



Home Office

Social and Public Service Impacts of International Migration at the Local Level

Research Report 72

**Sarah Poppleton, Kate Hitchcock, Kitty Lymperopoulou, Jon
Simmons, Rebecca Gillespie**

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Forward

When speaking about migrants and the impact of migration, migrants are often referred to as if they are a unified group. This is in part because immigration policy creates a clear legal boundary between the rights and freedoms of migrants and the population who are permanently resident in the country. However, this view is also to some degree a product of the limitations in data sources, which are usually unable to capture the significant differences in impacts and experience within the migrant population. This can be because the administrative systems from which some data are drawn were not designed to identify, or are unable to clarify at the point of recording, a person's immigration status or nationality. In other cases, sample surveys often lack sufficient numbers of respondents to identify in a robust manner the differences shown by smaller sub-groups within the population.

However, like other groups within the population, migrants do not comprise a singular type with similar impacts, nor are migrant populations spread evenly (or received evenly) across the country. Some parts of the country have had relatively little experience of migration. In other places, populations have a long experience of migration and are 'hyperdiverse' with large numbers of migrants. Those migrants arrive for a variety of reasons, some to work, some to study, some to join or make a new family, others to receive protection from persecution. Their varied characteristics have a considerable influence on whether they integrate well and the benefits or burden that they bring to a particular community.

This research is the first attempt to address some of these issues from a more rigorous analytical perspective. It provides an evidence-based and more finely tuned assessment of the different population effects of migration on local authority areas across England and Wales than has previously been available. It also provides a framework as a starting point to help to develop an understanding of the impacts that different types of migrants can have on local areas and their public services.

It is hoped that this report will not only help to inform current debates about the role that migration can play, but also help to provide the groundwork for further research to explore these differences and enable the UK's response to migration to become better attuned to its innate diversity. The 2011 Census for England and Wales, when its richer datasets are released later this year, will also allow these issues to be explored further, in new ways.

Finally, we would like to thank those local authorities that participated in this research – both those that came to the initial workshop on 1 July 2011 and those that were subsequently visited – their contribution is greatly valued.

JON SIMMONS

Head of Migration and Border Analysis, Home Office

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Keywords

‘social impacts of migration’
‘local impacts of migration’
‘migrant impacts on public services’
‘migrant geography’
‘where migrants live’
‘migration typologies of local authorities’

Summary

This research examines the social and public service impacts of migration at the local level. It aims to fill two important knowledge gaps in understanding the impacts of migration by:

- examining migrant composition and impacts at the local, rather than the national, level; and
- examining the impact of different types of migrant (for example, asylum seeker, worker, student), rather than focusing on migrants as a homogeneous group.

The first aim is addressed by the development of a local authority (LA) typology, which uses cluster analysis to classify the 348 LAs within England and Wales into 12 discrete groups on the basis of key migration and socio-economic indicators, reflecting the different volumes and types of migrants they have received. The second aim is addressed by a summary of relative impacts by migrant type, based on primary research with LA representatives and migration experts. This describes the potential impacts of six types of migrant on selected public services (health, education, social services, housing and policing) and on the local economy and social cohesion. The report draws this together with the LA typology to explore the differential effects of migration across LA clusters, and suggests ways in which this work might be used to inform migration policy.

Key findings

- Within the LA typology, around 50 per cent of the population of England and Wales live in areas experiencing relatively high migration flows, as defined in Section 2 of this report. Of these, there are 7 'high migration' clusters, containing 127 LAs (36% of all LAs).
- Around 30 per cent of the population live in areas with moderate migration flows. There are three 'moderate migration' clusters, containing 121 LAs (35% of all LAs).
- Around 20 per cent of the population live in areas with low migration levels. There are 2 'low migration' clusters containing 100 LAs (29% of all LAs).
- The table below outlines the clusters in the LA typology.

Overview of the clusters in the local authority typology¹

Cluster name	Number of LAs in cluster (and as a proportion of the national total)	Cluster population (and as a proportion of the national total) ²	Examples of LAs in cluster ³
1. Superdiverse London	13 (4%)	3,221,800 (6%)	Brent, Ealing, Hackney, Tower Hamlets, Waltham Forest
2. Cosmopolitan London and Periphery	8 (2%)	1,408,400 (3%)	Camden, Kensington and Chelsea, Oxford, Wandsworth
3. London Suburbs and Satellite Towns	15 (4%)	3,148,400 (6%)	Croydon, Enfield, Harrow, Luton, Slough
4. Diverse Conurbation Centres	17 (5%)	6,767,700 (12%)	Bradford, Birmingham, Manchester, Liverpool,
5. High Turnover Provincial and Student Towns	20 (6%)	3,137,700 (6%)	Cheltenham, Exeter, Lancaster, Southampton, York,
6. Asylum Dispersal Areas	28 (8%)	6,379,000 (12%)	Bolton, Plymouth, Rotherham, Swansea,
7. Migrant Worker Towns and Countryside	26 (7%)	2,841,200 (5%)	Boston, Dover, Fenland, Rugby
8. Rural and Coastal Retirement Areas	44 (13%)	5,237,200 (10%)	Arun, Chichester, Cornwall, Teignbridge
9. New, Large, Free-standing and Commuter Towns	28 (8%)	4,385,800 (8%)	Crawley, Dartford, Gloucester, Ipswich, Warrington, Woking,
10. Prosperous Small Towns	49 (14%)	6,364,800 (12%)	Cotswolds, St Albans, West Berkshire
11. Industrial and Manufacturing Towns	46 (13%)	6,396,600 (12%)	Ashfield, Bridgend, Hartlepool, Merthyr Tydfil,
12. Low Migration Small Towns and Rural Areas	54 (16%)	5,952,400 (11%)	Braintree, Gedling, Stroud, Tewkesbury

The summary of relative impacts considers the ‘type of migrant’ and their impact on various public services, although their impact will, of course, depend on the type of area that they are in and other factors. The summary focuses on the ‘composition effects’ of six types of migrant, based on the extent to which each group’s needs are similar or different to the non-migrant population’s needs, indicating that type of migrant’s proportionate or disproportionate demand on services (Migration Advisory Committee, 2012). In summary this research suggests the following.

- Legitimate international students and non-European Economic Area (EEA) skilled workers are likely to have low impacts on public services and social cohesion, making a lower demand on most services than an average UK resident. However, population effects are not considered here and the overall impact could be larger if numbers arriving in a particular locality are high, and in particular might have implications for other services not covered in this report, such as transport links, refuse collection and local planning decisions.

1 High, medium and low migration clusters are shaded orange, purple and green, respectively. Definitions of high, medium and low migration clusters are given at Section 2 of this report.

2 Total percentage exceeds 100 due to rounding.

3 For a detailed list of all LAs in England and Wales and where they fall in the typology see Tables 2 to 4 in Section 2 of this report.

- Low-skilled migrant workers present a mixed picture. They are regarded as bringing economic benefits to some sectors, particularly in times of economic growth, but can also have higher impacts on health, housing and social cohesion in a variety of ways. The negative impacts will also be greater for illegal workers, including those who arrived on a student visa but whose primary intention was to work, as these will often live in poor conditions, sometimes work illegally and therefore not contribute taxes, and poorly integrate with the community in which they live.
- Asylum-seeking and refugee families, and asylum seekers or refugees without children are likely to have the highest impact on services compared with other groups, because of their particular circumstances and levels of need. In addition to the systems of support that are available to asylum seekers, their highest impact is in relation to health services.
- Evidence from the literature and discussions with LAs suggest that an area's local migration history is particularly influential in governing the impacts of migration, particularly in terms of social cohesion. Given this, it might be expected that high migration clusters with limited previous histories of migration ('Asylum Dispersal Areas' and 'Migrant Worker Towns and Countryside') experience the most noticeable impacts at the moment. Impacts from the arrival of new residents may be felt less in high migration areas with a longer history of migration, which are more ethnically diverse (for example, 'Superdiverse London' and 'Diverse Conurbation Centres'), and where LAs are experienced in dealing with the needs and challenges of a diverse population, regardless of their geographic origins.
- However, the nature and impacts of migration will change over time. The types of migrants received by a particular local area change over time, as do the individual migrants themselves to the degree that they integrate or move elsewhere. Future revisions of the typology could lead a LA to be allocated to a different grouping. In this way, the typology presented here is not static.

1. Introduction and aims

This research examines the social and public service impacts of migrants at the local level. For the purpose of this report, migrant impacts are defined as ‘effects’, which may be a combination of financial effects, and other factors like time, administrative load and effects on communities. Migrants are defined as those who have come to the UK as foreign nationals to live for 12 months or more. The question of when a migrant ceases to be a migrant is open to debate, but broadly speaking, research participants in this project were asked to focus on migrants who have arrived in the last ten years.

International migration is usually only measured at the national level. However, the way in which migrants are distributed across the country is not uniform. As the national population statistics have shown (Table 1), a large number of migrants cluster in and around London and others go to areas where there are opportunities to work, for example, the East of England in the case of the EU Accession state nationals,⁴ or where there are established migrant communities. Each local area will have different types of migrants within its population, will receive varying levels of new migration and will also have distinctive socio-economic characteristics that are likely to shape the scale and nature of the impacts of migration on local authority (LA) services. In view of this, a first aim of this research is to explore the different geographic patterns of migration at the local level.

4 Accession state nationals are from those countries that joined the EU in 2004 and 2007 (see footnotes 7 and 8, below).

Table 1: Estimated distribution of non-British national residents across the UK (January to December, 2011)⁵

	British	Non-British	EU14 ⁶	A8 ⁷	EU26 ⁸	Non-EU
UK	56,977,000	4,772,000	1,091,000	1,038,000	2,283,000	2,489,000
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
North East	4%	2%	1%	1%	1%	2%
North West	11%	7%	7%	7%	7%	7%
Yorkshire & The Humber	9%	6%	3%	9%	6%	6%
East Midlands	7%	6%	4%	8%	6%	5%
West Midlands	9%	7%	7%	8%	7%	7%
East of England	9%	9%	9%	12%	11%	8%
London	11%	37%	41%	24%	34%	40%
South East	14%	12%	13%	11%	12%	13%
South West	9%	5%	5%	6%	6%	4%
England	83%	91%	91%	86%	89%	92%
Wales	5%	2%	2%	2%	2%	2%
Scotland	9%	5%	5%	8%	6%	5%
Northern Ireland	3%	2%	0%	4%	2%	1%

Much research and commentary discusses migrants as a single group, but migrants arrive in the UK for a range of purposes (for example, as a student, worker, asylum seeker) and different types of migrant have different characteristics and impact on public services in different ways. Therefore, a second aim of this research is to provide comparative evidence on the impacts of migration by migrant type.

Recent migration data show that the UK has experienced a sustained period of high net migration, with total annual net migration exceeding 100,000 for every year since 1998 (Office for National Statistics, 2012b) and peaking most recently at 255,000 for the year ending September 2010. Since then, net migration has fallen – to 163,000 in the latest available statistics, for the year ending June 2012.

As a result of the enlargement of the EU there has also been a particularly high inflow of European migrants over recent years. For example, between the accession of Poland to the EU in 2004 and 2011, the Polish national population of the UK increased from 69,000 to 687,000, and Poles now constitute the highest proportion of all foreign nationals in the UK (Office for National Statistics, 2012c). At the same time, migration from more traditional source countries has also continued to grow (ibid.).

5 Based on Table 2.1 'Estimated population resident in the UK by nationality, January 2011 to December 2011'. Office for National Statistics (2012a). Note that percentages may be less or greater than 100, due to rounding.

6 EU14 consists of those European countries that belonged pre-2004 (excluding the UK).

7 A8 consists of the Eastern European countries that joined the EU in 2004: Czech Republic; Estonia; Hungary; Latvia; Lithuania; Poland; Slovakia; and Slovenia).

8 EU26 consists of EU14; A8, Cyprus and Malta (joined in 2004); and Bulgaria and Romania (joined in 2007).

Against this backdrop, public opinion polls show that immigration has been an issue of high public concern, and that the perceived impact of migration on public services is a key issue. In February 2011, 75 per cent of adults deemed immigration a problem, second only to the economy and ahead of law and order, unemployment and the Health Service; the burden on public services was the most popular reason given for viewing immigration as a problem, at 44 per cent. There were differences by location of respondents, with 88 per cent of those living in the West Midlands concerned about immigration, compared with 61 per cent in London, but in all parts of the country levels of concern were high (Ipsos MORI, 2011). This does, however, point to the influence of local circumstances on people's attitudes towards migration.

Current evidence on the impacts of migration is limited. In 2012 the Migration Advisory Committee (MAC) published its report *Analysis of the impacts of migration*, which, though concentrating on the labour market impacts of skilled migrants arriving for work, also examined the public service and social impacts of migrants as a wider group. The MAC report reviewed the relevant literature on selected services (health, social care, housing, education, transport, crime and social cohesion) but concluded that quantifying the impacts of migration is not straightforward. The key issues are the lack of data differentiating types of migrant and lack of clear methods for dealing with the unequal distribution of impacts across the UK, since "the characteristics of migrants will vary from case to case, as will the geographical or economic context that mediates the impacts" (MAC, 2012). The research undertaken for this project seeks to address these gaps in knowledge and to complement the MAC's work in two ways:

- by examining differences in the composition of migration at the local, rather than national, level; and
- by examining the impacts by different types of migrants.

The first aim is achieved by the development of a typology, which groups similar LAs in England and Wales into discrete clusters, based on their best-fitting available migration and socio-economic indicators. The second aim is achieved by triangulating the findings of primary research into a summary of the relative potential impacts of different types of migrants on selected services, on social cohesion and on the local economy. These parallel strands of research are then brought together, and the ways in which the typology might be used to better understand the impact of migration are discussed.

2. A typology of local authorities

(Lead author: Kitty Lymperopoulou)

This part of the research identified the differing levels and types of migration experienced in different parts of the country. The analysis only covered England and Wales as the datasets available are different in Scotland and Northern Ireland and could not be included, although the same principles would probably apply.

Research and local experience have highlighted a range of factors that interact at the local level to determine the impacts of migration in a given area, including:

- migrant characteristics like socio-economic status and country of origin; and
- an area's history of migration, its population composition, levels of deprivation, housing composition and local economic conditions.

In order to systematically examine the experience of migration at a LA level, this project used cluster analysis techniques to classify all of the 348 LAs in England and Wales according to the most important socio-economic and migration indicators, using the available data.⁹ The resulting typology is based on a range of indicators including:

- flows of different types of migrants (dependants, students, workers, European and New World,¹⁰ EU Accession, African and Asian migrants, asylum seekers);
- population turnover levels;
- population density;
- age structure;
- employment levels by industry; and
- worklessness.

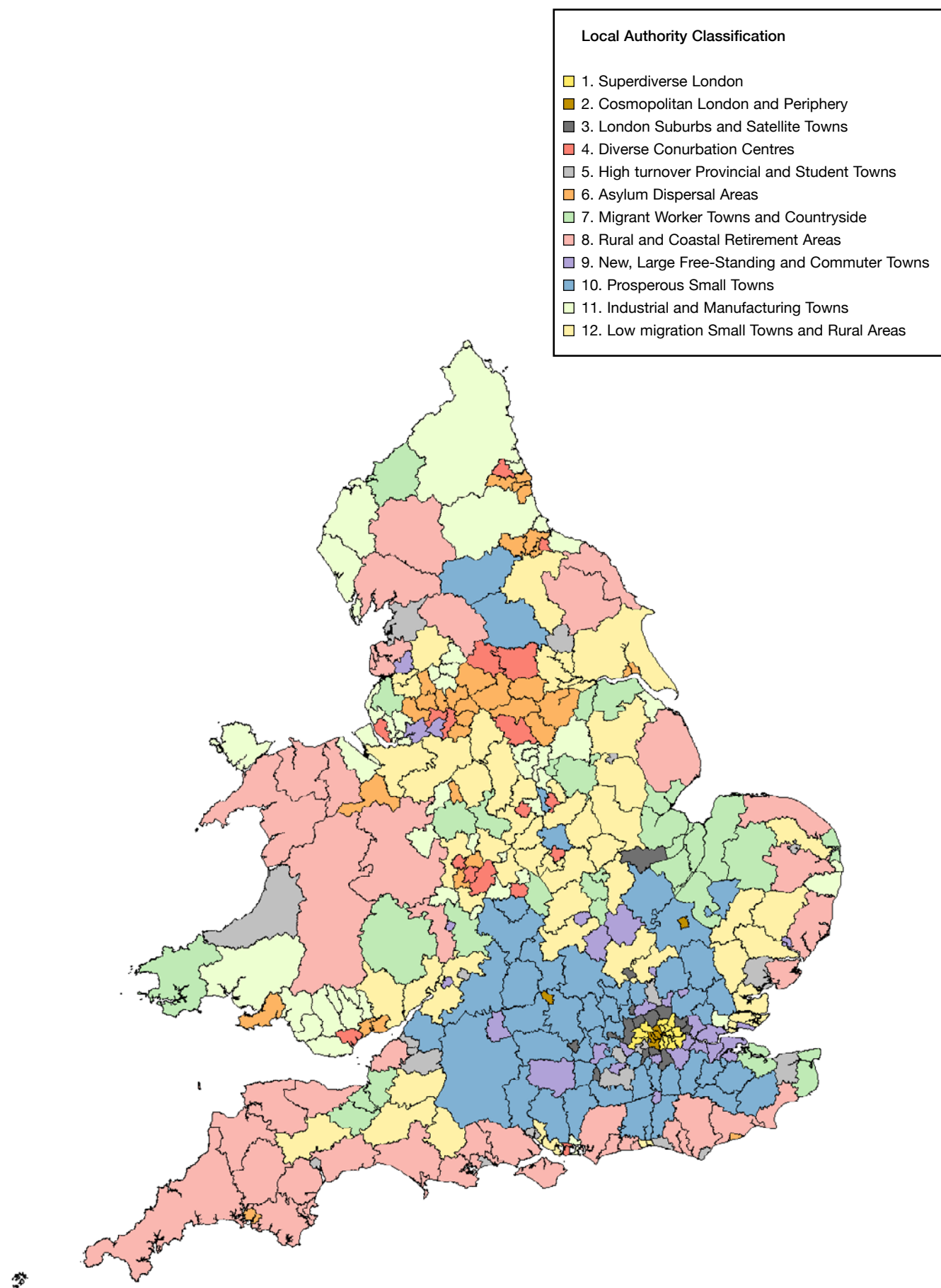
The indicators and methods used for the classification are fully described in Annex 1.

The cluster analysis established 12 separate groups of LAs, each with different profiles. These are shown in the map (Figure 1), which gives an indication of the size and spread of the different clusters across England and Wales. The results for each cluster are provided below, in Tables 2 to 4. These show the LAs within each LA grouping, followed by further detail on the most important features for each cluster. Full cluster profiles are at Section 2.4.

9 Two LAs, the Isles of Scilly and the City of London, are very atypical of the rest of the country and there is an argument for excluding these from the cluster analysis on this basis. However, since the aim of the typology was to classify every LA in England and Wales, and the cluster solution (see Annex 1) was not improved by excluding these two LAs, it was decided to retain them.

10 This indicator included migrants from the EU (excluding the EU Accession countries, see Table 1, footnotes 7 and 8), other European countries, Americas, Australasia and Oceania.

Figure 1: Typology of local authorities in England and Wales



2.1 High migration clusters

As shown in Table 2, the cluster analysis identified 7 high migration clusters¹¹ containing 127 (or 36%) LAs, of which 4 clusters comprised London boroughs and other conurbation centres with long histories of migration and high flows of recent migrants of different migration streams and nationalities. In a further three clusters migration flows were more strongly associated with one migrant type and/or groups of nationalities, and moderate migration flows of other migrants or lower previous migration levels. These first 7 groups of LAs account for about one-half of the resident population of England and Wales, and about 70 per cent of the non-UK born population.¹²

Table 2: High migration cluster summary

Cluster name and number	LAs in cluster	Cluster profile	Number of LAs in cluster (and as proportion of all LAs)	Cluster population (and as proportion of population of England and Wales) ¹³
1.Superdiverse London	Brent, Ealing, Greenwich, Hackney, Haringey, Hounslow, Islington, Lambeth, Lewisham, Newham, Southwark, Tower Hamlets, Waltham Forest.	Urban areas with a history of migration. Very high rates of migration for all migrants including migrant children and elders, international students, asylum seekers, migrant workers and migrants of different nationalities. Levels of previous migration are higher than in any other cluster and there are higher turnover levels and higher employment levels in migrant-dense industries. There are also higher than average numbers of young people, below average numbers of older people, and more households in the rented housing sector.	13 (4%)	3,221,800 (6%)
2.Cosmopolitan London and Periphery	Cambridge, Camden, City of London, Hammersmith and Fulham, Kensington and Chelsea, Oxford, Wandsworth, Westminster.	High rates of migration particularly for students, migrant workers and migrants from Europe and the New World (excluding EU Accession countries). Below average numbers of children and elderly people, and more young people and people in the rented housing sector. Like cluster 1, these are urban areas with history of migration.	8 (2%)	1,408,400 (3%)

¹¹ High migration clusters have migration rates that are well above the national average. This means that in these clusters, there is one or more migration variable with a rate above the national average, that is, greater than 0.5 standard deviations above the mean.

¹² Home Office analysis of Office for National Statistics (ONS) Annual Population Survey (APS) estimates of non-UK born population by LA, 2010.

¹³ APS population estimates by LA, 2010.

Cluster name and number	LAs in cluster	Cluster profile	Number of LAs in cluster (and as proportion of all LAs)	Cluster population (and as proportion of population of England and Wales) ¹³
3.London Suburbs and Satellite Towns	Barking and Dagenham, Barnet, Croydon, Enfield, Harrow, Hillingdon, Kingston upon Thames, Luton, Merton, Peterborough, Reading, Redbridge, Rushmoor, Slough, Watford.	Comprise mainly outer London boroughs and towns with close proximity to London. High turnover and migration levels, particularly for child migrants, elderly migrants, migrant workers, Africans and Asians. Urban areas with a history of migration, a younger than average adult population, more children, fewer elderly people and fewer people employed in the manufacturing sector.	15 (4%)	3,148,400 (6%)
4.Diverse Conurbation Centres	Birmingham, Bradford, Cardiff, Coventry, Derby, Leeds, Leicester, Liverpool, Manchester, Middlesbrough, Newcastle upon Tyne, Nottingham, Portsmouth, Salford, Sandwell, Sheffield, Wolverhampton.	High rates of African and Asian migration, child and international student migration, and a high proportion of supported asylum seekers. Urban areas, mainly large conurbations, with high levels of worklessness, a high proportion of social housing and higher employment levels in migrant-dense industries.	17 (5%)	6,767,700 (12%)
5.High Turnover Provincial and Student Towns	Bath and North East Somerset, Bournemouth, Brighton and Hove, Bristol, Canterbury, Ceredigion, Cheltenham, Colchester, Eastbourne, Exeter, Guildford, Isles of Scilly, Lancaster, Lincoln, Norwich, Richmond upon Thames, Runnymede, Southampton, Welwyn Hatfield, York.	Comprise student towns and coastal and semi-rural areas. High levels of churn, generally higher levels of international student migration but moderate migration of other migrants. High proportion of private rented housing, lower than average employment levels in manufacturing and fewer children. These areas do not include the highest student migration areas, but rather those where the more dominant migrant inflow comprises students (Isles of Scilly are a particular outlier in this respect).	20 (6%)	3,137,700 (6%)

Cluster name and number	LAs in cluster	Cluster profile	Number of LAs in cluster (and as proportion of all LAs)	Cluster population (and as proportion of population of England and Wales) ¹³
6.Asylum Dispersal Areas	Barnsley, Blackburn with Darwen, Bolton, Bury, Calderdale, Darlington, Doncaster, Dudley, Gateshead, Hastings, Kingston upon Hull, Kirklees, Newport, Oldham, Plymouth, Rochdale, Rotherham, South Tyneside, Stockport, Stockton-on-Tees, Stoke-on-Trent, Sunderland, Swansea, Tameside, Wakefield, Walsall, Wigan, Wrexham.	Comprise mainly industrial towns characterised by low turnover, high proportions of supported asylum seekers, high worklessness and social housing levels.	28 (8%)	6,379,000 (12%)
7.Migrant Worker Towns and Countryside	Boston, Breckland, Carlisle, Corby, Dover, East Cambridgeshire, East Staffordshire, Fenland, Great Yarmouth, Herefordshire, Kettering, King's Lynn and West Norfolk, Mansfield, Newark and Sherwood, North Lincolnshire, Pembrokeshire, Rugby, Sedgemoor, South Holland, Stafford, Swale, Taunton Deane, Thanet, Wellingborough, West Lancashire, Wychavon.	High levels of migration from the EU Accession countries, below average levels of migration from other countries and lower turnover levels. Above average levels of employment in manufacturing. Predominantly rural.	26 (7%)	2,841,200 (5%)

2.2 Moderate migration clusters

Around 30 per cent of the population in England and Wales, and around one-fifth of the foreign born population, live in areas with moderate migration flows.¹⁵ There are 121 (35%) LAs in 3 clusters with medium migration levels comprising rural and coastal areas, free-standing and commuter towns with turnover and migration levels that are close to the national average.

Table 3: Moderate migration cluster summary

Cluster name and number	LAs in cluster	Cluster profile	Number of LAs in cluster (and as proportion of all LAs)	Cluster population (and as proportion of population of England and Wales)
8. Rural and Coastal Retirement Towns	Arun, Blackpool, Chichester, Christchurch, Conwy, Cornwall, Craven, Denbighshire, East Devon, East Dorset, East Lindsey, Eden, Fylde, Gwynedd, Isle of Wight, Lewes, Malvern Hills, New Forest, North Devon, North Norfolk, North Somerset, Poole, Powys, Purbeck, Rother, Ryedale, Scarborough, Shepway, Shropshire, South Hams, South Lakeland, South Norfolk, Suffolk Coastal, Teignbridge, Tendring, Torbay, Torridge, Wealden, West Devon, West Dorset, West Somerset, Weymouth and Portland, Worthing, Wyre.	Comprise mainly coastal and rural LAs with moderate migration and turnover levels. Low migration rates for international students, and for African and Asian migrants. A high proportion of elderly people, fewer young people and children, and fewer people in social housing.	44 (13%)	5,237,200 (10%)
9. New, Large Free-standing and Commuter Towns	Basingstoke and Deane, Bedford, Bexley, Bracknell Forest, Bromley, Broxbourne, Crawley, Dartford, Gloucester, Gravesham, Harlow, Havering, Hertsmere, Ipswich, Medway, Milton Keynes, Northampton, Preston, Southend-on-Sea, Spelthorne, Stevenage, Sutton, Swindon, Thurrock, Trafford, Warrington, Woking, Worcester.	Comprise mainly new, large, free-standing and dormitory towns. Migration and socio-economic profile is similar to the profile of England and Wales, with migration and turnover rates that are close to the national average. However, the proportions of children and elderly people are slightly above and below average, respectively.	28 (8%)	4,385,800 (8%)

¹⁵ Moderate migration clusters have migration rates that are close to the national average. This means that in these clusters, migration rates are predominantly between 0.5 standard deviation below and 0.5 standard deviation above the mean.

Cluster name and number	LAs in cluster	Cluster profile	Number of LAs in cluster (and as proportion of all LAs)	Cluster population (and as proportion of population of England and Wales)
10. Prosperous Small Towns	Ashford, Aylesbury Vale, Brentwood, Broxtowe, Charnwood, Chelmsford, Cherwell, Chiltern, Cotswolds, Dacorum, East Hampshire, East Hertfordshire, Elmbridge, Epping Forest, Epsom and Ewell, Forest Heath, Harrogate, Hart, Horsham, Huntingdonshire, Maidstone, Mid Sussex, Mole Valley, Reigate and Banstead, Richmondshire, Sevenoaks, Stratford-on-Avon, South Buckinghamshire, South Cambridgeshire, South Gloucestershire, South Oxfordshire, St Albans, Surrey Heath, Tandridge, Test Valley, Three Rivers, Tonbridge and Malling, Tunbridge Wells, Uttlesford, Vale of White Horse, Warwick, Waverley, West Berkshire, West Oxfordshire, Wiltshire, Winchester, Windsor and Maidenhead, Wokingham, Wycombe.	Migration rates for all new migrant types and turnover levels are close to the national average. Low levels of worklessness and fewer people in social rented housing. Size of the pre-existing migrant population is close to the national average. Predominantly rural and semi-rural areas.	49 (14%)	6,364,800 (12%)

2.3 Low migration clusters

Only 20 per cent of the population in England and Wales live in areas with low migration rates,¹⁶ and these account for less than 10 per cent of the foreign born population. There are 100 (29%) LAs in 2 clusters with low migration levels comprising ex-industrial and manufacturing towns with little history of migration.

Table 4: Low migration cluster summary

Cluster name and number	LAs in cluster	Cluster profile	Number of LAs in cluster (and as proportion of all LAs)	Cluster population (and as proportion of population of England and Wales)
11. Industrial and Manufacturing Towns	Allerdale, Anglesey, Ashfield, Barrow-in-Furness, Basildon, Bassetlaw, Blaenau Gwent, Bolsover, Bridgend, Burnley, Caerphilly, Cannock Chase, Carmarthenshire, Chesterfield, Copeland, Durham, Erewash, Flintshire, Halton, Hartlepool, Havant, Hyndburn, Knowsley, Merthyr Tydfil, Neath Port Talbot, Newcastle-under-Lyme, North East Derbyshire, North East Lincolnshire, North Tyneside, Northumberland, Nuneaton and Bedworth, Pendle, Redcar and Cleveland, Redditch, Rhondda Cynon Taff, Rossendale, Sefton, Solihull, St Helens, Tamworth, Telford and Wrekin, Torfaen, The Vale of Glamorgan, Waveney, Wirral, Wyre Forest.	Comprise mainly ex-industrial, manufacturing and mining towns with high levels of worklessness and above average employment levels in manufacturing. Low turnover and below average migration rates for all migrant groups. Below average numbers of people employed in migrant-dense industries and living in the private rented housing sector. Predominantly urban areas with little history of migration.	46 (13%)	6,396,600 (12%)

¹⁶ Low migration clusters have migration rates that are below the national average. This means that in these clusters, one or more migration rate is more than 0.5 standard deviation below the mean.

Cluster name and number	LAs in cluster	Cluster profile	Number of LAs in cluster (and as proportion of all LAs)	Cluster population (and as proportion of population of England and Wales)
12. Low Migration Small Towns and Rural Areas	Adur, Amber Valley, Babergh, Blaby, Braintree, Broadland, Bromsgrove, Castle Point, Central Bedfordshire, Cheshire East, Cheshire West and Chester, Chorley, Daventry, Derbyshire Dales, Eastleigh, East Northamptonshire, East Riding of Yorkshire, Fareham, Forest of Dean, Gedling, Gosport, Hambleton, Harborough, High Peak, Hinckley and Bosworth, Lichfield, Maldon, Melton, Mendip, Mid Devon, Mid Suffolk, Monmouthshire, North Dorset, North Hertfordshire, North Kesteven, North Warwickshire, North West Leicestershire, Oadby and Wigston, Ribble Valley, Rochford, Rushcliffe, Rutland, Selby, South Derbyshire, South Kesteven, South Northamptonshire, South Ribble, South Somerset, South Staffordshire, Staffordshire Moorlands, St Edmundsbury, Stroud, Tewkesbury, West Lindsey.	Small towns and rural or semi-rural areas with lower than average migration levels and little previous history of migration. Lower employment levels in migrant-dense services, but higher than average employment levels in manufacturing. Fewer workless people and people in the rented housing sector.	54 (16%)	5,952,400 (11%)

2.4 Full cluster profiles

Cluster 1. Superdiverse London

There are 13 London boroughs in this cluster, characterised by very high rates of migration for all migrants including migrant children and elders, international students, asylum seekers, migrant workers and migrants of different nationalities.

Turnover and levels of rental accommodation (of both private and social housing) are far above the England and Wales average and there are high levels of employment in migrant-dense industries. Levels of previous migration are higher than in any other cluster. There are also more young people in this cluster and below average numbers of elderly people.

Waltham Forest is the most typical LA in this cluster and Newham the least typical.

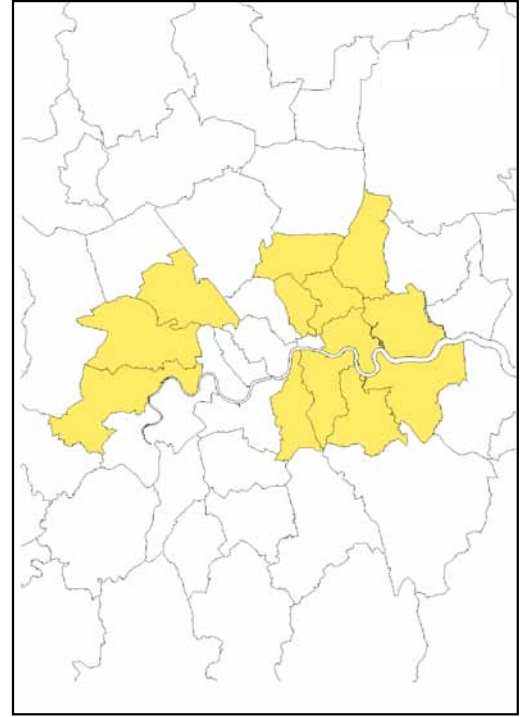
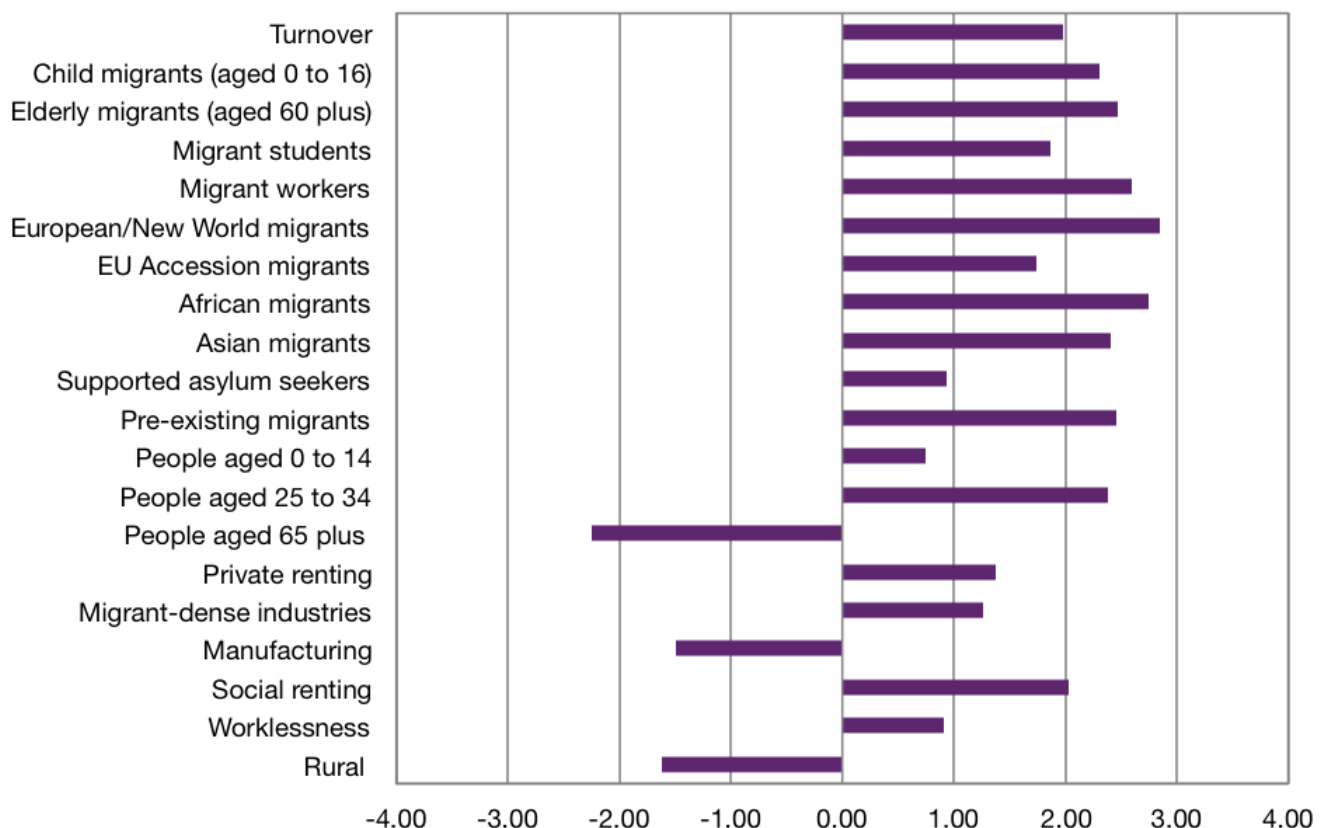


Figure 2: Superdiverse London. Cluster means (Z-scores) by variable - positive values indicate a value above the England and Wales average and negative values show below average values



Cluster 2. Cosmopolitan London and Periphery

There are eight LAs in this cluster comprising inner London boroughs, Cambridge and Oxford. This cluster is defined by high migration rates and population churn, a young adult population with a preponderance of people aged 25 to 34 years, and high levels of private renting. Students, migrant workers and migrants originating in Europe and the New World are more pronounced in this cluster, while children and the elderly are under-represented.

Kensington and Chelsea is the most typical LA in this cluster and the City of London the least typical (although measures are based on rates per 1,000 population, which tend to skew the City of London findings due to the low numbers in the resident population).

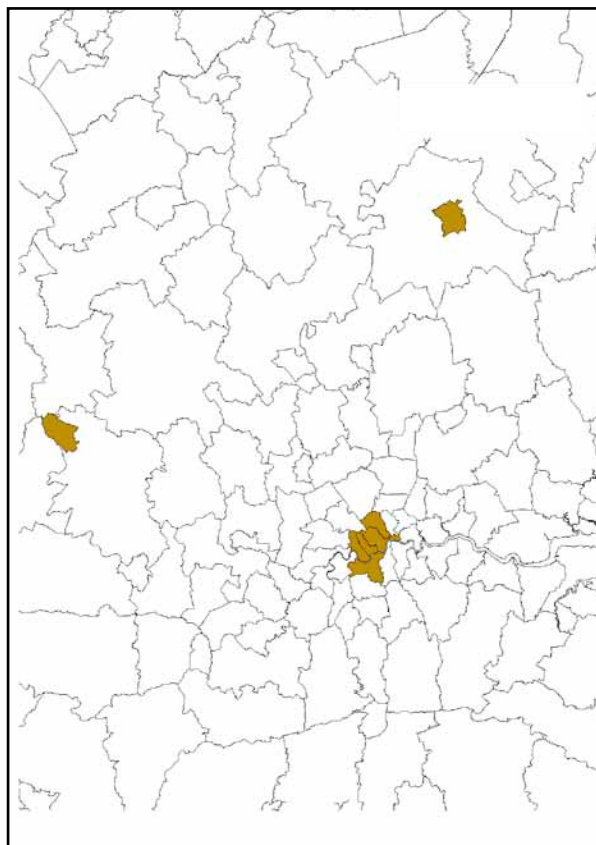
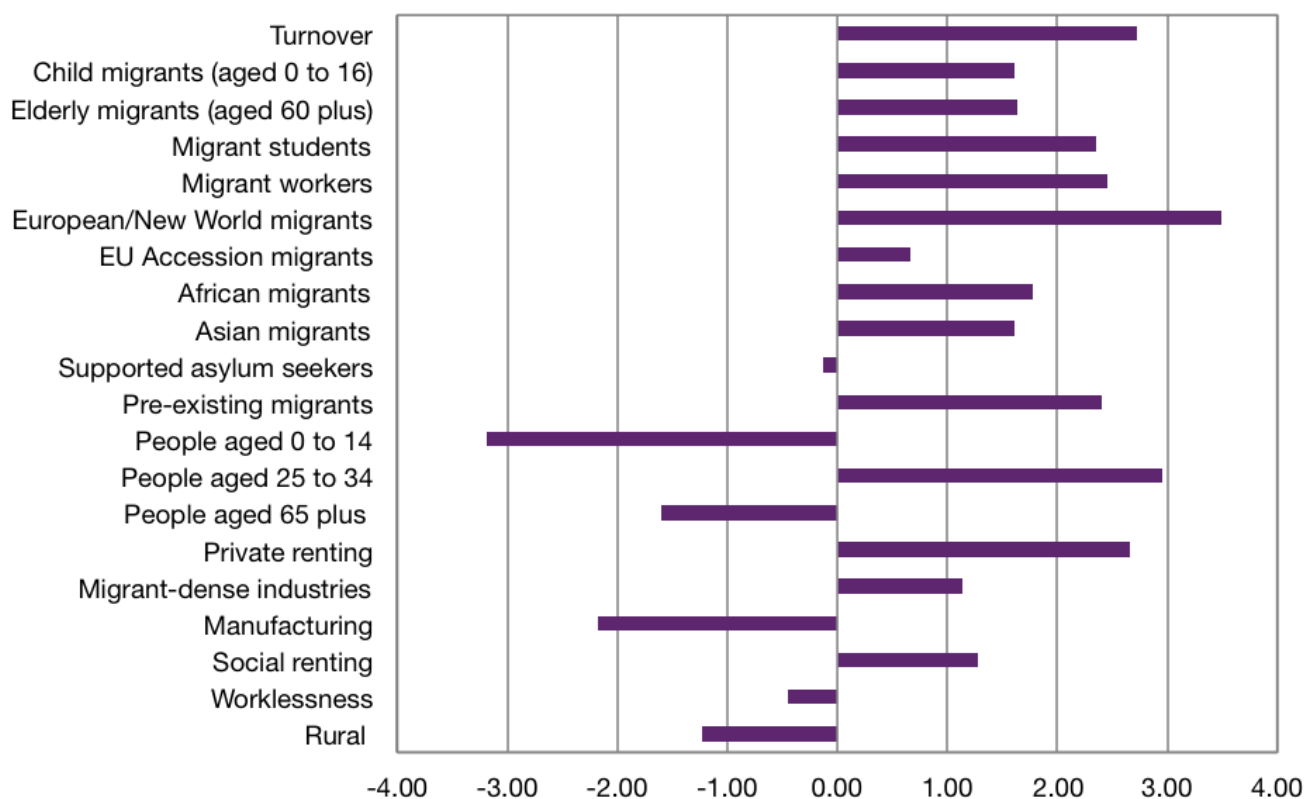


Figure 3: Cosmopolitan London and Periphery. Cluster means (Z-scores) by variable - positive values indicate a value above the England and Wales average and negative values show below average values



Cluster 3. London Suburbs and Satellite Towns

There are 15 LAs in this cluster comprising mainly outer London boroughs and satellite towns. This cluster is characterised by high migration rates for all groups of migrants with the migration rates of dependants, migrant workers, African and Asian migrants being particularly pronounced. The LAs in this cluster have a history of migration and a younger population with more children and young people than average. Elderly people and people employed in the manufacturing sector are under-represented in this cluster.

Croydon is the most typical LA in this cluster and Rushmoor the least typical.

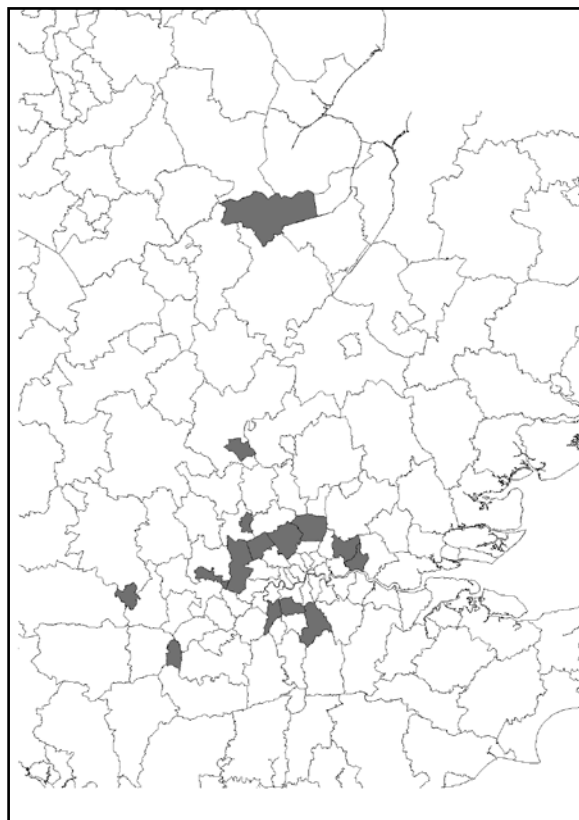
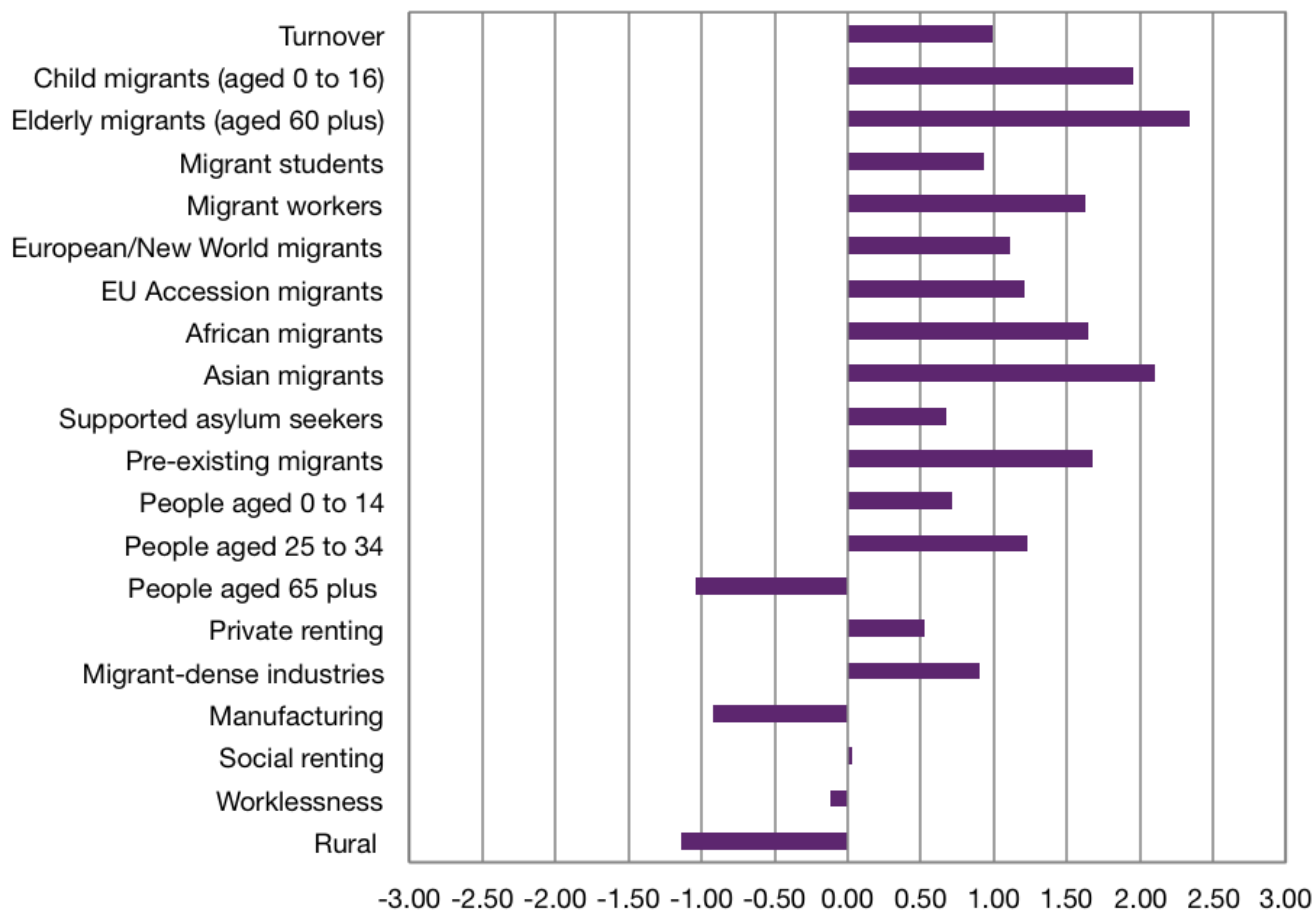


Figure 4: London Suburbs and Satellite Towns. Cluster means (Z-scores) by variable - positive values indicate a value above the England and Wales average and negative values show below average values



Cluster 4. Diverse Conurbation Centres

There are 17 LAs in this cluster comprising mainly centres of large conurbations with high levels of worklessness, a high proportion of social housing and relatively high migration levels. The cluster is characterised by high rates of African and Asian migration, migrant children and international students. These LAs also tend to feature a very high level of supported asylum seekers and above average levels of employment in migrant-dense industries.

Birmingham is the most typical LA in this cluster and Manchester the least typical.

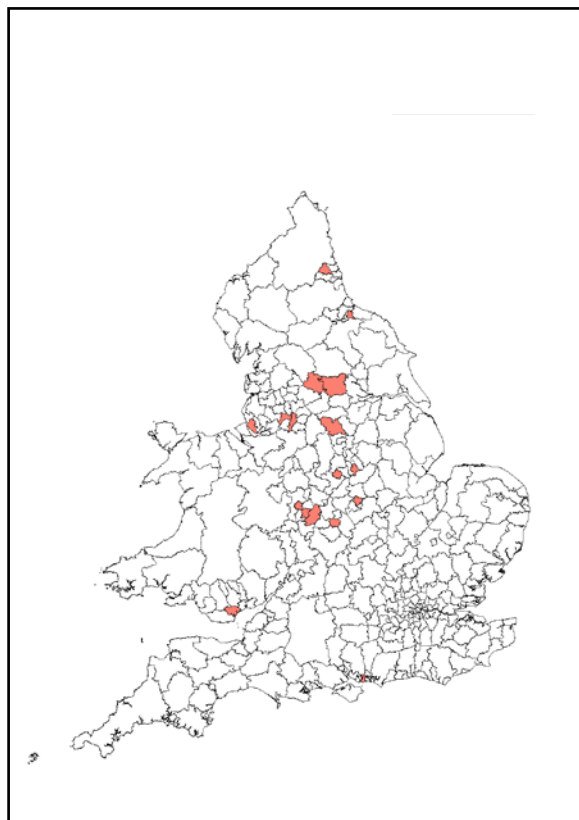
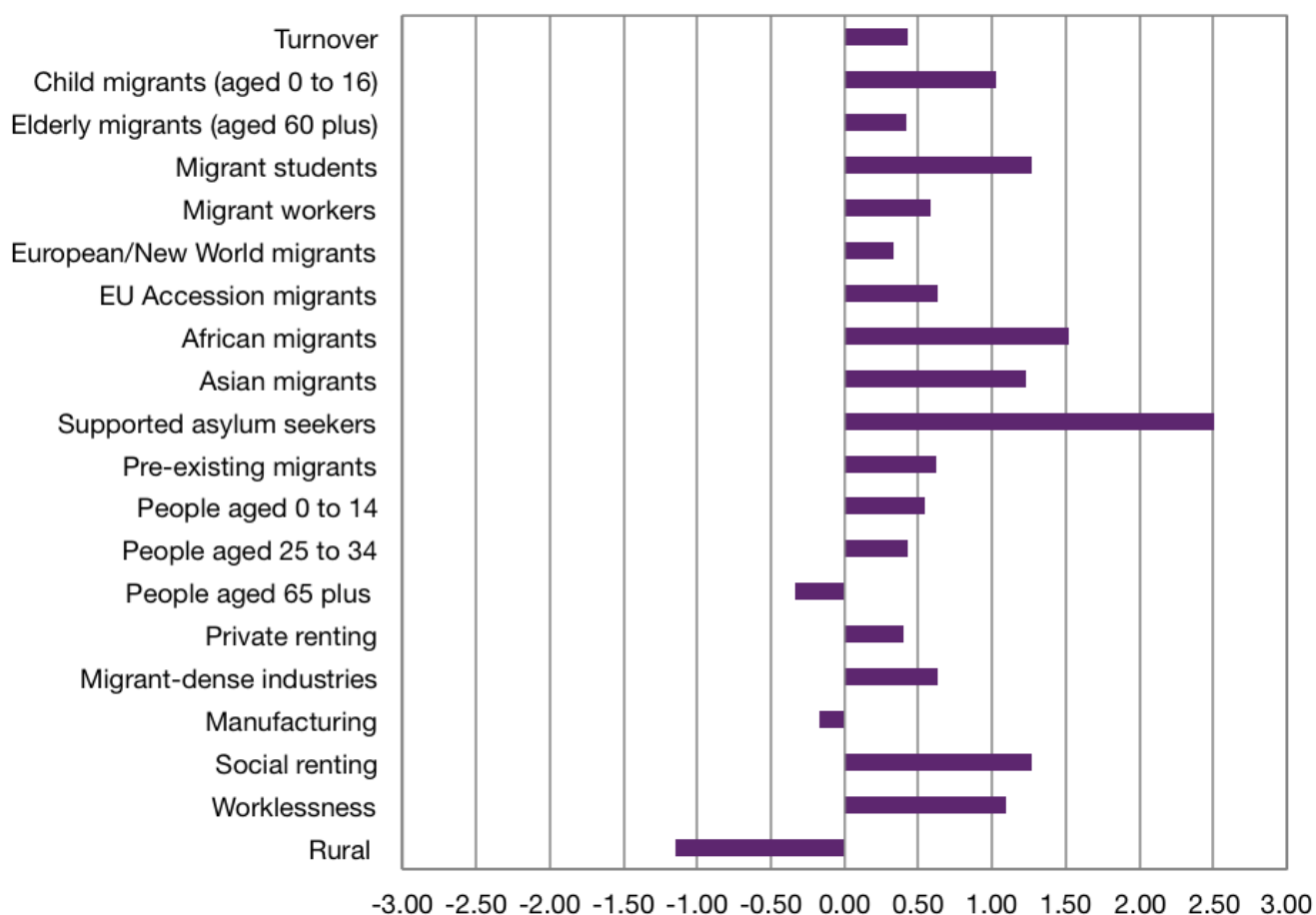


Figure 5: Diverse Conurbation Centres. Cluster means (Z-scores) by variable - positive values indicate a value above the England and Wales average and negative values show below average values



Cluster 5. High Turnover Provincial and Student Towns

There are 20 LAs in this cluster comprising high turnover and student towns, and coastal and semi-rural areas. This cluster is characterised by high levels of turnover and private renting, generally high levels of student migration and moderate migration flows of other migrants. There are also below average numbers of people employed in manufacturing and fewer children in the LAs within this cluster.

Cheltenham is the most typical LA in this cluster and the Isles of Scilly is the least typical LA. Scilly is characterised by high turnover and high rates of private renting, although these reflect the low numbers in the resident population of around 2,100 people.

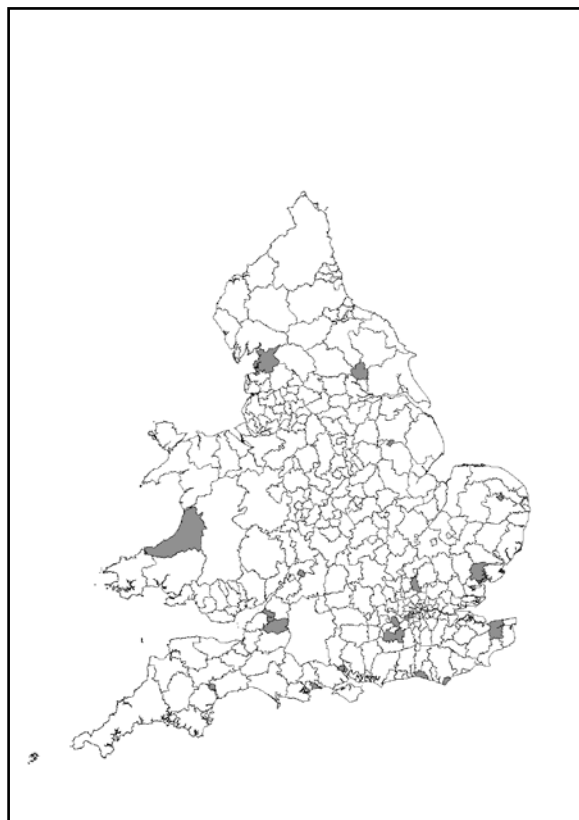
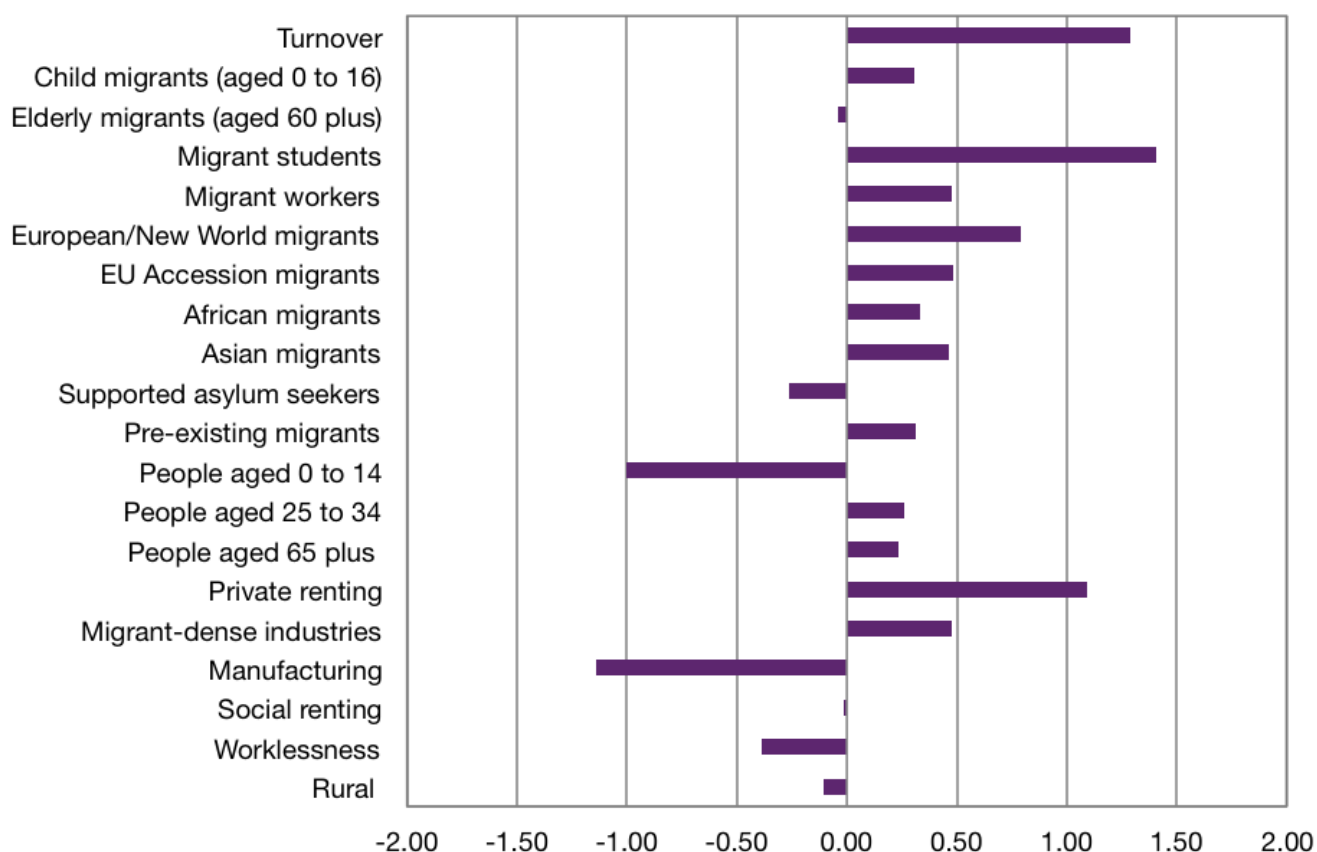


Figure 6: High Turnover Provincial and Student Towns. Cluster means (Z-scores) by variable - positive values indicate a value above the England and Wales average and negative values show below average values



Cluster 6. Asylum Dispersal Areas

There are 28 LAs in this cluster comprising some of the industrial and manufacturing towns located in the north of England and Wales that have been designated as asylum dispersal areas. This cluster is characterised by a high proportion of supported asylum seekers, but also high worklessness and high social housing levels. Migration rates for workers, students and dependants are close to the national average and the rate of population turnover is below average. Migrants from Europe and the New World (excluding the EU Accession countries) are also under-represented in this cluster.

Rotherham is the most typical LA in this cluster and Blackburn with Darwen the least typical.

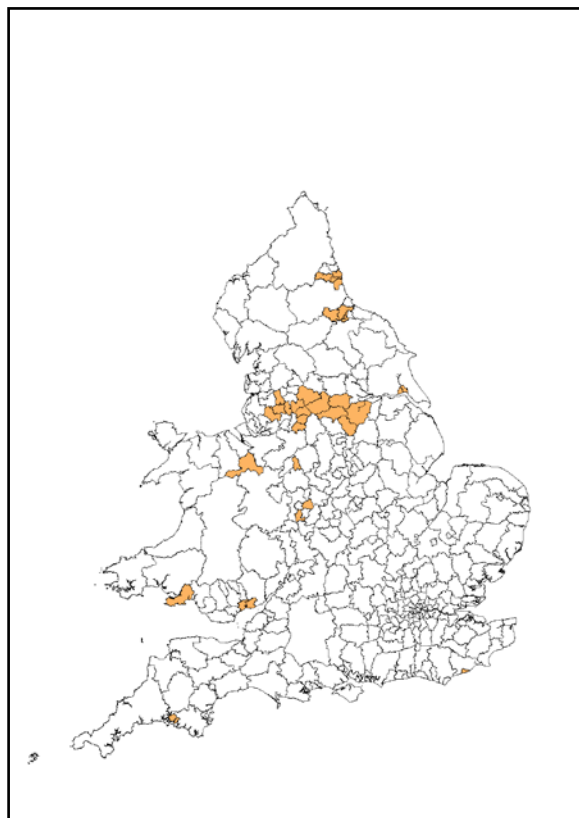
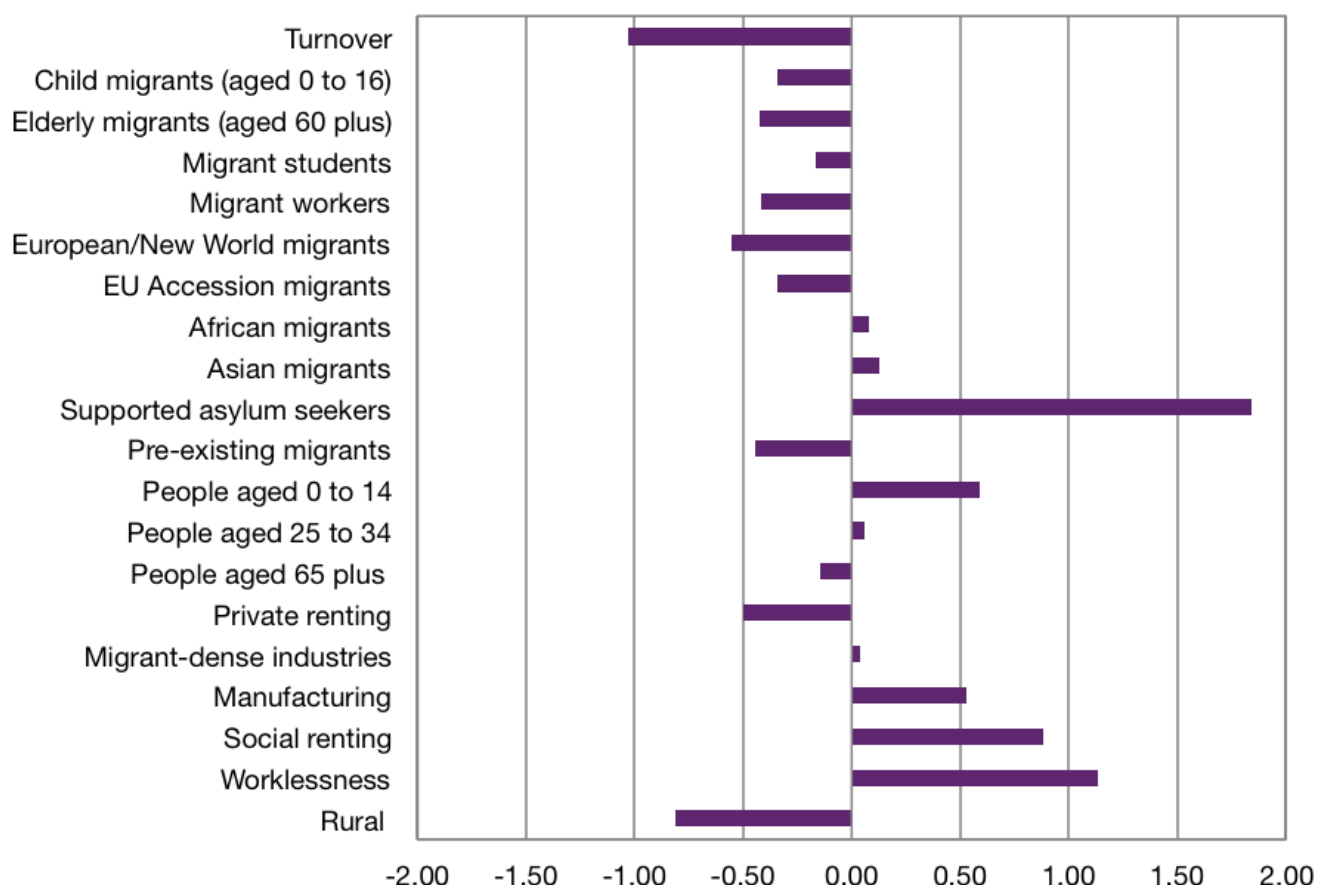


Figure 7: Asylum Dispersal Areas. Cluster means (Z-scores) by variable - positive values indicate a value above the England and Wales average and negative values show below average values



Cluster 7. Migrant Worker Towns and Countryside

There are 26 LAs in this cluster comprising rural and semi-rural areas. This cluster is characterised by high levels of migration from the EU Accession countries, below average levels of migration from other countries, lower levels of population turnover and above average levels of employment in manufacturing.

Dover is the most typical LA in this cluster. Boston is dissimilar to the cluster as a whole as it has at least one characteristic that is highly pronounced: the immigration rate for EU Accession migrants in Boston, relative to the existing population, is around ten times higher than the England and Wales average.

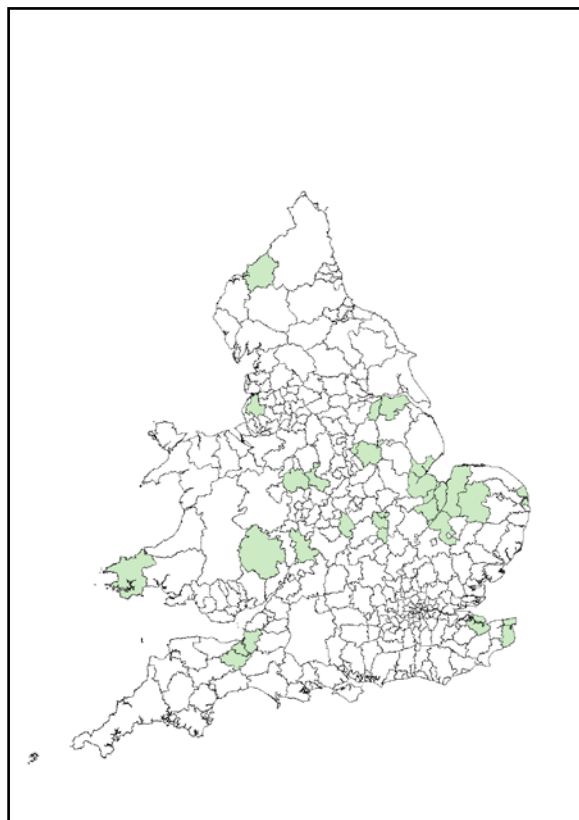
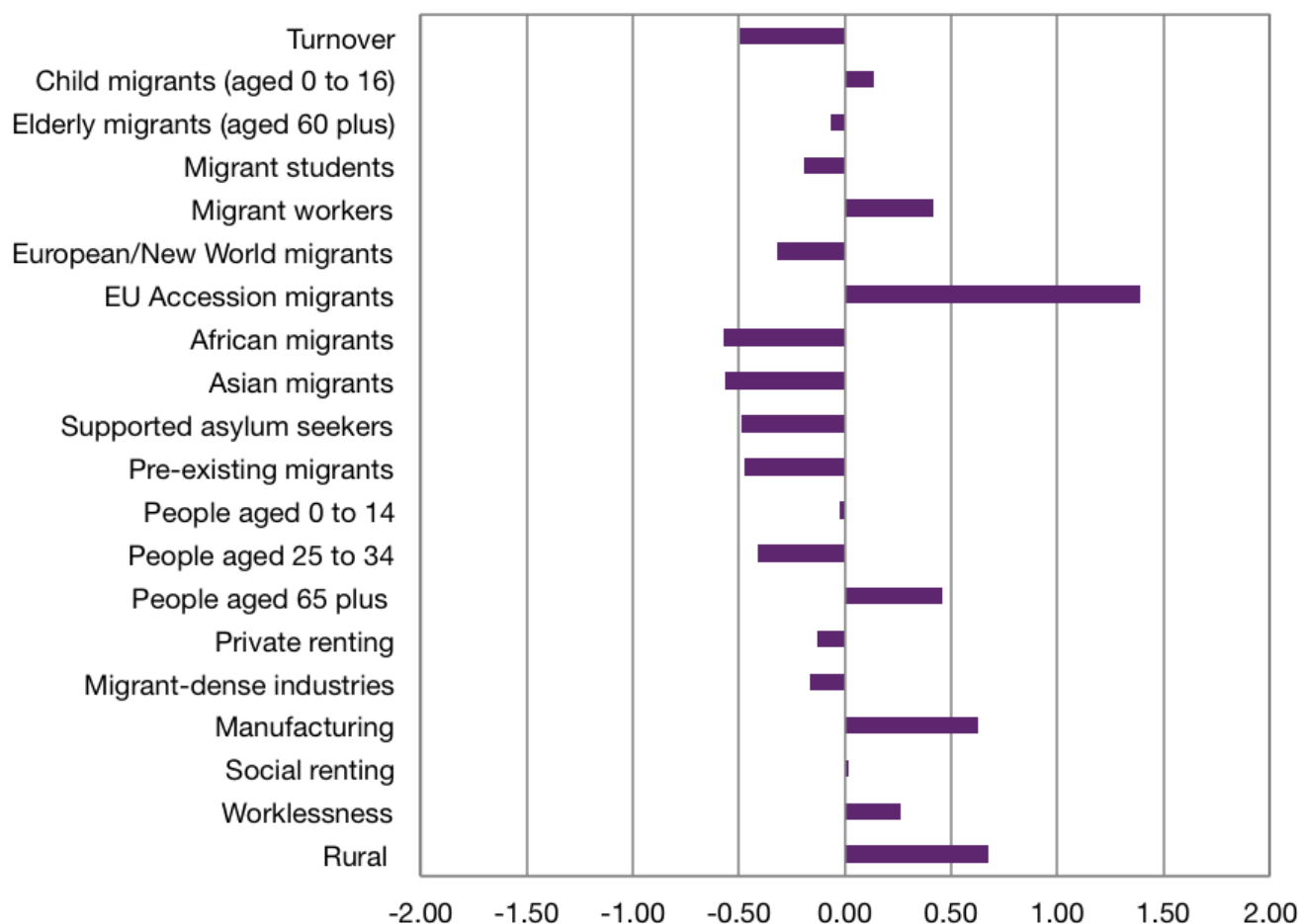


Figure 8: Migrant Worker Towns and Countryside . Cluster means (Z-scores) by variable - positive values indicate a value above the England and Wales average and negative values show below average values



Cluster 8. Rural and Coastal Retirement Towns

There are 44 LAs in this cluster, comprising mainly coastal rural/semi-rural areas and seaside resorts. The LAs in this cluster have moderate migration and turnover levels, more elderly people than average and fewer young people and children. Migrant students, and African and Asian migrants are also under-represented in these localities with migration rates for these groups being low. There are also fewer people in social housing and more people in the owner-occupied housing sector.

Teignbridge is the most typical LA in this cluster and Shepway is the least typical.

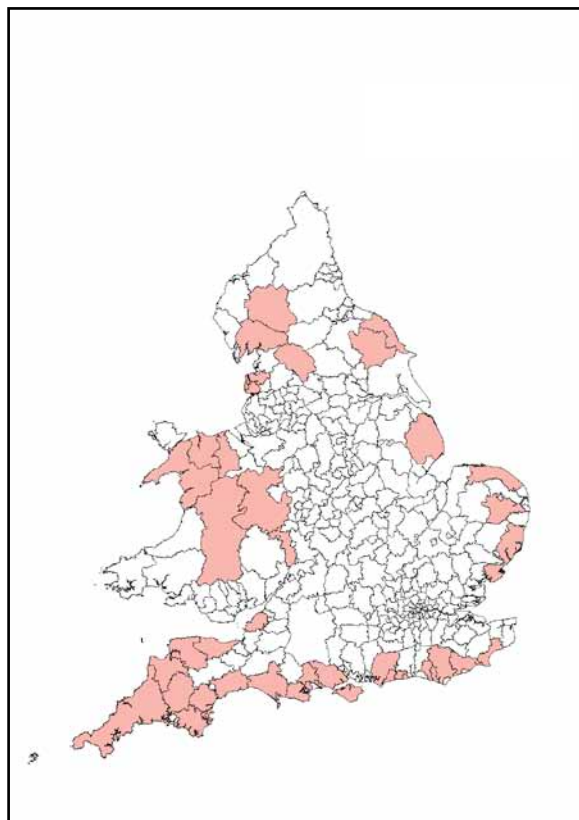
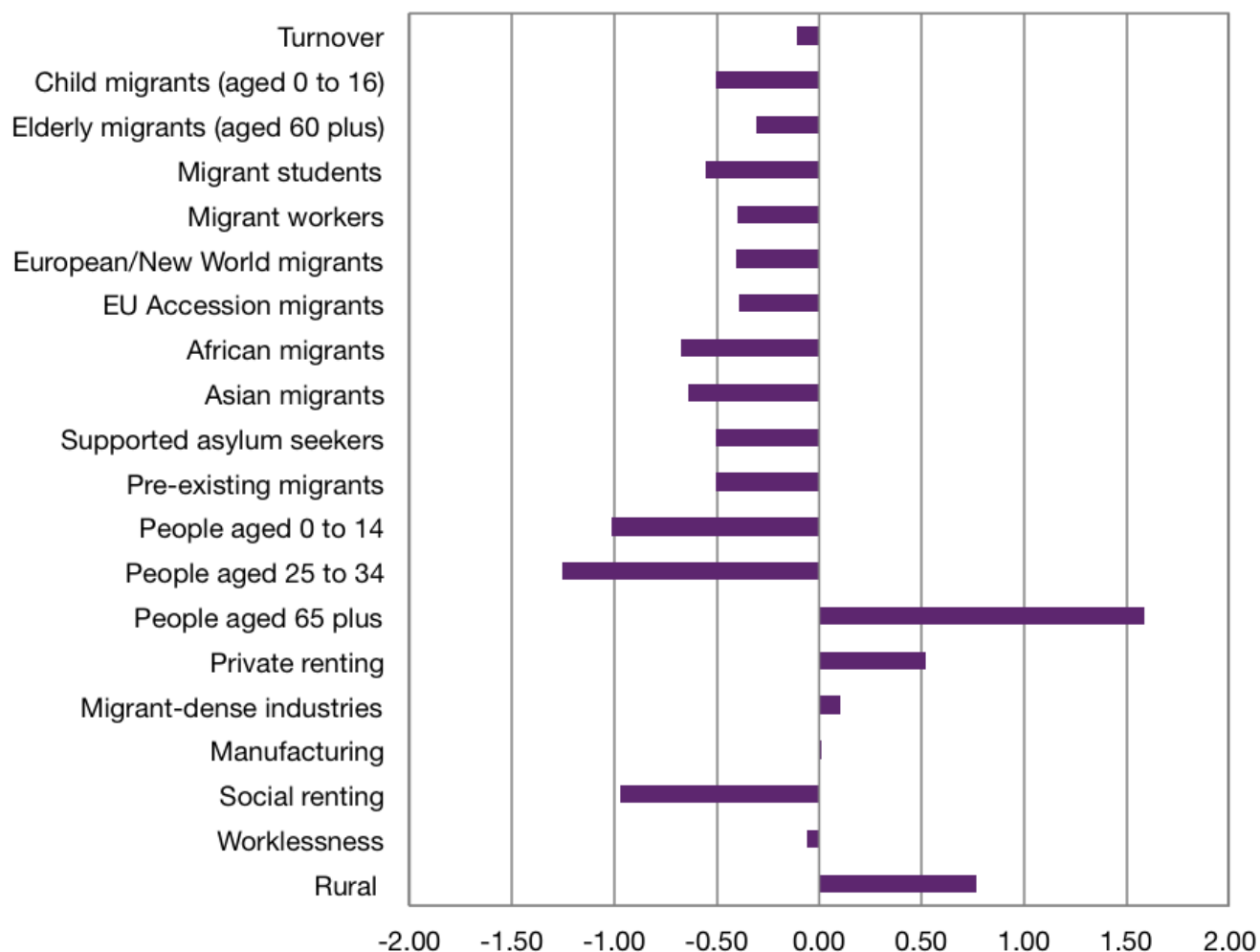


Figure 9: Rural and Coastal Retirement Towns. Cluster means (Z-scores) by variable - positive values indicate a value above the England and Wales average and negative values show below average values



Cluster 9. New, Large Free-standing and Commuter Towns

There are 28 LAs in this cluster comprising mainly new, large free-standing and dormitory towns. There are no variables with markedly high or low values (well below or above the national average) in this cluster, although the proportion of children and elderly people are slightly above and below average respectively. This cluster also features migration and turnover rates that are close to the national average.

Dartford is the most typical LA in this cluster and Broxbourne the least typical.

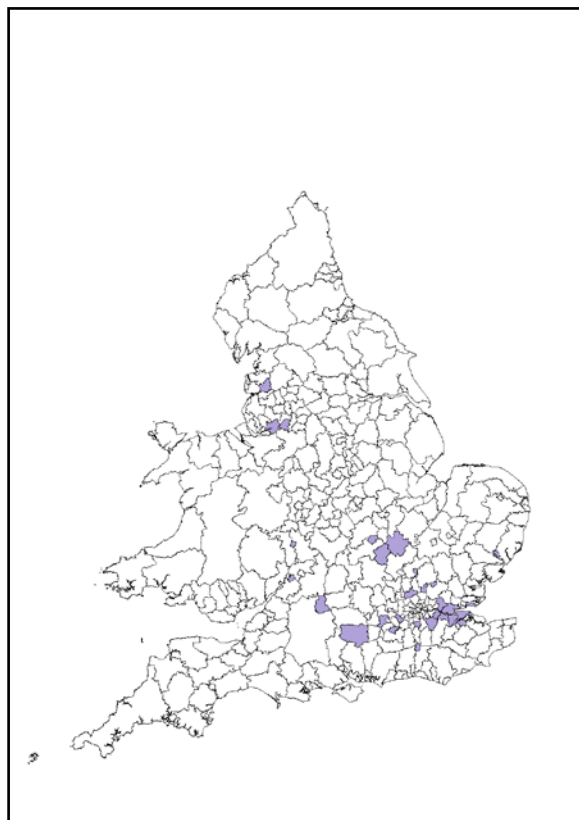
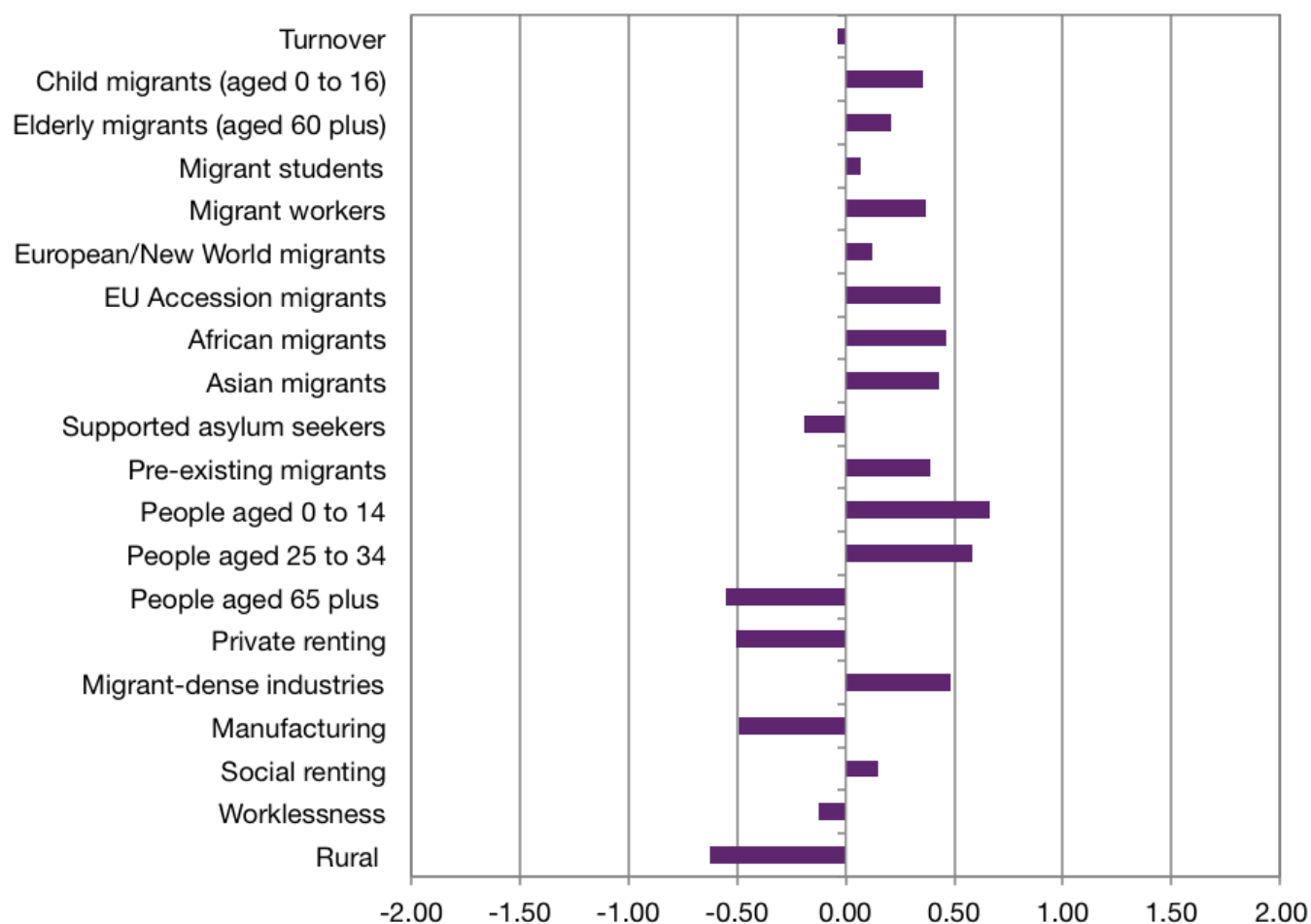


Figure 10: New, Large Free-standing and Commuter Towns. Cluster means (Z-scores) by variable - positive values indicate a value above the England and Wales average and negative values show below average values



Cluster 10. Prosperous Small Towns

There are 49 LAs in this cluster comprising mainly rural and semi-rural towns, many located in the South of England. This cluster is characterised by low levels of worklessness and social rented housing. The size of the pre-existing migrant population and rates of migration for all new migrant types are close to the national average. The LAs in this cluster also have average turnover levels and employment levels in migrant-dense industries.

West Berkshire is the most typical LA in this cluster and Forest Heath the least typical.

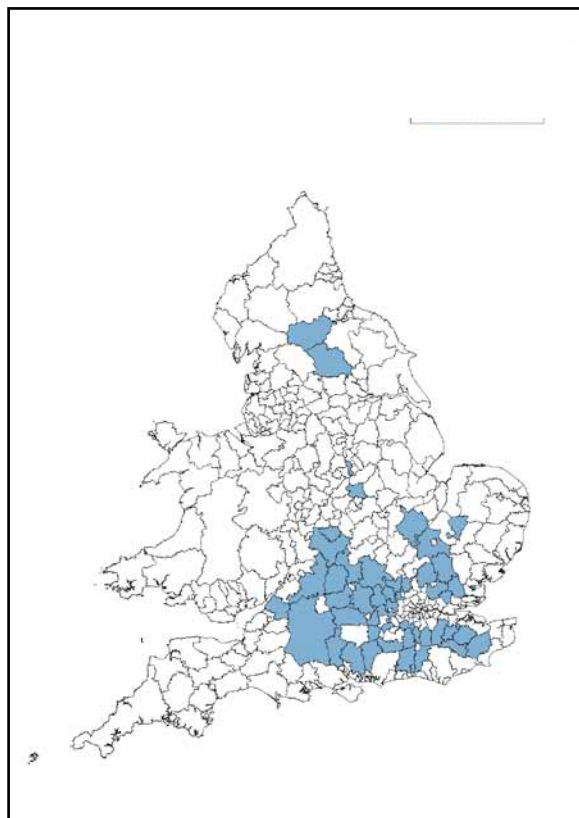
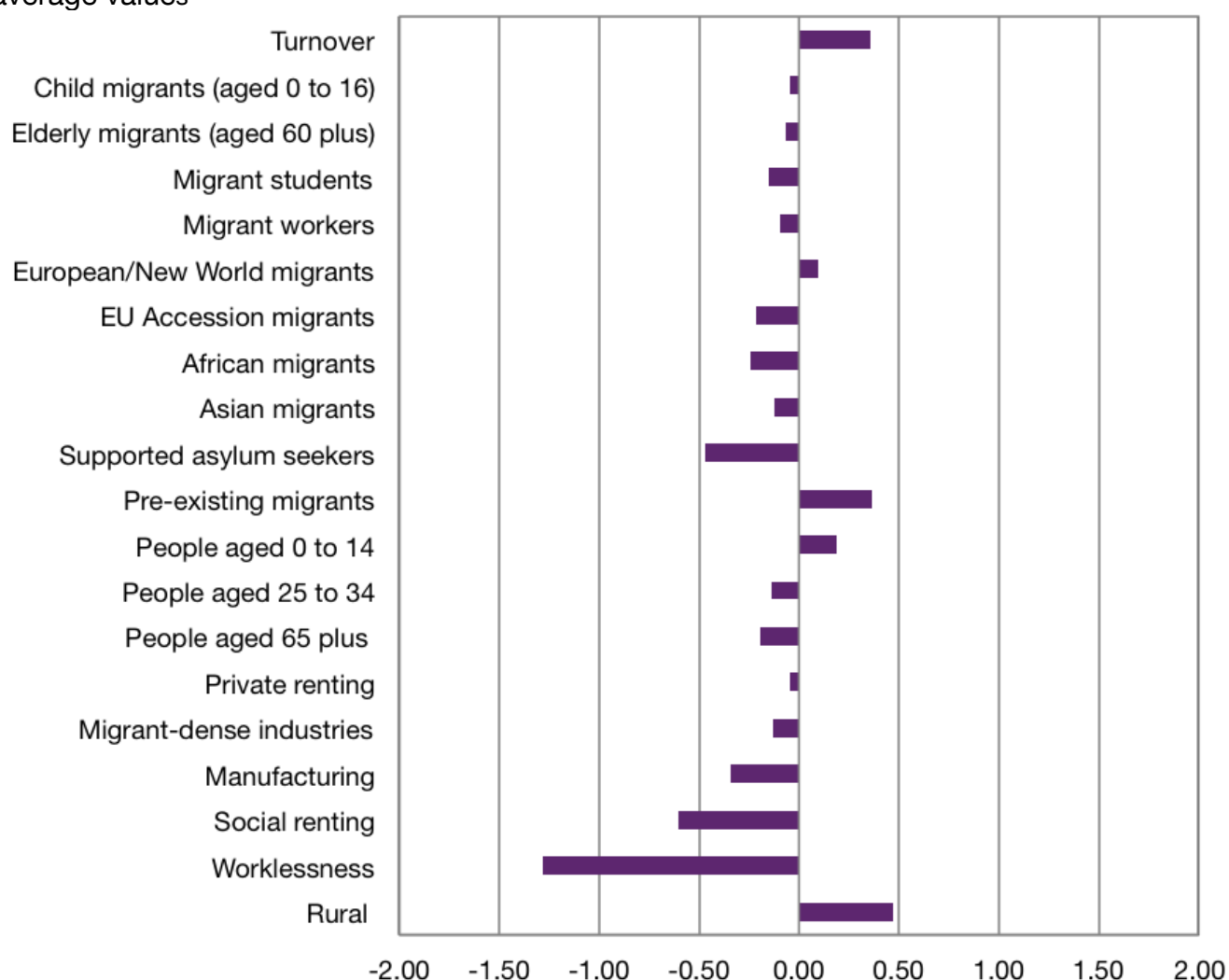


Figure 11: Prosperous small Towns. Cluster means (Z-scores) by variable - positive values indicate a value above the England and Wales average and negative values show below average values



Cluster 11. Industrial and Manufacturing Towns

There are 46 LAs in this cluster comprising mainly former industrial, manufacturing or mining towns. This cluster is characterised by high levels of worklessness and above average levels of employment in manufacturing. These are areas with little previous history of migration, low population turnover and below average migration rates for all migrant groups. Employment levels in migrant-dense industries are below average and there are fewer people in the private rented housing sector.

Ashfield is the most typical LA in this cluster and Pendle the least typical. This cluster also includes a number of large and heterogeneous LAs, for example, Northumberland, that do not easily fit into one category,

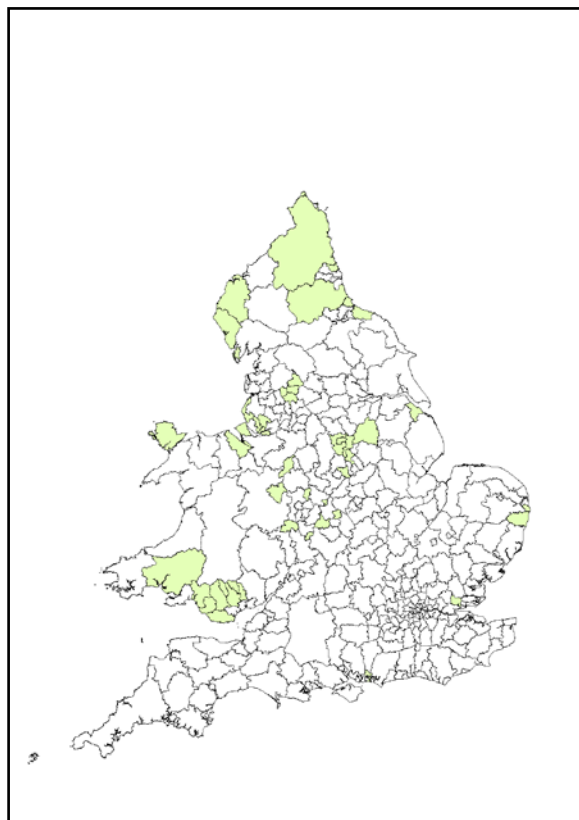
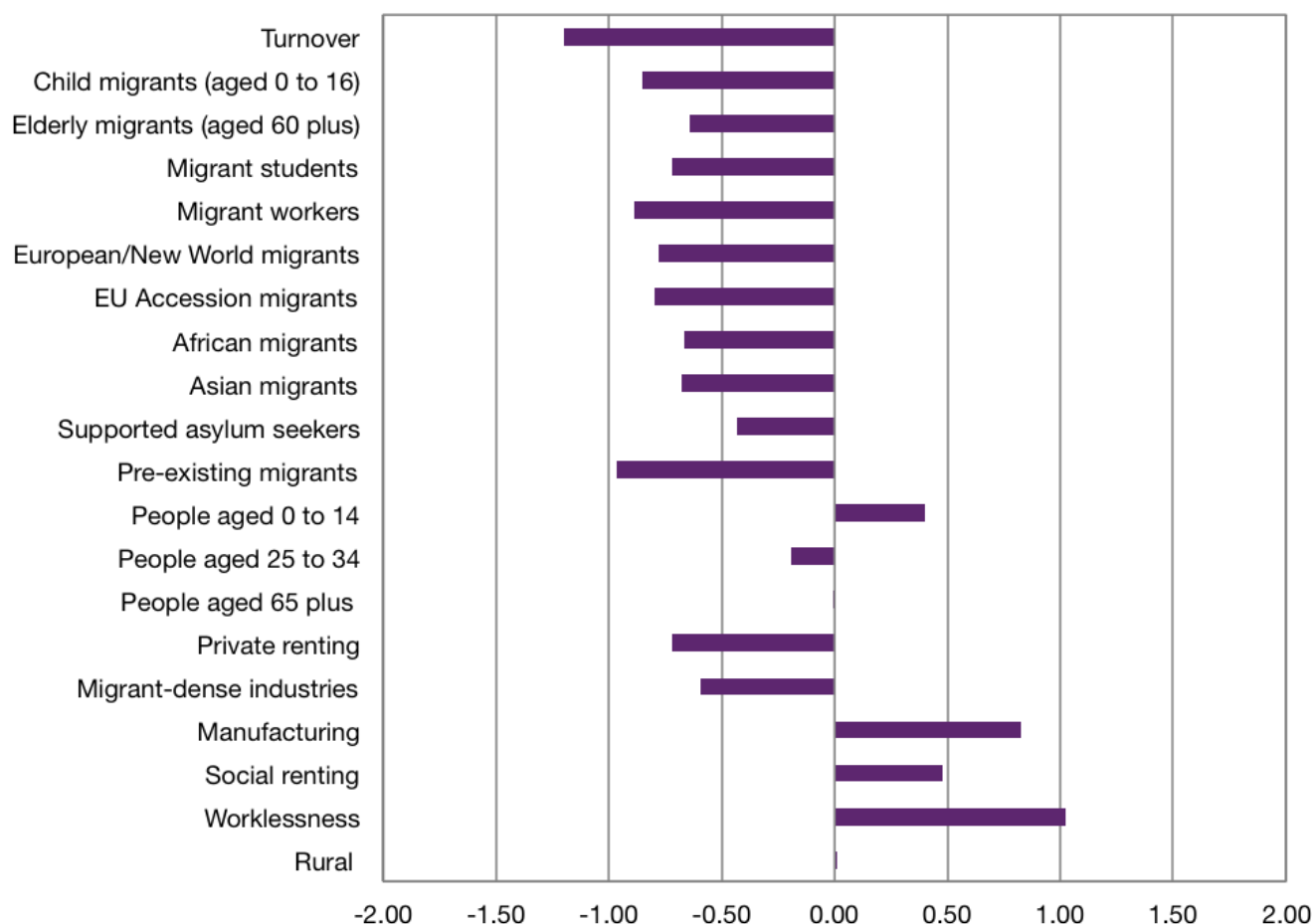


Figure 12: Industrial and Manufacturing Towns. Cluster means (Z-scores) by variable - positive values indicate a value above the England and Wales average and negative values show below average values



Cluster 12. Low Migration Small Towns and Rural Areas

There are 54 LAs in this cluster comprising mainly small towns and rural or semi-rural areas. This cluster is characterised by lower than average migration levels. All migrant types are under-represented and there are lower than average levels of employment in migrant-dense industries and above average employment in manufacturing. There are also below average workless people and people in the rented housing sector.

Stroud is the most typical LA in this cluster and Oadby and Wigston the least typical.

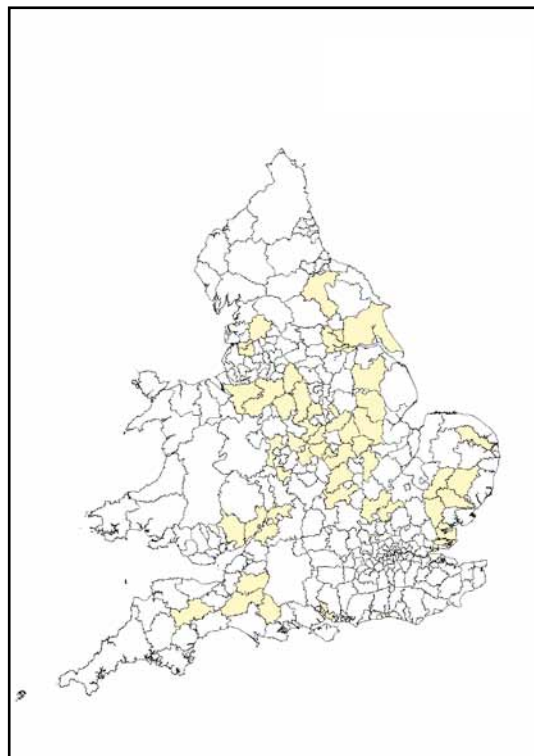
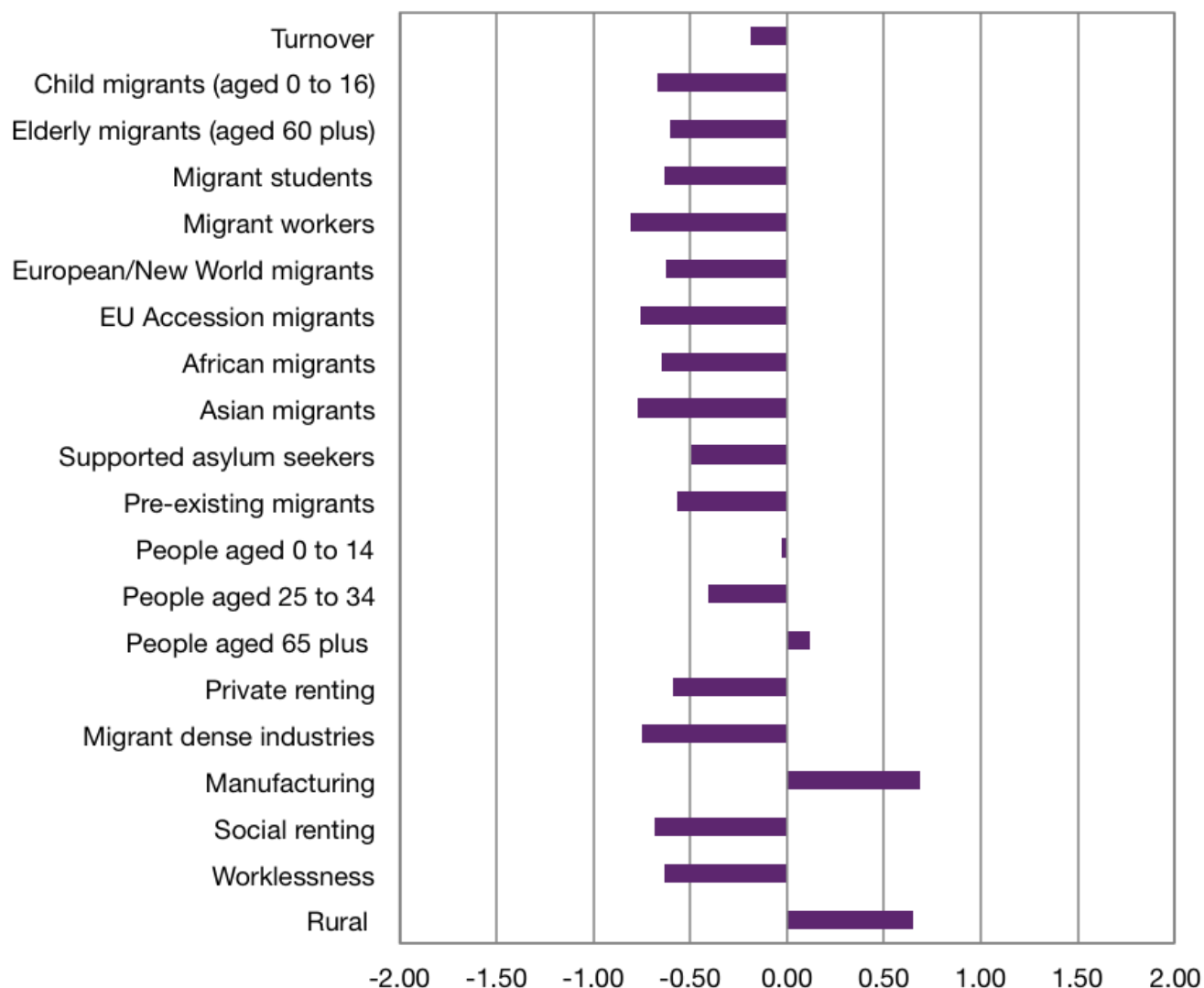


Figure 13: Low migration Small Towns and Rural Areas. Cluster means (Z-scores) by variable - positive values indicate a value above the England and Wales average and negative values show below average values



3. Summary of potential relative impacts by migrant type: Findings drawn from discussions with local authorities, literature review, and online and expert panels

The second part of this research looks at the potential impacts that different types of migrants may have on public services and community cohesion. Examining these alongside the compositional differences by local area (described in the previous section) provides a better understanding of how the impacts of migration vary across the country.

This section of the report summarises the potential relative impacts of different types of migrant on some key public service areas. It draws on the academic literature, including the series of literature reviews published by the Migration Advisory Committee (MAC) in 2012, as well as discussions with public service representatives from seven local authorities (LAs). These LAs were selected broadly to ensure the research considered both high migration areas with a history of migration and areas with a relatively high recent inflow of EU Accession state migrants, along with areas that had featured as asylum dispersal areas.

It was initially hoped that more data might be available to enable a clearer quantitative assessment of the impacts of different types of migrants, however it proved impossible to find data that was capable of being disaggregated in this way. In the absence of consistent national data identifying different types of migrants, individual local authorities contributing to the study were also asked whether they had such data for their own area. However, it was not possible to collect disaggregated data on the use made of public services in this way. Therefore in the absence of hard quantitative evidence, we adopted a more experimental approach. The views of an online panel of 84 panellists with a knowledge of migration (including those involved in providing services to migrants, regional migration experts, and academics and researchers working in this field) were collated and then discussed with an independent panel of 12 experts. This has allowed us to provide an informed but impressionistic assessment of the relative impacts of the different types of migrants mentioned here. It is not however meant to be conclusive. A full description of the methods used in this stage of the research is at Annex 2.

This summary focuses on the ‘composition effects’ of six different migrant groups, that is, the extent to which each group’s needs are similar or different to the non-migrant population’s needs, describing that type of migrant’s proportionate or disproportionate demand on services (Migration Advisory Committee, 2012). The following migrant groups¹⁷ were examined:

- refugee families (that is accepted refugees and asylum seekers);
- refugees and asylum seekers without children;
- non-European Economic Area (EEA) skilled migrant workers;
- low-skilled migrant workers;
- dependants of migrant workers;
- international students.

¹⁷ The six different migrant types used in both of the panel exercises were simplified groupings, designed to structure the assessment exercises in order to draw out some consensus. As such, the categories are not exhaustive (for example, spouses who come into the UK through the family route are not included) and, in one case, combine distinct categories of migrant who may have different impacts and needs (for example, asylum seekers and refugees).

The summary indicates that a typical international student and a non-EEA skilled worker, more often likely to be young and healthy, are likely to have a low impact on public services, making a lower demand on the public sector than an average UK resident. Low-skilled migrant workers present a more mixed picture, regarded as bringing economic benefits to some sectors in a period of economic growth, but potentially impacting on housing, health and social cohesion in a number of ways. We did not include illegal workers, overstayers or people who may have arrived on a legitimate study visa, say, but who then work in this study – because it is difficult for public services to identify the legal status of those who use their services. However, clearly illegality can present additional negative consequences, including poor living conditions, non-payment of taxes and weak levels of integration into their community. Migrant worker dependants can make a disproportionate impact on housing, health and social cohesion, but have similar needs to the rest of the population for other services. The asylum-seeking and refugee groups are likely to have the highest impact on services compared with other groups, especially in health, because of their particular characteristics and needs.

Any impacts will be dependent on context. Just as impacts vary between groups, so they will vary between individuals within these groups, depending on individual characteristics and circumstance. The impact on services because of the ‘population effects’ of migration – the numbers of migrants requiring a service, is not considered. For example, although the composition effect of legitimate international students is regarded as low (that is, they do not individually impose a significant burden on public services compared with other members of the population) the population effect may be larger, given that the number of student migrants is much higher than most other groups. They may also impact more greatly on public services that were not considered in this initial exploratory research. In contrast, whilst the compositional impact of asylum seekers may be high, the numbers are much smaller and asylum seekers often impact on particular pockets of the country. In 2011 students made up more than two-fifths of the total inflow of long-term international migrants, with a total inflow of 232,000 student migrants (Office for National Statistics, 2012a), compared with just under 20,000 asylum applications in the same year (Home Office, 2012). This report discusses population effects in terms of recent inflow into LA clusters later in this section.

The conclusions captured here are mainly based on the judgements of the expert and online panels, exploring the extent to which they agreed with service-specific statements derived from the discussions with LAs and the literature. As stated above, they are not able to provide a measure of actual costs and impacts of different types of migrants, a challenge that the MAC and other previous studies also were largely unable to meet, but they are an attempt to establish a sense of consensus around the relative impacts of different groups in order to help researchers and policy-makers understand how and where different types of migration may have had an impact on the UK. Whilst every effort was made to involve as wide and balanced a range of practitioners and experts as possible, and to be as objective and balanced as possible in the analysis, there is inevitably a degree of subjectivity in these findings. However, both the qualitative and quantitative data were systematically analysed, and a high threshold of agreement was used. Whilst the online panel might be regarded as a relatively small sample (84 panellists), the results are not intended for statistical analysis, or generalisation to the population as a whole. The proportion agreeing with each statement helped to substantiate the qualitative findings and gave an indication of the weight of opinion of a knowledgeable, albeit self-selecting, sample.

Health

There were ten impact statements generated about health, the highest number for any of the services, and perhaps indicative of the wide variety of impacts that migrants have had on the health service. In the online panel, there was majority agreement with eight of the ten impact

statements on health for at least two of the migrant types – the highest level of agreement for any of the service areas, which may indicate a stronger degree of consensus in this area.

Agreement with the statements was highest for asylum-seeking and refugee families, and asylum seekers and refugees without children, with agreement for seven and eight out of ten statements respectively. There was general agreement that there were higher rates of ill health for this group, as indicated in the literature. For example, studies have shown higher rates of depression and anxiety amongst asylum seekers and refugees, compared with the national population and other migrant groups (Jayaweera, 2011) and higher self reported ill-health amongst refugees, compared with the national population (Home Office, 2010).

Skilled workers and students were seen by the online and expert panels as less likely to access health services, reflecting the consensus in the academic literature that migrants are unlikely to place much demand on the health service when they are young and in good health, as the majority of migrants tend to be, sometimes referred to as the “healthy migrant effect” (George et al., 2011). The expert panel also noted that highly skilled migrant workers and their dependants may use private health services and EU migrants may also choose to return to their country of origin for treatment, options that are unlikely to be available to poorer migrants, such as refugees or low-skilled workers. Again, there is some support for this in the literature review (ibid.).

There are also specific health issues that may affect certain migrants. Discussions with LAs suggested that migrants’ specific health needs can lead to heightened requirements for particular services or requirements for new services, for example, female genital mutilation clinics in two of the London LAs that were consulted. In 2010, 73 per cent of tuberculosis cases reported in the UK, almost 60 per cent of newly diagnosed cases of HIV, and 80 per cent of hepatitis B-infected UK blood donors were from people who were born outside of the UK¹⁸ (Health Protection Agency, 2011). This suggests that treatment costs for certain conditions and diseases may be disproportionately attributable to migrants. However, these will only impact on a very small part of the health service’s work and do not reflect other demands on health services that may be higher amongst the resident or UK born populations, particularly as they are on average older and more numerous. Discussions with LAs and the expert panel highlighted that the health service has also benefited from knowledge and skills gained from treating migrant groups, as well as through the recruitment of staff from overseas to address skills shortages. The online panel agreed with the statements “some cultural practices may create health problems which the NHS has not had to face before” and “health service to the whole community is enhanced by what has been learnt in services targeted at migrants” for the two asylum-seeking and refugee groups.

Evidence shows that some migrant groups have high numbers of live births (COMPAS, 2010) that may impact on maternity services (Institute of Community Cohesion, 2007). Fertility rates for non-UK born women are higher than for UK born women, with a total fertility rate (TFR) for non-UK born women of 2.28 children per woman compared to a TFR of 1.89 for the UK born in 2011. However, the difference has been reducing more recently (ONS, 2012d). There was agreement with the online panel statement “the high birth rates of some migrant groups produce additional demands on midwifery, maternity and health visiting services” for asylum-seeking and refugee families (58%) and low-skilled migrant workers (52%).

18 Of those with country of birth information available. Some of those recorded as born abroad in the data will have obtained British citizenship and may no longer be foreign nationals.

There was agreement across all groups with the statement that “cultural perceptions of healthcare and cultural perceptions of illness can impede effective engagement with the health system and with health professionals”. Research has shown that a lack of understanding of UK systems or other barriers make it particularly challenging for health services to provide effective services to this client group (Jayaweera, 2011). Cultural beliefs may play a role in this: for example, LA discussants gave the example of some asylum seekers seeing mental health issues as spiritual problems, and some migrants being confused by the role of primary healthcare providers when their previous experience had been that doctors could only be seen in hospitals. This lack of understanding can place additional demands on the health service and in some cases may hinder treatment or prevention of disease.

The online panel also agreed, across all groups, with the statement that “when migrants lack English language skills, health service visits and appointment times are appreciably longer”. George et al. (2011) state that interpretation costs have been identified as a key additional cost for the health service, and that extra time costs arising from the time taken for interpretation have not been measured. Health staff in the LA discussions noted that appointments and health-related visits took longer (often doubling) when a migrant had poor English skills, impacting on workloads.

Compulsory education

There was a lack of agreement or disagreement with the statements on education, and this may partly reflect a lack of knowledge of this area, since the online panel's confidence in rating the statements was lowest for education. There was limited agreement (between 51% and 57%) with the statements on compulsory education for asylum-seeking and refugee families and dependants of migrant workers only. These groups are considered to have a similar impact on schools as non-migrant children, although clearly this can vary considerably between individuals. This assessment is also partly based on the positive effects of migrant children in schools; while there may be negative impacts such as extra costs involved in educating migrant children (for example, language support) there appear to be counterbalancing benefits (for example, positive effects on school and pupil performance), so that the overall impact may be summarised as ‘similar’.

Head teachers in the LA discussions observed that systems put in place to improve outcomes for migrant children drove wider improvement, which had benefited other children, and that migrant children are often eager to learn and are attentive, attitudes that often have a positive influence on other children. Supporting this, research and statistical evidence have shown that the presence of migrant children in schools has no negative effect on the attainment of non-migrant pupils (Geay et al., 2012) and can, if anything, have a positive effect on general school and pupil performance (George et al., 2011). However this may be in part because additional resources are often in place to support schools that receive larger numbers of migrants.

One statement related to migrant mobility, reflecting the consensus in the research that a key migration-related issue for schools is pupil turnover or churn. This can have a variety of effects, such as class disruption and difficulties in tracking the educational progress of children (Institute of Community Cohesion, 2007; George et al., 2011). By definition, this issue is associated with more mobile migrant types, like low-skilled workers and asylum seekers (who may need to move during the process of claiming asylum or gaining refugee status) – and there was agreement in the online panel for this statement in relation to asylum-seeking and refugee families and dependants of migrant workers. The expert panel noted that schools in areas that are relatively new to migrant children (for example, rural East of England) may find churn difficult to deal with, but inner city schools appear to be more experienced in dealing with this issue.

LAs reported high demand for school places, particularly at primary level, in some areas. Recent international migration was seen as an important contributory factor to this through both the arrival of migrant children and the high birth rates of some migrant groups. At May 2011, 10.4 per cent of primary school places in England were unfilled, but there was considerable geographic variation. Primary schools in the areas where most of the discussions with local school representatives took place had appreciably lower than average proportions of unfilled places, at between 5.1 per cent and 8.2 per cent (Department for Education, 2012a), perhaps reflecting that these were high migration areas. Although nationally there are surplus places, the spare places are not necessarily in the areas where migrants arrive (George et al., 2011). The online panel agreed with the statement that, “in some areas demand for primary school places outstrips, or almost outstrips, supply” in relation to dependants of migrant workers only.

The impact of providing language support in schools did not receive strong support in the online panel assessment, despite evidence that this need appears to be significant and growing. George et al. suggested that the main additional demand placed by migration on schools is language support (ibid.). Demand appears to be increasing. At January 2012, 17.5 per cent and 12.9 per cent of children in state-funded primary schools and secondary schools, respectively, in England, were known or believed to have a first language other than English (Department for Education, 2012b), compared with 10.0 per cent and 8.6 per cent respectively a decade previously, in January 2002 (Department for Education and Skills, 2002). There is also wide regional variation in these figures, from 5.9 per cent of primary school pupils in the North East, to 55.5 per cent in inner London at January 2012 (Department for Education, 2012b). However, in the online panel there was no agreement with the statement that, “providing English language support to children incurs costs (e.g. employment of bilingual teaching assistants) that diverts resources from other needs”.

Social services

The online panel were presented with five statements about the impact of migration on social services but there was no clear agreement on four of these. There was, however, agreement for all groups (apart from international students who made few demands on social services) that “interpretation costs for migrants who cannot speak English are high due to the need for confidentiality and accuracy”. In the discussions with local service providers, social service workers noted that this demand arose because the requirement for confidentiality and accuracy means that family members cannot generally be used as informal interpreters. However, in some areas greater diversity of the workforce helped with this cost, because staff members were bilingual and also understood the cultural context behind their clients’ circumstances.

The online panel’s lack of consensus may reflect a lack of knowledge (confidence in rating the statements was lower for social services than for all other areas except for education), which seems to be echoed in the literature. George et al. (2011) note that there has been very little research carried out on the impact of migration on care and social services. The research that has been done has noted low levels of take up, linked to low awareness of the services on offer and lower rates of disability compared with non-migrant populations (possibly due to the younger average age of migrants, generally).

Although there is an absence of clear evidence or opinion, both the expert panel, and the views put forward in the LA discussions, suggested that the two asylum-seeking and refugee groups will have a slightly elevated impact on social services. For example, in the two asylum dispersal areas where discussions with local service representatives took place, it was noted that new refugees are particularly vulnerable following the granting of status, when it often takes around six

weeks for benefits to come through creating a need for housing and support from social services as well as additional, voluntary sector support, a view supported by other research (Robinson and Reeve, 2006).

The expert panel felt that unaccompanied asylum-seeking children (UASC) could have a notable impact on social services in the LAs that care for them, although the numbers are relatively small nationally. It was felt that for some LAs the cost of meeting the needs of UASC has exceeded the costs for delivering services to non-migrant children in care. The expert panel also felt that some asylum seekers and refugees may require social service support in obtaining mental health services, but may not access these, resulting in a delayed impact on the service

Another factor reflected in the views on impacts on social services, for asylum-seeking and refugee families in particular, was the need for social service departments to support homeless migrant families who have no recourse to public funds.¹⁹ Although a statement about the impact of homeless migrants did not receive clear support in the online panel, homelessness amongst migrant families was seen as being a growing problem in some of the discussions with LAs. A recent report by the No Recourse to Public Funds Network (2011) supports this, presenting survey evidence from LA social services departments showing an appreciable rise in the cost of supporting children and family cases, with £11.4 million spent in 2007/2008 (across 32 LAs) and £18.7 million in 2009/10 (across 37 LAs), representing responses from just under one-half of those LAs identified as having the most significant 'no recourse to public funds' caseloads.

Housing

Overall, the online panel showed high levels of agreement for the five statements on housing, and there were some noteworthy differences across migrant groups. For example, the levels of agreement for the statement that "migrants' demand for low cost accommodation can lead to overcrowding and poor quality housing without proper amenities" were as follows: 71 per cent for the two asylum-seeking and refugee groups, 90 per cent for low-skilled migrant workers, 81 per cent for dependants of migrant workers, and just 51 per cent and 59 per cent for non-EEA skilled workers and international students respectively.

The heaviest demand from recent migrants is in the private rental sector, the sector of housing that migrants disproportionately access. As Table 5 shows, use of the private rental sector is very high amongst recently arriving migrants with around 85 per cent of migrants who have been in the UK less than a year going into the private rental sector. Overall, 31 per cent of all foreign nationals are owner occupiers, 16 per cent are social renters and 52 per cent rent privately, compared with 70 per cent, 17 per cent and 14 per cent respectively of UK nationals.²⁰

19 People subject to immigration control may have 'no recourse to public funds' (mainstream state benefits and social housing) for a variety of reasons, for example, because they have a time-limited immigration status subject to certain conditions or are in the UK unlawfully. Although support is not available to these people and their families, solely because they are destitute some may need to be supported by their LA under community care or children's legislation. LAs do not receive central government funding for these cases. Those non-EEA nationals who have permanent residence (indefinite leave to remain), refugee or protection status, or discretionary leave to remain are not subject to immigration restrictions or access to public funds.

20 Office for National Statistics, Annual Population Survey, July 2011–June 2012 (Home Office analysis).

Table 5: Migrants' length of stay and tenure

Time lived in the UK (years)	Tenure		
	Owner-occupied	Private rented sector	Social housing
1	8%	85%	7%
2	9%	83%	8%
3 to 5	15%	72%	13%
6 to 10	31%	51%	18%
11 to 20	47%	27%	26%
21 to 50	72%	11%	17%

Source: Office for National Statistics, Annual Population Survey, July 2011–June 2012 (Home Office analysis)

Research with local practitioners and national experts suggested that there is pressure on housing stock at the lower end of the housing market, resulting in elevated rents, particularly where there are large concentrations of working migrants. This seemed to be particularly the case in London, with markets also under increasing pressure on the periphery, and in some areas that had previously had spare housing stock.

The 2008 House of Lords report into the economic impacts of immigration, drew on advice from Professor Stephen Nickell of Oxford University and others to conclude that immigration was “one of many factors contributing to more demand for housing and higher house prices [but forecasts suggest] that, if current rates of net immigration persist, 20 years hence house prices would be over 10% higher than what they would be if there were zero net immigration” (House of Lords Select Committee on Economic Affairs, 2008). More recently, Vargas-Silva (2011) notes that there is little systematic evidence on the impact of migration on property prices and rents in the UK, although evidence from other countries suggests that migration has effects on both.

Secondary effects of high migrant demand at the bottom end of the private rental market were reported as poor quality, overcrowded accommodation, inflated rents, unregistered houses of multiple occupation, exploitation by unscrupulous landlords, waste management and pest control issues that can quickly spread, and, in a well-reported area in West London, a growing number of beds in sheds.²¹ These issues are documented in the literature (for example, Robinson and Reeve, 2006; Institute of Community Cohesion, 2007; House of Lords Select Committee on Economic Affairs, 2008; Perry, 2012). The problems were most acute in LAs where housing was already in short supply. Whilst these problems often necessitate intervention on the part of the local council, the main costs are borne by the community (in terms of neighbourhood problems) and the migrant tenants themselves (in terms of poor living conditions, for example).

The two asylum-seeking and refugee groups are also rated as having a slightly elevated impact on housing because refugees may add to localised pressures on social housing, since evidence suggests that new refugees disproportionately access this type of accommodation, compared with other groups of migrant. This is probably unsurprising, given their circumstances. One LA reported experiencing particular problems housing refugees following the granting of indefinite leave to remain for a large number of legacy cases.²²

21 ‘Mayor calls for action over “beds in sheds”’, London Evening Standard, 8 October, 2012. Available at: <http://www.standard.co.uk/news/london/mayor-calls-for-action-over-beds-in-sheds-8201716.html>

22 Legacy cases are asylum claims that were resolved by the Case Resolution Directorate, set up by the UK Border Agency to clear the backlog of unresolved cases that existed prior to the introduction of new caseworking practices (the New Asylum Model) in 2007.

However, some LA discussants noted that refugees and asylum seekers in social and UK Border Agency funded accommodation respectively, had brought stability and positive values to some deprived areas. Certain neighbourhoods had also been rejuvenated by demand from migrant communities and attracted investment, to the benefit of all residents. The potential for migrants to regenerate areas was also noted by the expert panel, and received agreement in the online panel in relation to the two asylum-seeking and refugee groups and the two migrant worker groups.

Crime and policing

The information considered suggests that most migrants have a proportionate impact on crime and policing, whilst non-EEA skilled workers and students may have a disproportionately lower impact. The online panel had low levels of agreement with the statements on crime and policing generally, and particularly low levels of agreement with the statements regarding non-EEA skilled workers and students. For example, a statement about high interpretation costs was agreed with for all groups apart from non-EEA skilled workers and students.

The available research on migrants and crime in the UK suggests that being a migrant has little effect on the experience of crime either as a victim or perpetrator, particularly as time in the UK increases and the crime experiences of migrants and non-migrants tend to converge (Bell and Machin, 2011).

Bell and Machin present evidence that, on average, migrants are less likely to report being the victims of either violent or property crime, a finding that may partly reflect under-reporting due to fear or mistrust of figures of authority (*ibid.*), as highlighted by some police service representatives consulted during this research. The statement that “some migrant groups find it difficult to trust the police, hindering reporting of crime and general engagement” received the highest support of all the crime statements from the online panel, with agreement levels of 85 per cent for the two asylum groups, 80 per cent for low-skilled migrant workers, and 70 per cent, 76 per cent and 50 per cent for non-EEA skilled workers, migrant worker dependants and students respectively.

Bell and Machin link propensity to engage in property crime with labour market opportunities, quoting evidence that migrant groups with fewer opportunities would tend to be more associated with property crime than migrant groups with stronger attachment to the labour market (*ibid.*), see also Bell et al. (2010). Local service representatives made a similar link between lack of employment and petty crime, noting that some migrant groups, such as non-removable failed asylum seekers and destitute EU Accession state migrants, appeared to be disproportionately involved in crimes like shoplifting and disorderly behaviour. However, any link between low labour market attachment and criminal behaviour is likely to hold equally true for the non-migrant population, and the statement addressing this “some migrant groups are disproportionately involved in petty crime and anti-social behaviour” did not receive clear support from the online panel for any of the migrant groups.

Some police officers and local immigration teams reported that they believed that there was a degree of illegal working, particularly amongst some foreign ‘students’ who entered the UK on a student visa but who were not actually studying. The expert panel noted that it was important to distinguish between criminal and anti-social behaviour, which may arise because migrants are unaware of cultural norms. An example of this is street drinking, which was mentioned in several of the LA discussions, particularly in relation to male low-skilled workers and around some houses of multiple occupation.

Social cohesion

In the online panel's view, the two asylum-seeking and refugee groups, low-skilled migrant workers and migrant worker dependants, were judged to have elevated impacts on social cohesion, with the other groups having a lower impact. For example, for the statement, "there are tensions between communities that need to be managed", agreement ranged from 80 per cent to 85 per cent for the asylum-seeking and refugee groups, low-skilled migrant workers and migrant worker dependants, to 65 per cent for non-EEA skilled workers and 54 per cent for international students. One statement "the habits and practices of different social cultures can be seen as anti-social behaviour (e.g. street drinking)" was agreed to for low-skilled migrant workers only, and several observations were made in the discussions about low-level cohesion issues arising in the context of the public behaviour of some groups of EU Accession state migrants.

The academic literature suggests that level of deprivation is a key determinant of cohesion. However, the relationship with migration is complicated due to the tendency of migrants to initially locate in cheaper, more deprived areas, and other factors (Robinson and Reeve, 2006; Saggart et al., 2011). Recent analysis by Saggart et al. (2011) suggested that recent migration, pre-existing diversity and socio-economic deprivation exhibit a negative association with community cohesion at the LA level, with socio-economic deprivation being the strongest predictor of lower levels of social cohesion. The association between migration and community cohesion disappeared at the local level when pre-existing diversity and socio-economic deprivation were controlled for, suggesting that the relationship is complex and that effects are dependent on the local context.

LA discussants in police, school and diversity-related roles also noted general community tensions and cohesion issues, which they believed the council played a role in dissipating (for example, through community cohesion initiatives). Research (for example, Robinson and Reeve, 2006; COMPAS, 2010) also suggests that those areas with a history of ethnic diversity reported greater general harmony and progress in this area.

The expert panel also noted that social cohesion depends on the attitudes of the receiving population as well as the migrant groups, that it is a two-way process. As with housing, the expert panel saw population churn as influencing social cohesion, impacting on, for example, levels of trust and neighbourliness. Conversely, stability and duration in an area were seen as promoting cohesion. Churn will be influenced by the varying levels of mobility by migrant type, so that by definition short-term migrants may be more likely to have a more negative impact on community cohesion in this respect.

Local labour market and economy

Although the issue was considered in LA discussions and panel exercises, this report does not attempt to provide a comprehensive or critical analysis of the economic costs and benefits of migration. The Government has already commissioned work on this from the MAC, which has made the point that a key challenge is to differentiate between positive economic benefits accruing to the migrants themselves and those that raise the well-being and prosperity of the existing population. The statements made in this study do not reflect this distinction, although the Government has proposed to adopt the MAC's approach in assessing the impact of new immigration policies.

There was high agreement from the online panel for all the statements relating to economic impacts, particularly in relation to non-EEA skilled workers and low-skilled migrant workers, the two groups that were identified as having a high positive effect, perhaps in particular where they were seen as doing hard-to-fill jobs.

In the discussions with LAs, the contribution of migrants' entrepreneurial business activities to the local economy was also emphasised, and there was agreement from the online panel on the statement pertaining to this in relation to the non-EEA skilled workers (74%), low-skilled migrant workers (62%) and asylum-seeking and refugee groups (52% and 54% respectively). There was also general agreement with the statement that local services benefited from being able to recruit a culturally diverse workforce. In the literature, it is frequently noted that the health service, in particular, has been very reliant on skilled migrant labour (for example, COMPAS, 2010; Health Protection Agency, 2011).

However, research has also identified the potential for migrants to displace non-migrant labour (MAC, 2012) and to lower wages at the local level or amongst the lowest paid groups (COMPAS, 2010). MAC found an association between non-EEA migration and UK employment, such that an increase in 100 non-EEA migrant workers was associated with a reduction in employment of around 23 UK workers. It also found evidence that this effect was stronger during periods when the economy was weaker (MAC, 2012). Other studies have found that the impacts of migration on the labour market will vary depending on the migrants' skills and occupational mix, and suggest that the risk of displacement is greater for low-skilled groups (Nickell and Saleheen, 2008; Nathan, 2011).

The discussions with LAs, the expert panel exercise and the literature all highlighted the different contribution made by different types of migrants. For example, EU Accession state migrants were seen as contributing appreciably to the local economy by filling low-skilled jobs, starting new businesses (for example, thriving Polish shops sitting alongside empty premises) and, increasingly, taking more skilled roles. However, in contrast, asylum seekers are not permitted to work and the unemployment rate for those who are granted refugee status has been shown to be high. A longitudinal survey of new refugees (December 2005 to March 2009) found that only 34 per cent were employed at 8 months and 49 per cent at 21 months following the granting of refugee status (Cebulla et al., 2010), well below the UK average of 80 per cent at that time (Office for National Statistics, 2009b).

4. Bringing together the summary of relative impacts by service and migrant type, with the local authority typology

As described previously, the typology of local authorities (LAs) specifies the recent flow of different types of migrant in a given area and local conditions that may affect local-level impacts of migration. The summary of relative impacts allows an assessment of the sorts of impacts that different migrant populations might have. Combining two pieces of knowledge of this sort enables a more informed assessment of the different types of impacts experienced by different types of LAs, as the following examples show.

- ‘Asylum Dispersal Areas’ and ‘Migrant Worker Towns and Countryside’ have had limited prior experience of large-scale migration. The presence of asylum seekers, refugees and low-skilled workers may therefore have more noticeable effects on social cohesion in these areas.
- The impact of asylum seekers and refugees on health and social services is likely to be greater in ‘Asylum Dispersal Areas’ and ‘Diverse Conurbation Centres’, both of which have high numbers of supported asylum seekers. However, the latter may have a longer history of dealing with the needs of migrant groups and are therefore better able to adapt to, receive and support new arrivals.
- Pressures on housing will be focused on the private rental sector, where most new migrants reside, and is likely to be associated with high volumes and mobility of migrant workers and therefore felt most keenly in high migration areas (for example, ‘Migrant Worker Towns and Countryside’) and those with a high population turnover (for example, ‘London Suburbs and Satellite Towns’).
- In ‘High Turnover Provincial and Student Towns’ and ‘Cosmopolitan London and Periphery’ the impacts of migration may be less noticeable because these LAs experience higher than average inflows of students, who have been identified as having less impact on services, and migrants from old Europe (that is, pre-accession) and the New World, who are likely to be skilled workers with similarly low impacts on services. However, this does not mean there is not pressure on services caused by very large numbers of such migrants, an effect not captured by the methodology here, which looked at individual case characteristics.
- It might, however, be expected that most of the high migration areas experience a population impact on services commensurate with recent migration-related population growth. For example, there may be pressures on school places and on the health system in ‘Superdiverse London’ and ‘London Suburbs and Satellite Towns’, both of which have recently experienced relatively high inflows of migrant children as well as elderly migrants. Similarly, the Department for Communities and Local Government bases its estimates of housing pressure on population data that are to a certain extent a reflection of the additional impacts of long-term migrants.
- The association between social cohesion and socio-economic deprivation suggests that other LA clusters with high migration, such as the ‘Diverse Conurbation Centres’, may also experience cohesion issues, particularly where those areas in which migrants reside have high levels of pre-existing deprivation. Having had a longer history of migration, such areas may cope better at dealing with any tensions that arise.

- Other areas such as ‘Migrant Worker Towns and Countryside’ may experience a greater impact from recent new arrivals due to the new influx of population’s high impact relative to the pre-existing levels and low population density (since these areas are predominantly rural). This combination of high volumes of new migrants in an area with little previous experience of receiving migrants appears to give rise to greater challenges and potential tensions.
- However, migration may also benefit some of the moderate or low migration areas. For example, the population of ‘Rural and Coastal Retirement Areas’ is aging, and in some of these areas the arrival of migrant families and children might help to keep rural schools open, while migrant workers can make a valuable contribution to the provision of services and to the local economy.

These are some plausible scenarios based on the evidence outlined in this report, but they will not necessarily reflect the experience of what is actually happening in every local area. Nevertheless, they do reflect the observations made by LA personnel in the locations visited²³ and are supported by the evidence presented in previous sections. The nature and impact of migration will change over time. Areas currently in one group may in future receive different levels or types of migrants, and future revisions of the typology could lead them to be allocated to a different grouping. In this way, the typology presented here is not static.

This analysis, combining an understanding of the different levels of migration impacting on local populations and the compositional effects of different types of migrants received, could be used to improve both the interpretation and assessment of the impact of migration and policies at both the local and national level.

- The Migration Advisory Committee (MAC) report (2012) noted the difficulty of measuring and monetising the impact of migration on services in policy Impact Assessments and suggested the inclusion of more qualitative insights as a way of providing a better understanding of how policies are likely to affect service provision and consumption. The analysis here, derived from the LA discussions and literature review and supported by the online and expert panels, provides qualitative insights that may be helpful in better understanding the impact of particular policy interventions. For example, qualitative insights show that cultural expectations of healthcare and cultural perceptions of illness can impede effective engagement with the health system and health professionals as well as impose additional costs.
- When migrants lack English language skills, health service visits and appointment times are appreciably longer.
- Migrants’ attraction to low-cost temporary accommodation can attract them to particular areas and make them susceptible to rogue landlords, overcrowding and poorer quality housing.

Furthermore, the summary of impacts provides a systematic, evidence-based way to assess the relative impacts of different categories of migrant on specific services or policies. Analyses of migration often discuss migrants as a single group, and quote an average per person cost for the consumption of various services by migrants, or an average adjusted by age (for example, a typical migrant’s cost on the health service might be estimated as lower than the average cost per person, because the age of the migrant population is weighted towards younger age groups). The approach suggested in this report provides potential options for making further adjustments to per

²³ The rationale for choosing the seven LAs is outlined in Annex 2. After the LA typology was produced, these LAs fell into the following groups: Superdiverse London; Asylum Dispersal Areas; Diverse Conurbation Centres; Migrant Worker Towns and Countryside; and London Suburbs and Satellite Towns.

person costs based on more specific migrant characteristics. For example, this analysis suggests that the per person cost of an asylum seeker on the health system should be adjusted upwards. By contrast, for legitimate students and non-EEA skilled workers, the per person cost might be revised down from the average for most services, on the basis that their usage of public services is relatively low. In this way, if it is appropriate to do so, the costs quoted in future policy Impact Assessments might be modified in order to reflect better the projected impacts of policy changes on specific migrant groups. That said, this report only provides an initial approach, and it is one that will undoubtedly benefit from further research.

Lastly, it is widely acknowledged that there is significant variation in the impacts of migration across geographic areas, depending on a range of local factors. The LA typology provides a systematic framework for evaluating the impacts at the local level. This means that certain impacts might be specified in terms of differences across the country with, for example, 'Asylum Dispersal Areas' and 'Diverse Conurbation Centres' being, perhaps, most keenly affected by changes in asylum policy, and 'High Turnover Provincial and Student Towns' being more greatly affected by changes in migrant student numbers. In this way, the LA typology allows more detailed and accurate assessments of current impacts on services and future effects of migration change to be made, and ensures that these are more relevant to specific local circumstances, reflecting the differences in communities across the country.

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Annex 1- A migration classification of local authorities in England and Wales

This annex describes the data methods used for the local authority (LA) classification and cluster profiles.

Selection of variables

The LA typology is based on cluster analysis applied to 20 variables listed in Table A1.1 below.

Table A1.1: List of variables selected for the classification²⁴

	Variable name
1	Turnover: Gross migrant inflows and outflows per 1,000 resident population
2	Child migrants: Migrants aged 0 to 16 per 1,000 resident population
3	Elderly migrants: Migrants aged 60 or above per 1,000 resident population
4	Migrant students: Short-term and long-term migrant students per 1,000 resident population
5	Migrant workers: Short-term and long-term migrant workers per 1,000 resident population
6	European migrants: Migrants from Europe (excluding EU Accession countries) and the New World per 1,000 resident population
7	EU Accession migrants: Migrants from the EU Accession countries per 1,000 resident population
8	Asian migrants: Migrants from Asia and the Middle East per 1,000 resident population
9	African migrants: Migrants from Africa per 1,000 resident population
10	Supported asylum seekers: Asylum seekers receiving Section 95 support ²⁵ per 1,000 resident population
11	Rural/urban: Rural-urban LA classification
12	Pre-existing migrants: Proportion of people born outside the UK
13	People aged 0 to 14: Proportion of people aged 0 to 14
14	People aged 25 to 34: Proportion of people aged 25 to 34
15	People aged 65 plus: Proportion of people aged 65 or above
16	Private renting: Proportion of households renting privately or living rent free
17	Social renting: Proportion of households renting from a social housing landlord
18	Worklessness: Proportion of people claiming Incapacity Benefit (IB), Jobseeker's Allowance (JSA) and Severe Disablement Allowance (SDA)
19	Migrant-dense industries: Proportion of employees in migrant-dense industries
20	Manufacturing: Proportion of employees in manufacturing

²⁴ The immigration rates were calculated by expressing the number of migrants in 2010 as a rate per 1,000 population based on ONS 2010 mid-year population estimates. The Census variables relate to the number of people in 2001 with a specified characteristic (age, housing tenure and economic activity) expressed as a proportion of the population in 2001. See Table A1.2 for the data sources.

²⁵ Section 95 support is provided to destitute asylum seekers who can receive accommodation and/or financial support from the UK Border Agency (UKBA) whilst their claim is being decided.

The variables were drawn from a variety of data sources, including Office for National Statistics (ONS) migration estimates, Department for Work and Pensions (DWP) National Insurance numbers (NINOs), Home Office asylum statistics, the Business Register and Employment Survey (BRES) and the 2001 Census, which was used as the baseline to take into account the local area context prior to the arrival of recent migrants. The 20 variables are a subset of 75 indicators selected with a number of criteria used to examine the suitability of each variable and find the variables that could best represent the main determinants of the social impacts of migration.

Exploratory data analysis was used, involving inspection of descriptive statistics, correlation analysis and also principal component analysis (PCA), which aimed to exclude irrelevant or masking variables that would add little information to the identification of groupings within the data (Vickers and Rees, 2007).²⁶ The 20 variables that were used in the classification are described in more detail in the remainder of this section.

Migrants by migrant stream. The ONS provides annual estimates on migrant workers, students and ‘other’ migrants (aged 0 to 16; aged 17 to 59 and aged 60 plus) made up mainly of people accompanying and joining others. The LA estimates are derived from the International Passenger Survey (IPS) and a variety of administrative sources with migrants defined as those who change their country of usual residence for at least 12 months. Most non-UK born migrants are ‘new’ migrants, having not been previously resident in the UK, although there are some who are returning migrants. All categories of ‘new’ migrants (workers, students, others aged 0 to 16, others aged 60 plus) were selected apart from one (other migrants aged 17 to 59) that exhibited high correlations with the other categories. Returning migrants were also excluded as they exhibited strong correlations with the corresponding categories of new migrants and exhibited low variability across LAs. In order to capture short-term migrants defined as those moving for between 3 and 12 months, ONS short-term migration estimates were used for short-term workers and short-term students.²⁷ Both of these variables were highly correlated with the respective new migrant categories and for this reason two new variables were created for migrant workers and students by grouping together short-term and long-term migrants.

Migrants by nationality. DWP NINOs issued to overseas nationals provide information on the nationality of migrants coming from the EU (excluding the EU Accession countries), EU Accession countries, other European (non-EU) countries, Asia and the Middle East, Africa, the Americas, Australasia and Oceania. NINOs are obtained by migrants who wish to work, claim benefits or tax credits in the UK, but exclude those not eligible to work and therefore capture mainly economic migrants. Correlation analysis suggested that there is a strong association between NINO registrations and ONS estimates of live births to foreign born mothers with the relationship being strongest for African, EU Accession and other European (non-EU) groups. This suggests that there is a close relationship between economic migration and family formation, with a higher number of migrants associated with a higher number of births to foreign born mothers. The relationship between migration and births is less pronounced for EU migrants (excluding EU Accession countries).²⁸ The high correlations between the equivalent nationality categories from the NINOs and the live births, suggested that the inclusion of the NINO categories alone were

26 For instance, excluded variables had low variability, many outliers and were more likely to be highly correlated with other variables. Highly correlated variables were either excluded or grouped together although the decision of whether to exclude highly correlated variables was assessed against their importance for the study since correlated variables in this case could be more powerful predictors of the clusters (Vickers and Rees, 2007). Based on the PCA, several variables with low factor loadings were also excluded.

27 Short-term migration estimates exclude other migrant categories, such as people accompanying and joining others.

28 The relationship between the nationality variables was also explored using the PCA, which produced three components capturing economic migration and family formation of three main groupings: EU (excluding EU Accession countries), Europe (non-EU), Australasia and the Americas (1), Asia and Africa (2) and EU Accession countries (3).

sufficient to capture both migration and family formation. Some of the nationality categories were strongly correlated with each other (EU, Europe other, Americas, Australasia and Oceania) and were grouped together into a single category to denote migrants from Europe and the New World.

Asylum seekers. Home Office releases' estimates on asylum seekers, including asylum seekers supported under Section 95, broken down by type of support received (in receipt of subsistence only, placed in dispersed accommodation, or those disbenefited who were supported under the main UK benefits system and were moved into asylum support). The overall number of asylum seekers supported under Section 95 (per 1,000 population) was selected in this case, since the three sub-categories exhibited low variation across areas.²⁹

Turnover. A population turnover variable was created to capture gross inflows and outflows of migrants (both international and internal) based on ONS turnover estimates.³⁰

History of migration. Two variables were created to measure pre-existing migration: an index of ethnic diversity based on the 16 ethnic groupings available from the Census: and the proportion of people born outside the UK in 2001. The ethnic diversity index proved to be less discriminatory across clusters, and would exclude those migrants who were not from minority-ethnic groups (such as those from within the EU post-2004 Accession) and for this reason, the proportion of people born outside the UK was used.

Deprivation. An indicator measuring worklessness that corresponds to IB, JSA and SDA claimants was preferred over the Labour Force Survey (LFS) unemployment and inactivity rates, which had missing (around 3%) observations.³¹

Housing. Housing tenure from the 2001 Census, including social housing rented households and private rented households, were selected to identify areas with different housing conditions. The owner-occupation category was excluded as it was strongly correlated with the social housing category.

Population composition and density. The detailed age categories from the 2001 Census were used to form broad age groupings since the detailed age categories were highly correlated with each other, to capture children (aged 0 to 14), young people (aged 25 to 34) and elderly people (aged 65 or above). The sixfold Department for Environment, Food and Rural Affairs (DEFRA) rural-urban classification was also used to denote areas with different population thresholds.³²

29 Other variables considered, such as the inflow of asylum seekers, unaccompanied asylum-seeking children (UASC) and failed asylum seekers were excluded as they were strongly correlated with other variables or exhibited low variability across areas and had many outliers.

30 A number of variables were also created to measure changes in migration rates between 2006 and 2010 (for instance, change in the migration rates of the different migrant groups, overall rates of immigration, emigration and turnover) but they were subsequently dropped as they had low factor loadings on all of the PCA components or proved to be non-discriminatory across clusters when included in the cluster analysis.

31 A range of variables associated with different dimensions of deprivation were considered for inclusion in the cluster analysis, such as overcrowding and limiting long-term illness (LLTI), but were subsequently dropped as they had low variability across LAs. The proportion of lone parents was also excluded as it was highly correlated with worklessness.

32 The DEFRA urban-rural classification corresponds to LAs in England. The same methodology was also applied to Wales to produce a single rural-urban indicator for England and Wales.

- Major urban (1): LAs with either 100,000 people or 50 per cent of their population in urban areas with a population of more than 750,000.
- Large urban (2): LAs with either 50,000 people or 50 per cent of their population in 1 of 17 urban areas with a population between 250,000 and 750,000.
- Other urban (3): LAs with less than 26 per cent of their population in rural settlements and larger market towns.
- Significant rural (4): LAs with more than 26 per cent of their population in rural settlements and larger market towns.
- Rural-50 (5): LAs with at least 50 per cent but less than 80 per cent of their population in rural settlements and larger market towns.
- Rural-80 (6): LAs with at least 80 per cent of their population in rural settlements and larger market towns.

Economic conditions. There are 18 broad industry categories of employment in the employment estimates in the BRES. Five of the employment categories were dropped (agriculture, forestry and fishing; mining, quarrying and utilities; construction; property; and arts, entertainment and recreation) as they had low factor loadings on all of the components produced by the PCA. Six categories were then grouped together to capture migrant-dense industries, defined as industries where migrants have a greater propensity to be employed than the UK born (Green et al., 2007). The six industries identified as migrant-dense (see Table A1.3) were:

- transport and storage;
- accommodation and food services;
- information and communication;
- financial and insurance;
- business administration and support services; and
- health.

Of the remaining categories only manufacturing was included in the final cluster analysis as it proved to be more important in defining the clusters than the other categories.

Clustering method

Hierarchical cluster analysis was applied to the data using Ward's method. Logarithmic transformations were applied to the variables and standardisation (z-scores) in order to weight them according to their variability (Everitt and Dunn, 2001). The agglomeration schedule, which plots the number of clusters against the distance coefficients, was used to identify the optimal number of clusters, with the point at which the curve flattens out being an indication of where to stop combining the clusters. As shown in Figure A1.1, there is a large increase in the distance coefficient between the 12 and 11 clusters, suggesting that a 12-cluster solution should be retained. K-means clustering was then used to optimise the solution obtained from the hierarchical clustering, which reassigns LAs to clusters with the smallest distance between the LA and the cluster centre (ONS, 2005).

Figure A1.1: Agglomeration schedule

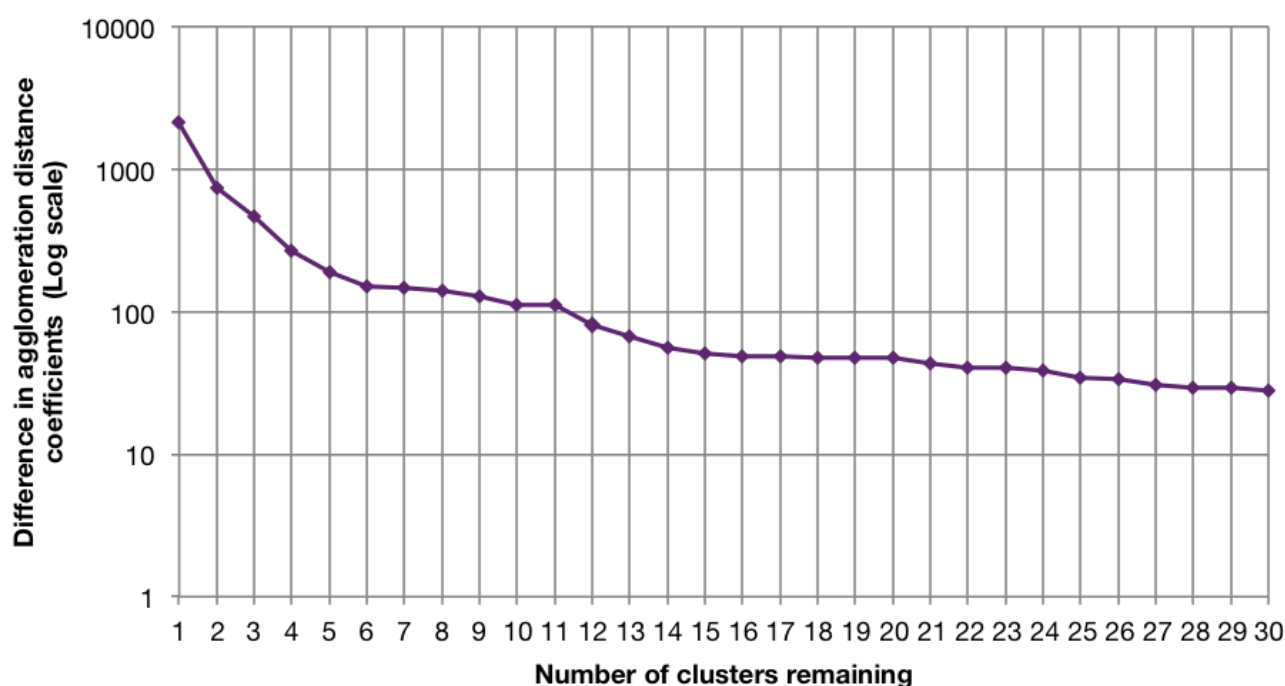


Table A1.2: List of variables and data sources

Indicator	Year	Source
Turnover: Gross migrant inflows and outflows per 1,000 resident population	2010	ONS Migration data (Population Estimates Unit) http://www.ons.gov.uk/ons/taxonomy/index.html?nsc=Local+Area+Migration+Indicators
Child migrants: Migrants aged 0–16 per 1,000 resident population	2010	ONS Long-Term International Migration Estimates email info@statistics.gov.uk
Elderly migrants: Migrants aged 60 or above per 1,000 resident population	2010	ONS Long-Term International Migration Estimates email info@statistics.gov.uk
Migrant students: Short-term and long-term migrant students per 1,000 resident population	2010	ONS Long-Term Migration Estimates http://www.ons.gov.uk/ons/guide-method/method-quality/imps/improvements-to-local-authority-immigration-estimates/index.html
Migrant workers: Short-term and long-term migrant workers per 1,000 resident population	2010	ONS Short-Term Migration Estimates http://www.ons.gov.uk/ons/guide-method/method-quality/imps/updates-and-reports/current-updates-and-releases/distributing-short-term-migrants-to-local-authorities/index.html
European migrants: Migrants from Europe (excluding EU Accession countries) and the New World per 1,000 resident population	2010	DWP NINO Allocations to Adult Overseas Nationals entering the UK http://statistics.dwp.gov.uk/asd/asd1/niall/index.php?page=nino_allocation
EU Accession migrants: Migrants from the EU Accession countries per 1,000 resident population	2010	DWP NINO Allocations to Adult Overseas Nationals entering the UK http://statistics.dwp.gov.uk/asd/asd1/niall/index.php?page=nino_allocation
Asian migrants: Migrants from Asia and the Middle East per 1,000 resident population	2010	DWP NINO Allocations to Adult Overseas Nationals entering the UK http://statistics.dwp.gov.uk/asd/asd1/niall/index.php?page=nino_allocation

Indicator	Year	Source
African Migrants: Migrants from Africa per 1,000 resident population	2010	DWP NINO Allocations to Adult Overseas Nationals entering the UK http://statistics.dwp.gov.uk/asd/asd1/niall/index.php?page=nino_allocation
Indicator	Year	Source
Supported asylum seekers: Asylum seekers supported under Section 95 per 1,000 resident population	2010	Home Office Immigration Statistics
http://www.homeoffice.gov.uk/publications/science-research-statistics/research-statistics/immigration-asylum-research/immigration-tabs-q2-2012/asylum5-q2-2012-tabs		
Rural/urban: Rural-urban LA classification	2001	DEFRA http://www.defra.gov.uk/statistics/rural/what-is-rural/rural-urban-classification/
Wales Agricultural and Rural Affairs Statistics		
Email: stats.agric@wales.gsi.gov.uk		
Pre-existing migrants: Proportion of people born outside the UK	2001	2001 Census http://www.nomisweb.co.uk
People aged 0–14: Proportion of people aged 0–14	2001	2001 Census http://www.nomisweb.co.uk
People aged 25–34: Proportion of people aged 25–34	2001	2001 Census http://www.nomisweb.co.uk
People aged 65 plus: Proportion of people aged 65 or above	2001	2001 Census http://www.nomisweb.co.uk
Private renting: Proportion of households renting privately or living rent free	2001	2001 Census http://www.nomisweb.co.uk
Social renting: Proportion of households renting from a social housing landlord	2001	2001 Census http://www.nomisweb.co.uk
Worklessness: Proportion of people claiming IB, JSA and SDA	2010	DWP Benefits http://www.nomisweb.co.uk
Migrant-dense industries: Proportion of employees in migrant-dense industries	2010	BRES http://www.nomisweb.co.uk
Manufacturing: Proportion of employees in manufacturing	2010	BRES http://www.nomisweb.co.uk

Table A1.3: Migrant-dense industries

	UK born	Non-UK born
Agriculture, forestry & fishing	1.0	0.5
Mining, quarrying & utilities	1.6	1.0
Manufacturing	10.3	9.4
Construction	8.0	5.4
Wholesale, retail, repair of vehicles	13.9	12.6
Transport & storage (inc. postal)	4.8	6.5
Accommodation & food services	4.1	9.6
Information & communication	3.6	4.5
Financial & insurance	4.1	4.7
Property	1.0	0.7
Professional, scientific & technical	6.6	6.6
Business administration & support services	4.3	5.5
Public administration & defence	7.0	4.0
Education	11.3	8.5
Health	12.8	15.8
Arts, entertainment, recreation & other services	5.6	4.9

Note: Annual Population Survey, January–December 2010. Employment in each industry is expressed as a proportion of the working age UK born and non-UK born population. Percentages are based on the population-weighted sample for England and Wales.

Annex 2 - Summarising relative potential impacts by migrant type, local authority discussions and in-depth interviews

Aims

The purpose of the qualitative stage of the project was to develop a range of statements about the demands and contributions that migrants make to key public services: education (for those aged 0 to 16); health; social services; trading standards;³³ housing; and crime and policing; and within key domains: economic and social cohesion.

The statements were designed to provide a structure for a discussion of the impacts of migration by a panel of migration experts.

Method

An initial workshop, attended by stakeholders representing 51 local authorities (LAs) and related organisations, helped to determine the feasibility and focus of the project. A literature review of the impacts of migration was also carried out.

Seven LAs across England were selected for the qualitative work. The aim was to select:

- three LAs that were 'Asylum Dispersal Areas' with relatively little prior international migration, so that the impact of this group would be discernable;
- three LAs with a settled migrant community, and a mix of migrant types, where chain migration was likely to be occurring; and
- one LA that had experienced a high recent inflow of migrants from the EU Accession countries.

A further aim was to match the asylum areas broadly with one another in terms of basic demographic information, and likewise to match broadly the areas with a settled migrant population. It was also decided that priority should be given to those LAs meeting the criteria that had been represented at the feasibility workshop, since this self-selecting sample had an interest in migration and contacts had already been made.

Local authority selection

The Office for National Statistics (ONS) local area migration indicators data were used as the main basis for selection. This dataset provided 2010 mid-year population estimates of international and internal migration at different levels of geography in the UK. Qualitative information, gained in the feasibility workshop, was also used in the process of case study selection.

Firstly, all data at national, regional, and county level were excluded, as were all Scottish, Welsh and Northern Irish data. A subset of LAs was then excluded because no estimates of non-British nationals were available. The data were sorted by size of resident population, and categorised into 'very high', 'high', 'medium' and 'low' populations (based on scanning the spread of the data

³³ A limited amount of data were captured on trading standards, but the online and expert panellists' low knowledge of this service meant that too little feedback was obtained on the trading standards statements to be of use.

and identifying natural breaks). The data were then similarly sorted and categorised according to the proportion of non-British nationals in the resident population, the number of asylum seekers in receipt of Section 95 support,³⁴ and number of Worker Registration Scheme (WRS) registrations as a proportion of non-British nationals.

This analysis yielded a shortlist of LAs meeting the agreed criteria. One area with a high recent inflow of EU Accession WRS migrants, and two broadly matched 'asylum' case study areas were chosen (one in the North and one in the South of England). A fourth large LA in the North of England was also chosen because it contained a high number of asylum seekers and qualitative evidence gathered at the feasibility workshop suggested that it had a long history of migration and a diverse number of communities.

The analysis showed that many of the LAs with a high number of non-British nationals were London boroughs. Two broadly matched London boroughs and one LA in the centre of England were chosen. Additionally, six of the seven LAs contained a university or a satellite campus, to enable international students to be represented.

Qualitative fieldwork

In each of the seven locations, Home Office researchers conducted a workshop, consisting of between two and four structured group discussions with representatives from LAs and other local agencies, including voluntary groups, schools, neighbourhood policing and UK Border Agency local immigration teams. Most of the participants in the workshops were either front-line staff, delivering services to the public (for example, police officers and head teachers), or LA personnel with responsibility for service planning and/or delivery. In addition to the workshops, semi-structured interviews were carried out with participants who were unable to attend on the day.

The fieldwork took place between November 2011 and May 2012. Each of the workshops included between 9 and 22 participants:

- 1 workshop consisted of 2 group discussions with a group of 9 people;
- 1 held 6 group discussions with 3 groups of 10–12 people; and
- the remaining 5 workshops consisted of 4 group discussions with 2 groups of 7–12 (on average, 9) participants.

A total of 21 in-depth interviews were also carried out: 9 by telephone and 12 face to face.

Analysis

All of the group discussions were recorded and the recordings were partially transcribed, augmenting detailed notes taken by the facilitators and Home Office researchers who were observing. The interview data consisted of detailed notes.

The qualitative data were analysed using template analysis (King, 1994). Firstly, a coding template was developed using codes that emerged from the data. The template was added to as new themes emerged. All the qualitative data were coded into this template (framework one). Secondly, the data were re-analysed by migrant type, by service or domain (framework two). Lastly, a series of statements, describing the ways in which migrants impacted on each service area or domain,

³⁴ Source: Immigration statistics data – asylum seekers in receipt of Section 95 support, by LA, as at end of quarter 4 2010. The number in dispersal accommodation was deemed the best estimate of asylum seekers actually residing in the area.

were developed from the data in the two frameworks, augmented by the evidence in the literature review. The statements articulated findings that were common across LAs (that is, mentioned in several of the group discussions or interviews) and were supported in the literature. In a few instances, statements were included where the literature was equivocal (for example, on migrants' health behaviour) or very sparse (for example, in the case of impacts on social services), but a statement was not included if the literature contradicted the qualitative evidence. The statements formed the basis of the online panel's assessment exercise and were used as prompts for the expert panel's discussions (see below).

The online panel and the expert panel

Aim

The aim of the online and expert panels was to explore potential impacts by migrant type, and consider this alongside the qualitative evidence and the literature.

Method

A number of experts and others working in the migration field were invited to take part in an online exercise to assess each of the statements for each of the following migrant types.

- Asylum-seeking and refugee families
- Asylum seekers and refugees without children
- Non-European Economic Area (EEA) skilled migrant workers
- Low-skilled migrant workers
- Dependants of migrant workers
- International students.

A total of 84 panellists participated in the online exercise. The online panel included people who had attended the initial workshop, the LA discussions within the seven LAs, regional migration experts, and academics and researchers in the field of migration studies who were members of the UK network of the European Migration Network. Respondents were asked to rate their level of agreement with each statements (generated from the qualitative work and the literature, see above) and their level of confidence in making their judgements.

The results from this online assessment of the statements of impacts were then reviewed in discussion with a panel of 12 experts (the expert panel) who were leading researchers in the field of migration. The panel were selected as experts in their field, from reviewing the literature and by reputation. The panel were also asked to bring their own knowledge to the discussion and, in practice, much of their discussion was focused around their own extensive knowledge and research in these areas.

The objective of the expert panel meeting was to reach a good degree of agreement on the relative impact of each of the migrant types on each of the service areas considered. The panellists were asked to indicate their opinion of the extent of the impact, by migrant type, by service area. 'Extent of impact' was based on a rating, designed to capture composition effects for each group (that is, how different or similar their needs and characteristics were to the UK population) rather than population effects (reflecting the numbers of migrants in each group).

The expert panel meeting took place on 10 July 2012. The attendees were as follows.

Facilitator	Prof. Roger Tarling	University of Surrey and former Head of the Home Office Research and Planning Unit
1.	Ben Gidley	COMPAS, University of Oxford
2.	Gill Green	Housing Association Charitable Trust (HACT), for the Housing and Migration network, jointly established by HACT and its funders, the Joseph Rowntree Foundation and the Metropolitan Migration Foundation
3.	Paul Harvey	Ipsos MORI Social Research Institute
4.	Prof. Ravi Kohli	University of Bedfordshire
5.	Sarah Mulley	Institute for Public Policy Research
6.	Jenny Phillimore	University of Birmingham
7.	Jerry Rabot	WCL Consultants
8.	Prof. David Robinson	Centre for Regional Economic and Social Research, Sheffield Hallam University
9.	Jon Simmons	Home Office Science
10.	Will Somerville	Migration Policy Institute
11.	Prof. Steve Vertovec	Max-Planck-Institute for the Study of Religious and Ethnic Diversity
12.	Dick Williams	Greater London Authority (formerly)

It should be noted that the views of the expert panel were used in the consideration of impacts described here, but this report is not based wholly on their judgements and the panel are not responsible for its content.

