree course

Description:
This variable captures whether an individual attended an undergraduate University degree course. The variable specifically measures whether an individual attended University for a degree course, rather than if they graduated. While the overwhelming majority of guests who attended University also graduated, individuals who attended and then dropped out at a later stage are still included in the 'Attended University' group. The additional criteria of a degree course is included here due to the wide variation in tertiary educational qualifications and institutions in the UK and beyond. Professional and trade qualifications are not included in the 'Attended degree course at University' group.

Coding categories:
- Attended degree course at University
- Did not attend University
- No information available

03.05 Did guest attend a Oxford or Cambridge University (Undergraduate degree)

Description:
This variable measures whether an individual attended either Oxford or Cambridge University for their undergraduate degree. For all plots and tables included in the paper, this narrower version of the variable was used, which focuses on undergraduate degree attendance.

Coding categories:
- Attended Oxford or Cambridge (Undergraduate)
- Attended other University
- Did not attend University
- No information available

03.06 Did guest attend a Oxford or Cambridge University (Any degree)

Description:

This variable measures whether an individual attended either Oxford or Cambridge University for any type of degree course (undergraduate or postgraduate).

Coding categories:
- Attended Oxford or Cambridge
- Attended other University
- Did not attend University
- No information available

Political Issue Positions

03.07 Attitudes towards UK 2003 invasion of Iraq
Coded for all guest appearances between: 2002/09/20 - 2005-05-05

Description:
This variable captures individuals' views regarding the UK government's decision to join the US-led invasion of Iraq in March 2003. For sitting MPs, coding was based primarily on voting records in the parliamentary divisions held on 18 March 2003 (Division number 117, Division number 118). For all other guests, we identify whether any public statements had been made in favor or against the UK government's decision to go to war. The coding of this variable attempts to reflect attitudes towards the war specifically at the time of the invasion, rather than evaluations of the ongoing conflict over the following years. For guests whose opinion of the conflict varied over time, we focus on their attitudes at the onset of the conflict surrounding the decision to go to war. For any guests where no publicly available information was available regarding their attitudes towards the invasion, they were coded as 'No information'. A significant portion of appearances are coded under the 'No information' category, particularly for non-political guests.

Coding categories:
- In support of the invasion
- Against the invasion
- No information

03.08 Vote choice in 2016 UK Referendum on EU membership
Coded for all guest appearances between: 2015/05/08 - 2017/06/07

Description: This variable captures how individuals voted in the 2016 EU referendum and/or their campaigning activities pre referendum. If guests had since changed their position on Brexit following the referendum, this variable will represent their views at the time of the referendum itself. For cases where no public information on a guests' attitudes towards Brexit were available, we coded them as 'No information'. If a guest had publicly stated they either abstained, or did not intend to vote in the referendum they were coded as 'Abstained/Did not vote'.

Coding categories:
- Remain
- Leave
- Abstained/Did not vote
- No information available/Not applicable

03.09 Post-referendum Brexit preferences
Coded for all guest appearances between: 2017/06/09 - 2019/12/11

Description: Indicates a guest's wider stance on the major Brexit issues that emerged following the result of the referendum. As it took time for these issues to arise, this measure is only included for appearances that occurred after the 2017 UK General Election (8/6/2017). This cut off point is used to leave enough of a gap since the referendum result for more stable viewpoints to emerge. Moreover, the 2017 Election saw relatively clear issue positions from each of the main parties. As the variable is coded at the appearance, rather than guest level, in cases where a guest changed their position on Brexit over time, the one closest in time to the appearance date was used.

Coding categories:
- 1 = In favour of second referendum with remain as an option/revoking article 50
- 2 = Seeks brexit deal, but willing to support confirmatory vote on deal
- 3 = Seeks brexit deal, against second public vote and no deal
- 4 = Seeks brexit deal, but willing to leave no deal on the table
- 5 = In favour of hard brexit/no deal
- NA = No information available / not applicable

Reference Groups for UK Public and Parliament

For baseline reference groups for which to compare representation on BBC Question Time, we collected information on the distribution of different demographic groups and the breakdown of political attitudes within both the UK public, and sitting MPs in the UK House of Commons. While politician guests on the programme include more than just MPs (e.g. members from devolved parliaments, the European parliament, local Mayors and Councillors, party members and candidates), MPs make up the vast majority of all political guest appearances. While comparisons between Parliament cannot fully reflect the distribution of these groups within the political elites sampled by the programme, this nonetheless provides a closer appropriate reference point than the UK public.

04.00 Demographics

04.01 UK Parliament

The total number of female MPs, and MPs from ethnic minority groups for each parliament since 2001 is displayed below, as well as the proportion of all MPs from these two groups.

Table. Sex and Ethnicity Representation in UK Parliament 2001-2019

Election	MPs	Female MPs	Ethnic Minority MPs	% Female	% Ethnic Minority
2001	659	118	12	17.91	1.82
2005	646	128	15	19.81	2.32
2010	650	143	27	22.00	4.15
2015	650	191	41	29.38	6.31
2017	650	208	52	32.00	8.00
2019	650	220	65	33.85	10.00

Source: Cracknell and Tunnicliffe (2022: 6,14)

In terms of MPs educational background, historic data is available for the proportion of MPs from each of the main parties that were privately educated, attended university, and who attended either Oxford or Cambridge universities. These figures are only available for Conservative, Labour, and Liberal Democrat politicians, with the SNP only being included in the 2015 and 2019 elections (excludes Green, Independent, DUP, SDLP, Sinn Féin, and Alliance Party MPs).

To get an overview of the educational background of each parliament, these party percentages were converted back into the raw number of MPs from each party who attended each type of educational establishment, which was then divided by the total number of MPs from these parties. (i.e. All Conservative, Labour, Liberal Democrat, and SNP MPs). Educational information for SNP MPs (2001-2010) were manually coded based on MP Wikipedia pages and personal website information. The proportion of MPs from these parties who attended each educational institution are displayed below.

Table. Educational Background of MPs 2001-2019

Election	MPs*	MPs Priv Ed	MPs Uni	MPs Oxbridge	% Priv Ed	% Uni	% Oxbridge
2001	635	195	455	160	30.71	71.65	25.20
2005	621	207	442	161	33.33	71.18	25.93
2010	627	224	482	164	35.57	76.87	26.16
2015	626	207	496	149	33.07	79.23	23.80
2017	626	179	516	162	28.59	82.43	25.88
2019	626	207	543	151	33.07	86.74	24.12

Notes: *Historic MP education data only includes Con, Lab, Lib, and SNP MPs. Percentages given are the proportion of MPs from these parties from each type of educational background. Source: Cracknell and Tunnicliffe (2022: 20). Percentage columns represent the percentage of MPs: Privately educated; attended university; or attended Oxford or Cambridge university.

04.02 UK Public

The female percentage of the total UK population has been stable at just over 50% across the full 2001-2019 time period[4].

Due to the national variation in how the education system operates in each part of the UK, gathering consistent time series data on the proportion of pupils in private education is difficult at the UK level. We do have relatively long-running figures for England and Wales (1975-2010), and for just England (2010-2020). Over the 2000-2020 period, the percentage of school pupils attending private schools in England/Wales remained at around 7%, varying between a low of 6.4% in 2020, and a high of 7.1% in 2010. The full figures are displayed in the Table below.

Table. Percentage of Pupils in Private Education (England and Wales/England)

Year	% Pupils in Private School
2000	6.7
2005	7.0
2010	7.1
2015	6.8
2020	6.4

Notes: Figures for [1975-2010] refer to England and Wales[5], while figures for [2015-2020] refer to just England[6].

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[4] World Bank 2020, Population, female (% Total Population) - United Kingdom Timeseries, Available online at: https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SP.POP.TOTL.FE.ZS?locations=GB

[5] Bolton, P. (2012), 'Education: Historical statistics', House of Commons Library, Briefing Paper SN/SG/4252, 27 November 2012. Available at: https://commonslibrary.parliament.uk/research-briefings/sn04252/

[6] Department for Education Statistics, Academic Year 2021/22 - Schools, pupils and their characteristics, Published June 9th 2022, Available online: https://explore-education-statistics.service.gov.uk/data-tables/fast-track/739d8f71-8381-4bc5-a56b-8b140396d389

Lacking any widespread panel or census data on the percentage of the UK population who have attended either Oxford or Cambridge University at any given period, estimates are typically created by calculating current rates of UK students attending these institutions and extrapolating over previous decades.

The Sutton Trust estimates that less than one percent of the current UK population have attended either Oxford or Cambridge University[7]. We reach a similar figure when looking at admissions rates in terms of UCAS applicants: In 2019 Oxford and Cambridge admitted a combined total of 6,828 (3,300 Oxford, 3,528 Cambridge) undergraduate students[8]. The total number of UCAS submissions that were accepted to begin an undergraduate course in the same year was 541,240[9], meaning 1.26% of all successful UCAS undergraduate applicants in 2019 went to either Oxford or Cambridge university.

This effectively gives us a ceiling bound for an estimate, as around 1% of university students attend these institutions, however, the group we are interested in is the public at large rather than those with University education. In 2019, 34.1% of 18 year olds applied for university places via UCAS[10]. Rates of entry into higher education have been consistently increasing since the 2000s[11]. So even working with the naive assumption that entry rates were historically as high as they were in 2019 at 30-40%, this would still lead to a final estimate of around 0.5% of the UK population having attended either Oxford or Cambridge University. We therefore also consider the percentage of the UK population

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[7] https://www.suttontrust.com/wp-content/uploads/2019/12/Elitist-Britain-2019.pdf, page 19

[8] Oxford 2019 Admissions. Available at:
https://www.ox.ac.uk/sites/files/oxford/Admissions%20Report%202019.pdf ,
Cambridge 2019 Admissions. Available at:
https://www.undergraduate.study.cam.ac.uk/sites/www.undergraduate.study.cam.ac.uk/files/publications/ug_admissions_statistics_2019_cycle_0.pdf

[9] UCAS End of Cycle Report 2019, Chapter 1: Summary of Applicants and Acceptances. Available at:
https://www.ucas.com/file/292736/download?token=xurFczbC

[10] UCAS End of Cycle Report 2019, Chapter 1: Summary of Applicants and Acceptances. Available at:
https://www.ucas.com/file/292736/download?token=xurFczbC

[11] University entry rates: [1999-2017] Department for Education, Participation Rates in Higher Education: Academic Years 2006/2007 – 2017/2018, Available online:
https://www.gov.uk/government/statistics/participation-rates-in-higher-education-2006-to-2018

educated at either Oxford or Cambridge University to be 'less than 1%', in line with the Sutton Trust estimates.

Census data from 2001, 2011, and 2021 (2022 in Scotland) were used to create population estimates for the ethnic background of the UK public. For each timepoint, we collected the separate data from the England and Wales, Scotland, and Northern Ireland census on both the total population and respondents' answer to the ethnic background question. The raw frequencies across the different nations were combined, and then the percentage of ethnic minority population was calculated for the UK as a whole.

Census Year	UK Ethnic Minority Population Estimate
2001	7.9%
2011	12.8%
2021/22	17%

Census data sources: Northern Ireland[12], Scotland[13], England and Wales[14].

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[12] NI 2001: https://www.nisra.gov.uk/sites/nisra.gov.uk/files/publications/2001-census-results-key-statistics-report-tables.pdf
NI 2011: https://www.nisra.gov.uk/sites/nisra.gov.uk/files/publications/2011-census-results-detailed-characteristics-statistics-bulletin-28-june-2013.pdf
NI 2021: https://www.nisra.gov.uk/publications/census-2021-main-statistics-ethnicity-tables
[13] https://www.scotlandscensus.gov.uk/search-the-census#/search-by
[14] https://www.ethnicity-facts-figures.service.gov.uk/uk-population-by-ethnicity/national-and-regional-populations/population-of-england-and-wales/latest/#:~:text=Census%20data%20for%20England%20and,%2C%20from%201.2%25%20to%200.9%25

05.01 Political Issues - UK Public Opinion Data

Iraq War public opinion polling

Polling figures included in the paper are sourced from (Everts and Isernia, 2005: 321).

Brexit attitudes public opinion polling

Figures on public opinion polling cited in the paper come from the following YouGov data:
- YouGov - Brexit Deal 191018 Polling, Field dates 17-18/10/2019, available at: https://d25d2506sfb94s.cloudfront.net/cumulus_uploads/document/wyrbferwh1/Internal_BrexitDeal_191018_wXbreak_w.pdf

N = 1,609, Fieldwork Dates: 17-18th October 2019

Q1. "Would you support or oppose holding a new referendum on whether Britain should leave the EU on the terms of the new deal or remain a member of the European Union?"

Support holding a referendum	40%
Oppose holding a referendum	46%
Don't know	14%

Q2. "And looking forward, what would you most like to see happen?"

Britain should accept the negotiated deal and leave the EU on those terms	30%
Britain should leave the European Union without a deal	17%
Britain should remain a member of the European Union	38%
Don't know	15%

05.02 Political Issues - UK Parliament Data

For the parliaments of 2001, 2015, and 2017, all politicians were coded across the relevant attitudinal variables using the same coding scheme outlined above from the BBCQT appearance dataset. Table A2 displays the distribution of these views within each of the three parliament, broken down by party affiliation. As this dataset only contains MPs, voting records were able to be used to aid coding for almost all MPs.

Table A2. UK MP Positions on the Iraq War and Brexit by Party

Parliament	Iraq War	All MPs	Conservative	Labour	Other
2001-05	Against Invasion	221 (34%)	14 (9%)	139 (34%)	68 (86%)
	Pro Invasion	434 (66%)	150 (91%)	273 (66%)	11 (14%)

Parliament	Brexit	All MPs	Conservative	Labour	Other
2017-19	Revoke/2nd Vote	200 (31%)	10 (3%)	139 (53%)	51 (81%)
	Dead/2nd Vote	72 (11%)	4 (1%)	67 (26%)	1 (2%)
	Deal only	115 (18%)	66 (21%)	48 (18%)	1 (2%)
	Deal/No Deal	166 (26%)	155 (49%)	4 (2%)	7 (11%)
	No Deal	86 (13%)	81 (26%)	2 (1%)	3 (5%)

Notes: Number of MPs in each response category by party. Column percentages shown in parentheses. 2017 Parliament Figures are excluding: Sinn Féin MPS who do not sit in parliament; Speaker and Deputy Speakers: John Bercow, Eleanor Laing, Lindsay Hoyle, Rosie Winterton. Coded based on parliamentary votes, and supplemented using coding scheme for guest appearance variables.

Episode Selection

Several 'special episodes' present in the original episode list were removed from the final dataset. Special episodes include:

- Episodes filmed outside the UK, with the majority, or all, guests not from the UK
- Episodes on specific issues e.g. Iraq War, 9/11
- Episodes where only one guest was present e.g. Party leader
- Debate episodes e.g. Leaders debates, Mayoral Candidate debates
- Schools editions, where either one school pupil sat on the panel, the audience was made up of school pupils, or the episode was partly produced by students

Episodes were removed from the final dataset if:

   i.   only one person was on the panel
  ii.   the panel only consisted of leadership/mayoral candidates, or
 iii.   the episode was held outside of the UK and was not directly focused on UK politics

Episodes with a full panel of guests from different parties, as well as the School Special episodes, were kept in the final data. These episodes are coded as '1' in the 'special_ep' variable, and can be removed from any analyses as needed.

Removed Special Episodes

Episode Date	Description
16/09/2004	'Best of' clip show, 25th Anniversary special
28/10/2004	US Election special
10/03/2005	Held in China
15/06/2016	Pre Brexit Leave episode (Michael Gove only guest)
19/06/2016	Pre Brexit Remain episode (David Cameron ony guest)
08/09/2016	Labour Leader special
02/06/2017	Leader's GE special
05/06/2017	Leader's GE special

Special Episodes Kept in Dataset

Episode Date	Description
24/04/2003	Held in Abu Dhabi, Iraq War special (Lab/Con UK representatives present)
08/07/2004	School's edition (Episode co-produced by students)
08/05/2015	Post GE special
26/06/2016	Post Brexit Special (panel split 50/50 remain leave)
27/03/2017	Britain after Brexit special
09/06/2017	Post GE special

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- Guyan, K., 2022, Queer Data: Using Gender, Sex and Sexuality Data for Action, (Bloomsbury, London)