

# *Integration: from national rhetoric to local reality*

*How the new mayors for city-regions can  
help get integration right at local level*

*Sunder Katwala, Jill Rutter, Avaes Mohammad and  
Steve Ballinger*

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Kean House  
6 Kean Street  
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WC2B 4AS

Editor: Steve Ballinger

About British Future:

British Future is an independent, non-partisan thinktank engaging people's hopes and fears about integration and migration, opportunity and identity, so that we share a confident and welcoming Britain, inclusive and fair to all.

[www.britishfuture.org](http://www.britishfuture.org)

Tel. +44 (0)20 7632 9069

Twitter: @BritishFuture

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# I. Introduction: Getting integration right, locally

Britain is a more anxious and fragmented society than any of us would want. In the Brexit decision, the country has embarked on one of the most important changes for half a century, after a vote that split the country by place, by generation and by social class, casting new light on more long-standing divisions. Britain's multi-ethnic society, comprising citizens of many faiths and none, is in many places an integration success story. But it is one with important challenges and tensions too, including concerns about segregation, extremism and prejudice.

Yet a proper integration strategy has never been implemented in this country. There is an opportunity to change that this year, as the competing parties should set out in their General Election manifestos how they would promote better integration, before the post-election government offers a full response to Dame Louise Casey's recent integration review. This will need to reflect the leadership role that national government should play on integration, while being aware of the limits to how far the policy levers available in Whitehall and Westminster can hope to shape the lived experience of integration in towns and cities across Britain in a liberal and democratic society.

So the lack of powers afforded to regional and local government in the UK is another part of the story of Britain's integration policy vacuum. The establishment of new combined regional authorities (also referred to in this report as as city-regions) for the West Midlands, Greater Manchester, Tees Valley, Liverpool City Region, Cambridgeshire & Peterborough and the West of England, each headed by an elected Mayor, is an opportunity to develop more powerful, prominent leadership for cities and regions and to bring new impetus to the integration debate.

While each of the new mayors will need to develop their own vision and agenda for integration, we believe that they could take a leading role in promoting integration at local level by appointing a **deputy mayor for integration**, to add support to the mayor's role as a public champion of integration and to lead an **Office for Integration and Citizenship** to help catalyse action. That should involve the hard graft of mainstreaming integration across the combined authority, bringing a focus on how each policy area – such as growth and jobs, education and skills, health and housing – can play a role in strengthening cohesion, contact and belonging for the benefit of all. Just as importantly, it is also about encouraging, championing and catalysing a broader civic ownership of integration, across business and civic society, and involving the public too.

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Offices for integration and citizenship have played a successful role in cities ranging from New York and Chicago to Barcelona and Hamburg. After his election in London last Spring, Mayor Sadiq Khan introduced a new Deputy Mayor for Social Integration, drawing on these international lessons, following civic advocacy from a cross-party coalition of civic and political voices.

The new mayors should look at how to develop the right model for their own areas. Integration challenges and the public's priorities for action on integration will differ in significant ways between the West Midlands and the Tees Valley or from Greater Manchester to Cambridgeshire & Peterborough. This report sets out some of the key challenges in each combined authority. But there is no city-region where the new mayor would not have an opportunity to make a significant difference to how people live together.

**If integration is not about everybody, it is not integration.** So it is important to challenge the idea that integration is something that matters in the most diverse towns and cities, but that it will take care of itself in other areas. When the pace of change speeds up in places of lower diversity it can cause more uncertainty and anxiety than in those areas with longer experience of diversity going back over many generations. It is also striking how often we seem to have separate debates about integration and identity – from the Casey Review's analysis of Britain's growing ethnic and faith diversity, with a particular focus on Muslim integration, to the post-referendum debate about those who feel left behind by both economic and cultural change.

Building local ownership will be crucial to getting the integration agenda right. So the new mayors should develop a participatory approach to developing their own integration priorities and agenda. That should involve integration stakeholders – in local government, the police, faith communities and civic groups, schools, colleges and universities, and local businesses, both small and large – to encourage them to think creatively about the contribution that they can make.

**The best way to increase public ownership of integration policy would be to involve the public directly in those conversations too.** The public has clear and strong views about what makes integration work and how we can find the common ground together. Even if most people are some distance from the shifting policy jargon of the integration debate, its core concerns – how we live together, what is working well and can be built on, and the areas that need more attention – matter to us all.

Britain has a mixed record on integration. There are different experiences across the country. Despite our current anxieties, we probably start in a stronger place than in many other European countries. But muddling through will not be enough if we are to succeed in growing public confidence that Britain can be an inclusive society of equal opportunity and shared belonging. It

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is time for action on integration. If the new mayors can step up to play a key leadership role in making change happen in their own cities and regions, they will also have a stronger voice as champions who can help us to shift towards the positive, active integration agenda that we need at a national level too.

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## 2. Why is there a vacuum on integration policy?

Integration is about creating a country that we can all share and where everyone lives well together. Over the last 30 years there have been many advances towards creating a society where people of different backgrounds are treated fairly and have the same opportunities to participate in the social, political and economic life of this country. More young people – from all social classes and ethnic groups – go to university and many of our schools are an integration success story. But these achievements and successful policy initiatives sit alongside local and national government inertia and ethnic, faith, class, age, gender and geographic divides.

Integration happens locally – in neighbourhoods, in towns and cities and in schools and workplaces. But it also needs direction and support at a national level – and to date there has been a vacuum at the top of politics and government on the issue. As we examine here, government efforts on integration have been characterised by strategy papers that were not implemented and rhetoric that has not been put into practice. Integration is important to all citizens, but without a clear integration agenda at government level, divisions have been left to deepen.

The election of the new mayors for city-regions offers the opportunity to address some of these divisions, energising integration and delivering good practice in broad areas across England. Here we set out what the new mayors can achieve, helping us work for a country where we are no longer ‘them’ and ‘us’, but a confident, inclusive society that feels fair and welcoming to all.

### What is integration and why is it important?

Since it first entered the policy and political lexicon in the 1990s, integration has become part of the public debate about immigration and about ethnic and faith diversity in the UK. Unlike other policy terms of the last 20 years – social cohesion and social exclusion, for example – there is a public understanding of the term, including by migrants and ethnic and faith minorities. Migrants (and organisations that advocate for them) tend to see integration in terms of equality opportunities, and in relation to their everyday, local experiences in their neighbourhoods and workplaces. The majority population tends to see integration in social and cultural terms and as the adoption of ‘British’ social norms and behaviours by those seen as newcomers.

Political interest in integration has also led to academic writing about it, much of which has attempted to define integration, which has also emerged as a contested term in this literature.<sup>1</sup> It is easy for policy-makers to become over-absorbed in

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defining and measuring integration, to the detriment of planning interventions that help individuals and communities. Paths have, however, been found through this academic debate by policymakers and grassroots workers who want to make a difference to the areas where they work.

For them, integration is a process of mutual accommodation between different sectors of society. It is both a process and an outcome, and takes place in economic and socio-cultural domains. Economic integration programmes focus on qualifications and employment, while those which focus on social integration attempt to bring different sectors of society together. The Greater London Authority, headed by the Mayor and a Deputy Mayor for Social Integration, sees integration as involving fairness and equality, connectedness and togetherness, as well as participation in life in the city.

Contrasting understandings about integration persist, however – for example between civil society organisations and the general public. This makes it essential that there is a public conversation about integration and the society that we want to become, one which involves all communities. If such public engagement does not take place, and integration is not perceived as a relationship that involves everyone, different views about integration can become grievances between different sections of society, exacerbating tensions and social divides, rather than resolving them.

At a time when immigration, ethnic and faith diversity are such high profile issues, integration clearly matters: to migrants themselves, to the communities where they live and work and to wider society. Social contact enables bridges to be built between people of different backgrounds, values to be shared and differences to be negotiated. Integration, therefore, helps to manage any tensions and anxieties brought about by social and demographic changes. Failures of integration in the form of unemployment, educational under-achievement and social isolation damage community life, as well as being costly to the public purse. Perceptions that migrant or minority ethnic communities have not integrated can also exacerbate hostility.

## Towards today's policy

Despite its importance, the UK's integration record is mixed. Between 2000 and 2010 there were a number of central and local government initiatives that focused on integration, published in the context of increased immigration into the UK and growing concern about religious extremism in the UK and the integration of Muslims. Overall, between 2000 and 2010 the Government generated a large number of strategy documents but did not follow them through with effective or coordinated action at local, regional or national level.

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The coalition government's first written integration policy, the February 2012 Department for Communities and Local Government strategy paper *Creating the Conditions for Integration*, mostly comprised lists of existing social policy interventions with some bearing on integration: early education, the Pupil Premium and so on. Written at a time when the Government was promoting a localism agenda, councils were seen as the bodies that should promote integration; yet with reductions to staff and budgets, most did not do so. There is little evidence that this paper had much effect on policy and between 2012 and 2015 integration was a largely neglected policy issue.

## Why has integration been difficult for governments?

Reviewing initiatives between 2000 and 2010 it can be seen that successive governments have found it difficult to enact and follow through policy. Integration initiatives require long-term policy commitment rather than the short-termism that characterises most administrations.

Coherent integration policy needs action at local, regional and central government level; but to date the local and regional policies have been missing and national policy has not been implemented. Within central government effective inter-departmental coordination is needed, as many government departments have a stake in integration policy. Such coordination has always been poor in the UK. Ensuring effective inter-departmental working, both locally and nationally, remains one of the biggest delivery challenges.

Policy-makers have mostly focused on what agencies of the state – local authorities, schools, Job Centre Plus - can do to promote integration. What happens in the workplace and in private housing markets also has a large impact on integration, but there has been a reluctance to engage with business and to regulate the housing market.

There has also been a lack of confidence, particularly in local government, to engage with the more difficult aspects of integration, for example different attitudes to parental discipline, for fear of being seen as racist or being part of the 'big brother' state. In some parts of the UK, integration policy is seen as an aspect of the Prevent counter-terrorism strategy, leading to suspicion and a lack of buy-in from Muslim communities.

While public opinion is often complex, there is clear public hostility to measures perceived as helping the 'wrong kind' of migrants. Awareness and apprehension of this enmity can make politicians and policy-makers reluctant to stand up for publicly-funded interventions, such as English language provision, when public funding is being cut.

Most importantly there has been little leadership from the top of politics regarding integration. There has been no clear articulation of the role of the state, of migrants and of those in

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the communities where they live. Nor has there been a strong cross-party lobby for integration. Among migrant and refugee organisations, integration has been a lower priority because a failure of integration does not have the same *individual* impact that the refusal of an asylum claim or detention obviously has.

## Opportunities for change

Arguably, the years between 2000 and 2015 marked a period when many policy recommendations were made but not followed through in practice. Integration policy has now reached a crossroads, with opportunities for real and lasting change. Four things have happened which have pushed integration up the agenda:

**First**, in 2015 the then Prime Minister David Cameron asked Dame Louise Casey to conduct a review of integration. The Casey Review had the support of Theresa May, then Home Secretary. The remit looked at how to boost opportunity and integration in England's most isolated and deprived communities. Reporting to ministers in the Department for Communities and Local Government, the Casey Review was published in December 2016. Focusing heavily on Britain's Muslim community, it offered a 'state of the nation' picture of integration, as well as suggestions about the direction of future Government policy. Importantly, the report has commanded the attention of ministers.

**Second**, as a consequence of the Casey Review, there is now a real commitment in central Government to turn rhetoric about integration into policy that has a real impact. The Conservative Government said it would respond to the Casey Review in 2017 and set out its new plans for integration, with Communities Secretary Sajid Javid leading work on this across government, providing the opportunity for real leadership from the top of politics.

**Third**, the EU referendum result has highlighted the fact that the UK is a more anxious and divided country than we would like. Concerns about immigration influenced voters' decisions. This has focused the attention of politicians, policymakers and grassroots organisations as to how these anxieties might be addressed.

**Fourth**, the reorganisation of English regional government, with the formation of combined authorities each headed by an elected mayor, offers the opportunity to bridge local and national policies. These new mayors could take forward integration at a city-region level, as other world cities have done with notable success. We explore this opportunity in more detail in the following chapters.

While the General Election of 2017 will undoubtedly bring political changes, the commitment to integration in central government is likely to remain. The new mayors will have the opportunity to push forward integration – in the following chapters we explore how.

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## 3. How the new mayors can make a difference on integration

In May 2017 six new combined authorities, representing nearly 10 million people, will each elect a mayor and assume their full powers. Working in partnership with local authorities, civil society organisations, philanthropic bodies and business, the new mayors have the opportunity to take integration forward. Successful local programmes of work, previously confined to one council, can now be replicated across the combined authority area. Work at a regional level also leads to economies of scale. For example, a welfare-to-work project in the West of England could be delivered in all three of its member local authorities, but with just one back-office structure.

The Cities and Local Government Devolution Act 2016 provided the legal backing to set up these combined authorities: bodies that bring councils together to collaborate and take collective decisions across council boundaries. The creation of combined authorities means that member councils can be far more ambitious in their joint working, and reach many more people than initiatives pursued by a single local authority.

The 2016 legislation has also allowed powers and budgets previously held by central government to be devolved to the city-regions. All the mayors have transport, housing and planning powers and a 30-year investment fund. The powers and budgets of each mayor have been determined by the deal that each city-region has agreed with the Government. Some of the combined authorities have control over the post-16 further education system, but others do not. Importantly, all the new mayors have control over the adult skills budget, from which adult English language classes are funded.<sup>2</sup>

London already has a regional authority, headed by a mayor. It is among a number of global cities that have set up offices for integration, following a cross-party campaign from civil society organisations coordinated by British Future and London Citizens. In September 2016, Mayor of London Sadiq Khan appointed Matthew Ryder as deputy mayor for social integration. Already the deputy mayor and his team are working with other staff in city hall and London's colleges to look at ways to improve English language learning in the capital. The deputy mayor is also promoting voter registration and the uptake of British citizenship, with ceremonies planned to take place in iconic locations – so as to welcome new Londoners.

Outside the UK, New York City Mayor's Office of Immigration Affairs has taken forward a broad range of initiatives from language provision to advice for new arrivals. Its *We Are New York* is an award-winning television show created to help immigrant

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New Yorkers practice English while informing them of the city's resources. In Barcelona, where one-in-five residents was born outside Spain, the city authority has created a new 'Department of Immigration and Inter-culturality'. The city undertook an extensive public conversation on the factors that aid or hinder integration in Barcelona. Following this consultation, the city authority set up programmes to promote Spanish language acquisition and social connectedness.

## Structures and programmes of work

Cities such as New York, Barcelona, Hamburg and London have shown how integration can be taken forward at a city-region level. Hopefully, the six new combined authority mayors will follow their example. Each will have to set up structures and programmes of work that are appropriate to the needs of their authority.

The new mayors may take different approaches but, based on the experiences of other city-regions, the appointment of a deputy mayor for integration can play a significant role in driving forward an integration agenda at regional level. Doing so not only signals that the mayor takes integration seriously as an issue; it also ensures that their administration includes a senior individual who can take a view across different policy and departmental briefs through an integration lens and, crucially, it allocates responsibility for making integration policy work to a senior political appointment.

Deputy mayors will need to be supported by a team of staff, although much of their work is in partnership with others, within the combined authority or in local authorities.

We see the integration role of the mayor, his deputy and staff in the combined authority as being characterised by the 'four Cs', namely to:

**Champion** – make the case to central and regional government for policies that promote integration in the authority, across a wide range of issues;

**Catalyse** – work with partners to deliver programmes of work that directly support integration;

**Celebrate** integration and diversity – in events and activities that bring people together;

**Challenge** - take action with others to tackle the barriers that can prevent social integration.

There will be many issues to take forward, and some will have to be prioritised over others. Given limited staff and resources, in their first mayoral terms it will be important to achieve a balance in programmes of work. The mayor and staff will need to undertake a mixture of initiatives that balance:

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- Work that focuses on all people in the combined authority and that which targets specific groups or communities;
  - Programmes of work that focus on removing economic and structural barriers to integration and those which cover social integration and bringing people together;
  - Initiatives that celebrate integration and those which tackle difficult issues such as undocumented immigration;
  - Stand-alone work undertaken by a dedicated team of staff and work that is mainstreamed across the combined authority and its constituent local authorities.

As we describe in the next section of this report, the context of each combined authority is different. Priorities for work will differ, but it is likely that across the six city-regions, there will be initiatives that are common to a number of areas. Such initiatives to further integration could include:

- Improving English language provision is likely to be a priority, given that all the new mayors have control over the adult skills budget. In many of the six combined authorities, there is a shortage of formal and informal language support for those who work long hours and find it difficult to attend college. A shared language is one of the cornerstones of successful integration.
- Skills training and welfare-to-work projects will be an important aspect of work in all of the combined authorities. It is essential that such initiatives meet the needs of all sectors of society.
- Advice and orientation is important for those who are new to an area, whether they have moved from elsewhere in the UK or from overseas. Mayors may wish to consider how they move 'beyond the leaflet' and develop approaches to advice that increase knowledge and pride in the area and promote participation in civic life. Working across local authority boundaries also leads to economies of scale and the reduction of needless duplication.
- The new mayors have housing and planning powers that can be used to improve the regulation of private rental accommodation that houses migrant workers. It is often overcrowded and poorly maintained rental accommodation that causes tensions between communities. Planning powers can also be used to make sure that there is sufficient attractive public space where people of different backgrounds can meet and mix.
- Some mayors will wish to partner with employers to promote integration, focusing on improving the accommodation of migrant workers and the delivery of workplace-based English language support.

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- In areas where different ethnic and faith communities are spatially segregated, mayors may want to promote projects that bring people of different backgrounds together - for example, opportunities for pupils in different schools to participate in joint activities.
  - Volunteering also brings people of diverse backgrounds together. Mayors may wish to promote greater involvement in civic life by promoting volunteering and voter-registration.
  - In areas of high population churn or significant in-migration, the mayors may wish to work with schools, colleges and local authorities to develop a local curriculum and learning activities that foster inclusive local identities.
  - The process of naturalisation can be used to facilitate integration, using citizenship ceremonies in iconic locations to welcome new citizens as full members of their new communities.

To underpin these programmes of work, we would recommend that each authority produce its own integration strategy, setting out the mayor's vision, aims and how they will seek to put them into practice. In light of what other city-regions have undertaken, it is likely that the new mayors would want to consult publicly, involving residents in a conversation about integration and how it could be achieved.

Promoting integration need not require large amounts of public funding. Some activities can be funded from existing budgets and there may also be philanthropic partners who would support particular aspects of an integration strategy, as has happened in London.

The new mayors will then need to set out a clear, public-facing narrative about integration, articulating the importance of finding common ground between all citizens. A successful integration strategy offers something for everybody in the region - a stronger and more confident society which we all can share.

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## 4. Regional profiles

### i) Cambridgeshire & Peterborough

In many ways, the Cambridgeshire & Peterborough Combined Authority represents a microcosm of Brexit Britain. Cambridge is a seat of European learning with thriving IT and bio-science sectors; while in Peterborough over a third of adults (36.3%) do not have GCSE level qualifications. The surrounding towns of the Fens have seen large-scale migration from the EU, with many of the new arrivals working in farming and food processing. This rapid population change has led to pressure on housing and has met with public concern and opposition, reflected in voting patterns in the EU referendum. Perhaps the biggest integration challenge facing the mayor is to bridge stark social, cultural and economic divides between multi-cultural, prosperous and liberal Cambridge and the Fens to the north.

#### Key facts

- The Cambridgeshire & Peterborough Combined Authority covers Cambridgeshire, a shire county sitting over five district councils (Cambridge, East Cambridgeshire, Fenland, Huntingdonshire and South Cambridgeshire) and the city of Peterborough, a unitary local authority. To date, this is the only Combined Authority that includes rural areas and a district-shire county structure.
- 2015 Population = 841,000.
- Percentage of population born overseas: Cambridge 27.3%, East Cambridgeshire 9.2%, Fenland 11%, Huntingdonshire 8.1%, South Cambridgeshire 11.1% and Peterborough 20.4%.
- Percentage of working age adults who are unemployed = 3.4% (GB = 4.9%).
- Brexit polarisation (percentage point difference between the largest and smallest Leave vote within the authority's electoral districts) = 45.2 (Fenland and Cambridge).
- James Palmer (Conservative) is favourite to win the mayoral election in an area where six of the seven parliamentary seats are held by the Conservatives. Other candidates include Paul Bullen (UKIP), Rod Cantrill (Liberal Democrat), Peter Dawe (Independent) and Julie Howell (Labour).

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## Integration challenges in Cambridgeshire & Peterborough

The new combined authority includes two cities, surrounded by countryside that can be divided into two distinct geographical entities. The southern part of the combined authority and the immediate environs of Cambridge comprise a landscape typical of the English countryside. The northern and eastern parts of the new authority, bordering Peterborough, are part of the low-lying Fens. This part of England is a major producer of cereals and vegetables, which in turn support a food processing sector. Scattered across the Fens on higher ground are its towns, including Chatteris, Ely, March, Whittlesey and Wisbech, now home to many EU migrants. The northern rural towns and villages of Cambridgeshire have an ageing population and significant out-migration of better-qualified young adults. Studies have suggested that loneliness and social isolation are a problem in this area.

Designated as a new town in 1967, Peterborough's population doubled between 1970 and 1990 through in-migration from the rest of the UK. The city is also now home to a large community of Pakistani origin, with about 4.5% of the population identifying as Pakistani in the 2011 census. Small numbers of asylum-seekers arrived in the 1990s, and from 2000 onwards Peterborough saw increased migration from the EU, firstly from Portugal and then from eastern Europe. Some research has suggested that many people living in Peterborough do not have a strong sense of local belonging as a consequence of its extensive in-migration. Attempts have been made to foster an inclusive local identity through initiatives such as the Peterborough curriculum.<sup>4</sup>

The farms and food processing factories of the Fens have always relied on incomers, from the Irish and Poles in the 1950s to workers escaping the depression in the Midlands and North in the 1980s. But the increased consumption of processed food, alongside advances in plant genetics, the lengthening of the growing season under plastic and 'just-in-time' production for supermarkets have changed the nature of work in the Fens. Farms and factories now need a larger and more flexible workforce, with this demand for labour being largely met by EU migrants. Most of these new jobs involve insecure terms of employment, either through agencies or on zero hours contracts. Pay is also low in the farming and food production and distribution sectors and this is reflected in the gross hourly median wage in Fenland (£10.58) and Peterborough (£10.44), among the lowest in southern England.

International migration into the Fens' towns and to Peterborough has been rapid, with the overseas-born population in Fenland district increasing by 177% between 2001 and 2011. Wisbech has probably seen the greatest change, with about a third of its population now comprising recent migrants from the EU. Of the 11,500 dwellings in Wisbech, some 1,100 are homes of multiple occupancy (HMOs) - essentially private-rental accommodation for migrant workers. With many migrants wanting to save money, and much food and farming work poorly-paid, the supply of affordable,

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decent housing has not met demand. Much of this accommodation is low-quality and overcrowded, and the majority of concerns about immigration relate to everyday issues such as parking and neighbourhood tidiness. While businesses have benefitted from migration, few have considered where to house their staff. The new mayor should use his housing and planning powers to involve employers in organising accommodation for their workers.

## English language

Language barriers have compounded existing tensions, making it more difficult for the longer settled residents of the area to converse with their new neighbours. Limited social contact between them makes it more likely that misunderstandings will arise. While further education colleges and local authorities organise English languages classes, those working long hours often find them expensive and difficult to attend. As the new mayor has control over the adult skills budget, there is an opportunity to improve English language provision and increase the amount of workplace-based and informal language learning opportunities.

## Cambridge

Cambridge also has significant amounts of poor quality private rental accommodation, some of it used to house migrant workers from the EU. More than a quarter of its residents were born overseas, many of them working at the university, or in the world-leading high-tech and bio-science sectors. There are also over 8,000 international students living in the city, prompting a different set of integration challenges. Working with the higher education sector, the new mayor needs to consider how international students are integrated into the communities where they live. There has been little consideration in the UK about how the integration of short-term migrants, who include many international students, might be encouraged. The mayor needs to make sure that there is sufficient student housing that is dispersed across the whole city, so that neighbourhoods are not left deserted over university vacations. A number of universities have successfully delivered volunteering schemes that link international students with local communities.

## Support for a deputy mayor for integration

There are many challenges facing a deputy mayor for integration, as well as opportunities to make a big difference to community relations. But taking this agenda forward will not be uncontested. There may be opposition to the appointment of a deputy mayor for integration, particularly in Peterborough, if it is seen as privileging migrants and minorities. Here, public pressure forced the council to cut funding to New Link, a council project to support migrant workers. It was argued that at a time of austerity – the project came to an end in 2011 – funds should not be spent

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on migrants when other services were being cut.<sup>5</sup> A task for the new authority and any deputy mayor is to argue that integration is about everyone, and to involve all residents in developing a vision of a shared society, one that bridges the region's social, cultural and economic divides.

To do this, the new mayor needs to involve the public in developing a shared vision for the area, then work towards a society where prosperity, job security and a sense of belonging are shared by all. A good start on this journey would be to address the educational divides in the authority by improving educational outcomes in the Fens, providing better vocational training and building a university in Peterborough that serves the local community. Thinking about how the area welcomes new arrivals is also important, whether they have moved to the area from elsewhere in the UK or have come from overseas to study or to work.

## Priorities for the new mayor

- Appoint a deputy mayor for integration, with responsibility for leading an Office for Citizenship and Integration, to take forward a locally-focused integration agenda.
- Address the educational divides in the authority and make sure that better qualified young people remain in the Fens and Peterborough.
- Ensure that those who live and work in the combined authority have affordable and decent housing.
- Involve employers in programmes to promote integration, focusing on improving the accommodation of migrant workers and the delivery of workplace-based English language support.
- Build on the experiences of the Peterborough curriculum initiative to foster shared pride in an inclusive local identity, working through local schools.
- Champion strategies to integrate short-term migrants such as seasonal workers and international students.

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## ii) Greater Manchester

The ten boroughs of Greater Manchester are dominated economically by the thriving city of Manchester, while the outlying towns of Rochdale and Wigan tell their own distinct stories of economic inequalities. The region's former mill towns have been viewed as case studies for the failings of integration in England, with communities segregated by faith, ethnicity and geography and a lack of spoken English among some groups exacerbating existing economic inequalities. Addressing long-simmering frustrations over immigration and integration of different ethnic and faith communities in these 'integration hot-spots' will be a key challenge facing the new mayor. But bridging broader economic and social divides, between prosperous Manchester and its outlying boroughs, and between predominantly-white areas and those that are very diverse, will also be key to shaping an integration strategy that is seen to benefit everyone in the new city-region.

### Key facts

- The Greater Manchester Combined Authority spans the 10 local authorities of Bolton, Bury, Manchester, Oldham, Rochdale, Salford, Tameside, Trafford and Wigan. This was the first combined authority to reach a deal with the Government and it has more powers than most of the other authorities, including control over a £6 million health and social care budget.
- 2015 Population = 2,756,000
- Percentage of population born overseas: Overall 13.7% of the population of the combined authority was born overseas, close to the UK average of 13.3%. However, the migrant (and minority ethnic) population is distributed unevenly across the ten local authorities: 26.5% of the population of Manchester was born abroad, while in Wigan the proportion is a mere 5.6%.
- Percentage of working age adults who are unemployed = 6.2% (GB = 4.9%)<sup>6</sup>
- Brexit polarisation (percentage point difference between the largest and smallest Leave vote within the authority's electoral districts) = 24.3 (Wigan and Manchester).
- Andy Burnham (Labour) is favourite to win the election, although turnout is expected to be low. Other candidates include Sean Anstee (Conservative), Jane Brophy (Liberal Democrat) Marcus Farmer (Independent), Stephen Morris (English Democrat), Shneur Odze (UKIP) and Will Patterson (Green).

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## Integration challenges in Greater Manchester

One of the largest metropolitan areas in the country, Greater Manchester spans nearly 500 square miles. Once at the forefront of the textile industry during the Industrial Revolution, today it is the economic centre of the North West and the largest sub-regional economy outside of London and the South East. The majority of this economic activity is focused on the city of Manchester, which is today a centre of the arts, media, higher education and commerce. Across the rest of Greater Manchester's ten boroughs, however, economies vary with Oldham considered the poorest and Trafford the most affluent.<sup>7</sup>

Greater Manchester is England's third most populous county after London and the West Midlands. Population is unevenly distributed between the ten boroughs, with Manchester having a population five times that of Bury.

Similarly the ethnic composition also varies across boroughs and indeed wards. Pakistanis comprise the largest minority ethnic group followed by Africans, Chinese, Indians and Caribbean.<sup>8</sup> These groups have traditionally occupied distinct wards across the Greater Manchester region. Manchester itself has seen significant growth in its ethnic minority population, from approximately 80,000 in 2001 to approximately 170,000 in 2011.<sup>9</sup> With growing affluence, local Pakistanis are demonstrating a trend of moving out of the inner city areas of Longsight and Cheetham with which they have traditionally been associated, into the more suburban areas of Cheadle, Chorlton and Heaton Mersey. Newer migrants from Afghanistan, Iran and Poland are generally filling the spaces left behind by Pakistanis.

Oldham is typical of the ex-mill towns of Greater Manchester. Once an industrial centre and a hub for employment, it attracted migrant workers from across the UK as well as from the Caribbean and the Indian subcontinent. Reports since the 2001 race riots, which began in Oldham, maintain that cultural divisions along ethnic backgrounds persist within the town, with poor cross-community integration and cohesion among Asian and white citizens.<sup>10</sup> The 2011 Census details Pakistani and Bangladeshi populations of 10.1% and 7.3% respectively.

Oldham has lower rates of employment (58.3%) and full-time employment (36.6%) than England as a whole (62.1% and 38.6% respectively). Noteworthy too is the low level of graduate residents (18.6%) compared to the national average of 27.4%. Nearly 30% of residents have no qualifications at all, though this group is shrinking. People in Oldham are also less healthy than the national average: the health of 6.9% of Oldham residents was reported as 'bad' or 'very bad' compared with 5.4% across England.<sup>11</sup> The town is considered predominantly working-class, with middle-class families choosing to occupy outlying areas.

Wigan, Greater Manchester's most westerly borough, is reportedly the least ethnically diverse borough in the North West<sup>12</sup>, with just 1.1% of births recorded as Asian and 0.8% which

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stated their ethnicity as black, between 2005 and 2008. The 2011 census recorded 60% of households with at least one dimension of deprivation and 21.5% of the population with disabilities that limit day-to-day activities.<sup>13</sup> Even across the same borough life expectancy varies, with a 10-year difference between the most and least deprived areas. 20% of children are considered to be living in poverty, a figure replicated when considering levels of obesity amongst children.<sup>14</sup>

## English Language

Across Manchester, the proportion of people who express a non-British identity is strongly correlated with the proportion of people only recently arrived in the UK. Interestingly, however, the proportion of the population who cannot speak English well does not correlate with non-British national identity - and so is not necessarily a feature of recent immigration. Wards where there is the greatest need for English language provision are Cheetham, where 8% of people cannot speak English well, and Longsight, where the figure is 10%. Both areas are traditionally associated with the Pakistani community. On average, 9% of people in Manchester can't speak English well, compared to the national average of 2%.<sup>15</sup>

In Oldham 0.7% cannot speak English at all, among the highest figures across Greater Manchester. This compares with just 0.1% in Wigan and Stockport and 0.2% in Bury and Trafford. The city of Manchester itself is close behind at 0.6%.<sup>16</sup> In areas like Oldham especially, language barriers exacerbate tensions between communities and entrench individuals within specific communities, also leaving them vulnerable to mistreatment and exploitative practices in the workplace.

## Health

The Greater Manchester regional authority will control a £6 billion health and social care budget. This offers the mayor an opportunity to address some of the stark health inequalities within the region. Some 40% of all patients with chronic obstructive pulmonary disease live in just one area of Greater Manchester, in Gorton. Within just a few miles in Salford there is a 12-year gap in life expectancy between poorer and richer areas.<sup>17</sup> There are also significant inequalities between ethnic groups in relation to the adoption of healthy lifestyles, the uptake of screening and health outcomes. Those of Bangladeshi and Pakistani ethnicity are much more likely to have a limiting long-term illness by the time they reach 65. The new mayor has the opportunity to address some of these inequalities, and could pioneer work that other parts of the UK might adopt.

These challenges notwithstanding, the Greater Manchester area has a great many strengths on which the new mayor can capitalise. It boasts a strong local identity and sense of civic pride and a thriving cultural sector, with the Manchester International

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Festival taking cultural events and engagement into boroughs across the city-region. Its sporting teams have a long and prestigious history that continues today with two world-famous football teams and iconic sporting venues – which could represent ideal locations for citizenship ceremonies to welcome new arrivals and foster a sense of shared local identity. The region also has a vibrant civil society, with community organisations working hard to promote integration at a local level: when floods hit Rochdale in 2015, for instance, the local community stepped in, with local citizens including Syrian refugees helping to build flood defences.<sup>18</sup>

## Support for a deputy mayor for integration

There already exists significant support for a regional mayor, with nearly 60% of adults across Greater Manchester supporting a mayor with powers that exceed local council leaders. Particular interest has been shown in integrating health and social care systems and developing affordable housing. This support is likely to extend to a deputy mayor for integration. While the city of Manchester may be thriving economically, the wider area has specific challenges and needs that are distinct from its metropolitan centre. While the deputy mayor's focused engagement with areas that have been labelled as having failed on integration, such as Oldham and Rochdale, will be particularly welcome, he or she will also need to look at broader issues across the region and at the specific integration needs of every borough.

### Priorities for the new mayor

- Appoint a deputy mayor for integration, with responsibility for leading an Office for Citizenship and Integration, to take forward a locally-focused integration agenda.
- Bridge the divides between successful, metropolitan Manchester and the poorer, post-industrial boroughs such as Oldham and Wigan.
- Utilise the opportunity of new housing to encourage less spatial segregation between different ethnic and faith communities.
- Work with local Muslim initiatives seeking to develop positive education and integration reforms within their communities.
- Develop opportunities for contact and open discussion between communities with a history of tense relationships and support locally-rooted initiatives that seek common ground and address the concerns that are raised.
- Use the health and social care budget to address specific health inequalities across the region's boroughs.

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### iii) Liverpool City Region

Liverpool has a strong local identity and sense of civic pride, linked with its long history as a thriving trading port. That history is also one of migration, with successive waves of newcomers becoming part of the city and its neighbouring local authorities. Yet Liverpool remains less ethnically diverse than most other major English cities and the region has not experienced the rapid population growth of many other parts of the country, reflecting a story of post-industrial decline that has been seen across much of northern England.

Following regeneration and the end of a long period of population decline, the new mayor will need to build on Liverpool's strong identity and internationally-famous cultural and sporting assets to tell a 'turnaround' story that attracts more people to the region. They must also ensure that the benefits of growth are felt in the outlying boroughs well beyond the city centre and in more diverse inner-city areas like Toxteth. Ensuring that young people can gain the skills they need for work, and that employment chances are spread across all communities, remain important challenges for the new mayor.

#### Key facts

- The Liverpool City Region spans six local authorities: Halton, Knowsley, Liverpool, St Helens, Sefton and Wirral.
- 2015 Population = 1,525,000
- Percentage of population born overseas = 6.2%, the majority of whom live in Liverpool, where 11.1% of the population were born overseas.
- Percentage of working age adults who are unemployed = 5.4% (GB = 4.9%).
- Brexit polarisation (percentage point difference between the largest and smallest Leave vote within the authority's electoral districts) = 16.7 (St Helens and Liverpool)
- Steve Rotherham (Labour) is favourite to win the mayoral election based on opinion polls and votes in the 2015 election, where 17 of the 19 parliamentary seats were held by Labour. Other candidates include Tony Caldeira (Conservative), Carl Cashman (Liberal Democrat), Tom Crone (Green) and Tabitha Morton (Women's Equality Party).

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## Integration challenges in the Liverpool City Region

The docks and shipyards along the Mersey, as well as the area's traditional industries, provided most of the region's employment for much of the 20th century. There was and still remains a substantial glass and chemical industry in the area, and cars were made at Ellesmere Port and Halewood. But from the 1970s onwards, containerisation meant that the city's docks were obsolete, while jobs were also lost when large employers moved from the area. By the mid-1980s the unemployment rate in Liverpool was the highest in the UK, averaging at 17% of the working age population.

With jobs in short supply, Liverpool endured eight consecutive decades of depopulation from its 1931 peak - reflecting the region's post-industrial story, one that saw the city left behind and bypassed. This economic decline has since been arrested, with new jobs generated in tourism, IT and financial services. An increase in population in the 2011 census marked a welcome halt to that population decline, and the regeneration of the city centre and the docks have allayed fears that Liverpool could become a British Detroit.

Unemployment is now just above the national average, though training and re-skilling workers are still important issues. The benefits of economic growth also need to be spread across all communities: unemployment among black Caribbean and black African men in Liverpool is still much higher than the UK and Liverpool average.

The region remains unusual in this era of high migration nationally, in that one of its challenges still remains as much to attract people, investment, workers, students - and opportunities to stay, not leave - as much as to handle the pace of growing change confidently and fairly. Paradoxically for a city with a long history of migration, Liverpool today has comparatively low levels of ethnic diversity and immigration compared to other major cities, with the city-region being 94% British-born. Even the city itself, with 11% of its citizens foreign-born, is below national average for migration and diversity.

Yet this history of openness to newcomers, as a port city, as well as a strong labour movement and non-conformist spirit, has given Liverpool and its immediate environs some immunity to the populism that has gained traction in many post-industrial towns and cities. This was reflected in the EU referendum, where Liverpool's Leave vote was much lower than other comparable cities.

As well as Irish and Welsh immigration, there have been successive waves of migration from African, Caribbean and Chinese communities. The first mosque in the UK was in Liverpool, founded by William Abdullah Quilliam in 1887 and the city also has the UK's longest-established black African community, dating back at least as far as 1730 and centred around the Granby Triangle in Toxteth. This vibrant block of Victorian terraced streets tells

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an inspiring story about integration and community resilience.<sup>19</sup> The area was derelict by the 1990s, with many houses abandoned. It was later marked for demolition under a regeneration scheme, when local residents organised to stop the bulldozers, later forming a residents' association. This organisation, the Community Land Trust, has brought together local people from all ethnic groups to produce a plan for the area, attracting social investment that has now brought many of the area's abandoned properties back into use as homes. School-leavers have been trained in construction skills as part of this community-led regeneration.

The region has an established refugee population, including many Somalis, who have joined a longer-settled Somali community. Asylum-seekers continue to be dispersed to the area, the majority of whom are living in Liverpool, with smaller numbers in St Helen's. Population estimates suggest that at least 29,000 EU nationals have settled in the region, with the largest populations in Liverpool and Sefton. New arrivals may need advice on issues such as housing and employment rights, as well as immigration. The mayor might play a role in coordinating advice services across local authority boundaries, making sure that those who live outside the city of Liverpool also have access to the advice that they need.

There is considerable difference between the demographic profiles of the six local authorities in the new Liverpool City Region. Any integration strategy for the area needs to have the support of the councils and population right across the region, irrespective of where people live or their ethnic background. Public consultation about integration is one way in which this can be achieved, as well as through genuine partnership with the councils and institutions of the suburbs and towns that surround Liverpool.

The population of the outer boroughs is older than that of Liverpool, with proportionally more people over 50. Across the UK, social interactions and the spaces where we meet and mix are often segregated by age. Older people are also more likely to experience isolation and loneliness, which in turn may impact on their health. A number of local and regional authorities in the UK and overseas have worked to increase inter-generational integration: in some areas, younger people and older people have been brought together to talk about conflicts over the use of space by different age groups.<sup>20</sup> Volunteering also enables older people to stay active once they have retired and some initiatives to promote integration have specifically looked at ways to bring different generations together.

The new mayor will look to tap into Liverpool's strong sense of its history and civic pride to build an identity that feels equally owned by all citizens across the regional authority. They could breathe new life into the important process of gaining British citizenship, by looking at how it could be used to promote involvement in civic life, perhaps through voter registration. The Liverpool City region has no shortage of iconic locations to hold citizenship ceremonies, including its football grounds, stately homes and the historic buildings that line the old docks and

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Mersey waterfront. Such high profile ceremonies would send out a strong message of welcome, one that echoes Liverpool's long history of openness, and help cement an inclusive regional identity.

## Priorities for the new mayor

- Appoint a deputy mayor for integration, with responsibility for leading an Office for Citizenship and Integration, to take forward a locally-focused integration agenda.
- Ensure that all of the authority's residents have a stake in promoting integration, by undertaking public engagement and working in partnership with the councils and institutions of all six local authorities that make up the Liverpool City Region.
- Make sure that employment training initiatives reach all sectors of society, paying particular attention to ways to improve the employment outcomes of young black men in Liverpool.
- Map access to advice in Liverpool, making sure that new arrivals to the city have the advice and legal representation that they need in relation to immigration, housing and employment.
- Look at ways to build social links across generations, including through volunteering.
- Actively promote the acquisition of British citizenship and show its value both to new arrivals and the settled majority through high profile citizenship ceremonies.

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## iv) Tees Valley

The decline of major regionally-based industries has led the Tees Valley to become the most deprived of the six combined authorities. Helping ensure that those at risk of unemployment have the opportunity to up-skill or retrain will be a major priority for the new mayor, and these opportunities must be available to all sectors of the community. Lack of employment opportunities has meant that immigration to the area has been lower than the national average, but integration challenges remain: encouraging the integration of the many asylum-seekers and refugees in the area, and tackling incidences of hate crime, are also issues that the new mayor will need to address.

### Key facts

- The Tees Valley Combined authority spans five local authorities: Darlington, Hartlepool, Middlesbrough, Redcar & Cleveland and Stockton-on-Tees.
- 2015 Population = 668,000
- Percentage of population born overseas = 5.2%
- Percentage of working age adults who are unemployed = 7.4% (GB = 4.9%)
- Brexit polarisation (percentage point difference between the largest and smallest Leave vote within the authority's electoral districts) = 13.4 (Hartlepool and Darlington).
- Sue Jeffrey (Labour) is favourite to win the mayoral election in an area where seven of the eight parliamentary seats are held by Labour. Other candidates include Ben Houchen (Conservative), Chris Foote Wood (Liberal Democrat), John Tait (The North East party) and John Tennant (UKIP).

## Integration challenges in the Tees Valley

Over the last 40 years the Tees Valley has seen major decline, as jobs have been lost in the industries that once employed thousands of workers. Its mines and many of its shipyards and factories have closed. The region's large chemical industry is a shadow of its former self, following the splitting-up and closure of ICI, with knock-on effects in other parts of the local economy.

Levels of unemployment and economic inactivity are higher than the national average. In Middlesbrough nearly half (49%) and in Hartlepool 32% of Lower-layer Super-Output Areas (LSOAs, a sub-division of an electoral ward comprising about 1,500 people) are among the most deprived 10% of LSOAs in England. A particular problem facing the Tees Valley is under-

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employment, where people want to work more hours than they are offered. It has been suggested that some employers offer part-time work as a strategy to avoid paying employers' National Insurance contributions.

Accelerating the retraining of those who have lost their jobs is a major task for the new mayor. It is for this reason that there is strong local support for the post and the work of the combined authority. However, training opportunities need to be accessible to all sections of society, including all ethnic groups, young people entering the labour market for the first time and older people who need new skills to help them find work. Any work on integration undertaken in the Tees Valley needs to focus on work and skills.

Its recent economic decline has meant that the Tees Valley has seen very low levels of recent population growth through internal and international migration. Only 1 in 20 people (5.2%) in the region were born overseas, according to the most recent population estimates. Of the five local authorities in the Tees Valley, Middlesbrough has the largest overseas-born population - 9.4% of people - although this is still below the national average of 13.3%.

Some of the ethnic diversity of the area is an outcome of the area's maritime heritage and post-1950 migration to work in the region's traditional industries, with migrants arriving from Ireland, south Asia and Aden (there is a small but long-established Yemeni community in Middlesbrough). In recent years, the area has also seen the arrival of about 11,000 EU migrants, although weaker job growth in the region has meant that the area has not attracted high levels of migration from the EU.

The most recent asylum statistics show that 1,700 asylum-seekers were being supported and housed in the area through Home Office contracts, with Middlesbrough and Stockton-on-Tees housing the largest numbers. Estimates show that one in every 200 people in Middlesbrough is an asylum-seeker, the highest per-head population in the UK. Low-cost rental accommodation in the area has made it attractive to G4S, the company delivering the Home Office contract to house asylum-seekers in the area.

The housing of asylum-seekers in the Tees Valley area came to national media attention when G4S admitted to the Home Affairs Committee that the front doors of asylum accommodation had all been painted red by local sub-contractors, making residents vulnerable to racist attacks.<sup>21</sup> Local authorities have no say in the dispersal of asylum-seekers and do not receive any information about new arrivals. Tensions have risen when some local politicians accused the Government of 'dumping' asylum-seekers in the area. Improving the reception of asylum-seekers and coordination with the Home Office and G4S is a task for the new mayor. Unlike refugees brought to the UK through the Syrian Vulnerable Person's Resettlement Programme, there is no funding for council or not-for-profit integration support for dispersed asylum-seekers. The new mayor needs to consider the integration of this group, looking at issues such as orientation and advice, English language teaching and job training, as well as the social and cultural aspects of integration.

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Once settled, asylum-seekers and new migrants from the EU and beyond report very different types of experience in this part of the North East. Many new arrivals talk of the warm welcome they have received from their new neighbours and school friends. Refugees who have found work have often decided to remain in the area after their asylum case has been processed. But too many migrants and refugees report racist attacks, with police statistics showing a rise in reported hate crime after the EU referendum. The new mayor needs to work with the police and community groups to take action against hate crime, to prosecute perpetrators, support victims and shift attitudes among the peer groups of perpetrators.

While the Tees Valley has not experienced the levels of migration seen in other parts of the UK, migration is a salient issue, reflected in the region's high Leave vote in the EU referendum. At the same time there have been few spaces and opportunities for local people to talk about migration and to discuss their concerns about settlement of asylum-seekers. Holding a region-wide conversation about migration would be a chance to talk about this issue and find common ground.

## Priorities for the new mayor

- Appoint a deputy mayor for integration, with responsibility for leading an Office for Citizenship and Integration, to take forward a locally-focused integration agenda.
- Make sure that all sections of society that need it have the opportunity to retrain or up-skill.
- Hold a structured public consultation – a local conversation – about immigration and integration in the Tees Valley.
- Work with the Home Office and G4S to make sure there is a better-coordinated and funded reception system for asylum-seekers who are dispersed to the area.
- Develop an integration strategy for asylum-seekers and refugees.
- Make sure that all migrants know how and where to report hate crime, and work to reduce incidences of hate crime against people in the region.

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## v) West Midlands

How people from different backgrounds live well together is a crucial issue for the West Midlands, a regional authority marked by diversity on many levels. It encompasses a population made up of many different ethnic and faith groups; significantly differing income levels between neighbouring areas; and geographies ranging from inner cities to rural green belt. Alongside economic regeneration, social integration must be a key theme for the new mayoral administration, so that growth and opportunities are more widely shared in a region of marked educational and income inequalities, particularly among ethnic minorities. Pockets of segregation in inner city areas, where children may lack opportunities to mix with others from different ethnic and faith backgrounds, will need to be addressed.

### Key facts

- The West Midlands Combined Authority covers seven metropolitan local authorities: Birmingham, Coventry, Dudley, Sandwell, Solihull, Walsall and Wolverhampton.
- 2015 Population = 2,844,000
- Percentage of population born overseas = 17.8%
- Percentage of working age adults who are unemployed = 7.7% (GB = 4.9%)
- Brexit polarisation (percentage point difference between the largest and smallest Leave vote within the authority's electoral districts) = 17.5 (Walsall and Birmingham).
- Recent polling suggests the West Midlands mayoral election will be a close race. Based on 2015 election voting patterns, which saw 21 of the 28 seats going to Labour, Sion Simon (Labour) should win the election. However, Andy Street (Conservative) has fought a high profile campaign and is now the bookmakers' favourite. Other candidates include James Burn (Green), Pete Durnell (UKIP), Muhammad Nadeem (Independent) and Beverley Nielsen (Liberal Democrat).

## Integration challenges in the West Midlands

The West Midlands spans three cities. It is one of the most diverse regional authorities in Europe, with its residents coming from a range of ethnic, national and faith groups. While the white population of the West Midlands is getting older and more secular, its minority ethnic population is younger and more likely to identify as religious. There are also significant income divides in the authority, where some of the wealthiest areas in the UK are within

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a few miles of some of the most deprived parts of the country. Any incoming mayor has a large integration agenda and will need to prioritise initial areas of work.

The West Midlands was at the heart of Britain's industrial revolution and by 1900 had emerged as a global centre for iron and steel, engineering and motor and cycle manufacturing. Over the last 50 years, jobs in these traditional industries have been lost as factories have relocated abroad and the Black Country mines have closed. Unemployment is above the national average and the West Midlands has seen a hollowing-out of the labour market, with skilled factory jobs being lost and only replaced by low-skilled work in the service sector. Nevertheless, 11% of the working population is still employed in the manufacturing industry, more than the UK average. As well as large employers, there are many thriving small businesses. Walsall still has a leather industry and half of the UK's jewellery is produced by 300 small and medium-sized enterprises (SMEs) working in Birmingham's jewellery quarter.

The diversity of the West Midlands in its geography and people is an integration challenge in itself. The authority includes inner cities as well as suburbs and greenbelt. There are stark economic divides, such as those between Solihull and Sandwell. Central and east Birmingham have large south Asian and Caribbean populations and in the Handsworth area just 12% of the population is white British. In contrast, Longbridge and Kings Norton in the south and Sutton Coldfield in the north are largely white. The new mayor's vision for integration needs to be owned just as much by those who live in the suburbs as it is by those who live in the inner cities.

While the majority of the West Midlands' population is of white British ethnicity, the authority has the largest Pakistani Muslim community in the UK, who make up 14% of the population of Birmingham. There is also a significant Bangladeshi community in the area. Compared to other minority faith groups, south Asian Muslims experience higher levels of residential and labour market segregation, in all parts of the authority. In Birmingham, for example, south Asian Muslims are concentrated in the wards of the centre and west of the city. Muslim children living there or in central Wolverhampton are more likely to grow up without meeting or understanding people from different backgrounds. While parental choice of schools is integral to England's school admissions system, the new mayor should work with schools and local authorities to consider how to bring different schools and pupils together in joint learning activities across the authority.

Activities to promote social contact should not just be confined to children. Offices for Integration in many US cities have promoted volunteering as a means of bringing diverse groups of people together. There are over 11,000 voluntary and community organisations in the West Midlands, so there is an infrastructure to support volunteering. There are already projects that aim to bring together communities that can be replicated more widely across the West Midlands, such as community gardening, volunteer-led

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sports clubs or helping refugees to learn English. The mayor could play a major role in catalysing volunteering, with the authority providing the support needed for emerging charities and social enterprises.

The new mayor's integration agenda also needs to address stark educational and income inequalities. Some 16.3% of the working age population of the West Midlands have no formal qualifications, compared with 8.6% across Great Britain. The proportion of those who hold higher level qualifications in the West Midlands is, at 28.3%, lower than the 37% GB average. All ethnic groups have higher levels of unemployment than their peers elsewhere in the UK, but those of Black Caribbean, Pakistani and Bangladeshi ethnicity are more likely to be unemployed than their white contemporaries. Even when in work, people from these communities are more likely to have low paid jobs in ethnically segregated workplaces.

With control of the adult skills budget there is much that the new mayor can do to improve the labour market outcomes of all ethnic groups in the West Midlands – improving basic literacy and IT skills in deprived areas, for example. It is also essential that employment training and up-skilling reaches women as well as men. In Birmingham 70% of working age women of Bangladeshi and Pakistani ethnicity are economically inactive.<sup>22</sup> Too many Muslim women in the West Midlands do not have the required skills to access the job market but also face additional cultural barriers from families and religious leaders who oppose their employment.

The new mayor will face some difficult and sensitive integration issues. These may include diverse and strongly-held opinions about the setting up of new faith-based free schools; regressive attitudes to gender equality and sexuality; hate crime and religious extremism. It is essential that these issues are discussed openly and resolved constructively. It is also important that integration does not become a political football, as it did at the time of the so-called Trojan Horse affair of 2014, where a letter was leaked to the press alleging that Salafist extremists on school governing boards planned to take over a number of schools in the city. The facts of the case were contested, with different accounts articulated by the parties involved. In the heated coverage of the events, the key issue was barely discussed – that of acceptable standards of behaviour for school governors. Looking back, the events divided the city, damaged the image of Birmingham and polarised the debate about integration. The new mayor needs to learn from the events of 2014 and tackle difficult problems before they escalate. He also needs to engage all residents in an organised conversation about integration and belonging, and work to make integration an issue for all communities across the region.

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## Support for a deputy mayor for integration

Candidates Andy Street (Conservative) and Sion Simon (Labour) have indicated their support for action on integration at city-region level, pledging at a recent Citizens UK event their support for a cabinet member for cohesion.<sup>23</sup> Giving this appointment the status of deputy mayor would signal the importance that the new mayor will give to integration.

### Priorities for the new mayor

- Appoint a deputy mayor for integration, with responsibility for leading an Office for Citizenship and Integration, to take forward a locally-focused integration agenda.
- Through an organised conversation, consult residents about their views on integration and how it might be achieved in the authority.
- Increase rates of employment and improve the career progression of all ethnic groups in the authority.
- Encourage projects that bring children and young people of different backgrounds together through activities and learning opportunities.
- Make sure that the Adult Skills Budget is used to increase the employment of south Asian Muslim women.
- Support charities and social enterprises to develop volunteering opportunities that bring diverse communities together.

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## vi) West of England

While the West of England is the most outwardly prosperous of the six new combined authorities, this economic success has bypassed some communities. Some ethnic minorities are more likely to suffer from poverty and from educational underachievement, which the new mayor will have powers to address. House prices are high and better supply of affordable housing is needed, particularly given the growth in population that is projected for the area. It is important that these new housing developments have sufficient public space to support social mixing, an important factor for better integration.

### Key facts

- The West of England Combined Authority spans three local authorities: Bath & North East Somerset, Bristol and South Gloucestershire.
- 2015 Population = 909,000
- Percentage of population born overseas = 11.1%.
- Percentage of working age adults who are unemployed = 2.4%.<sup>24</sup>
- Brexit polarisation (percentage point difference between the largest and smallest Leave vote within the authority's electoral districts) = 14.4 (South Gloucestershire and Bristol).
- Based on the results of the 2015 election, Tim Bowles (Conservative) looks the strongest candidate. However, there was strong support for the Remain vote in both Bath and Bristol in the EU referendum, and this could swing the mayoral election towards Stephen Williams, the former MP for Bristol West who is standing as the Liberal Democrat candidate.

## Integration challenges in the West of England

The West of England is outwardly the most prosperous of the six combined authorities. Unemployment is far lower than the national average and the area has held on to much of its industrial base, with thriving aerospace and high tech sectors. Tourism also provides many jobs in Bath and there are four universities in the new authority, educating 75,000 students<sup>25</sup> and providing many local jobs.

Alongside that prosperity, however, there are also pockets of severe deprivation in Bristol. Some 28% of children in the city grow up in poverty, according to the government's measures. Poor children in Bristol have worse educational outcomes than in many other parts of the UK. For example, only 13 per cent of

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schoolchildren in Bristol who receive free school meals go on to higher education, a much lower rate than in other cities such as London (42%) and Birmingham (30%).<sup>26</sup>

Bristol has long-established black Caribbean and Somali populations. While poverty affects all ethnic groups, those of black Caribbean and Somali ethnicity are much more likely to experience long-term unemployment. There is also significant educational under-achievement among these two groups, with just a third (33%) of black Caribbean students getting five or more good GCSEs (including maths and English) between 2012 and 2015, compared with 55% of white British students.<sup>27</sup> This situation contrasts with other parts of the UK, where in some areas there have been successful initiatives to increase educational achievement among under-achieving ethnic groups such as Somalis. In the West of England, the new mayor has control over the post-16 further education system, as well as the Apprenticeship Grant for Employers and the Adult Skills Budget. These powers will enable the new mayor to tackle persistent poverty and unemployment in an otherwise prosperous authority.

Some 5% of the population of South Gloucestershire and 10% in Bath and North East Somerset belong to a minority ethnic group, below the average across England. In contrast, 16% of the population of Bristol is from a minority ethnic group, heavily concentrated in the centre of the city, in the Easton and St Pauls areas. The two largest country-of-birth groups in Bristol are from Poland and Somalia, with Poles also being a significant group in the two other local authorities.

New arrivals from eastern Europe are a mobile population within the UK, moving within and between towns and cities more frequently than many other sectors of the population. As most new EU migrants live in private rental accommodation, many are already living in areas of high population turnover. A major challenge in many parts of the UK is how integration might be promoted in areas experiencing 'population churn'. However temporary a person's stay in Bath or Bristol might be, there are ways that they can be made to feel welcome and connected to the communities where they live. Workplaces, schools and universities need to play a role in linking new arrivals with the wider community. The new mayor might want to consider a 'welcome to the West of England' pack or mobile app as a way of increasing knowledge about the area and a sense of belonging.

Projections suggest there will be significant population growth in the West of England, as a consequence of the authority's younger age profile, in-migration from elsewhere in the UK and international migration. If recent trends continue, the total population of Bristol is projected to increase by over 100,000 to reach 545,000 by 2040. Bath and South Gloucestershire will also see substantial population growth over the next 20 years. The area will therefore require more housing - and the built environment can have a significant impact on social integration.

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Spaces such as playgrounds, parks, leisure centres and retail streets are spaces where different sections of society meet and mix. All too often, however, such 'soft' infrastructure is left out of new housing developments. Urban planners and architects are usually left out of debates about social integration. The new mayor should use his planning powers to make sure that new housing developments have an attractive and well-designed infrastructure that supports social mixing.

## Priorities for the new mayor

- Appoint a deputy mayor for integration, with responsibility for leading an Office for Citizenship and Integration, to take forward a locally-focused integration agenda.
- Make sure that the economic success of the region is shared across all communities.
- Build more affordable housing and use planning powers to make sure that new developments support social mixing.
- Learn from post-16 education initiatives elsewhere in the UK that have been successful in improving the education and employment outcomes of black Caribbean and Somali young people.
- Work with universities to link students with the wider community.
- Look at ways that integration might be increased in areas with high 'population churn' and among short-term migrants.

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## 5. Conclusion: Beyond city regions – the General Election challenge

Integration matters because it's about how we can all live well together. It happens, mostly, in the towns and cities where we live. So the challenges of integration are shaped by those places: they may look very different in Greater Manchester than in the West of England or in Cambridgeshire & Peterborough. That is why this paper suggests that the election of new mayors for city-regions could be an opportunity to drive forward locally-focused integration agendas, overseen by new deputy mayors, that are tailored to meet the needs of different regions and communities across England.

A localised approach to integration will only get us so far, however, while there remains a vacuum at the top of government. England and the whole of the UK needs a proper integration strategy and it doesn't yet have one. This issue matters to voters: the need for better integration is raised by people in every focus group and meeting that British Future has held around the country, whether we've been talking to them about refugees and asylum or about broader immigration concerns as part of the National Conversation on Immigration.<sup>28</sup>

So in this General Election, we would expect the main political parties to set out, in their manifestos, what they would do to make integration work in Britain – including how they will respond to the challenges detailed in Dame Louise Casey's report.

### A shared language

That should start with ensuring that everyone in the UK either speaks or is learning English. "Promoting English language is the single most important thing that we can do", Dame Casey writes, calling for sufficient funding to be available and echoing the consensus that a common language is an essential passport to full economic, social and democratic participation in our society. Yet even with new government resources recently announced, significant gaps in provision remain for those who want to learn English. Central government policy on ESOL has largely been absent: in England, regulations about ESOL provision for adults change almost every year, with new schemes set up then later abolished.

Promoting English language learning should not just be left to the Government. Migrants must take responsibility to learn and be motivated to do so, and there is a role for informal, community-based support. Employers are the chief beneficiaries when migrants come to fill low-skilled and low-paid jobs, and could take more of a share of responsibility for ensuring that newcomers can become

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part of the communities where they live. That could mean making language classes available during working hours, for those whose shift patterns make attending adult education classes particularly difficult. It could also mean greater employer involvement in dealing with pressures on housing when large numbers of new arrivals come to a town.

## Promoting contact

Within those towns and cities we also need to ensure that people can meet, mix and get to know each other better. That has to start in schools. No child should grow up without getting the chance to meet children from different ethnic, faith and class backgrounds to their own. If the promotion of more faith schools makes that more difficult, but still remains popular because parents want more choice, then government and schools must work even harder to ensure they provide opportunities for children to mix outside their own group.

## Equality of opportunity

Once they leave school, people from minority backgrounds must have access to the same opportunities as everyone else. That is not the case right now. Ethnic minority Britons are now more likely to be university graduates than their white British peers, but less likely to get an interview when they apply for a job. That is not only patently unfair; it undermines efforts to ensure that all citizens feel they have an equal stake and are equally valued across our society. White working-class British boys, who are falling behind educationally and are less likely to go to university in the first place, may feel similarly excluded.

So we need national action from the top to tackle the things that divide us. But we must also do more to celebrate the things we have in common. That can be particularly effective at a local level, fostering a shared pride in a local identity through a focus on the area's iconic places, history and heroes. But it can work nationally too: through the way we come together to cheer our sports teams or remember our history.

## Shared history

Britain's traditions of Remembrance have particular potential to do this. Commemorating the armies that fought for Britain a century ago – and realising that they resemble, demographically, the Britain of 2016 rather more than that of 1916 in their multi-faith and multi-ethnic composition, with over a million Indian soldiers including more than 400,000 Muslims – can be a powerful way to discover that we sometimes have more shared history than we realise.

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Celebrating the things that are shared by all of us is so important because for integration to work, it must be an ‘all of us’ issue - not just something for migrants or ethnic minorities. The divisions in our society are not, in any event, exclusively along the lines of faith or ethnicity: the EU referendum surprised many in its exposure of divides based on class, age, geography and educational achievement. The white, Remain-voting Cambridge professor may feel he has much more in common with the Muslim researcher in the lab next door than the Leave-voting agricultural worker in the town ten miles down the road.

Integration matters to all of us and must involve all of us. The new regional mayors will need to pay attention to the particular divides that affect their own regions to ensure their integration strategies feel relevant to all the citizens that they represent. And national politicians should do the same – making integration an ‘all of us’ issue and setting out how their party would work to bring us together, as they seek the support of voters across Britain this June.

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## 6. Notes

1. See discussion in Rutter, J. (2015) *Moving up and getting on: migration, integration and social cohesion in the UK*, Bristol: Policy Press. Some studies have taken a *rights-based* approach, where integration is seen as the possession of a set of rights. Others see integration as the process of achieving a set of *outcomes* or as a *process of participation*. A further approach to integration views it as a social contract between minority groups and wider society. Academic literature sometimes also splits between those who see integration mostly in structural or economic terms and those that approach integration from a social or acculturative perspective.
2. <http://www.centreforcities.org/publication/everything-need-know-metro-mayors/>
3. Annual Population Survey (APS) Oct 2015-Sept 2016
4. James, D. (2012) *The RSA Area Based Curriculum in Peter: an independent evaluation*, London: Royal Society of Arts.
5. See Rutter, J. (2015) *Moving up and getting on: migration, integration and social cohesion in the UK*, Bristol: Policy Press.
6. APS, Oct 2015-Sept 2016.
7. <http://www.manchestereveningnews.co.uk/news/greater-manchester-news/greater-manchester-men-survey-results-12756713>
8. ESRC Centre on Dynamics of Ethnicity (CoDE) (Oct 2013), *Local Dynamics Of Diversity: Evidence From The 2011 Census: Geographies Of Diversity In Manchester*
9. Ibid.
10. *URBED (April 2004), Oldham Beyond: A Vision for the Borough of Oldham*
11. Corporate Research and Intelligence Team, Oldham Council (December 2012) 2011 Census: Key Statistics for Oldham.
12. <http://www.wigantoday.net/news/town-has-the-least-ethnic-people-in-nw-1-3776394>
13. NHS Wigan Borough Clinical Commissioning Group (2016), Population Statistics for Wigan Borough Census 2011 and Other Information .
14. Public Health England (June 2015), Wigan Health Profile 2015
15. <http://visual.ons.gov.uk/language-census-2011/>
16. Ibid.
17. Oglesby Charitable Trust (2013) *Tackling inequalities in health outcomes in Greater Manchester*, Altrincham: Oglesby Charitable Trust.

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18. [https://www.buzzfeed.com/rossalynwarren/meet-the-syrian-refugee-who-is-leading-the-help-for-flood-vi?utm\\_term=.kho727Z2Xo](https://www.buzzfeed.com/rossalynwarren/meet-the-syrian-refugee-who-is-leading-the-help-for-flood-vi?utm_term=.kho727Z2Xo)
  19. <https://www.theguardian.com/artanddesign/2014/nov/27/liverpool-locals-took-control-long-neglected-streets>
  20. <http://moderngov.southwark.gov.uk/documents/s63783/Appendix%20Age%20Friendly%20Borough%20Community%20conversation%20workshop.pdf>
  21. <https://www.theguardian.com/business/2016/jan/26/g4s-jomast-bosses-admit-number-asylum-seeker-red-doors-too-high-select-committee>
  22. APS, 2015 cited in Birmingham City Council (2016) *Women in the Labour Market: a statistical analysis for Birmingham*, Birmingham: Birmingham City Council.
  23. [http://www.citizensuk.org/leading\\_mayoral\\_candidates\\_put\\_on\\_spot\\_at\\_west\\_midlands\\_assembly](http://www.citizensuk.org/leading_mayoral_candidates_put_on_spot_at_west_midlands_assembly)
  24. APS Oct 2015-Sept 2016
  25. HESA student enrolment statistics show 73,685 students enrolled at Bath, Bath Spa, Bristol and UEW, 15/15
  26. Department for Education statistics cited by Centre for Cities <https://www.gov.uk/government/statistics/widening-participation-in-higher-education-2016>
  27. Runnymede Trust (2017) *Bristol: a city divided? Ethnic Minority disadvantage in Education and Employment*, London: Runnymede Trust.
  28. For more information about the National Conversation on Immigration, see [www.nationalconversation.org.uk](http://www.nationalconversation.org.uk)

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# About British Future

British Future is an independent, non-partisan thinktank and registered charity engaging people's hopes and fears about integration and immigration, opportunity and identity.

These debates, from EU immigration and refugee protection to integration of people from different faiths and backgrounds, remain noisy and polarised. But since British Future's founding in 2012, we have developed a unique understanding and expertise on public attitudes to these issues in the UK, through in-depth qualitative and quantitative research. We have found that there is a surprising amount of common ground among the public on which they can agree.

Securing political consent for policy change on these issues requires public support and it is possible to build this support with the right approach. That includes:

- Developing messaging that resonates with the 'Anxious Middle', the majority of the British public who are neither wholly pro- nor anti- immigration;
- Working with new messengers to build broad coalitions that reach wider audiences;
- Projecting our findings publicly to inform national debate, contributing to discussions on issues such as EU migration, integration, refugee protection, the status of EU nationals in the UK after Brexit, combating racism and xenophobia, international student migration and English identity.

British Future engages people's legitimate concerns and offers constructive solutions in response. We believe we can build a broad consensus among the public and opinion-formers for reforms to immigration and integration policy that work for everyone.

Our long-term aim is a country where we are no longer 'Them and Us' but rather a confident and welcoming Britain, inclusive and fair to all.

## Further publications from British Future, available online, include:

*What next after Brexit?* August 2016

*Britain's immigration offer to Europe*, October 2016

*Making citizenship matter*, February 2016

*How to talk about immigration*, November 2014

*Do mention the war: Will 1914 matter in 2014?*, August 2013

# British Future...

*British Future is an independent, non-partisan thinktank*

British Future  
Kean House  
6 Kean Street London, WC2B 4AS  
Tel: 020 7632 9069

[www.britishfuture.org](http://www.britishfuture.org)  
[info@britishfuture.org](mailto:info@britishfuture.org)