**IPPR**

# LOCAL MIGRATION PANEL: COVENTRY

**Phoebe Griffith** and
**Paulius Mackela**

August 2018

## ABOUT THE LOCAL MIGRATION PANEL PROGRAMME

The Local Migration Panel programme was a major initiative launched by IPPR to broker a new consensus in Britain's communities on the future role of migration. Funded by the Paul Hamlyn Foundation, the project brought together key stakeholders and policymakers in three locations in Britain, to explore the current and potential role of migration in their communities.

The project had a methodology designed to provide local and national policymakers with a deeper and more informed understanding of local people's views on the impact of migration. Through in-depth, deliberative consultation with a panel of local residents, the Local Migration Panel project aims to address the sources of public concern and local areas.

## ABOUT IPPR

# The progressive policy think tank

# CONTENTS

**ABOUT THE AUTHOR**

**Phoebe Griffith** is an associate director at IPPR.

**Paulius Mackela** is a research fellow at IPPR.

**Download**
This document is available to download as a free PDF and in other formats at:
http://www.ippr.org/research/publications/local-migration-panel-coventry

**Citation**
If you are using this document in your own writing, our preferred citation is:
Griffith P and Mackela P (2017) *Local migration panel: Coventry*, IPPR. http://www.ippr.org/research/publications/local-migration-panel-coventry

# SUMMARY

The Coventry Local Migration Panel (see box 1 for description) was convened to further understanding of how residents have responded to high levels of immigration to the city. The aim was to provide an insight for local stakeholders to help them develop strategies to ensure that the city capitalises on the benefits of immigration and is well placed to broker grater public consent on this issue.

Our analysis shows that Coventry has seen some of the highest rates of population growth of any UK city outside of London. We find that migration has been the main driver for this growth. More people from outside the UK are choosing to live, work and study in Coventry than ever before. This is testament to the city's changing fortunes, its buoyant labour market, the emergence of a world-class higher education sector, and a bi-product of its diversity.

However, our work with the Local Migration Panel confirmed that there were concerns about the scale of migration in the past decade. While worries about the scale of migration were an issue, resident's views on migration are nuanced and multifaceted. Although participants could appreciate the important role that migration has played in the city's economy, they also identified challenges.

The following three key themes emerged.
1. **The local labour market:** The panellists were concerned about the way in which high levels of migration had impacted on wages, and the interaction with what they perceived to be a more casualised local labour market (including increasing levels of self-employment and zero-hour contracts). They also shared concerns that availability of non-UK workers had undermined local efforts to tackle the skills and qualifications challenges affecting the city's resident population.
2. **Infrastructure and public services:** Panellists shared concerns about the impact which high levels of migration had on local public services and infrastructure, particularly at a time when public funding was scarce. While they saw local employers and the higher education sector benefitting from a buoyant and growing population, they didn't feel like these advantages had been shared evenly across the city and that decisions which had led to higher levels of immigration had prioritised the needs of local residents.
3. **Social integration:** While panellists largely shared a sense that openness to outsiders was one of the city's key assets, there were also concerns that population growth of the scale experienced by Coventry had put a strain on social integration. Panellists wanted the city to promote a greater sense of common identity, and ensure that all residents were able to speak English and that newcomers participated fully in the local community.

Our overview of the evidence regarding the economic and social impact of migration on Coventry reveals a very complex picture. The fact that the city's population transformation has taken place against a backdrop of significant economic change and at a time when public sector investment has been falling makes it very difficult to isolate where pressures are indeed the result of the growth of its migrant population, or potentially a product of these wider changes.

Nevertheless, the findings from the local migration panel lead us to conclude that more could be done to reassure local people that key stakeholders in the city are being proactive in their response to rapid population growth. We recommend that

the city should carry out a **comprehensive migration impact assessment** to review how levels of immigration have shaped the local economy, and affected public services and communities in the past five to ten years.

## BOX 1: ABOUT THE PANEL

Coventry was one of three areas that IPPR examined as part of a programme of work launched to understand the impact of immigration on local people and what practical steps could be taken to manage migration and its impacts in the future.

The panel involved a group of 12 local people who took part in two deliberative workshops. Although 12 participants could be seen as a relatively small sample, the similar structural and social conditions that they have experienced provided highly descriptive and reliable data for the research project (Seidman 2013). Panellists were residents of Coventry who identified as being concerned about immigration. All the panellists had voted to leave the EU in the 2016 referendum.

The sessions focused on their experiences of migration in the city and deliberated on how some of the challenges could be mitigated in the future. The two deliberative workshops were held with the same group of residents during June and August 2017.

The participants were recruited via a market research company and, while selected to be generally representative of the demographic profile of Coventry, the discussions were designed to provide a brief 'snapshot' of the views and opinions of local residents in Coventry and to help contextualise the quantitative data on immigration.

Since 2013, IPPR has carried out research into the impact of immigration in 10 different local areas in the UK (Newham, Derby, Kings Lynn, Slough, Sandwell, Redbridge, Glasgow, Bedford, Coventry and Sunderland) where we spoke with migrant communities and the receiving society

# 1.
# IMMIGRATION IN COVENTRY

Since 2005, the city has experienced some of the highest rates of population growth of any UK city outside of London (figure 1.1). International migration has been the key driver for this growth (figure 1.2). The share of Coventry's foreign-born population has increased steadily since 2005. More than a quarter (26 per cent) of Coventry's population in 2016 was made up of people born outside the UK, up from 16 per cent in 2005.[1]

**Population change in Coventry, 2005–2017**
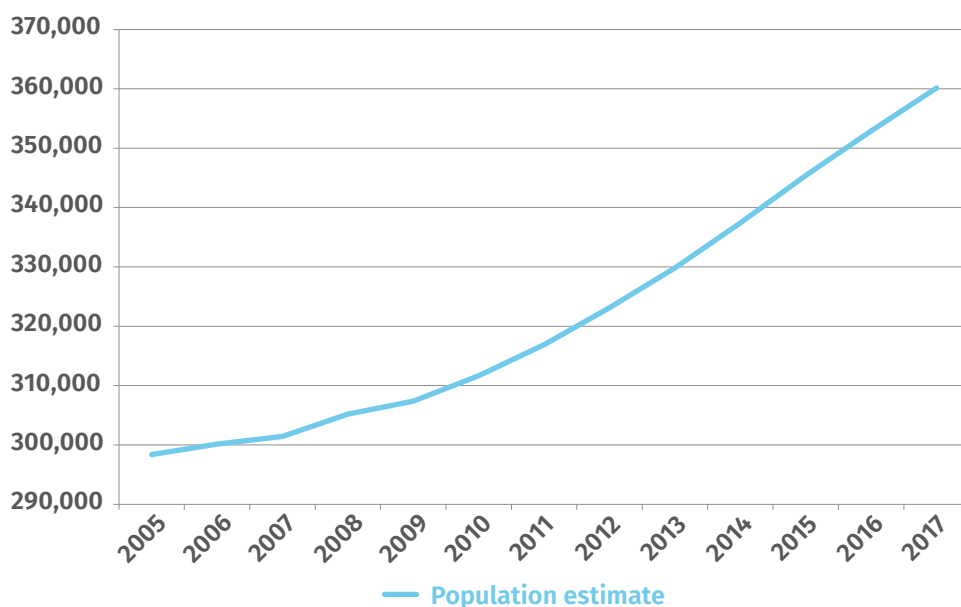


Source: Population Estimates for UK, England and Wales, Scotland and Northern Ireland 2018

---

1    This report defines migrants as those born outside the UK. We use this term because the country of birth cannot change over time (unlike nationality), hence is a stable definition of a migrant.

FIGURE 1.2

**Population change in Coventry among UK- and non-UK born people, 2005–2016**
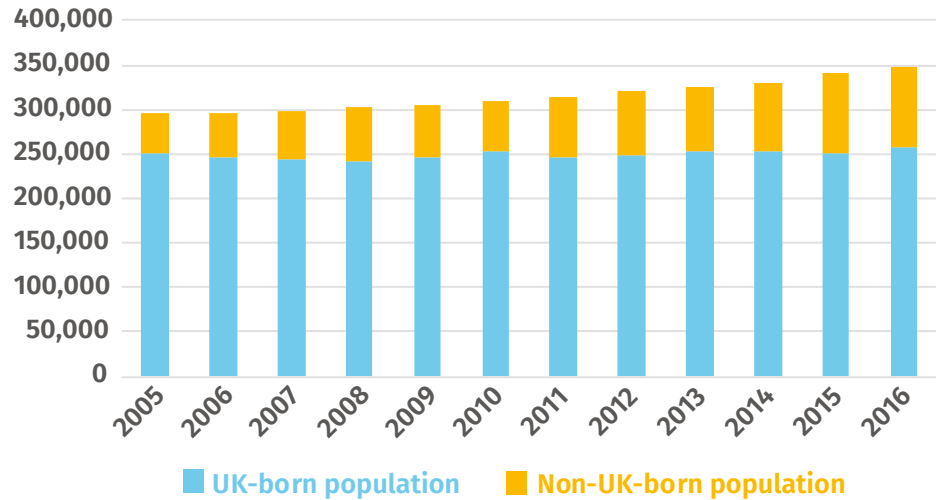


Source: Local Area Migration Indicators 2017d

Migration to Coventry has been high for a variety of reasons. First, there has been high demand for labour among employers in the city. Between 2009 and 2015, the number of jobs in Coventry has increased by 14 per cent, compared with the national average increase of 9.7 per cent. Unemployment in the city has fallen steadily, with current levels of unemployment (5.5 per cent) at their lowest levels in over 12 years. Work has been the key pull factor in recent years for EU migrants whose numbers have risen considerably in the past 5 years. Rates of employment among EU migrants are comparable to those of UK born citizens of the city (table 1.1).

**TABLE 1.1**

**Employment status of UK-, EU- and non-EU-born people (aged 16–64) in Coventry (percentage share)**

| Status | UK | EU | non-EU |
|---|---|---|---|
| Employed | 67.82% | 64.99% | 51.18% |
| Unemployed | 5.03% | 5.81% | 5.73% |
| Inactive | 27.14% | 29.2% | 43.09% |

Source: IPPR analysis of the Annual Population Survey 2010–2015

The growth of higher education has also played an important role. Coventry University is one of the fastest-growing universities in the UK (Times Higher Education 2017). Since 2010, the university has actively recruited internationally. Today, 33 per cent of its intake are international students (EU 7 per cent; other countries 26 per cent) (The Complete University Guide 2018a) compared to 23 per cent in 2010 (HESA 2012). A similar proportion of students at the University of Warwick – also in Coventry – come from abroad (The Complete University Guide 2018b). Overall, almost a third of students in the city come from outside the UK (Piazza 2017). This is the highest proportion of any university city in the UK.

The fact that the city saw relatively high levels of immigration in the 1960s and 1970s, and a significant increase between 2001 and 2011 (ONS 2011), means that the city is now is now home to a significant black, Asian and minority ethnic population. Approximately one-third of the city's population is from an ethnic group other than White British (Ohandjanian 2015). The most common reasons for non-EU born migrants is family-related (this includes both spouses of UK citizens as well as dependents of other migrants). Furthermore, it is likely that social networks within the migrant community contributed to high rates of immigration from outside the EU, particularly from South Asia (Poros 2011).

Immigration has always been a part of Coventry's reality. However, in the past decade, it has become a particularly important feature of the city's transformation. Migrants have come to play a critical role in the city's economy and in its key institutions – from the two universities to local health services. In the next section, we set out how members of our local migration panel have responded to this change.

# 2.
# FINDINGS FROM THE LOCAL MIGRATION PANEL

Overall, attitudes to migration in Coventry are comparable to elsewhere in the UK (table 2.1). IPPR's research across different local areas in the UK shows that while many of the issues that arise from immigration are widely shared, priorities and focus are determined by local conditions. Our work with the Coventry Local Migration Panel was therefore designed to understand the specific dynamics which have shaped resident's attitudes to migration in the city.

Our work with residents was divided into two stages. Stage one was exploratory, and aimed at giving participants the opportunity to identify key priorities through facilitated dialogue in a focus group setting. From these sessions we drew out three dominant themes, which formed the basis of a subsequent deliberative forum – stage two. In this follow-up session, we allowed participants to consider the evidence and, on this basis, work through the best options available for the city. In parallel, we also convened a taskforce of senior local stakeholders to act as a sounding board and guide our research.

The residents' panel identified three key issues:
1. **work and wages**
2. **public services and infrastructure**
3. **social integration.**

In this section, we set out some of the issues raised by the residents' panel. In addition, we analyse the available local-level data or draw on wider evidence. This is important given the evidence of widespread misinformation about the issue (Ipsos MORI 2016).

**TABLE 2.1**

**Response to the question: 'Some people think that the UK should allow \*many more\* immigrants to come to the UK to live and others think that the UK should allow \*many fewer\* immigrants. Where would you place yourself on this scale?' [0 is many fewer, 10 is many more]; [excluding don't knows]**

|  | Coventry | UK |
|---|---|---|
| **Fewer (0-3)** | 54% | 53% |
| **About the same (4-6)** | 35% | 34% |
| **More (7-10)** | 12% | 12% |

Source: IPPR analysis of the British Election Study Internet Panel 2017, Wave 11 (Fieldhouse et al) [total Coventry sample: 126 respondents, total UK sample: 31,014 respondents]

## ISSUE 1: WORK AND WAGES

The residents who participated in our local migration panel saw quality of work and low wages as a key priority for the city. Although people recognised that levels of unemployed had decreased, there was concern that for a large proportion of local workers this had not translated into better pay and conditions, or greater security.

Although panellists understood that the issues affecting the local economy were much wider, there were concerns about the easy availability of migrant labour. Many felt that higher migration had shaped the decisions and practices of local employers in ways that could undermine the situation for local workers.

> *"When the first lot [of migrants] came, we had Jaguar, Land Rover, Leyland, Morris, we had loads of factories, million, everyone was in a factory. So... they came and worked and everything else. Now we've got no factories, okay we've got taxi services. But in those jobs you can't really compete."*

> *"I say 'there is a job here for you, £7.50', or whatever the minimum wage is, [and they say] 'I ain't working for that', that is their immediate reaction... Whereas you say to a foreign worker '£7.50' [and EU workers say] 'yeah, I'll take it'."*

> *"He [a relative who is a roofer] has three Polish lads working for him; pays them cash in hand £120 per day, and has them down as 'self-employed'. But they don't want to declare tax on £120 but would rather send it home to Poland. English workers are less keen on that."*

There was widespread agreement that poor practice – such as exploitation, undercutting or the indiscriminate use of recruitment agencies and self-employed workers – should be addressed.

> *"The trouble is that they come over for the jobs and they're willing to work for peanuts. Whereas we want a wage, a proper wage."*

> *"The thing is if you say £7.50 per hour to them [EU workers] it is like double what they got, triple what they got at home. So, they are going to take it anyway. If you say it's a fiver they'll take it."'*

### The evidence

Throughout the period of high migration to the city, the total number of jobs has grown in line with population growth – from 152,000 in 2009 to 174,000 in 2015 (an increase of 14 per cent since 2009, compared with a national average increase of 9.7 per cent) (ONS 2017a). Unemployment in Coventry has also fallen steadily during the past five years. Since the 2008 financial crisis, labour demand in the city has grown steadily (Coventry City Council no date a) (figure 2.1) and, although rates of unemployment remain higher than the national average, there has been a steady decline since 2013 (figure 3.1; Piazza 2017).

However, as has been the case with the wider economy, these increases have not translated into higher incomes for workers in the city. Figures from the Office for National Statistics (2017c) for Gross Disposable Household Income per head (GDHI) in Coventry show that since 2011, GDHI has grown by just 4.47 per cent to £14,527 for the period 2011–2015. This is significantly lower than the West Midlands average of £16,559 in 2015 (ibid). Our analysis shows that EU migrants in the city earn approximately £3 less than their UK-born counterparts.

As with much of the UK, Coventry's labour market has undergone significant change in the past decade. Coventry's economy has shifted away from being dominated by manufacturing towards service sector jobs (noticeably increased

in healthcare and support services), IT and logistics (Coventry City Council 2013).6 Alongside this, work has become more casualised – with part-time work and self-employment becoming more widespread (Coventry City Council 2013). The latest figures (ONS 2017f) indicate that, for the past year, annual wage growth is lower than the UK average, despite increases in employer demand for workers. These trends are by no means unique to Coventry. As identified by the IPPR Commission on Economic Justice (2017), poor wage growth and higher levels of precarious employment are structural weaknesses which affect the whole of the UK economy.

The relationship between immigration and the labour market has been the subject of considerable debate in recent years. Immigration affects both labour supply and demand (via increased spending on goods and services), so there is no straightforward answer to how it influences employment and wages. Most of the evidence from the available labour market data indicates that increases in the number of migrants have no statistically significant impact on UK wages (Wadsworth 2015). However, the evidence suggests (Partnership for Coventry 2016) that less skilled workers are likely to be more affected because they "are closer substitutes for immigrants than the more highly skilled" (ibid; Migration Observatory 2017). Recent local analyses suggest that immigration has affected the behaviours and choices of local employers. In 2016, the Commission for Employment and Skills, for example, identified the fact that migrant workers in lower-skilled jobs were prepared to work more flexibly as one factor that meant local employers are able "to structure their working practices in a way which utilises this willingness, rather than having to reconsider their employment practices to create jobs that would be suitable for lower skilled workers" (UKCES 2011).

Although it is not conclusive, the existing evidence suggests that workers in the city may have been more exposed to the effects of immigration. The fact that qualification levels in Coventry are lower than England as a whole (ONS 2011) and that migrants in the town have clustered in low-paid sectors (figure 2.2) suggests that local workers, particularly the low paid who work in sectors which employ higher numbers of workers from outside the UK, may be more likely to be affected.

Skills gaps remain an ongoing and serious issue for the city. UK-born workers in the city are significantly less qualified than their non-UK counterparts (IPPR analysis of the Annual Population Survey 2010–2015). Coventry residents are less likely to have a higher-level qualification compared with the national average (ONS 2017a). According to the Office for National Statistics (ibid), despite a recent decrease in the percentage of working-age Coventry residents with no formal qualifications, the level remains higher than the national average – an estimated 10 per cent in Coventry compared with 8 per cent across Great Britain overall (Coventry City Council 2017b). This contrasts markedly with EU workers in the city who tend to be more qualified than their UK counterparts (IPPR analysis of the Annual Population Survey 2011-2015).

As is the case with wages, there is little evidence that high levels of migration impact on investment in skills. IPPR's research suggests that, in key sectors, dependence on higher numbers of workers from the EU has been a product of weak skills strategies (Dromey 2018). Many employer surveys report that labour shortages are an increasing concern for employers in the city. As of 2017, the Coventry & Warwickshire Local Enterprise Partnership (CWLEP) reported that approximately 30,000 vacancies were either going unfilled or lacked employees with the right skills due to skills shortages and skills gaps. The greatest labour and skills shortages have been identified in business services, wholesale and retail, manufacturing, transport, storage and communications, and hotels and restaurants (DfE 2017). The Coventry & Warwickshire Local Enterprise Partnership (CWLEP 2014) has also identified demand for IT skills as well as service sector workers in tourism, leisure and retail – sectors that are depend predicted a large

increase in levels of employment in service and support sector. It is important to note that these sectors are all dependent on EU workers (Morris 2017).

Some labour market experts have argued that expected falls in the levels of net migration from the EU could encourage employers to develop a new approach to investing in skills (CIPD 2017). The interim Migration Advisory Committee's report on the impact of EU workers on the UK labour market (2018) suggests that resulting higher wages could improve the ability to recruit and retain UK-born workers. It identifies hospitality sector as a key example (95 per cent of jobs in hospitality pay below average hourly earnings).

Based on this evidence and our consultations with local employers, the dynamics of how immigration has affected the local workforce should be understood on a sector by sector basis, particularly in relation to the sectors which have the higher reliance on migrants from outside the UK (Dromey et al 2017). This will enable the city to identify whether there are sectors or indeed employers where migration has helped lower wages or reduced the incentives to invest in developing the skills they need. Given that the issue of work and wages was highlighted as a primary concern by the local migration panel we would recommend that the city carries out an in-depth analysis of the impact of migration on key sectors of its labour market.
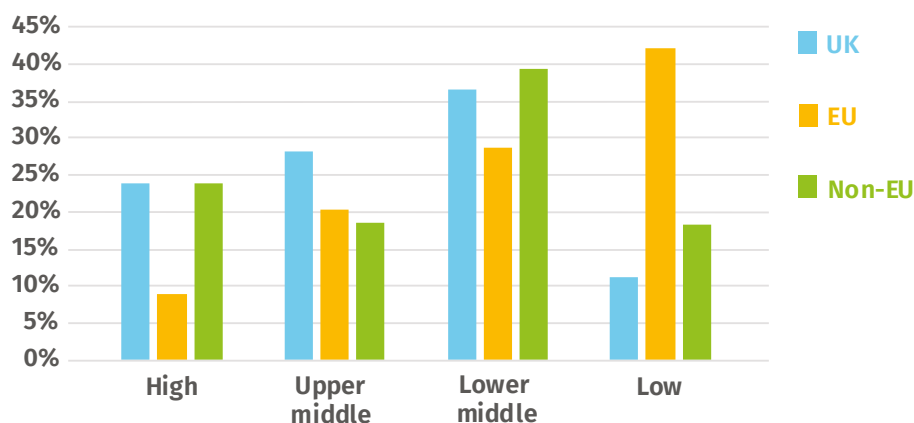
**FIGURE 2.1**

**Unemployment trends in Coventry, 2005–2017 (%)**
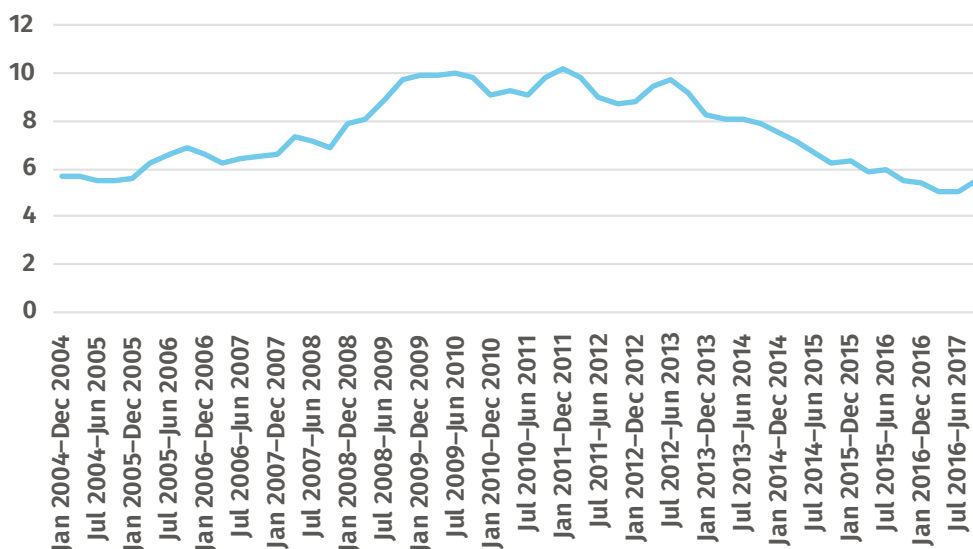


Source: Nomis, November 2017

**FIGURE 2.2**
**Occupational distribution of UK-, EU- and non-EU-born people in Coventry (%)**



Source: IPPR analysis of the Annual Population Survey 2011–2015

## ISSUE 2: PUBLIC SERVICES AND INFRASTRUCTURE

The second issue identified by members of the Local Migration Panel relates to public services and infrastructure in the city.

> *"For me it is purely quantity. Too many people in a small, built-up, overpopulated city … We just can't cope."*

> *"Why would a local authority want to get more population? …Growth also brings more pressure on roads, congestion; green space needs to be provided, bins need to be emptied, etcetera."*

While participants welcomed the fact that local companies and higher education institutions were globally recognised, there was a sense that this had come at the expense of the commitment to investing in the facilities used by its residents and in local communities. Participants highlighted how investment in new developments, such as halls of residence for international students, stood in marked contrast to the cuts that had affected the services that they used in their daily lives (such as family and youth centres, community centres, adult education provision and libraries).

> *"The investment doesn't stay in the city, it's private developers who target students, a volume industry, and that money doesn't stay in the city."*

> *"These sites are for people who want to live here temporarily. Are we losing the opportunities? Should development sites be for housing for people who want to live here permanently?"*

> *"They [the universities] are businesses, they're not academic institutions… they will have to come back to their roots, will grow too big and lose their sense of being something special.""I heard [sic] in the local papers that the university generates millions [from international students], but who gets this?"*

In general, the residents felt that even if there were benefits for employers and these had contributed to local growth overall, these advantages had not necessarily translated into better jobs or an improved quality of life. The majority shared a common desire to take active steps to ensure that social impacts of migration were minimised, and economic benefits were maximised. In other words, if immigration was going to increase it needed to be matched by greater investment in integration.

> *"If the school had the resources it needed to support those kids, I wouldn't have a problem. But as a teacher, I know that this isn't always the case."*

Despite these expectations, we found a widespread view that significant increases in immigration to the local area had not been supported by active efforts to share the benefits with existing residents and their communities. They felt that "no one had thought it through" and that "things were being left to chance". People expressed concerns about a lack of planning and a failure to put in place the measures to ensure local areas were prepared. Topics ranged from resourcing local schools, to supporting children who didn't speak English, to ensuring that enforcement agencies could police the practices of local employers and landlords.
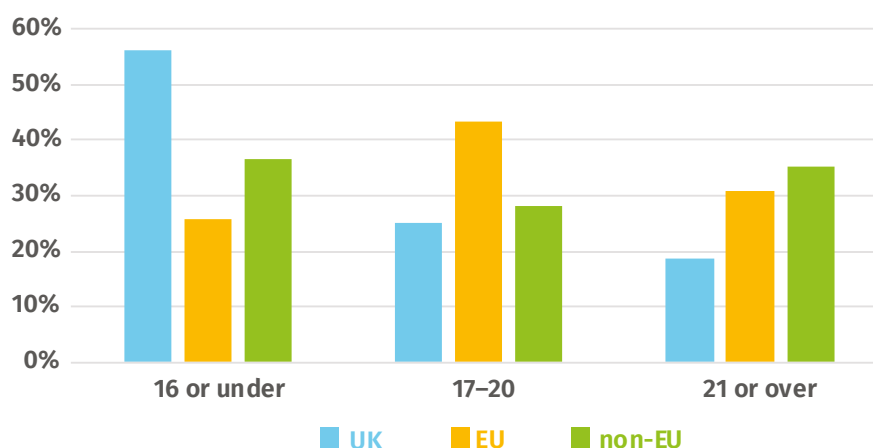
**The evidence**

Population growth and higher levels of migration have coincided with one of the deepest periods of austerity in Coventry. Between 2011 and 2016, Coventry City Council lost 14 per cent of its funding from central government – a year-on-year reduction of around 3 per cent (Hastings et al 2015). By 2020, Coventry's core government funding is expected to be 55 per cent lower than it was in 2010 (Coventry City Council 2016c). Analysis of Coventry's fiscal situation (Coventry City Council 2018) shows that the city has seen a higher 'budget gap' (that is, the difference between funding and expenditure) because, while Coventry City Council has had to make changes to service provision, it has also had to manage rising costs. These year-on-year increases are partly because of rising demand for some services, largely the consequence of increases in the city's population, and also the result of inflation and wider policy changes, particularly welfare reform.

Our analysis finds differences between EU and non-EU migrants in the city which are likely to impact on their levels of contribution and dependence on key services. Most EU migrants in Coventry are of working age (Coventry City Council 2017c). Levels of economic activity among EU migrants are comparable to those of UK-born workers (table 1.1 in chapter 1) and they tend to be more qualified than their UK counterparts (figure 3.3). Meanwhile, the non-EU migrant population in Coventry is less economically active compared to EU migrants and UK-born citizens (table 1.1).[2]

---

2    It is important to note that a proportion of the non-EU migrant population in Coventry are students, which makes them economically inactive. However, previous IPPR study demonstrated that the government is unable to provide a convincing estimate of the number of international students leaving the country each year because of substantial data limitations (Morris, Murray and Murphy 2016).

**FIGURE 2.3**

**Age when completed education for UK-, EU- and non-EU-born people in Coventry (%)**[3]



Source: IPPR analysis of the Annual Population Survey 2011–2015

Evidence from local public services suggests that migration has increased demand for certain services. Reports from the local school system suggest that demand for places has been considerable, and that the city has had to provide for a higher-than-average number of pupils with English as an additional language (EAL) (ONS 2017e).[4] Local authority data also suggests that there has been considerable growth in the number of Houses in Multiple Occupation (HiMO) (which now account for 21 per cent of the city's total housing stock, and where there are high concentrations of non-UK citizens). This growth in the number of HiMOs, the report identifies, may have resulted in indirect costs related to the impact on community cohesion, the provision of local services, parking pressures and the appearance and maintenance of properties (Coventry City Council 2016b).

These figures don't reflect the fact that the level of demand that migrants place on services will depend on the profile of the people arriving in a city. Overall, most migrants to the city have been working-age and economically active. However, a relatively high proportion of EU workers are on low wages, and there are high levels of economic inactivity among certain groups of non-EU migrants. It is also worth noting that migrants play a central role in the delivery of key public services in the city, particularly health: approximately one in ten health service employees in University Hospitals Coventry and Warwickshire NHS Trust come from outside the UK (NHS Digital 2017).

In short, as with the labour market, the relationship between immigration, public services and local infrastructure is complex. Austerity will have undermined the city's ability to both tackle pressures and invest in ensuring that it can maximise the contribution of migrants. However, the city could think creatively about ways in which to ensure that stakeholders who have stood the gain the most from immigration in recent years, namely employers and the higher education sector, take greater collective responsibility for addressing pressures on public services and ensure that they actively reinvest in the local community.

---

3    While we recognise there are weaknesses in using the age completed education data, it is the standard measure used in the literature (e.g. Migration Observatory 2017).

4    However, given that the EAL category is very broad, it is not possible to calculate the exact levels of pressures placed on the system by migration, based on this data alone.

## ISSUE 3: SOCIAL INTEGRATION

Participants in the residents' panel agreed that Coventry is a welcoming city and that openness to newcomers is one of the city's key assets. Most saw that diversity was something that made the city special and recounted regular positive interactions with neighbours and colleagues who come from countries outside the UK.

> *"I worked in a company and there we had quite a lot of Polish workers and it was great, everyone just got on. It was good. No problems at all."*

> *"I quite like hearing different accents, I quite like the multicultural... way that we are going."*

> *"He [neighbour] is making the effort. He is not avoiding his neighbours, he is not thinking 'you are foreign I don't want to...'. He is making an effort to speak to us and learn English by speaking to him. I think that's the way forward, that's the only thing we can do."*

Nevertheless, participants highlighted the fact that the scale and character of recent immigration had made it hard for communities to adapt. They also perceived that some parts of the city were becoming increasingly separate.

> *"During the 50s and 60s we dealt with all that migration... there was a bit of racism I guess, but nothing spilt into the streets... we handled that bit well... over time we all just got on with each other. But I do see now that that's not so much the case, that now, migration is a different thing, much more negative."*

As a starting point, participants felt that ensuring that migrants had good information and could speak a high level of English would be key to promoting social integration and minimising additional pressures on public services. However, they were not confident that enough support was in place to ensure that new migrants could find their feet.

> *"You have to have standards... Especially in a school because if you've got a majority that don't speak English... and then you are trying to teach, a lot of your time as a teacher is probably taken not teaching what you're supposed to be teaching."*

> *"The trouble is it is very aspirational... How are they going to do it? There is people in this country that have been here for years, they can't speak English! Don't want to speak English! And we haven't done anything about it."*

The Local Migration Panel agreed that migrants who came to the city should become active members of their communities. The panellists felt that many initiatives had been focused on outward-facing efforts, aimed at attracting students and investment, or were exclusive to new communities. Most said they would welcome more focus on collective dialogues which aimed to bring all the residents of the city together. It was felt that the focus on sanctuary should be complemented with a more economically grounded approach that focuses on the contribution of migration to the city's future.

Panellists also concurred that social integration should become one of the core goals that cuts across the city's year as City of Culture. They agreed the city's cultural capital could be a powerful tool in promoting interaction, understanding and commonality.

**The evidence**

Obtaining a definitive picture of levels of social integration[5] in a city is challenging. Information on integration is currently fragmented across a variety of data sources and public perceptions surveys are more limited than in the past (largely due to the discontinuation of the Citizenship Survey in 2010). Survey data and qualitative research is difficult to draw from because the issues are complex and opinions on these issues very contradictory (Demireva 2017). Likewise, the evidence shows that integration is not a linear process. Migrant groups can be both highly integrated in some aspects of their lives and less so in others (Alba and Foner 2015).

Firstly, our analysis suggests that attitudes to migration in Coventry are sceptical (IPPR analysis of the British Election Study 2017 – see table 2.1). However, existing data also shows that a majority in the city feel like different groups can live successfully in the city. Of 2,103 Coventry residents interviewed for the Household Survey in 2013, 95 per cent agreed with the statement: "This neighbourhood is a place where people from different backgrounds get on well together" (Coventry City Council no date b).

Secondly, evidence on outcomes suggests that most people from a migrant background achieve a level of good integration. Bangladeshi, Chinese, Indian and Black (Other) children – both foreign and UK-born – perform above the city average in Key Stage 4 results (Coventry City Council 2017a), for example. However, challenges also remain. Around 40 per cent of non-EU citizens in Coventry are economically inactive, considerably higher than the rate of EU- and UK-born citizens (IPPR analysis of the Annual Population Survey 2010–2015). English language remains another significant challenge. According to IPPR's analysis of the 2011 census, approximately 2 per cent of the city's working age population cannot speak English or cannot speak English very well. Considering high levels of immigration to the city since 2011, this figure could be higher. Levels of English among non-native speakers in Coventry are significantly lower than the national average (Nomis 2011).

Finally, the evidence on levels of segregation is also mixed.  Analysis of residential patterns show that there are varying concentrations of migrant groups across the city. For example, there is a high concentration of South Asian migrants in Foleshill and a high concentration of A8/A2 migrants[6] in St Michael's (IPPR analysis of the 2011 Census; ONS 2011; Cantle and Kauffman 2016). However, overall, the evidence shows that residential segregation is decreasing across the UK.[7] This has been particularly the case for younger people and in metropolitan areas such as Coventry (Sabater and Finney 2014).

In relation to the arts, the evidence also suggests that there are deep inequalities in the way people access and participate in the arts (Arts Council England 2016) and that levels of participation in the city are below the national average (CovCulture 2018).

Although this evidence does not suggest that Coventry has a serious social integration challenge, the feedback from our residents' panel suggest that the city could make this a greater focus. Cities around the world, including Berlin, Dublin and London (see Greater London Authority 2018; Dublin City Council 2016), have identified the need for localised institutional capacity to drive the integration agenda forward.

---

5    Although social integration is a widely discussed and highly contentious concept, we see it in line with the definition used throughout the Integrated Communities Strategy green paper (Ministry of Housing, Communities Local Government 2018).

6    A8 migrants are those from the Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Slovakia or Slovenia (countries that joined the EU in 2004), while A2 migrants are those from Bulgaria or Romania (countries that joined the EU in 2007).

7    Residential segregation is often used as a good indicator of social integration (Ministry of Housing, Communities & Local Government 2018; Peach 2007).

As a starting point, the city should create more centralised system for collecting integration data. The last comprehensive study of the state of integration in the city was in 2009 (Coventry Partnership 2009). The city benefits from the existence of an excellent local data portal. However, recent data focuses exclusively on hate crimes (Warwickshire County Council 2018; West Midlands Police 2018), and lacks metrics on public attitudes, outcome data and levels of interaction between different groups.

# 3.
# CONCLUSION

Immigration is a polarising issue. Significant change in the size and composition of a population is inevitably destabilising. The advantages for some groups (such as employers or universities) may not necessarily be shared by all groups locally. Furthermore, change will seem more daunting for some sections of society than for others. And while it is true that people and communities adapt, this process is likely to be more straightforward when residents are confident that their concerns are acknowledged and that plans are in place to respond to them. These issues aren't exclusive to Coventry.

Many factors limit the ability of cities like Coventry to take action. The UK has a highly centralised immigration system with rules and policies set at the national level, or indeed, in the case of free movement of people within the EU, at the international level (Griffith and Morris 2017). Cities have little influence or control over immigration flows. Budget cuts have also forced local authorities like Coventry to prioritise spending on key services and on the most vulnerable (Coventry City Council 2018).

But experience from around the world shows that local leadership can shape the way that people understand and think about migration (COMPAS 2012). This is because a more localised approach can help to shift the narrative away from aggregate numbers (and the focus on UK net migration) and refocus on the tangible impacts (both positive and negative) that immigration has on the economy and communities. Consultations with local people since the EU referendum, including the Local Migration Panel, show that even sceptical members of the public can engage in constructive deliberations about immigration when presented with balanced information and encouraged to understand its significance to the local economy and community, and the likely trade-offs that would result from reductions in immigration (Citizens' Assembly on Brexit 2017).

An approach which is upfront about immigration can also help ensure that all actors take collective responsibility for issues relating to the impact of migration. This is both fair and can help mobilise resources to tackle key challenges.

In addition, cities which grapple with this issue will be better able to influence decisions that are being taken at the national level far more effectively. In the case of Coventry this would include, for example, ensuring that decisions regarding the conditions put on international students entering the UK do not undermine the local higher education sector's expansion and development plans for the future or feeding into the government's Shortage Occupation List, which is used to manage skilled migration into the UK, to ensure that it takes full account of the needs of local employers, particularly in light of local employer concerns regarding labour shortages.

Coventry's reputation for being a city that is open and welcoming is fundamental to its future success. An approach that is upfront about immigration, conveys clear objectives, is driven by data and is proactive about addressing pressures and capturing the benefits of immigration is required. Ultimately, this will be the best way of securing higher levels of public consent for migration among the residents in the city.

# REFERENCES

Alba R and Foner N (2015) *Strangers No More: Immigration and the Challenges of Integration in North America and Western Europe*, Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Arts Council England (2016) *Equality, Diversity and the Creative Case: A Data Report, 2015–2016*. http://www.artscouncil.org.uk/sites/default/files/download-file/Equality_diversity_creativecase_2015_16_web_0.pdf

Cantle T and Kauffman E (2016) *Is segregation on the increase in the UK?*, Open Democracy. https://www.opendemocracy.net/wfd/ted-cantle-and-eric-kaufmann/is-segregation-on-increase-in-uk

Citizens' Assembly on Brexit (2017) *Voting Results*. http://citizensassembly.co.uk/wp-content/uploads/2017/10/Voting-results.pdf

COMPAS (2012) *Attitudes to Migrants, Communication and Local Leadership*. http://www.compas.ox.ac.uk/media/PR-2012-AMICALL_Executive_Summary_English.pdf

CovCulture (2018) 'Overview: Executive Summary'. http://covculture.com/baseline/

Coventry & Warwickshire Local Enterprise Partnership [CWLEP] (2014) *Skills Strategy*. http://www.cwlep.com/sites/default/files/skills_strategy.pdf

Coventry City Council (2004) *Memorandum by Coventry City Council (SOC 73)*. https://publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm200304/cmselect/cmodpm/45/45we16.htm

Coventry City Council (2013) *Working Futures 2012 – 2022 briefing note*. http://www.coventry.gov.uk/downloads/download/3309/employer_skills_survey_2013

Coventry City Council (2016a) *Council Plan 2016–2024*. http://www.coventry.gov.uk/info/10/performance/2089/council_plan

Coventry City Council (2016b) *Coventry Local Plan 2016*. http://www.coventry.gov.uk/downloads/file/19583/lp1_coventry_local_plan_publication_draft_2016

Coventry City Council (2016c) *Government austerity steps a threat to city services*. http://www.coventry.gov.uk/news/article/1906/government_austerity_steps_a_threat_to_city_services?acceptCookies=1

Coventry City Council (2017a) *Council Plan: Half a year performance report 2016–2017*. https://docs.google.com/viewerng/viewer?url=http://www.coventry.gov.uk/download/downloads/id/23283/

Coventry City Council (2017b) *Coventry residents by qualification level 2016*. http://www.coventry.gov.uk/downloads/file/25056/coventry_residents_by_qualification_level_2016_-_report

Coventry City Council (2017c) 'Plans for city approved'. http://www.coventry.gov.uk/news/article/2300/plans_for_city_approved

Coventry City Council (2017d) 'Coventry's population estimate 2016'. http://www.coventry.gov.uk/downloads/file/24705/coventrys_population_estimate_2016

Coventry City Council (2018) *Budget Report 2018/19*. http://democraticservices.coventry.gov.uk/documents/s37223/Budget%20201819.pdf

Coventry City Council (no date a) *A Jobs and Growth Strategy 2014–2017*. http://www.coventry.gov.uk/downloads/file/6173/coventry_job_strategy

Coventry City Council (no date b) 'Coventry Household Survey 2013'. http://www.coventry.gov.uk/info/175/data_and_reports/2052/coventry_household_survey

Coventry Partnership (2009) *Our City - Our People: Coventry Partnership's Community Cohesion Strategy*. http://www.coventry.gov.uk/download/downloads/id/7006/supporting_community_groups_neighbourhoods_and_community_cohesion.pdf

Demireva N (2017) *Immigration, Diversity and Social Cohesion*, Briefing, Migration Observatory, University of Oxford. http://www.migrationobservatory.ox.ac.uk/wp-content/uploads/2016/04/Briefing-Immigration-Diversity-and-Social-Cohesion.pdf

Department for Education [DfE] (2017) *Coventry and Warwickshire Area Review: Final Report*. https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/582891/Coventry_and_Warwickshire_AR_-_Report.pdf

Dromey J, Morris M and Murphy L (2017) *Building Britain's future? The construction workforce after Brexit*, IPPR. https://www.ippr.org/publications/building-britains-future

Dublin City Council (2016) *Integration Strategy 2016-2020*. http://www.dublincity.ie/sites/default/files/content/Community/SocialInclusion/Documents/DCC%20Integration%20Strategy%20Final%20PDF.pdf

Greater London Authority (2018) *The Mayor's Strategy for Social Integration*. https://www.london.gov.uk/sites/default/files/final_social_integration_strategy.pdf

Griffith P and Morris M (2017) *An immigration strategy for the UK: Six proposals to manage migration for economic success*, IPPR. https://www.ippr.org/research/publications/an-immigration-strategy-for-the-uk

Hastings A, Bailey N, Bramley G, Gannon M and Watkins D (2015) *The cost of the cuts: The impact on Local Government and Poorer Communities*, Joseph Rowntree Foundation, University of Glasgow. https://www.jrf.org.uk/sites/default/files/jrf/migrated/files/Summary-Final.pdf

Higher Education Statistics Agency [HESA] (2012) *Students in Higher Education 2010/2011*. https://www.hesa.ac.uk/data-and-analysis/publications/students-2010-11

IPPR (2017a) *IPPR analysis: Post-Brexit impacts of migration restrictions*. https://www.ippr.org/files/2017-09/ippr-post-brexit-sectoral-impacts.pdf

IPPR (2017b) 'Brexit uncertainty driving EU migrants without 5 years' residency out of UK, says IPPR', press release, 30 November 2017. https://www.ippr.org/news-and-media/press-releases/brexit-uncertainty-driving-eu-migrants-without-5-years-residency- out-of-uk-says-ippr

IPPR Commission on Economic Justice (2017) Time for change: A new vision for the British economy, IPPR. https://www.ippr.org/research/publications/cej-time-for-change

Ipsos MORI (2016) 'The Perils of Perception and the EU', news release, 9 June 2016. https://www.ipsos.com/ipsos-mori/en-uk/perils-perception-and-eu

Migration Advisory Committee (2018) EEA-workers in the UK labour market: Interim Update. https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/694494/eea-workers-uk-labour-market-interim-update.pdf

Migration Observatory (2017) *Characteristics and Outcomes of Migrants in the UK Labour Market*. http://www.migrationobservatory.ox.ac.uk/resources/briefings/characteristics-and-outcomes-of-migrants-in-the-uk-labour-market/

Ministry of Housing, Communities & Local Government (2013) *Allocation of accommodation: guidance for local housing authorities in England*. https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/allocation-of-accommodation-guidance-for-local-housing-authorities-in-england

Ministry of Housing, Communities & Local Government (2018) 'Integrated Communities Strategy', green paper. https://www.gov.uk/government/consultations/integrated-communities-strategy-green-paper

Morris M (2017) *Striking the right deal: UK–EU migration and the Brexit negotiations*, IPPR. https://www.ippr.org/publications/striking-the-right-deal

Morris M, Murray C and Murphy S (2016) *Destination Education: Reforming Migration Policy on International Students to Grow the UK's Vital Education Exports*, IPPR. https://www.ippr.org/files/publications/pdf/destination-education_Oct16.pdf

Nomis (2011) 'Proficiency in English by age of arrival in the UK', dataset. https://www.nomisweb.co.uk/census/2011/lc2803ew

Nomis (2017) Labour Market Profile - Coventry. https://www.nomisweb.co.uk/reports/Imp/la/1946157187/subreports/ea_time_series/report.aspx?

NHS Digital (2017) *Workforce nationality data pack: NHS Digital, NHS Hospital & Community Health Service (HCHS) workforce statistics*, supplementary information files, 24 February 2017. http://content.digital.nhs.uk/7572

Office for National Statistics (2011) *Country of birth by year of arrival in the UK*, 2011 Census. https://www.nomisweb.co.uk/census/2011/lc2804ew

Office for National Statistics [ONS] (2017a) *Jobs Density*, Nomis: Official Labour Market Statistics. https://www.nomisweb.co.uk/reports/lmp/la/1946157187/report.aspx?town=coventry

Office for National Statistics [ONS] (2017b) *Migration Statistics Quarterly Report: November 2017*. https://www.ons.gov.uk/peoplepopulationandcommunity/populationandmigration/internationalmigration/bulletins/migrationstatisticsquarterlyreport/november2017

Office for National Statistics [ONS] (2017c) *Regional gross disposable household income (GDHI): 1997 to 2015*. https://www.ons.gov.uk/economy/regionalaccounts/grossdisposablehouseholdincome/bulletins/regionalgrossdisposablehouseholdincomegdhi/2015

Office for National Statistics [ONS] (2017d) 'Local Area Migration Indicators, UK'. https://www.ons.gov.uk/peoplepopulationandcommunity/populationandmigration/migrationwithintheuk/datasets/localareamigrationindicatorsunitedkingdom

Office for National Statistics [ONS] (2017e) 'Schools, pupils and their characteristics: January 2017, local authority and regional tables: SFR29/2017'. https://www.gov.uk/government/statistics/schools-pupils-and-their-characteristics-january-2017

Office for National Statistics (2017f) 'Annual Survey of Hours and Earnings: 2017 provisional and 2016 revised results'. https://www.ons.gov.uk/employmentandlabourmarket/peopleinwork/earningsandworkinghours/bulletins/annualsurveyofhoursandearnings/2017provisionaland2016revisedresults

Office for National Statistics [ONS] (2018a) Population Estimates for UK, England and Wales, Scotland and Northern Ireland. https://www.ons.gov.uk/peoplepopulationandcommunity/populationandmigration/populationestimates/datasets/populationestimatesforukenglandandwalesscotlandandnorthernireland

Office for National Statistics [ONS] (2018b) Migration Statistics Quarterly Report: July 2018. https://www.ons.gov.uk/peoplepopulationandcommunity/populationandmigration/internationalmigration/bulletins/migrationstatisticsquarterlyreport/latest

Office of National Statistics [ONS] (2018c) *Immigration Statistics: Asylum tables volume 1.* https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/immigration-statistics-october-to-december-2017/how-many-people-do-we-grant-asylum-or-protection-to

Office for National Statistics, Social Survey Division [IPPR analysis of the Annual Population Survey 2010–2015] (2018) 'Annual Population Survey, 2004-2017: Secure Access', 13th Edition, UK Data Service, SN: 6721. http://doi.org/10.5255/UKDA-SN-6721-12

Ohandjanian W (2015) *Equality Factsheet 6 - Coventry People: Race and Ethnicity*. January edition, Coventry City Council. http://www.coventry.gov.uk/download/downloads/id/4639/coventry_people_and_race_and_ethnicity.pdf

Partnership for Coventry (2016) *People coming to Coventry – Information about migration*. http://www.coventrypartnership.com/wp-content/uploads/People-coming-to-Coventry-5-1.pdf

Peach C (2007) 'Sleepwalking into Ghettoisation? The British Debate over Segregation' in Cshonwalder K (ed), Residential Segregation and the Integration of Immigrants: Britain, the Netherlands and Sweden. https://www.diva-portal.org/smash/get/diva2:39365/FULLTEXT01.pdf

Piazza G (2017) 'The great British brain drain: an analysis of migration to and from Coventry', Centre for Cities. http://www.centreforcities.org/publication/great-british-brain-drain-analysis-migration-coventry/

Poros M (2011) *Migrant Social Networks: Vehicles for Migration, Integration, and Development*. https://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/migrant-social-networks-vehicles-migration-integration-and-development

Sabater A and Finney N (2014) 'Demographic understandings of changes in ethnic residential segregation across the life course', in Lloyd C, Shuttleworth I and Wong D (eds), *Socio-spatial segregation: concepts, processes and outcomes*, Policy Press, Bristol, pp. 269-300

Seidman I (2013) *Interviewing as Qualitative Research: A Guide for Researchers in Education & the Social Sciences*, Teachers College Press

The Bell Foundation (2015) *EAL and Educational Achievement*. https://www.bell-foundation.org.uk/research-report/eal-educational-achievement/

The Complete University Guide (2018a) 'Coventry University'.
https://www.thecompleteuniversityguide.co.uk/coventry/

The Complete University Guide (2018b) 'The University of Warwick'.
https://www.thecompleteuniversityguide.co.uk/warwick/

Times Higher Education (2017) Ucas figures reveal winners and losers in battle for students.
https://www.timeshighereducation.com/news/ucas-figures-reveal-winners-and-losers-battle-students

UK Commission for Employment and Skills [UKCES] (2011) The impact of student and migrant employment on opportunities for low skilled people, Evidence Report 32.
http://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/20140108134003/http:/www.ukces.org.uk/assets/ukces/docs/publications/evidence-report-32-impact-of-student-and-migrant.pdf

University of Warwick (no date) 'Coventry – The home of Warwick Conferences named UK City of Culture 2021', news story. https://warwick.ac.uk/services/conferences/news/coventry_the_home/

Wadsworth J (2015) *Immigration and the UK Labour Market*, Centre for Economic Performance. http://cep.lse.ac.uk/pubs/download/EA019.pdf

Warwickshire County Council (2017) *Skills Shortages in Coventry & Warwickshire*.
https://apps.warwickshire.gov.uk/api/documents/WCCC-688-308

Warwickshire County Council (2018) 'Racial Incidents' (database).
http://maps.warwickshire.gov.uk/IAS/dataviews/view?viewId=219

We Love Coventry (2017) 'We Love Coventry & Warwickshire: An independent guide to the region'. http://www.welovecoventry.co.uk/

West Midland Police (2018) Hate crimes reported to the police in Coventry 2015 to 2017. Can be obtained through the Freedom of Information Act

Institute for Public Policy Research

The progressive policy think tank