

## **Navigating Brexit: Supporting & Safeguarding UK Higher Education**

11 November 2016

### **KEY MESSAGES**

**The impact of Brexit on the health and vibrancy of UK Higher Education and Research will depend heavily on the outcome of the negotiations to leave the EU, and the future course of government policy.** Universities are faced with increasing uncertainty in the coming years. Depending on the policies adopted, Brexit could mean recruitment and skills gaps from the loss of international staff, the potential loss of income from international students, reduced access to development financing, higher barriers to international collaboration, and lower levels of research funding.

**As an engine of economic growth and driver of UK innovation and excellence, any negative impact on the higher education sector will be felt across the UK, and will have a particular effect on the local and regional economies in which Universities reside.** The Academy of Social Sciences and its Campaign for Social Science appreciate that the future of UK Universities is only one element in the uncertainty ahead of us. However, it is a vital issue given the higher education sector's importance as a driver of UK prosperity.

Given the prolonged period of uncertainty ahead, we make recommendations about the steps that might be taken *now* to support UK Universities and ensure that their long-term well-being is considered in the policy deliberations.

Like others, **we welcome recent pledges by government regarding the fee status and loan eligibility of current EU students, and those starting courses in 2017/18, as well as promises to underwrite certain research awards made under the EU's Horizon 2020 programme.**

However there are further steps the Government can take now to make sure UK science is supported practically, and that the long-term health of higher education is kept to the fore during the Brexit negotiation process. The implications are broader than funding alone – the health of UK higher education institutions rely on our ability to collaborate with European and international colleagues, and to attract the best and brightest researchers, teachers, and students to this country.

### **EVIDENCE: THE POTENTIAL IMPACT OF BREXIT ON HIGHER EDUCATION**

#### ***1. Overall Economic Contribution of the HE sector to the UK and its regional economies***

UK Universities play an important role in the UK economy, filling the jobs pipeline with skilled graduates, providing jobs to University staff and supporting businesses and investment in their local regions, providing an important contribution to UK exports, enhancing the UK's global influence through international collaboration, and undertaking research that leads to innovation, enhanced competitiveness, and new businesses.



**The HE sector is an important component of UK prosperity overall.** Universities UK (UUK) estimates that in 2011/12 HEIs created £73 billion for the UK economy directly and indirectly, through a combination of direct University spending, employment, and income, knock-on effects of staff and university expenditures, and the on- and off-campus expenditures of international students and visitors.<sup>1</sup> Together this comprised ‘2.8% of UK GDP,’ and was responsible for the ‘equivalent [of] 757,268 full time jobs.’<sup>2</sup>

**Moreover, the HE sector plays a pivotal role in regional and local economies, providing an important source of growth and income for their host communities.**

- **Welsh Universities** in 2013/14 generated £4.6 billion in direct and indirect economic outputs and accounted for 46,554 full time equivalent (FTE) jobs in Wales alone, contributing a further £596.9 million in economic output and 5,210 jobs to the UK as a whole.<sup>3</sup> Welsh Universities also accounted for £2.4 billion in Gross Value Added (GVA) to the economy that year.<sup>4</sup>
- **Scottish Universities** accounted for £6.67 billion in GVA to the economy in 2012/13, and accounted for 142,411 FTE jobs in 2011/12.<sup>5</sup>
- **In Northern Ireland**, Queen’s University Belfast and Ulster University combined led to £1.5 billion in direct and indirect economic outputs and accounted for 17,237 full time equivalent (FTE) jobs in NI alone in 2012/13, and contributed an additional £254 million in economic output and 1,698 jobs to the UK as a whole.<sup>6</sup> Together they contributed a total of £845.5 million in direct and secondary GVA to the NI economy in that year.
- **In England**, the HE sector accounted for the following of total percentages of (direct and secondary) regional GVA: 2.6% in the East of England, 3.3% in the East Midlands, 2.8% in London, 3.8% in the North East, 3.1% in the North West, 3% in the South East, 2.6% in the South West, 3% in the West Midlands, and 3.5% in Yorkshire and Humberside.<sup>7</sup>

The impact of HEIs on economic growth has been attributed to a number of factors. A recent study by BiGGAR Economics on the League of European Research Universities (LERU), found these factors to include HEIs’ formation ‘of intellectual and human capital,’ the role played by Universities in the transfer of knowledge between societal actors and innovation activities, their role ‘in the production of knowledge infrastructures’ and in regional and national leadership, and their ability to create a ‘university ecosystem’ in their local environment that makes those regions more attractive to investment and as places to live.<sup>8</sup> Expected economic effects of HEIs are an improved ‘capacity for development,’ ‘regional creativity,’ ‘new business start-ups,’ ‘business innovation,’ ‘productivity gains,’ and ‘direct and indirect spending impacts.’<sup>9</sup> The report found, for example, that the five UK-based LERU Universities (Cambridge, Edinburgh, Imperial, UCL, and Oxford) alone accounted for just over €23 billion in Gross Value Added, and nearly 300,000 jobs, across the EU from all of their activities.<sup>10</sup>

Even without considering the long-term importance of UK universities in stimulating local, regional and national growth and as sources of innovation for long-term economic growth, they are an important immediate source of export earnings. In previous statements of industrial strategy, UK governments have acknowledged the importance of the growth opportunities presented by the investment overseas students make in the UK economy.<sup>11</sup> It was estimated by BIS in 2011 that the UK benefited from £17.5 billion in total education exports, with UUK estimates attributing £10.7 billion of those exports to the higher education sector.<sup>12</sup> Of the £10.7 billion in tertiary education exports, £7.2 billion was the result of the expenditure of non-EU international students on tuition

fees, housing, and off-campus spending.<sup>13</sup> These HE export earnings are also important to regional and national economies, for example generating 4.6% of all 2014 export earnings in Wales at £600 million,<sup>14</sup> and £1.3 billion in export earnings in Scotland.<sup>15</sup> Tertiary education exports are a clear source of income growth, dependent in part on international students. If the UK government wishes to reach its target of increasing education exports to £30 billion by 2020,<sup>16</sup> it will need to carefully consider its future approach to international students.

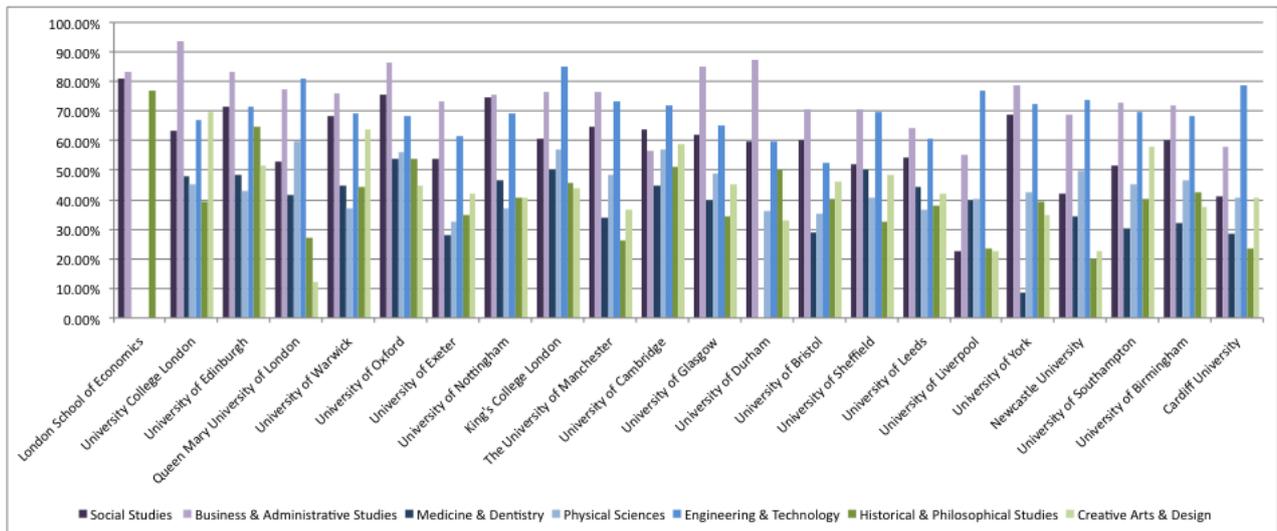
## **II. International Students**

UK higher education institutions have benefitted from the recruitment of EU and other international students over the years. As discussed above, foreign students contribute almost '£11 billion [to] the UK economy, and all UK regions benefit' through student fees and spending in the local economy, among other economic effects.<sup>17</sup> Non-EU international students spend £3.2 billion in tuition fees alone, helping to reduce price pressures in the sector as a whole. To give an example of the regional impact of international students, at Welsh Universities, international students (EU and non-EU) generated £340.4 million in output and 2,851 FTE jobs for the Welsh economy, and an additional £114.6 million in outputs and 997 FTE jobs to the UK economy as a whole.<sup>18</sup>

In total, 6% of all students in UK higher education are from the European Union, and EU students make up 29% of all international students.<sup>19</sup> Since 2012 the overall number of international students in the UK has decreased slightly. The number of EU students has gone down since 2012/13, and the total of non-EU international students has decreased in 2012/13 and 2013/14, with only a slight rise in 2014/15 – even though more international students now seek higher education outside of their home countries.<sup>20</sup> Further reductions consequent on Brexit negotiations, and a more restrictive student visa regime, could not only threaten the economic well-being of UK universities, but also the growth prospects of the economy as a whole.

When we look at the number of international students in *post-graduate* degree programmes, their importance is far starker. In PhD programmes in the Russell Group Universities, for example, the average percentage of international students (EU and non-EU) range from 36%-75% depending on the degree. Within the social sciences (grouped here as social studies and business and administrative studies according to HESA cost centre groupings), the average percentage of international postgraduate students at Russell Group Universities is 64%, with a range from 43% - 82% international students depending on the university. Future restrictions on the numbers of international students could have a large impact on post-graduate programmes across a range of degrees, which could affect the viability of these offerings and the skills pipeline for the future. These students also provide an important contribution of talent, culture, and diversity to the overall campus and student experience.

Graph I. – Total % of International Post-Graduate Research Students, Russell Group 2014/15



Source: HESA data, reported by HESA Cost Centre Groups.

Note: This data was unavailable for Queen’s University Belfast and Imperial College London.

UK students have also benefitted from the Erasmus+ programme, which has been shown to improve their employability<sup>21</sup>, while also providing more intangible benefits.<sup>22</sup> Although the number of students from other EU member states who travel abroad is far greater than the number of UK students, both categories have been trending upwards before June 2016.<sup>23</sup>

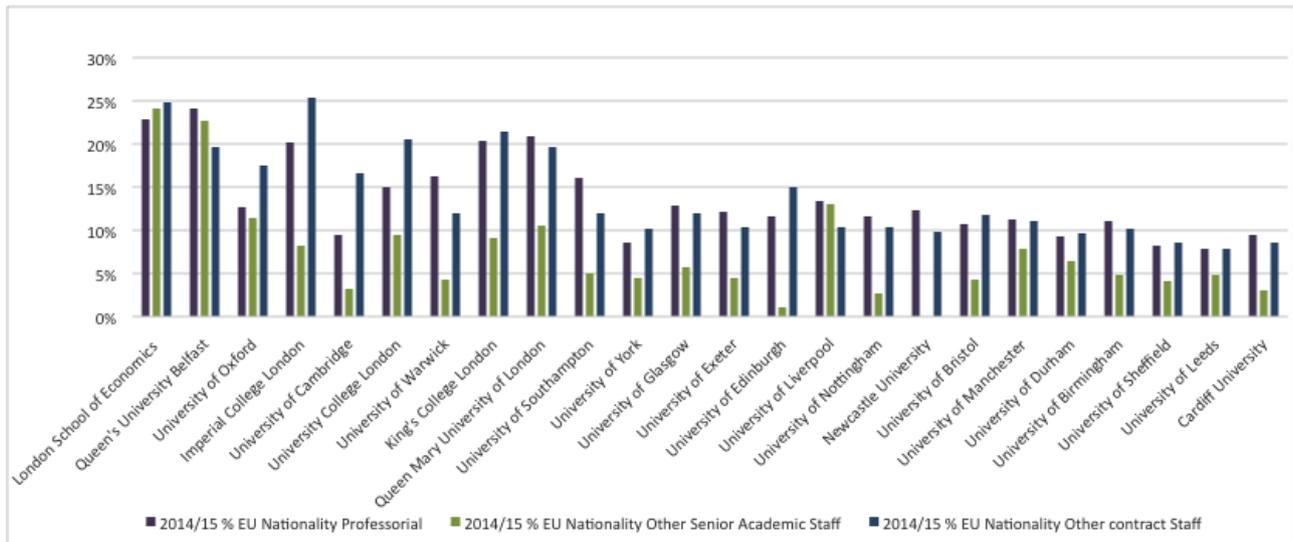
The decision to leave the European Union will have an effect on the freedom of movement of our academic, research, and student communities. The question is whether any negotiated settlement would allow for continued participation in programmes like Erasmus+ for our students to be able to study abroad, and to facilitate EU students to continue to study in the UK. The deeper question is whether, no matter what deal is struck, there is an effort to retain the ability of HEIs to recruit the international students that contribute not only to university life, sustainability, and excellence, but also to their local economies.

### III. International Staff

UK Universities have long benefited from access to a pool of international talent as a result of our membership in the EU, and visa regimes that allowed for ease of movement of academic staff across international borders. Moreover, ‘participation in EU Framework Programmes has enriched the talent pool for UK research, particularly through Marie Skłodowska-Curie actions, which have attracted top talent to the UK and allowed UK researchers to engage in a larger interdisciplinary research community.’<sup>24</sup> Ease of travel has also facilitated field research within Europe and beyond, enabling UK postdoctoral researchers to find research and teaching jobs abroad, fostering international collaboration.



Graph II. – % Staff that are EU Nationals by contract level, Russell Group



Across the UK HE sector, 15% of academic staff are EU nationals, and in total 27% of academic staff are from outside the UK.<sup>25</sup> In the social sciences, 16% of all teaching and research staff are from elsewhere in the European Union (in total 28% of social sciences academic staff are international).<sup>26</sup> For the categories of ‘science and maths’ and ‘engineering and technology’ combined, the figures are 19% and 36% respectively.<sup>27</sup> These numbers reflect the need to recruit the best and brightest international academic minds, many of whom have maths, sciences, and quantitative social science skills needed in the UK.

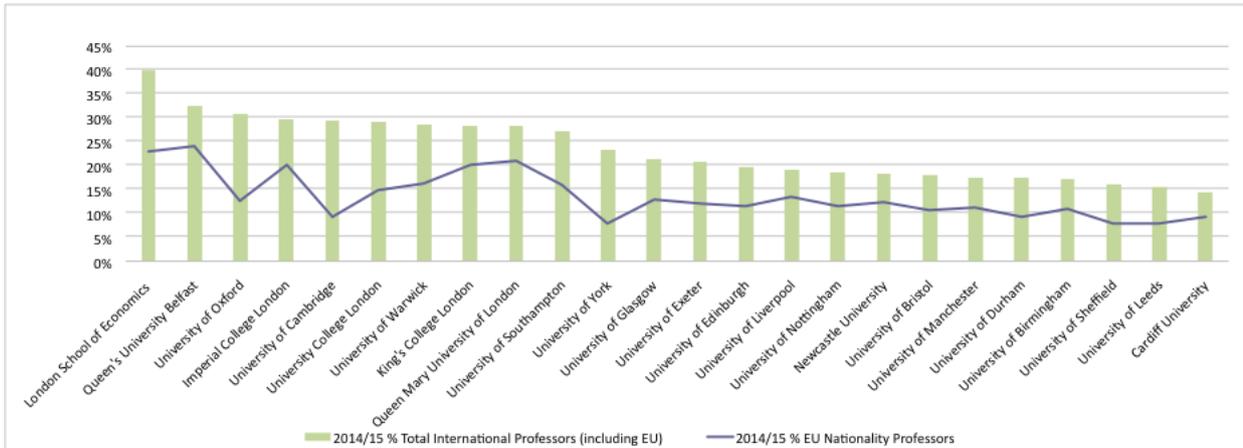
Within the Russell Group, an average of 14% of professors are EU nationals, but the percentages at individual institutions ranges from 8% - 24% of professors. An average of 7% of other senior academic staff, and 14% of other academic contract staff members are EU nationals (see Graph II).

The population of *total international* academic staff within the Russell Group is higher still. The total percentage of international Professorial staff ranges from 14% - 40%, with an average of 23% (see Graph III). The total percentage of other senior academic staff ranges from 4% - 31%, with an average of 13% (see Graph IV). The total percentage of other academic contract staff, which includes researchers and the contract academic staff who often fill important gaps in teaching, ranges from 4% - 45% depending on the institution, with an average of 26% internationals across the whole Russell Group (see Graph V).

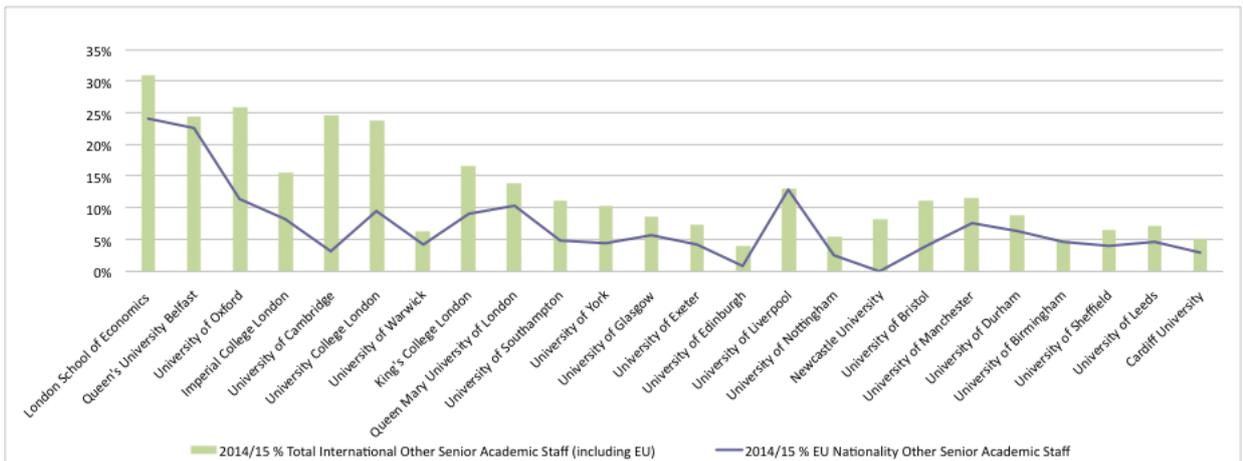
This raises a number of important issues for UK higher education, as Britain seeks to negotiate its exit from the EU. First, it demonstrates the importance of international talent to these universities, and the importance of being able to draw on a global talent pool. Second, if academic staff, whether UK citizens or others, perceive incentives to leave the UK – because of the uncertain environment, a drop in relative salary due to a declining pound and higher cost of living, or a potential inability or greater difficulty in accessing research funding in the future – the UK will face a large skills gap, particularly centering on just those skills we need most in the years ahead. Given the high level of PhD students among the Russell Group Universities that hold international passports, it will be difficult in the near and medium term to fill this skills gap domestically – and to do so in the long term would require a significant surge in investment, funding, and recruitment.



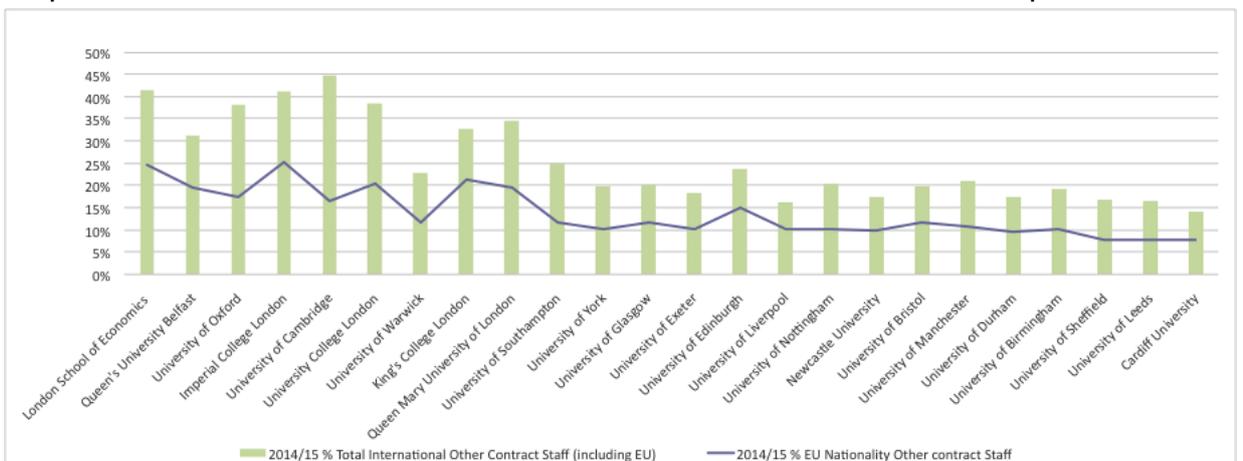
Graph III. – Total % of International and EU Professors, Russell Group



Graph IV. – Total % of International and EU Other Senior Academic Staff, Russell Group



Graph V. – Total % of International and EU Other Contract Staff, Russell Group



**RECOMMENDATIONS FOR GOVERNMENT ACTION:**

1. **Government should ensure participation in the Brexit negotiations of a representative of the UK higher education and science community.** UK science and universities are not only public goods, they are also drivers of economic growth and innovation. Whether it is the Minister for Universities, Science, Research and Innovation or someone else, it is imperative that there is a member of the UK negotiating team committed to, and knowledgeable about, research. To support this, we would also welcome the inclusion of a Deputy Director (or Directors) for Research, Innovation, and Higher Education within the Department for Exiting the European Union (DExEU).
2. **Government should explicitly state its appreciation of the importance of research funding, collaborations, staff and students for UK science and universities, and for UK economic growth and well-being.** It could recognise that, despite the uncertainty ahead, it is committed to ensuring the continued health and global position of UK science. A clear affirmation of this resolve and intent would be reassuring, and give focus to future policy development. While some sectors have been given detailed and comprehensive assurances and letters of comfort, current undertakings in regards to the higher education sector have not gone far enough to ease concern and provide the medium term certainty required to maintain stability and forward momentum in such a vital component of the UK and regional economies.
3. **Government should confirm that, whether through a European Economic Area-type deal or otherwise, it will be mindful of the importance of EU and other international staff in UK universities and the research sector.** Sir Paul Nurse, director of the new Francis Crick Institute, has highlighted the importance of ease of movement by scientists for such centres of excellence, which depend on the ability to draw from an international pool of talent.<sup>28</sup> Universities, research institutes, and many businesses depend on international recruitment to fill gaps in vital scientific and social scientific skills. **Government could for example make a statement of its intent to develop appropriate visa policies for UK universities and research, should that be necessary.** This will require liaison not only between the Secretary of State for Exiting the European Union, the DfE and BEIS, but also the Home Office – and those discussions should start now.

UK HEIs will still want to hire the best talent to teach and work at our higher education and research institutions in a post-Brexit environment, given the global labour market for science and research. Post-referendum immigration policy will need to consider safeguards to permit hiring of the strongest possible talent for UK positions, including for instance ensuring that any salary thresholds for Tier 2 visas remain within an ‘appropriate range’ for those working at HE institutions. Providing new and additional safeguards to protect a withdrawal of EU talent from the UK may also be needed, including a similar exemption for other skilled educators and highly-skilled scientific and social science researchers in other research institutions that often collaborate closely with HEIs.

4. **Government should provide a further pledge to safeguard the fee status and loan eligibility of UK students applying for courses in the 2018/19 academic year.** EU students who apply to UK universities this year are still eligible for loans on the same terms as UK students. But **universities and students need more medium-term certainty, and the same undertaking about loan eligibility could be given now, to cover the period before the UK formally leaves the EU.** In addition, the DfE, BEIS and the Home Office should actively work together to consider the implications for the visa regime for all international students, in order to ensure that UK



universities continue to remain globally open and competitive institutions. If there are concerns about post-graduation employment of international students, those could be addressed separately, without jeopardising the contribution made by non-UK students to the health (and not only the financial health) of UK universities and science. This will again help provide some stability to the UK Universities in the near term through the negotiation process, allowing more time to plan for future changes in fee structures, admissions, receipts, and student body composition.

5. Though research is the remit of a separate inquiry, there is a close connection between University research and its institutional reputation, and it would be a disservice to decouple the two completely. We have argued elsewhere that **Government should also announce that it will do all it can to protect and replace EU funds for research after Horizon 2020**. Promises were of course made about this in the course of the 'Leave' campaign. But while we appreciate there is concern over the economy and the destination of any funds that might revert to UK control, UK science (including social science) is a net beneficiary of EU funds, receiving an estimated €3.4 billion more than the UK paid into the EU in funding for research, development and innovation activities between 2007 and 2013.<sup>29</sup> Ideally, negotiations would result in the UK's full participation in the upcoming ninth Framework Programme as an associated country, but we recognise that this will be a consequence of the negotiations as a whole. Government could, however, announce its intent to safeguard funding for research as a high priority, by ring-fencing the funds the UK already contributes via the Framework programmes for UK research beyond Horizon 2020, and stating that it will consider a 'top up' to make up for the additional money the UK received as a net beneficiary of EU funding, if full participation in future FPs is not possible.
6. **The issue of collaborations and infrastructure is more difficult** as, on our analysis, access to the framework programmes is likely to be linked to negotiations over freedom of movement.<sup>30</sup> The Minister for Universities, Science, Research and Innovation is right to publicise his desire to know of all examples where collaborations have been put at risk in the shadow of the referendum, and which ignore the fact that the UK is still a full member of the EU with full entitlements to apply for EU funding. **We recommend DfE / BEIS collate evidence of such cases from universities (where applications to EU programmes and collaborations have been threatened by misunderstandings of the legal situation), and actively raise them with the EU Commissioner for Research, Innovation and Science**. In addition, the Minister for Universities, Science, Research and Innovation should ensure the compilation of *real-time statistics* about applications for EU funding from UK applicants (including the numbers applying, the number where UK researchers are the lead or host, and the success rates of these applications) so that any decline before our final exit from the EU can be acted upon in a timely manner.
7. **Moreover, as access to European Investment Bank financing for development will be greatly reduced when the UK is no longer an EU member country, the UK government may want to consider how it can provide, facilitate, or encourage cheaper financing to universities for large development projects** that can provide large returns not only to HEIs, but to the regional economies in which they are situated.

In sum, Brexit could mean the potential loss of income from international students, recruitment and skills gaps from loss of international staff, reduced access to development financing, higher barriers to international collaboration, and lower levels of research funding – with all of these factors having a negative impact on competitiveness, reputation, and health of the UK University sector that helps drive UK regional and national growth. At the same time, Universities face additional uncertainties, as they seek to navigate the impact of the Higher Education and Research Bill, changes to the Research Excellence Framework, and the introduction of the Teaching Excellence Framework. In

the long-term, Government will need to address the looming funding gap facing UK Universities if ease of movement of UK staff and students is drastically reduced, and it is unable to secure full UK participation in *future* EU framework programmes. **But the steps above could be taken immediately, and without prejudice to the negotiations.**

To read the analysis behind these recommendations, please see our brief [‘The EU Referendum – Leave: What next for UK social science?’](#) published on June 24<sup>th</sup>, our further June briefing [‘The Implications of the EU Referendum for UK Social Science.’](#) our September briefing [‘Making the best of Brexit: Supporting UK Science, Higher Education and Research for the Future.’](#) These are available at: [www.acss.org.uk](http://www.acss.org.uk).

The Academy of Social Sciences (AcSS) is the national academy of academics, learned societies and practitioners in the social sciences. Its mission is to promote social science in the United Kingdom for the public benefit. It is composed of over 1,100 individual Fellows and 42 Learned Societies, together representing around 90,000 social scientists. The Academy’s Campaign for Social Science, which is sponsored by a coalition of 51 universities, learned societies, charities and publishers, furthers this mission by promoting policies that support social science in the UK.

<sup>1</sup> Universities UK. The Impact of Universities on the UK Economy (London: Universities UK Facilities Unit, April 2014), 2,4.

<sup>2</sup> Universities UK. The Impact of Universities on the UK Economy (London: Universities UK Facilities Unit, April 2014), 2.

<sup>3</sup> Universities Wales. The Economic Impact of Higher Education in Wales (Cardiff: Viewforth Consulting for Universities Wales, October 2015), 22-23.

<sup>4</sup> Universities Wales. The Economic Impact of Higher Education in Wales (Cardiff: Viewforth Consulting for Universities Wales, October 2015), 22-23.

<sup>5</sup> Universities Scotland. Grow, Export, Attract, Support: Universities’ contribution to Scotland’s economic growth (Edinburgh: Universities Scotland, September 2013), 3.

<sup>6</sup> These calculations were made from two separate reports. Queen’s University Belfast in 2012/13 generated £842.6 million in direct and indirect economic outputs and accounted for 9,258 full time equivalent (FTE) jobs in NI alone, and contributed an additional £145.1 million in economic output and 992 jobs to the UK as a whole. [Universities UK. The Economic Impact of Queen’s University Belfast on the Northern Ireland Economy (London: Viewforth Consulting for Universities UK, March 2015), 12-13]. Ulster University in 2012/13 generated £701.4 million in direct and indirect economic outputs and accounted for 7,979 full time equivalent (FTE) jobs in NI, and contributed a further £108.9 million in economic output and 706 jobs to the UK as a whole. [Universities UK. The Economic Impact of Ulster University on the Northern Ireland Economy (London: Viewforth Consulting for Universities UK, March 2015), 12-13.]

<sup>7</sup> Universities UK. The Economic Impact of the North West Higher Education Sector (London: Viewforth Consulting for Universities UK, April 2014), 4-8.

<sup>8</sup> BiGGAR Economics. Economic Contribution of the LERU Universities; A report to LERU (Midlothian: BiGGAR Economics, 10 July 2015), 17-18.

<sup>9</sup> BiGGAR Economics. Economic Contribution of the LERU Universities; A report to LERU (Midlothian: BiGGAR Economics, 10 July 2015), 17-18.

<sup>10</sup> BiGGAR Economics. Economic Contribution of the LERU Universities; A report to LERU (Midlothian: BiGGAR Economics, 10 July 2015), 21.



- <sup>11</sup> HM Government. *Industrial Strategy: government and industry in partnership; International Education: Global Growth and Prosperity* (London: HM Government, July 2013).
- <sup>12</sup> HM Government. *Industrial Strategy: government and industry in partnership; International Education: Global Growth and Prosperity* (London: HM Government, July 2013), 5; Universities UK. *The Impact of Universities on the UK Economy*, 2.
- <sup>13</sup> Universities UK. *The Impact of Universities on the UK Economy*, 2.
- <sup>14</sup> Universities Wales. *The Economic Impact of Higher Education in Wales* (Cardiff: Viewforth Consulting for Universities Wales, October 2015), 1.
- <sup>15</sup> Universities Scotland. *Grow, Export, Attract, Support: Universities' contribution to Scotland's economic growth* (Edinburgh: Universities Scotland, September 2013), 2.
- <sup>16</sup> Rebecca Ratcliffe. 'Education exports to rise by two-thirds, says Jo Johnson.' *The Guardian*, 1 June 2016. <https://www.theguardian.com/higher-education-network/2015/jun/01/education-exports-to-rise-by-two-thirds-says-jo-johnson>
- <sup>17</sup> International Unit, *International Higher Education in Facts and Figures* (London: Higher Education International Unit, 2015), 28.
- <sup>18</sup> Universities Wales. *The Economic Impact of Higher Education in Wales* (Cardiff: Viewforth Consulting for Universities Wales, October 2015), 17-18.
- <sup>19</sup> 'Free Online Statistics - Students & qualifiers', accessed May 31, 2016, <https://www.hesa.ac.uk/stats>. (See: Student Publication, Table B).
- <sup>20</sup> Universities UK, *The Funding Environment for Universities 2014: International Students in Higher Education: The UK and Its Competition* (London: Universities UK, 2014), 11; and 'Free Online Statistics - Students & qualifiers', accessed May 31, 2016, <https://www.hesa.ac.uk/stats>. (See: 'Region of domicile of non-UK domicile students').
- <sup>21</sup> European Commission, *The Erasmus Impact Study: Effects of mobility on the skills and employability of students and the internationalisation of higher education institutions* (Luxembourg: Publications Office of the European Union, 2014), [http://ec.europa.eu/education/library/study/2014/erasmus-impact\\_en.pdf](http://ec.europa.eu/education/library/study/2014/erasmus-impact_en.pdf). See also: International Unit, *Gone International: the value of mobility; Report on the 2013/14 graduating cohort* (London: UK Higher Education International Unit, 2016), accessed May 31, 2016, <http://go.international.ac.uk/gone-international-2016-value-mobility>.
- <sup>22</sup> 'The Guardian view on cultural ties and Europe: in praise of shared values and ideals,' *The Guardian*, May 30, 2016.
- <sup>23</sup> International Unit. *International Higher Education in Facts and Figures* (London: Higher Education International Unit, 2015), 16.
- <sup>24</sup> *Government Review of the Balance of Competences between the United Kingdom and the European Union* (Joint National Academies Submission to the Department of Business, Innovation & Skills Call for Evidence on Research and Development, 2013), 2.
- <sup>25</sup> HESA, *Staff in Higher Education* (Cheltenham: HESA 2015). (Numbers compiled by Universities UK).
- <sup>26</sup> HESA. *Staff in Higher Education*. (Numbers compiled by Universities UK).
- <sup>27</sup> HESA. *Staff in Higher Education*. (Numbers compiled by Universities UK).
- <sup>28</sup> Ewen Callaway. 'London super-lab opens under cloud of Brexit: Research begins at the unabashedly international Francis Crick Institute.' *Nature*, September 1, 2016. <http://www.nature.com/news/london-super-lab-opens-under-cloud-of-brex-it-1.20530>.
- <sup>29</sup> This was primarily through the EU's Framework programmes, but also through EU Structural Funds designated for research & development. See: The Royal Society, *UK Research and the European Union: The Role of the EU in Funding UK Research* (London: The Royal Society, 2013), 12-13.
- <sup>30</sup> See: Dr Ashley Thomas Lenihan and Sharon F Witherspoon MBE FAcSS. *The EU Referendum – Leave: What next for UK social science? Professional Briefing # 9* (London: Academy of Social Sciences, June 2016). <https://www.acss.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2016/07/Professional-Briefings-9-EU-Referendum-Leave-what-next-for-UK-social-science.pdf>