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Colour Terms & Categorisation Question Testing

Focus groups to consider changes to the question

July 2018 260414306

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Contents

1.	Executive summary0
2.	. Background and methodology5
3.	. About the groups8
4.	. Response to removing all colour terms11
5.	. Response to removing 'Black' and changes to category D16
6.	. Response to changes in Mixed Category20
7.	. Reflections Across Groups23
8.	. Principles and recommendations for ONS24
9.	. Appendix26

1. Executive summary

1.1 Introduction

Kantar Public, an independent social research agency, was commissioned by ONS to conduct qualitative research on the ethnicity question in the census, as part of the Census Transformation Programme. The aim of the Census Transformation Programme is to make the best use of all available data in England and Wales to enhance the provision of population statistics. A core objective of the programme, and in focus for this research, was to test the understanding and acceptability of potential changes to the ethnic group question, specifically regarding colour terminology. This research assessed the impact on data quality, respondent burden and data comparability of alternatives to the colour terminology used in the 2011 census, to provide ONS with evidence to inform the design of the ethnicity question ahead of 2021.

Kantar Public conducted 18 x 90-minute focus groups across three audiences. These groups were sampled according to (self-identified) ethnic identity and included 'Black,' 'White' and 'Mixed' participants. Participants across all groups were consulted about the complete removal of colour from the census; Black and Mixed groups were asked to respond to the removal of 'Black' and the splitting of the high-level category D ('Black, African, Caribbean or Black British)'; while only the Mixed groups were asked to respond to the removal of tick-box examples under the high-level category B ('Mixed or Multiple Ethnic groups'). Within each group, participants were asked to compare these possible new designs and iterations of the relevant ethnicity question with the 2011 census.

1.2 Aims and objectives

The primary aim for research was to test how participants reacted to a revised census question (and quidance), in terms of:

- Impact on understanding and acceptability of the ethnic group question
- Ethnic group terminology preferences
- Implications for data quality, respondent burden, data comparability of alternatives to the colour and categorisation terminology used in 2011
- If changes to the question or guidance could encourage write in answers

1.3 Key findings

Key differences emerged within each of the 'Black', 'White,' 'Mixed' groups in terms of how participants identified and their response to colour terminology. These identities impacted how acceptable and easy to understand participants found the removal of colour and amendments to relevant high-level categories, resulting in complexity and variation within and across the groups. These sub-groups² included:

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¹ The 2011 ethnicity question is a single-coded question, with response codes grouped into 5 high-level categories: White, Mixed/Multiple ethnic groups, Asian/Asian British, Black/African/Caribbean/Black British, and Other ethnic group. Respondents are required to select one high level category, and tick or write in their response underneath that category.

² The sub-groups are necessarily simplifications of research participants' individual identities, but are used in this report to draw out the key differences driving responses within each high-level category.

Sampled Group	Sub-group	Ethnic identity & use of colour terms			
Black	Black British	More likely to identify ethnically with black for political reasons			
	Recent Black Migrant (e.g. Kenyan)	Identify ethnically with 'Black' terminology and country of birth			
White	White British	May not identify using 'White' due to discomfort with term			
	White Other (e.g. Hispanic, Turkish)	May not identify using 'White' due to feeling excluded			
	White International (e.g. White American / South African)	 May identify ethnically with 'White' for political reason – e.g. as a result of being born in a non-White majority country 			
Mixed	Non-White Mixed (E.g. Iranian Arab)	 Identify using complex mixture of colour, nationality and heritage 			
IVIIAGU	Mixed with British/Welsh (E.g. British Egyptian)	nationality and hemage			

- Despite differences in how participants ethnically self-identified and their attitude and relationship to 'colour', participants still shared similar concerns and perspectives about the potential application or removal of colour terminology and the census more generally.
- Participants felt that the removal of colour could create new categories of identification which they were not used to, or no longer identified with which in some cases could jar with their sense of identity. For instance, the removal of 'White' caused White International participants to now identify as 'Other', a move they found unacceptable and unclear. In contrast, the removal of colour examples (e.g. 'White and Black Caribbean') from the Mixed high-level category resulted in some participants identifying with this category for the first time a positive change for those who had previously felt excluded from this category by the use of 'White' colour terminology.
- The complete removal of 'Black' raised concerns about acceptability and clarity within the Black British groups. This was particularly the case when 'White' remained in the census, causing some to question why only they were unable to access a 'Black identity.' This raised particular concern given that the removal of Black meant they now self-identified under 'African' or 'Caribbean' words they wouldn't have necessarily included within a description of their ethnicity.
- It was clear that being able to re-assert a national identity was important within the ethnicity question regardless of whether participants had already had the opportunity to record this in the preceeding national identity question. The removal of 'British' in 'Black British' from high-level category D, but not from other categories, was therefore viewed as an unfair attempt to deny Black participants of a British identity.
- A small group of Black Welsh participants were concerned that in both the 2011 census and in the new question designs, they were unable to record themselves as 'Black Welsh.' Given that White participants could tick 'Welsh,' some questioned whether they were being deliberately excluded.
- Participants pointed out that colour terminology still underpins how many describe their ethnic identity and replacing it with alternative terms could result in confusion about where to identify. Black and Mixed participants pointed out that the introduction of 'European' could be simply viewed as 'codes' or 'masks' for 'White'. While the introduction of 'Afroic' raised particular concerns about whether people would understand what this term represents.
- Across groups there was uncertainty about what information to write-in, particularly when the examples given included reference to colour, nationality and heritage. This became particularly

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obvious when colour terminology was inconsistently used across categories. For Mixed participants, whose experience recording their ethnicity was already complex, clear guidance on what to write-in was deemed to be especially important.

- Participants requested greater clarity on where and how to record their ethnicity. Current guidance asks respondents to 'choose one section and then tick one box', which some interpreted as an instruction to respond in two different categories. As a result, participants (particularly with 'Mixed' ethnic identities) commonly selected two or more tick-boxes, and may have also written in. Given the 2011 data coding rules, which specify that only the last tick-box or entry in the census is counted, data collection on ethnic identity is likely to simplify people's identity if these rules are implemented in 2021– as their last entry may be just one facet of a mixed and complex ethnic identity.
- Given the differences in how acceptable or clear participants found the use or removal of colour, more information about why data on colour is being collected was requested. Participants pointed out that if they understood how the data was being applied beyond gathering population statistics such as by highlighting disparities in access to education or employment based on ethnicity- then this could alleviate some concerns. This was particularly important for those who may have experienced discrimination or were conscious of the impact of the current political climate regarding Brexit and changes to immigration policy.

1.4 Evaluating question designs

The responses to each question design and iteration were analysed and given a RAG rating in terms of how each new question compared to 2011 census. More specifically each question was evaluated according to:

- Acceptability: Are respondents comfortable or uncomfortable with the use of colour terminology?
- Quality and Clarity: Does the removal of the colour terminology and inclusion of free-text boxes result in greater or fewer respondents unsure/uncertain/confused about which box to tick?
- Comparability: Does the removal of colour terminology change who identifies with the category?

1.4.1 Removing all colour

- Across the groups it was clear that some White and Mixed participants favoured the removal of colour, particularly 'White Other' participants who had previously felt excluded from identifying as British or European under 'White.'
- Yet, the removal of 'White' was viewed as unacceptable and unclear for some White International participants who were uncomfortable identifying under 'Other.'
- The removal of 'Black' and 'Black British' was viewed as unclear and unacceptable by participants from across Black sub-groups.
- Mixed participants favoured the addition of two write-in lines, which now enabled them to adequately
 record the complexity of their identity. Despite this, the quality and clarity of their responses
 remained relatively unchanged from 2011 with some still responding in multiple categories and
 boxes.
- There was additional concern about whether people would ethnically identify under just a high-level 'European' category after Brexit.
- Recent Black Migrants favoured the split of Category D into 'African and Caribbean,' due to how they felt that they could easily record their ethnicity referencing country of birth. Yet they found it unacceptable to only have two examples of African nations listed (e.g. Somali and Nigerian) and this change seemed to have limited impact on the quality of responses from 2011.

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1.4.2 Removing 'Black' and changing category D

- Removing Black and splitting D into 'African and Caribbean' negatively impacted on the acceptability, quality & clarity for Black British participants. This resulted in some Black British participants responding under multiple categories, including ticking 'English' under White (A) and writing in Black British under 'Other' (E).
- There was additional concern about the impact on acceptability and clarity when only one write-in line was included under D. Participants commented that due to the removal of 'Black British' and therefore the reduction of options for this high-level category, the inclusion of only one write-in line was not enough space for them to self-identify.
- Some Non-White Mixed participants found it unacceptable to only include example tick-boxes which began with 'White' (e.g. 'White and Black Caribbean').
- Within these groups, the term 'Afroic' was also tested. This was deemed to be an unacceptable and unclear replacement for the high-level category D title.

1.4.3 Changing Mixed category

- Participants from across Mixed groups preferred the removal of tick-boxes, particularly Non-White Mixed participants who had previously felt 'shut out' by these White examples.
- In general, participants preferred two write-in lines so they could record the complexity of their identity and minimise multiple responses.
- Participants requested further information and guidance about what to write-in, as they were still relatively unsure as to what information about their ethnicity was required.

1.5 Key principles & question design recommendations

Based on the feedback across the groups, four overarching principles have emerged pertaining to the ethnicity question more broadly. In addition to this, specific recommendations about the design of questions and accompanying guidance have also been identified.

1.5.1 Overarching principles

- Consistency: Colour terminology should be consistently applied to categories A, B and D within Ethnicity question
- Equality: Ensure equal access to national identity across all high-level categories
- Transparency: Provide more information about why data on ethnic group, including colour, is being collected
- Clarity: Provide more guidance about what the ethnicity question is trying to collect and how to complete it

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1.5.2 Question design and guidance recommendations

Recommendation	About / Rationale
Do not remove 'Black' from the high-level categories or tick-boxes	 Black participants identify ethnically with colour terminology for political reasons and to remove it may be viewed as an unacceptable attempt to deny people this aspect of their identity
	 It may also result in confusion and errors on the census, as well as an increase in multiple responses
Do not remove 'Black British' from D	 Being able to re-assert a national identity within the ethnicity question is important for respondents - regardless of whether they have just answered this under the national identity question
	 Removing 'British' from one high-level category and not another raises concern about who is able to access this national identity
Do not use 'Afroic' or 'European' as	 Participants had not heard of the term 'Afroic' and questioned its origin and meaning. They are therefore unlikely to identify with the term
replacements for high- level categories	 While some participants may identify as 'European,' the term raises questions about its appropriateness and relevance considering Brexit, as well as suspicion about being a 'mask' for whiteness.
No clear benefit to splitting African and Caribbean into two	■ Some first generation participants with a strong African or Caribbean heritage may see a benefit to splitting these two – however, there is no clear benefit to doing this for other groups. In addition, participants who favoured the split personally expected and wanted their own children to identify as 'Black British.'
Provide two-write in lines under Mixed	 Evidence from 2011 shows that Mixed participants are likely to respond in multiple categories and tick-boxes when completing the census. Providing two write-in lines could help to mitigate this by providing more space for participants to record the complexity of their identity.
Provide clear instructions on what information is required	 Alongside the ethnicity question, clear instructions about what information is required may encourage greater consistency in the ways respondents choose to describe their ethnic identity.

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2. Background and methodology

2.1 Background

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2.2 Aims and objectives

- The primary aim for research was to test how participants reacted to a revised census question (and guidance), in terms of:
- Impact on understanding and acceptability of the ethnic group question
- Ethnic group terminology preferences
- Implications to data quality, respondent burden, data comparability of alternatives to the colour and categorisation terminology used in 2011
- If changes to the question or guidance could encourage write in answers

The responses to each question design and iteration were analysed and given a RAG rating in terms of how each new question compared to 2011 census. More specifically each question was evaluated according to:

Theme	Evaluation Criteria	RAG Rating
Acceptability	 Are respondents comfortable or uncomfortable with the use of colour terminology? Are respondents comfortable with the use of the terms 'European' and 'Afroic'? 	
Quality & Clarity	 Does the removal of the colour terminology result in greater or fewer respondents unsure/uncertain/confused about which box to tick? Does the inclusion of free-text result in less responses or less detailed responses than the previously used tick boxes? Do respondents identify/understand with the terms 'European' and 'Afroic'? 	change from 2011 Red: Worse than 2011
Comparability	Does the removal of colour terminology change who identifies with the category?/ Do changes to the questions lead to respondent changing how they identify?	

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2.3 Methodology

2.3.1 Sample and recruitment

This research involved 18 x 90-minute focus groups across three target groups. Groups were conducted between May and June 2018 with a total of 150 participants across England and Wales who self-identified as 'Black', 'White' and 'Mixed'. These groups were recruited using Kantar Public's network of professional recruiters and each participant was given a £50 incentive to take part.

Purposive sampling was used to understand how participants who were part of each of the target groups would likely respond. In the first instance, groups were sampled by high-level ethnic identification, such as whether a person self-identified as 'Black,' 'White' or 'Mixed.' To further capture both a range and diversity of views and ensure that this research captured how different people within the broad target audience reacted to the questions, each group was also sampled to include a range of ethnic identities *within* these high-level categories. Groups also included a demographic, and where appropriate, generational mix. More specifically the groups were broken down as follows³:

Sample Group Sample Composition & No. of Groups		Locations	Total participants
	1 x Black African	London	10
	1 x Black Caribbean	Cardiff	8
Black	4 x Black Mixed (incl. Black British, Black African, Black Caribbean, Black Other).	London, Cardiff, Birmingham	38
White	6 x White Ethnic (incl. White British, White 'Other', White non-European)	London, Cardiff, Manchester	57
Mixed	6 x Mixed Ethnic (incl. from a mixed background that did/did not include 'White' in definition)	London, Leeds, Cardiff	53

2.3.2 Approach

The aim of this qualitative research was to uncover whether and why participants favoured or rejected the use of colour terminology and categorisation; how they responded to changes to response options and high-level categories from 2011 census and how they understood and rationalised answering questions about ethnicity. The research was not concerned with capturing data on the statistical impact of how participants responded, but instead was focused on gathering insights into opinions and behaviours surrounding colour terminology and the ethnicity question. This approach therefore provides an indicative picture of how people might respond, how the use or removal of colour terminology may impact responses and highlights any potential areas of confusion or contention.

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 $^{^{\}rm 3}$ For a full breakdown of composition please see appendix

In all groups, participants were asked to initially complete question version one, where all colour had been removed, 'White' had changed to British or European and two write-in lines had been added to the Mixed category. Participants were also asked to complete the questions surrounding Q15, as they appeared in the 2011 version of the census. This included:

Q15: How would you describe your national identity?

Q16: What is your ethnic group?

Q20: What is your religion?

Participants were asked to first complete a question without colour terminology, prior to any in-depth discussion, as it enabled researchers to gauge how participants would respond spontaneously. Following initial discussion, participants were given a copy of the 2011 Ethnicity question to complete. This formed the basis of comparison for subsequent question design iterations. For each iteration tested, researchers gathered feedback on the acceptability, quality, clarity and comparability, which included a discussion about how changes to the terms and categories impacted how and where people were likely to identify. The different question designs were only tested amongst those groups they would be likely to directly impact (as shown below), and to mitigate research and ordering effects, within each group researchers rotated which question iteration they tested first. (Please see appendix for example of different question versions).

Please note that while all participants were asked to complete question one (without colour terminology) spontaneously at the start of the group, they were later asked to feedback specifically on its acceptability, quality, clarity and comparability.

Question Design	Question version changes	Sample group tested with
Removing all colour	and 2 y write-in lines for Mixed	
	Question 2. Changing White (A) to European and 2 x write-in lines for Mixed	All groups
Removing Black	Question 3. Category D split into African and Caribbean	Black and Mixed
and changes to High-level Category D	Question 4. Category D not split and 'Black' also removed from Mixed category	Black and Mixed
Changes to Mixed / Multiple Ethnicity	Question 5. All Mixed tick-boxes removed and 1 x write-in line included	Mixed Only

The responses from these groups were analysed by Kantar researchers. This analysis covered both how each group self-identified and conceptualised their ethnicity, their responses to each question version, as well as how the former influenced the latter. The analysis of these groups, the RAG rating given to each question version and verbatim quotes are included in this report.

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3. About the groups

3.1 Sub-groups

Though participants were primarily sampled by whether they identified with one of the high-level categories (White, Mixed, or Black), there was a high level of variation within each of these categories in terms of identity, nationality and experience answering questions about ethnicity. For example, participants who identified as 'Black' may have more specifically identified with Black African, Black Caribbean, Black British, Black Other, Black mixed, or something else.

The following report uses the sub-groups listed in the table below to illustrate how some of these high-level categories can be broken down further. A breakdown of the sub-groups is presented below. These groups are then visually mapped by the level of acceptability and ease of understanding in relation to the use of colour terminology (diagram 3.2). Though potentially reductive of individual identity, the sub-groups help to illustrate how and why changes to categories and response options did not have the same impact on everyone within the high-level group. Specifically, they illustrate some of the key drivers of response to the ethnicity question, in terms of clarity, quality and acceptability. These drivers primarily related to whether an individual (strongly) identified as 'British', whether they perceived colour terminology to apply to them, and the length of time they had lived in the UK.

Table 3.1 Sub-groups illustration

Name of Sub-Group		About them / ethnic identity		Response to 2011 Census		
	Black British	 Identify ethnically with a 'Black' identity for political reasons 	•	Relatively straightforward to complete		
		 Want to assert a Black /Welsh national identity under the ethnicity question 	al identity under the ethnicity (e.g. wrote in Black Bri Welsh - despite concer			
Black Groups		 Some concern amongst Black Welsh that they are being denied of this identity on 2011 census 				
Black	Recent Black Migrant	 Identify ethnically with 'Black' – but may not be as 'political' 	•	Relatively straightforward to complete		
		 Want to assert heritage / country of birth under ethnicity question (especially if born outside of UK) 	•	Identified under 'D' (e.g. wrote in Kenyan)		
		 Yet, may want children to identify as 'Black British' on census 				
SC	White British	May not identify using colour terms	•	Straightforward to complete		
White Groups		 May feel politically uncomfortable associating self with 'whiteness' 	•	Identified under 'A' and ticked 'English, Welsh…'		

	White International	 May identify using 'White' colour terminology Country of birth in a non-White majority country may impact on likelihood to associate self with being 'White' 	 Straightforward to complete Identified under 'A' (e.g. 'under any other' wrote in South African, Australian)
	White Other	 May not identify ethnically as 'White' due to not having 'identifiably' White skin or being on the margins of a White European identity – such as Turkish or Hispanics Impact of marginalisation and not being recognised as 'White' may mean they feel excluded from identifying with this category 	 Challenging to complete Mixed and multiple responses (e.g. Under 'A' and writing in Turkish, under E 'Other' and writing in Hispanic)
sdno	Non-White Mixed ⁴	 Pride in Mixed identity Self-identify referencing a complex mix of race, heritage and nationality 	 Challenging to complete Mixed and multiple response, often with errors (e.g. Under C and writing-in 'Iranian' AND ticking 'Arab' under E)
Mixed Groups	Mixed with British / White	 Pride in Mixed identity but may feel excluded from 'White' identity due to Mixed heritage Self-identify referencing a complex mix of race, heritage and nationality 	 Relatively challenging to complete Mixed and multiple response, (e.g. Under B or under multiple categories, such as, ticking English Under A and Caribbean under D)

These sub-groups are referred to throughout the report to describe how individuals and groups responded differently to new question versions. In some cases, participants shared common experiences with other sub-groups outside of their high-level category - particularly amongst those who felt 'excluded' by the high-level colour categories or response options available to them. This was particularly the case amongst 'Mixed' and 'White Other' participants, who both struggled with recording the complexity of their identity within the 2011 census, causing multiple responses and errors as a result.

'I'm Hispanic so I don't look white. I guess I am under other, despite being European. I have always felt a bit like I don't quite fit into that White category – I don't look, feel or act White and other White people probably don't see me like that either.'

- Hispanic, Manchester

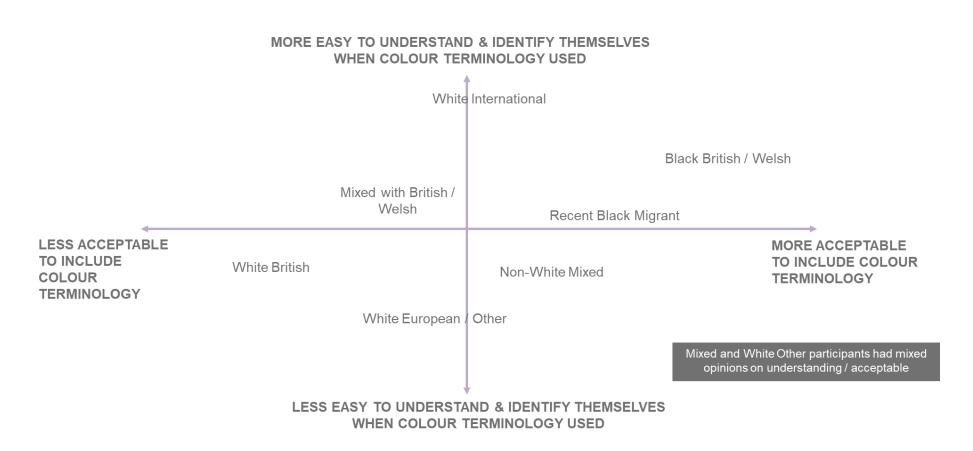
Though there was variation within each of the groups, 'Mixed' represented the broadest category with the greatest internal heterogeneity. Individuals within this group were likely to have complex ethnic identities, and consequently, tended to make more errors when completing the ethnicity question.

9

⁴ Mixed without a white heritage

3.2 How sub-groups responded to use of colour terminology within census

This diagram represents the level of acceptability and ease of understanding in relation to the use of colour terminology for each sub-group. Specifically, this illustrates how participants within the black groups were more likely than participants within the White groups to identify using colour terminology and find its use more acceptable. In comparison, those participants within the Mixed groups often had varied responses to the question of acceptability and ease – reflecting their varied response to the census more generally.



4. Response to removing all colour terms

Key Findings:

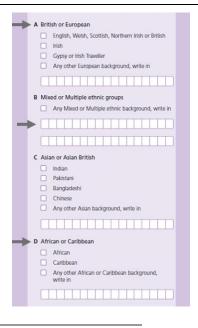
- Complete removal of colour terms did not make the census question more acceptable or easy to understand
- Complete removal of colour terms results in new categories of identification some of which were received positively, while others caused confusion and concern
- Replacement of 'White' enabled those who felt excluded by colour terms to access a 'British' or 'European' identity – yet this change pushed 'White Internationals' into 'Other'
- It was viewed as unclear and unacceptable to remove 'Black British'
- Removing 'Black' was viewed by some as a misinformed attempt to deny that race was not still an important part of identity in the UK
- The introduction of 'British or European' as the title for Category A was viewed by some as a 'mask' for White
- Providing two write-in lines after Mixed was viewed as a positive change to improve quality and clarity
- There was no clear consensus on the benefit to splitting category D 'African and Caribbean

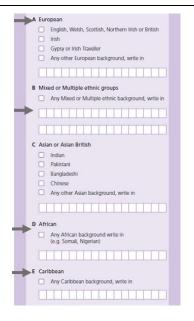
4.1 Testing the removal of colour terms

Two question designs where all colour had been removed from the census were tested across all groups:

Q1: No Colour: White changed to British or European and two write-in lines added for Mixed⁵

Q2: No Colour: White changed to European, two write-in lines for Mixed, category D split





⁵ For responses to the inclusion of two write-in lines, see chapter 6 and for responses to splitting of category D see chapter 5

Q1: No Colour: European and t Mixed	Q2: No Colour two write-in line			_	•	•				
1. RAG RATING	1. RAG RATING					;				
	Black White Mixed					Black	Wh	ite	Mixed	
Acceptability		White Int.	White Other		Acceptability		R. Black Migrants	White Int.	White Other	
Quality & Clarity					Quality & Clarity					
Comparability					Comparability					

4.1.1 Response to replacing 'White' with 'British or European'

The replacement of 'White' with 'British or European' received a mixed response across the sub-groups:

- It had no impact on how 'White British' participants responded to the census
- 'White Other' participants (e.g. Hispanic and Greek), who may have felt excluded by the 'White' high-level category (or felt it did not apply to them) now moved into A from category E 'Other'
- Mixed with British participants, who may have previously identified under 'Mixed or Multiple ethnic
 groups,' such as British Turkish Cypriots, also moved into category A. This is because they could
 assert their British national identity as part of their ethnic identity mirroring how they described
 themselves outside of official forms.

"There was a bit of me that didn't like that I was being pigeon hold into the word 'white', when I don't feel it. Now I can be comfortably in A."

- White Other

In contrast to this, some 'White International' participants, born in predominantly non-White majority countries, such as South Africa or Australia, found this change unacceptable and unclear. For them, this meant they now self-identified under 'Other,' which they did not think was representative of their identity. This was particularly as they did not identify closely with 'Arab' – the only other ethnic group tick-box under this category. This highlights how census respondents tend to look at the other tick-boxes within their high-level category and are influenced by whether they regard them as ethnically similar. This in turn provides an indication about where they should locate themselves.

"I just think it should be more straightforward. I think they should keep it as white, I think that's the correct way to answer ethnicity. It also makes no sense for me to be in Other."

- White International

For a small group of participants from the Black groups, this change from 'White' to 'British or European,' was viewed positively, as it meant that it wasn't only White respondents who were able to identify as

'English, Welsh, Scottish, Northern Irish or British'. However, some also pointed out that this could be viewed as a 'mask' or 'code' for 'White,' as accessing a 'Black British' identity had been simultaneously removed from category D in this question design. This meant that those respondents who identified as Black British, but would also align themselves with an African or Caribbean tick-box, felt that they were less able to access a British ethnic identity because they would either have to choose between 'British or European' or 'African or Caribbean'. These participants therefore suggested that the 'British or European' category would only be selected by White respondents who would identify solely with the categories under A.

4.1.2 Response to removing 'Black British'

The removal of 'Black British' was therefore viewed as unacceptable and unclear to participants from across the Black groups - especially those who strongly identified with this national identity. For some, this was described as an 'unfair' and 'deliberate' attempt to deny these individuals of a British national identity, causing some to respond to the census via multiple categories instead. This included ticking 'English' under Category A and 'African' or 'Caribbean' under D.

"Personally, I get a bit offended because I'm looking at the group here and the first one's British or European, which means that you've got to be White to complete that. Now I'm British, I was born here, my mother was born here, my grandmother was born here in 1908...It makes you feel that you're not part of this society because they don't recognise you as British."

- Black British

While Recent Black Migrants were less concerned about the removal of 'Black British', a small group of these participants did recognise that they would encourage their children, as second-generation migrants, to identify as Black British on the census. The removal of this option therefore caused some concern about what 'status' their children would receive in the country as a result. This was especially concerning for some, given their own experience of difficulties obtaining citizenship in the United Kingdom.

"In terms of what it means for the country and understanding the country think it's very important to have a Black British category [...] my children are going to very much identify as Black British."

Recent Black Migrant

While Black Welsh participants shared similar perspectives to Black British participants about the removal of 'Black British', this represented no real change from 2011. This is due to the fact that in 2011 Census, and in the new question designs, they were unable to record themselves as 'Black Welsh.'

4.1.3 Response to changing 'White' to 'European'

While the feedback to question two was largely similar to question one, the high-level title change from 'White' to only 'European,' was viewed as less clear and acceptable across groups, than if 'British' was also included within this title. Some participants commented that they did not feel particularly 'European', and commented that considering the recent political situation regarding Brexit, they may be even less likely to identify as 'European' in future. Compared to the version with British or European in the title, some participants were now less likely to move out of the categories they identified under in 2011 and into high-level category A. As with the Black groups, for participants who ethnically self-identified using this colour

terminology, it was also deemed to be relatively unclear as to why its removal was necessary

"A lot of British people wouldn't like to be called European, because we're not part of mainland Europe. And who knows what's going to happen in the next few years with Brexit."

White British

4.2 What this means for ONS

Considerations:

- While removing colour terminology would be acceptable to some, its removal would cause concern among Black British
- Participants may not identify with European as an alternative for the White high-level category causing confusion and multiple write-ins
- Replacing 'White' with 'British or European,' while simultaneously removing 'Black British' viewed as unacceptable
- While splitting African and Caribbean may be acceptable to some Black participants, it would have limited impact on data quality if colour is simultaneously removed, as some respondents may move into other categories such as 'Other' (see section below.)
- Providing two write-in lines for Mixed groups may reduce some of the confusion and amount of multiple responses seen in 2011

Response to removing 'Black' and changes to category D

Key Findings:

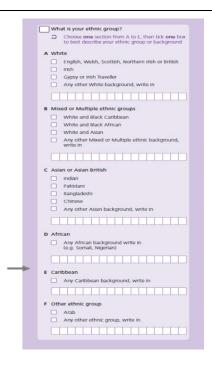
- The complete removal of 'Black' from the ethnicity question negatively impacts on acceptability, quality and clarity
- The complete of removal of 'Black' but not 'White' raises concern and suspicion
- There is no consensus on splitting 'African' and 'Caribbean'
- Removing Black British and changing 'Black, African, Caribbean or Black British' into just 'African or Caribbean' raises concerns about the reduction of response options and the inaccurate amalgamation of these two distinct ethnic groups into one
- 'Afroic' was viewed as an unacceptable and unclear replacement for the original high-level category title

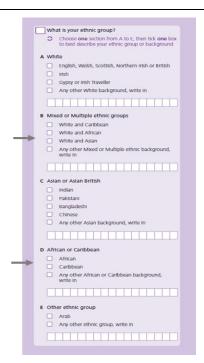
5.1 Testing the removal of 'Black' and changes to category D

Two question designs where 'Black' terminology had been removed from the census, but where White remained, was tested with Black and Mixed groups.

Q3: Removing Black: Category D split into African and Caribbean

Q4: Removing Black (incl. from Mixed): No split of category D





Q3: Removing African and Ca	ribbean		Split into	Q4: Removing split of categor		n Mixed): No
	В	ack	Mixed		Black	Mixed
Acceptability	Black British	R. Black Migrants	Non-White Mixed	Acceptability		
Quality & Clarity				Quality & Clarity		
Comparability				Comparability		

5.1.1 Response to removing 'Black' from category D

As with the removal of 'Black British,' the removal of 'Black' from the census was viewed as unclear and unacceptable to participants from across the Black groups. For participants who ethnically self-identified using this colour terminology, it was deemed to be relatively unclear as to why its removal was necessary – especially as 'White' remained in the census. This indicates how respondents tend to look at other categories within the census to ensure they have located themselves under the correct tick-box and high-level category. As respondents use the other tick boxes and categories as a sense-check for their own response, they are sensitive to the consistency and parity of terms being used across the form. Furthermore, for those who identified strongly as 'Black', this removal raised further questions as to the political motives behind its removal. For instance, some commented that it was a misinformed attempt to deny that race was still an important part of identity in the UK, especially when increasingly they had begun to view their 'blackness' as a political marker of identity, which was important to declare.

"I am black come what may, so I'm going to put it anywhere I can. They can't take that away from me."

Black British

Despite this, Black Migrants pointed out that some may be reluctant to identify themselves as 'Black' on official documents (e.g. job applications) due to fear of discrimination. Therefore, its removal may be deemed a positive change for a minority. However, this group further rationalised that the census serves a specific purpose to reflect who is in the country and how they identify. These participants pointed out that if further information was provided as to why colour was being used in the census and how that data might be used, more reluctant respondents may feel comfortable with readily identifying as 'Black.' For instance, participants were keen to know whether census data is used to highlight deprivation levels and disparities in access to education, healthcare and employment opportunities for certain ethnic groups.

"There could be various reasons why people don't give their ethnicity. Some people might feel nervous, especially if they've had bad experiences applying for jobs or something."

Recent Black Migrant

As with the removal of 'Black British,' the removal of 'Black' also changed where participants identified

themselves on the census. For instance, while not necessarily moving out of category D, as a result of the removal of 'Black,' feedback shows that these participants identified under multiple tick-boxes instead. This included under 'African', 'Caribbean' and 'Other.' For those who identified under 'Other,' given the current data coding rules, this would have been where and how their data was recorded, despite also identifying themselves as African or Caribbean.

5.1.2 Response to splitting category D into 'African' and 'Caribbean'

The splitting of African and Caribbean resulted in a mixed response across the Black groups. Recent Black Migrants, who ethnically identified with their country of birth, tended to favour the split. Splitting the high-level category eased respondent burden and provided Recent Black Migrants with a strong African or Caribbean identity with enough space to self-identify. Despite this, these participants found it unacceptable to include only two African nation examples underneath these categories (e.g. Somali or Nigerian). Some commented that this indicated an attempt to single out or favour certain countries. Others felt that having examples just for the African category was patronising as it assumed that just those from an African background would need examples for how to record their ethnicity. So, while examples of how to write-in overall were welcomed, it was deemed to be condescending to only provide these examples to certain ethnic groups.

In contrast to this, Black British participants did not favour the split of African and Caribbean. For them, the removal of Black British and replacement with just these two categories further heightened their frustration that they were being denied a Black British identity and being nudged to identify as predominantly African or Caribbean instead. In these instances, participants responded in a variety of ways. This included ticking African or Caribbean and writing in Black British or writing in Black British under 'Other.'

"I was born here and so was my Mum and dad, but my grandparents were not, one Caribbean and one African... it's gets too difficult answer, I just think about me as Black British."

Black British

5.1.3 Response to keeping 'African and Caribbean' as one high-level title

For participants across the Black and Mixed groups, removing 'Black' and 'Black British' and keeping African and Caribbean together, with only one write-in line provided, was viewed less favourably than splitting these into two. While the primary concern was that Black British participants were being denied a Black British identity, and being nudged to identify as predominantly African or Caribbean instead, there was additional concern that keeping these two high-level categories together also indicated a reduction of distinct groups into one. Some participants further commented that this was particularly unacceptable because it combines two different continents into one, unlike other high-level categories within the census. As a result, feedback suggests that some Mixed with Black British participants who in 2011 identified under D, now moved into category B, while others responded in multiple categories (including under both A and D, and D and E.) In addition to this, participants pointed out that the 'White' and 'Asian' categories were given far more example tick-boxes and opportunities to specify identity – further underpinning the unacceptability of this change.

"I'm half British and Half Egyptian. In 2011 this meant I was clearly under D. In the last question, I also felt like I could clearly tick African and write Egyptian British."

Mixed with British

5.1.4 Response to 'Afroic' as a high-level title

Within the Black and Mixed groups, the alternative term 'Afroic' was also tested as a potential replacement for 'African' or 'Caribbean.' Across the groups this term was deemed to be unclear and unacceptable – with very few having even heard of the term. Participants therefore cautioned that its use might cause tension and confusion among census respondents.

"To me it read more like a political position"

Recent Black Migrant

5.2 What this means for ONS

Considerations:

- It is unacceptable and confusing to remove 'Black' but not 'White'
- Removing access to a 'Black British' national identity is viewed as unacceptable and unclear especially when 'British' remains in other categories
- Splitting up African and Caribbean may be preferred by those with strong African or Caribbean identity
 but overall it doesn't improve quality, clarity and acceptability
- Replacement of High-Level category with 'Afroic' is unacceptable and unclear

6. Response to changes to Mixed category

Key Findings:

- Participants from across the Mixed groups preferred the inclusion of two-write in lines
- There is some preference amongst Non-White Mixed participants for the removal of example tickboxes
- In lieu of tick-boxes, there is some confusion about what information to write-in to the free response box

6.1 Testing changes to Mixed category

One question design with changes to the Mixed category was tested with only Mixed groups. Please note this chapter includes participant responses to including either one or two write-in lines (as shown in question designs one and two in Chapter 4.)

Q5: Removed Mixed Tick-boxes: One write-in line included

	A White
	English, Welsh, Scottish, Northern Irish or British
	Gypsy or Irish Traveller
	Any other White background, write in
	B Mixed or Multiple ethnic groups
-	Any Mixed or Multiple ethnic background, write in

RAG RATING				
	Mixed			
Acceptability				
Quality & Clarity				
Comparability	Non-White Mixed			

6.1.1 Response to removing example tick-boxes

As previously indicated, as some Non-White Mixed participants found the inclusion of example tick-boxes only beginning with 'White,' marginally unacceptable, the complete removal of these was deemed to be a more acceptable alternative. Participants recognised that example tick-boxes could be both exclusionary and reduce people's ethnic identities into terms they don't necessarily identify with. The removal of all examples therefore resulted in some Non-White participants, who had felt previously excluded by these 'White' leading examples, now identifying under B 'Mixed'. For these participants, this could in turn improve the quality of data collection, given that in 2011, due to not being clear about where to identify they ticked under multiple categories and response options. As a result of this, they would have been recorded with their last tick-box, and not the other tick-boxes which indicated the Mixed nature of their ethnicity.

"I am Iranian and Arab. All those White and examples kind of put me off. I would usually tick Arab in Other and write Iranian. Now I'll go into B and write Iranian Arab.

Non-White Mixed

Despite this, as previously mentioned, it is unclear how much impact the removal of these tick-boxes would have on the quality and clarity of responses in practice, given that some participants pointed out that the tick-boxes did provide them with examples of how they should be communicating their ethnicity. These participants were therefore seeking further information about what information was needed in this write-in line, in lieu of anywhere to tick.

6.1.2 Response to one or two write-in lines

Mixed participants recognised that they often struggled with recording their ethnicity on the census and on official forms, given the different elements of their identity they wanted to communicate. For these participants, there was often no 'set' way of describing their ethnicity – with some using a complex mixture of race, heritage and nationality. This meant when completing the 2011 census, they tended to respond in multiple categories and under more than one tick-box. The complete removal of example tick-boxes and the introduction of write-in lines was therefore viewed as the most acceptable option, as it would ensure that participants had enough space to identify the complexity of their identities under one high-level category only. However, participants commented that one write-in line was not sufficient enough space for them to record the complexity of their ethnic identity. As a result, the inclusion of two write-in lines was requested – especially as participants recognised it may reduce the number of categories and tick-boxes participants were likely to respond to. This may provide ONS with more specific data about respondent's ethnicity.

For instance, when two write-in lines were provided, the following changes in response were observed:

- A participant who ticked 'White and Black African' in 2011 now wrote in 'British White and Black African"
- A participant who ticked 'White and Black African' in 2011 now wrote in 'Portuguese and African"
- A participant who ticked 'White and Asian in 2011 now wrote in 'White Pakistani'

"You can put down what you what to put down rather than being forced to choose a different category. This time you could write British Caribbean[...] you've been able to put down what you feel it right for you"

Non-White Mixed

Despite this, it was unclear how much impact this would have on the quality and clarity of responses in practice, as some participants pointed out that the Mixed tick-boxes (e.g. 'White and Black Caribbean') did provide them with examples of how they should be communicating their ethnicity. These participants were therefore seeking further information, guidance and examples about what information to write in to support the quality and comparability of their data.

6.2 What this means for ONS

Considerations:

- The provision of two-write in lines would enable respondents to record complexity and minimise multiple responses
- Clear guidance about what information to 'write-in' could reduce the diversity and errors in how people record their ethnicity

7. Principles with wider applicability

This research has shown that despite various perspectives surrounding the individual use and application of colour and individual design of questions, there are some shared opinions and concerns about its potential application and ideas for future development of this question more generally. These echo findings from research Kantar Public conducted on behalf of ONS on the addition of new tick-boxes to the 2021 census ethnicity question.

7.1 Accessing national identity

It was clear across groups that being able to re-assert a national identity was important within the ethnicity question, even if participants had already had the opportunity to record this in response to the nationality question. Participants primarily took issue with question versions where 'British' was present in one or some of the high-level categories, but not others (though this was not usually raised in relation to the Mixed category). It should also be noted that, a small group of Black Welsh participants were concerned that this was also the case in 2011 census – in that, they were unable to record themselves as 'Black Welsh' under Category D.⁶ Given this, there may be scope to further develop the application of national identity options. This includes, whether the addition of a distinct 'Black British' tick-box, comparative to the tick-box available under category A, could be added to category D. If this was to be introduced, its impact would also need to be tested amongst other groups (e.g. British Asian.)

7.2 New categories of identification

Participants felt that the removal of colour could create new categories of identification which they were not used to, or in some cases felt relatively uncomfortable with. This could cause confusion and hesitation in responses, as census respondents found themselves taking longer to 'locate' themselves or feeling uncomfortable with where they were eventually responding.

7.3 Inconsistent application

As found in previous research, participants sought parity and equality across the response options, in terms of structure, sub-categories and terminology. The complete removal of colour from one category but not another raised concern about acceptability and clarity and raised some questions about the political motives for doing so. Therefore, if colour is going to remain it needs to be there for everyone.

7.4 Alternatives as a 'coding' for colour

Participants pointed out that colour terminology still underpins how many describe their ethnic identity and replacing it with alternative terms could result in confusion about where to identify. This was most important for our black participants who did not want to feel that they had to 'hide' their identity.

7.5 Need for greater guidance

Across groups, there was uncertainty about what information to write-in, particularly when examples included reference to race, nationality and heritage. This became particularly obvious when colour terminology was

⁶ This is different to the Scottish version of the census whereby Black British and Black Scottish are both available under Category D

inconsistently used across categories. Participants also requested greater clarity on where and how to record their ethnicity. Current guidance asks respondents to select one section and one tick-box, which some took to mean they were being asked to respond in two different categories. This could lead to issues of only one element of an ethnic identity being recorded, given the current data coding rules, which state that only the last tick-box or entry in the census would be recorded.

7.6 Purpose of collecting colour

Given differences in how acceptable or clear participants found the use of colour, more information about why data on colour is being collected was requested. Participants pointed out that if they understood how the data was being applied beyond a count of who is in the country, then this could alleviate some concerns.

7.7 Possibility for new data coding rules

This research has highlighted how due to the complexity of recording ethnicity and uncertainty about where and how people should record their ethnic identity, participants may respond to the census in multiple ways and in more than one category. Given the current data coding rules, which stipulates that only the last response or tick is recorded, this means that the data collected may not be an accurate representation of how people ethnically identify. As such, there may be scope to explore whether changing this coding system may improve the quality of population statistics returned to ONS – especially in readiness for the census moving online in 2021.

8. Recommendations for ONS

8.1 Principles emerging from this research

Based on the feedback across the groups, overarching principles have emerged pertaining to the design of questions and accompanying guidance.

8.1.1 Question design and guidance recommendations

Recommendation	About / Rationale
Do not remove 'Black' from the high-level categories or tick-boxes	 Black participants identify using colour terminology and to remove it may be viewed as an unacceptable attempt to deny people of this aspect of their identity
	It may also result in confusion and errors on the census, as well as an increase in multiple responses due to the fact that respondents may not be able to easily locate themselves under one category
Do not remove 'Black British' from D	 Being able to re-assert a national identity within the ethnicity question is important for respondents - regardless of whether they have just answered this under the national identity question
	 Removing 'British' from one high-level category and not another raises concern about who is able to access this national identity
Do not use 'Afroic' or 'European' as replacements for high- level categories	 Participants had not heard of the term 'Afroic' and questioned its origin and meaning. They are therefore unlikely to identify with the term While some participants may identify as 'European,' the term raises questions about its appropriateness and relevance considering Brexit, as well as suspicion about being a 'mask' for Whiteness.
No clear benefit to splitting African and Caribbean into two	Some first-generation participants with a strong African or Caribbean heritage may see a benefit to splitting these two – however, there is no clear benefit to doing this for other groups. In addition, participants who favoured the split personally expected and wanted their own children to identify as 'Black British.'
Provide twowrite-in lines under Mixed	 Evidence from 2011 shows that Mixed participants are likely to respond in multiple categories and tick-boxes when completing the census. Providing two write-in lines could help to mitigate this by providing more space for participants to record the complexity of their identity.
Provide clear instructions on what information is required	 Alongside the ethnicity question, clear instructions (e.g. via images or written examples) about what information is required may encourage greater consistency in the ways respondents choose to describe their ethnic identity.

9. Appendix

9.1 Full Sample Breakdown

High level category	Sub-groups	Location	Age	Gender	Total
White (Age 18-34)	2 x non-White European 4 x White Other 4 x White Eastern European	London	18-34	MIX	10
White (Age 55+)	7 x White Other 2 x White non-European	London	55+	MIX	9
Black (Black African)	10 x Black African	London	MIX	MIX	10
Black	7 x Black Caribbean 2 x Black Other 1 x Black American	London	MIX	MIX	10
Black	7 x Black British 1 x Black African	Birmingham	MIX	MIX	8
Black	4 x Black African 4 x Black Caribbean 2 x Black British	Birmingham	MIX	MIX	10
White (Age 35-54)	7 x White Other 1 x White non-European 1 x White Eastern European	Cardiff	35-54	MIX	9
White (Age 55+)	6 x White Other 3 x White non-European	Cardiff	55+	MIX	9
Mixed	2 x White and Black Caribbean 2 x White and Asian 3 x White and Black African 1 x Mixed Other	Leeds	MIX	MIX	8
Mixed	2 x White and Black Caribbean 2 x White and Asian 2 x White and Black African 2 x Mixed Other	Leeds	MIX	MIX	8
Black (Black Caribbean)	8 x Black Caribbean	Cardiff	MIX	MIX	8
Black	5 x Black African 1 x Black Caribbean 4 x Black Other	Cardiff	MIX	MIX	10
White (Age 18-34)	8 x White Other 1 x White non-European 1 x White Eastern European	Manchester	18-34	MIX	10
White (Age 35-54)	8 x White Other 1 x White non-European	Manchester	35-54	MIX	10

	1 x White Eastern European				
Mixed	2 x White and Black Caribbean 2 x White and Asian 1 x White and Black African 3 x Mixed Other	Cardiff	MIX	MIX	8
Mixed	2 x White and Black Caribbean 3 x White and Asian 2 x White and Black African 3 x Mixed Other	Cardiff	MIX	MIX	10
Mixed	2 x White and Black Caribbean 2 x White and Asian 1 x White and Black African 5 x Mixed Other	London	MIX	MIX	10
Mixed	4 x White and Black Caribbean 1 x White and Asian 1 x White and Black African 3 x Mixed Other	London	MIX	MIX	9

9.2 Question Designs

Q3: Removing Black: Category D split into African and Caribbean	Q4: Removing Black (incl. from Mixed): No split of category D	Q5: Removed Mixed Tick-boxes: One write-in line included	
What is your ethnic group? Choose one section from A to E, then tick one box to best describe your ethnic group or background. A White □ English, Welsh, Scottish, Northern irish or British irish □ Gypsy or irish Traveller □ Any other White background, write in □ White and Black Caribbean □ White and Black African □ White and Asian □ Ary other Mixed or Multiple ethnic background, write in □ Indian □ Pakstani □ Bangladeshi □ Chinese □ Any other Asian background, write in □ Ary African background write in □ C. Somali, Nigertan) □ F Other ethnic group □ Arab □ Any other ethnic group, write in □ Any other ethnic group, write in	What is your ethnic group? Choose one section from A to E, then tick one box to best describe your ethnic group or background. A White	What is your ethnic group?	