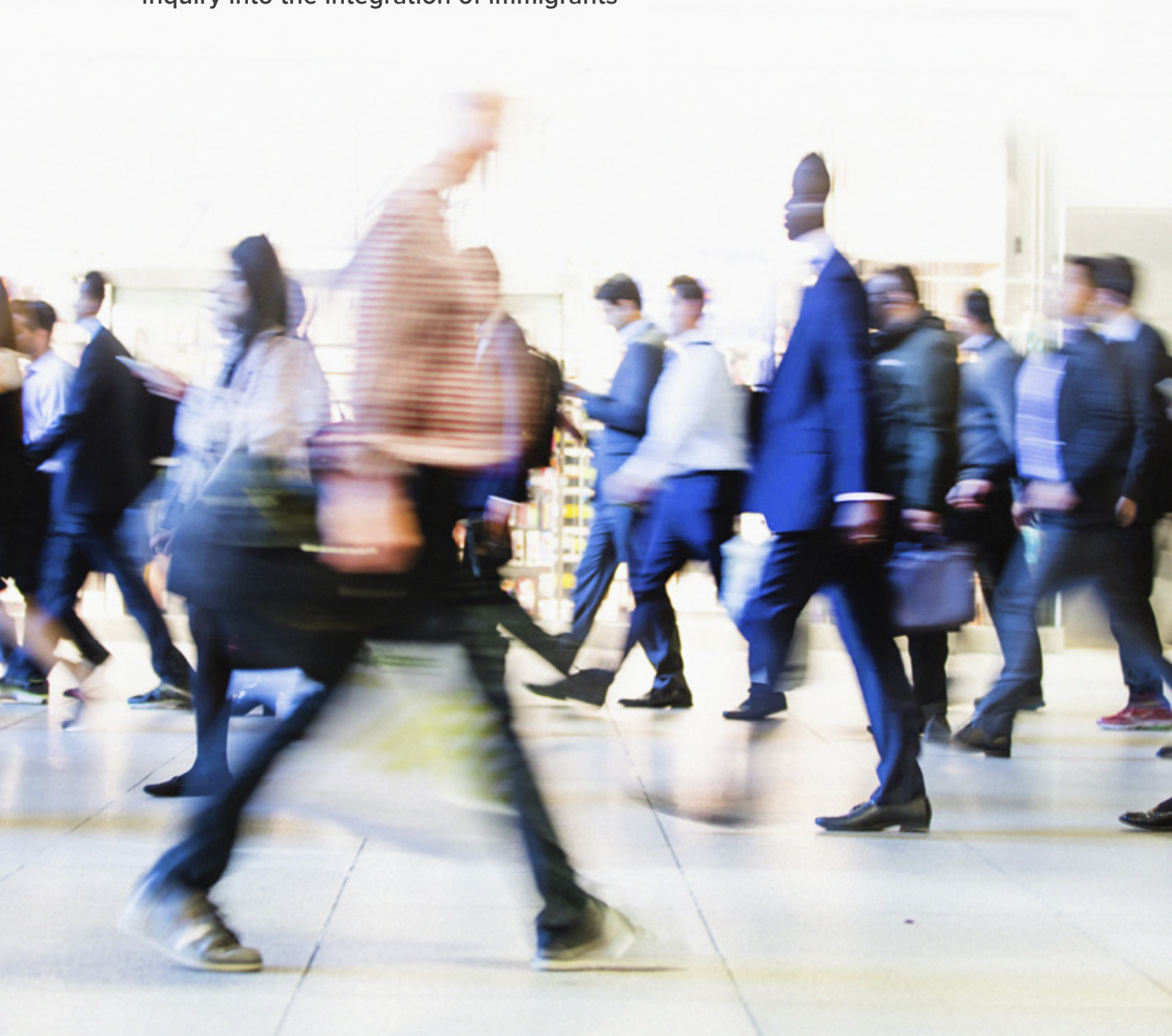




All Party Parliamentary Group on  
**Social Integration**

# INTEGRATION NOT DEMONISATION

The final report of the All-Party Parliamentary Group on Social Integration's  
inquiry into the integration of immigrants





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This Report was researched and written by Richard Bell and Nick Plumb from The Challenge, the UK's leading social integration charity, and Dr Rachel Marangozov. *The Challenge* provides the Secretariat to the APPG on Social Integration. Details of the Secretariat and the registrable benefits received by the group can be found on the official Register Of All-Party Parliamentary Groups: [www.Parliament.uk/mps-lords-and-offices/standards-and-financial-interests/Parliamentary-commissioner-for-standards/registers-of-interests/register-of-all-party-party-Parliamentary-groups/](http://www.Parliament.uk/mps-lords-and-offices/standards-and-financial-interests/Parliamentary-commissioner-for-standards/registers-of-interests/register-of-all-party-party-Parliamentary-groups/)

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## FOREWORD BY THE CHAIR

The All Party Parliamentary Group on Social Integration launched its inquiry into the integration of immigrants in the UK in August 2016. Since then we have received evidence from a broad range of independent experts and met with front line service workers, councillors, local authority officers, teachers, young people and community group members from across Britain. We are grateful to all those individuals and organisations who have contributed to this inquiry.

Throughout the inquiry, the APPG has tried to focus on exploring the lived experiences of immigration and multiculturalism, as experienced by both the settled population and immigrants themselves. It is clear that immigration has impacted on different communities in different ways and, in some instances, we have encountered a sense of bewilderment at the pace of demographic and cultural change. It's clear, too, that many Britons believe that we are not in control of our borders and worry about the ability of government to manage immigration in the national interest.

However, there is also rising concern about anti-immigrant sentiment and the demonisation of newcomers to our communities. Following the Brexit vote there was a marked increase in racist abuse and hate crime directed at both new immigrants and the UK's settled migrant population. This shames our country. The poisonous nature of our immigration debate, far from encouraging people to integrate into the life of our country, increases the likelihood that newcomers end up leading parallel lives. A fundamental reframing of our national conversation on immigration is required.

In the wake of the Brexit vote, our challenge is to design an immigration system which reconciles these concerns, and that better meets the needs and commands the support of everyone in our nation.

We believe that this should be a system that acknowledges the ways in which immigration has infused untold vibrancy and dynamism into our communities, enriched the cultural life of our country, and fuelled the growth of our economy. It must contribute towards ensuring that the UK continues to be an open and global-facing nation. But it must also address legitimate concerns regarding our national sovereignty and community life. Most of all, it should be a system with social integration – a focus on the strong social ties which inspire powerful and important feelings of belonging and solidarity – at its heart.

Too often the integration of immigrants is depicted as a means of shutting down multiculturalism and replacing it with the politics of assimilation or, worse still, pandering to the politics of hate. This is a fundamental misunderstanding. A strategic and proactive integration agenda is the best way of protecting our diverse, multicultural communities from the peddlers of hatred and division. Our report argues that the government should develop a comprehensive approach to promoting the greater economic, civic, and cultural integration of immigrants; as well as finding ways to cultivate meaningful social contact between communities.

We must also recognise, though, that there is no one-size-fits-all solution and that our immigration system needs to better reflect the experiences of different communities. The APPG is of the view that government should devolve substantive immigration policy powers to the constituent nations and regions of the UK – creating a regionally-led immigration system and placing a statutory duty on all local authorities to promote the integration of immigrants. This would place greater responsibility on the shoulders of local politicians but also empower them, as well as local business leaders, to champion the benefits of a system based on local need, which serves regional economic interests, and gives people an increased sense of control.

The interim report of this inquiry generated a degree of controversy through its recommendation that immigrants should either have learned English before coming to the UK or be enrolled in compulsory English for Speakers of Other Languages (ESOL) programmes upon arrival. We stand by this proposal – not least because the overwhelming majority of newcomers who do not speak English want to learn the language but often face barriers to doing so – and believe government should develop a new strategy for the promotion of English language learning which reflects the guiding principle that no one should be able to live in our country for a considerable length of time without speaking English. The ability to speak English is required in order to enjoy the basic freedoms which British society is built upon and is crucial to social mobility. It should, accordingly, be viewed as a right extended to everyone in our society no matter what their background or income level. We see this rights-based approach to language learning as a core means of building a Britain in which everyone can speak English.

Clearly, these new measures will require additional resource. Accordingly, this APPG calls on the government to immediately bring forward plans for the introduction of an Integration Impact Fund. This could be paid for, in part, by a new Integration Levy on employers operating within those sectors of the economy which are particularly dependent on immigrant labour. Ministers should consult widely as to how this idea might work in practice and at what level the levy should be set in each sector and, furthermore, employers should have some say in how these funds are spent.

I am pleased to commend this final inquiry report, *Integration Not Demonisation*, and hope the recommendations within prove valuable to policymakers as they consider how best to reform our country's immigration system and laws. As a result of this inquiry, the APPG has concluded that the UK needs an immigration system that enables a proactive and strategic approach towards promoting integration; a system that is regionally-led and empowers the constituent nations and regions of the UK; a system that commits to the right of all immigrants to learn and speak English; and a system that treats immigrants as Britons-in-waiting, rather than as security threats or 'the other'. Ultimately, we must develop a new approach which celebrates the contribution that immigration has made and continues to make to British life, commands widespread public support and helps to forge a new social compact between communities across the UK and Britons of all backgrounds.



Chuka

**Chuka Umunna MP**  
Chair of the APPG on Social Integration





APPG on Social Integration: launch of the Interim Report into Integration of Immigrants

Members of the All Party Parliamentary Group on Social Integration

Minister of State for Communities and Local Government	Minister of State for Communities and Local Government
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## AUTHORSHIP

The views expressed in this report are those of the members of the APPG on Social Integration who attended parliamentary evidence sessions or contributed to internal group discussions in person or via email throughout the length of this inquiry.

These members are as follows: Chuka Umunna MP; The Rt. Rev the Lord Bishop of Oxford, Steven Croft; Jon Cruddas MP; Nusrat Ghani MP; Lord Glasman; Lord Lennie; Jim McMahon MP; Naz Shah MP; Holly Walker-Lynch MP; Stuart McDonald, MP for Cumbernauld, Kilsyth and Kirkintilloch East; Matt Warman MP; James Berry, formerly MP for Kingston and Surbiton; Anne McLaughlin, formerly MP for Glasgow North East.

This report was written by Richard Bell, Head of Public Affairs, Policy and Research at The Challenge; Nicholas Plumb, Senior Public Affairs and Policy Associate at The Challenge; and Dr Rachel Marangozov, an independent immigration policy expert and advisor to the APPG. Research support was provided by Anna Kere, formerly of The Challenge.

The Challenge is the UK's leading charity for building a more integrated society and provides the secretariat to the APPG on Social Integration. Details of the secretariat and the registrable benefits received by the group can be found on the official Register of All-Party Parliamentary Groups:

<https://publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm/cm/170502/contents.htm>

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The APPG would like to thank The Challenge for their ongoing support as secretariat to this group and Dr Rachel Marangozov for acting as an expert advisor to us throughout the course of this inquiry.

We are grateful to the experts witnesses who provided oral evidence during the three parliamentary hearings held throughout this inquiry; the 43 organisations and the individuals who submitted written documents in response to our calls for evidence; those who took part in research interviews with our secretariat team.

We are particularly grateful to the front line service workers, councillors, local authority officers, teachers, young people and community group members who we met with during our evidence-gathering visits to Boston, Lincolnshire and Halifax, West Yorkshire.

We would also like to extend our thanks to: Councillor Peter Bedford and Pauline Chapman from Boston Borough Council; Robin Tuddenham, Jo Richmond, Sadia Hussain, Heather Stout, and Tahira Iqbal from Calderdale Council; Jamiesha Majeবাদia from the British Academy; Phoebe Griffith and Chris Murray at the Institute for Public Policy Research; and Alexander Braddell of the Oxfordshire Skills Escalator Centre.



## THE SCOPE OF OUR INQUIRY

In August of 2016, the APPG on Social Integration launched an inquiry into the integration of immigrants. Through this inquiry, we have sought to explore how policymakers might reform our country's immigration system and laws so as to better promote two distinct concepts:

**The integration of immigrants**, or the degree to which immigrants and members of the settled population conform to shared norms and values, are able to access the same level of opportunity and lead shared lives.

As this report will go on to outline, this APPG views the integration of immigrants as a two-way street – or a process requiring meaningful contributions by both newcomers and members of the settled population.

**Social integration**, or the extent to which strong social ties, maintained through a web of relationships and interactions, inspire bonds of trust, reciprocity and solidarity between Britons from all backgrounds (or how well communities and societies hang together.)

This sociological concept encompasses but is not limited to questions of immigrant integration. Indeed, the UK is arguably in the midst of a period of momentous social change, and is becoming more fragmented along a number of societal faultlines. The 2017 General Election saw the age and level of education of an individual usurp income as the most reliable indicators of their voting intention for the first time in modern political history, as baby boomers and millennials and graduates and non-graduates opted for radically different visions for our country's future<sup>1</sup>. Debates over national identity and values, which might be shaped either so as to include or to stigmatise minorities and newcomers, have revealed sharp fissures in opinion between Britons of different backgrounds. Rather than a linear process of inserting immigrants into a cohesive society, then, it is clear that integration is a process which involves multiple, complex moving parts; and that we must strengthen social cohesion and community resilience across various dimensions: the political, social, generational and geographical as well as intercultural.

The term 'immigrants', unless otherwise specified, is used throughout this report to refer to economic migrants (including students) and their family members, rather than to refugees or asylum seekers. We define an economic migrant as someone who has legally immigrated to the United Kingdom to advance their economic and professional prospects. This includes both recent immigrants and those who have resided in the country legally for a number of years, but have not acquired British citizenship. The terms 'new arrivals' and 'newcomers' are used throughout this document to refer to economic or family migrants who have recently come to the UK – these individuals are the primary focus of this report.

In January of 2017, this APPG published an interim inquiry report. This final inquiry report builds on many of the points and recommendations made in that document.

1 Burn-Murdoch J et al (2017), 'Election 2017: how the UK voted in 7 charts', *The Financial Times*, June 9 2017  
[www.ft.com/content/dac3a3b2-4ad7-11e7-919a-1e14ce4af89b](http://www.ft.com/content/dac3a3b2-4ad7-11e7-919a-1e14ce4af89b)



## EVIDENCE COLLECTED

The recommendations put forward in this report are informed by:

- ➔ The oral evidence provided by expert witnesses during three parliamentary hearings.
- ➔ Written evidence submitted by 43 organisations and the individuals in response to two calls for evidence.
- ➔ 10 research interviews conducted by our secretariat team.
- ➔ The testimony of front line service workers, councillors, local authority officers, teachers, young people and community group members as expressed to this APPG during evidence-gathering visits to Boston, Lincolnshire and Halifax, West Yorkshire.
- ➔ Extensive desk research.

## FOUR CORE RECOMMENDATIONS

### 1. **Ministers should devolve substantive immigration policy powers to the constituent nations and regions of the UK – creating a regionally-led immigration system.**

- The introduction of such a system might bring about greater alignment between the economic needs of each part of the UK and immigrant settlement patterns, as policymakers with area-specific expertise could design immigration criteria closely matching the labour and skills requirements of their economies.
- Regional and local leaders are, furthermore, in the view of this APPG, best-placed to assess the ramifications of immigration policy decisions for both public service provision and community cohesion in their areas. They should, accordingly, be empowered to shape these decisions – creating an immigration system which is more responsive to the ‘threshold of community comfort’.
- Crucially, this would lend the settled population a greater sense of control over immigration policy decisions – serving to disrupt the sense that population change is foisted on communities by a distant metropolitan elite.
- In addition, the increased democratic and public accountability which would accompany the devolution of immigration policy powers to the regional level would create powerful incentives for local politicians and business leaders alike to celebrate and promote the benefits of immigration for their areas. Businesses which rely on immigrant workers would need to make their voices heard on this issue in order to ensure that democratic decisions would not adversely impact on their businesses; whilst local political leaders would no longer have the option of deflecting public disquiet over immigration onto Westminster.
- Regional immigration authorities should, therefore, be formed to exercise devolved immigration policy powers. These bodies should be comprised of existing elected representatives including Metro Mayors, Ministers of the devolved governments and local authority representatives.
- As a minimum, each regional immigration authority should be afforded the same level of control over immigration devolved to the Scottish government in the form of the Shortage Occupation List. This initiative allows employers to offer particular jobs to non-EU nationals without first advertising them domestically.
- The government should consider empowering regional and local leaders to act more boldly and forcefully to advance their areas’ economic and social interests – creating a certain number of region-specific visas to meet specific needs. Under such a system, immigrants would be expected to stay in a particular region for a minimum period of time (perhaps two-to-three years) before gaining the right to live anywhere in Britain.
- The government should additionally consider a ‘Devo-Max’ option wherein regional immigration authorities would be empowered to develop quotas for the number of newcomers who would be able to immigrate to their area to work within specific economic sectors. At least in the short term, these bodies should submit bids to the Home Office, which would retain ultimate control of immigration policy decisions and allocate visas accordingly.
- Depending on the outcome of the current negotiations between EU representatives and the UK government, this regionalised system could work in tandem with a reformed system of the freedom of movement for EU nationals. In this scenario, region-specific visas would be allocated to non-EU migrants only.

## **2. The government should develop a comprehensive and proactive strategy for the integration of immigrants.**

- This strategy should be overseen by an Integration Policy Unit based within the Cabinet Office – enabling those policymakers charged with implementing it to take a holistic view of the integration challenges facing immigrants and host communities, and facilitate cross-government policy-setting and action.
- Whilst this strategy should set out a national policy framework and standards, effective integration interventions must be shaped to reflect local circumstances. Policymakers should, then, introduce a statutory duty on all local authorities to promote the integration of immigrants.
- The government should immediately bring forward plans for the introduction of an Integration Impact Fund to finance integration policy actions in areas whose population include large numbers of new immigrants or which are characterised by pronounced ethnic division.
- Ministers should consider financing the Integration Impact Fund in part through the introduction of an Immigrant Integration Levy on employers operating within those sectors of the economy which are particularly dependent on immigrant labour.

## **3. Rather than being seen as security risks or ‘the other’, immigrants should be viewed as Britons-in-waiting.**

- Policymakers should seek to create a climate in which it is not only possible but expected that the majority of immigrants who arrive in the UK every day will become citizens – fundamentally reframing our national debate on immigration. This will require policy action in addition to a rhetorical shift.
- For instance, the Home Office should investigate whether new immigrants could be placed on pathways to citizenship automatically upon arrival in the UK.
- The government should reform the process of becoming a British citizen to reflect a richer understanding of the concept of citizenship. Ministers and policymakers must be clear that becoming a citizen is not merely a process through which newcomers acquire a British passport and establish a stronger bond with the British state; but one through which immigrants both earn and express a meaningful sense of belonging within our society.
- In order to strengthen the impression that citizenship is earned rather than acquired and comprises a reciprocal relationship with the community as well as the government – and to render the rich contribution which immigrants make to the health and strength of our society visible to all – policymakers should introduce a set of ‘active citizenship criteria’ for those applying to become citizens. To meet these criteria, Britons-in-waiting might take part in volunteering initiatives or play an active role in one’s local community in some other way.

## **4. Ministers should develop a new strategy for the promotion of English language learning reflecting the guiding principle that no one should be able to live in our country for a considerable length of time without speaking English.**

- The ability to speak English should be viewed as a right extended to everyone in our society no matter what their background or income level.



- In order to break down cultural barriers to English language learning, the government should introduce a requirement that immigrants arriving in the UK without the ability to speak the language should be enrolled on ESOL classes.
- The government's new English language strategy must include a degree of direct investment in language classes reflecting both the scale of the challenge we face in building a Britain in which everyone speaks English and the level of importance attached to this project by Britons across the political spectrum.
- Policymakers should introduce an income-contingent advanced learning loan system for English language programmes, through which programme participants could defer payments until they begin to earn a salary above a certain threshold – enabling immigrants, including those who are unemployed, to undertake training with no or little upfront cost.
- Policymakers should offer employers financial incentives for the provision of in-work ESOL programmes. This should include the introduction of a quality mark to recognise employers which effectively support English language learning. Policymakers should, additionally, explore whether employers which demonstrate a substantive commitment to language training might be made entitled to employer National Insurance Contribution discounts.

## EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This report sets out fifty six detailed policy recommendations aimed at bolstering our nation's social integration and facilitating the integration of immigrants into British society and the UK economy. These are proposed over the course of four chapters, each of which investigates a different element of immigration policy.

### A regionally-led immigration system

In the wake of the Brexit vote, we are faced with a unique opportunity to design an immigration system that better meets the needs and commands the support of everyone in our nation. This formidable policy challenge will be made all the more difficult by the urgent need for this system to win back the confidence of the British people.

In light of this, this APPG believes that the government must purposefully design a new immigration system to form the basis of a new social compact between those sections of society which voted for the Remain and Leave campaigns at that referendum. A system for the management of immigration with social integration – the development and maintenance of bonds of trust, reciprocity and solidarity between Britons from all backgrounds – at its heart.

This system must be shaped so as to address legitimate concerns regarding the pace of change in some communities and the ability of our democratically-elected leaders to manage immigration in the national interest. It must also promote the economic wellbeing of our country through enabling continued access to EU markets, and reflect the open and welcoming society which most Britons wish to live in. We would suggest that policymakers might seek to forge a new immigration policy settlement aligned with each of these objectives through enacting a number of bold measures:

1. Ministers should devolve substantive immigration policy powers to the constituent nations and regions of the UK – creating a regionally-led immigration system.
2. Regional immigration authorities should be formed to exercise devolved immigration policy powers within each of the English regions outside of London. These authorities should be comprised of existing elected representatives including Metro Mayors (where relevant) and local authority representatives. The Scottish, Welsh and Northern Irish governments should be charged with exercising these powers in those nations, as should the Mayor of London in the capital.
3. As a minimum, all of the UK's nations and regions should be afforded the same level of control over immigration devolved to the Scottish government in the form of the Shortage Occupation List. This initiative allows employers to offer particular jobs to non-EU nationals without first advertising them domestically.
4. The government should consider empowering regional immigration authorities to act more boldly and forcefully to advance their areas' economic and social interests – creating a certain number of region-specific visas to meet specific needs. Under such a system, immigrants would be expected to stay in a particular region for a minimum period of time (perhaps two-to-three years) before gaining the right to live anywhere in Britain.
5. The requirement on immigrants to live in a particular region for a limited period of time might be enforced through a variety of means. Employers might be required to check that the individual in question lives within a certain region or a commutable distance from their place of work before hiring them. Alternatively, signifying prefixes might be added to the National Insurance numbers of immigrants granted region-specific visas.

6. The government should additionally consider a ‘Devo-Max’ option wherein regional immigration authorities would be empowered to develop quotas for the number of newcomers who would be able to immigrate to their area to work within specific economic sectors, or to determine that some or all sectors should not be subject to any restrictions of this sort. At least in the short term, these bodies should submit bids to the Home Office, which would retain ultimate control of immigration policy decisions and allocate visas accordingly.
7. If a close to fully regionalised system of this sort was to be established, the government would need to introduce a new visa specifically for NHS workers and maintain control of the allocation of these centrally.
8. The transfer of immigration policy powers to the UK’s nations and regions should be accompanied by the accelerated devolution of skills policy powers, enabling regional and local policymakers to take a joined-up view of their area’s immigration and skills needs and plan holistically.
9. Regional immigration authorities should work with colleges and universities in their areas to develop ‘bridge courses’. These courses would be aimed at enabling immigrants with experience of working in sectors with large numbers of region-specific visas to convert qualifications earned in their countries of origin into credentials recognised by UK employers.
10. The government’s national industrial strategy should include measures to direct funds to regional immigration authorities in areas whose economics require, but do not currently attract, large number of immigrants. These funds should be used to run public information campaigns encouraging immigrants to live and work in their areas and to invest in strategic infrastructural improvements in advance of population change.
11. Regional immigration authorities should be empowered to negotiate visa requirement exemptions with the government on behalf of employers poised to make significant investments in their regional economy.
12. The Immigration Skills Charge should be explicitly ringfenced for investment in the skills of the UK workforce. In addition, Ministers should publish details of exactly how the revenue raised through this charge will be spent and to what benefit.

### **A strategic and proactive approach to the integration of immigrants**

As well as fundamentally reforming the immigration system so as to win back the confidence of the public and bolster social integration, the government must embark on a programme of policy reforms to promote the integration of immigrants.

The UK’s policy approach in this regard has been remarkably non-interventionist – especially when compared to those of most European countries. We must, then, offer newcomers more support to integrate into the UK economy and British society. Indeed, this policy programme must be aimed both at supporting new immigrants to become active members of our society and to access the same level of opportunity as those born in this country, and at enabling host communities to successfully manage demographic and cultural change.

Targeted interventions to support new arrivals are required. We must acknowledge, too, that the traditional, laissez-faire British model of multiculturalism has too often encouraged communities to live separate lives – reinforcing distinct cultural identities to the detriment of efforts to draw attention to what we have in common – and is defunct. Policymakers must, however, resist calls to replicate the assimilationist politics of the French Burkini ban through imposing a state-sponsored identity and culture onto Britons of all backgrounds.



Instead, we must forge a middle way emphasising both the right of minority groups to uphold their own identities and cultural inheritances and the need for people of all walks of life not only to conform to certain shared norms and values, but to lead shared lives. Our aim should be to ensure that people of different faiths, cultures and backgrounds don't just tolerate one another or live peaceably side-by-side, but meet, mix and connect – to craft a settlement in which we are able to both celebrate and look beyond our differences. In order to translate this vision into reality:

13. The government should develop a comprehensive and proactive strategy for the integration of immigrants, which should be overseen by an Integration Policy Unit based within the Cabinet Office. This will enable those policymakers charged with implementing this strategy to take a holistic view of the integration challenges facing immigrants and host communities, and facilitate cross-government policy-setting and action.
14. Ministers must clarify the responsibilities of different government departments and agencies for delivering improved integration outcomes.
15. Officials within the Integration Policy Unit and across government should adhere to a single, comprehensive and clear integration policy framework. This framework should encompass four distinct but interrelated dimensions of integration – economic, civic, cultural and social – against which interventions should be developed and assessed.
16. Policymakers should introduce a statutory duty on all local authorities to promote the integration of immigrants.
17. Regional immigration authorities, devolved administrations and combined authorities led by Metro Mayors should be expected to play a supportive and co-ordinating role – including through the development of regional integration strategies.
18. Local authorities in areas whose population normally includes significant numbers of new immigrants should establish welcome centres for new arrivals. These centres should offer immigrants joined-up access to public services, language classes and cultural orientation initiatives.
19. The Home Office should consider whether an adequate number of welcome centres are available to new arrivals seeking to live and work in a particular area of the country when allocating region-specific visas.
20. The government should immediately bring forward plans for the introduction of an Integration Impact Fund to finance integration policy actions in areas whose population includes large numbers of new immigrants or which are characterised by pronounced ethnic division.
21. This fund should be amalgamated with and absorb the government's Controlling Migration Fund as well as the revenue generated through the Immigration Health Surcharge.
22. To the extent that the Integration Impact Fund might be designed so as to proactively direct funding to local authorities prior to expected population growth and change, rather than to react to instances of underfunding and cohesion challenges as these arise, this effect should be maximised.
23. The government should appoint a commission to investigate how data collection opportunities and population projections could be utilised more effectively post-Brexit to gain a better understanding of immigrant settlement patterns and facilitate the integration of immigrants.

24. Ministers should consider financing the Integration Impact Fund in part through the introduction of an Immigrant Integration Levy on employers operating within those sectors of the economy which are particularly dependent on immigrant labour.
25. Action to promote meaningful (intensive or sustained) social mixing between immigrant and host communities should form a key tenet of the government's strategy for the integration of immigrants.
26. Local authorities should proactively consider how they might support the growth of civic and community institutions which promote cross-community contact – importing examples of best practice from other areas and countries where these might work to address local needs. The Integration Policy Unit and DCLG should support councils in this endeavour through regularly highlighting instances of best practice and innovation.
27. Policymakers across government should explore whether public services could be better utilised so as to weave opportunities for cross-community contact into the fabric of everyday life in areas with significant immigrant populations.
28. The government should continue to grow National Citizen Service, and lend support to the charities and organisations which deliver this programme to recruit young people from immigrant backgrounds to participate in it alongside their British peers.
29. The Office for Civil Society should support more youth charities to actively consider how the programmes they provide might better bring together young people from different backgrounds to meet, mix and connect.

### Promoting and reforming British citizenship

Politicians have a responsibility to ensure that the rhetoric which they deploy on immigration does not undermine integration, but rather facilitates the development of welcoming communities and fosters community cohesion. This responsibility has, however, recently gone unfulfilled.

This is particularly apparent in the wake of the EU referendum. Many analysts and senior police leaders have suggested that the rhetoric deployed by some politicians during this referendum has led some to feel that they could act on racist attitudes which had previously gone unexpressed. The habit of policymakers and commentators to treat increased integration as relevant only insofar as it might prevent extremism has, moreover, been deeply counter-productive and must be broken.

We must act now so as to protect against the demonisation of immigrants, both new and settled, and to defend the diverse country which we have become. A fundamental reframing of our national conversation on immigration is required. Rather than being seen as security risks or 'the other', immigrants should be viewed as Britons-in-waiting.

In order to bring about this change, this APPG believes that policymakers should seek to create a climate in which it is not only possible but expected that newcomers should become citizens. This will require policy action in addition to warm words:

30. The Home Office should investigate whether new immigrants could be placed on pathways to citizenship automatically upon arrival in the UK. This system should operate on an opt-out basis, and involve the creation of information channels through which newcomers could be offered comprehensive guidance as to the requirements, costs and benefits of gaining British citizenship at regular intervals.

31. Policymakers should automatically enrol all immigrants who have lived in the UK for five years on a pathway to citizenship, irrespective of their visa status.
32. The government must substantially reduce the cost of the naturalisation fee.
33. The contents of the Life in the UK test should be amended to better reflect the knowledge and experience which aspiring citizens require to navigate modern Britain.
34. The government should launch a listening exercise in order to identify which elements of this test new citizens have and haven't found to be of value since passing it.
35. Policymakers should introduce a set of 'active citizenship criteria' for those applying to become citizens. To meet these criteria, Britons-in-waiting might take part in volunteering initiatives or play an active role in one's local community in some other way.
36. Citizenship ceremonies should be made more publicly prominent and inclusive.

### Building a Britain in which everyone can speak English

The ability to understand and speak English to a reasonable standard is a prerequisite for meaningful engagement with most British people and the key to full participation in British society. Yet, according to the Office for National Statistics, approximately 800,000 people living in the UK at the time of the 2011 census – or 2% of the population – could not speak English well or at all.

Immigrants who do not speak English when they arrive in the UK on the whole want to improve their English language proficiency, but often face barriers to doing so. As the Casey Review evidenced, regressive family and cultural norms and practices too often prevent vulnerable members of certain communities, and women in particular, from learning English – limiting their ability to independently navigate life in the UK.

We must recognise, what is more, that some immigrants living within socially segregated areas feel that they have little reason to improve their English language skills. In spite of this, a good grasp of the English language is necessary in order to understand one's rights in the workplace, to access employment opportunities and to build a diverse social and professional network. Speaking English is, that is to say, crucial to social mobility in modern Britain.

We must, therefore, adopt a new policy approach shaped so as to ensure that everyone in our society is able to enjoy the basic freedoms which British society is built upon and to unleash the economic potential of immigrants. In addition, not only it is perfectly reasonable for people to wish to live in a place in which they are able to get to know their neighbours; but everyone living in a multicultural society should – in the view of this APPG – be able to benefit from meeting, mixing and connecting with people from different cultures. Accordingly, this report recommends that:

37. Ministers should develop a new strategy for the promotion of English language learning reflecting the guiding principle that no one should be able to live in our country for a considerable length of time without speaking English.
38. The ability to speak English should be viewed as a right extended to everyone in our society no matter what their background or income level.



39. In order to break down cultural barriers to English language learning, the government should introduce a requirement that immigrants arriving in the UK without the ability to speak the language should be enrolled on ESOL classes. These programmes should, additionally, be used so as to provide new arrivals with an understanding of national and local customs, traditions and British values.
40. The government should conduct an extensive consultation including immigrants and ESOL programme providers in order to explore what topics these cultural orientation courses should cover as well as how the requirement for newcomers with no English to attend them should be enforced.
41. The government's new English language strategy must include a degree of direct investment in language classes reflecting both the scale of the challenge we face in building a Britain in which everyone speaks English and the level of importance attached to this project by Britons across the political spectrum.
42. Policymakers should introduce an income-contingent advanced learning loan system for English language programmes, through which programme participants could defer payments until they begin to earn a salary above a certain threshold – enabling immigrants, including those who are unemployed, to undertake training with no or little upfront cost.
43. The government's national strategy for the promotion of the English language should be shaped so as to support the growth of vocationally-focused ESOL programmes aimed at providing immigrants with a grounding in appropriate industrial language and unlocking skills learned abroad.
44. Ministers should set out plans to amend existing vocational courses commonly accessed by migrants, such as the NVQ in social care, to include a greater focus on English language learning.
45. Policymakers should offer employers financial incentives for the provision of in-work ESOL programmes. This should include the introduction of a quality mark to recognise employers which effectively support English language learning. Policymakers should, in addition, explore whether employers which demonstrate a substantive commitment to language training might be made entitled to employer National Insurance Contribution discounts.
46. In recognition of the diverse experiences and language training needs of individual immigrants and of distinct demographic groups, the government should design its English language strategy so as to promote ESOL programmes of a range of styles and forms – including both college and community-based schemes.
47. Policymakers should explore where there is a need for an 'intermediate offer' aimed at language learners who have participated in a community-based programme but aren't yet ready to progress to a college-based course.
48. The government should outline plans for the increased provision of non-formal language learning schemes which enable immigrants to practise their English through conversing with members of their host community.
49. Its English language strategy should include measures aimed at drawing more volunteers into language learning programmes – including in order to serve as teaching assistants within formal ESOL courses and to participate in non-formal schemes.

50. A central plank of the government's national strategy for the promotion of the English language should comprise of plans to integrate the provision of ESOL with that of other public services, including children's centres and schools.
51. Ministers should introduce a new statutory duty on local authorities to co-ordinate and optimise ESOL provision in their areas – sign-posting learners to suitable provision and facilitating a positive dialogue between language training providers.
52. The government's English language strategy should set out rigorous national standards and ambitious area-by-area targets for ESOL provision.
53. The government should grow and maintain a varied ESOL delivery landscape incorporating national charities in addition to the local organisations and colleges which will continue to form the bedrock of language training provision. To this end, its English language strategy should include measures recognising the enhanced capacity for low-cost provision, innovation and quality assurance of larger delivery organisations.
54. The government should make funding available for charities and community groups in selected areas of the country to pilot a series of 'language of citizenship' initiatives. Through these civic engagement programmes, groups of immigrants with language learning needs would design and deliver social action projects in their local communities alongside volunteers drawn from the settled population.
55. ESOL programme providers in receipt of public funding should be required to build curriculum elements designed to celebrate modern British values and freedoms, including the right to marry someone of the same sex, into their courses.
56. Policymakers should create incentives for ESOL programme providers, technology firms and academics to collaborate on the development of new approaches to language learning incorporating digital tools, apps and massive open online courses (MOOCs).



## INTRODUCTION

In the interim report of this APPG's inquiry into the integration of immigrants, published in January 2017, we outlined six principles which the government might consider as the basis for a strategic approach to integration. This paper aims to set out, in more expansive terms, how those principles might be translated into policy in practice.

As the Brexit process continues and policymakers, by virtue of circumstance, come to reforming the UK's immigration system, they might look to this report for guidance as to how this system might be amended so as to have social integration at its heart. This APPG would suggest that it should embody a degree of regionalisation – immigration policy powers should, to an extent, be devolved to the UK's constituent nations and its regions. Chapter one of this document explores the varying levels of devolution policymakers might wish to consider enacting in this respect. In this section, we argue that this reform could increase democratic accountability and public trust in immigration policy. Indeed, particularly if it was tied to a new skills settlement, a devolved immigration system could provide powerful incentives for local politicians and business leaders alike to celebrate the benefits of immigration.

This APPG is clear in its view that, in addition to reforming the system for entering the country, policymakers must pay more attention to what happens when immigrants pass through our borders and settle in communities – more proactively supporting newcomers to integrate into our society and economy in line with the example of other European nations. An investigation of how such an approach might be adopted in the UK is laid out in chapter two of this report, which discussed how responsibility for integration policy measures should be divided between central and local government policymakers. We propose that an Integration Policy Unit should be established within the Cabinet Office; and that an Integration Impact Fund should be introduced to finance integration policy actions in areas whose population includes large numbers of new immigrants or which are characterised by pronounced ethnic division. A source of income for this fund might come through an Integration Levy charged to large employers which particularly benefit from immigrant labour.

A central thread running through this report is the argument that in order to protect against the demonisation of immigrants – both new and settled – and to defend the diverse country which we have become, we must seek to fundamentally reframe our national debate on immigration. Reformed citizenship policies might represent a powerful tool in this pursuit. The third chapter of this report examines how changes to the criteria for and process of becoming a citizen might bring about a shift in public perceptions so that immigrants are increasingly viewed as Britons-in-waiting, rather than a security risk, or 'the other'.

In chapter four, this APPG recommends that the government should devise a comprehensive strategy to promote English language learning, which would complement the broader government strategy for the integration of immigrants described above. In order to thrive economically and socially in the UK, it is generally necessary to speak English, but newcomers who do not speak the language when they arrive in our country often face cultural and practical barriers to learning it. This report outlines how such a strategy might support immigrants to overcome these challenges – building a Britain in which everyone is able to speak English and to access the freedoms and opportunities which our society is built upon.

In the following pages, this report seeks to set out an approach to the integration of immigrants which might afford immigrants the full extent of the rights which they should be entitled to as residents of our country, transform our national debate on immigration and support our society to become stronger and more inclusive, our communities more cohesive and welcoming.

## 1. A REGIONALLY-LED IMMIGRATION SYSTEM

In the wake of the Brexit vote, we are faced with a unique opportunity to design an immigration system that better meets the needs and commands the support of everyone in our nation. This formidable policy challenge<sup>2</sup> will be made all the more difficult by the urgent need for this system to win back the confidence of the British people.

The public's trust in the ability of the government to manage immigration in the national interest has been eroded over a course of decades.<sup>3</sup> Many Britons believe that we are not in control of our borders and worry that policymakers are blind to the toll that demographic and cultural change takes on communities.<sup>4</sup>

Simultaneously, anxiety regarding the impact which leaving the European Union and single market might have on our economy is on the rise.<sup>5</sup> A growing number of people in the UK fear that our national prosperity is to be sacrificed on the altar of 'controlled immigration'.

Little over a year after the EU referendum, Britain seems as divided over the question of immigration as ever – with Britons with different levels of education and from different generations<sup>6</sup> especially at odds as to the best route forward for our country.

In light of this, this APPG believes that the government must purposefully design a new immigration system to form the basis of a new social compact between those sections of society which voted for the Remain and Leave campaigns at that referendum. A system for the management of immigration with social integration – the development and maintenance of bonds of trust, reciprocity and solidarity between Britons from all backgrounds – at its heart.

This system must enable British employers to access the skills and labour they need to thrive and generate opportunity and jobs for people across the UK, and reflect the welcoming and open society which the overwhelming majority of Britons wish to live in.<sup>7</sup> It must also protect and promote the health and cohesion of our communities and facilitate the integration of immigrants into our society and economy.

The specific form which the UK's post-Brexit immigration system should take – whether work permit or points-based, or involving the continued freedom of movement for EU migrants – is beyond the scope and remit of this inquiry. We would recommend, however, that those policymakers who are charged with crafting this system should follow an approach predicated on three evidence-based but fundamentally political beliefs and principles:

1. **The UK must continue to be an open and global-facing nation following its departure from the EU.** Immigration has infused untold vibrancy and dynamism into our communities, has been fantastic for the cultural life of our country and has fuelled the growth of our economy.<sup>8</sup>

2 A recent University of Edinburgh report highlights that the immigration 'solutions' which might best serve Scotland's skills and demographic needs, post-Brexit, are also the least politically feasible: Boswell C., Kyambi S. and Smellie S. (2017), *Scottish and UK Immigration Policy after Brexit: Evaluating Options for a Differentiated Approach*. University of Edinburgh.

3 Katwala, S et al (2016), *What next after Brexit? Immigration and integration in post-referendum Britain*, London: British Future

4 See Blinder, S and Allen W, L (2016), *BRIEFING: UK Public Opinion toward Immigration: Overall Attitudes and Level of Concern*, Oxford: Migration Observatory

5 Wells, A (2017), 'Attitudes to Brexit: Everything we know so far', YouGov UK, March 29 2017 <https://yougov.co.uk/news/2017/03/29/attitudes-brexit-everything-we-know-so-far/>

6 NatCen Social Research (2017), *British Social Attitudes 34*, shows that the UK has the most polarised views on immigration in Europe along the lines of age and education.

7 Katwala, S et al (2014), *How to Talk About Immigration*, London: British Future

8 The government recently commissioned the Migration Advisory Committee (MAC) to conduct research on EU migration to the UK, rooted in the firm assertion that, "migration benefits the UK, economically, culturally and socially" *Letter from the Home Secretary to the Chair of the MAC*, 27 July 2017 [www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment\\_data/file/633321/Commission\\_to\\_the\\_MAC.pdf](http://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/633321/Commission_to_the_MAC.pdf)



2. **Our immigration laws should better reflect the lived experience of multiculturalism.** For too long, political leaders have operated on the basis that integration will occur naturally in time and have expected immigrants and the ‘host communities’ which receive them to ‘muddle through’ – failing to offer these communities the practical support they require to come together in the wake of demographic and cultural change. In the age of globalisation and Grenfell<sup>9</sup> – characterised as it is by swift socio-economic shifts, growing inequalities and heightened security risks – we can no longer take the health and cohesion of our communities for granted. Rising to this challenge will require a greater focus not just on the criteria for entering the UK or on net migration totals, but on what happens when immigrants pass through our borders and settle in Birmingham, Barnsley or Brent.
  
3. **People living in areas without significant immigrant populations whose voice concerns regarding immigration shouldn’t be dismissed as bigoted or ignorant, but should be supported to better understand the impact which increased immigration might have on their area.** For a new immigration system to truly engender the confidence of the public, it must speak to the concerns of these individuals. As Professor Eric Kaufmann of Birkbeck, University of London, noted during a parliamentary hearing held through this inquiry, those who are most anxious about immigration often live in areas on the peripheries of those with significant immigrant populations. Professor Kaufmann described a ‘halo effect’ wherein both those who live far from immigration hotspots and those who live within those areas, and so are accustomed to multiculturalism, tend to be less concerned about demographic change than those who live ‘somewhere in the middle’. These individuals worry that their area may soon change as a result of immigration and about what the impact of this will be. They are of course entitled to their views, but this APPG would suggest that our immigration system should be designed so as to foster a public conversation which will enable them to more fully and accurately appreciate what that impact might be. After all, people do not live in ‘the nation’, but in communities; and yet the only substantive information which most people receive on immigration tends to be highly politically charged and to relate to national-level facts and figures. It is natural to feel powerless in these circumstances.

It is vital – in the view of this APPG – that the UK’s new immigration system should be designed so as to capture and respond to these three principles and beliefs to the fullest extent possible. This report’s opening chapter will outline a policy approach through which we believe that this goal might be achieved.

Whatever the form of the immigration system introduced by the government post-Brexit, this APPG believes that this system could and should be adapted to lend a degree of democratic control over immigration policy decisions to the constituent nations and regions of the UK.

9 Phillips, T (2017), ‘Grenfell Tower fire is making us ask difficult questions about our cosmopolitan capital’, *The Telegraph*, 16 June 2017 [www.telegraph.co.uk/men/thinking-man/trevor-phillips-grenfell-tower-fire-making-us-ask-difficult/](http://www.telegraph.co.uk/men/thinking-man/trevor-phillips-grenfell-tower-fire-making-us-ask-difficult/)

## 11. THE CASE FOR A REGIONALLY-LED SYSTEM

- ➔ Ministers should devolve substantive immigration policy powers to the constituent nations and regions of the UK – creating a regionally-led immigration system.

Reforming our immigration system to include an element of regionalised decision-making would, in the view of this APPG, result in a system which would better reflect and serve the divergent economic and social interests of our country's diverse regions and communities. We are clear, furthermore, that following this approach would not require the government to abdicate all control over immigration policy, or prevent Ministers from protecting and promoting the national interest.

The advantages of introducing a regionally-led system would be manifold:

**A system which serves regional economic interests** – The introduction of a regionally-led immigration system might bring about greater alignment between the economic needs of each part of the UK and immigrant settlement patterns, as policymakers with area-specific expertise could design immigration criteria closely matching the requirements of regional and local economies. This would ensure that new arrivals to different areas of Britain would be well prepared to enter the local labour market – arguably the most critical step in the process of integrating into a new society. These policymakers would additionally – as Migration Yorkshire noted in their written submission to this inquiry – be better-equipped to take a common view of the immigration needs of an area and its skills requirement, rate of deprivation and social geography – as well as local economic regeneration plans – and to take a joined-up approach to policy decisions relating to these issues.

At present, the UK's immigration system is generally unresponsive to the distinct economic needs of our country's nations and regions. This has led to friction between the UK and Scottish governments in recent years, as the latter's aim of increasing immigration (in order to grow its labour force) has come into conflict with the Home Office's commitment to cut net immigration – a point which The Convention of Scottish Local Authorities noted in a submission to this inquiry. Indeed, through his submission, Dr Alasdair Allan MSP, the Scottish government's Minister for International Development and Europe, provided a further example of the difficulties which can result from the imposition of a one-size-fits-all immigration system on a richly diverse country with different regional economic needs. Dr Allan pointed out that the variance in levels of pay across the UK means that the imposition of a national salary threshold for new immigrants is impractical and inefficient.

**A system which is responsive to the threshold of community comfort** – During a parliamentary hearing held through this inquiry, the High Commissioner of Australia Alexander Downer AC stated that his country's immigration system has been designed so as to be responsive to what he called the 'threshold of community comfort'. We would suggest that the UK's immigration system is, in contrast, currently unresponsive to the toll which demographic and cultural change can take on communities. It is evident that population growth and churn has put pressure some public services in some areas<sup>10</sup>; whilst, as this report will go on to detail, the pace of change in some areas of our country has led people to feel a sense of bewilderment and estrangement from their communities. This need not be the case, and this APPG is clear that policymakers must do much to help people to continue to feel a sense of ownership of their communities even as they change.

Regional and local leaders are, in our view, best-placed to assess the ramifications of immigration policy decisions for both public service provision and community cohesion in their areas. They should, accordingly, be empowered to shape these decisions.

<sup>10</sup> During a parliamentary hearing held through this inquiry, the Leader of Boston Borough Council, Peter Bedford, stated that schools and hospitals in Boston are struggling to cope with the population growth which has resulted from immigration to that town (whilst noting that GPs had been less affected.)

Policymakers in areas where there is evidence to suggest that rapid or large-scale immigration has weakened social ties or put public services under significant pressure would – under a regionally-led immigration system – be able to take appropriate corrective action on behalf of their communities.

A system which gives people a sense of control – Crucially, the introduction of such a system would lend the settled population a sense of control over immigration policy decisions – serving to disrupt the pernicious sense that population change is foisted on communities by a distant metropolitan elite. In fact, transferring substantive immigration policy powers to regional and local policymakers would reassure people across the UK not only that decisions regarding immigration are being made with a view to the interests of their local economy and community; but that they are able to directly influence these decisions at the ballot-box.<sup>11</sup>

A system which promotes a positive public debate on immigration – In our interim inquiry report, this APPG recommended that the government should consider drawing more heavily on the voices of employers who currently benefit from access to a large immigrant workforce in order to highlight the positive contribution which immigrants make to the UK economy. We believe that, under the sort of immigration system proposed within this report, it might not be necessary for officials to corral employers into making the case for immigration in their local area. Rather, the increased democratic and public accountability which would accompany the devolution of immigration policy powers to the regional level would create powerful incentives for local politicians and business leaders alike to celebrate the benefits of immigration for their areas. Businesses which rely on immigrant workers would need to make their voices heard on this issue in order to ensure that democratic decisions would not adversely impact on their interests; whilst local political leaders would no longer have the option of deflecting public disquiet over immigration onto Westminster.

**A system which encourages immigrants to belong** – Recent decades have seen a growing trend towards a more transient form of immigration.<sup>12</sup> As a consequence, many immigrants have remained relatively detached from the communities in which they live. As the IPPR think tank noted in their submission to this inquiry, the fact that newcomers would – under a regionally-led immigration system – be sponsored by a particular nation or region might encourage these individuals to develop a sense of attachment to place. Policymakers should augment this effect through promoting the inclusion and involvement of immigrants in the life of their local community – a point which this report will go on to explore in some detail.

**A system which safeguards our obligations to refugees and asylum seekers** – In a scenario wherein substantive immigration policy powers were exercised by regional and local policymakers, those immigration policy decisions taken at the national level would relate exclusively to issues which should indisputably be negotiated between nation states – such as asylum policy for those fleeing persecution and refugee resettlement. As IPPR Director Tom Kibasi has previously argued<sup>13</sup>, the devolution of immigration powers might, therefore, make it considerably less likely that policy decisions regarding these fundamentally moral questions will be conflated in the public debate with those regarding economic migrants.

11 There is a wealth of evidence to suggest that the public invests more trust in local politicians than in parliamentarians. For example, see: Cox, E and Jeffery, C (2014), *The Future of England: The Local Dimension*, Manchester: IPPR North

12 Griffith, P and Halej, J (2015), *Trajectory and Transience: Understanding and addressing the pressures of migration on communities*, London: IPPR

13 Kibasi, T (2016), 'How a devolved immigration policy could work in Brexit Britain', *The New Statesman*, 28 October 2016 [www.newstatesman.com/politics/staggers/2016/10/how-devolved-immigration-policy-could-work-brexit-britain](http://www.newstatesman.com/politics/staggers/2016/10/how-devolved-immigration-policy-could-work-brexit-britain)

## REFORMING THE FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT

The option to retaining some form of the freedom of movement between the UK and EU post-Brexit has, in some quarters, been written off. This is viewed as contravening the public desire for immigration to be controlled, as expressed through the Leave campaign's victory in last year's EU referendum.<sup>14</sup> This APPG, however, notes the view conveyed to us by leading immigration authority Professor Thom Brooks of Durham Law School, who believes that the freedom of movement has been '*egregiously misunderstood*' within the UK. As Professor Brooks argued whilst being interviewed by our secretariat team, our country does not have to leave the single market in order to manage EU migration – we already have this power but have chosen not to exercise it.

The European Union's 2004 Citizenship Directive makes it clear that the free movement of people within the EU is not an unqualified right. According to this directive, EU citizens and their family members must either find employment within three months of arriving in an EU country or possess sufficient resources and health insurance so as to assure the member state into whose jurisdiction they are moving that they will not become a burden on its public services and welfare system during their stay.<sup>15</sup>

In fact, whilst it's generally true that legal conditions on the freedom of movement have been applied unevenly across the EU, it should nonetheless be noted that the UK has taken a much more lax approach than many member states.<sup>16</sup> Other EU nations have enforced the limitations of this freedom through establishing registration schemes which allow them to identify instances of its abuse and to respond accordingly – chiefly through deporting the perpetrators. In order access to the German healthcare system, for instance, EU migrants must first demonstrate that they have registered with both a *Einwohnermeldeamt* (registration office) and a *Krankenkasse* (health insurance company). Norway operates a scheme wherein all European Economic Area (EEA) nationals who wish to stay in that country for more than three months must register with the police – providing evidence of their basis for residence, a valid identity card or passport and proof that they will not be a burden on state services. Belgian authorities have, moreover, in recent years issued thousands of 'expulsion orders' to EU citizens who do not work and so cannot support themselves each year – in 2013, 2,712 EU nationals residing in Belgium received such an order.<sup>17</sup> Another EEA member country, Lichtenstein, has even established a quota system for the management of EU migration.

14 For example, the Liberal Democrat leader Vince Cable, an ardent 'Remainer', has previously claimed that the '*principle of free movement is no longer defensible*'. See: Hughes, L (2016), 'Vince Cable admits principle of free movement is no longer 'defensible'', *The Telegraph*, 9 August 2016 [www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2016/08/09/vince-cable-admits-principle-of-free-movement-is-no-longer-defen](http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2016/08/09/vince-cable-admits-principle-of-free-movement-is-no-longer-defen)

15 DIRECTIVE 2004/58/EC OF THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT AND OF THE COUNCIL of 29 April 2004, *Official Journal of the European Union*, 229/35 <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=OJ:L:2004:229:0035:0048:en:PDF>  
It should be noted that directive does not require EU migrants to apply for residence permits when moving to a new EU country, although member states may require nonetheless require these individuals to register with relevant authorities.

16 The UK is notable in that it makes non-contributory welfare payments to – and enables unqualified access to the NHS by – EU citizens.

17 Vackle, A (2015), EU Rights Clinic Helps EU Citizens to Appeal Belgian Expulsion Orders, *University of Kent*, 22 May 2015 <https://blogs.kent.ac.uk/eu-rights-clinic/2015/05/22/eu-rights-clinic-helps-eu-citizen-to-appeal-belgian-expulsion-order/>

This APPG would suggest that it would be perfectly plausible for Ministers to at once introduce a regionally-led system for non-EU immigration, whilst continuing to subscribe to some form of freedom of movement post-Brexit and enforcing a set of conditions similar to those set out above on that freedom. Indeed, whilst the terms of Britain's departure from the EU is beyond the scope of this inquiry, we believe this approach would be feasible (both domestically<sup>18</sup> and internationally) and would offer a number of benefits. It would, for instance, go some way towards restoring the public's confidence in the government's ability to manage immigration in a fair manner, whilst also allowing the UK to retain access to the single market and the skilled and unskilled European workers which our economy depends upon. At a time in which net migration is starting to fall<sup>19</sup> and many sectors are beginning to report declines in the number of EU migrants applying to work in our country,<sup>20</sup> reforming rather than abolishing the freedom of movement would offer valuable reassurances to UK businesses and EU citizens alike.

Requiring EU migrants to register with national or local government would, what is more, enable policymakers to further integration efforts – establishing information channels through which officials could share details of citizenship rights and requirements with these newcomers. The government might, for instance, issue welcome packs to EU citizens upon their registering as a UK resident.

This 'fair movement' approach would of course, entail an administrative burden being placed on the Home Office, which would likely be tasked with issuing residency documents or ID cards to EU nationals. This approach would, though, be no more burdensome than other options for the post-Brexit management of EU migration – including the introduction of a work permit system.

18 Roberts, D (2017), 'Majority of Brexiters would swap free movement for EU market access', *The Guardian*, 17 Jul 2017 [www.theguardian.com/politics/2017/jul/17/majority-of-brexiters-would-swap-free-movement-for-eu-market-access](http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2017/jul/17/majority-of-brexiters-would-swap-free-movement-for-eu-market-access)

19 Office for National Statistics, *Migration Statistics Quarterly Report: May 2017*, 25 May 2017 [www.ons.gov.uk/peoplepopulationandcommunity/populationandmigration/internationalmigration/bulletins/migrationstatisticsquarterlyreport/may2017](http://www.ons.gov.uk/peoplepopulationandcommunity/populationandmigration/internationalmigration/bulletins/migrationstatisticsquarterlyreport/may2017)

This fall was, to a large extent, driven by fewer European citizens coming to the UK and much greater numbers of EU citizens leaving the UK.

20 Nursing, for example, has seen a 96% drop in the number of EU nurses applying to work in the UK since Brexit. The National Farmers Union reported a 17% shortfall of agricultural workers in May 2017 compared to a 4% shortfall in May 2016 – a trend which they ascribe to migrant workers feeling unwelcome post-Brexit. Similar concerns have been raised by the health and social care sectors, the banking and financial sector, the Higher Education sector and the Royal College of Veterinary Surgeons. Importantly, these include many of the 'best and the brightest' which the Government hopes to retain,



## 1.2. HOW IT WOULD WORK

- Regional immigration authorities should be formed to exercise devolved immigration policy powers within each of the English regions outside of London. These authorities should be comprised of existing elected representatives including Metro Mayors (where relevant) and local authority representatives. The Scottish, Welsh and Northern Irish governments should be charged with exercising these powers in those nations, as should the Mayor of London in the capital.
- As a minimum, all of the UK's nations and regions should be afforded the same level of control over immigration devolved to the Scottish government in the form of the Shortage Occupation List. This initiative allows employers to offer particular jobs to non-EU nationals without first advertising them domestically.
- The government should consider empowering regional immigration authorities to act more boldly and forcefully to advance their areas' economic and social interests – creating a certain number of region-specific visas to meet specific needs. Under such a system, immigrants would be expected to stay in a particular region for a minimum period of time (perhaps two-to-three years) before gaining the right to live anywhere in Britain.
- The requirement on immigrants to live in a particular region for a limited period of time might be enforced through a variety of means. Employers might be required to check that the individual in question lives within a certain region or a commutable distance from their place of work before hiring them. Alternatively, signifying prefixes might be added to the National Insurance numbers of immigrants granted region-specific visas.
- The government should additionally consider a 'Devo-Max' option wherein regional immigration authorities would be empowered to develop quotas for the number of newcomers who would be able to immigrate to their area to work within specific economic sectors, or to determine that some or all sectors should not be subject to any restrictions of this sort. At least in the short term, these bodies should submit bids to the Home Office, which would retain ultimate control of immigration policy decisions and allocate visas accordingly.
- If a close to fully regionalised system of this sort was to be established, the government would need to introduce a new visa specifically for NHS workers and maintain control of the allocation of these centrally.

For a regionally-led immigration system to have legitimacy and function effectively, it would need to be democratically controlled. In Scotland, Wales, Northern Ireland and London, the devolved democratic structures required to enable effective regional decision-making on immigration have already been established. In other areas of the UK, this APPG would suggest that some combination of Metro Mayors, local authorities, Strategic Migration Partnerships and Local Enterprise Partnerships (LEPs) – and possibly local MPs – should be charged with collaborative policymaking on immigration issues – bespoke regional immigration authorities would need to be formed on an area-by-area basis.<sup>21</sup> Given the intersection of regional economic and sectoral needs, sector skills councils might also be drawn into this process.

In order to transfer a degree of democratic control over immigration policy decisions to the nations and regions of the UK, the government might introduce a number of reforms of varying levels of ambition. It is generally fair to suggest that, the greater the degree of policy control devolved to the regional level, the more fully the benefits of regionalisation set out within this report will be realised.

As a minimum, all nations and regions should be afforded the same level of control over immigration devolved to the Scottish government in the form of the 'Shortage Occupation

<sup>21</sup> In Kibasi, T (2016), Tom Kibasi proposes the formation of 'Grand Committees' of existing elected representatives, which would deliberate and – through an Electoral College system – exercise devolved immigration policy powers. This APPG would propose that regional immigration authorities might be formed along similar geographical boundaries to those of LEPs or to represent larger geographies, depending on regional circumstances.

List'. This initiative allows employers to offer particular jobs to non-EU nationals without first advertising them domestically, and is the only notable concession to the specific needs of the UK's constituent nations and regions built into our current immigration system. IPPR have argued in favour of creating a North East Shortage Occupation List to allow that region to attract international workers possessing skills that it is unable to source from the domestic labour market.<sup>22</sup>

The government should also consider empowering the UK's nations and regions to act more boldly and forcefully to advance their own economic and social interests – creating a certain number of region-specific visas to meet their specific needs (these might be dubbed Regional Worker Visas.) Under such a system, immigrants would be expected to stay in a particular region for a minimum period of time before gaining the right to live anywhere in Britain. This system might be modelled on Canada's Provincial Nominee Programs<sup>23</sup> – immigrants entering Canada through this route are required to reside within a particular province for two years before they are legally able to live or work elsewhere in the country – or on the Australian immigration system. The London Chamber of Commerce and Industry (LCCI) has called for the introduction of a 'London Visa' modelled on this approach following the Brexit vote.<sup>24</sup>

It is important to note that a system would not necessitate the erection of borders between different parts of the UK. Immigrants should of course be allowed to travel freely throughout Britain, but it would be perfectly possible and practicable for the government to impose some restrictions on where they are able to work and live. As IPPR noted in their submission to this inquiry, such a system is already in operation, albeit on a larger scale, in the Schengen area: *'A third-country national can apply for a visa to work in Germany, which theoretically allows them to travel to anywhere in the Schengen Area – but they would not be entitled to work or reside in any country apart from Germany.'*

The requirement on immigrants to live in a particular region for a limited period of time might be enforced through a variety of means<sup>25</sup>. Employers are already required to check that new hires possess the legal right to work in the UK. Under a regionally-led system, they might additionally be required to check that the individual in question lives within a certain region or a commutable distance from their place of work. If the government was to introduce a work permit system post-Brexit, employers might simply be required to specify the place of work and residence of the employee on their sponsorship certificate. Alternatively, as the LCCI suggested in their submission to this inquiry, the government might seek to enforce this requirement through adding a signifying prefix to the National Insurance numbers of immigrants granted Regional Worker Visas.

It is possible that these region-specific visas might serve as 'top-ups' representing concessions to pronounced local needs within a largely centralised immigration system. IPPR have, for instance, proposed the creation of a North East Investor Visa, which would allow the region to attract international investment; as well as a North East Post-Study Work Visa, which would enable skilled international graduates to stay in the region and fill local skills gaps following the completion of their studies.<sup>26</sup> Indeed, in his submission to this inquiry, Dr Alasdair Allan MSP suggested that policymakers in Scotland might wish to re-establish the *Fresh Talent* scheme, which allowed international students attending Scottish universities to remain in Scotland and find work after graduating.<sup>27</sup> In a similar vein, a recently published University of Edinburgh report suggests that the Scottish government should investigate rolling together a post-study work scheme with a differentiated occupational shortage list. Under this system, graduates of Scottish higher education institutions would be granted initial leave to stay and work for two years following the completion of their course of study, with the possibility of

22 Murray, C and Smart, S (2017), *Regionalising migration: The North East as a case study*, Manchester: IPPR North

23 In his submission to this inquiry, Victor Kok CPA CGA, a Regulated Canadian Immigration Consultant, stated that these programmes have been effective in addressing labour shortages and increasing immigrant settlement outside of metropolitan areas.

24 London Chamber of Commerce (2016), *Permits, Points and Visas: Securing practical immigration for post-Brexit London*, November 2016

25 As Bradford Council pointed out in their submission to this inquiry, expecting immigrants to structure their lives around local authority borders would be highly unreasonable. This APPG would, therefore, recommend that policymakers should assume a flexible approach in shaping the terms of this requirement.

26 Murray, C and Smart, S (2017)

27 See [www.gov.uk/government/publications/chapter-5-section-14-fresh-talent-working-in-scotland-scheme](http://www.gov.uk/government/publications/chapter-5-section-14-fresh-talent-working-in-scotland-scheme) for more information on the scheme.

switching to an expanded Tier 2 (Scottish) route. This might substantially widen the pool of skilled immigrants able to work in Scotland.<sup>28</sup>

Alternatively, our largely-centralised immigration system could be turned on its head through the creation of region and sector-specific visas. As Tom Kibasi has proposed<sup>29</sup>, the nations and regions of the UK might, under a close to fully regionalised system, be empowered to develop quotas for the number of newcomers who would be able to immigrate to their area to work within specific economic sectors; or to determine that some or all sectors should not be subject to any restrictions of this sort. These quotas might, furthermore, theoretically be differentiated by EU and non-EU migrants. This APPG would suggest that decisions regarding sectoral visa allocations should be made by regional immigration authorities in conjunction with LEPs, sector skills councils and other business representatives.

If this 'Devo-Max' option were to be implemented, regional immigration authorities might – at least in the short term – make recommendations or submit bids to the Home Office, which would retain ultimate control of immigration policy decisions and allocate visas accordingly<sup>30</sup> (mirroring the role of the federal Department of Immigration and Border Control in the Australian system.) This would ensure that the interests of different regions and sectors could be balanced effectively (given the implications of these decisions for different sectors of the UK economy, the Home Office would of course need to consult with the Department for Business, Energy and Industrial Strategy (BEIS) before setting visa allocations.) It would, moreover, prevent a scenario in which local politicians might opt simply to discontinue all immigration to their area. Indeed, this democratic safeguard might prove especially necessary in the years immediately following the introduction of a regionally-led immigration system as – as Bradford Council noted in their submission to this inquiry – this development would generate both meaningful incentives for local political leaders to make the case for immigration to their area and the potential for anti-immigration sentiment to infect local politics in communities across the UK. Particularly in areas in which local elections tend to produce low turnouts, it's possible that Metro Mayors and local councillors might be elected on regressive nativist platforms.

It is this APPG's view that reforming our country's immigration system to be more responsive to the impact of demographic and cultural change on communities and to reassure the public that immigration policy decisions are being made with a view to the interests of their area would, in a very real sense, address many of the root causes of this hypothetical backlash. We recognise, however, that maintaining some restrictions on the regional democratic control of immigration policy powers will remain pivotal until a more positive and constructive public debate on immigration materialises within the UK.

We would, in addition, suggest that the Home Office might consider the extent to which a region has developed the policy and community infrastructure necessary to effectively facilitate the integration of immigrants into British society when allocating Regional Worker Visas.

We would recommend, too, that – if a principally regionally-led system of this sort was to be established – the government would need to introduce a new visa specifically for NHS workers and maintain control of the allocation of these centrally. It is of the utmost importance that the NHS should be staffed to capacity and according to a strict needs-based analysis which would, in this APPG's view, be most effectively undertaken by the Department of Health in conjunction with NHS leaders. For example, evidence shows the nursing workforce is close to crisis, with Brexit being just one of many contributing factors.<sup>31</sup>

28 Boswell C., Kyambi S. and Smellie S. (2017), *Scottish and UK Immigration Policy after Brexit: Evaluating Options for a Differentiated Approach*. University of Edinburgh.

29 Kibasi, T (2016)

30 The Home Office might issue region-specific visa allocations, at minimum, every three years. This should set in consultation with the relevant sectors to determine the most sensible approach.

31 Apart from the 96% drop in the number of EU nurses registering to work in the UK, there are numerous other issues facing the nursing workforce which threaten security of supply and risk patient care. In 2016, the Institute for Employment Studies found that one in three nurses were due to retire in the next ten years, posing a huge replacement challenge. In July 2017, the Nursing and Midwifery Council reported that more people are leaving the nursing profession than joining for the first time on record, with the number departing having risen 51% in just four years and there are ongoing concerns that the Government's scrapping of the nursing bursary will put off students from studying nursing at university.

## AUSTRALIA'S REGIONALLY-LED IMMIGRATION SYSTEM

Over the course of the last fifteen years, Australia has moved 'from a system that was supply driven to one that is demand driven and meets the needs of employers'<sup>32</sup>.

In the pursuit of this goal, Australia's immigration laws have been shaped so as to promote the regional dispersal of new immigrants. Australian policymakers, having judged that a centrally-imposed approach to immigration policy was no longer serving their country's economy or its citizens, introduced a number of reforms so as to support rural and low-population growth metropolitan areas to attract immigrant workers.

Under the present Australian system, state governments are granted access to a pool of individuals who have applied for an Australian visa and are able to select individuals who they would be willing to sponsor. These regional governments develop selection criteria having reviewed the sectors in which they are experiencing labour shortages and consulted with local chambers of commerce and regional development bodies. Officials within the federal government's Department of Immigration and Border Protection then assess these requests and set regional quotas for immigrants of certain occupations so as to ensure a fair settlement between Australia's states and territories. Accordingly, Australia grants a number of region-specific visas (although it should be noted that, in many cases, regionally-sponsored immigrants move to larger cities as soon as their visa permits them to do so.<sup>33</sup>)

### SUBCLASS 187 VISA - THE REGIONAL SPONSORED MIGRATION SCHEME (RSMS)

The RSMS is an employer-sponsored visa. Successful applicants must agree to live in the state of sponsorship or outside of specified urban conurbations. Whilst the period of time an individual is required to reside in the specified area varies, this can be required for up to three years.

Before granting a RSMS visa, a regional certifying body (RCB) – 'a network of state and territory agencies, local chambers of commerce and regional development bodies'<sup>34</sup> - scrutinises the employer's application. This is to ensure there is genuine need for a paid role; that the terms and conditions offered match those to which Australian citizens are entitled; and that the position could not be filled from within the local labour market.

### SUBCLASS 190 VISA - THE SKILLED NOMINATED VISA

This visa is points-tested and is designed to help state and territorial governments address skills shortages in their regions. Applicants with skillsets that match positions featuring on the regional Skilled Occupation List submit an Expression of Interest. This is then reviewed by a state or territory government, which subsequently makes a decision as to whether it will directly sponsor that individual to immigrate. The subclass 190 visa is a permanent residency visa.

### SUBCLASS 489 VISA

Similar to the subclass 190 visa, the subclass 489 visa is granted to candidates possessing skills listed on the Skilled Occupation List. However, this visa allows skilled workers to live and work in provincial or low population growth metropolitan areas for up to four years only.

<sup>32</sup> 'Skilled Migration Trends and Policy Evolution: A Multilateral Overview' in Cohen, G et al (2015) *Immigration Policy and the Search for Skilled Workers: Summary of a Workshop*, Washington: National Academies Press

<sup>33</sup> PwC (2016), *Regional Visas: A unique immigration solution?*, London: City of London Corporation

<sup>34</sup> Ibid.



### 1.3. A NEW SKILLS SETTLEMENT

- The transfer of immigration policy powers to the UK's nations and regions should be accompanied by the accelerated devolution of skills policy powers, enabling regional and local policymakers to take a joined-up view of their area's immigration and skills needs and plan holistically.
- Regional immigration authorities should work with colleges and universities in their areas to develop 'bridge courses'. These courses would be aimed at enabling immigrants with experience of working in sectors with large numbers of region-specific visas to convert qualifications earned in their countries of origin into credentials recognised by UK employers.
- The government's national industrial strategy should include measures to direct funds to regional immigration authorities in areas whose economics require, but do not currently attract, large number of immigrants. These funds should be used to run public information campaigns encouraging immigrants to live and work in their areas and to invest in strategic infrastructural improvements in advance of population change.
- Regional immigration authorities should be empowered to negotiate visa requirement exemptions with the government on behalf of employers poised to make significant investments in their regional economy.
- The Immigration Skills Charge should be explicitly ringfenced for investment in the skills of the UK workforce. In addition, Ministers should publish details of exactly how the revenue raised through this charge will be spent and to what benefit.

Under the sort of close to fully regionalised immigration system set out in this report, Yorkshire and Humberside's regional immigration authority might choose to utilise its policy powers to drive the growth of Leeds's financial sector and support the region's ever-increasing number of restaurants. The regional and local policymakers sitting on that authority could, accordingly, place no restrictions on the numbers of bankers and culinary workers able to immigrate to that region. Conversely, following the spike in demand for labour in the hospitality and supply chain sectors since the announcement of Hull as the 2017 UK City of Culture,<sup>35</sup> this authority might set strict quotas for these sectors and instead work with regional skills providers to train up local workers to do these jobs.

Indeed, in order for a regionally-led immigration system to unlock the maximum possible economic benefit for our country, the transfer of immigration policy powers to its nations and regions would need to be accompanied by the accelerated devolution of skills policy powers. This would enable regional and local political leaders to exercise exactly the sort of joined-up decision-making which features in the above example.

Under a new skills policy settlement of this sort, strategically-inclined regional immigration authorities might also work with colleges and universities in their areas to develop 'bridge courses' modelled on those introduced by the provincial government of Ontario. These courses would be aimed at enabling immigrants with experience of working in sectors with large numbers of region-specific visas to convert qualifications earned in their countries of origin into credentials recognised by UK employers.<sup>36</sup>

35 Manpower (2017), *Regional Factsheet: Yorkshire and the Humber*, Quarter 2, 2017 [www.manpowergroup.co.uk/wp-content/uploads/2017/03/meos\\_q217\\_factsheet\\_yorkshireandhumberside.pdf](http://www.manpowergroup.co.uk/wp-content/uploads/2017/03/meos_q217_factsheet_yorkshireandhumberside.pdf)

36 These courses could be modelled on the Ontario scheme as well as on the bridging schemes for refugees that are on offer in the UK. For example, the Refugee Doctors Programme, launched in Scotland in 2017, represents an example of best practice. It is a unique partnership between the NHS, the third sector and further education; and unlike other refugee doctor programmes in the UK, this offers placement and clinical attachments around understanding the structure, culture and ethics of NHS Scotland. It also gives doctors access to postgraduate study and dedicated support to learn English, providing on-going support through post-registration and job-hunting.



## ONTARIO'S BRIDGE TRAINING PROGRAMS

Bridge training programs enable immigrants to convert qualifications earned in their country of origin or 'top up' existing skills so as to acquire Canadian licences or credentials. These programmes were established so as to ensure that new arrivals in Canada would be able to find work fitting their employment experience as quickly and easily as possible.

Employers, colleges and universities, occupational regulatory bodies and community organizations<sup>37</sup> are funded by the provincial government of Ontario to deliver bridge training programs. Since 2003, the provincial Government of Ontario has invested more than two hundred and fifty million Canadian Dollars to support fifty thousand individuals trained outside Canada to convert their qualifications. The Canadian federal government also provides support for these schemes.

The staff who deliver these courses work with immigrants to identify their training needs and shape individual learning plans. Depending upon the needs of the learner, these plans may include: workplace or clinical placements; skills or academic training; access to a mentor; preparation for a license or certification examination; and occupation-related language training.

Through enabling regional and local policymakers to take a common view of their area's immigration and skills needs and plan holistically, the devolution of immigration and skills policy powers might facilitate the development of the government's national industrial strategy. In turn, this national strategy should include measures to direct funds to regional immigration authorities in areas whose economics require, but do not currently attract, large number of immigrants (such as the Scottish highlands.) Officials could use these funds to run public information campaigns encouraging immigrants to live and work in their areas and to invest in strategic infrastructural improvements in advance of population change. The Canadian federal government has previously sought to encourage immigrants to move to new areas in exactly this manner – supporting regions and towns in provinces including British Columbia to design and launch 'Welcoming Communities' initiatives. Regional immigration authorities might also appeal to BEIS to exempt employers poised to make significant investments in their regional economy from certain visa requirement, much as Canadian provincial governments do on occasion to Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Canada (IRCC).

37 [www.citizenship.gov.on.ca/english/keyinitiatives/bridgetraining.html](http://www.citizenship.gov.on.ca/english/keyinitiatives/bridgetraining.html) - accessed 28/07/2017

### BRITISH COLUMBIA'S MICROSOFT CANADA EXCELLENCE CENTRE

The Microsoft Canada Excellence Centre opened in Vancouver in 2014. The centre represents a significant expansion of Microsoft's global footprint. Its prime purpose is to act as a hub for the development and training of Microsoft's global workforce.

At the request of the provincial government of British Columbia, IRCC approved certain Labour Market Impact Assessment (LMIA) exemptions for Microsoft. In many cases, a Canadian employer will need to acquire a LIMA prior to employing a foreign worker. A LIMA is typically carried out in order to verify that no Canadian worker available to fill the role in question and that there is a legitimate need for an immigrant worker to do so.

In the case of the Microsoft Canada Excellence Centre, exemptions were made for some core staff and trainees. These two groups were deemed to be exempt because, in the case of trainees, they not be entering the Canadian labour market or competing with Canadian workers, whilst the core staff were deemed to be *'integral to facilitating the work that the global rotational employees carry out'*.<sup>38</sup> If Microsoft were to seek to appoint an immigrant to roles in the centre outwith these categories, the company would be required to acquire a LIMA.

It is the intention of Microsoft Canada and the Government of British Columbia that this centre's core staff should be put on pathways to permanent residence. This reflects the strong focus which is placed on providing immigrants with the opportunity to become citizens within the Canadian system.

This new Skills settlement must, furthermore, be shaped so as to challenge the notion that economic immigration is exclusively to the cost of – and offers no benefit to – British workers. To this end, this APPG recommends that the Immigration Skills Charge,<sup>39</sup> which began to be levied on employers of non-EU immigrants from April of this year, should be explicitly ringfenced for investment in the skills of the UK workforce. Ministers have already committed to spending this money on higher level skills training for UK workers,<sup>40</sup> but we would suggest this funding link should be watertight. This might, crucially, go some way towards reframing skilled immigration in the public consciousness as a trend which brings benefits to employers and workers alike.

In addition, the government should publish details of exactly how the revenue raised through this charge will be spent and to what benefit. Through transparently setting out exactly how the skills training needs of the domestic workforce are being met through this policy, the government might increase buy-in from those employers who pay this fee and – in some cases – support them to reduce their reliance on immigrant workers in the longer-term.

38 [www.immigration.ca/tag/microsoft-canada-excellence-centre/](http://www.immigration.ca/tag/microsoft-canada-excellence-centre/) - accessed 28/07/2017

39 This charge was recently increased to £2,000 for every non-EU immigrant recruited by a UK employer.

40 Department for Business, Innovation and Skills (2016), *Government's new Immigration Skills Charge to incentivise training of British workers*, 24 March 2016 [www.gov.uk/government/news/governments-new-immigration-skills-charge-to-incentivise-training-of-british-workers](http://www.gov.uk/government/news/governments-new-immigration-skills-charge-to-incentivise-training-of-british-workers)



## 2. A STRATEGIC AND PROACTIVE APPROACH TO THE INTEGRATION OF IMMIGRANTS

In addition to fundamentally reforming the immigration system so as to win back the confidence of the public and bolster social integration, the government must embark on a programme of policy reforms to promote the integration of immigrants. This policy programme must be aimed both at supporting new immigrants to become active members of our society and to access the same level of opportunity as those born in this country, and at enabling host communities to successfully manage demographic and cultural change.

Around 1,700 immigrants arrive in the UK each day planning to stay for at least a year.<sup>41</sup> These newcomers often face challenges borne of a lack of knowledge of British customs and culture<sup>42</sup> and insufficient English language skills. Many are, furthermore, required to manage and overcome difficulties in accessing public services, procedural delays in obtaining entitlements and issues related to the non-recognition within the UK of professional qualifications earned in their country of origin.

Research conducted by the Migration Observatory at the University of Oxford suggests that many of these challenges might be resolved through designing targeted interventions to support, and shape the habits of, new arrivals to our country.<sup>43</sup> As Elizabeth Collett, Director of Migration Policy Institute Europe, noted in a parliamentary hearing held through this inquiry, however, the UK's policy approach to the integration of immigrants has been remarkably non-interventionist – especially when compared to those of most European countries. As Dame Louise Casey wrote in her government-commissioned Review into Integration and Opportunity in the UK: *'for generations we have welcomed immigrants to the UK but left them to find their own way in society while leaving host communities to accommodate them and the growing diversity of our nation.'*<sup>44</sup>

We must acknowledge, moreover, that the scale of the challenge which many immigrants face in integrating into British society does not necessarily recede once they have settled and built a life for themselves in the UK. As was famously concluded by the Cattle Report,<sup>45</sup> and as the Casey Review reaffirmed, immigrant and host communities in some parts of modern Britain are leading 'parallel lives'. They are, that is to say, living within the same geographical vicinity but operating within separate social and cultural spheres and not meeting or mixing to the extent that would be expected. These patterns of social segregation developed in large part as a result of the discriminatory housing and employment practices which were all-too-common during the post-war period, through which Caribbean and South Asian immigrants in particular were driven into low-quality housing, which was often clustered around businesses offering low-skilled and low-paid work.<sup>46</sup> It's also the case, though, that immigrants are often drawn to areas where others from the same town or country of origin already live (this phenomenon is known as chain migration.) In any case, immigrants living within socially segregated areas experience fewer incentives to improve their English language skills or to learn about the cultural practices of the settled population. This leads these individuals – naturally seeking a sense of belonging and security in spite of their separation from the community at large – to develop exclusive social networks and alternative labour markets, which in turn alienates

41 This data is taken from the COMPAS submission to the APPG: 636,000 long-term international migrants moved to the UK in the year ending June 2015 (averaging 1,742 a day). The definition employed here is someone who moves to a country other than that of his or her usual residence for a period of at least a year, so that the country of destination becomes his or her new country of usual residence. Of the 636,000, 45% were non EU citizens, 42% were EU citizens and 13% British citizens.

42 During a parliamentary hearing held as part of this inquiry, the Director of the Migrants' Rights Network, Don Flynn, noted that increased immigration from outside the Commonwealth from the early 2000s onwards has rendered this a greater issue than was the case throughout most of the twentieth century.

43 Migration Observatory. 2011. *Integration*. Available from: [www.migrationobservatory.ox.ac.uk/resources/primers/integration/](http://www.migrationobservatory.ox.ac.uk/resources/primers/integration/)

44 Casey, Dame Louise DBE CB. (2016), *The Casey Review: A review into integration and opportunity*, Page 15

45 Cattle, T (2001) *Community Cohesion: A Report of the Independent Review Team – "The Cattle Report"*, London: Home Office

46 Ibid. Page 70

host communities and entrenches social segregation.<sup>47</sup> Indeed, social segregation has been shown to sap communities of trust,<sup>48</sup> to undermine the sense of belonging and rootedness which underpins social solidarity<sup>49</sup> and to fuel the politics of recrimination and blame.<sup>50</sup> This trend has been shown, too, to limit the economic opportunities available to immigrants.<sup>51</sup>

This APPG is clear in its view that the traditional, laissez-faire British model of multiculturalism has too often encouraged communities to live separate lives – reinforcing distinct cultural identities to the detriment of efforts to draw attention to what we have in common – and is defunct. Policymakers must, however, resist calls to replicate the assimilationist politics of the French Burkini ban through imposing a state-sponsored identity and culture onto Britons of all backgrounds. Instead, we must forge a middle way emphasising both the right of minority groups to uphold their own identities and cultural inheritances and the need for people of all walks of life not only to conform to certain shared norms and values, but to lead shared lives. Our aim should be to ensure that people of different faiths, cultures and backgrounds don't just tolerate one another or live peaceably side-by-side, but meet, mix and connect – to craft a settlement in which we are able to both celebrate and look beyond our differences. Former Equality and Human Rights Commission Chair Trevor Phillips has described this approach as 'active integration'.<sup>52</sup>

Implicit within this approach is the conviction that the integration of immigrants as a two-way street – or a process requiring meaningful contributions by both newcomers and members of the settled population. We must build a Britain in which old and new residents of these isles are able to prosper, to live peacefully and to experience a sense of belonging within their community and nation; but in which we all recognise that these rights are only guaranteed through the fulfilment of our responsibilities to one another.

## 2.1. A CROSS-GOVERNMENT STRATEGY

The government should develop a comprehensive and proactive strategy for the integration of immigrants, which should be overseen by an Integration Policy Unit based within the Cabinet Office. This will enable those policymakers charged with implementing this strategy to take a holistic view of the integration challenges facing immigrants and host communities, and facilitate cross-government policy-setting and action.

Ministers must clarify the responsibilities of different government departments and agencies for delivering improved integration outcomes.

Officials within the Integration Policy Unit and across government should adhere to a single, comprehensive and clear integration policy framework. This framework should encompass four distinct but interrelated dimensions of integration – economic, civic, cultural and social – against which interventions should be developed and assessed.

47 In their submission to this inquiry, Bradford Council noted that many new arrivals to their city are negatively influenced by the 'bad example' of family members who live in the UK but do not mix with native Britons.

48 Uslaner, Segregation and Mistrust; R. D. Putnam, 'E Pluribus Unum: Diversity and Community in the Twenty-first Century', *Scandinavian Political Studies*, 30:2 (2007), pp. 137 -174

49 For example, see D. Goodhart, *The British Dream: Successes and Failures of Post-War Immigration*, Atlantic, 2013.

50 Plumb, N et al (2016), *Integration City: A new Communities Agenda for London*, London: The Challenge

51 Social Integration Commission (2015), *Social Integration: a wake-up call*

52 See Phillips, T (2016) *Race and Faith: The Deafening Silence*, London: CIVITAS



In our interim inquiry report, this APPG called on the government to develop a comprehensive and proactive strategy for the integration of immigrants. This followed by some months the publication of the Casey Review, which concludes with a call for the government to bring forward a new programme of policy interventions to boost levels of integration and opportunity within isolated and disadvantaged communities.<sup>53</sup> The government has since confirmed that it will set out a plan for implementation of many of the Casey Review's recommendations through a new national integration strategy.<sup>54</sup>

The Casey Review contains many relevant insights regarding the barriers to integration which face newcomers to the UK. Equally, we note that Dame Casey's brief in conducting this review was extremely broad – in it, she '*considers immigration and patterns of settlement; the extent to which people from different backgrounds mix and get on together; how different communities – considering ethnic and faith groups in particular – have fared economically and socially; and some of the issues that are driving inequality and division in society*'.<sup>55</sup> Policymakers should carefully consider whether it is practical for a single strategy to set out the actions which the government will take in order both to facilitate the integration of immigrants into British society specifically and to bridge divisions in communities more generally. This is not least as a great deal must be done so as to build a Britain in which immigrants are able to integrate effectively into our society and economy, and as the experiences and needs of immigration hotspots across the UK vary significantly.

We note, for instance, that the cohesion challenges facing the town of Halifax in West Yorkshire are substantially different in character to those facing the Lincolnshire town of Boston. This APPG visited both of these towns in August of 2016 in order to discuss issues relating to immigration and integration with local residents and civic leaders.<sup>56</sup>

53 Casey, Dame Louise DBE CB. (2016)

54 *The Queen's Speech 2017 background briefing*, London: The Prime Minister's Office, Page 69  
[www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment\\_data/file/620838/Queens\\_speech\\_2017\\_background\\_notes.pdf](http://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/620838/Queens_speech_2017_background_notes.pdf)

55 Casey, Dame Louise DBE CB. (2016), Page 7

56 The minutes of these visits are available on the APPG for Social Integration website:  
[www.socialintegrationappg.org.uk](http://www.socialintegrationappg.org.uk)

## CHANGE AND CHURN IN BOSTON

In the thirteen years since the EU expanded to include the countries of the former Eastern Bloc, thousands of Poles, Lithuanians and Latvian immigrants, buoyed by labour market trends and the availability of affordable travel options, have travelled to Boston. In fact, between the 2001 and 2011 censuses, the number of Eastern Europeans recorded as living within Boston – a town with a population of 66,900 – jumped from less than 1,500 to more than 8,000.<sup>57</sup> (It should, what is more, be noted that a number of senior Boston Borough Council officers who members of this APPG met with during our evidence-gathering visit to that town suggested that this figure severely underestimates the scale of this trend.) Some of these EU migrants have settled down and made Boston their home, but large numbers worked for relatively short periods of time on farms and in factories before moving on. Indeed, the local politicians and officials who participated in a discussion with members of this APPG in Boston told us that it is necessary to grasp both the scale of the growth of the town's population and the extraordinary 'churn rate'<sup>58</sup> which it has experienced since 2004 in order to comprehend how it came to be described as *'the most divided place in England'*.<sup>59</sup>

One senior council officer, who described Boston as *'a ticking time bomb of grievance'*, contended that the antagonism felt by members of the settled population towards immigrants is a by-product of the pressures which these trends of population growth and churn have placed on public services, on the provision of housing within the town and on the local labour market. This point was echoed by local Age UK and University of the Third Age community group members whom this APPG met with during our visit to Boston. Many of these older Bostonians voiced complaints that the arrival of so many newcomers means that young people, including their children and grandchildren, are unable to afford to buy a property in the town or to find a job, and has led to a shortage of school places. *'If there was more provision, we probably wouldn't feel so overwhelmed'*, remarked one woman in her seventies.

In speaking to residents of the town, however, it became clear that the changing character of Boston – culturally as well as demographically – also underpins feelings of anxiety regarding immigration. The vast majority of the older residents who participated in this discussion said they had voted to leave the EU in the recent referendum. When asked what had led them to vote in this way, some articulated a sense that the UK had transferred too many decision-making powers to Brussels, whilst others pointed to the ways in which Boston has changed as a result of increased immigration. One woman said of Boston that it's *'not our town no more'*; another remarked that the town was *'not where you come from no more'*; an elderly man said that it *'stopped feeling like home around eight years ago'*. Some of the older residents suggested that they had voted to leave the EU in order to protect and preserve a sense of English national character, which they felt was under threat as a result of demographic and cultural change. *'We like England'*, asserted one woman.

It is reasonable to assume that these feelings of cultural dislocation and loss have been exacerbated as a result of the exceptional rate of population churn in Boston. Immigrants are, for obvious reasons, less likely to seek to learn about or adapt to local customs if they know that they are only likely to reside in an area for a short period of time.<sup>60</sup> In addition, the sheer pace of population change in Boston has led to intensified social segregation – one man suggested that many immigrants *'feel no need to integrate'* as they tend to arrive in the town with *'a ready-made community'* of family members and friends. A number of the Bostonians who took part in this meeting took great care to clarify that were not opposed to immigrants moving to their town as a point of principle, but that *'it's just that it's gone too far and too fast'*.<sup>61</sup>

This APPG is clear in its view that Boston was not given sufficient support for the town to be reasonably expected to manage the rapid population growth and churn which it has experienced over the last thirteen years.

57 Dugan, E (2014), 'Migrants in Britain a decade on: They came, they worked, they stayed in Lincolnshire', *The Independent*, 22 April 2014 [www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/home-news/migrants-in-britain-a-decade-on-they-came-they-worked-they-stayed-in-lincolnshire-9275661.html](http://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/home-news/migrants-in-britain-a-decade-on-they-came-they-worked-they-stayed-in-lincolnshire-9275661.html)

58 Griffith, P and Halej, J (2015) talk of the increasingly "high levels of transience" that characterise migration in the UK and the new challenges this brings to community cohesion.

59 Goodhart D and Norrie, R (2016), *Index of Integration* and Gallagher, P (2016), 'Boston: How a Lincolnshire town became 'the most divided place in England'', *The Independent*, 28 January 2016 [www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/home-news/boston-how-a-lincolnshire-town-became-the-most-divided-place-in-england-a6838041.html](http://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/home-news/boston-how-a-lincolnshire-town-became-the-most-divided-place-in-england-a6838041.html)

60 Griffith, P and Halej, J (2015)

61 A number of older Bostonians also commented on the positive impacts of immigration on their town – noting the 'buzz about town' and the thriving local high street.

## ENTRENCHED SOCIAL DIVISION IN HALIFAX

In Halifax, this APPG witnessed first-hand a very different trend – the entrenched ethnic division which has come to characterise many of the mill towns of Yorkshire and the North West.

In these areas, White British and South Asian communities – many of whom settled in the UK over half a century ago – are segregated both socially and geographically.<sup>62</sup> In contrast to the Italian and Polish immigrants who arrived in Halifax following World War Two and quickly became integrated within the local community, the Kashmiri Pakistani population of the town has tended to cluster residentially. Local leaders in Halifax have strived to encourage inter-community dialogue, with Calderdale Metropolitan Borough Council forming a particularly close partnership with the local Council of Mosques, but it's clear that the socially divided character of the town has led to pronounced cohesion challenges.

During our evidence-gathering visit to Halifax, we heard that as the British Pakistani community grows and moves out from the relatively deprived Park ward into more affluent areas of the town, it has on occasion generated tensions over both school places and cultural practices. The anxiety which Halifax's White British population has expressed in relation to demographic and cultural change has, furthermore, at times boiled over into disturbing expressions of racism. In 2003, the Calderdale Borough Council ward of Mixenden became only the fifth in the country to elect a British National Party councillor;<sup>63</sup> whilst a group of civic leaders and charity workers told this APPG that they had heard more reports of hate crimes taking place in the months following the EU referendum than official statistics suggest were reported to the police.

The same group expressed concerns that the integration of the Czech Romani population within Halifax is progressing 'at a snail's pace'.

It is, moreover, the case that the distinct cohesion challenges facing these towns – those borne of intense population growth and churn in Boston and those associated with deep-rooted social division between the White British and long-established minority communities in Halifax – demand different policy solutions. Whilst policymakers might, for instance, seek to alleviate many of the issues impacting on Boston through strengthening the regulation of local housing and labour markets or through investing in the increased provision of public services, pronounced patterns of social segregation should be met with measures aimed at boosting social mixing and fostering a cross-community dialogue.

It is, in addition, clear that the policy powers required to improve levels of integration amongst immigrant communities are unlikely to fall within the remit of a single government department. Rather, the policymakers charged with devising and implementing a strategic and proactive approach to the integration of immigrants must be empowered to work cross-governmentally to uphold fairness, support immigrants to access economic opportunities and promote community cohesion.

62 Goodhart D and Norrie, R (2016), in *Index of Integration* ([www.integrationhub.net/module/index-of-integration/](http://www.integrationhub.net/module/index-of-integration/)) list Halifax as one of the ten most segregated towns in the country.

63 Stokes, P (2013), 'Outspoken BNP councillor takes refuge in silence', *The Telegraph*, 25 Jan 2003 [www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/1419972/Outspoken-BNP-councillor-takes-refuge-in-silence.html](http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/1419972/Outspoken-BNP-councillor-takes-refuge-in-silence.html)

Indeed, a fit-for-purpose strategy for the integration of immigrants would of course draw on the immigration policy powers held by the Home Office – including those set out in equalities and anti-discrimination legislation – and the remit for interfaith and community-building activities which lies with the Department for Communities and Local Government (DCLG). This APPG would suggest, however, that the development of such a strategy would also require the participation of the BEIS, DCLG officials with responsibility for housing policy, the Department for Education (DfE) and the Department for Work and Pensions (DWP).

### Industry and labour

Certainly, the success of any effort to improve integration outcomes in areas such as Boston will be determined in large part by the extent to which the officials responsible for its execution are able to leverage policy powers held by BEIS relating to the regulation of the labour market and the development of an industrial strategy for the UK. The senior Boston Borough Council officers who took part in a discussion with members of this APPG noted that Boston ranks amongst the bottom five towns for average salary in the UK;<sup>64</sup> and that workers in the local agriculture industry in particular are often hired on zero-hour contracts and paid the minimum wage. What is more, it is clear that local residents believe that the presence of a large workforce of immigrants who are willing to accept relatively poor working conditions and low pay suppresses wages for all. Whilst the veracity of this claim remains disputed amongst economists,<sup>65</sup> the anecdotal evidence in support of it which this APPG encountered during our evidence-gathering visits to both Boston and Halifax was compelling. Reports of immigrants being paid less than the minimum wage<sup>66</sup> are particularly troubling, both in that this trend undercuts local job-seekers and – more importantly – in that it constitutes the exploitation of those workers.

In any case, the political and civic leaders whom this APPG met with in Boston were unanimous in expressing a view that the impression that immigration weakens local people's position within the labour market, whatever its accuracy, has a hugely detrimental impact on community cohesion within the town. Indeed, one senior Boston Borough Council officer remarked to this APPG that a sense that '*the free market is broken*' spurs on feelings of dissatisfaction and frustration amongst the settled population, which – fairly or unfairly – fuel the development of anti-immigrant sentiment. In order to give places like Boston a fighting chance of fostering social integration in the wake of such rapid demographic and cultural change, policymakers must take action to increase economic opportunity within these areas. They must act, too, to regulate the labour market so as to stamp out exploitation and reassure residents that they are not being undercut by immigrant workers.

64 According to the BBC, the average hourly wage nationally is £13.33. Across the East Midlands, it is £12.26 and in Boston, it is just £9.13. On a weekly basis, this equates to full-time earnings in Boston adding up to £100 less than the national average ([www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-politics-eu-referendum-36258541](http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-politics-eu-referendum-36258541))

65 Portes, J (2016) in *How small is small? The impact of immigration on UK wages* (accessed here: [www.niesr.ac.uk/blog/how-small-small-impact-immigration-uk-wages](http://www.niesr.ac.uk/blog/how-small-small-impact-immigration-uk-wages)) argues that the idea immigration is “even a moderately important driver of low pay is simply not supported by the available evidence.”

Dustmann, C et al (2013), in 'The Effect of Immigration along the Distribution of Wages' in *Review of Economic Studies*, 80, 145–173 argue that immigration has a 'positive effect on native wages' but that its impact is not even - that immigration depresses wages below the 20th percentile of the wage distribution but leads to increases in wages in the upper part of the wage distribution.

It should also be noted that many members of the settled population aren't willing to take on the fruit picking posts typically filled by migrant labourers in Boston.

66 Austin, J (2016), 'Back-breaking work for peanuts - why Brits won't slave on farms swamped by EU migrants', *The Express*, 23 August 2016 [www.express.co.uk/news/uk/701860/Back-breaking-hell-paid-peanuts-why-Brits-won-t-slave-on-farms-swamped-by-EU-migrants](http://www.express.co.uk/news/uk/701860/Back-breaking-hell-paid-peanuts-why-Brits-won-t-slave-on-farms-swamped-by-EU-migrants)

## Housing

The sense that the free market economy isn't working for Boston is, furthermore, intensified as, in spite of low local rates of pay, the town's housing market is characterised by the highest rents in the East Midlands.<sup>67</sup> This is as the young and single immigrant workers who typically stay in the town for short periods of time only are often willing to subject themselves to relatively poor living conditions, and so rent properties alongside more 'flatmates' than would under normal circumstances live in the property in question. Whilst these individuals save on rent, private sector landlords earn more profit through arrangements of this type than they would through renting their property to British residents of Boston. This has caused immense frustration and provoked feelings of resentment amongst members of the settled population who have found themselves priced out of the town. Moreover, Bostonians who live next to these multiple-occupied homes commonly object to the standard to which they are maintained and to the noise made by the large groups of young men who share them.

One official noted to this APPG that members of the host community often complain about immigrants '*hanging around*' and drinking in the street. They pointed out, though, that this is often the result of a practice wherein landlords only allow tenants access to their room at certain times of day – renting beds in shifts and converting communal spaces within larger properties into bedrooms in order to further maximise their profits from rent. It's clear, then, that rogue landlords are taking advantage of Boston's population growth so as to exploit immigrants, and that the government's strategy for the integration of immigrants must include measures to more effectively regulate the housing market.

## Social security

An inability to access employment opportunities and support represents a significant barrier to active participation in the economy and British society for many immigrants, especially those from isolated communities.<sup>68</sup> A successful integration strategy would, then, include an indication as to how the government's new Work and Health welfare-to-work programme will meet the distinct needs of immigrants; as well as plans, as proposed by the Casey Review,<sup>69</sup> for the introduction of a tailored programme promoting labour market access amongst disadvantaged demographic groups. This will, of course, necessitate meaningful collaboration between those policymakers charged with devising and implementing this strategy and DWP officials.

67 Cook, C (2016), 'How immigration changed Boston, Lincolnshire', *BBC News*, 10 May 2016 [www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-politics-eu-referendum-36258541](http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-politics-eu-referendum-36258541)

68 Runnymede Trust, (2016) *Submission to the Casey Review team's call for evidence*, [www.runnymedetrust.org/uploads/CaseyReviewLetter.pdf](http://www.runnymedetrust.org/uploads/CaseyReviewLetter.pdf)

69 Casey, Dame Louise DBE CB. (2016)



## Education

Whilst ensuring that young people meet and mix with others from different cultures at school arguably represents our best hope of building a Britain in which we are truly capable of looking beyond our differences,<sup>70</sup> our country's school system too often reinforces and replicates division between communities. A 2013 study found that more than 50% of ethnic minority students in the UK attend schools where ethnic minorities are in the majority.<sup>71</sup> Additionally, a recent research project by The Challenge – the charity which provides the secretariat to this APPG – found that a quarter of all state primary schools across England and four in ten state secondary schools are unrepresentative of the ethnic makeup of their local community to the point that they are in effect contributing to social segregation.<sup>72</sup>

Throughout the course of this inquiry, we have encountered a great deal of anecdotal evidence to reinforce these research findings. In Boston, members of this APPG met with a group of local young people who told us that, whilst White British and Eastern European pupils at the local grammar school do for the most part mix socially, this is not true of the local further education college. One young man described this college as 'very segregated' and 'split down the middle'. Naz Shah MP and Holly Lynch MP – who both serve as Vice-Chairs of this APPG – have expressed concerns that schools in their constituencies of Bradford West and Halifax are sites of social segregation. In fact, Sir Nick Weller, the CEO of Dixon Academies – a Bradford-based academy chain – made headlines last month when he suggested that parents in that town are purposefully sending their children to schools in which they will form part of the ethnic majority.<sup>73</sup>

Sir Nick Weller proposed that the government should enact legislation to introduce an admissions cap aimed at ensuring that no more than 70% of pupils in any one year group should belong to a single ethnic group.<sup>74</sup> The Casey Review sought to encourage policymakers to consider measures which might promote integration beyond reforming admissions practices – recommending that the government should '*work with schools providers and local communities to encourage a range of school provision and projects to ensure that children from different communities learn alongside those from different backgrounds.*'<sup>75</sup> This APPG would suggest that an effective strategy for the integration of immigrants must encompass policy interventions aimed at shaping the social infrastructure of our communities so as to encourage social mixing between immigrant and host communities – including through reforming practice within education authorities, academy chains and schools.

70 This has been argued by a number of leading voices on cohesion and integration policy, including Ted Cattle. See: Weale, S (2017), 'Quarter of English state primary schools are 'ethnically segregated'', *The Guardian*, March 22 2017 [www.theguardian.com/education/2017/mar/22/english-state-primary-schools-ethnically-segregated-white-british-children](http://www.theguardian.com/education/2017/mar/22/english-state-primary-schools-ethnically-segregated-white-british-children)

71 *Integration Hub* (2013), see: [www.integrationhub.net/module/education/](http://www.integrationhub.net/module/education/)

72 The Challenge (2017), *Understanding School Segregation England: 2011 to 2016*, London: The Challenge

73 Harding E (2017), 'New law is needed to stop segregation in state schools in diverse areas, says top headteacher', *The Daily Mail*, 19 July 2017 [www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-4709134/Law-needed-stop-segregation-schools-says-head.html](http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-4709134/Law-needed-stop-segregation-schools-says-head.html)

74 Ibid.

75 Casey, Dame Louise DBE CB. (2016), Page 168

Co-ordinating joint-action to promote integration by the government departments with responsibility for these policy areas would, at present, be particularly difficult as responsibility for the government's integration policy approach is already divided somewhat messily between numerous departments and agencies – a point which we noted in our interim inquiry report. DCLG has, since the publication of its 2012 *Creating the Conditions for Integration strategy* document,<sup>76</sup> held responsibility for 'community integration' policy (though, in reality, the impact of that strategy was in effect to transfer this responsibility onto local authorities.) Equally, the Home Office is charged with executing integration policy measures relating specifically to refugees, and successive counter-extremism and de-radicalisation strategies devised by that department have featured a partial focus on integration issues. What is more, the Government Equalities Office occupies similar territory through its anti-discrimination and community cohesion work. The result is a policy approach which is fragmented, ad hoc and ill-defined.

This APPG is clear in its view that – whether through formulating a dedicated strategy for the integration of immigrants, or through building a greater focus on the integration challenges facing new arrivals within its forthcoming strategy aimed at building on the recommendations of the Casey Review – the government must act urgently to address those challenges. We would suggest that, in order to accomplish this, Ministers must in the first instance clarify the responsibilities of different government departments and agencies for delivering improved immigrant integration outcomes.

In addition, in order to ensure that each of these departments and agencies co-ordinate effectively with one another – and to enable policymakers to take a holistic view of the integration issues set out in this report – the government's response to those challenges should be overseen by a single Integration Policy Unit. So as to facilitate cross-government policy-setting and action,<sup>77</sup> this unit should be located within the Cabinet Office, rather than DCLG or the Home Office.<sup>78</sup>

Furthermore, this APPG would recommend that, in order to support policymakers across government to build a partial focus on the integration of immigrants into the design and delivery of relevant public services, the Integration Policy Unit must develop and adhere to a single, comprehensive and clear integration policy framework. This framework should encompass four distinct but interrelated dimensions of integration – economic, civic, cultural and social – against which interventions should be formulated and assessed.

<sup>76</sup> Department for Communities and Local Government (2012), *Creating the Conditions for Integration*

<sup>77</sup> We note that, during a parliamentary hearing held by this APPG prior to the publication of the Casey Review, the Chair asked Professor Ted Cantle what advice he would offer to Dame Louise Casey, given that he had previously conducted a review of integration and cohesion policy for the government. Professor Cantle responded by advising Dame Casey to ensure that responsibility for implementing the policy recommendations set out in her review wouldn't fall to a single Minister or government department.

<sup>78</sup> Recent press reports suggest that, prior to the EU referendum, the government was considering the establishment of such a unit, but, following a change of leadership, Downing Street vetoed this proposal. For example, see: Sylvester, R (2017), 'May is blind to the threat of extremism', *The Times*, June 6 2017 [www.thetimes.co.uk/article/may-is-blind-to-the-threat-of-extremism-70j78b9j2](http://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/may-is-blind-to-the-threat-of-extremism-70j78b9j2)

## THE ECONOMIC, CIVIC, CULTURAL AND SOCIAL DIMENSIONS OF THE INTEGRATION OF IMMIGRANTS

The economic dimension of the integration of immigrants relates to whether immigrant groups and the settled population experience a parity of economic opportunity – it is a matter of socio-economic equality. Research by Professor Anthony Heath of Oxford University's Centre for Social Investigation underlines the vital importance of the economic empowerment of immigrants to efforts to foster integration<sup>79</sup>. In seeking to boost this dimension of integration, policymakers should consider how they might more effectively utilise policy levers contained within anti-discrimination and equalities legislation to help immigrants to secure work and get on; how employers might be incentivised to promote integration in the workplace; how mainstream employment and skills provision could be reformed so as to better meet the needs of immigrants and isolated communities; and whether there is a need for tailored programme promoting access to the labour market amongst certain communities and demographic groups. (These are issues of structural integration – they relate to the equal participation of immigrants in institutions other than those which are specific to their community. Indeed, these measures might enable newcomers to overcome structural barriers to integration extending beyond those which relate directly to the labour market, such as geographic segregation.)

Civic integration is achieved through fostering awareness of and respect for the rule of law amongst immigrants and through promoting active participation by newcomers in British democracy, politics and the life of the community. (This too is an issue of structural integration.) As detailed in the third chapter of this report, this APPG would suggest that the government must fundamentally reassess its approach to promoting civic involvement amongst new immigrants in particular.

Cultural integration requires newcomers and members of the settled population alike to experience and acquire an understanding of, the customs, traditions and social preferences of different societal groups. This should be a shared endeavour for everyone in our country – whilst new immigrants should be expected to learn about and demonstrate respect for the social norms, mores and sensibilities which characterise life in the UK, people of all backgrounds benefit from experiencing other cultures. Nurturing the cross-community dialogue which promotes cultural integration has been a point of focus for local authorities in recent decades.

The social dimension of the integration of immigrants (which is distinct from the sociological concept of social integration, as defined in the opening pages of this report) is measured through contact between members of immigrant and host communities. A lack of cross-community contact has been shown to prevent the development of the bonds of trust and sense of belonging which underpin successful, cohesive communities – leading to feelings of cultural and social dislocation and higher rates of anxiety and prejudice.<sup>80</sup> There is also a growing body of evidence to suggest that a lack of social mixing between these groups prolongs periods of unemployment and restricts economic growth.<sup>81</sup> Promoting the social dimension of immigrant integration can, that is to say, enable newcomers to overcome structural segregation in addition to facilitating an everyday form of cultural integration and generating distinct social benefits through increasing levels of trust within communities. Equally, it is in many instances necessary to address structural barriers to integration – such as discriminatory housing practices – in order to foster cross-community contact.

79 Heath, A, 'Muslim Integration and Disadvantage', in Gidley, B and Feldman D (2013) (eds) *Integration, Disadvantage and Extremism*, Oxford: COMPAS

80 Uslaner, E, M (2012), *Segregation and Mistrust: Diversity, Isolation, and Social Cohesion*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

81 Social Integration Commission (2015), *Social Integration: a wake-up call*

## 2.2. A DUTY ON LOCAL AUTHORITIES

- Policymakers should introduce a statutory duty on all local authorities to promote the integration of immigrants.
- Regional immigration authorities, devolved administrations and combined authorities led by Metro Mayors should be expected to play a supportive and co-ordinating role – including through the development of regional integration strategies.

At present, the tangled division of responsibility for integration policy between central government departments and agencies has been compounded by the lack of an agreed view as to the role of local government in this policy area. A strong preference on the part of local authorities that central government should not dictate policy priorities where local dimensions and differences create a need for flexibility has inhibited the development of a national integration strategy of any sort.

A strategic and proactive approach to the integration of immigrants cannot be limited to action by central government. This APPG would note the positive work undertaken in recent years in order to boost integration outcomes by the Scottish government through the New Scots Strategy, as well as by the Greater London Authority, which now includes a Social Integration team and Citizenship and Integration Initiative led by a Deputy Mayor with responsibility for integration. Indeed, the patterns of localised variation in integration needs described in this chapter point to the importance of policy interventions shaped to reflect local circumstances. The integration challenges which face particular areas are dictated in large part on the numbers of different ‘categories’ of immigrants – as denoted by visa-type, age and tenure<sup>82</sup> – who live in the relevant locality. It’s true too that Britain’s immigrant population is now more ethnically and culturally diverse than at any point in our national history,<sup>83</sup> and that the integration needs and outcomes of immigrants from different backgrounds and communities vary significantly.<sup>84</sup> For instance, South Asian immigrants tend to be well integrated into aspects of political and civic life in the UK – recording relatively high rates of electoral registration and voting<sup>85</sup>; while the largest gap in fluency in English is among men and women of Bangladeshi or Pakistani origin.<sup>86</sup> In addition, EU migrants from Eastern Europe are disproportionately likely to be young adults and are, therefore, less likely to use health or social care services than those born in the UK.<sup>87</sup> They are, though, more likely than those born in the UK to have young children and so to take up school places and childcare.

The policy actors responsible for shaping the government’s strategy for the integration of immigrants must also be conscious that, to varying extents, the integration issues afflicting communities across the UK are multi-dimensional. In some areas, local leaders have identified a need to improve relations between distinct minority groups – in Halifax, the South Asian community has complained of neighbourhoods being ‘taken over’ by Eastern European immigrants. Just as newcomers are diverse in their characteristics and needs, moreover, host communities are not perfectly harmonious monoliths, and the extent to which they are able and willing to adjust their habits and practices to facilitate the integration of immigrants will vary considerably from place-to-place.

Local policymakers are, in the view of this APPG, best-placed to identify the greatest integration challenges facing their areas – be they economic, civic, cultural or social in character – and to mould responses which fit the fit the needs of their community.

82 These categories include, but are not limited to: long-term and short-term immigrants; skilled and unskilled immigrants; economic migrants; immigrants entering the country under the family reunion scheme; students; child immigrants; elderly immigrants; immigrants who have lived in the UK for some time and those who have just arrived in the UK.

83 Centre on Dynamics of Ethnicity (CoDE) (2012), *How has ethnic diversity grown 1991-2001-2011*, Manchester: CoDE

84 APPG on Social Integration. 2016. Submissions to Call for Evidence: CSI Oxford

85 Ibid.

86 Ibid.

87 Migration Observatory (2015), *Election 2015 Briefing—Impacts of Migration on Local Public Services*, Oxford: Migration Observatory

(In fact, as is noted in chapter one of this report – and as Migration Yorkshire pointed out in their submission to this inquiry – local authorities are uniquely well-equipped to take a joined-up approach to geographically-specific integration challenges such as local housing shortages.) Whilst Whitehall should set out the policy framework and standards required to underpin effective locally-led action – offering a much firmer steer than in the case of *Creating the Conditions* – then, councils must ultimately be empowered to shape integration interventions reflecting local circumstances. Regional immigration authorities, devolved administrations and combined authorities led by Metro Mayors might be expected to play a supportive and co-ordinating role – including through the development of regional integration strategies.

In our interim inquiry report, we recommended that the government should introduce a statutory duty on all local authorities to promote the integration of immigrants. Building on this call, this APPG would suggest that the government's strategy for the integration of immigrants should specify that policy measures enacted in response to this duty should:

- Be shaped to reflect both local needs and the policy framework set out in the government's strategy.
- Be designed in consultation with local communities and employers.
- Fund interventions that are visible and well-publicised so as to tackle local concerns about demographic and cultural change head on.

### 2.3. WELCOME CENTRES

- ➔ Local authorities in areas whose population normally includes significant numbers of new immigrants should establish welcome centres for new arrivals. These centres should offer immigrants joined-up access to public services, language classes and cultural orientation initiatives.
- ➔ The Home Office should consider whether an adequate number of welcome centres are available to new arrivals seeking to live and work in a particular area of the country when allocating region-specific visas.

Local authorities should, what is more, ensure that they undertake at least some measures aimed at ensuring that, for new immigrants, the process of integration begins upon arrival in our country.

During the parliamentary hearing referred earlier in this chapter, Elizabeth Collett shared her view that the UK lags behind most European countries in the level of support which we offer to new immigrants seeking to overcome common integration challenges. This makes it all the more likely that new arrivals will choose to live, work and socialise alongside immigrants from the same country or geographic region. We are, at present, quite simply failing to give many newcomers the support which they require to integrate into British society.

In other European nations, interventions aimed at smoothing the process of settling in a new country and integrating into a new society are commonly delivered through 'welcome centres', or one-stop-shops for new arrivals. These centres typically offer new immigrants access to translation services, language classes and cultural and career orientation courses as well as guidance and advice on accessing public services and benefits and on getting involved in community life. In Flanders, for instance, every non-EU immigrant is required, and every EU immigrant is encouraged, to register with a Welcome Office and participate in a civic integration programme.



Local authorities in areas whose population normally includes significant numbers of new immigrants should establish welcome centres modelled on the Belgian approach. The Home Office should consider whether an adequate number of welcome centres are available to new arrivals seeking to live and work in a particular area of the country when allocating region-specific visas.

### ONE-STOP-SHOPS FOR NEW IMMIGRANTS IN BELGIUM

The Dutch-Belgian Inburgering programme consists of two stages. The first stage of Inburgering is compulsory for new non-EU immigrants and is organised by one of four regional Welcome Offices funded by the government of Flanders. Services delivered through this initiative include cultural and career orientation courses, Dutch as a second language classes as well as individual counselling.

The programme of activity to be followed by a newcomer is established through a civic integration contract. An immigrant who signs a civic integration contract is considered to have committed to following the training programme set out in that document, and is required to attend at least 80% of each component of their training programme. Upon completion of their personalised programme of activity, immigrants receive a civic integration certificate.

Through the secondary – non-compulsory – stage of this programme, new arrivals are able to access either vocational and entrepreneurship training or enrol in further Dutch language classes. These courses are free to access, but participants are expected to invest in their own textbooks.

All participants in the Inburgering programme are encouraged to volunteer with a local charity or sign up to become a member of a local association or club.

A similarly proactive and strategic approach to the integration of newcomers is embodied through the settlement programme run in the southern French-speaking Belgian region of Wallonia. This programme is also free to access and is run by seven Regional Integration Centres (CIR) across the region. Each CIR can establish its own initiatives within its territory.

The first phase of the programme – ‘the welcome module’ – is compulsory for some categories of new immigrants. It provides information on the rights and responsibilities of those living in Belgium as well practical advice on how to navigate cultural and administrative aspects of life in Wallonia.

Following completion of this module, participants are invited to sign a ‘settlement agreement’ with their CIR. This provides immigrants access to language training, social and employment mentoring and citizenship training free-of-charge.

## 2.4 AN INTEGRATION IMPACT FUND

- The government should immediately bring forward plans for the introduction of an Integration Impact Fund to finance integration policy actions in areas whose population includes large numbers of new immigrants or which are characterised by pronounced ethnic division.
- This fund should be amalgamated with and absorb the government's Controlling Migration Fund as well as the revenue generated through the Immigration Health Surcharge.
- To the extent that the Integration Impact Fund might be designed so as to proactively direct funding to local authorities prior to expected population growth and change, rather than to react to instances of underfunding and cohesion challenges as these arise, this effect should be maximised.

It follows that local authorities must be afforded additional resource to design and deliver immigrant integration policy interventions reflecting local circumstances.

Since the EU referendum, a cross-party consensus has emerged to the effect that that additional funding should be directed towards public services in areas with comparatively large numbers of immigrants, and the New Labour-era Migration Impacts Fund has in effect been revived in the form of the Controlling Migration Fund. This development is, in the view of this APPG, positive but insufficient.

Reflecting the reality that concerns regarding immigration are rooted not just in fears regarding the strain being placed on public services but in a sense of cultural anxiety, social dislocation and – indeed – fear of the other, local authorities must be supported too to take action to support communities to come together in the wake of demographic and cultural change. As was also proposed our interim inquiry report, the government should, therefore, immediately bring forward plans for the introduction of an Integration Impact Fund to be distributed amongst local authorities in areas whose population includes large numbers of new immigrants or which are characterised by pronounced ethnic division.

This fund should be amalgamated with and absorb the government's Controlling Migration Fund – in part to avoid the duplication of labour within government, but also to provide a less politically charged name for a funding stream which should exist, first and foremost, to strengthen communities. This combined fund should, furthermore, encompass revenue and capital expenditure – as some effects of immigration can only be addressed through capital funding<sup>88</sup> – and, in contrast to the system currently used in the case of Controlling Migration Fund, be apportioned chiefly on the basis of need rather than through a competitive bidding system. As immigrants make national and local tax contributions that are roughly comparable to the cost of the services and benefits they receive, this would in any case reflect a proportionate approach to determining funding priorities.<sup>89</sup> The government should, on a related note, take care to present this funding boost as a re-investment of the financial contribution to the UK economy made by immigrants so as to counter the pernicious and fallacious stereotype that immigrants are a drain on public services.

<sup>88</sup> The New Labour-era Migration Impacts Fund was restricted to revenue funding.

<sup>89</sup> Full Fact (2017), *How immigrants affect public finances*, Full Fact, 5 June 2017  
<https://fullfact.org/immigration/how-immigrants-affect-public-finances/>

The Integration Impact Fund should, in addition, absorb the revenue generated through the Immigration Health Surcharge, which now stands at £200 per person per year and is payable by most temporary non-EU immigrants. These funding streams would – under this system – essentially fulfil the same purpose, and this reform would serve to simplify the means of distributing the surcharge revenue.

This APPG believes, moreover, that serious consideration should be given to David Goodhart’s suggestion that the government should conduct an ‘immigration audit’ on any and all public service cuts made in future,<sup>90</sup> and would suggest that policymakers should additionally consider investing in integration measures so as to offset any negative impacts identified. In this scenario, a proportionate financial contribution might be made by the Treasury to the Integration Impact Fund. The scrapping of the nursing bursary is, for example, very likely to lead to the NHS being more reliant on immigrant nurses in the short to medium term.<sup>91</sup> The same can be said for paramedics, care workers and teaching staff in shortage subjects.<sup>92</sup>

This proposal touches on a broader point – to the extent that the Integration Impact Fund might be designed so as to proactively direct funding to local authorities prior to expected population growth and change, rather than to react to instances of underfunding and cohesion challenges as these arise, this effect should be maximised. In this respect, policymakers might look to the example of the Canadian Federal Government’s Welcoming Communities initiatives, through which provincial and local government bodies were supported to enact strategic infrastructural improvements and run initiatives promoting positive attitudes towards cultural diversity in advance of anticipated (indeed, hoped for) waves of immigration.<sup>93</sup>

## 2.5. MORE AND BETTER DATA

→ The government should appoint a commission to investigate how data collection opportunities and population projections could be utilised more effectively post-Brexit to gain a better understanding of immigrant settlement patterns and facilitate the integration of immigrants.

In order to proactively plan for demographic and cultural change, policymakers will, however, require access to more and better data on immigration and levels of integration. As the House of Lords Economic Affairs Committee recently warned, the government does not currently collect accurate enough data on the numbers of immigrants entering and exiting the UK or how long immigrants stay once they have passed through our borders.<sup>94</sup> It’s clear that Brexit may create additional opportunities for the collection of data on these points, as more and more European immigrants who were not previously required to register their presence in the UK will seek to gain official confirmation of their immigration and residence status. It’s also apparent – as the Committee notes – that the government could better leverage information relating to the economic activity of immigrants, such as tax receipts, to generate a more precise picture of immigrant settlement patterns.

This APPG would suggest that development of a regionally-led immigration system, as described in chapter one of this report, might also create more opportunities for the collection of data on immigration and integration. Under such a system, the need for

90 Goodhart, D (2016), *Immigration and Integration After Brexit: A Policy Exchange Agenda*, London: Policy Exchange, Page 12

91 Recent UCAS data shows a 20% drop in the number of people applying to study nursing at university. While it may be too early to suggest that this constitutes a trend, it is conceivable that at least some of this decline is due to the scrapping of the nursing bursary.

92 Goodhart D. (2016), *Ibid.*

93 Citizenship and Immigration Canada, Evaluation Division (2010), *Evaluation of the Welcoming Communities Initiative*

94 House of Lords, Economic Affairs Committee (2017), *1st Report of the Session 2017-19: Brexit and the Labour Market*, London: House of Lords

regional authorities to submit visa allocation bids to the Home Office would create new incentives for devolved administrations, combined authorities and councils to invest in monitoring and analysing the movement of immigrants.<sup>95</sup> The allocation of region-specific visas would, what is more, in and of itself enable policymakers to gain a better understanding of which parts of the UK immigrants are and aren't settling in.

Similarly, efforts to shape effective integration policy interventions within both national and local government might be improved through the collection of more data on the economic progress of immigrants in different parts of the country as well as on levels of social mixing and trust between immigrant and host communities in distinct areas.

As this APPG recommended in our interim inquiry report, then, the government should appoint a commission to investigate how data collection opportunities and population projections could be utilised more effectively post-Brexit to gain a better understanding of immigrant settlement patterns and facilitate the integration of immigrants.

## 2.6. AN IMMIGRANT INTEGRATION LEVY

→ Ministers should consider financing the Integration Impact Fund in part through the introduction of an Immigrant Integration Levy on employers operating within those sectors of the economy which are particularly dependent on immigrant labour.

In order to generate revenue to finance the integration policy measures which will be nominally paid for through the Integration Impact Fund, Ministers should consider introducing an Immigrant Integration Levy on employers operating within those sectors of the economy which are particularly dependent on immigrant labour.<sup>96</sup> Whereas the government should allocate the share of this Fund drawn directly from the public purse to local authorities based purely on an assessment of need, revenue raised through this levy should – in the view of this APPG – be paid to councils proportionate to the level of contribution by employers within the relevant local authority area. Employers should, furthermore, have some say in how these funds are spent.

As in the case of the Apprenticeship Levy, the government might require employers of a certain size and with a wage bill of over £3 million only to pay this charge. Ministers should consult widely as to at what level the levy should be set in each sector of the economy with a high share of immigrant workers, ultimately setting rates following negotiations with sector skills councils and relevant employer bodies. If – as seems likely – an immigration system placing more emphasis on the needs of employers is introduced to coincide with the UK's departure from the EU, policymakers might consider whether sector-specific levy rates could be set to reflect the level of priority afforded to sectors by the government in the allocation of visas.

Internationally, there is some precedent for this reform. Work permit systems generally impose a range of criteria on employers and require them to go through various administrative and logistical steps before they can hire a foreign worker.<sup>97</sup> For example, employers may need to advertise a job locally before doing so internationally,<sup>98</sup> pay a fee or demonstrate a track record of compliance with immigration rules. The primary goal of these measures is generally to reduce employers' reliance on immigrant workers and to

95 During a parliamentary hearing held as part of this inquiry, David Goodhart remarked that local authorities are particularly well-equipped to collect data on residential ethnic segregation and should be encouraged to do so.

96 This idea has previously been proposed by the Learning and Work Institute.

97 The previous Labour Government suggested that employers should contribute towards the provision of language classes for migrant workers, but never enforced this.

98 This is currently required of UK employers advertising for positions which do not relate to an occupation featuring on the Shortage Occupation List. These employers have to pass the Resident Labour Market Test before hiring from abroad.

encourage hiring from within the domestic labour market where possible. Singaporean employers with higher numbers of work permit holding immigrants on their payrolls are penalised through higher fees in order to discourage over-reliance on foreign workers; whilst some US employers with higher shares of work permit holding employees are required to contribute to government skills training initiatives.<sup>99</sup> To date, little evidence has been gathered on the question of how immigration worker fees and levies affect employers' behaviour, although it seems reasonable to expect that this would vary depending on the employer's circumstances.

The introduction of an Immigrant Integration Levy would, moreover, offer a number of symbolic benefits. In the spirit of the new skills settlement outlined in chapter one of this report, there would be a direct, visible link between taxation on immigration and the funding of skills provision – allying the concerns of those who believe immigration suppresses the wages of the settled population, especially at the bottom end of the wage distribution. In addition, requiring employers to foot the bill for integration efforts would serve as a powerful message to the public that integration is a two-way street requiring action by all sections of society.

## 2.7. A DRIVE TO PROMOTE MEANINGFUL SOCIAL CONTACT BETWEEN COMMUNITIES

- Action to promote meaningful (intensive or sustained) social mixing between immigrant and host communities should form a key tenet of the government's strategy for the integration of immigrants.
- Local authorities should proactively consider how they might support the growth of civic and community institutions which promote cross-community contact – importing examples of best practice from other areas and countries where these might work to address local needs. The Integration Policy Unit and DCLG should support councils in this endeavour through regularly highlighting instances of best practice and innovation.
- Policymakers across government should explore whether public services could be better utilised so as to weave opportunities for cross-community contact into the fabric of everyday life in areas with significant immigrant populations.
- The government should continue to grow National Citizen Service, and lend support to the charities and organisations which deliver this programme to recruit young people from immigrant backgrounds to participate in it alongside their British peers.
- The Office for Civil Society should support more youth charities to actively consider how the programmes they provide might better bring together young people from different backgrounds to meet, mix and connect.

This report has noted the problems which result where members of the settled population and immigrants live parallel rather than interconnected lives.<sup>100</sup> In essence, this phenomenon fuels the sense that there is more which divides us than that which binds our communities together.

Throughout the course of this inquiry, it has become clear to this APPG that the social segregation of immigrant communities and minority groups remains a troubling reality in twenty-first century Britain. In fact, during a parliamentary hearing held by this APPG, Professor Ted Cantle stated that it is his belief that this problem has gotten worse since he first drew policymakers' attention to it through the Cantle Report. Certainly, during

99 Sumption M. (2017), *Labour Immigration after Brexit: Trade-offs and Questions about Policy Design*. The Migration Observatory: University of Oxford.

100 See 'The economic, civic, cultural and social dimensions of the integration of immigrants' on page 45.



our evidence-gathering visits to Halifax and Boston, it became apparent that this issue persists in those communities. The retired residents whom this APPG met with in Boston were almost unanimous in reporting that they don't often meet or mix with their Eastern European neighbours. Some of these older Bostonians described interacting with immigrants at barbeques and community picnics and through community centres, but these positive incidents of cross-community contact appeared to be worryingly rare. Indeed, there is some academic evidence to suggest that the geographic segregation of the White British and ethnic minority populations is actually on the rise in the UK.<sup>101</sup>

It's clear, too, that the benefits of cross-community contact are myriad.<sup>102</sup> Crucially, and as the independent Social Integration Commission has shown<sup>103</sup>, social mixing – when it takes place under certain, positive conditions<sup>104</sup> – increases trust and reduces prejudice;<sup>105</sup> yet policy interventions designed specifically to promote contact-across-difference contact are few and far between.

This APPG would suggest, then, that action aimed at encouraging positive and consequential contact between people from different communities has been hugely underutilised as a policy tool. Where action of this sort is taken, it too often boils down – as the Casey Review memorably put it – ‘to “saris, samosas and steel drums” for the already well-intentioned.’<sup>106</sup> Projects which foster inter-faith dialogue and bring diverse communities together for social events are important; but they should not be mistaken for a serious effort to create opportunities for people from different cultures to interact intensively or in a sustained manner – to have the significant shared experiences which generate a sense of shared identity.<sup>107</sup> We recommend that action to promote meaningful social mixing between immigrant and host communities should form a key tenet of the government's strategy for the integration of immigrants.

Policymakers should set out plans to create new opportunities and incentives for immigrants and members of the settled population to meet, mix and connect, and on a significant scale. This is for all of the reasons set out in this report thus far – to combat prejudice and anxiety, and to foster economic opportunity and social mobility. We should acknowledge too, however, that in order for immigrants to integrate into their local community, the area in which they live must in the first instance be characterised by a sense of community. Research by the Harvard-based sociologist Robert Putnam suggests that people living in diverse but divided communities tend to ‘hunker down’ and ‘withdraw from collective life’ – placing less trust in their neighbours – including those from a similar background – assuming markedly more negative attitudes towards their local areas, voting less, volunteering less and giving less to charity.<sup>108</sup> Diverse but divided communities, in other words, tend to be short on community feeling. It follows that officials must encourage social mixing between immigrant and host communities not only so as to disarm difference in modern Britain; but so as to construct the strong community infrastructure which is required to support the economic, civic, cultural and social integration of newcomers.

101 Cattle, T and Kaufmann, E (2016) in 'Is segregation on the increase in the UK?', *Open Democracy*, 2 November 2016 argue that this is the case. However, this APPG recognises that this claim is disputed.

102 Plumb, N et al (2016), *Integration city: A new Communities Agenda for London*, London: The Challenge

103 Social Integration Commission (2015), *Social Integration: a wake-up call*

104 Social contact with people from different backgrounds can impact positively or negatively on our perceptions of difference, depending on the conditions under which interactions takes place. Studies by Cohen & Lotan (1995), Aronson & Patnoe (1967), Chu & Griffey (1985) and Landis (1984) have demonstrated that direct inter-group contact is more likely to reduce prejudice if it involves equal status among the participants, cooperation on common goals between groups and institutional support, respectively. See: Everett, J. A., C (2013) in, 'Intergroup Contact Theory: Past, Present, and Future' *Inquisive Mind*, 2013: Issue 17 for a full investigation of these various dimensions.

105 Hewstone, M and Hermann, S (2011) 'Fifty-odd years of inter-group contact: From hypothesis to integrated theory', *British Journal of Social Psychology*, 2011: 50, 374–386

106 Casey, Dame Louise DBE CB. (2016), Page 149

107 See: The Challenge (2017), *Rebuilding our Common Life: A three point-plan to forge a more socially integrated Britain*, London: The Challenge, page 6 for principles, rooted in the contact hypothesis, for designing interventions targeted at boosting social integration.

108 Putnam, R. D (2007), 'E Pluribus Unum : Diversity and Community in the Twenty-first Century The 2006 Johan Skytte Prize Lecture', *Scandinavian Political Studies*, 30:2, pages 137–174, June 2007 It's important to note that Putnam's analysis utilises data drawn from US communities and some academics dispute whether this thesis applies equally to the UK. For example see: Demireva, N and Heath, A (2014), 'Diversity and the Civic Spirit in British Neighbourhoods: An Investigation with MCDS and EMBES 2010 Data', *Sociology*, 48: pages 643 – 662

The Social Integration Commission noted that levels of integration tend to be structured around institutions,<sup>109</sup> and this insight was reflected in the discussions which members of this APPG had with local residents during our evidence-gathering visits to Boston and Halifax. A number of Boston residents told us that the immigrant and host communities of that town in large part frequent different pubs and cafés; whilst one woman pointed out that even the local English and Polish catholic communities attend separate parishes affiliated to separate religious bodies. Local authorities should, therefore, proactively consider how they might support the growth of civic and community institutions which promote cross-community contact – importing examples of best practice from other areas and countries where these might work to address local needs. The Integration Policy Unit and DCLG should support councils in this endeavour through regularly highlighting instances of best practice and innovation.

### COMMUNITY MENTORING INITIATIVES

In his book *The British Dream*, David Goodhart proposes that new migrants should be paired with ‘buddies’, who would introduce them to local services, businesses and community landmarks, and support them to learn English (a comparable scheme was launched by TimeBank in 2002 to connect volunteer mentors with refugees.) Local authorities might consider introducing a community mentoring programme of this sort in their areas. Indeed, community mentoring initiatives for new immigrants have worked well in other countries – the municipal governments of Barcelona and numerous cities in the US (most notably Cupertino, California) have launched programmes through which trained ‘neighbourhood champions’ support new immigrants to participate in their community and engage with members of the settled population.

Closer to home, the Newham-based charity Community Links has sought to pilot a scheme through which established residents lead tours of their local areas for new arrivals from all walks of life. Community Links believes that an initiative modelled on this approach would satisfy both the desire of incomers to get to know and feel at home within their new environment and that of long-term residents to make sense of the changes taking place in their community. The charity emphasises the need to create a sustainable social infrastructure in fast-changing communities, and envisages a model wherein neighbourhood champions would be recruited to lead sessions on a semi-regular basis. These volunteers would be supported to provide new residents with an understanding of the social and economic history of the community around them as well as introductions to local amenities such as restaurants, cafés and shops and practical guidance on navigating life in their new area.

<sup>109</sup> Social Integration Commission (2014), *How Integrated is Modern Britain?*

That is not to say, however, that national government does not have an important role to play in fostering contact-across-difference. As was recommended earlier in this report, officials within DfE should certainly consider how schools, academy chains and education authorities could more effectively promote social mixing. We would, in addition, suggest that policymakers might more generally explore whether public services could be better utilised so as to weave opportunities for cross-community contact into the fabric of everyday life in immigration hotspots.

This APPG believes that social mixing should, what is more, be a rite of passage for all young people growing up in the UK. The teenagers who we met in Boston suggested to us that youth social action programmes offer opportunities for young people to meet and mix with others from different walks of life. In our interim inquiry report, we highlighted National Citizen Service (NCS) as a positive example of direct investment by central government in an initiative aimed specifically at promoting social mixing, as well as boosting civic engagement and social mobility. This programme brings together fifteen to seventeen-year olds from different social and cultural backgrounds to participate in team and persona challenges at an outdoor education centre and whilst living independently in a university halls-style setting, before planning and delivering a campaign for change in their local community. (The social integration charity The Challenge is a major provider of NCS and also serves as the secretariat to this APPG.)

NCS is relatively unique in that has been designed not only so as to bring together diverse groups of young people, but to ensure that these teenagers do mix socially in a positive and meaningful fashion. The young people who participate – aged 16-17, and at the beginning of their transition to adulthood – are intentionally placed in teams alongside others with different experiences of life; whilst the intensive nature of the programme and the levelling effects of the activities involved ensure that they interact on an equal-status basis and have the chance to truly get to know one another.<sup>110</sup> The Casey Review was right to recognise that it *'is having a positive impact in improving understanding and relationships between young people from different backgrounds'*.<sup>111</sup> This APPG recommends that the government should continue to grow NCS whilst also lending support to the charities and organisations which deliver this programme to recruit young people from immigrant backgrounds to participate in NCS.

Youth social action charities such as The Scout Association should also be commended for exploring how they might build a greater focus on social mixing into their work. The Office for Civil Society within the Department for Digital, Culture, Media and Sport should support more youth charities to actively consider how the programmes they provide might better bring together young people from different backgrounds to meet, mix and connect.<sup>112</sup>

<sup>110</sup> The Challenge (2017), *Rebuilding our Common Life: A three point-plan to forge a more socially integrated Britain*, Page 8

<sup>111</sup> Casey, Dame Louise DBE CB. (2016), Page 53

<sup>112</sup> The Office for Civil Society might consider drawing on the design principles outlined on Page 6 of *Rebuilding our Common Life* as a benchmark against which interventions of this kind might be evaluated.





### 3. PROMOTING AND REFORMING BRITISH CITIZENSHIP

We must additionally acknowledge that our political and public conversation on immigration and integration has encouraged the scapegoating and stigmatisation of immigrant communities, and must be reformed.

Firstly, the habit of policymakers and commentators to treat increased integration as relevant only insofar as it might prevent extremism has been deeply counter-productive and must be broken. Whilst it may be the case that social segregation breeds radicalisation – and this relationship is yet to be firmly established by social psychologists<sup>113</sup> – making this perceived link the focal point of our country's approach to the integration of immigrant communities risks eroding trust, alienating minority groups and reinforcing social division. More to the point, conflating immigration and integration issues with counterterrorism matters is irresponsible and dangerous in the current climate – it has sparked a public conversation characterised by baseless suspicion of an entire faith group. In any case, as is recognised within the Casey Review, *'the argument for a stronger approach to integration is justified on a much wider basis than counter-extremism.'*<sup>114</sup>

Beyond breaking this link, this APPG would suggest that politicians have a broader responsibility to ensure that the rhetoric which they deploy on immigration does not undermine integration, but rather facilitates the development of welcoming communities and fosters community cohesion. This responsibility has, however, recently gone unfulfilled.

As Elizabeth Collett noted during a parliamentary hearing held through this inquiry, by setting targets for the reduction of immigration which were never achievable and which they inevitably went onto miss repeatedly, Ministers undermined public confidence in the ability of the government to manage immigration. Rather than defusing public concerns regarding demographic and cultural change, then, officials have unnecessarily stoked anxiety over immigration and encouraged the growth of populist anti-immigrant sentiment.

Indeed, a recent analysis by the Migration Observatory at Oxford University suggests that Ministerial commitments to reduce net migration issued in 2011 and 2012 led to a sharp increase in the volume of newspaper coverage relating to immigration and to a heightened media focus on the importance of 'limiting' immigration.<sup>115</sup> Whilst the media is of course ultimately responsible for the contents of its own reporting – and the extent to which immigrants are demonised by our press has been well evidenced<sup>116</sup> – we politicians should consider much more actively the impact of the public debate on immigration on level of social integration.

This is particularly apparent in the wake of the EU referendum. Many analysts and senior police leaders have suggested that the rhetoric deployed by some politicians during this referendum has led some to feel that they could act on racist attitudes which had previously gone unexpressed.<sup>117</sup> Certainly, following the Brexit vote, there has been a marked increase in the number of incidents of racist abuse directed at the UK's settled migrant population,<sup>118</sup> whilst an independent analysis of police force data shows that there was an unprecedented spike in racially or religiously aggravated hate crime in the months following the referendum.<sup>119</sup>

113 Vardy, D (2008) in 'Muslim Residential Clustering and Political Radicalism', *Housing Studies*, 23 (1), pp.45–66 argues that social segregation only 'plays a limited role' in Islamist radicalisation. Conversely, T Cantle, T and Thomas, P (2014) in *Taking The Think Project Forward: The need for preventative anti-extremism educational work*, contend that social segregation in monoethnic white communities can lead to increased probability of far right extremism.

114 Casey, Dame Louise DBE CB. (2016), *The Casey Review: A review into integration and opportunity*, Page 145

115 Allen, W (2016), *A Decade of Immigration in the British Press*, Oxford: Migration Observatory, Page 4-5

116 See: Migration Observatory (2013), *Migration in the News: Portrayals of Immigrants, Migrants, Asylum Seekers and Refugees in National British Newspapers, 2010-2012*, Oxford: Migration Observatory

117 Sky News (2016), 'Met Police: Hate Crime Rises After Brexit Vote', *Sky News*, 19 July 2016 <http://news.sky.com/story/met-police-hate-crime-rises-after-brexit-vote-10506201>

118 Crouch, J and Minhas, P (2017) *Multicultural Britain in the 21st Century*, London: Opinium Research, Page 6

119 In the three months to September 2016, 33 of the 44 forces in England and Wales saw their highest levels of hate crimes since comparable records began in 2012. See: BBC News (2017), 'Record hate crimes' after EU referendum, *BBC News*, 15 February 2017 [www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-38976087](http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-38976087)



Arguably, rhetoric on immigration during and after the EU referendum campaign has led to a further coarsening of the climate many minority groups face in the UK, to such an extent that 62% of second generation migrants feel that Britain has become less tolerant since the Brexit vote.<sup>120</sup> We must act now so as to protect against the demonisation of immigrants, both new and settled, and to defend the diverse country which we have become. A fundamental reframing of our national conversation on immigration is required.

Indeed, Saira Grant of the Joint Council for the Welfare of Immigrants, in evidence she provided to this inquiry, argued that the ‘toxic situation’ facing immigrants is arguably the biggest barrier to integration they face. She concluded that the country needs now, more than ever, a political message and action accompanying it, which states clearly that ‘migrants are welcome and needed’.<sup>121</sup> In order to accomplish this goal, this APPG would suggest that British political leaders might look to the example of Canada – a country which is the site of a comparatively positive debate on immigration and multiculturalism.<sup>122</sup> Some attribute Canada’s welcoming spirit to its relative geographical remoteness; and it’s certainly true that Canada has – much like Australia – historically found it easier than the UK to control its borders and to enforce a strict entry criteria for economic immigrants. This is, though, in the view of this APPG only a partial explanation of this trend, and we would note that Canada’s political leaders have consciously sought to foster positive attitudes towards diversity and immigrants through the promotion of citizenship.<sup>123</sup> The Canadian philosopher John Ralston Saul, a founder of the Institute for Canadian Citizenship, has described the impact of policies implemented in his country explicitly in order to create an expectation that immigrants should become citizens as follows:

*“An immigrant is expected to become a citizen as fast as possible in order to take up the responsibilities of helping to make the society work, and therefore the state. We don’t want people hanging around for financial or other reasons without sharing in the burdens of guiding society. They know this, so newcomers begin adjusting the moment they arrive, conscious that they will be sworn in as citizens within four to five years at a large public ceremony. Most of them immediately begin trying to act as citizens. Think of immigration as the first step in a very personal, long term relationship. It is like getting engaged.”<sup>124</sup>*

During an interview with our secretariat team, Jack Jedwab, President of both the Association for Canadian Studies and the Canadian Institute for Identities and Migration, described the manner in which the concept of citizenship has evolved in his country. Whilst it was once thought of ‘*about having a passport,*’ citizenship is now conceived of within the Canadian public consciousness as a relationship with society involving mutual obligations and responsibilities – it is, in other words, an effective tool for meaningful integration.

This APPG believes that policymakers should seek to create a climate in which it is not only possible but expected that a great many of those 1,700 immigrants who arrive in the UK every day will become citizens – fundamentally reframing our national debate on immigration so that, rather than being seen as security risks or ‘the other’, immigrants are viewed as Britons-in-waiting. As Ralston Saul suggests in the above quotation, this will require policy action in addition to warm words.

Ralston Saul has argued that, in order to ensure that immigration is tied in the public consciousness to matters of citizenship rather than counter-extremism, the structural link between these policy areas within government must be shaped accordingly. Serious thought should, in our view, be given to his contention that nations with distinct Ministries for immigration and citizenship tend to achieve better integration and inclusion outcomes;

120 Ibid, Page 5

121 APPG on Social Integration Meeting Minutes for Meeting on Monday, 27 February, 3:30–4:50pm ([http://d3n8a8spro7vhmxc.cloudfront.net/themes/570513f1b504f500db000001/attachments/original/1490012035/170227\\_APPG\\_on\\_SI\\_Meeting\\_Minutes.pdf?1490012035](http://d3n8a8spro7vhmxc.cloudfront.net/themes/570513f1b504f500db000001/attachments/original/1490012035/170227_APPG_on_SI_Meeting_Minutes.pdf?1490012035))

122 For an investigation of the immigration debate in Canada see: Foran, C (2016), ‘The Canada experiment: is this the world’s first ‘postnational’ country?’, *The Guardian*, 4 January 2017

123 During a visit to Montreal in September 2016, APPG Chair Chuka Umunna discussed Canada’s immigration system and debate with Kathleen Weil MNA, Minister for Immigration, Diversity and Inclusiveness within the Government of Quebec.

124 Ralston Saul, J (2017), ‘Immigration and Identity: Fears about immigration have shaken Europe to its core. Has anywhere got it right?’, *IAI News*, 28 February 2017 <https://iainews.iai.tv/articles/immigration-and-identity-aid-783>



and the government should consider whether the structure of the Home Office might be reformed to reflect a greater focus on the promotion of citizenship and integration. This APPG would suggest, though, that there are a number of steps which policymakers might take in order to promote and reform British citizenship – ensuring it too is an effective tool for meaningful integration – in the immediate term.

### 3.1. PATHWAYS TO CITIZENSHIP

- ➔ The Home Office should investigate whether new immigrants could be placed on pathways to citizenship automatically upon arrival in the UK. This system should operate on an opt-out basis, and involve the creation of information channels through which newcomers could be offered comprehensive guidance as to the requirements, costs and benefits of gaining British citizenship at regular intervals.
- ➔ Policymakers should automatically enrol all immigrants who have lived in the UK for five years on a pathway to citizenship, irrespective of their visa status.
- ➔ The government must substantially reduce the cost of the naturalisation fee.

Most countries which grant low-skilled worker and sector-based visas offer immigrants who enter on those visas very few routes to citizenship.<sup>125</sup> In fact, the general thrust of contemporary immigration policy, globally, is towards promoting temporariness rather than citizenship and settlement. For many, this makes sense – after all, why enrol immigrants on pathways to citizenship if it is presumed that they will be here in the short term only?

This APPG would suggest that it is necessary to question what it means practically and morally for a diverse, liberal society, such as the UK's, to play host to a sizeable 'unsettled' population – wanted only for their labour or skills, but not welcomed as engaged and active members of society.<sup>126</sup> We must consider the risk that, if the government treats immigration as a purely contractual arrangement, then immigrants will be encouraged to think in the same manner rather than considering their connection to our country and their obligations and role within their local communities.

In our interim inquiry report, this APPG suggested that the Home Office should investigate whether new immigrants could be placed on pathways to citizenship automatically upon their arrival in the UK. Through the introduction of such a system, the government could both clearly convey the principle that most immigrants should be able and expected to integrate into British society and encourage the settled population to view newcomers as Britons-in-waiting rather than as security threats or foreign interlopers. These pathways might operate on an opt-out basis, and would create information channels through which newcomers could be offered comprehensive guidance as to the requirements, costs and benefits of gaining British citizenship at regular intervals.

Of course, this system must be shaped so as to reflect the differing integration expectations which it is reasonable to have of immigrants who plan on staying in the UK permanently, those who plan on residing in the country for a substantial period of time and those who are 'just passing through'.

This might theoretically be achieved in part by automatically enrolling all newcomers granted a visa with the potential to lead to settlement on these pathways – augmenting pre-existing mechanisms to better support these immigrants to become citizens – but not extending this reform to encompass immigrants on visas which are not designed to feature this potential. Indeed, a cursory analysis of Home Office-published statistics on

<sup>125</sup> The Seasonal Agricultural Workers Scheme, which operated between 1990 and 2013 in the UK, only offered six month visas and prevented those who held these visas from bringing their immediate family.

<sup>126</sup> This question will remain a pertinent one post-Brexit as the demand for low-and semi-skilled labour will not be met by British workers given the UK's tight labour market and record levels of employment.

changes in migrants' visa statuses would seem to suggest that this straightforward reform might accomplish the task at hand. The most recent tranche of these statistics, published in February 2017, indicate that those immigrants granted a 'student' or a 'work (not leading to settlement)' visa – both of which are predominantly temporary immigration routes – upon arriving in the UK in 2010 were significantly less likely than other non-EU migrants to have achieved settlement or to have attained valid leave to remain in the UK by 2015 (at 19% and 12% respectively, compared to 40% of all non-EU immigrants.<sup>127</sup>)

A closer inspection of these statistics reveals a flaw in this method, however. Of those immigrants granted settlement in the 2015 cohort, only around two-fifths (41%) had originally been issued a visa that could potentially lead directly to settlement (such as the 'family' or 'skilled work' categories) and a further 11% were granted settlement on arrival.<sup>128</sup> A considerable proportion (50%) had originally entered the UK on a visa without the potential to lead to settlement before switching to an alternative route. Ministers might, in the first instance, consider whether this system could be reformed so as to better align the profile of immigrants placed on paths to settlement at the offset with the reality of those who attain permanent residency. Alternatively, the government might introduce a two-tiered pathways to citizenship system. Under such a system, newcomers on visas with the potential to lead to settlement would be placed on an intensive pathway designed to encourage these individuals to apply for citizenship as soon as they have lived in the UK for five years. All other immigrants would be placed on a secondary pathway through which they might receive information and advice on the rights and responsibilities associated with, and the criteria for attaining, citizenship on a semi-regular basis. This APPG would, in any case, suggest that policymakers should ensure that this system reaches all immigrants who might seek to stay in the UK in the long-term by automatically enrolling all immigrants who have lived in the UK after a certain period of time – such as five years – on a pathway to citizenship, irrespective of their visa status.

In essence, this APPG would suggest that this system should be designed so as to ensure that all new arrivals except those who are deemed highly unlikely to settle in the UK are automatically enrolled on a pathway to citizenship (albeit with the option to opt-out if necessary.) This would not only make the experience of immigrating to the UK more inclusive, informative and meaningful for a great many newcomers, it would also positively change the experience of receiving immigrants for host communities.

After all – as is noted in chapter two of this report – it's only natural that an immigrant should be less eager to get to know a community or to seek to understand or adopt local customs if they know they are only likely to reside in an area for a short period of time. It's hardly surprising that research has shown that people tend to register more positive attitudes towards immigrants who have a stake in their communities over those who are here temporarily;<sup>129</sup> or that higher rates of settlement are associated with improved integration outcomes.<sup>130</sup> As Phoebe Griffith of the IPPR think tank argued during a parliamentary hearing held through this inquiry, the government should develop a proactive policy strategy to encourage settlement and discourage churn – an approach which has been successfully implemented in nations including Germany and Canada.<sup>131</sup> This APPG would suggest that introducing pathways to citizenship for the majority of newcomers might form the basis of just such a strategy.

127 Home Office (February 2017), *Statistics on changes in migrants' visa and leave status: 2015*, [www.gov.uk/government/publications/statistics-on-changes-in-migrants-visa-and-leave-status-2015/statistics-on-changes-in-migrants-visa-and-leave-status-2015#key-facts](http://www.gov.uk/government/publications/statistics-on-changes-in-migrants-visa-and-leave-status-2015/statistics-on-changes-in-migrants-visa-and-leave-status-2015#key-facts)

128 Ibid.

129 Rutter J (2015), *Moving up and getting on: Migration, integration and social cohesion in the UK*. Bristol Policy Press.

130 Griffith, P and Halej, J (2015)

131 Pierce, N (2015), 'For immigration to work, migrants should be encouraged to settle', *The Telegraph*, 3 November 2015 [www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/immigration/11972803/For-immigration-to-work-migrants-should-be-encouraged-to-settle.html](http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/immigration/11972803/For-immigration-to-work-migrants-should-be-encouraged-to-settle.html)

Furthermore, if we are to achieve a settlement wherein immigrants who plan on residing in the UK for a considerable length of time opt to become citizens as a matter of course, acquiring naturalised status must not be prohibitively expensive. As this APPG argued in our interim inquiry report, then, the government must significantly reduce the cost of the naturalisation fee, which has recently spiralled to just under £1,200. This fee has risen significantly over the last decade – a substantial levy was added in 2008 to fund the introduction of the Migration Impacts Fund, but was not removed upon the abolition of that fund in 2010. The total amount charged to newcomers to acquire naturalised status is almost ten times the cost to the Home Office of processing such an application, and over six times more than the equivalent cost in Germany and Canada. Settling in the UK should not be unaffordable.

### 3.2. A REAL LIFE IN THE UK TEST

- The contents of the *Life in the UK* test should be amended to better reflect the knowledge and experience which aspiring citizens require to navigate modern Britain.
- The government should launch a listening exercise in order to identify which elements of this test new citizens have and haven't found to be of value since passing it.

Equally, the process of becoming a citizen should be designed so as to support would-be-Britons to gain the knowledge and experience which they'll need to navigate modern Britain effectively. Accordingly, the contents of the *Life in the UK* test – which newcomers are required to pass in order to attain citizenship – should be amended so as to better reflect this goal. As Professor Thom Brooks of Durham Law School suggested whilst being interviewed by our secretariat team, the government should launch a listening exercise – almost two decades after the introduction of the test – in order to identify which elements of it new citizens have and haven't found to be of value.

The contents of test should, moreover, immediately be amended so as to better reflect the knowledge base of the settled population, which does not include the long lists of historical dates and trivia which immigrants are currently required to memorise in order to pass it. As a rule of thumb, aspiring citizens should not be expected to answer questions which ordinary Britons could not – after all, these questions clearly are not relevant to 'life in the UK' for the vast majority of people. Instead, the redesigned test might feature a greater focus on British customs and practical guidance on accessing public services and navigating everyday situations, as well as region-specific questions.

### 3.3. CITIZENSHIP AS AN EXPRESSION OF BELONGING

- Policymakers should introduce a set of 'active citizenship criteria' for those applying to become citizens. To meet these criteria, Britons-in-waiting might take part in volunteering initiatives or play an active role in one's local community in some other way. Citizenship ceremonies should be made more publicly prominent and inclusive.

In addition, the government should reform the process of becoming a British citizen to reflect a richer understanding of the concept of citizenship. Ministers and policymakers must be clear that becoming a citizen is not merely a process through which newcomers acquire a British passport and establish a stronger bond with the British state; but one through which immigrants both earn and express a meaningful sense of belonging within our society.

In order to strengthen the impression that citizenship is earned rather than acquired and comprises a reciprocal relationship with the community as well as the government – and to render the rich contribution which immigrants make to the health and strength of our society visible to all – policymakers should introduce a set of 'active citizenship criteria' for those applying to become citizens. To meet these criteria, Britons-in-waiting might take part in volunteering initiatives or play an active role in one's local community in some other way (the government should consult immigrants, advocacy organisations and charities in order to arrive at a realistic policy reflecting the limited time which some immigrants, particularly those with caring responsibilities or who work multiple jobs, will be able to commit to this.) This reform would, in addition, serve to ensure that aspiring citizens are exposed not just to the history and culture of our country in the abstract but in a meaningful manner to Britons from all walks of life – studies show that participating in volunteering programmes encourages individuals to actively engage with members of their community (both service users and fellow volunteers) whom they wouldn't otherwise come into contact with.<sup>132</sup> Its administration might be managed by the Home Office.

We note that the government considered building a requirement to volunteer into the process of becoming a citizen in 2007, before backpedalling – citing cost. This APPG would suggest that policymakers might pay for this reform by repurposing the £120 portion of the naturalisation fee which is theoretically spent on citizenship ceremonies, or the budget allocated for performing 'good character' checks on aspiring citizens – neither of which appear to be being spent at present in the manner intended by the government. Savings generated through voluntary activities – particularly where these are carried out by highly-skilled migrants – should also be factored into the costing of this policy.

We would, what is more, suggest that citizenship ceremonies could be utilised much more effectively in order to promote positive attitudes towards immigration. These events should be celebrations of modern Britishness, of the contribution which immigrants make to their community and – crucially – of their desire to integrate into British society. Too often, however, they are held in Town Halls away from public view. These ceremonies more publicly prominent and inclusive – perhaps through the involvement of volunteers and members of the settled population, as in the Canadian *Building Citizenship* programme.

132 Hothi, M (2007), *Neighbourliness + Empowerment = Wellbeing: Is there a formula for happy communities?*, The Young Foundation



Photo: Institute for Canadian Citizenship/Alyssa K Faoro.

### **CANADA'S BUILDING CITIZENSHIP AND CULTURAL ACCESS PASS PROGRAMMES**

The *Building Citizenship programme*, a partnership between the Institute for Canadian Citizenship (ICC) and the federal Ministry of Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship, organises special community citizenship ceremonies. Each ceremony includes the ICC's signature roundtable discussions: an opportunity for new citizens, their guests and community members to share stories and collectively reflect on what it means to be a Canadian citizen.

The ceremonies are hosted in welcoming public spaces across the country – such as art galleries, museums, national parks – places with a strong commitment to inclusion. Powered by community partners and a network of volunteers, in 2016 the ICC hosted 60 community citizenship ceremonies welcoming more than 3,000 new citizens.

The ICC also offers every new Canadian citizen across the country the opportunity to sign up for a free *Cultural Access Pass (CAP)*. Exclusively for new Canadian citizens, CAP offers free admission to more than 1,300 of Canada's premier cultural attractions including museums, science centres, art galleries, parks and historic sites, as well as exclusive discounts to travel the country during their first year of citizenship. The only program of its kind in the world, CAP is effective because it connects new citizens and their families to Canada's shared culture and identity, building for them a unique sense of inclusion and belonging. Since 2008, more than 250,000 new Canadian citizens have participated in the CAP program.







The ability to understand and speak English to a reasonable standard is a prerequisite for meaningful engagement with most British people and the key to full participation in British society. Research by Linda Morrice of the University of Sussex demonstrates the extent to which language skills are required to engage with the social environment around us.<sup>133</sup> Yet, according to the Office for National Statistics, approximately 800,000 people living in the UK at the time of the 2011 census – or 2% of the population – could not speak English well or at all.<sup>134</sup> In some areas with large numbers of immigrants – including Newham, Brent, Tower Hamlets and Leicester – between 8 and 9% of the population fell into this category; whilst 22% of Muslim women in the UK self-report that they are unable to speak English well.<sup>135</sup>

In fact, during a parliamentary hearing held as part of this inquiry which featured a number of ESOL experts, there was broad agreement that these figures may underestimate the scale of this problem. Certainly, during a discussion with senior council officers held during this APPG's evidence-gathering session in Boston, the participants agreed unanimously that the greatest barrier to the integration of that town's immigration population is a lack of basic English language skills. If we are to build a country in which immigrants are able to integrate effectively into the economy as well as the civic realm and the cultural and social lives of their communities, this issue must be addressed as a matter of urgency.

Accordingly, this APPG recommends that the government should introduce a new national strategy – supplementary to the broader strategy for the integration of immigrants alluded to elsewhere in this report, and as urged by the National Association for Teaching English and other Community Languages to Adults (NATECLA)<sup>136</sup> – for the promotion of English language learning. This strategy should be shaped so as to unleash the economic potential of immigrants, to enable newcomers to participate fully in British life and to ensure that everyone in our society is able to benefit from meeting and mixing with others from different cultures.

Statements of evidence supplied to this APPG by ESOL programme providers and experts offer conflicting views as to the extent of engagement and alignment between DCLG, the Department for Education (DfE) and the Education and Skills Funding Agency on ESOL provision. Whilst this strategy should, in our view, be led by the DfE, policymakers should certainly consider how it might be shaped so as to enable a greater degree of co-ordination between relevant government departments and agencies.

133 Morrice, Linda (2014) 'The learning migration nexus: towards a conceptual understanding'. *RELA*, 5 (2). pp. 149-159

134 Stokes, Peter (2013), *2011 Census: Detailed analysis – English language proficiency in England and Wales, Main language and general health characteristics*, accessed at [www.ons.gov.uk/peoplepopulationandcommunity/culturalidentity/language/articles/detailedanalysisenglishlanguageproficiencyinenglandandwales/2013-08-30](http://www.ons.gov.uk/peoplepopulationandcommunity/culturalidentity/language/articles/detailedanalysisenglishlanguageproficiencyinenglandandwales/2013-08-30)

135 Casey, Dame Louise DBE CB. (2016), *The Casey Review: A review into integration and opportunity*, Page 95

136 NATECLA (2016), *Towards an ESOL Strategy for England*

## 4.1. A RIGHTS-BASED APPROACH TO LANGUAGE LEARNING

- ➔ Ministers should develop a new strategy for the promotion of English language learning reflecting the guiding principle that no one should be able to live in our country for a considerable length of time without speaking English.
- ➔ The ability to speak English should be viewed as a right extended to everyone in our society no matter what their background or income level.
- ➔ In order to break down cultural barriers to English language learning, the government should introduce a requirement that immigrants arriving in the UK without the ability to speak the language should be enrolled on ESOL classes. These programmes should, additionally, be used so as to provide new arrivals with an understanding of national and local customs, traditions and British values.
- ➔ The government should conduct an extensive consultation including immigrants and ESOL programme providers in order to explore what topics these cultural orientation courses should cover as well as how the requirement for newcomers with no English to attend them should be enforced.

The interim report of this inquiry generated a degree of controversy through its recommendation that immigrants should either have learned English before coming to the UK or be enrolled in compulsory English for Speakers of Other Languages (ESOL) programmes upon arrival. We stand by this proposal. Not only is this reform necessary to build an immigration system which commands the support of all sections of British society,<sup>137</sup> it must be enacted in order to ensure that everyone in our country is able to enjoy the basic freedoms which British society is built upon. As the Casey Review evidenced, regressive family and cultural norms and practices too often prevent vulnerable members of certain communities, and women in particular, from learning English – limiting their ability to independently navigate life in the UK.<sup>138</sup> This APPG would echo Louise Casey’s assessment that we should now assert, as a nation, that these practices must be stamped out.

We must recognise, furthermore, that some immigrants living within socially segregated areas<sup>139</sup> feel that they have little reason to improve their English language skills. In spite of this, a good grasp of the English language is necessary in order to understand one’s rights in the workplace, to access employment opportunities and to build a diverse social and professional network. Speaking English is, that is to say, crucial to social mobility in modern Britain.

In a sense, then, the scale of this problem – whilst troubling – is a moot point. The ability to understand and speak the language of these isles should be viewed as a fundamental right, and public policy shaped accordingly. This issue must not be dismissed as a minority concern. Ministers must develop an English language strategy reflecting the guiding principle that no one should be able to live in our country for a considerable length of time without speaking English.

It is the view of this APPG that an approach built on this guiding principle needn’t lead to a reduction in the number of immigrants reaching our shores, but should result in newcomers being given more support to learn English once they get here. (Indeed, we note with interest the view, expressed during a parliamentary hearing held through this inquiry, by the Chief Executive of the Joint Council for the Welfare of Immigrants, Saira

<sup>137</sup> Mallows, D (2014), ‘Language issues in migration and integration: perspectives from teachers and learners’, *British Council*, Page 60 of this report demonstrates the importance which the British public attach to English language proficiency.

<sup>138</sup> Casey, Dame Louise DBE CB. (2016), Page 14

<sup>139</sup> This report has outlined the manner in which discriminatory housing practices and the phenomenon of chain migration have led immigrant communities to cluster in certain areas – leading many newcomers to experience fewer incentives to improve their English language skills or to learn about the cultural practices of the settled population.

Grant, that non-English speakers are significantly more likely to learn the language in-country; and that enforcing strict language requirements before granting entry to the UK could therefore be described as an attempt to solve this problem from the inside-out.) What is more, it is overwhelmingly clear that the vast majority of immigrants who come to Britain without a good grasp of English do want to learn the language – a point which we regret not noting in our interim inquiry report. In fact, as Refugee Action highlighted in their submission to this inquiry, some ESOL programme providers have reported that their waiting lists stretch to more than 1,100 people.

A truly rights-based approach to language learning should, moreover, encompass the rights of native speakers of that language. This APPG would suggest that, not only it is perfectly reasonable for people to wish to live in a place in which they are able to get to know their neighbours and to experience a lasting sense of belonging, but everyone living in a multicultural society should have the right to benefit from meeting, mixing and connecting with people from different cultures. In addition, as was noted to this APPG by Helen Walker and Andy Forster of TimeBank, language learning programmes often offer immigrants the opportunity to meet and mix with members of their local community from different cultural backgrounds as well as teachers and volunteers drawn from the settled population. They are, that is, themselves forums for positive social mixing.

Given financial constraints, the government might consider designing this reform so as to require immigrants with no or limited English language skills to attend two-to-three 'taster' ESOL classes only. As Alex Stevenson, Head of English, Maths and ESOL at the Learning and Work Institute, suggested to this APPG, requiring newcomers to undertake even a few hours of English training upon arrival might encourage them to pursue further language learning opportunities and significantly improve integration outcomes in the long-term. (Policymakers might support immigrants to afford participation in these classes through introducing advanced learning loans for ESOL – an idea which this report will go on to explore.)

This APPG notes with interest Migration Yorkshire's policy recommendation, as set out in that organisation's submission to this inquiry, that ESOL courses should include a module on local customs and regional culture. During our evidence-gathering visit to Boston, we learned of a number of culturally-rooted barriers to social mixing between immigrants and members of the settled population. A Boston Borough Council officer who we met with noted, for example, that many native Bostonians tend to avoid visiting shops run by Eastern Europeans as a result of the appearance of their shopfronts. We were told that a number of the Polish and Romanian shop owners of that town have been influenced by the Soviet-era Eastern European practice of filling shopfronts with pictures (to disguise or distract from a sparsity of goods,) which – the officer relayed – British shoppers find alien and off-putting. Such a module might offer newcomers advice on cultural practices such as this, which might strike immigrants as perfectly normal but which may prevent them from thriving economically or socially in Britain.

We would suggest that these compulsory classes might, then, be expanded to include guidance on national and local customs, traditions and British values – replicating to an extent the cultural orientation offer which is commonly extended to new immigrants in other European countries (as described in chapter two of this report.) The government should conduct an extensive consultation including immigrants and ESOL programme providers in order to explore what topics these orientation courses should cover as well as how the requirement for newcomers with no English to attend them should be enforced.

## MANDATORY LANGUAGE LEARNING IN SWEDEN AND GERMANY

Language training in Sweden is a mandatory requirement for all immigrants who are signed up to complete an ‘introduction plan’ – a status which entitles new arrivals to a number of benefits to which they otherwise wouldn’t be able to access, such as an ‘establishment allowance’ and housing support. These plans are coordinated by the Swedish government-run Public Employment Service, and are shaped in consultation with individuals to reflect their previous education and work experience. Each plan includes a Swedish language element alongside cultural orientation and job-readiness initiatives.

The provision of language training for migrants is the responsibility of the municipality and, as such, the quality of provision can vary from one area to the next. Swedish for Immigrants (SFI) courses are sometimes delivered through municipality-run schools, whilst other municipalities contract out delivery to external providers.

Similarly, in Germany, non-EU immigrants must take part in an integration course, which includes both language training and a focus on cultural orientation. New arrivals are provided with a certificate of eligibility by the immigration office and a list of language course providers from which they are able to choose. Attendance is monitored by regional immigration authorities.

The German integration course typically consists of 660 hours of provision, with attendees paying a nominal fee of €1.95 per lesson. This means that completing a full integration course can cost upwards of €1,200. However, the German government heavily subsidises tuition and those in receipt of certain welfare payments are able to apply for fee exemptions.

## 4.2. A FUNDING BOOST FOR A POLITICAL PRIORITY

- ➔ The government’s new English language strategy must include a degree of direct investment in language classes reflecting both the scale of the challenge we face in building a Britain in which everyone speaks English and the level of importance attached to this project by Britons across the political spectrum.
- ➔ Policymakers should introduce an income-contingent advanced learning loan system for English language programmes, through which programme participants could defer payments until they begin to earn a salary above a certain threshold – enabling immigrants, including those who are unemployed, to undertake training with no or little upfront cost.

Whilst we should of course acknowledge the challenging financial circumstances in which both the government and local authorities in particular are currently operating, we must equally be clear-sighted in assessing the scale of the challenge which we face in building a Britain in which everyone is able to speak English. As was noted by numerous ESOL experts in written and verbal evidence supplied to this APPG, many immigrants lack the basic native-language literacy skills which are generally required to learn a new language and language learning is, in any case, in almost all instances an expensive proposition.

The introduction of compulsory ESOL classes must, therefore, be accompanied by a significant increase in funding for language learning programmes.

Since 2008, successive governments have repeatedly cut funding for ESOL programmes – significantly reducing the ability of immigrants and Britons of all backgrounds to identify points of connection with one another and develop a sense of commonality. Between that year and 2015, funding for ESOL was reduced by 50 per cent.<sup>140</sup> Furthermore, since 2010, as the think tank Demos demonstrate in their *On Speaking Terms* report, Education and Skills Funding Agency cuts have fallen disproportionately on ESOL services – a trend which has been to the detriment of both English training programme providers and language learners.<sup>141</sup> This problem could be compounded by the impending withdrawal of the European Integration Fund from the UK<sup>142</sup> – during this APPG’s evidence-gathering session in Halifax, we heard that this fund had been used to good effect in order to finance language support and integration programmes for non-EU immigrants who had been in the UK for less than ten years.

In January 2016, then-Prime Minister David Cameron made headlines by announcing £20 million of new funding for community-based English language classes for Muslim women – this was of course a welcome development, but it was followed, a little over six months later, by an announcement that the then-Department for Business, Innovation and Skills would withdraw all funding for ESOL classes (which at that point totalled £45 million). Recent investments by DCLG in community-based programmes are, then, plainly not equal to the scale of the cuts which have been made to English training provision over the course of the last decade.

Senior managers within colleges and many of those businesses and charities which previously delivered ESOL have responded to the funding instability brought on by years of successive cuts by either declining to invest in English language classes or delivering short-term project-based work only. As Migration Yorkshire noted in their submission to this inquiry, a lack of stable funding has disrupted routes into further education, training and work for a great many immigrants; and has prevented these sector leaders from adopting a strategic approach to promoting language learning (an effect which has been compounded as they have resorted to chasing project-based funding driven by political whims.) Indeed, as numerous experts pointed out to this APPG, these cuts led to ESOL delivery organisations curtailing the outreach activities, crèche and pastoral care services which are necessary to support women from isolated communities to participate in ESOL classes – impacting negatively on participation rates amongst exactly the Bangladeshi, Pakistani and Somali women at whom community-based programmes would later be targeted.

Policymakers of all parties must, moreover, confront the fact that decisions to drastically reduce funding for ESOL reflected not just a failure on the part of successive government to recognise the importance of the English language to social cohesion and national unity, but also of political will. In fact – as Dr James Simpson, a senior lecturer in language education at the University of Leeds, noted to this APPG – the government began, from 2008, to reduce funding for language learning classes exactly as it was perceived that these programmes were being accessed by ‘too many’ EU migrants from Eastern Europe. As Alex Stevenson put it in his interview with our secretariat team, ESOL provision was cut as English courses had become ‘too popular’. Given the public anxiety which would emerge over Polish, Romanian and Lithuanian EU migrants moving to the UK and speaking languages other than English in the years following that decision,<sup>143</sup> there can be little doubt that it now appears ill-advised. This move was undoubtedly driven in part by the

140 Robertson, A (2016), ‘AoC’s Martin Doel speaks out for Esol after PM announces £20m fund for Muslim women to learn English’, *FE Week*, Jan 18 2016

141 Policymakers should, however, take heart – and ESOL sector leaders should take pride – in the fact that the professionalisation of language training provision, which began in the early 2000s, appears to have continued apace during this period.

142 Calderdale Council was one of the first local authorities to successfully bid for funding from the Controlling Migration Fund, launched late last year and administered by the Department for Communities and Local Government, suggesting there are some alternatives to current provision. The funding of roughly £450,000 will support integration and improvements in public services in areas impacted by transient and newly settled communities. The fund will also support additional ESOL classes for migrant communities and extend youth service provision in neighbourhoods where there is a real or perceived view that migration is reducing opportunities for the settled community.

143 See, for example, The Guardian (2014), ‘British Attitudes harden towards immigrants’, *The Guardian*, June 17 2014 [www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2014/jun/17/immigration-british-attitudes-harden-benefits](http://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2014/jun/17/immigration-british-attitudes-harden-benefits)

expectation that many of the EU migrants who had moved to the UK would not settle in our country, and the judgement that this spending did not therefore represent value for money. Those experts who supplied evidence to this APPG were, however, clear in their view that it was intended too as a politically-motivated response to media reports regarding the number of immigrants benefiting from taxpayer-funded English classes.

Following almost a decade of under-investment in ESOL programmes, the government's strategy for the promotion of the English language must include a degree of direct investment in language programmes reflecting both the level of political importance attached to living in a country in which everyone speaks English by Britons across the political spectrum and the scale of this challenge. Investment in English language learning should, additionally, be viewed by policymakers as preventative – its benefit assessed against costs associated with central and local government translation services as well as underemployment, missed medical appointments and poor health and wellbeing outcomes amongst immigrant groups. Public Health specialists believe that poor English constitutes a major barrier to efforts to reduce the disproportionately high rates of diseases including diabetes which persist amongst the immigrant population.

This APPG believes that it is important that immigrants should both contribute and be seen to contribute to the cost of language training provision, but it is equally true that the current ESOL funding system is failing some of the most vulnerably individuals in our society. It is well documented that language learning needs are most pronounced amongst low skilled immigrant workers, who are often unable to afford ESOL programmes and so 'get stuck' in low-paying jobs.<sup>144</sup> For this reason, we would echo David Goodhart's proposal for an income-contingent advanced learning loan system for English language programmes,<sup>145</sup> through which participants could defer payments until they begin to earn a salary above a certain threshold. This would enable immigrants, including those who are unemployed, to undertake training with no or little upfront cost. This policy recommendation reflects our belief that the ability to speak English should be viewed as a right extended to everyone in our society no matter what their background or income level.

### 4.3. INCENTIVISING EMPLOYERS TO SUPPORT ESOL

- The government's national strategy for the promotion of the English language should be shaped so as to support the growth of vocationally-focused ESOL programmes aimed at providing immigrants with a grounding in appropriate industrial language and unlocking skills learned abroad.
- Ministers should set out plans to amend existing vocational courses commonly accessed by migrants, such as the NVQ in social care, to include a greater focus on English language learning.
- Policymakers should offer employers financial incentives for the provision of in-work ESOL programmes. This should include the introduction of a quality mark to recognise employers which effectively support English language learning. Policymakers should, in addition, explore whether employers which demonstrate a substantive commitment to language training might be made entitled to employer National Insurance Contribution discounts.

A substantial portion of the funds necessary to finance a student-loan style system for language learning and radically increase the provision of ESOL programmes might be raised through working in partnership with the business community. Policymakers must reject the flawed assumption that supporting immigrants to find employment is an

144 During a parliamentary hearing held through this inquiry, Dr Braddell characterised this as '*the low-paid, limited English trap*'. For more details, see Miller, L et al (2014), *Migrants in low-paid low-skilled work in London*, London: Institute for Employment Studies, for an investigation of the multiple challenges faced by low skilled immigrants.

145 Goodhart, D (2013), *The British Dream: Successes and Failures of Post-War Immigration*, London: Atlantic Books



integration panacea – research by Kerstin Sjösvärd and Alexander Braddell shows that, in the Swedish context, entering the workplace does not necessarily lead to increased language proficiency.<sup>146</sup> Indeed, research also carried out by Alexander Braddell, alongside Linda Miller and Rachel Marangozov, shows that many migrants working in low-skilled occupations in London have been in these jobs for years without improving their English.<sup>147</sup> It remains the case, however, that employers have a vital role to play in building a country in which everyone speaks English.

As is implicit in this APPG's suggestion that an Integration Levy might be paid by employers which are reliant on immigrant labour, and the new skills settlement set out in chapter one of this report, the government should not shy away from compelling businesses to support their employees to learn English where necessary. Its national strategy for the promotion of the English language should, though, be aimed for the most at incentivising rather than coercing action on the part of employers in this respect.

As outlined in chapter two of this report, revenue generated through the Integration Levy should be directed in part towards financing ESOL programmes in those areas of the country in which levy-paying employers operate. In return – and in recognition of the varied integration needs of the immigrant population – the government should support the growth of vocationally-focused ESOL programmes designed to provide immigrants with a grounding in appropriate industrial language and unlock skills learned abroad. Indeed, policymakers might also set out plans to amend existing vocational courses commonly accessed by immigrants, such as the NVQ in social care, to include a greater focus on English language learning.

It is critical that the government's strategy should be shaped so as to address the barriers to accessing ESOL faced by immigrants who work multiple jobs or irregular shift patterns, including through the insertion of measures designed to increase in-work provision of English language training. As was pointed out to this APPG by Dr James Simpson, employers have become significantly less amenable to sponsoring their employees to participate in ESOL schemes since the effective discontinuation of the *Skills for Life* strategy. English for Action London noted in their submission to this inquiry that only one employer with whom they currently work – a cleaning company – allows their employees to attend ESOL classes during working hours and provides a space for in-work provision. They noted, too, that this is an extremely rare instance of best practice. Whilst *Skills for Life* did not compensate employers for costs associated with setting up and tailoring ESOL courses to reflect vocational focuses, it did – crucially – reimburse businesses for those hours which their employees spent in the classroom.

The government's English language strategy should, then, include financial incentives for the provision of in-work ESOL programmes. It might, for instance, lay the ground for the introduction of a government-sponsored quality mark to recognise employers which effectively support English language learning and facilitate positive contact between immigrants and members of the settled population. In addition to arranging in-work language training provision or sponsoring their employees to participate in ESOL programmes, employers might demonstrate their support for this agenda through: enabling their employees to participate in volunteering programmes with a language learning dimension; appointing workplace 'language mentors'; training managers to include immigrants effectively in the workplace; and managing shift patterns to mitigate against the risk of social segregation. This APPG would, what is more, suggest that policymakers should explore whether businesses which demonstrate a substantive commitment to English language learning might be offered employer National Insurance Contribution discounts.

146 Sjösvärd K, Braddell A (2017) 'Using workplace learning to support the linguistic integration of adult migrants – lessons from a decade of work in Sweden' in *The Linguistic Integration of Adult Migrants*, Berlin: De Gruyter

147 Miller L, Braddell A, Marangozov R (2013), *Migrants in low-paid low-skilled work in London: Research into barriers and solutions to learning English*, London: Institute for Employment Studies

### WORKPLACE-BASED LANGUAGE MENTORING IN SWEDEN

In Sweden, policymakers are working with employers and trade unions within certain industries to trial an innovative approach to the provision of language training opportunities for new immigrants.

The Swedish government's fast track programmes, first introduced in 2015, were designed to speedily fill vacancies in industries in which there is a labour shortage. In order to make it as easy as possible for immigrants who might take up these roles to establish themselves within the labour market, those signed up to these schemes are provided with skills and language training suited to their professional background. Much of this learning takes place whilst the participant completes a work placement or works part-time. Participating employers are required to appoint 'workplace language mentors' whose role is to support immigrant employees and to provide them with informal language learning opportunities. Facilitating social contact between immigrants and employees who are members of the host community is viewed as a central function of these programmes.

A collaboration between employers' associations, trade unions and the Swedish government-run Public Employment Service has recently led to the introduction of a fast track scheme for immigrants working in the Swedish healthcare sector. This programme offers newcomers guidance regarding professional qualification validation processes in addition to industry-specific vocational language training.

#### 4.4. A STRATEGY SHAPED TO MEET DIVERSE LANGUAGE TRAINING NEEDS

- ➔ In recognition of the diverse experiences and language training needs of individual immigrants and of distinct demographic groups, the government should design its English language strategy so to promote ESOL programmes of a range of styles and forms – including both college and community-based schemes.
- ➔ Policymakers should explore where there is a need for an 'intermediate offer' aimed at language learners who have participated in a community-based programme but aren't yet ready to progress to a college-based course.

Language learning is not a one-size-fits-all proposition – immigrants who have recently arrived in the UK, for instance, are likely to have very different language training needs to members of minority communities who have lived here for many years. In recognition of the diverse experiences and needs of individual immigrants and of distinct demographic groups, it is critical that the government's English language strategy should be designed so as to promote language learning opportunities of a range of styles and forms.

It should, for example, feature measures specifically to support members of isolated communities to improve their English language skills – including the continued roll-out of community-based programmes. In contrast to college-based ESOL courses, these schemes are held within settings which Pakistani, Bangladeshi and Somali women in particular are likely to both be able to access and to feel comfortable within; are designed in a manner which is especially sensitive to the cultural heritages of those groups; and are

generally pitched at a very basic level.<sup>148</sup> They are also often delivered in partnership with faith and community groups and organisations, which – programme providers suggest – enables them to maximise their reach into isolated communities. Furthermore, this APPG would recommend – as FaithAction did in their submission to this inquiry – that learners who might benefit from this form of provision should, going forward, be able to self-refer onto these programmes and to access them for as long as needed – including for a longer period of time than that designated for the completion of a single course.

In addition, numerous community-based programme providers – including TimeBank and Good Things Foundation – told this APPG that learners often ‘get stuck’ following the completion of these programmes, and might benefit from the development of an ‘intermediate offer’ aimed at learners who have participated in this form of provision but aren’t yet ready to progress to Pre-entry Level 1. This course would, these delivery organisations suggested, ideally be designed so as to cultivate self-confidence amongst participants and to support learners to better understand British customs. Helen Walker and Andy Forster of TimeBank estimated, during their interview with our secretariat team, that as many as 80% of the learners which their organisations works with in Birmingham through its *Talking Together* programme would benefit from participating in a scheme of this sort. Good Things Foundation reported that, whilst they do signpost learners who have completed their 24-week community-based language learning programme onto college-based provision, the majority of learners simply have not acquired the level of proficiency required to undertake such a course. A number of ESOL experts suggested to us that this ‘intermediate offer’ should take the form of a ‘blended programme’ encompassing elements of community-based and classroom-based learning. This APPG would, moreover, note – as Bradford Council did in their submission to this inquiry – that many of the immigrants who participate in community-run schemes have not previously experienced education in formal settings – this approach might be especially well-matched to the needs of these learners. Policymakers should, accordingly, review the need for such a programme in consultation with a wide range of ESOL sector stakeholders.

#### 4.5. LANGUAGE LEARNING BEYOND THE CLASSROOM

- ➔ The government should outline plans for the increased provision of non-formal language learning schemes which enable immigrants to practice their English through conversing with members of their host community.
- ➔ Its English language strategy should include measures aimed at drawing more volunteers into language learning programmes – including in order to serve as teaching assistants within formal ESOL courses and to participate in non-formal schemes.

The government might also seek to meet language learners’ diverse needs through supporting the development of more and better opportunities for them to practice their English skills outside of formal language training provision. After all, and as was noted to this APPG by Dr Alexander Braddell, Director of the Oxfordshire Skills Escalator Centre, it is only through authentic interactions with native speakers that immigrants are able to gain the exposure of how the language is really spoken, written and used, the meaningful corrective feedback and the self-confidence required to become proficient in English. Creating more language learning opportunities of this kind would, in addition, enable more newcomers to fit learning English around their schedules – not least as immigrants are more likely than members of settled population to work during evenings and weekends.

The government’s English language strategy should, therefore, outline plans for the increased provision of non-formal language learning schemes. Examples of this sort of initiative include ‘conversation clubs’ or cooking classes bringing together newcomers

148 See NIACE’s submission to the APPG on Race and Community inquiry into ethnic minority female unemployment here: [www.runnymedetrust.org/uploads/APPG%20evidence/NIACEResponse.pdf](http://www.runnymedetrust.org/uploads/APPG%20evidence/NIACEResponse.pdf)

and members of the settled population. Programmes which revolve around joint-trips to town centres and cultural landmarks offer valuable opportunities for immigrants to practice everyday skills such as navigating public transport and buying groceries. Typically, non-formal schemes do not feature explicit language learning goals but are designed so as to provide social support to learners and to facilitate cultural integration.

In order to boost the provision of these sorts of initiatives, it will of course be necessary for the government's strategy for the promotion of the English language to include measures aimed at involving more volunteers in language learning. Indeed, policymakers might consider how they might draw more volunteers into language learning programmes more generally – including in order to act as teaching assistants within formal ESOL courses led by paid professionals. This would offer an array of benefits. Nicola Speake of Good Things Foundation told our secretariat team that including volunteers from host communities in ESOL provision helps to propagate positive attitudes towards immigrants amongst the settled population. The presence of volunteers who have previously participated in language learning schemes, furthermore, enables learners to benefit from an invaluable form of peer-to-peer support<sup>149</sup> and improves word-of-mouth promotion of learning opportunities amongst immigrant communities.

### DANISH LANGUAGE CAFÉS

Social spaces for language learners to practice their newly acquired skills are pivotal to language consolidation. In many countries, including the UK, informal clubs and groups form off the back of formal lessons. However, there is often a lack of clear signposting to the social engagement opportunities available to learners.

In Denmark, there is an extensive network of well-advertised 'language cafés', which provide a social space for new immigrants and long-term residents alike to practice languages, get to know one another and discuss the cultural practices which are at the heart of Danish society.

Policymakers and programme providers alike should, however, carefully consider how best to harness the energy of volunteers to improve language learning outcomes. As was pointed out to this APPG by David Mallows of University College London's Institute for Education, many charities which deliver non-formal ESOL schemes tend to model these initiatives after 'teacher-led' models – developing a curriculum broken into learning units and recruiting volunteers to act as teaching assistants. These tactics, which are for the most part highly effective when deployed within formal ESOL programmes, arguably prevent language learners from accessing the unique benefits of non-formal provision. According to Mr Mallows, this 'pseudo-formal learning' style prevents learners from becoming immersed in the experience of conversing with volunteers and curtails their ability to gain corrective feedback – impacting negatively on the quality of their learning experience. Indeed, Dr Braddell draws a distinction which might be usefully deployed in order to better understand this argument between teaching, which he defines as the transmission of knowledge and skills, and learning – an internal unconscious process requiring a degree of absorption. Non-formal schemes should, both Mr Mallows and Dr Braddell suggested to this APPG, be shaped around learning much more so than teaching.

<sup>149</sup> In their submission to this inquiry, the Wonder Foundation noted that socialising with other female immigrant learners and volunteers can diminish immigrant women's feelings of social isolation.

The government's English language strategy should, what is more, reflect the fact that volunteers require support and training in order to perform their roles effectively. Policymakers might examine the *Talk English* programme provided by Manchester Adult Education, which is an example of best practice in this regard; as is TimeBank's *Talking Together* initiative, which trains volunteers up before matching them with charities which provide ESOL courses.

#### 4.6. INTEGRATING ESOL PROVISION WITH THAT OF OTHER PUBLIC SERVICES

- ➔ A central plank of the government's national strategy for the promotion of the English language should comprise of plans to integrate the provision of ESOL with that of other public services, including children's centres and schools.

In order to improve the sign-posting of immigrants to language training opportunities and ensure as many individuals as possible are able to benefit from them, the government's national strategy for the promotion of the English language should set out plans to integrate the provision of ESOL programmes with that of other public services – including children's centres and schools.

Many children's centres already host language learning programmes for both children and parents, including innovative family-on-family language learning schemes. During our evidence-gathering session in Halifax, we heard from local residents that children's centres are in effect the only local providers of ESOL for the Polish community. Generally, these schemes run during school hours – providing access to language learning opportunities for immigrants who work in the evenings. Crucially, the provision of on-site childcare ensures that learners with young children are able to take part (in their submission to this inquiry, Bradford Council noted that the offer of wrap-around childcare for parents participating in language classes had significantly increased uptake; whilst the absence of childcare solutions was cited by numerous ESOL experts as a major barrier to participation in language training programmes by immigrant women). The majority of children's centres throughout the UK (approximately 52% in 2013) do not, at present, offer any form of language training course – a situation which policymakers should seek to remedy through this strategy.

The motivation to be involved in their children's education is a powerful driver of the desire to learn English for many parents.<sup>150</sup> The government should, accordingly – as Mums and Families UK (MAF) proposed in their submission to this inquiry – seek to encourage joint-working between ESOL programme providers and schools. Basing language learning programmes in schools offers delivery organisations the opportunity to reach busy parents with language learning needs, and to host lessons or activities in a setting in which those parents are likely both to be able to access and to feel comfortable within. School leaders and teachers can, moreover, play an invaluable role in sign-posting parents with little or no English to language learning opportunities. After all, as English for Action London pointed out in their submission, this makes it more likely that parents will get involved in the school community and attend parents' events.

As part of this approach, policymakers might additionally consider how best to embed opportunities to learn about and sign up for ESOL classes within health services, which often constitute isolated older migrant women's only entry point into mainstream society.

<sup>150</sup> Assadullah, S (2014), 'Wrong or no wrong, I speak' in Mallows, D (ed) *Language issues in migration and integration: perspectives from teachers and learners*, London: British Council

## 4.7. JOINING-UP ESOL PROVISION LOCALLY AND NATIONALLY

- Ministers should introduce a new statutory duty on local authorities to co-ordinate and optimise ESOL provision in their areas – sign-posting learners to suitable provision and facilitating a positive dialogue between language training providers.
- The government’s English language strategy should set out rigorous national standards and ambitious area-by-area targets for ESOL provision.

The development of a national English language strategy designed to promote language learning initiatives of a range of styles and forms – whilst hugely beneficial in a number of ways – may lead to confusion amongst newcomers as to which programme is right for them. Policymakers should be alive to this risk and take action to ensure learners are directed towards suitable language training schemes.

The challenge of navigating a language learning landscape shaped to accommodate diverse learning needs will be made more difficult by a general lack of co-ordination between programme providers, which often leads to immigrants being directed to schemes which are not well-matched to their needs. As Alex Stevenson of the Learning and Work Institute noted whilst being interviewed by our secretariat team, this is, in part, a function of a competitive funding model which rewards programme delivery organisations on a per-learner basis – disincentivising providers from directing newcomers to alternative learning opportunities. This APPG would suggest, moreover, that this dynamic partially results from the general absence of a supportive infrastructure around ESOL provision.

The government has, in the past, sought to minimise the risk that learners will be directed towards an unsuitable form of language training through the application of stringent selection criteria for funded places on specific forms of programme. It is clear that this approach has, however, backfired in some cases. In supplying evidence to this APPG, a number of organisations which run DCLG-funded community-based ESOL programmes described the requirement placed on them by the government that participants in those courses mustn’t be Job Seekers Allowance-claimants as counter-productive – some job-seekers benefit from this style of course. In any case, these providers tend not to turn potential learners away – meaning that these classes are in effect underfunded and that the quality of the learning experience is diminished for all involved. In addition, the requirement that immigrants must have resided in the UK for 12 months prior to accessing these programmes was described to this APPG by ESOL experts and delivery organisations including FaithAction as especially self-defeating – the typical immigrants’ motivation to learn tends to be highest, and ESOL provision most-effective, immediately following their arrival in our country. Indeed, Alex Stevenson told us that immigrants tend to develop coping mechanisms if they are not enrolled in a course early on during their time in the UK, and noted that newly arrived spouses often encounter a great deal of difficulty in attempting to access language learning opportunities.

Rather than continuing to attempt to direct immigrants to appropriate language learning programmes from the centre, we recommend that the government should introduce a new statutory duty on local authorities to co-ordinate and optimise ESOL provision in their areas. As David Crawford, a senior partner at Framogen LLP with expertise in the Canadian, Australian and British immigration systems, remarked whilst being interviewed by our secretariat team, local government tends to add significant value to language training provision ‘when they’ve got skin in the game’. More to the point, council officers with a grounding in the local community, economy and language learning landscape are – in our view – much better-placed than Whitehall-based civil servants to accurately assess the unique needs of individual learners.



The ESOL programme providers and experts whom supplied evidence to this inquiry voiced a range of views on the value and efficacy of the New Labour-era duty on local authorities to identify language training needs and coordinate the provision of ESOL. Nonetheless, local government-run schemes such as the London Borough of Hackney's ESOL Advice Service and Leeds City Council's Migrant English Support Hub (or MESH) demonstrate that some councils excel both at sign-posting learners to suitable provision and at facilitating positive dialogues between the programme providers operating in their areas. The importance of fostering constructive conversations between ESOL delivery organisations should, furthermore, not be underestimated – as NATECLA Co-Chair James Cupper noted during a parliamentary hearing held through this inquiry, there is an urgent need for delivery organisations working within the same area to engage much more actively in the sharing of best practice.

As Migration Yorkshire noted in their submission, local authorities might also be tasked with identifying premises for programme delivery where necessary. Moreover, as Good Things Foundation proposed to this APPG, councils' co-ordinating function might extend to mapping and auditing provision on an area-by-area basis so as to ensure that it meets the needs of both the local population and employers;<sup>151</sup> and to liaising with programme providers where a particular form is identified as lacking. These responsibilities would, in addition, compliment local authorities' role in procuring ESOL provision directly through the Integration Impact Fund system. In fact, as NATECLA pointed out in their submission, local authorities might utilise these combined powers to incentivise cross-sector collaboration and promote a holistic approach to language learning delivery in their areas.<sup>152</sup>

We note that ESOL delivery organisations including TimeBank told us that local authorities in some areas of Britain are mistrusted by isolated minority communities in much the same way as central government. Such a duty would, however, enable councils to fulfil these supportive functions without necessarily leading their brand to be associated with these schemes.

The devolution of Skills policy powers and associated funding streams to newly-created Metro Mayors across England may create additional opportunities for co-ordination between language learning programme providers at the regional level. Equally, the transference of these policy powers could create new barriers to effective joint-working if the new combined authorities which these Mayors lead do not actively produce strategies to optimise the provision of ESOL across their regions. Indeed, numerous programme providers raised concerns to this APPG that the devolution of Skills funding – especially if accompanied by a move to empower local authorities to play a more substantive role in language learning – might lead to the quality of provision coming to vary significantly from region-to-region and place-to-place.

It is clear, then, that the government's English language strategy should set out rigorous national standards and ambitious area-by-area targets for ESOL provision. Through this approach, the government might at once avoid attempting to impose a one-size-fits-all policy approach on areas with varied needs and safeguard against the risk that ESOL provision will come to resemble a postcode lottery to an even greater extent than is currently the case. This strategy should, ultimately, be aimed at creating a climate in which effective and interlocking local, regional and national language training strategies maximise opportunities for learning and collaboration between policymakers, ESOL programme providers and relevant stakeholders across the public and private sectors.

<sup>151</sup> Dr Simpson's work on The Harehills ESOL Needs Neighbourhood Audit project is instructive in this regard: [www.education.leeds.ac.uk/research/projects/henna-project](http://www.education.leeds.ac.uk/research/projects/henna-project)

<sup>152</sup> A number of experts who contributed to this inquiry pointed to Manchester City Council's new Adult ESOL Strategy as an example of such an approach. This APPG would suggest that imposing a duty on local authorities as proposed here might lead more councils to take a strategic view of their local language learning landscape and to work with delivery organisations to improve ESOL provision in their areas, much as Manchester City Council has and is.

#### 4.8. AN ENHANCED ROLE FOR LARGER PROGRAMME DELIVERY ORGANISATIONS

- The government should grow and maintain a varied ESOL delivery landscape incorporating national charities in addition to the local organisations and colleges which will continue to form the bedrock of language training provision. To this end, its English language strategy should include measures recognising the enhanced capacity for low-cost provision, innovation and quality assurance of larger delivery organisations.

First and foremost, the government's strategy for the promotion of the English language must be shaped so as to ensure that high-quality language learning opportunities are on offer in all areas in which there is a need for them. Not only has the geographic targeting of DCLG's community-based programmes plainly disadvantaged some areas with substantial immigrant populations; it is generally true that – outside of our big cities – ESOL provision is more dispersed, less well co-ordinated and features fewer centres of excellence. Indeed, as Borders College noted in their submission to this inquiry, ESOL delivery organisations operating in rural areas face particular challenges associated with poor transport links, difficulties in recruiting tutors and the need to organise provision for particularly small groups.

This is, for the most part, a matter of funding, but this APPG would note that this problem might be addressed in part through ensuring programme providers are able to achieve economies of scale in delivering ESOL. This will require the government to commit within its English language strategy to the growth and maintenance of a rich and varied ESOL delivery landscape incorporating national charities in addition to the local organisations and colleges which will continue, rightly, to form the bedrock of language learning delivery. This strategy should, accordingly, include measures recognising the enhanced capacity for low-cost provision, innovation and quality assurance of larger organisations.

#### 4.9. PROMOTING CITIZENSHIP THROUGH LANGUAGE TRAINING PROGRAMMES

- The government should make funding available for charities and community groups in selected areas of the country to pilot a series of 'language of citizenship' initiatives. Through these civic engagement programmes, groups of immigrants with language learning needs would design and deliver social action projects in their local communities alongside volunteers drawn from the settled population.
- ESOL programme providers in receipt of public funding should be required to build curriculum elements designed to celebrate modern British values and freedoms, including the right to marry someone of the same sex, into their courses.

A number of programme providers, including TimeBank and East London Advanced Technology Training, shared with this APPG a belief that newcomers would benefit from the provision of more programmes combining language learning opportunities with a focus on citizenship. We agree, and would suggest that the government should make a small amount of funding available for charities and community groups in selected areas of the country to pilot a series of 'language of citizenship' initiatives. Through these civic engagement programmes, groups of immigrants with language learning needs would design and deliver social action projects in their local communities alongside volunteers drawn from the settled population.

In the same spirit of civic integration, the government's English language strategy should include measures to ensure that ESOL programme curriculums reflect modern British values. Between 2005 and 2013, the Home Office mandated that ESOL programmes for those applying for British citizenship should include a 20-hour module on citizenship covering topics such as civil partnerships. This requirement was removed when the immigration system was reformed to require all those applying for indefinite leave to remain to have earned ESOL entry level 3. Moving forward, policymakers should require language training programme providers in receipt of public funding under this strategy to build curriculum elements designed to celebrate our country's diversity and freedoms into their courses.

#### 4.10. ENABLING DIGITAL LANGUAGE LEARNING

- Policymakers should create incentives for ESOL programme providers, technology firms and academics to collaborate on the development of new approaches to language learning incorporating digital tools, apps and massive open online courses (MOOCs).

Policymakers must recognise, finally, that advances in digital technology are already transforming the manner in which immigrants across the UK are interacting with language learning materials, and that ESOL programme curriculums too often fail to reflect this reality. Programme providers such as Manchester Adult Education, who offer learners participating in their Talk English initiatives access to a pre-entry digital course and app, are blazing a trail which should be followed by other delivery organisations. The potential for massive open online courses (MOOCs) and mobile learning applications (apps) to support immigrants with some English (and those who have completed an entry-level course) to develop their language skills should be explored further. So too should the manner in which language learners use Facebook and other forms of social media, and the prospect of adapting ESOL programme curriculums to both make use of this common reference point and include more opportunities for interactive learning through the use of these platforms. If channelled effectively, digitalisation will allow for more immigrants to benefit from the personalisation of language learning materials and enable the growth of the social support networks which have been shown to improve learning outcomes. The government's strategy should, then, include measures to incentivise programme providers, technology firms and academics to collaborate on the development of new approaches to language learning incorporating digital tools.

## CONCLUSION

This APPG hopes that this report, and the fifty six policy recommendations laid out within it, will serve as a catalyst for action. As highlighted throughout the EU referendum campaign and frequently since, the UK is becoming increasingly fragmented along a number of societal faultlines. Whether along the lines of age, socioeconomic background, education or ethnicity, a concerted effort from policymakers is required to bridge rising social divides.

This APPG believes that we must act radically now, at this crucial juncture in our nation's history, to craft a new immigration and integration policy settlement to bring our brilliantly diverse country together. A celebration of the contribution that immigration has made and continues to make to British life must be front and centre of this approach, but we must act too to address legitimate concerns over our national sovereignty and feelings of cultural dislocation. Through this report, we have set out how the devolution of immigration policy power powers, a more proactive and strategic approach to the integration of immigrants, reforms to the process of becoming a British citizen and increased and improved English language provision might both bolster integration outcomes and facilitate the development of a new social compact between Britons of all backgrounds.

As delicate Brexit negotiations continue and new immigration laws are drafted, we hope policymakers will carefully consider the proposals made within this report. Encouragingly, many decisive steps might be taken to boost social integration before the Article 50 process draws to an end. Policymakers could take meaningful action to build stronger, more cohesive communities through the government's forthcoming national integration strategy or by adopting a rights-based approach to English language learning.

The task of strengthening our social fabric and building a more united Britain is one the most pressing challenges facing our country today. If we are to rise to it, we must engage constructively with those who hold views which are different to our own. Over the course of the last forty years, our national conversation on immigration has become increasingly polarised, to the point that it often now seems to be dominated by two hopelessly opposed views. By one group of voices claiming that Britain is full and that it's time to shut our borders; and another who insist that it's only a fundamentally backwards and prejudiced minority who feel unsettled by demographic and cultural change.





In order to detoxify this debate, we should acknowledge that immigration can undermine community cohesion but that it doesn't have to, and recognise that there's a middle way between shutting our borders and shutting our ears to people's concerns.

We must work together to build an immigration system capable of winning back the trust of all sections of our society, to offer immigrants the practical and meaningful support they require to integrate into our economy and society and to support people to come together as communities to collectively take steps to shape their own futures. In this manner, we might safeguard our national prosperity, defend our diverse communities against the threats of demonisation and disharmony and forge a multiculturalism that works for everyone in our country.

Crucially, we must internalise and advance an understanding of integration as the responsibility of us all, and as vital to the success of everyone in our society – as not just an issue for newcomers. This is important because, although immigrants face specific integration challenges, the evidence presented to this APPG throughout the length of this inquiry has kept us mindful that individuals from many social backgrounds in Britain today are increasingly marginalised, disadvantaged and frustrated. Alongside immigration, there are other forces at work which are undermining the health and strength of our communities, such as growing inequalities, cuts to public and voluntary services, the changing nature of work and rapid technological advancements. Our integration policy approach must, therefore, speak to all communities going forward and cut across policy silos to ensure that a comprehensive and holistic view of our cohesiveness as a nation is taken. Only then will we be able to build a confident and inclusive idea of twenty-first century Britishness based on the vision that people from all communities should be able to participate equally and fairly in our country's civic, cultural, social and economic life.







@IntegrationAPPG  
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@CSMuffield  
@rachelmarangozi  
@HoltLynch

Integration

Holly Lynch

## APPENDIX A:

### Members of the All-Party Parliamentary Group on Social Integration

- Chuka Umunna MP (Chair)
- Holly Walker-Lynch MP (Vice-Chair)
- Naz Shah MP (Vice-Chair)
- Matt Warman MP (Vice-Chair)
- Debbie Abrahams MP
- Rushanara Ali MP
- The Rt Revd Dr Steven Croft
- Jon Cruddas MP
- Suella Fernandes MP
- Nusrat Ghani MP
- Lord Glasman
- Wera Hobhouse MP
- Stephen Kinnock MP
- Lord Lennie
- Stuart C McDonald MP
- Jim McMahon MP
- Tulip Siddiq MP
- Ruth Smeeth MP

## APPENDIX B:

### Organisations and individuals who submitted written evidence to this inquiry

- Accord Coalition for Inclusive Education
- Action for ESOL
- Amnesty International UK
- Allan Alasdair MSP, Minister for International Development and Europe
- BME National and the Human City Institute
- Borders College
- Bright Blue
- Dr Gemma Catney, University of Liverpool
- Centre on Migration, Policy and Society (COMPAS) at the University of Oxford
- Convention of Scottish Local Authorities (COSLA) Migration, Population and Diversity Team
- Centre for Social Investigation, Nuffield College, Oxford
- City of Bradford Metropolitan District Council
- East London Advanced Technology Training (ELATT)
- Education Scotland
- English for Action (EFA London)
- FaithAction
- Good Things Foundation
- David Goodhart, Head of the Demography, Immigration, and Integration Unit, Policy Exchange
- Growth, Equal Opportunities, Migration and Markets (GEMM) Project
- Institute for Public Policy Research (IPPR)
- Institute for Social and Economic Research (ISER), University of Essex
- Joint Council for the Welfare of Immigrants (JCWI)
- Judy Kirsh
- Prof Eric Kaufmann, Professor of Politics at Birkbeck College, University of London
- Victor Kok CPA CGA
- Dr. Siobhan Lambert-Hurley, Reader in International History, Migration Research Group, University of Sheffield
- London Chamber of Commerce and Industry
- Arthur McKeown
- Migrants' Rights Network (MRN)
- Migration Yorkshire
- Mums and Families (MAF)
- National Association for Teaching English and other Community Languages to Adults (NATECLA)
- Refugee Action
- Ruth Hayman Trust
- Scottish Qualifications Authority (SQA)
- Social Support and Migration in Scotland Project (University of Glasgow/Swansea University)
- Still Human Still Here – a coalition of 79 organisations seeking to end the destitution of asylum seekers in the UK
- Katherine Swinney
- JJ Tomlinson & Ben Menadue
- United Nations High Commissioner For Refugees (UNHCR)
- Welsh Refugee Council
- Wonder Foundation
- Dr. Philip Wood, Associate Professor, Aga Khan University



## APPENDIX C:

## Parliamentary hearings held throughout this inquiry

## Parliamentary hearing 1

Date and time: 5 September 2016,  
2:30 – 4:30pm

## Witnesses:

The Hon Alexander Downer AC, the  
High Commissioner of Australia to the  
United Kingdom

Councillor Peter Bedford, Leader  
(at the time of this meeting), Boston  
Borough Council

Elizabeth Collett, Director of Migration  
Policy Institute (MPI) Europe and Senior  
Advisor to MPI's Transatlantic Council  
on Migration

Sunder Katwala, Director, British Future

Eric Kaufmann, Professor of Politics,  
Birkbeck College, University of London

## Parliamentary hearing 2

Date and time: 17 October 2016,  
3:00 – 4:20pm

## Witnesses:

Don Flynn, Director, Migrants Rights  
Network

David Goodhart, Head of Integration  
Hub and the Demography, Immigration &  
Integration Unit at Policy Exchange

Phoebe Griffith, Associate Director for  
Migration, Integration and Communities  
at IPPR

Anthony Francis Heath, Emeritus  
Professor of Sociology, Centre for Social  
Investigation, Nuffield College, Oxford

Lindsay Richards, Postdoctoral  
Researcher, Centre for Social  
Investigation, Nuffield College, Oxford

## Parliamentary hearing 3

Date and time: 27 February 2017,  
3:30– 4:50pm

## Witnesses:

Alexander Braddell, Director, Oxfordshire  
Skills Escalator Centre

James Cupper, Head of Learning at  
Blackfriars Settlement and Co-Chair  
of NATECLA (National Association for  
Teaching English and other Community  
Languages to Adults)

Saira Grant, Chief Executive, the  
Joint Council for the Welfare of  
Immigrants (JCWI)

Dr Anne Smith, Founder and Lead Trainer,  
Creative English Alliance

## APPENDIX D:

## Research interview participants

Alexander Braddell, Director, Oxfordshire  
Skills Escalator Centre

Professor Thom Brooks, Dean, Durham  
Law School

Dr David Crawford, Senior Partner,  
Fragomen LLP, Canada

Dr Jack Jedwab, President of the  
Association for Canadian Studies and the  
Canadian Institute for Identities  
and Migration

Agnes Kukulska-Hulme, Professor of  
Learning Technology and Communication,  
Institute of Educational Technology,  
The Open University

David Mallows, Lecturer in TESOL, UCL  
Institute of Education

Dr James Simpson, Senior Lecturer  
(Language Education), University of Leeds

Nicola Speake, Head of Social Inclusion,  
Good Things Foundation

Alex Stevenson, Head of English, Maths  
and ESOL, Learning and Work Institute

Helen Walker, Chief Executive, and Andy  
Forster, Programme Manager, TimeBank







All Party Parliamentary Group on  
**Social Integration**

The Secretariat to the All-Party Parliamentary Group  
on Social Integration is provided by  
*The Challenge*, the UK's leading social  
integration charity



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Twitter: @IntegrationAPPG  
Email: [APPG.SocialIntegration@the-challenge.org](mailto:APPG.SocialIntegration@the-challenge.org)