DISTANT NEIGHBOURS?

Understanding and measuring
social integration in England

Ryan Shorthouse, Sam Lampier and Anvar Sarygulov

bright blue

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About the authors

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Ryan is the Founder and Chief Executive of Bright Blue. Under his leadership, it has grown significantly in size, reputation and impact. The organisation has been shortlisted for the 2016, 2017, 2018 and 2019 UK social policy think tank of the year and UK environment and energy think tank of the year in the prestigious annual *Prospect Magazine* awards. Ryan was named as 'One to watch' in 2015 by *The Observer*. Many of his policy ideas have been adopted by the UK Government over the past decade. Ryan was previously a Research Fellow for the think tank the Social Market Foundation.

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Sam is a Researcher at Bright Blue. His work focuses primarily on social integration and immigration. He is also the Editor of Bright Blue's *Centre Write* blog. Previously, he worked in communications and graduated from the University of Bristol with an undergraduate degree in History.

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Acknowledgments

Executive Summary

Political concern about a lack of 'social integration' has been high for some time. In 2015, the then Prime Minister ordered a review into the state of 'social integration' in the country. Published a year later, Dame Louise Casey's *Review into opportunity and integration* concluded that successive governments have failed to ensure that 'social integration' in the UK has kept up with the "unprecedented pace and scale of immigration".

In response to the Casey Review, the Government published its *Integrated Communities Strategy* green paper in 2018. This outlined additional funding to improve 'social integration' in England and Wales, including funding more English language classes and programmes to help marginalised women into the workforce. Another of the green paper's key outputs was the identification of five 'Integration Areas' in England: Blackburn with Darwen; Bradford; Peterborough; Walsall; and, Waltham Forest. In these Integration Areas, central government would work with the local authorities to improve 'social integration'. This year, the Government also released its *Integrated Communities Action Plan*, outlining more 'social integration' policies.

However, as Chapter One explores in depth, there is considerable debate about what 'social integration' is. Ultimately, we believe that the best definition of 'social integration' is where individuals from different ethnic and religious backgrounds have meaningful, positive and sustained interactions with each other. Indeed, this stricter than usual

definition is likely to incentivise policymakers to focus on ambitious interventions likely to yield necessary and significant outcomes.

Just as there is debate over the definition of social integration, there are various proposed measures of social integration. We propose that neighbourhood trust should be at the heart of our understanding and measurement of social integration, since it is indicative of positive, meaningful and sustained interactions with people in a neighbourhood.

Admittedly, neighbourhood trust is only capturing that between members of a community, not necessarily between people from different ethnic and religious groups. In truth, then, neighbourhood trust would only be a good measure of social integration if that trust is high in an ethnically and religiously heterogeneous community. Therefore, we regard that the best measure of social integration to be neighbourhood trust between ethnically and religiously diverse communities.

Focus of this report and the methodology

This report primarily seeks to understand the trends and drivers of neighbourhood trust, including how neighbourhood trust and ultimately social integration varies across England.

This report seeks to answer the following six research questions:

1. What are the trends and benefits of high levels of neighbourhood trust?
2. How does neighbourhood trust vary across England?
3. What factors are linked with differing levels of neighbourhood trust?
4. What are the most socially integrated local authorities in England?
5. What are national and local governments doing to improve social integration?
6. What new policies could improve social integration?

In order to answer these questions, we employed three research methods, described in detail in Chapter Two. First, we conducted an extensive literature review of existing UK and international evidence on neighbourhood trust and social integration. Second, Bright Blue consulted with a number of parliamentarians, academics, civil servants and representatives from the third sector to inform and guide our research. Third, two researchers independent of Bright Blue were commissioned to conduct independent statistical analysis, which can be found in the annex, utilising the 2009-10 and 2010-11 Citizenship Survey, the 2011 Census and the 2015 Indices of Deprivation to analyse the effect of individual- and local-level factors on levels of neighbourhood trust in English local authorities. Our report also draws on additional analysis conducted by the Bright Blue research team drawing on local authority measures of the Index of Dissimilarity and the Index of Ethnic Diversity, to identify the most socially integrated areas in England.

This report is unique in four ways. First, through new statistical analysis, this report will predict levels of neighbourhood trust for every local authority in England, where there is currently a gap in the evidence. Second, this report will identify the individual-level and local-level factors which explain why neighbourhood trust levels vary across England. Third, it tests Professor Robert Putnam's findings from the US, that ethnic diversity is negative correlated with neighbourhood trust, in the context of England. In fact, it attempts to explore Putnam's work further by testing how other local-level variables, such as changes in the white population and unemployment rate, affect levels of neighbourhood trust. Finally, it will identify the most socially integrated local areas of England, drawing on our proposed measure of social integration.

Trends, benefits and drivers of neighbourhood trust

Chapter Three examines the trends, benefits of and drivers of neighbourhood trust, drawing on current academic literature.

Trends in neighbourhood trust

Measurement of neighbourhood trust in the UK over the past two decades has been mainly carried out by three government surveys: the Community Life Survey, the UK Household Longitudinal Study and the Citizenship Survey. There is, however, some considerable variation in reported levels of neighbourhood trust across these different surveys. The most recent survey, the Community Life Survey 2017-18, found that 41% of people in England say many of the people in their local community can be trusted.

There are also differences on whether neighbourhood trust is increasing or decreasing. The Community Life Survey, which just measures England, suggests that it has been falling this decade, whereas the Household Longitudinal Survey, which measures all of the UK, suggests that neighbourhood trust has been increasing.

In terms of international comparisons, the World Values Survey suggests that the UK has slightly or significantly higher levels of neighbourhood trust than many comparable developed countries. However, the UK does have notably lower levels of neighbourhood trust than many Nordic countries.

Crucially, however, there is little empirical evidence on how neighbourhood trust varies across England. There is some limited evidence which gives good reason to suspect that significant variations do exist. The focus of the independent statistical analysis commissioned for this report is showing how levels of neighbourhood trust vary across England.

Benefits of neighbourhood trust

There are a number of public and private benefits associated with high levels of neighbourhood trust.

In terms of public benefits, these are economic, social and political. High levels of neighbourhood trust are associated with higher rates of economic growth, lower levels of violent and overall crime, more civic engagement, increased levels of trust in political and civic institutions,

and a lower risk of radicalisation.

In terms of private benefits, these relate to education, relationships and health. High levels of neighbourhood trust have been found to be associated with improved educational attainment, and the development of stronger and more diverse social networks, which can have a transformative effect for those living in poverty. Finally, high levels of neighbourhood trust are connected with better levels of self-reported health, life satisfaction, and even lower levels of suicide.

Drivers of neighbourhood trust

Four key factors that drive levels of neighbourhood trust emerge in the academic literature: social factors; economic factors; educational factors; and, lifestyle factors.

Social factors include ethnic diversity, immigration and residential segregation. In particular, Professor Robert Putnam has promoted the 'hunkering down' theory, where people in ethnically diverse areas tend to 'hunker down', trusting less and participating less. His research finds a strong positive relationship between low levels of neighbourhood trust and ethnic diversity in an area. Interestingly, Putnam finds that levels of in-group neighbourhood trust are also lower in more ethnically diverse areas. However, there is reason to suspect that American research may not be fully applicable to the UK, partly due to the historical context of race relations in the US, more pronounced levels of racial inequality and segregation in the US, and the profile of immigration varying significantly between the UK and the US. The independent statistical analysis explores this further.

Ultimately, there is robust evidence demonstrating that ethnic diversity, and some evidence suggesting immigration and residential segregation, have an impact on levels of neighbourhood trust, but it remains unclear to what extent this is true in England.

The main economic drivers of levels of neighbourhood trust that have been identified include inequality, overall national wealth, and deprivation. There is some evidence – albeit limited and at times

conflicting – to suggest these all impact on levels of neighbourhood trust.

The two chief educational drivers of neighbourhood trust identified in the academic literature are: levels of proficiency in the host country's language; and, educational attainment. There appears to be a consensus and evidence base that both these are important drivers of levels of neighbourhood trust.

Another potential driver of levels of neighbourhood trust is changes to the way people use their time. Professor Putnam points towards a decline in membership of associational organisations as a significant factor in the fall in levels of trust in the US. Certainly, other research supports the relationship between higher levels of participation in associational organisations and higher levels of neighbourhood trust. In the UK, the *Time Use Survey* signifies there has been a substantial increase in the time British adults spend with their children, but that this has come at the expense of other recreational and civic activities.

Neighbourhood trust across England

Chapter Four presents the results of the independent statistical analysis. This analysis enabled us to achieve four aims. First, unearth the individual-level and local-level characteristics that affect varying levels of neighbourhood trust in England. Second, test whether the ethnic diversity of a local area affects levels of neighbourhood trust, in line with Professor Putenam's thesis in the US. Third, map predicted levels of neighbourhood trust across different local authorities in England.

How individual-level characteristics affect neighbourhood trust in England

The independent statistical analysis tested how important a number of individual-level characteristics are for determining predicted levels of neighbourhood trust across England. These individual-level characteristics relate to gender, age, ethnicity, socio-economic status, family status, and length of time living in a community.

The individual-level results from the independent statistical analysis showed seven main findings:

- **Women are less likely to trust most of their neighbours compared to men.** 37% of women across England are predicted to trust most of their neighbours compared to a predicted 42% of men.
- **The likelihood of trusting most of your neighbours increases as people become older.** The proportion of people predicted to trust most of their neighbours is lowest at the age of 22: 22% across England. This proportion doubles by the time people reach the age of 48, with 44% predicted to trust most of their neighbours. A similarly sized increase happens by the age of 83, with 66% predicted to trust the majority of their neighbours.
- **Individuals from different ethnic minority groups across England are much less likely to express trust in most of their neighbours when compared to white individuals.** White individuals have a notably higher predicted probability of 53% to trust most of their neighbours. It is black individuals who are predicted to be the ethnic group that is least likely to trust most of their neighbours, with 18% predicted to trust most of their neighbours.
- **Those with higher socioeconomic status have a significantly higher likelihood of trusting the majority of their neighbours.** Those in management positions are much more likely to have higher levels of predicted neighbourhood trust, with 52% predicted to trust most of their neighbours across England, while those who have never worked or are long-term unemployed are the least likely, with only 25% of them predicted to trust most of their neighbours across England.
- **Higher individual income is associated with increases in neighbourhood trust.** Individuals who do not have any individual income are predicted to trust most of their neighbours only 27% of the time, whilst those who earn more than £100,000 annually are predicted to trust most of their neighbours at the rate of 65% across England.

The independent statistical analysis also finds that being married means you are more likely to trust most of your neighbours. Finally, living for five years or longer within their current property makes it more likely that a person trusts most of their neighbours.

How local-level characteristics affect neighbourhood trust in England

The independent statistical analysis tests how important a number of local-level variables are for determining levels of predicted neighbourhood trust across England. These local-level variables are at both middle-layer super output area (MSOA) level and local authority (LA) level.

At MSOA-level, the independent researchers test how neighbourhood trust interacts with the ethnic diversity of a local area, thereby assessing how relevant Professor Putnam's thesis is in England. They also test other MSOA-level factors: English language levels amongst the migrant population; proportion of households in the local area that are married with children; the 'Income Score' and 'Crime Score' of the local area from the English Indices of Deprivation 2015; the proportion of the population aged over 65; and, the rurality of the local area.

The independent researchers also test one LA-level factor in their main model: White British population percentage change between 2001 and 2011. In other model variants, they test two additional variables: level of qualifications among migrants and change in unemployment rate between 2001 and 2011.

The results from the independent statistical analysis show six key findings:

- In areas with a greater proportion of married households with children, levels of neighbourhood trust are predicted to be higher.
- Individuals living in areas with higher levels of deprivation in terms of income are less likely to be predicted to trust most of their neighbours.

- Individuals living in areas with higher levels of deprivation in terms of crime are also less likely to be predicted to trust most of their neighbours.
- Levels of neighbourhood trust are higher in areas with a greater proportion of population being over 65 years old.
- Those living in rural areas are predicted to be more likely to trust most of their neighbours.
- People in areas with a greater than 5% decrease in White British population change in the ten years between 2001 and 2011 were less likely to be predicted to trust most of their neighbours.

Does ethnic diversity in a local area affect levels of predicted neighbourhood trust?

The independent researchers do find an association between high levels of ethnic diversity in a local area and lower levels of neighbourhood trust in England. Nevertheless, there are important nuances.

Intriguingly, in local areas where more than 30% of migrants cannot speak English well, the analysis, in fact, finds that an increase in ethnic diversity is actually associated with a predicted increase in levels of neighbourhood trust.

This a strange finding. We speculate that it is likely that MSOAs where more than 30% of migrants cannot speak English well are also more residentially segregated. As the level of residential segregation was not included in the independent statistical analysis, the measure of English competency amongst migrants might be acting as a proxy for residential segregation instead.

Additional analysis performed by Bright Blue of the Index of Dissimilarity, which measures residential segregation, gives some support for our hypothesis. For LAs, the correlation coefficient between the Index of Dissimilarity and percentage of migrants who cannot speak English well is 0.659. This is a relatively high value, suggesting LAs which are more ethnically segregated are also likely to have poorer English fluency.

Moreover, the LAs with the highest levels of poor English language fluency amongst migrants and highest levels of ethnic diversity also have the highest levels of residential segregation. Out of 14 LAs in the highest two deciles for the factors utilised in the independent statistical analysis, 11 are also in the highest two deciles of the Index of Dissimilarity.

This might be due to frequent interactions that occur between ethnically homogenous groups, rather than between ethnically heterogeneous groups. An alternative potential explanation is that in ethnically diverse areas where a significant number of migrants do not have English proficiency, there might be lower barriers to interaction, as residents in those areas are more used to people from different backgrounds and those who cannot speak English well.

How other local-level factors affect levels of neighbourhood trust

There are other findings from alternative models used in the independent statistical analysis.

- **In local areas where there is a high number of migrants without any qualifications, levels of neighbourhood trust are marginally higher in more deprived areas.** This is a strange finding: we would expect to see neighbourhood trust levels to be lower in deprived areas as the native population would be more likely to compete for low-skilled jobs. It is important to note, nonetheless, that the statistical significance of this relationship is weak.
- **Greater increases in unemployment between 2001 and 2011 are associated with lower levels of predicted neighbourhood trust.** Although other factors are certainly at play, it is likely that real or perceived greater competition for jobs is at least part of the story for lower levels of predicted neighbourhood trust.

These two findings from the alternative models used by the

independent researchers show a contradictory story of the impact of competition for low-skilled jobs between migrants and the native population on levels of neighbourhood trust. No definitive conclusion can be reached, therefore.

Predicted levels of neighbourhood trust across different local communities in England

The independent statistical analysis is able to provide the predicted probability of an individual trusting most of their neighbours in each LA in England.

The results show significant variation in predicted levels of neighbourhood trust among LAs across England.

- The LA with the lowest predicted trust, where only 12.6% are predicted to trust most of their neighbours, was Haringey, a London borough.
- The top ten local authorities with the lowest levels of neighbourhood trust in England are all in London.
- Other areas with low levels of neighbourhood trust are mainly found in large urban areas located in or near Manchester, Birmingham, Leeds and Liverpool.
- The LA with the highest predicted levels of neighbourhood trust, where 82.4% of individuals in that area trust most of their neighbours, was Uttlesford, a non-metropolitan district in Essex.
- LAs with high levels of predicted neighbourhood trust tend to be rural and semi-rural districts, with a large number of them being located in the East of England and South East of England, though some are also found in the South West of England.

The LAs with lowest levels of predicted neighbourhood trust are predominantly more urban, younger, and have higher incidences of crime and poverty when compared with those that have the highest trust ratings. Importantly, the low trusting LAs are also much more

ethnically diverse than the latter.

In contrast, the LAs with highest levels of predicted neighbourhood trust are predominantly more rural, older, have lower incidences of crime and poverty and are much less ethnically diverse.

The most socially integrated local authorities in England

At the end of Chapter Four, Bright Blue performed additional statistical analysis to identify the most socially integrated local authorities in England. Based on our proposed measure of social integration, this would be local authorities with relatively high levels of neighbourhood trust and relatively high levels of ethnic diversity.

LAs were chosen by selecting those from the independent statistical analysis that were in the top two deciles of ethnic diversity alongside being in the top five deciles of predicted levels of neighbourhood trust. In other words, they were local authorities that were among the most ethnically diverse in England, but also had above average levels of neighbourhood trust.

There were four local authorities in England that met this criteria. They are the most socially integrated local authorities in England. They are:

- The City of London
- Cambridge
- Richmond upon Thames
- Milton Keynes

It should be noted that these local authorities have some socio-demographic commonalities. They are all urban areas located in the South or East of England. They are all more affluent than the average local authority. These local authorities are all in the bottom half of the Index of Multiple Deprivation, meaning they are relatively less deprived areas in England.

Our thesis that these are the most socially integrated local authorities

in England could have a problem. It could be that these local authorities have high ethnic diversity generally, but different ethnic groups are still segregated within different neighbourhoods of the area.

The Index of Dissimilarity helps here. The four local authorities we have identified as being examples of high social integration also have low levels of residential segregation. All are in the bottom five deciles of dissimilarity, meaning that they are less residentially segregated than the average local authority. Thus, we are confident in our thesis that these local authorities are likely to be among the most socially integrated in England.

Current policies and programmes to support social integration

Chapter Five seeks to identify effective policies and programmes in England to boost social integration.

First, it examines recent policies and programmes in what we have deemed to be the most socially integrated local authorities in England. Second, it explores policies and programmes in the Government's four 'Integration Areas' that have published their local social integration plans: Blackburn with Darwen; Bradford; Walsall; and, Waltham Forest. Third, we find examples of historical policies in England that have evidence showing they successfully boost social integration, including: Talk English; Hackney English for Speakers of Other Languages (ESOL) Advice Service; The Linking Network; school merging; National Citizen Service; and, uniformed youth groups.

From all our research into successful social integration policies across England, we identified three major themes that consistently emerged as the focus:

- **Improving English for Speakers ESOL provision.** Measures that work to improve the provision and availability of English language teaching.
- **Improving social mixing between young people.** Measures that ensure young people from different ethnic and religious

backgrounds mix, especially at school.

- **Expanding school linking.** Measures that encourage primary and secondary schools to establish school linking, especially between schools which have very different ethnic and religious cohorts.

These two themes reflect two types of interventions to improve social integration. First, interventions that aim to better equip individuals with the tools they need to better integrate, such as ESOL provision. Second, interventions that seek to reform institutions to enable people from different ethnic and religious backgrounds to better mix with one another, such as school linking.

New policies

In Chapter Six, we propose nine original policy recommendations to boost social integration in England. These are targeted at individuals, to better equip them to socially integrate, and institutions, to increase the opportunities for social integration.

The policies we propose had to meet three particular tests. First, fiscal realism: while the Government is more fiscally committed to the issue of social integration, the Government still aims to balance public finances and therefore policy recommendations must be realistic in the level of government funding required to enact them. Second, respecting individual freedom: measures to improve social integration should encourage people to socially integrate, rather than force them to do so. It is both right and obvious that people themselves will determine whether they want to form relationships with different people, including those from other ethnic and religious backgrounds. Third, progressivity: levels of neighbourhood trust and social integration are strongly associated with levels of deprivation in a local area. To have the most impact, resources and policies should be primarily focused on deprived areas.

The policy recommendations we propose are not exhaustive. Other organisations have put forward good public policy suggestions which

merit serious consideration for implementation. Our policy proposals seek to fill the gap by offering original but credible policy ideas to boost social integration.

Recommendation one: The UK Government should introduce and use a new definition and measure of social integration, based primarily on neighbourhood trust in ethnically diverse areas

We propose a new definition of social integration: meaningful, positive and sustained interactions between individuals of different ethnic and religious backgrounds.

On the basis of our new definition, we propose a new measure of social integration that includes levels of neighbourhood trust in ethnically diverse areas.

However, since it is also possible for people in residentially segregated communities to trust their neighbours on the basis of them being in the same ethnic group, high levels of neighbourhood trust in ethnically and religiously diverse communities only indicate high levels of social integration when the local area is not residentially segregated. This is an important qualification that needs to be included when measuring levels of social integration.

We recommend that the UK government, as well as local and combined authorities and public bodies, utilise this new definition and measure of social integration in the context of assessing and funding any project or policy development that focuses on social integration. This proposed new measure of social integration could consider incorporating, or sitting alongside, other measures, such as levels of deprivation.

Recommendation two: The Government should publish a Social Integration Index score for each local authority every ten years

Our proposed measure of social integration requires data on ethnic diversity (for the Ethnic Diversity Index), residential segregation

(for the Index of Dissimilarity), and levels of neighbourhood trust in each local authority. The data for the first two is already publicly available from sources such as the ten-yearly Census. Data on levels of neighbourhood trust is collected for the Community Life Survey. However, the current sample size only allows to calculate neighbourhood trust at the level of regions at best, rather than local authorities. This should change: the Community Life Survey should have a bigger sample size.

Then, using all this data, the Government should produce a ten-yearly Social Integration Index, measuring levels of social integration across all different local authorities in the country. This Social Integration Index could consider incorporating other measures, such as levels of deprivation, which can also be identified through the Census.

Recommendation three: The Government should continue the Controlling Migration Fund beyond 2020 and should dedicate a minimum proportion of the Controlling Migration Fund to fund English for Speakers of Other Languages (ESOL) provision only

Overall funding of ESOL courses has fallen by 56% from 2009-10 to 2016-17, which has been accompanied by a decline in participation from 179,000 to 114,000 people in the same time period.

The Controlling Migration Fund is a £100 million bidding fund launched in 2016 by the MHCLG to assist local authorities which are impacted the most by recent immigration to ease pressures on their services. Plans for the Controlling Migration Fund beyond 2020 are supposed to be considered during the next Spending Review.

Considering the importance of English language skills for social integration in this country, we recommend that the Government dedicates a minimum and significant proportion of the Controlling Migration Fund for funding ESOL projects. This will give local authorities who are under the most pressure a guaranteed resource with which they could provide ESOL courses to meet higher levels of demand.

Recommendation four: After an initial trial, the government should look to introduce a legal duty on all state secondary schools in England to ensure all pupils participate in at least one week of National Citizen Service (NCS) during term time in Year 9 or Year 10

NCS is a government-sponsored voluntary initiative for 15-17 year olds where they engage with a range of extracurricular activities that include outdoor team-building exercises, independent living and social action projects. The scheme currently operates both a four-week and a one-week version during school holidays.

NCS appears to improve some indicators of social integration in its participants, including increasing levels of trust in others and making it more likely to describe their local area as a place where people from different backgrounds get on well together.

We recommend that the UK Government trials delivering at least one week of NCS to all Year 9 or Year 10 students in all state secondary schools in England during term time. This trial should examine the practical considerations of implementing NCS at a larger scale and whether the benefits of NCS are retained even if the scheme is effectively made compulsory and aimed at a younger cohort than previously.

If the trial is successful, the Government should introduce a legal duty for all state secondary schools in England to provide at least one week of NCS to either all Year 9 or Year 10 pupils, depending on which cohort is found to be responding best to the scheme. The optimal length of time of the NCS during term time, ranging from one week to one month, should also be discovered through the trial and introduced during national rollout. No pupil will have to pay to participate in this model of NCS.

Recommendation five: The Government should trial shorter summer holidays to examine whether it improves social integration

In the UK, state school summer holidays tend to last for approximately six weeks. Some evidence suggests that summer holidays can have a

detrimental effect on children's educational development and social mixing. Research suggests there are a number of benefits to reducing the length of summer holidays.

Both Nottinghamshire and Isle of Wight Council have recently approved plans to reduce the summer break by one week following a public consultation.

We recommend that the Government trial shorter summer holidays in some areas and examine its effect, particularly that on social mixing and integration, between children from different ethnic and religious backgrounds. Should the results suggest a positive improvement, we recommend that the Government roll out shorter summer holidays across England.

Recommendation six: Part of Pupil Premium payments should be contingent upon primary and secondary schools taking part in, or establishing, a school linking programme

School linking involves bringing together classrooms of children from demographically diverse schools with the aim of increasing social contact between groups who would otherwise not meet. This can involve a range of collaborative activities, including exchanging work, joint drama, arts and sports sessions, and even community projects for older pupils.

Local authority schools, academies, free schools and independent schools can all take part in the National Linking Network (NLN), and more than two schools can be jointly linked. While both primary and secondary schools participate, links tend to occur between schools with the same age cohort as linking activities usually involve sports and joint lessons.

School linking can have a positive impact on many aspects of pupils' skills, attitudes, perceptions and behaviours, particularly their respect for others, their self-confidence and their self-efficacy, as well as broadening the social groups with whom pupils interact.

The Pupil Premium is additional funding for state-funded primary and secondary schools designed to help disadvantaged pupils, such as

those receiving free school meals and looked-after children, perform better. It is awarded for every eligible pupil in school and schools have significant freedom in how to spend it. Making part of this funding conditional on participating in the NLN, or a similar school linking scheme, could incentivise participation in such programmes.

Recommendation seven: The charitable status of independent schools should be contingent on them taking part in, or establishing, a school linking programme

Approximately half of independent schools in the UK are registered as charities. Charity status grants a number of tax concessions that provide independent schools with significant savings, but in return their activities must meet a 'public benefit' requirement. Independent schools can meet this requirement by providing a non-tokenistic material, educational or cultural benefit to those who cannot afford their fees, with means-tested bursaries being one of the most common examples.

As independent schools are not eligible to receive Pupil Premium payments, their participation in school linking programme must be incentivised through a separate mechanism. We recommend making the charitable status of such schools contingent on participation in NLN, or a similar school linking programme.

Recommendation eight: The government should publish separate league tables based on secondary school data for levels of both ethnic and religious diversity relative to the population of the local authority

Currently, the Government collects a significant amount of data, including for ethnicity of pupils, through a mandatory annual school census. The Government should utilise this data to calculate ethnic diversity levels in secondary schools. The Ethnic Diversity Index should be utilised for comparing the school population with the population of the local authority.

However, the Government currently does not gather statistics

on the religion of secondary school pupils. To be able to calculate a separate Religious Diversity Index, the Government should expand the mandatory school census to include collection of this data.

The Government should calculate the ethnic and religious diversity of each secondary school in the country in the context of its local authority population, to illustrate how diverse a school's intake is in comparison to its area. Then, a score should be granted for both ethnic and religious diversity, and it should be presented in new league tables by the Department for Education.

Unlike primary schools, which can have very small catchment areas that make it very difficult to have a representative intake of the local authority as a whole, we would expect secondary schools to be broadly reflective of the local authority in which they operate.

Recommendation nine: The Department for Education should provide annual financial prizes for primary and secondary schools with the most effective policies to encourage social integration

Schools can encourage social integration in numerous ways, including admissions policy, in the classroom, links with the wider community, and the contents of their extra-curricular activities.

We propose that the Government encourages innovative ideas by providing annual financial prizes for primary and secondary schools who have the most impactful reforms in their social integration policies. The presence of a financial award should incentivise more schools to create such initiatives, while the process of award assessment should inform the Government and other schools on what are effective social integration policies so that they can be adopted more widely.

Conclusion

The factors driving neighbourhood trust, and therefore social integration, are numerous and complex. There is no simple, straightforward solution to strengthen social integration. The

limitations of public policy have to be recognised and respected, especially in regards to people being free to develop the relationships they want.

The recommendations in this report seek to give individuals the tools – specifically, English language capability – to better integrate socially, and reform institutions – specifically, primary and secondary schools – to enable young people, but also parents, to have better opportunities to integrate with those from different ethnic and religious backgrounds.

The policies recommended in this chapter are of course not exhaustive, but do present some significant and realistic ideas to improve social integration across England. But we have to recognise that it is people, not policies, that will improve social integration. And that social integration is a two-way street. It is not enough to say migrants and their children must do more to integrate; native Brits must also make an effort to welcome and involve newcomers.

Chapter 1: Introduction

In 2015, the then Prime Minister ordered a review into the state of 'social integration' in the country. Published a year later, Dame Louise Casey's *Review into opportunity and integration* concluded that successive governments have failed to ensure that 'social integration' in the UK has kept up with the "unprecedented pace and scale of immigration".[1] The Casey Review called for the consideration of an "integration oath", greater promotion of "British values, laws and history" in schools, and improving English language provision.[2]

In response to the Casey Review, the Government published its *Integrated Communities Strategy* green paper in 2018. This outlined £50 million of additional funding to improve 'social integration' in England and Wales, including funding more English language classes and programmes to help marginalised women into the workforce. Another of the green paper's key outputs was the identification of five 'Integration Areas' in England: Blackburn with Darwen; Bradford; Peterborough; Walsall; and, Waltham Forest. In these Integration Areas, central government would work with the local authorities to improve 'social integration'. These Integration Areas were expected to publish

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1. Anushka Asthana and Peter Walker, "Casey review raises alarm over social integration in the UK", *The Guardian*, 5 December, 2016.
2. Dame Louise Casey DBE CB, "The Casey review: a review into opportunity and integration", https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/575973/The_Casey_Review_Report.pdf (2016), 17.

local social integration plans in early 2019, detailing the challenges they face and what they intend to do to improve 'social integration'. As Chapter Five outlines, all the Integration Areas have now published these plans, apart from Peterborough.

This year, the Government also released its *Integrated Communities Action Plan*, outlining more 'social integration' policies. Included policies were: trialling information packs about a local area to recently arrived migrants in the Integration Areas; a commitment to publish a new national strategy for English language; and, providing additional funding of £30 million to create more nursery places for disadvantaged children.[3] More recently, the Government also announced the winners of an 'Integrated Communities English Language Programme', providing £4.5 million of the 2018 green paper funding to councils, charities and adult learning providers for 19,000 learner places in communities with a high proportion of adults who speak little or no English.[4]

Concern about a lack of 'social integration'

Political concern about a lack of 'social integration', which prompted the Casey Review and new funding from governments in the latter part of this decade, has been high for some time and appears to be driven by three main factors.

First, there remains consistently high public concern about the scale and impact of immigration. In fact, it has been consistently cited as one of the most important political issues for voters for the last ten years,[5] although in recent years there has been some softening in attitudes towards the importance of and impact of immigration.[6] This public

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3. Ministry of Housing, Communities and Local Government (MHCLG), "Integrated communities action plan", https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/778045/Integrated_Communities_Strategy_Govt_Action_Plan.pdf (2019).
4. MHCLG, "Thousands to benefit from new English language programmes", https://www.gov.uk/government/news/thousands-to-benefit-from-new-english-language-programmes (2019).
5. OECD, "OECD insights: human capital", https://www.oecd.org/insights/37966934.pdf
6. The Migration Observatory, "UK public opinion toward immigration: overall attitudes and level of concern", https://migrationobservatory.ox.ac.uk/resources/briefings/uk-public-opinion-toward-immigration-overall-attitudes-and-level-of-concern/#kp2 (2018).

concern has been highlighted as being crucial to the British public's decision to vote to exit the European Union in the 2016 referendum.

Since research has found that immigration is marginally beneficial to Britain's economy,[7] politicians and policymakers have instead increasingly looked to the apparent lack of 'social integration' to explain the public's scepticism towards immigration. Specifically, a big concern is that immigration has led to communities living separate lives. In a 2018 poll, nearly half of the British public thought that immigrants "want to be distinct from our society".[8] Furthermore, previous research by Bright Blue found that 66% of those from an ethnic minority background even agreed that immigration had led to some communities living separate lives.[9]

Second, political concern about 'social integration' has been heightened by the radicalisation of a small minority of British Muslims. Approximately 850 people from the UK are estimated to have travelled to support or fight for jihadist organisations in Syria and Iraq over this decade.[10] Polling has also found that 4% of British Muslims sympathise with people "who commit terrorist actions as a form of political protest".[11] Some politicians have suggested that a lack of 'social integration' in Britain's communities may be one of the causes of this radicalisation. For example, in 2015, the then Prime Minister David Cameron stated that radical Islamist ideology had been allowed to overpower more moderate voices due to the "failures of integration".[12]

7. Migration Advisory Committee, "EEA migration in the UK: final report", https://assets. publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/741926/ Final_EEA_report.PDF (2018).

8. Ana Gonzalez-Barrera and Phillip Connor, "Around the world, more say immigrants are a strength than a burden", https://www.pewglobal.org/2019/03/14/around-the-world-more-say-immigrants-are-a-strength-than-a-burden/ (2019).

9. Bright Blue, "A balanced centre-right agenda on immigration: understanding how ethnic minorities think about immigration", https://brightblue.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2017/03/ Ethnicminorities.pdf (2015).

10. BBC, "Who are Britain's jihadists?", *BBC News*, 12 October, 2017.

11. channel4, "C4 survey and documentary reveals what British Muslims really think", https://www. channel4.com/press/news/c4-survey-and-documentary-reveals-what-british-muslims-really-think, (2016).

12. David Cameron, *Speech in Birmingham on extremism*, 20 July 2015, https://www.gov.uk/ government/speeches/extremism-pm-speech

Third, political concern about 'social integration' has been driven in part by prominent community disturbances. Riots in the Northern English towns of Bradford, Burnley, and Oldham in 2001 led to grave government concern. The resulting 2001 Cantle Report, for example, stated it was "struck by the depth of polarisation of our towns and cities" which meant that communities operated "parallel lives".[13] The riots in Oldham alone caused an estimated £10 million in damage.[14] Riots across England in the summer of 2011 marked an unprecedented level of damage, amounting to a financial cost of half a billion pounds, with more than 5,000 crimes committed over the five days of the riots.[15] Then Prime Minister David Cameron in a speech condemned the riots as "some of the most sickening acts on our streets" which had put the "broken society" at the top of his agenda.[16]

Despite growing political concern about 'social integration', there remains significant gaps in the evidence on the extent of 'social integration' in the UK. This was recognised by the Government in its 2018 *Integrated Communities Strategy* green paper which stated that "the evidence available to help measure the scale and type of integration challenges and progress in achieving more integrated communities is variable at national and local levels."[17] The Casey Review had previously highlighted the lack of evidence on the extent of 'social integration' in the UK, concluding that there was "a lack of suitable data to monitor integration and its barriers in local places."[18]

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13. Home Office, "Community cohesion: a report of the independent review team", http://tedcantle. co.uk/pdf/communitycohesion%20cantlereport.pdf (2001), 9.
14. BBC, "Race 'segregation' caused riots", *BBC News*, 11 December, 2001.
15. The Riots Communities and Victims Panel, "After the riots: the final report of the Riots Communities and Victims Panel", https://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/20121003200027/ http://riotspanel.independent.gov.uk/wp-content/uploads/2012/03/Riots-Panel-Final-Report1.pdf (2012).
16. David Cameron, *Speech in Oxfordshire following the riots*, 15 August 2011, https://www.gov.uk/ government/speeches/pms-speech-on-the-fightback-after-the-riots
17. MHCLG, "Integrated communities strategy green paper", https://assets.publishing.service.gov. uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/696993/Integrated_Communities_ Strategy.pdf; (2018), 63.
18. Casey, "Casey review".

What is 'social integration'?

It is important to note, upfront, that there is some debate in the academic literature over the interchangeability and distinction between the terms 'social integration' and 'community cohesion'. Some academics have sought to differentiate between them. For example, 'social integration' is sometimes understood as the economic and social outcomes of first and second generation immigrants. In contrast, 'community cohesion' can be seen as the extent to which people interact with each other in a local area, especially as a result of migration.[19] We recognise this distinction, but for the purposes of this paper, we use the term 'social integration' and consider it as synonymous with 'community cohesion'. In other words, we see it primarily as associated with how people from different socio-demographic backgrounds in a local area interact with one another. Indeed, as will be seen in this chapter, in political and public discourse, 'social integration' is commonly understood and referred to as this interaction between people from different socio-demographic backgrounds.

But we should identify an exact definition of 'social integration.' The Government's *Integrated Communities Strategy* green paper defines 'social integration' somewhat loosely. It states that integrated communities are ones "where people – whatever their background – live, work, learn and socialise together, based on shared rights, responsibilities and opportunities".[20] Further, it states that 'social integration' is not 'assimilation', the process whereby a minority group gradually adapts to the customs and attitudes of the prevailing cultural group. The green paper argues that everyone should be able to celebrate their own heritage and identity and states that 'social integration' should be a "two-way street". That is, it should be incumbent on both natives and migrants to create the conditions which allow people get

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19. Shamit Saggar, Will Sommerville, Rob Ford and Maria Sobelewska, "The impacts of migration on social cohesion and integration", https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/258355/social-cohesion-integration.pdf (2012).
20. MHCLG, "Integrated communities strategy green paper".

on well together. However, the green paper stops short of offering an explicit definition of 'social integration'.[21] The 2016 Casey Review similarly defines 'social integration' loosely, stating that it is "the extent to which people from all backgrounds can get on – with each other, and in enjoying and respecting the benefits that the United Kingdom has to offer".[22]

Other government reports, nonetheless, have been more precise when defining 'social integration'. For example, the aforementioned 2001 Cantle Report relied heavily on a Local Government Association (LGA) definition that considered 'community cohesion' (a term which is often used interchangeably with 'social integration') to be communities where strong and positive relationships are being developed between people from different backgrounds.[23]

The Mayor of London's office published 'All of Us' in 2018, a strategy for 'social integration' in London. 'Social integration' here is defined as "the extent to which people positively interact and connect with others who are different to themselves. It is determined by the level of equality between people, the nature of their relationships, and their degree of participation in the communities in which they live."[24] Similarly, an EU-commissioned and widely used definition defines 'social cohesion' through multiple dimensions. These dimensions include factors such as equal opportunities and poverty.[25]

But these more expansive definitions of 'social integration' have been criticised: "While redistribution of assets is certainly one way to achieve equality, it would be counter-intuitive to define the latter in terms of the former. Redistribution, after all, is only a means to achieve equality; it

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21. Ibid.

22. Casey, "Casey review", 20.

23. The Institute of Community Cohesion, "Review of community cohesion in Oldham: challenging local communities to change Oldham", http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/shared/bsp/hi/pdfs/25_05_06_oldham_report.pdf (2006), 14.

24. Greater London Authority, "All of Us: the Mayor's Strategy for Social Integration", https://www.london.gov.uk/sites/default/files/final_social_integration_strategy.pdf (2018).

25. Joseph Chan, Ho-Pong To, Elaine Chan, "Reconsidering Social Cohesion: Developing a Definition and Analytical Framework for Empirical Research", *Social Indicators Research* (2006).

does not constitute equality per se."[26] In other words, defining 'social integration' through dimensions such as poverty assumes a link exists between 'social integration' and poverty. Even if such a link was empirically established, to define 'social cohesion' through the means required to achieve a highly cohesive society would be wrong.

Where there is consensus is the importance of contact between people from different backgrounds for understanding 'social integration'. There is a solid evidence base, as outlined in Box 1.1 below, that shows that contact between individuals, from different social groups, especially different ethnic and religious groups, is both a driver of – and indicative of – 'social integration'.

Box 1.1. Contact theory: the role of contact in 'social integration'

Academic researchers have formulated 'contact theory', which argues that contact between individuals from different ethnic and religious groups improves attitudes towards and trust between different social groups, thus facilitating a virtuous cycle of improved 'social integration'.[27] In particular, Professor Miles Hewstone states "categorically that contact works" for improving intergroup attitudes and trust.[28] Other researchers have stated that "contact has a significant role to play in prejudice reduction" and has "great policy potential" to improve intergroup relations.[29]

The theory shows that the depth of intergroup contact has differing impacts. Friendship is, unsurprisingly, the most powerful form of contact for improving relations between different social groups.

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26. Ibid.
27. Jim A. C. Everett, "Intergroup contact theory: past, present, and future", http://tedcantle.co.uk/wp-content/uploads/2013/03/092-Intergroup-contact-theory-explained-Everett-J-2013.pdf (2013).
28. Miles Hewstone, "Living apart, living together? The role of intergroup contact in social integration", https://www.thebritishacademy.ac.uk/sites/default/files/pba162p243.pdf (2009).
29. Oliver Christa, Katharina Schmid, Simon Lolliot, Hermann Swart, Dietlind Stolle, Nicole Tausch, Ananthi Al Ramiah, Ulrich Wagnera, Steven Vertovech, Miles Hewstone, "Contextual effect of positive intergroup contact on outgroup prejudice", https://www.pnas.org/content/pnas/111/11/3996.full.pdf (2014).

Indeed, Hewstone states that "outgroup friends seem to be the most effective vehicle for attitude change". Hewstone observed this both in South Africa, in a longitudinal study of white and mixed-race student friendships, and between Protestants and Catholics in Northern Ireland. In both studies, cross-group friendships and contact with outgroup friends had a direct positive impact on reducing prejudice and improving trust between the two ethnic and religious groups.[30]

Nevertheless, contact doesn't have to be in the form of friendships. Indeed, direct contact with outgroups – but not friends – can be enough to improve attitudes towards different ethnic and religious groups, albeit with less effect. In a study of English schools in Oldham, the merging of a predominantly White British school and predominantly Asian British school led to significant improvements in attitudes. White British pupils experienced a 31% reduction in reported anxiety about meeting outgroup members, and an increase of 1% for liking outgroup members. Equally, Asian British pupils showed a 33% reduction in reported anxiety about meeting outgroup members, and an increase of 11% for liking outgroup members. While not all students saw their reported anxiety decrease, most did, and the impact was largest on those with low initial contact. In fact, in already mixed schools, both Asian British and White British pupils expressed more positive attitudes and higher levels of trust towards members of an outgroup than pupils in segregated schools.[31]

Interestingly, there is some evidence to suggest that contact is beneficial to trust towards outgroups in other surprising ways. Hewstone has even written about the 'secondary transfer effect', where contact with one outgroup not only reduced prejudice towards that

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30. Hewstone, "Living apart".
31. Department for Education, "Diversity and social cohesion in mixed and segregated secondary schools in Oldham: research report", https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/634118/Diversity_and_Social_Cohesion_in_Oldham_schools.pdf (2017).

outgroup, but also towards other outgroups. Hewstone also writes about the 'contextual effect', in which someone living in an area where others have positive contact with outgroups, even if they personally have no contact, can itself have a positive effect. There is also 'extended contact', where an individual knowing their friends have outgroup friends reduces prejudice towards that outgroup, even if the individual doesn't have any friends in that outgroup themselves. A study by Hewstone in Northern Ireland, for example, found that a Catholic knowing another Catholic who has Protestant friends, or vice versa, was associated with lower levels of prejudice towards the outgroup. Furthermore, this dampening effect on prejudice was found to be greater on those people who had fewer direct cross-group friends or who live in more segregated rather than mixed neighbourhoods.[32]

It is important to recognise that there are some caveats to the application of contact theory. Hewstone notes that there are some contexts in which contact does not work at improving inter-group trust and attitudes, for example when an in-group feels threatened, both if it is a perceived or real threat, by the outgroup. Additionally, the positive effects of contact can be reduced if the contact takes place between groups with unequal social status.[33] Some, in fact, have argued that equal status between social groups is key to achieving the positive outcomes from contact.[34]

Generally, as Box 1.1 outlines, contact between individuals from different ethnic and religious backgrounds does improve trust and reduce prejudice between these groups, thereby facilitating greater

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32. Miles Hewstone and Joanne Hughes, "Reconciliation in Northern Ireland: the value of Intergroup contact", *BJPsych International* (2015).
33. Patrick Sturgis, Ian Brunton-Smith, Jouni Kuha & Jonathan Jackson, "Ethnic diversity, segregation and the social cohesion of neighbourhoods in London", http://eprints.lse.ac.uk/51082/1/__lse.ac.uk_storage_LIBRARY_Secondary_libfile_shared_repository_Content_Jackson%2C%20J_Ethnic%20diversity_Jackson_Ethnic%20diversity_2014.pdf (2013).
34. Everett, "Intergroup contact theory".

'social integration'.[35] That is why contact is a good measure of 'social integration'.

However, a 2015 academic paper which analysed Dutch data on 'social integration' found that "only meaningful encounters of a certain depth and duration can make communities more cohesive", somewhat countering the Hewstone thesis described in Box 1.1 that differing depths of contact are worthwhile in improving 'social integration'. This Dutch paper found that meaningful encounters are crucial because they are the only form of encounter between members of different groups which have the power to challenge people's existing perceptions.[36] Similarly, a study by the London School of Economics (LSE) found that more frequent neighbourhood contact leads to warmer attitudes to minority groups, with both positive and middling contact having positive effects. But it did also find that experience of "negative contact" with minority groups can in fact lead to worse attitudes and trust than if someone had had no contact at all.[37]

The Government's *Integrated Communities Strategy* green paper does acknowledge that contact with people from other social groups can impact positively or negatively on 'social integration' depending on the conditions under which interactions take place.[38] Admittedly, Hewstone's work does acknowledge that contact theory does not apply when the context of such interaction is negative.

Clearly, although the public policy literature is united in stressing the importance of contact for 'social integration', there is some disagreement over whether any or only positive and meaningful contact should count as a measure of and contributor to 'social integration'.

This report acknowledges that any form of non-negative contact

35. Hewstone, "Living apart".
36. Melike Peterson, "Social cohesion in hyper-diverse areas: how important are encounters in semi-public spaces?", https://dspace.library.uu.nl/bitstream/handle/1874/316218/social%20cohesion%20in%20hyper-diverse%20areas_%20melike%20peterson.pdf?sequence=2&isAllowed=y (2015).
37. James Laurence, "The key to a more integrated society: understanding the impact and limits of social mixing", https://blogs.lse.ac.uk/politicsandpolicy/understanding-the-impact-and-limits-of-social-mixing/ (2017)
38. MHCLG, "Integrated communities strategy green paper", 12.

can facilitate some 'social integration', but considers it worthwhile to apply a stricter definition of 'social integration'. This is because evidence suggests positive and meaningful interaction facilitates levels of 'social integration' needed to truly transform social attitudes and relations. In fact, this report considers that sustained interactions also needs to be included, alongside meaningful and positive interaction, when defining what constitutes 'social integration'. This is because the benefits for individuals and wider society that derive from social mixing between different ethnic and religious groups is most likely to be realised and improved through frequent interactions. Evidence suggests that, while light or infrequent interactions can have modest effects on increasing 'social integration', deeper and more frequent interactions are much more effective.[39] [40]

Ultimately, we believe that the best definition of 'social integration' is where individuals from different ethnic and religious backgrounds have meaningful, positive and sustained interactions with each other. Indeed, this stricter than usual definition is likely to incentivise policymakers to focus on ambitious interventions likely to yield necessary and significant outcomes.

Measuring social integration

Now we have identified a good definition of social integration, the question is how best we can measure the extent of it in this country. But just as there are various proposed definitions of social integration, there are a number of proposed measurements.

One common measure of social integration is the proportion of people who report that they feel a 'sense of belonging' to their neighbourhood. Areas with a higher proportion of individuals reporting they feel a

39. Ryan Shorthouse, "Reducing poverty by promoting more diverse social networks for disadvantaged people from ethnic minority groups", https://www.jrf.org.uk/file/48088/download?token=UtLCs7RM&filetype=summary (2015), 10-11.
40. British Academy, "'If you could do one thing…' 10 local actions to promote social integration", https://www.thebritishacademy.ac.uk/sites/default/files/British%20Academy%20IYCDOT%20Essays.pdf (2017), 40.

sense of belonging are considered to be better integrated than areas with a lower proportion of individuals reporting the same.

In the UK, the Community Life Survey found that 62% of people living in England in 2017-18 felt a sense of belonging to their neighbourhood.[41] This is in line with other comparable countries. For instance, across the European Union, an average of 63% of people in a member state in 2016 agreed that they "feel close to people in the area where I live".[42]

Some, in contrast, measure social integration through the proportion of individuals who think positively about their country. In England, recent data from YouGov finds that 80% of people in 2018 reported they are proud to be English.[43] The World Values Survey of 52 countries found in 2014 an average of 57% of people in a country felt "very proud" of their nationality and 31% felt "quite proud", meaning that 88% felt a sense of pride on average, which is significantly higher than the UK.[44]

The problem with these common measures is that they measure identification with an abstract idea, rather than measuring the positive, meaningful and substantial interactions between different ethnic and religious groups we are concerned with. Other measures are closer to doing so.

An alternative measure of social integration is the degree of residential segregation in a particular area. Residential segregation refers generally to the spatial separation of two or more social, racial, or religious groups within a specified geographic area, such as a small town or a specific part of a city.[45] It has been argued that communities which demonstrate high levels of residential segregation are less well integrated than areas with lower levels of residential segregation.[46]

41. Department for Digital, Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS), "Feeling of belonging to a neighbourhood", https://www.ethnicity-facts-figures.service.gov.uk/culture-and-community/community/feeling-of-belonging-to-a-neighbourhood/latest (2018).
42. Eurofound, "European quality of life survey 2016 – data visualisation", https://www.eurofound.europa.eu/data/european-quality-of-life-survey (2016).
43. BBC, "The English question: young are less proud to be English", *BBC*, 3 June, 2018.
44. World Values Survey, http://www.worldvaluessurvey.org/WVSOnline.jsp
45. Jeffrey M. Timberlake and Mario D. Ignatov, "Residential segregation", http://www.oxfordbibliographies.com/view/document/obo-9780199756384/obo-9780199756384-0116.xml (2017)
46. Casey, "Casey review".

Accordingly, when communities are residentially segregated on racial, religious or social grounds, then there will inevitably be less opportunity for the development of meaningful, positive and sustained interactions between different ethnic and religious members of a given community.

There are a number of different measures of residential segregation, but perhaps the most respected and used measure is the Index of Dissimilarity. This essentially measures the extent to which an ethnic group is not distributed out evenly amongst the local population as a whole.[47] The latest data suggests that residential segregation has been falling in the UK over the past years; in other words, ethnic communities are becoming more socially integrated.[48] It should be noted, nonetheless, that a number of studies have found that UK cities are considerably more residentially segregated than their European counterparts.[49] Indeed, the Government's own *Integrated Communities Strategy* green paper notes that in 2001, 119 wards were majority non-white, but this has grown to 429 as of 2011, suggesting that ethnic groups were 'clustering' in certain areas.[50] A number of studies have suggested, however, that the UK has lower levels of residential segregation than the US.[51]

The main problem with using residential segregation alone as a measure of social integration is that, in truth, it is more a measure of spatial distance. It is not indicative of the number or quality of contacts between members of different ethnic and religious groups in a given community. Residential segregation may be a useful indicator for a more developed measure of social integration, as explored later in this report,

47. Europe PMC, "Estimates of the population by ehtnic group for areas within England", http://europepmc.org/abstract/med/16878665 (2006), 15.

48. Gemma Catney, "Exploring a decade of small area ethnic (de-)segregation in England and Wales", *Urban Studies* (2016), 15.

49. Pablo Mateos, "Ethnic group segregation in European cities: using names to overcome the lack of ethnicity statistics", http://www.lse.ac.uk/socialPolicy/Researchcentresandgroups/BSPS/pdfs/2008_ethnic_Mateos.pdf (2008).

50. MHCLG, "Integrated communities strategy green paper", 12.

51. For example: John Iceland and Pablo Mateos, "Ethnic residential segregation by nativity in Great Britain and the United States", *Journal of urban affairs* (2001) and John Iceland, "Residential segregation: a transatlantic analysis", https://www.migrationpolicy.org/research/residential-segregation-transatlantic-analysis (2014).

but, alone like other measures already discussed, it fails to capture the amount of contact that is meaningful, positive and sustained. Another measure gets us even closer to doing so.

The measure that gets us closer to the definition of social integration we have identified is self-reported mixing between members of different ethnic and religious groups. The government's Citizenship Survey, which reported for the final time in 2010-11, measures the proportion of people who say that they mix at least once a month with people from different ethnic or religious backgrounds.[52]

According to the Citizenship Survey, social mixing is relatively high in the UK. The last edition of the Citizenship Survey found that in 2010-11, 82% of people mixed socially at least once a month with people from different ethnic or religious backgrounds, either at work, at a place of education, through a leisure activity, at a place of worship, at the shops or through volunteering.[53] There are some more worrying indicators, however. Some estimates have suggested that 13% of people in England report never having even brief contact with someone from a different ethnic group.[54]

A more recent joint publication by the OECD and EU measured social mixing by looking at the frequency of interactions of native-born populations with immigrants in neighbourhoods and workplaces. On a weekly basis, 35% of native-born people interact with immigrants in the workplace and 46% interact in their neighbourhoods in the UK.[55] This is above the EU average in both aspects, which is 28% and 44% respectively,[56] suggesting that the UK has a comparatively high level of social mixing, at least between natives and immigrants.

The government's Community Life Survey, which is the successor to

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52. UK Data Service, "Citizenship survey", https://discover.ukdataservice.ac.uk/series/?sn=200007.

53. Department for Communities and Local Government, "Citizenship survey: 2010-11 (April 2010 – March 2011), England", https://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/20120919213922/http://www.communities.gov.uk/documents/statistics/pdf/1992885.pdf (2011).

54. British Academy, "If you could do one thing", 40.

55. OECD, "Settling in 2018: indicators of immigration integration", http://www.oecd.org/migration/indicators-of-immigrant-integration-2018-9789264307216-en.htm (2018), 131.

56. Ibid., 131.

the Citizenship Survey, provides alternate measures, which are similar to social mixing. Its most recent results, in 2017-18, found that 82% of people agreed that their area is a place where people from different backgrounds get along well together.[57]

There are, however, two central problems with measuring 'social integration' through social mixing. First, it does not distinguish between what are important, repeated, meaningful and sustained interactions, and insignificant, cursory interactions. Second, it does not distinguish between positive and negative interactions.

> **Box 1.2. Measuring social integration in London**
>
> The Mayor of London's office, which since 2016 has taken a proactive role in developing social integration policy, including the creation of the Deputy Mayor for Social Integration, has developed its own measure of social integration. The measure is split into three streams: relationships; equality; and, participation. The measure includes many of the measures discussed in this report above, including feeling of belonging to their neighbourhood and self-reporting of London's social mixing. However, it also includes other measures, such as levels of hate crime.[58]

The importance of neighbourhood trust

We arrive, then, at one last proposed measure of social integration: one that uses neighbourhood trust. Neighbourhood trust refers to the proportion of individuals who report that other people in their neighbourhood can be trusted. We consider it to be a good measure of 'social integration' since it is indicative of positive, meaningful and

57. DCMS, "Community life survey: 2017-18", https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/734726/Community_Life_Survey_2017-18_statistical_bulletin.pdf (2018), 7.
58. Greater London Authority, "Social integration headline measures", https://data.london.gov.uk/dataset/social-integration-headline-measures (2018).

sustained interactions with people in a neighbourhood.

Admittedly, neighbourhood trust is only capturing that between members of a community, not necessarily between people from different ethnic and religious groups. So, a community might have high levels of neighbourhood trust, but between people from the same ethnic and religious backgrounds. This would be a form of bonding social capital, which the academic literature refers to as strong relationships between members of the same group. This stands in contrast with bridging social capital, which refers to strong relationships between different groups.[59]

In truth, then, neighbourhood trust would only be a good measure of social integration if that trust is high in an ethnically and religiously heterogeneous community, thereby capturing the extent of bridging social capital. In essence, we regard the best measure of social integration to be neighbourhood trust between ethnically and religiously diverse communities. We think neighbourhood trust should be at the heart of our understanding and measurement of social integration.

Focus of this research

As this chapter has highlighted, social integration is a source of growing concern and debate. We have proposed that the most compelling measure of social integration includes neighbourhood trust, if it applies to ethnically and religiously mixed communities. This report seeks to understand the trends and drivers of neighbourhood trust, including how neighbourhood trust and social integration varies across England.

This report is unique in a number of ways.

First, the report will identify local variations in neighbourhood trust levels in England, where there is currently a gap in the evidence. Through new statistical analysis of the 2011 Census and 2009-10 and

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59. Social Market Foundation, "Bridging differences", http://www.smf.co.uk/wp-content/uploads/2010/01/Publication-Bridging-Differences-What-Communities-and-Government-can-do-to-foster-Social-Capital.pdf (2010), 12.

2010-11 Citizenship Surveys, this report will present a neighbourhood trust 'score' of every local authority in England.

Second, the report tests how important different individual-level and local-level factors are in explaining levels of neighbourhood trust. There is certainly a large amount of theorising about what drives neighbourhood trust. However, this report will identify the individual-level and local-level factors which cause neighbourhood trust levels to vary in England.

Third, it tests Professor Robert Putnam's findings from the US, that ethnic diversity is negative correlated with neighbourhood trust, in the context of England. This is discussed in greater depth later in the report, but there are significant cultural and historical differences between England and the USA, which may mean that Putnam's thesis is not entirely applicable in this country. This report uniquely explores and tests to what extent ethnic diversity affects levels of neighbourhood trust. In fact, it attempts to explore Putnam's work further by testing how other local-level variables, such as changes in the white population and unemployment rate, affect levels of neighbourhood trust.

Finally, it will identify the most socially integrated local areas of England, drawing on our proposed measure of social integration, which puts neighbourhood trust at its heart.

This report addresses the following research questions:

1. What are the trends and benefits of high levels of neighbourhood trust?
2. How does neighbourhood trust vary across England?
3. What factors are linked with differing levels of neighbourhood trust?
4. What are the most socially integrated local authorities in England?
5. What are national and local governments doing to improve social integration?
6. What new policies could improve social integration?

The rest of the report is structured as follows:

- **Chapter Two** describes the research methods employed, including an extensive literature review and detailed statistical analysis.
- **Chapter Three** outlines the trends, benefits and drivers of neighbourhood trust.
- **Chapter Four** analyses the data on neighbourhood trust levels in England, including identifying the most socially integrated areas of the country.
- **Chapter Five** reviews past, present and future social integration policies in England.
- **Chapter Six** recommends new policies to improve social integration in England.

Chapter 2: **Methodology**

This report will examine the benefits of, and scale of, neighbourhood trust and social integration in England. Specifically, it will map the variation of neighbourhood trust across local authorities in England, and examine individual-level and local-level factors which are linked to this variation. Then, it will identify local authorities that are the most socially integrated in England, and explore policies and programmes in these areas and others to improve social integration, before proposing new policies to bolster social integration. This chapter explains in detail the methods used to achieve the research questions identified at the end of Chapter One.

Research techniques

We employed three research methods for this report:

- **Literature review:** An extensive literature review was conducted of existing UK and international evidence. This included:
    - Government research papers and statistical releases
    - Government and third sector surveys and reports
    - The Government's *Integrated Communities Strategy* green paper and associated consultations
    - Local government social integration plans, strategies and associated consultations
    - Relevant academic work

- **Consultation:** Bright Blue consulted with a number of parliamentarians, academics, civil servants, opinion formers and researchers to inform and guide our research.
- **Statistical analysis:** Bright Blue commissioned independent researchers to utilise the 2009-10 and 2010-11 Citizenship Survey[60], the 2011 Census[61] and the 2015 Indices of Deprivation to analyse the effect of individual- and local-level factors on the level of neighbourhood trust in English local authorities. This report also draws on additional analysis conducted by the Bright Blue research team drawing on local authority measures of the Index of Dissimilarity and the Index of Ethnic Diversity, to identify the most socially integrated areas in England.

Statistical analysis

Statistical analysis of multiple datasets was undertaken by independent researchers. As the individual-level variables contained potentially identifying data, the analysis used data from the Secure Version (project no 121203) of the 2009-2010 and 2010-2011 Citizenship Survey.[62] This data was matched to Middle Layer Super Output Area (MSOA)[63] and Local Authority (LA) variables obtained from a variety of sources including the 2011 Census,[64] the 2015 Indices of Deprivation[65] and the Office for National Statistics (ONS). Together, we describe MSOA and LA variables as 'local-level variables'. The total sample size for each level can be seen in Table 2.1 below.

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60. SN: 6733, DOI: http://doi.org/10.5255/UKDA-SN-6733-1 and SN: 7111, DOI: http://doi.org/10.5255/UKDA-SN-7111-1

61. DOI: http://dx.doi.org/10.5257/census/aggregate-2011-1

62. UK Data Service, "Citizenship survey, 2005-2011: secure access", https://beta.ukdataservice.ac.uk/datacatalogue/studies/study?id=7403#!/details

63. MSOAs are standardised geographical areas used in the Citizenship Survey and 2011 Census, containing an average of 7,200 individuals. Lower Layer Super Output Areas (LSOAs), which contain an average of 1,600 individuals, were not used as many of them contained just one individual who answered the Citizenship Survey, which would have adversely affected the statistical analysis.

64. Nomis, "2011 census data", https://www.nomisweb.co.uk/census/2011

65. National Statistics, "English indices of deprivation 2015", https://www.gov.uk/government/statistics/english-indices-of-deprivation-2015 (2015).

Table 2.1. Sample sizes of pooled data for independent statistical analysis	
Group Variable	**Number**
Local Authority	319
MSOA	3,134
Individuals	28,822

It is important to note that the data from the independent statistical analysis comes from 2011 or earlier, putting it at risk of being somewhat dated, as demographic changes have occurred in some areas of England. However, this was a methodological necessity. The Community Life Survey, the successor to the Citizenship Survey since 2012, does not have sufficient sample sizes for local areas that is needed for the independent statistical analysis. This is also the reason for using data from two periods of the Citizenship Survey, as the pooled data increases the sample size to a sufficient level. Furthermore, the 2021 Census is still several years away from being conducted, meaning that the independent researchers had to rely on 2011 data for the local-level variables.

The main variable of interest ('the dependent variable'), neighbourhood trust, is measured through a single question in the Citizenship Survey: "Can people in the neighbourhood be trusted?", with the available responses being 'most', 'some', 'a few' and 'none'.[66] For analysis purposes, this is converted into a binary measure, where those who said that 'most' people can be trusted are coded as '1', while those who responded differently are coded as '0'. Hence, the analysed dependent variable measures whether an individual does, or does not, trust most of their neighbours.

As Figure 2.1 below demonstrates, the following factors were included by the independent researchers in regression analysis for

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66. Department for Communities and Local Government, "Community spirit in England: a report on the 2009-10 Citizenship Survey", https://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/20120919214034/http://www.communities.gov.uk/documents/statistics/pdf/2056236.pdf (2011).

individuals: gender, age, ethnicity, marital status, having children, socio-economic status, individual income, and length of time living in the neighbourhood.

As mentioned, local-level factors are considered at the level of MSOAs and LAs. For MSOAs, these factors included: ethnic diversity; the proportion of migrants who cannot speak English well; the proportion of migrants with no qualifications; the levels of income and crime deprivation; the proportion of married households with children; the level of the elderly population; and whether the area is urban or rural.

For LA-level, unemployment and white British population change between 2001 and 2011 were added as factors.

Figure 2.1. Individual-, MSOA- and LA-level variables used in independent statistical analysis
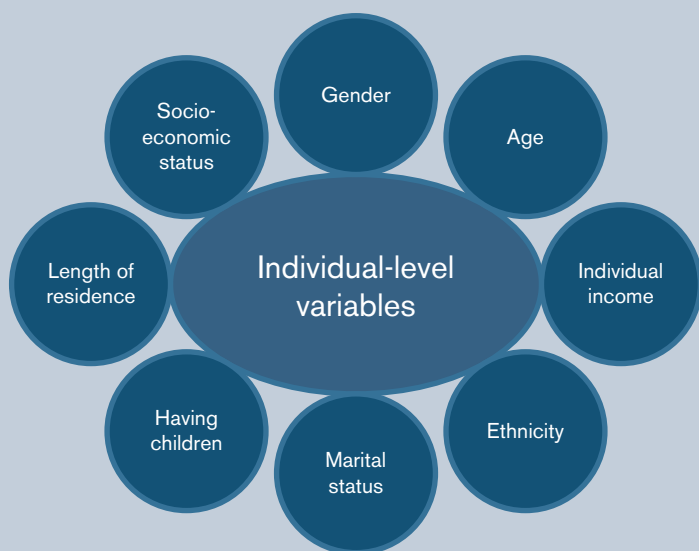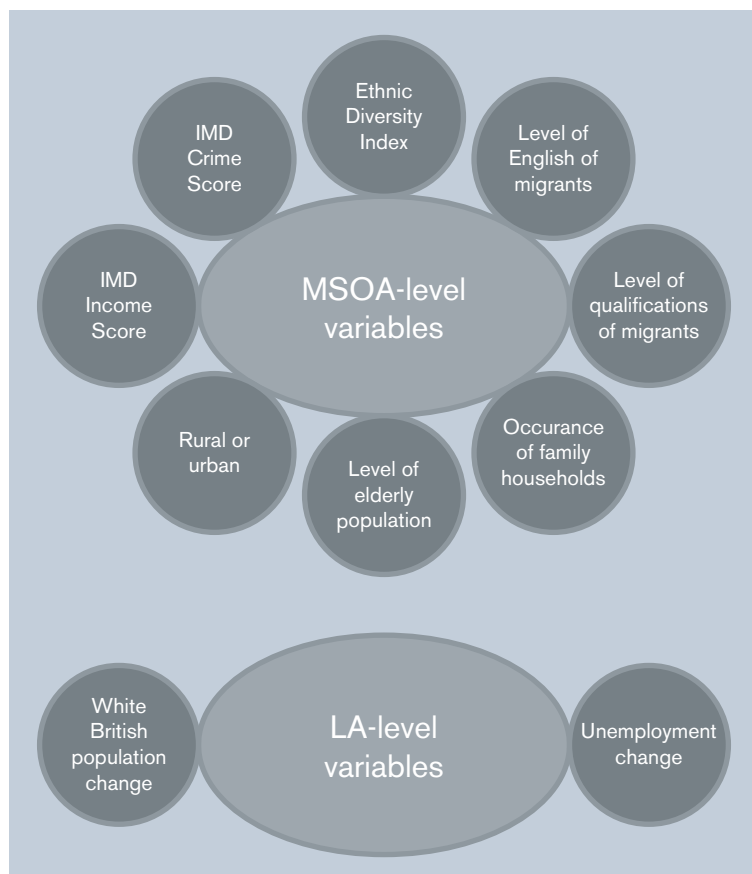
The inclusion of all these variables is motivated by our examination of the wider literature on neighbourhood trust, which is included in Chapter Three. A wide range of social, economic, educational and lifestyle drivers that potentially influence neighbourhood trust has been identified; the independent statistical analysis will test the importance of these different factors, as well as others, in England.

A detailed list of how the different individual-level and local-level variables are measured can be seen in Table 2.2 below.

Table 2.2. Detailed explanation of individual- and local-level variables utilised in the independent statistical analysis

Factor	Type of measurement	Design of measurement
Individual		
Gender	Binary	
Age	Continuous	
Individual Income (annual)	Ordinal	15 categories: £0, £1-£2,499, £2,500-4,999, £5,000-9,999, £10,000-14,999, £15,000-19,999, £20,000-24,999, £25,000-29,999, £30,000-34,999, £35,000-£39,999, £40,000-£44,999, £45,000-49,999, £50,000-74,999, £75,000-99,999, £100,000+
Ethnicity	Categorical	Six categories: White, Asian, Black, Mixed, Chinese and Other
Marital status	Binary	Categories: married and not married
Having children	Binary	Categories: at least one child and no children
Length of residence	Binary	Categories: living in the current dwelling for five years or longer and living for less than five years
Socio-economic status	Categorical	Four categories (drawn from the National Statistics Socio-Economic Classification): higher and lower managerial, intermediate and small employers and semi-routine and routine and other occupations
MSOA		
Ethnic Diversity Index	Ordinal	Deciles, calculated using Simpson's diversity index[67] from the census ethnicity data. Captures the probability of two randomly chosen individuals in one MSOA being members of different ethniccategories
Level of English of migrants	Binary	Categories: proportion of migrants who cannot speak English well in MSOA is above 30% and proportion is below 30%
Occurrence of family households	Continuous	Calculated as percentage of married households with dependent children in MSOA
Level of elderly population	Continuous	Calculated as percentage of population aged over 65 in MSOA

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67. Edward Simpson, "Measurement of diversity", *Nature International Journal of Science* (1949).

Index of Multiple Deprivation: Income Score 2015	Ordinal	Deciles, drawn from the Ministry of Housing, Communities and Local Government (MHCLG) English indices of deprivation 2015[68]
Index of Multiple Deprivation: Crime Score 2015	Ordinal	Deciles, drawn from the Ministry of Housing, Communities and Local Government (MHCLG) English indices of deprivation 2015[68]
Rural or urban	Binary	Drawn from the Office of National Statistics (ONS)/Department for Environment, Food and Rural Affairs (DEFRA) 2011 classification[69]
Level of qualifications of migrants	Binary	Categories: proportion of migrants who have no qualifications in MSOA is above 25% and proportion is below 25%
LA		
White British population change	Ordinal	Three categories: decrease of 5% or more, decrease of 0-5% and increase of more than 0%. Change measured between 2001 and 2011
Unemployment change	Continuous	Calculated as percentage change between 2001 and 2011

The independent statistical analysis will help us to observe the local variance in neighborhood trust across England. It will also enable us to observe how the above individual-level and local-level factors are associated with variations in levels of neighbourhood trust. As already stated, we are particularly interested in testing Professor Robert Putnam's 'hunkering down' theory in the context of England, so the independent statistical analysis will be examining the link between ethnic diversity in a local area and levels of neighbourhood trust.

In the independent statistical analysis, the data uses Simpson's Ethnic Diversity Index, which is the most common method to measure ethnic diversity. It is important to note that it simply measures the relative

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68. The Income Score is derived from the number of people in households in receipt of a wide range of benefits. The Crime Score is derived from crime rates for violence, burglary, theft and criminal damage. Full details can be seen here: https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/464485/English_Indices_of_Deprivation_2015_-_Technical-Report.pdf
69. Office for National Statistics, "Rural/urban classification", https://www.ons.gov.uk/methodology/geography/geographicalproducts/ruralurbanclassifications.

sizes of different ethnic populations to calculate the probability of two randomly chosen residents of a MSOA being members of the same ethnic group. Hence, it cannot tell us anything about the residential and social dynamics between different ethnic groups within the MSOA.

Importantly, the independent statistical analysis is testing other local-level variables such as the age profile of the population and composition of recent immigration to see if these factors are important in determining neighbourhood trust levels.

Indeed, the independent multilevel analysis will allow us to ascertain how important different individual-level and local-level factors are in determining levels of neighbourhood trust. This will quantify the importance of the many different factors highlighted in the academic literature for explaining levels of neighbourhood trust.

Box 2.1. Modelling approach: a detailed description

A full overview of the methodology and analysis conducted by the independent statisticians can be found in the annex of this report.

A multilevel logistic regression model is used to perform the regression analysis. This approach has three stages, to account for individual-, MSOA- and LA-level factors.

First, single level logistic models are estimated using individual-level factors. Second, random intercepts model are estimated with the inclusion of MSOA and LA factors. Third, the random intercept model is estimated using both individual- and local-level variables, which can be written as follows:

$$Log\left(\frac{p_{ijk}}{1-p_{ijk}}\right) = Logit(y_{ijk}) = \beta_0 + \beta_1 X_{ijk} + u_{0jk} + v_{0k}$$

y_{ijk} is a binary indicator variable taking the value of one when

people trust most people in their neighbourhoods and zero otherwise for individual i living in MSOA j and Local Authority k.

The probability of trust in neighbours is defined as $p_{ijk}=\Pr(y_{ijk}=1)$; where β_0 and β_1 are the coefficients to be estimated and u_{0jk} and v_{0k} are the random effects representing unobserved MSOA and LA characteristics which follow a normal distribution with a mean of zero and variance σ^2_{u0} and σ^2_{v0} respectively.

Four variants of the above model were examined. Model One had no additional variables. Other models included an additional variable. Model Two included level of qualifications of immigrants at MSOA level and a variable for the relationship between level of qualifications and the Income Score. Model Three included changes in proportion of White British population change between 2001 and 2011 at LA level. Model Four accounted for change of unemployment rates at LA level.

Identifying the most socially integrated local authorities in England

The Bright Blue research team used the independent statistical analysis to ascertain the most socially integrated local authorities in England. As argued in Chapter One, we believe that the best measure of social integration – which best captures positive, meaningful and substantial interactions between individuals of different ethnic and religious backgrounds – is neighbourhood trust between people from different ethnic and religious backgrounds.

Our view was that socially integrated local authorities in England would have relatively high levels of ethnic diversity and relatively high levels of neighbourhood trust. We identified the top socially integrated local authorities by choosing those which are in the top two deciles of the Ethnic Diversity Index and also have above-average levels of predicted neighbourhood trust (in that they are in the top 50% of all

English local authorities). If local authorities met these two criteria, they were deemed to be the most socially integrated under our definition.

However, we were concerned that this formula for identifying the most socially integrated areas in England could mask problems: namely, people from different ethnic and religious backgrounds mixing with or among themselves, but not with each other. To test this, the Bright Blue research team checked the identified most socially integrated local authorities by looking at their Index of Dissimilarity score, which measures the extent of residential segregation in an area. If the identified local authorities had low levels of residential segregation, then we would be much safer in concluding that these are the most socially integrated areas in England.

Having identified the most socially integrated local authorities in Chapter Four, Chapter Five explains whether there are certain policies and programmes in these areas that improve social integration.

Chapter 3: The trends, benefits and drivers of neighbourhood trust

Chapter One argued that neighbourhood trust is a key part of measuring social integration, but only if that trust is between members of different ethnic and religious groups. In this chapter, the trends, benefits of and drivers of neighbourhood trust will be examined, drawing on current academic literature. But if first it shows that, although England has relatively high levels of neighbourhood trust compared to comparable countries, understanding of the scale of variation across England of levels of neighbourhood trust is limited, as are the causes of this variation.

Evidence and trends in neighbourhood trust

It is worth describing the evidence and trends in neighbourhood trust in this country, relative to other countries. Three UK government surveys have measured neighbourhood trust over the past couple of decades. The most recent survey, the Community Life Survey 2017-18, found that 41% of people in England say many of the people in their local community can be trusted.[70]

There is, however, some considerable variation in reported levels of neighbourhood trust across different surveys. The 2014-15 UK Household Longitudinal Study found that 70% of people in the UK agreed or strongly

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70. DCMS, "Community life survey: 2017-18".

agreed that people in their neighbourhood can be trusted.[71]

There are also differences on whether neighbourhood trust is increasing or decreasing in this country. The Community Life Survey suggests that it is falling. In 2013-14, 48% of people in England said that many of the people in their local area can be trusted. As mentioned above, this has fallen to 41% in 2017-18.[72] On the other hand, the Household Longitudinal Survey suggests that neighbourhood trust is increasing. In 2011-12, 64.8% of people in the UK agreed or strongly agreed that most people in their neighbourhood can be trusted. In 2014-15, this had increased to 69.6%.[73] It should be noted that the Household Longitudinal Survey covers the entire UK, while the Community Life Survey just measures England.

In terms of an international comparison, the World Values Survey has carried out six waves of polling in various countries since the 1980s and has recently included polling on neighbourhood trust specifically. The latest available data for the UK from the 2005-09 wave found that 77% reported that they either completely or somewhat trust their neighbours. Examining other countries, the UK has slightly higher levels of neighbourhood trust than Australia (74.6%) and Germany (73.5%), and significantly higher levels than the Netherlands (68.5%) and Slovenia (62%).[74]

The UK does, however, have lower levels of neighbourhood trust than many Nordic countries. In Sweden, neighbourhood trust is slightly higher with 79% of respondents reporting that they either completely or somewhat trust their neighbours in the 2010-14 wave. Norway and Finland also exhibit significantly higher levels of neighbourhood trust than the UK, with neighbourhood trust figures of 89% and 85% respectively, from the older wave in 2005-09.[75]

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71. ONS, "Social capital in the UK: May 2017", https://www.ons.gov.uk/peoplepopulationandcommunity/wellbeing/bulletins/socialcapitalintheuk/may2017 (2017).
72. DCMS, "Community life survey: 2017-18".
73. ONS, "Social capital in the UK: May 2017",
74. World Values Survey, http://www.worldvaluessurvey.org/WVSOnline.jsp
75. Ibid.

Variations in neighbourhood trust

Importantly, and as hinted at in the Casey Review, there is little empirical evidence on how neighbourhood trust varies between different communities in England. Some data does exist. In 2007, the then Government *Commission on Integration and Cohesion* found that certain areas of England were less likely to report that their community was 'cohesive'. Areas with particularly poor levels of cohesion included some London boroughs, some areas of Yorkshire, and parts of the West Midlands.[76] Nonetheless, this data is dated and asks about community cohesiveness rather than neighbourhood trust.

The ONS produces data on the proportion of people who report that they trust others in their neighbourhood. The data shows that London is the least trusting region in England, with only 56% of people reporting trusting others in their neighbourhood in 2012, while the South-East is the most trusting English region, with 68% reporting trusting others.[77] The data also reveals that rural communities are significantly more trusting than their urban counterparts across the UK, with 78% of people reporting trusting others in the former, compared to 61% in the latter.[78] However, the data is not broken down to smaller areas than regions, which makes deeper analysis of communities difficult.

Despite the general paucity of evidence on how neighbourhood trust varies across England, the above evidence and other evidence gives good reason to suspect that significant variations do exist. A number of neighbourhood trust reports have been conducted into certain regions of England. These reports have frequently found notably low levels of neighbourhood trust in certain areas of the country, particularly between different religious and ethnic groups. For instance, the 2006 Cantle Report found that Bradford, Oldham and Burnley exhibited a "depth of polarisation" around segregated communities living "a series

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76. Dominic Casciani, "Analysis: a cohesive Britain", *BBC News*, 14 June, 2007.
77. ONS, "Social capital across the UK: 2011 to 2012", https://www.ons.gov.uk/peoplepopulationandcommunity/wellbeing/articles/socialcapitalacrosstheuk/2011to2012 (2016).
78. Ibid.

of parallel lives".[79] Local government reports in Luton, Birmingham, and Tower Hamlets have also highlighted low levels of neighbourhood trust.[80] Nevertheless, there has been some challenges to this view: Finney and Simpson, for example, have argued that reports of such segregation are exaggerated.[81]

The Government's *Integrated Communities Strategy* green paper does appear to accept that social integration varies across England. Indeed, it states that the Government believes that the nature and scale of social integration challenges vary significantly across England. And, as a result, tailored local plans and interventions are needed to tackle the social integration issues relevant to a particular community in the five Integration Areas described earlier in Chapter One.[82] The next chapter presents the results from the independent statistical analysis, demonstrating how levels of neighbourhood trust vary across England.

The benefits of neighbourhood trust

There are a number of public and private benefits associated with high levels of neighbourhood trust.

Public benefits

There are significant public benefits from high levels of neighbourhood trust: economic, social and political.

First, economic public benefits. There is certainly significant evidence that high levels of neighbourhood trust creates economic benefits. At the macroeconomic level, a number of studies have shown a clear correlation between higher levels of neighbourhood trust and Gross Domestic Product (GDP). For example, a 2010 report found that in the

79. Institute of Community Cohesion, "Review of community cohesion", 14.
80. Luton Commission on Community Cohesion, "Building cohesion in Luton: Report of the Luton Commission on community cohesion", https://www.luton.gov.uk/Council_government_ and_democracy/Lists/LutonDocuments/PDF/Community%20cohesion/Building%20Cohesion%20 in%20Luton.pdf (2011).
81. Nissa Finney and Ludi Simpson, *'Sleepwalking to segregation ?', Challenging myths about race and migration* (Bristol: Bristol University Press, 2009).
82. MHCLG, "Integrated communities strategy green paper", 16.

UK a ten percentage point increase in neighbourhood trust increases the growth rate of GDP by 0.5%.[83] The head of the UK's Behavioural Insights Team has argued that the economic benefits are a result of higher levels of generalised trust[84] cutting the transaction costs of doing business (for example, removing the need for businesses to consult lawyers to design overly complicated contracts) and discouraging the practise of nepotism where work is awarded to 'people you know' rather than the best person for the job.[85]

Second, social public benefits. Neighbourhood trust is linked with better social order in communities. For example, researchers for the World Bank conducted a cross-country study of 39 developed and developing countries. The study found that neighbourhood trust is the only measure of social integration that is associated with reduced levels of violent crime.[86] Other measures of social integration used by the World Bank, such as participation in voluntary organisations, were actually at times associated with higher levels of violent crime.[87] The World Bank researchers hypothesised that this was due to the fact that neighbourhood trust reflects a community-wide social norm rather than one which is specific to only certain people and groups. That is, relatively high levels of volunteering can be caused by a large minority of community-minded individuals who can co-exist with less community-minded individuals. Meanwhile, relatively high levels of neighbourhood trust require a large majority of a community to share

83. Yann Algan and Pierre Cahuc, "Trust, institutions and economic development", *Handbook of economic growth* (2013), 24.

84. 'Generalised trust' refers to general trust in others, whereas 'neighbourhood trust' is about trust in particular people: neighbours.

85. Dr David Halpern, "Social trust is one of the most important measures that most people have never heard of – and it's moving", http://www.behaviouralinsights.co.uk/uncategorized/social-trust-is-one-of-the-most-important-measures-that-most-people-have-never-heard-of-and-its-moving/ (2015).

86. Other indicators measured in the paper include: the self-proclaimed importance of religion in the individual's daily life; church attendance and rates of membership of and participation in voluntary social organisations.

87. Daniel Lederman, Norman Loayza, and Ana María Menénde, "Violent crime: does social capital matter", http://web.worldbank.org/archive/website00894A/WEB/PDF/SOCIALK1.PDF (2000)

similar social norms.[88] Another study in Chicago found robust evidence that neighbourhood trust was an important predictor of lower rates of violence.[89]

Neighbourhood trust is also linked with lower levels of overall crime, not just violent crime.[90] Furthermore, living in close proximity to, or being at a higher risk of, crime has a negative impact on neighbourhood trust.[91] Indeed, higher trust in neighbours has also been found to reduce the fear of crime.[92]

High levels of neighbourhood trust is also associated with higher levels of volunteering and civic engagement.[93] And volunteering reduces the costs of running some of many essential services in England.[94]

Third, political public benefits. Neighbourhood trust is an important contributor to a healthy political culture, specifically to higher levels of trust in political and civic institutions such as elections, courts, and officials. A 2011 study used data from the 2005-07 World Values Survey to examine the links between 'particular' social trust (encompassing family, neighbourhood and personal connections), generalised social trust and political trust. The authors found that 'particular' social trust is a "necessary but not sufficient" cause of general and political forms of trust.[95] In other words, particular trust does not guarantee certain levels of political trust, but it does provide a foundation for it.

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88. Ibid.

89. Robert J. Sampson, Stephen W. Raudenbush, Felton Earls, "Neighborhoods and violent crime: a multilevel study of collective efficacy", *Science* (1997), 923.

90. OECD, "OECD territorial reviews: the metropolitan region of Melbourne, Australia", https://read.oecd-ilibrary.org/urban-rural-and-regional-development/oecd-territorial-reviews-the-metropolitan-region-of-melbourne-australia-2003_9789264101609-en#page281 (2003), 285.

91. Lucy Stone, "Responding to the unequal distribution of crime", *Community Safety Journal* (2006), 29-36.

92. Pavel Luengas and Inder J. Ruprah, "Fear of crime: does trust and community participation matter", https://www.academia.edu/5800491/Fear_of_Crime_Does_Trust_and_Community_Participation_Matter (2008), 9.

93. Robert Sampson, "Neighbourhood and community", *New Economy* (2004).

94. IPPR, "Charity street: the value of charity to British households", https://www.cafonline.org/docs/default-source/about-us-publications/charity-street-report-sept14.pdf (2014). and NCVO, "Report of the inquiry into charity senior executive pay and guidance for trustees on setting remuneration",https://www.ncvo.org.uk/images/news/Executive-Pay-Report.pdf (2014).

95. Ken Newton and Sonja Zmerli, "Three forms of trust and their association", *European Political Science Review* (2011).

Finally, high levels of neighbourhood trust are associated with a lower risk of radicalisation. A 2014 study by academics from King's College London and Queen Mary's University of London conducted a representative poll of men and women aged 18–45 of Muslim heritage in two English cities. They found that lower levels of neighbourhood trust were associated with a higher risk of Islamic radicalisation. They attributed this to their belief that low levels of neighbourhood trust were frequently caused by isolation which, in turn, created grievances. Accordingly, extremist ideologies were attractive to isolated individuals because they allowed them to address their grievances, while also reducing their isolation by allowing them access to close-knit and, somewhat, clannish organisations.[96]

Private benefits

There are a number of private benefits to high levels of neighbourhood trust, related to education, relationships and health.

First, neighbourhood trust has been shown to improve educational attainment. A number of studies have shown that individuals who report higher levels of neighbourhood trust are more likely to achieve a university-level qualification.[97]

High levels of neighbourhood trust are also likely to enable people to build larger and stronger social networks. Social networks can have a transformative and positive effect for those living in poverty. In a previous Bright Blue report, it was found that strong social networks are helpful for everyone, but that they are particularly crucial for people in poverty.[98] People in poverty have less economic capital with which to obtain items they need. In certain circumstances, social capital can replace economic capital, enabling people to avoid or alleviate the

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96. Kamaldeep Bhui, Nasir Warfa and Edgar Jones, "Is violent radicalisation associated with poverty, migration, poor self-reported health and common mental disorders?", *Plos One* (2014).

97. Michael Neaf and Jurgen Schupp, "Measuring trust: experiments and surveys in contrast and combination", http://ftp.iza.org/dp4087.pdf (2009).

98. Shorthouse, "Reducing poverty by promoting".

effects of poverty. For instance, childcare can be provided by family and friends, rather than paid for. Research suggests that social networks help families close to or living in poverty better cope with financial emergencies and take advantage of a wider range of opportunities.[99]

High levels of neighbourhood trust in ethnically and religiously diverse areas are also likely to yield more diverse social networks for individuals.[100] Research by Dr Nissa Finney has highlighted that having a more diverse social network is associated with less likelihood of living in poverty. One study found that Pakistani single parents with more diverse social networks have a 12% reduced probability of being poor than their peers without such networks; for White British single parents, in terms of knowing people of different backgrounds and employment statistics, the same figure is 26%.[101] In the USA, evidence shows that children from disadvantaged ethnic minority backgrounds are more likely to experience higher social mobility if they live in mixed socio-economic neighbourhoods.[102]

High levels of neighbourhood trust are connected with better health outcomes. For example, several studies have found a strong, positive association between neighbourhood trust and both levels of happiness and life satisfaction.[103] While studies also show that individuals living in communities with higher levels of reported neighbourhood trust have better self-rated health.[104] One study predicted that moving just 10% of people from being generally untrusting to generally trusting of their neighbours would lead to a 2.3 per 100,000 of the population

99. Social Market Foundation, "Family fortunes: the bank of mum and dad in low income families", http://www.smf.co.uk/wp-content/uploads/2013/10/Publication-Family-Fortunes-The-bank-of-mum-and-dad-in-low-income-families.pdf (2013).
100. Tasuku Igarashi et al, "Culture, trust, and social networks", *Asian Journal of Social Psychology* (2008), 88-101.
101. Shorthouse, "Reducing poverty by promoting".
102. Ibid.
103. Noah Carl and Francesco Billari, "Generalized trust and intelligence in the United States", *Plos One* (2014) and John F. Helliwell and Shun Wang, "Trust and wellbeing", *International Journal of Wellbeing* (2011), 56.
104. Jan Mewes and Giuseppe Nicola Giordano, "Self-rated health, generalized trust, and the Affordable Care Act: A US panel study, 2006–2014", *Social Science & Medicine* (2017).

drop in the suicide rate.[105] Moreover, data from a study of British and Canadian children showed that those who live in high social capital neighbourhoods (of which neighbourhood trust is a measure) have better mental health, fewer risk-taking behaviours and better overall perceptions of health than children in low social capital neighbourhoods.[106]

What drives levels of neighbourhood trust?

In 1995, the American political scientist Professor Robert Putnam published his seminal essay *Bowling alone: America's declining social capital*. Putnam rests much of his belief that social capital is declining on falling neighbourhood trust levels in the US, as evidenced in Chapter One, as well as on declining civic engagement.

Putnam identifies changes to civic structures, such as falling membership of trade unions and rising income inequality, as potential drivers of declining neighbourhood trust. However, Professor Putnam predominantly attributes it to increasing ethnic neighbourhood diversity in the US, as discussed in Chapter One. However, since, and before, Putnam's seminal essay, a number of other researchers have presented numerous other possible drivers of levels of neighbourhood trust.

As well as social factors, including ethnic diversity, immigration, and residential segregation, the wider academic literature points to three other types of drivers of levels neighbourhood trust: economic factors; educational factors; and, lifestyle factors. The main economic drivers of levels of neighbourhood trust that have been identified include inequality, overall national wealth, and deprivation. The main educational drivers identified include English language proficiency and educational attainment. In terms of lifestyle drivers, changes in how people spend their time is identified as central.

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105. Helliwell, "Trust and wellbeing".
106. Frank Elgar, Stephen Trites and William Boyce, "Social capital reduces socio-economic differences in child health: evidence from the Canadian health behaviour in school-aged children study", *Can J Public Health* (2010).

Social factors

Most research on the causes of diverging levels of neighbourhood trust has focussed on social factors, namely the impact of ethnic diversity and immigration. Some researchers hypothesise that differences between ethnic groups – both socially and culturally – can make neighbourhood trust levels between different members of the community more difficult. However, the empirical evidence on this hypothesis is mixed. The largest body of evidence comes from the USA, however some research has been done in the UK and Europe.

Amongst US researchers, Professor Robert Putnam is the most prominent. His 2007 work *E Pluribus Unum* developed his 'hunkering down' theory. Putnam theorised that people in ethnically diverse areas tend to 'hunker down', trusting less and participating less. Putnam has amassed a large quantity of evidence in the US to support his theory. Putnam finds a strong positive relationship between high levels of neighbourhood trust and racial homogeneity.[107] His research controls for factors such as population density, region, income inequality and crime. In ethnically diverse cities such as Los Angeles or San Francisco, approximately 30% of residents declare that they trust their neighbours 'a lot'. Conversely, in the more ethnically homogeneous neighbourhoods of North and South Dakota, around 70% to 80% of the inhabitants say the same.[108]

Interestingly, Putnam finds that levels of in-group neighbourhood trust are also lower in more ethnically diverse areas. That is, in more ethnically diverse neighbourhoods, Americans distrust not merely people who do not look like them, but also people of their own ethnicity. Further evidence from the United States supports Putnam's findings. Numerous studies have all found significant relationships

107. Robert Putnam, "E Pluribus Unum: diversity and community in the twenty-first century", *Scandanavian Political Studies* (2007).
108. James Dobson, "The ties that bind: analysing the relationship between social cohesion, diversity, and immigration", https://static1.squarespace.com/static/56eddde762cd9413e151ac92/t/56f71c17825 9b5ceb28f6a1d/1459035162158/The-Ties-that-Bind.pdf

between neighbourhood trust and neighbourhood ethnic diversity.[109] This finding does seemingly pose problems for our conclusion that neighbourhood trust is a good measure of how socially integrated a community is. But, as stated, we judge that social integration is only occurring if neighbourhood trust is high among individuals from different ethnic and religious groups.

Some research in the US, nonetheless, has found that while ethnic diversity can erode neighbourhood trust, this erosion is mitigated when individuals interact with their neighbours regularly. In line with the findings from 'contact theory' explained in Chapter One, they postulate that social ties may overcome the feeling of being threatened by ethnic diversity.[110]

There is also some evidence from the US which actually finds that ethnic diversity does not negatively affect neighbourhood trust. For instance, one academic paper from 2001 finds that the negative effect of ethnic diversity on trust in Illinois was explained by poverty, and by the proportion of single-parent families.[111] However, unquestionably, the vast majority of US evidence supports Putnam's findings that higher ethnic diversity is associated with lower levels of neighbourhood trust.

There are, nonetheless, some reasons to suspect that American research may not be fully applicable to the UK. Some British researchers have suggested that ethnic diversity and neighbourhood trust is "highly historically contingent and we cannot assume, without evidence, that associations observed in one context will generalise in a straightforward manner".[112] Several researchers have argued that the American experience of slavery may have produced a unique state of

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109. Ibid.
110. Dietlind Stolle, Stuart Soroka and Richard Johnston, "When does diversity erode trust? neighborhood diversity, interpersonal trust and the mediating effect of social interactions", *Political Studies* (2008).
111. Catherine Ross, John Wirowsky and Shana Pribesh, "Powerlessness and the amplification of threat: neighborhood disadvantage, disorder, and mistrust", *American Sociological Review* (2001).
112. Patrick Sturgis, Brunton-Smith, Ian, Sanna Read and Nick Allum, "Does ethnic diversity erode trust? Putnam's 'hunkering down' thesis reconsidered", *British Journal of Political Science* (2011).

conflict between ethnicities in the United States.[113]

While the historical context of ethnic diversity varies between the US and UK, there are other reasons to suspect that the UK and the USA may be different. Some researchers have found that levels of racial inequality and segregation are more pronounced in the USA than the UK.[114] The same researchers have also found that, while ethnically diverse areas are almost universally viewed as undesirable in the US, such areas can be viewed positively in the UK, particularly by ethnic minorities.[115] In fact, research by Professor Patrick Sturgis found that in London "when area-level economic deprivation is controlled, diversity emerges as a positive predictor of social cohesion". In other words, "ethnic diversity does not, in and of itself, drive down community cohesion and trust", and in fact, in the highly ethnically diverse neighbourhoods of London, "the opposite appears to be the case."[116]

Finally, the profile of immigration varies substantially between the US and UK. In the USA, Latin America provides the largest source of immigrants. In 2013, 46% of immigrants (19 million people) reported having Hispanic or Latino origins.[117] In the UK, migrants have traditionally travelled from Commonwealth countries, but now increasingly come from European countries such as Poland.[118]

Another main social factor, immigration, can have a substantial effect on levels of neighbourhood trust. Indeed, the Government's recent *Integrated Communities Strategy* green paper argues that high levels of migration or sudden, concentrated migration can put a strain on local communities. This green paper argues that this is particularly

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113. Dietlind Stolle and Marc Morje Howard, "Civic engagement and civic attitudes in cross-national perspective: introduction to the symposium", *Political Studies* (2008).

114. Edward Fieldhouse and David Cutts, "Does diversity damage social capital? A comparative study of neighbourhood diversity and social capital in the US and Britain", *Canadian Journal of Political Science* (2010).

115. Ibid.

116. Sturgis et al., "Ethnic diversity, segregation"

117. Migration Policy Institute, "Mexican immigrants in the United States", https://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/mexican-immigrants-united-states (2018)

118. The Migration Observatory, "Migrants in the UK: an overview", http://www.migrationobservatory.ox.ac.uk/resources/briefings/migrants-in-the-uk-an-overview/ (2018).

likely to happen in deprived areas. This pressure on local communities and differences between cultural and social norms can lead to tension and, in some cases, prejudice, and discrimination and hate crime.[119]

Conversely, there is evidence to suggest that living in the same neighbourhood for a long period (of at least up to five years) is associated with higher levels of neighbourhood trust. In fact, the effects of long-term settlement on neighbourhood trust levels are three times stronger than on other forms of trust, such as generalised trust. Conversely, densely populated areas with higher levels of population mobility have lower levels of neighbourhood trust, as well as judging that neighbours would be less likely to return each other's lost wallets.[120] This lends evidence somewhat to the Government's green paper's claim that sudden, concentrated migration can put a strain on local communities.

A third social factor is residential segregation. As outlined in Chapter One, this is the physical separation of two or more social groups within a geographic area, normally along the lines of ethnicity, religion or socio-economic background. One study in Great Britain suggested that while ethnic diversity is negatively associated with neighbourhood trust, the relationship between the two is highly dependent on the level of residential segregation across the community. Basically, increasing ethnic diversity only negatively impacted levels of neighbourhood trust in segregated communities. Those in ethnically diverse but not segregated communities experienced no negative impacts on their neighbourhood trust levels.[121] As will be explained in depth in Chapter Four, residential segregation is an important consideration when identifying the most socially integrated areas across England.

There is clearly robust evidence that ethnic diversity, immigration and residential segregation have an impact on levels of neighbourhood

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119. MHCLG, "Integrated communities strategy green paper", 12.
120. Helliwell, "Trust and wellbeing", 53-4, 57.
121. James Laurence, "Wider-community segregation and the effect of neighbourhood ethnic diversity on social capital: an investigation into intra-neighbourhood trust in Great Britain and London", *Sociology* (2017).

trust, but it remains unclear to what extent this is true in England.

Economic factors

A number of economic factors have been identified as possible drivers of differing levels of neighbourhood trust. One of the most frequently identified economic drivers is income inequality, which Professor Putnam cited in his seminal work, *Bowling Alone*.

Researchers have hypothesised that high levels of income inequality can prevent interaction and trust between people from different social groups since their relative differences in wealth act as a barrier to contact.[122]

Putnam's most recent book, *Our Kids*, emphasises that falling levels of generalised trust have been experienced the most by poorer people. Putnam cites that from the late 1970s to the early 2010s, the proportion of 17-18 year olds in the top third of educated homes who say that most people can be trusted fell by roughly a third, compared to the proportion of young adults in the least educated third of homes whose generalised trust fell by roughly one half. Putnam argues that someone living in an affluent neighbourhood is more likely to trust their neighbours, but the concentration of poorer people into poorer areas and wealthier people in wealthier areas, which is a consequence of rising inequality, means that the benefits to trust of living in an affluent area are restricted more and more to wealthy people.[123]

Further evidence that income inequality can drive levels of neighbourhood trust is provided by the International Monetary Fund (IMF), which found that higher income inequality lowers an individual's sense of generalised trust in others in the US, as well as in other advanced economies.[124]

However, it is important to note that other research has not observed

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122. The British Academy, "Two nations? Brexit, inequality and social cohesion", https://www.britac. ac.uk/blog/%E2%80%9Ctwo-nations%E2%80%9D-brexit-inequality-and-social-cohesion (2017).
123. Robert Putnam, *Our kids: the American dream in crisis* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2015), 220.
124. International Monetary Fund, "Growing apart, losing trust? the impact of inequality on social capital", ttps://www.imf.org/external/pubs/ft/wp/2016/wp16176.pdf (2016).

a relationship between income inequality and neighbourhood trust. According to the EU-funded GINI project, there is no significant effect of income inequality on neighbourhood trust when overall levels of national wealth is controlled for. This report also found a significant positive association between national wealth and the likelihood to generally trust people regardless of levels of income inequality. The report's authors argue that national wealth, rather than real or perceived inequality, is more important in explaining variations in generalised trust. It should be noted that this study focused on Western countries with relatively low levels of income inequality, and the authors warn that their results "do not rule out the possibility that, after surpassing a threshold, inequality becomes a significant predictor of social trust".[125]

Another economic factor which has been identified as a possible driver of levels of neighbourhood trust is levels of deprivation. The 2017 Casey Review, for example, identified deprivation as a possible cause of poor community relations. The Government's *Integrated Communities Strategy* green paper appears to accept that deprivation can damage neighbourhood trust. However, it contends that deprivation has a particularly damaging effect on integration when it combines with high levels of migration or sudden, very concentrated migration.[126]

There is some evidence to support this contention. According to one academic paper, which analysed ONS data, deprivation explains substantially more geographical variation in neighbourhood trust levels than either levels of ethnic diversity or levels of inward migration.[127]

In sum, there is some evidence – albeit limited and at times conflicting – to suggest that income inequality, national wealth and deprivation all impact on levels of neighbourhood trust.

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125. Sander Steijn and Bram Lancee, "Does income inequality negatively affect general trust? Examining three potential problems with the inequality -trust hypothesis", http://www.gini-research.org/system/uploads/274/original/DP_20_-_Steijn_Lancee.pdf (2011).
126. MHCLG, "Integrated communities strategy green paper", 11.
127. Liz Twigg, Joanna Taylor and John Mohan, "Diversity or disadvantage? Investigating perceptions of neighbourhood in the British Crime Survey", https://www.ukdataservice.ac.uk/media/428475/twiggtaylor.pdf.

Educational factors

The two chief educational drivers of neighbourhood trust identified in the academic literature are: levels of proficiency in the host country's language; and, educational attainment.

The way in which levels of proficiency in the language of the host country can drive neighbourhood trust seems obvious. Individuals with poor host country language skills will struggle to engage with different members of their community because they will be unable to communicate, or they will find it difficult to do so.

This reflects, somewhat, levels of immigration, or even ethnic diversity, impacting neighbourhood trust levels, because immigrants in the UK are more likely than natives to have lower English language proficiency in this country.[128] However, they are not identical drivers because British natives can also of course have poor English language skills. Likewise, immigrants who settle in the UK can have extremely advanced English language skills. For example, 90% of 16 to 30 year olds whose first language at home was not English reported that language difficulties had not caused problems in keeping or finding a job, and 93% reported no problems in their education.[129]

The Government's *Integrated Communities Strategy* green paper reports that proficiency in English is vital for migrants to integrate within their local communities. It argues that it is key to them taking up employment, taking an active role in community life, supporting their children, and communicating with people outside their immediate family.[130] Indeed, Government analysis into the effects of English for Speakers of Other Languages (ESOL) provision found that it led to

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128. ONS, "2011 Census: Detailed analysis – English language proficiency in England and Wales, Main language and general health characteristics", https://www.ons.gov.uk/peoplepopulationandcommunity/culturalidentity/language/articles/detailedanalysisenglishlanguageproficiencyinenglandandwales/2013-08-30 (2013).
129. The Migration Observatory, "Young people and migration in the UK: an overview", https://migrationobservatory.ox.ac.uk/resources/reports/young-people-migration-uk-overview/ (2016)
130. MHCLG, "Integrated communities strategy green paper", 21.

"improvements in social interaction and bond forming".[131]

The green paper also outlines the statistics of those who struggle with English language proficiency. Of the 770,000 people in England aged over 16 who say they cannot speak English well or at all, women are disproportionately affected, with 2.1% of women reporting this, compared to 1.5% of men. In terms of ethnicity, Pakistani (18.9%) and Bangladeshi (21.9%) groups have the highest proportions of low levels in English proficiency. For faith communities, the Muslim population has the highest proportion of those who cannot speak English well or at all, at 16%.[132]

There is a significant body of evidence that supports the argument that English language proficiency is, indeed, associated with and vital for neighbourhood trust in English-speaking countries. A 2015 study in Scotland, for example, found that greater competency in English language was associated with higher trust in neighbours, as well as a slight increase in meeting up with neighbours.[133] Additionally, a 2015 Australian study found that the level of diversity of languages spoken in neighbourhoods was amongst the most important determinants of trust, both at a general and neighbourhood level. In particular, an increase in the number of different languages spoken in a neighbourhood was associated with a decrease in neighbourhood trust.[134]

A second educational driver of levels of neighbourhood trust is educational attainment itself. Studies have found education is significantly associated with levels of neighbourhood trust, with those with higher educational attainment more trusting of others in the

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131. MHCLG, "Measuring the impact of community-based English language provision: Findings from a randomised controlled trial", https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/690084/Measuring_the_impact_of_community-based_English_language_provision.pdf (2018).

132. MHCLG, "Integrated communities strategy green paper", 35.

133. Ade Kearns and Elise Whitley, "Getting there? The effects of functional factors, time and place on the social integration of migrants", *Journal of ethnic and migration studies* (2015).

134. Silvia Mendolia, Alex Tosh, Oleg Yerokhin, "Ethnic diversity and trust: new evidence from Australian data", http://ftp.iza.org/dp9544.pdf (2015).

neighbourhood.[135] One study in Australia found that "education was also significantly associated with neighbourhood trust, with those with higher educational achievement more trusting of others in the neighbourhood".[136] In its review of social capital in the UK in 2011-12, the ONS reported that people in "higher managerial occupations" were more likely to trust people in their neighbourhood than people in "routine occupations", noting that this was in line with previous research showing that people with higher educational attainment had higher levels of trust in others.[137]

There appears to be a consensus and evidence base that higher educational attainment and competence in the host country's language are important drivers of levels of neighbourhood trust.

Lifestyle changes

Another type of driver of levels of neighbourhood trust is changes to the way people use their time.

Professor Putnam has extensively examined the changing lifestyle habits of America over the past four decades and sees these changes as contributing to the decline of trust in the US. He points towards declines of parent-teacher association (PTA) numbers from 12 million in 1964 to approximately seven million in the 1990s. Similarly, volunteering for civic organisations such as the Boy Scouts and Red Cross fell by 26% and 61% respectively since 1970. At all educational levels of society, the number of association memberships has fallen by a quarter.[138]

The UK *Time Use Survey* series tracks how people in the UK spend their time. The survey has been conducted since 1961. The survey reveals that adults in the UK have significantly changed how they use

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135. Anna M Ziersch, Fran E Baum, Colin MacDougall, Christine Putland, "Neighbourhood life and social capital: the implications for health", *Social Science & Medicine* (2004), 76.
136. Ibid.
137. ONS, "Social capital across the UK: 2011 to 2012", https://www.ons.gov.uk/peoplepopulationandcommunity/wellbeing/articles/socialcapitalacrosstheuk/2011to2012#the-role-of-trust-belonging-and-social-connections-in-communities (2016).
138. Robert Putnam, "Bowling alone: America's declining social capital", *Journal of Democracy* (1995), 5.

their time since 1961. Generally, parents now spend more time looking after their children. In the 1960s and 1970s, British mothers spent an average of 77 minutes on childcare per day. There has been a steady increase in mothers' time investment in children starting from the 1980s, reaching a maximum of 168 minutes in 2015. The trend for fathers is very similar to that of mothers: from 11 minutes in the 1960s to more than an hour per day with their child in 2015.[139]

However, the increase in time spent looking after children has not come at the expense of reduced working hours. The proportion of time spent in paid work between 1961 and 2015 has remained relatively stable.[140] Instead, adults in the UK appear to have sacrificed other recreational and civic activities in order to increase the time spent with their children. For example, the amount of time adults in the UK spend performing 'participatory' activities – which include religious activities and activities related to volunteering – has declined significantly over the past few decades. In 1961, adults in the UK spent an average of 49 minutes per day performing participatory activities. By 2015, this had fallen to 25 minutes.[141]

Adults in the UK changing their use of time to focus more on work and their children is, in many ways, an admirable development. However, the decline in time spent participating in voluntary activities may have reduced the opportunities for contact and interaction and thus to produce high levels of neighbourhood trust.

Certainly, research by Professor Patrick Sturgis found it was more likely to find people with high levels of neighbourhood trust amongst those with higher rates of membership of "associational organisations" such as religious groups, voluntary service groups and sports clubs. He found that the odds of trusting neighbours increased by 25% for each

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139. Evrim Altintas, "CSI 27: are British parents investing less time in their children", http://csi.nuff.ox.ac.uk/wp-content/uploads/2016/09/CSI-27-Are-British-Parents-investing-less-time.pdf (2016).
140. Scientific American, "Where does your time go?", https://www.scientificamerican.com/article/where-does-your-time-go/ (2015).
141. ONS, "Leisure time in the UK; 2015", https://www.ons.gov.uk/economy/nationalaccounts/satelliteaccounts/articles/leisuretimeintheuk/2015 (2017).

additional membership an individual reported.[142] Data from the *British Social Attitudes* survey also found that those who frequently took part in leisure, sports and cultural activities with other people were more likely to hold trusting views of their neighbours.[143] Thus, if it is accepted that changes in lifestyle have led to lower levels of participation in such organisations, this may be a contributing driver of lower levels of neighbourhood trust.

Conclusion

While there is a significant body of evidence which suggests social, economic, educational and lifestyle factors can all play a role in driving neighbourhood trust, it is unclear how important these factors are in explaining different neighbourhood trust levels across England.

The examples of drivers of neighbourhood trust in this chapter are not exhaustive. Rather, they are commonly cited in the academic literature. In the next chapter, we will test and show how important these commonly used drivers – as well as others – are for explaining differing levels of neighbourhood trust across England.

142. Patrick Sturgis, Roger Patulny, Nick Allum, Franz Buscha, "Social connectedness and generalized trust: a longitudinal perspective", https://ro.uow.edu.au/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1559&context=lhapapers (2012).
143. British Social Attitudes, "Social trust: the impact of social networks and inequality", http://www.bsa.natcen.ac.uk/media/39278/bsa35_social_trust.pdf (2018).

Chapter 4: **Neighbourhood trust across England**

Chapter Three outlined the trends in, benefits of, and drivers of neighbourhood trust, based on the wider academic literature. In this chapter, we unearth the individual-level and local-level characteristics that affect varying levels of neighbourhood trust in England, based on the independent statistical analysis described in Chapter Two and explained in detail in the Annex.

This independent statistical analysis enables us to map predicted levels of neighbourhood trust across different local authorities in England. It also enables us to test Professor Putnam's thesis in the context of this country: that the ethnic diversity of a local area affects levels of neighbourhood trust. In addition, it allows us to test whether other local-level variables, such as demographic and employment changes, affect levels of neighbourhood trust in England. Finally, based on the independent analysis, we conducted our own analysis to find the most socially integrated local authorities in England, based on our proposed measure of social integration from Chapter One.

It should be noted that the individual-level and local-level variables tested in the independent statistical analysis are more exhaustive than the drivers identified from the academic literature in Chapter Three. This is because we want to test an exhaustive range of factors and develop a richer understanding of what drives levels of neighbourhood trust in England.

It should also be highlighted that the measure of neighbourhood trust derives from the question: "Can people in the neighbourhood be trusted?", with answers rated '0' or '1', as explained in Chapter Two. This measure of neighbourhood trust differs from the measure cited in Chapter Three when comparing levels of neighbourhood trust in England with other countries, as that measure used an 'agree-disagree' scale, with 'strongly agree' and 'agree' responses aggregated to measure levels of neighbourhood trust.

How individual-level characteristics affect neighbourhood trust in England

The independent statistical analysis first allows us to observe how the characteristics of individuals affect predicted levels of neighbourhood trust in England. As Table 4.1 below illustrates, the analysis tested how important a number of individual-level characteristics are for determining predicted levels of neighbourhood trust across England. These individual-level characteristics relate to gender, age, ethnicity, socio-economic status, family status, and length of time living in a community.

All results in Table 4.1 are discussed in reference to 'odds ratios'. Odds ratios are the values obtained from the independent statistical analysis and show the probabilistic relation between individual-level characteristics and the likelihood of those individuals trusting most of their neighbours. Values below one indicate that possessing that characteristic makes it less likely for the individual to trust most of their neighbours, when controlling for all other characteristics tested, including at the local-level. For values above one, the reverse is true: that possessing those characteristics makes it more likely for the individual to trust most of their neighbours. Note that some variables have a 'reference' category, which means that odd ratios for all such variables listed under that reference compare the probability of trusting most of their neighbours in comparison to the reference category.

Table 4.1. Effect of individual-level variables on neighbourhood trust in England

Factor	Odds Ratio
Female (reference: Male)	0.82*
Age	1.02*
Individual income	0.95*
Individual income squared[144]	1.01*
Ethnicity (reference: White)	
Asian	0.82*
Black	0.70*
Mixed	0.84
Chinese	0.88
Other	0.58*
Married	1.21*
Lived for 5 years or longer	1.15*
Socio-economic status (reference: Higher and lower management)	
Intermediate; small employers	0.80*
Semi-routine and routine	0.63*
Other	0.78*

Significant at p<0.05[145]

Source: Citizenship Survey, pooled 2009-10 and 2010-11 (secure access) and Census 2011 data

144. This factor is present to account for the potentiality of individual income having a non-linear effect on neighbourhood trust, where the effect of individual income on neighbourhood trust varies, depending on the level of individual income. Nonetheless, income is, and should be, treated as a single variable when the results are interpreted in this paper.

145. A variable is statistically significant if the variable's odd ratio is unlikely to be a product of chance (less than 5% in this instance). The associated standard errors and p-values, which are used to determine significance, can be found in the Annex.

The individual-level results from the independent statistical analysis show seven main findings. First, the odd ratios suggest that women are less likely to trust most of their neighbours than men. Second, that levels of neighbourhood trust are also predicted to increase with age. Third, that predicted neighbourhood trust increases when an individual's income increases. Fourth, white individuals are the most likely to trust most of their neighbours out of all ethnic groups. Fifth, those employed in higher and lower managerial jobs are the most likely to trust most of their neighbours compared to others with different socio-economic status. Sixth, being married means you are more likely to trust most of your neighbours. Finally, living for five years or longer within their current property makes it more likely that a person trusts most of their neighbours.

From the odds ratios, the independent researchers can calculate a more significant measure: the means of predicted probability. This is more straightforward. The means of predicted probability can be interpreted as the predicted proportion of individuals across England having those characteristics who trust most of their neighbours, when holding all other individual- and local-level characteristics in the model at a fixed value. The independent statistical analysis allowed the calculation of means of predicted probability for nearly all of the individual-level characteristics outlined in Table 4.1.

The independent analysis of the means of predicted probabilities suggests that a number of individual-level characteristics are correlated with having lower levels of neighbourhood trust.

As seen in Figure 4.1 below, women are less likely to trust most of their neighbours when compared to men, with the predicted proportions being 37% and 42% respectively. This can be read as a predicted 37% of women across England trusting most of their neighbours compared to 42% of men.

Figure 4.1. Predicted probability of neighbourhood trust for males and females in England
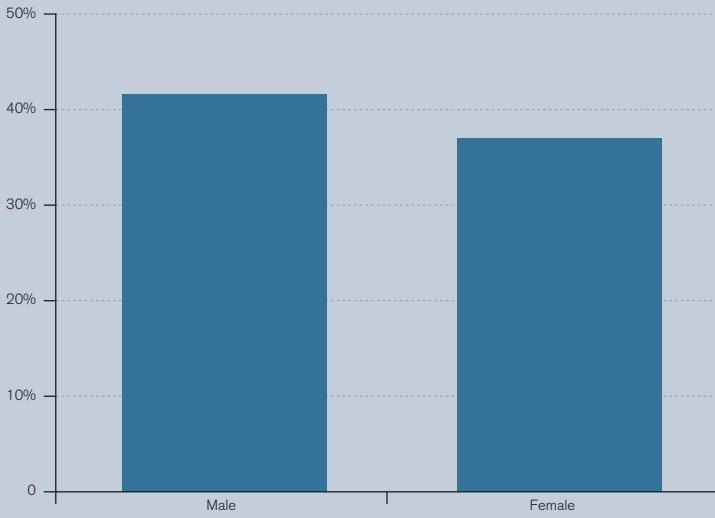
Source: Based on Citizenship Survey, pooled 2009-10 and 2010-11 (secure access) and Census 2011 data

Age is a notable individual-level characteristic that affects neighbourhood trust, with the likelihood of trusting most of your neighbours increasing as people become older. As Figure 4.2 below shows, there is a small decrease in the proportion of individuals trusting most of their neighbours as they enter their early twenties, followed by a persistent and steady increase into old age. The proportion of people predicted to trust most of their neighbours is lowest at the age of 22: 22% across England. This proportion doubles by the time people reach the age of 48, with 44% predicted to trust most of their neighbours. A similarly sized increase happens by the age of 83, with 66% predicted to trust the majority of their neighbours.

Figure 4.2. Predicted probability of neighbourhood trust by age across England

Source: Based on Citizenship Survey, pooled 2009-10 and 2010-11 (secure access) and Census 2011 data
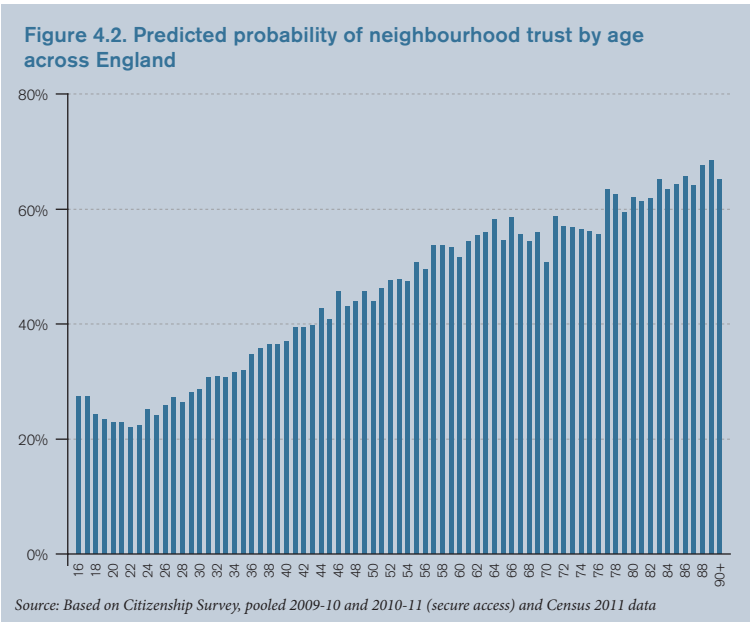
Individuals from different ethnic minority groups across England are much less likely to express trust in most of their neighbours when compared to white individuals. As seen in Figure 4.3, whilst those from ethnic minority backgrounds have predicted probabilities ranging from 18% to 32% for trusting most of their neighbours, white individuals have a notably higher predicted probability of 53% to trust most of their neighbours. It is black individuals who are predicted to be the ethnic group that is least likely to trust most of their neighbours. It should be noted that the results for individuals of mixed and Chinese ethnicity are not statistically significant.

Figure 4.3. Predicted probability of neighbourhood trust for all main ethnic groups in England

Source: Based on Citizenship Survey, pooled 2009-10 and 2010-11 (secure access) and Census 2011 data

Socioeconomic status also has a significant impact on determining the likelihood of someone trusting the majority of their neighbours. As demonstrated in Figure 4.4, those in management positions are much more likely to have higher levels of predicted neighbourhood trust, with 52% predicted to trust most of their neighbours across England, while those who have never worked or are long-term unemployed are the least likely, with only 25% of them predicted to trust most of their neighbours across England.

Figure 4.4. Predicted probability of neighbourhood trust by socio-economic status across England

Source: Based on Citizenship Survey, pooled 2009-10 and 2010-11 (secure access) and Census 2011 data
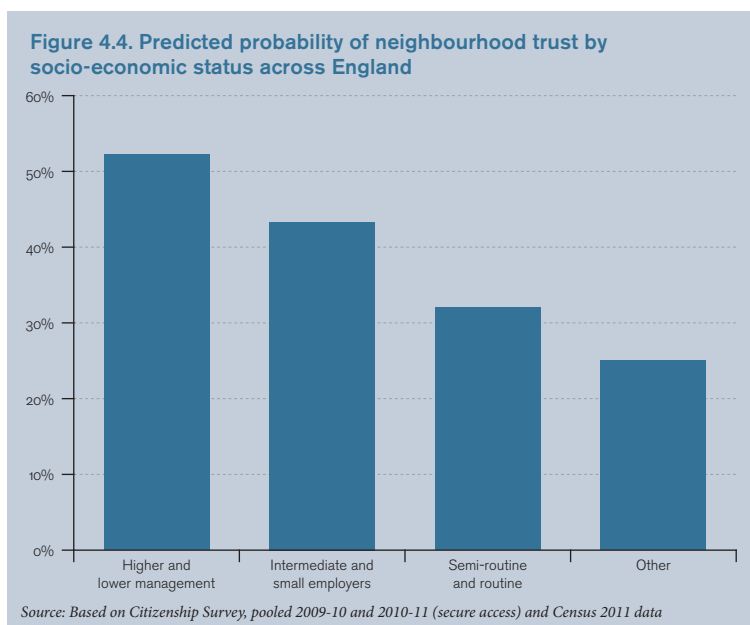
Meanwhile, as Figure 4.5 below shows, higher individual income is associated with increases in neighbourhood trust. Individuals who do not have any individual income[146] are predicted to trust most of their neighbours only 27% of the time, whilst those who earn more than £100,000 annually are predicted to trust most of their neighbours at the rate of 65% across England. For the intermediate income groups, there is nearly a linear relationship between individual income and levels of predicted neighbourhood trust.

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146. This includes groups such as young adults living at home, housewives and people who are entitled to benefits, but do not claim them.

Figure 4.5. Predicted probability of neighbourhood trust for individual income categories across England

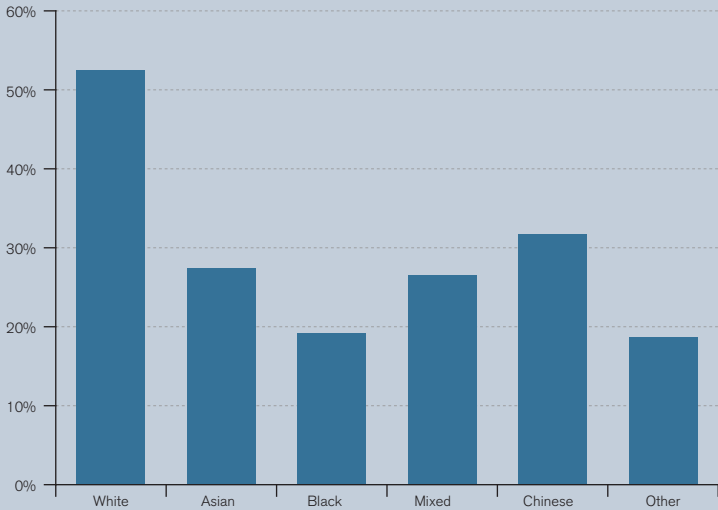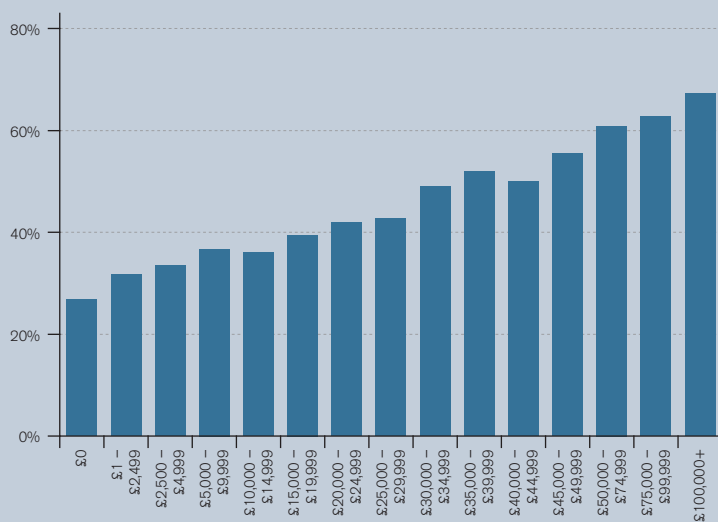*Source: Based on Citizenship Survey, pooled 2009-10 and 2010-11 (secure access) and Census 2011 data*

How local-level characteristics affect neighbourhood trust in England

As Table 4.2 below indicates, in the main model used by the independent researchers they test how important a number of local-level variables are for determining levels of predicted neighbourhood trust across England. These local-level variables are at both MSOA-level and LA-level, which are described in detail in Chapter Two.

At MSOA-level, they test how neighbourhood trust interacts with the ethnic diversity of a local area, thereby assessing how relevant Professor Putnam's thesis, as described in Chapter Three, is in England. They also test other MSOA-level factors: English language levels amongst the migrant population; proportion of households in the local area that are married with children; the 'Income Score' and 'Crime Score' of the local area from the English Indices of Deprivation

2015; the proportion of the population aged over 65; and, the rurality of the local area.

They also test one LA-level factor in the main model: White British population percentage change between 2001 and 2011.

In other model variants, explained in Box 2.1 earlier, they test two additional variables: level of qualifications among migrants and change in unemployment rate between 2001 and 2011. As noted in Chapter Two, they test four different model variants in total, each of which had a slightly different set of MSOA- or LA-level factors. Model One has no exclusive local-level variables, while the other three models test one additional local-level variable each. Model Two includes level of qualifications of immigrants at MSOA-level. Model Three includes changes in the proportion of the White British population between 2001 and 2011 at LA level. Model Four accounts for change of unemployment rates at LA level between 2001 and 2011. The tables in this chapter display the results of Model Three, the main model, for levels of neighbourhood trust.

Model Three is chosen as the main model for further analysis and calculations on the basis of being the most statistically parsimonious. However, it should be noted that the statistical differences between the models are small. The full tables for all tested models can be seen in the annex.

The results in Table 4.2 below are discussed, as they were for individual-level characteristics, first in reference to odds ratios. Here, they show the probabilistic relation of an individual living in a MSOA or LA possessing a certain local-level characteristic and the likelihood of them trusting most of their neighbours. Values below one indicate that living in an area with that local-level characteristic makes it less likely for that individual to trust most of their neighbours, when controlling for all other characteristics tested, including at individual-level. For values above one, the reverse is true: that living in an area with those local-level characteristics makes it more likely for the individual to trust most of their neighbours.

Table 4.2: Effect of MSOA- and LA-level variables on neighbourhood trust in England

Factor	Odds Ratio
MSOA-level	
Ethnic Diversity Index (deciles)	0.98
Cannot speak English well (>30%)	0.77
Ethnic Diversity Index*Cannot speak English well [147]	1.11*
Married households with dependent children	1.01*
IMD: Income Score 2015 (deciles)	0.88*
IMD: Crime Score 2015 (deciles)	0.96*
Percentage of population aged 65+	1.03*
Rural (ref: Urban)	1.51*
LA-level	
White British population change (ref: < -5pc)	
White British population change (-5pc to 0pc)	1.42*
White British population change (> 0pc)	1.49*

*Significant at p<0.05 [148]
Source: Citizenship Survey, pooled 2009-10 and 2010-11 (secure access) and Census 2011 data

The results from the independent statistical analysis show six key findings. First, in areas with greater proportion of married households with children, levels of neighbourhood trust are predicted to be higher. Second, the above odd ratios suggest that individuals living in areas with

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147. 'Ethnic Diversity Index', 'Cannot speak English well' and 'Ethnic Diversity Index*Cannot speak English well', which is an interaction variable, are discussed in greater detail later in this chapter.
148. A variable is statistically significant if the variable's odd ratio is unlikely to be a product of chance (less than 5% in this instance). The associated standard errors and p-values, which are used to determine significance, can be found in the Annex.

higher levels of deprivation in terms of income are less likely to be predicted to trust most of their neighbours. Third, individuals in areas with higher levels of deprivation in terms of crime are also less likely to be predicted to trust most of their neighbours. Fourth, levels of neighbourhood trust are higher in areas with a greater proportion of population being over 65 years old. Fifth, those living in rural areas are predicted to be more likely to trust most of their neighbours. Finally, people in areas with a greater than 5% decrease in White British population change in the period 2001 to 2011 were less likely to be predicted to trust most of their neighbours.

While the independent researchers did not calculate means of predicted probabilities in the same way that we did for individual-level characteristics, their analysis shows that a number of local-level characteristics do have a statistically significant impact on levels of neighbourhood trust.

Does ethnic diversity in a local area affect levels of predicted neighbourhood trust?

So, does the independent statistical analysis show that Professor Putnam's thesis applies in England? Though the independent researchers do find an association between high levels of ethnic diversity in a local area and lower levels of neighbourhood trust, there are important nuances. The independent analysis identifies a complex relationship between local ethnic diversity and levels of neighbourhood trust, with the English language proficiency of migrants in the local area in fact playing a key role in determining the relationship.

As can be seen in Figure 4.6 below, in local areas where less than 30% of migrants cannot speak English well, higher levels of ethnic diversity in a local area are associated with decreasing levels of neighbourhood trust. In such areas in the lowest decile for ethnic diversity, 40% are predicted to trust most of their neighbours, while in such areas in the highest decile for ethnic diversity, only 37% are predicted to trust most of their neighbours. However, it should be noted that this difference is not statistically significant.

Figure 4.6. Predicted probability of neighbourhood trust at different levels of ethnic diversity and levels of English amongst migrants

Ethnic Diversity Index decile

● Areas where less than 30% of migrants cannot speak English well

● Areas where more than 30% of migrants cannot speak English well
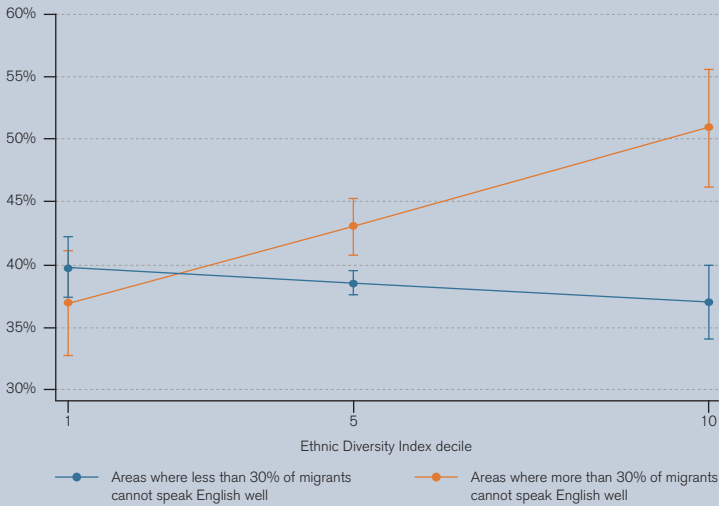
Source: Citizenship Survey, pooled 2009-10 and 2010-11 (secure access) and Census 2011 data

This result does not fully contradict Professor Putnam's thesis. Other models, which do not include changes in white British population change, show ethnic diversity to be negatively associated with predicted neighbourhood trust and this association being statistically significant. However, this discrepancy suggests that part of the previously established relationship between higher levels of ethnic diversity in an area and lower levels of neighbourhood trust should not be attributed only to the presence of ethnic diversity, but also to the short-term rate of ethnic change in the area, as LAs which had a large reduction in white British population between 2001 and 2011 had much lower levels of predicted neighbourhood trust than LAs with a small reduction or an increase.

Intriguingly, in local areas where more than 30% of migrants cannot speak English well, the independent analysis, in fact, finds that an increase in ethnic diversity is actually associated with a predicted increase in levels of neighbourhood trust, as seen in Figure 4.6 above. In

such local areas which are also in the lowest decile for ethnic diversity, 37% of individuals are predicted to trust most of their neighbours, while in such areas which are also in the highest decile for ethnic diversity, 51% are predicted to trust most of their neighbours.

This means that in local areas with low levels of ethnic diversity and high levels of poor English among migrants, levels of neighbourhood trust are in fact lower than in ethnically diverse areas with similar levels of poor English language among migrants. This relationship holds regardless of whether or not there has been change between 2001 and 2011 in the white British population.

This is a strange finding and more problematic, as the result conflicts with Professor Putnam's thesis that ethnic diversity of a local area is associated with lower levels of neighbourhood trust. It also suggests that poor English language competency can be associated with higher levels of neighbourhood trust in ethnically diverse areas, which contradicts key conclusions from Chapter Three.

What could be causing this peculiar finding for the independent statistical analysis? We speculate that it is likely that MSOAs where more than 30% of migrants cannot speak English well are MSOAs which are also more residentially segregated. The pressure to learn English is likely to be much lower in areas where ethnic groups are more segregated, as English language is not as necessary when interacting with members of their ethnic community or members of different ethnicities. As level of residential segregation was not included in the independent statistical analysis, the measure of English competency amongst migrants might be acting as a proxy for residential segregation instead. In other words, for many ethnic communities, English language will not be important for how much they trust their neighbours, simply because they are not relying on it.

Additional analysis performed by Bright Blue researchers, separate from the independent statistical analysis described in the Annex, is carried out at the LA level and gives some support for our hypothesis. As mentioned in Chapter One, the Index of Dissimilarity measures the extent to which ethnic population groups are not distributed out evenly amongst the

population as a whole, acting as a measure of residential segregation.[149] The Ministry for Housing, Communities and Local Government (MHCLG) has calculated the Index of Dissimilarity for British local authorities using 2011 Census data and this data is utilised for the additional analysis.

For LAs, the correlation coefficient[150] between the Index of Dissimilarity and percentage of migrants who cannot speak English well[151] is 0.659. This is a relatively high value, suggesting LAs which are more ethnically segregated are also likely to have poorer English fluency. This can be seen in Figure 4.6 below, which illustrates the relationship between the two variables.

Figure 4.7. Relationship between Index of Dissimilarity and level of English language competency amongst migrants at LA-level

Source: Census 2011 Data and Ministry of Housing, Communities & Local Government

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149. Michael J. White, "The measurement of spatial segregation", *American Journal of Sociology* (1983).
150. Pearson's correlation coefficient is a standard measure of the linear relationship between two variables, taking values between -1 and 1.
151. This is calculated using the English proficiency question in the 2011 Census and measures the number of people who do not name English as their first language who state that they "Do not speak English well" or "Do not speak English" as a proportion of all people who do not name English as their first language

This relationship can also be observed by comparing the Index of Dissimilarity with the variables from the independent statistical analysis: Index of Ethnic Diversity and level of migrant English language fluency.

The LAs with the highest levels of poor English language fluency amongst migrants and highest levels of ethnic diversity also have the highest levels of residential segregation, as seen in Table 4.2 below. Out of 14 authorities in the highest two deciles for the factors utilised in the independent statistical analysis, 11 are also in the highest two deciles of the Index of dissimilarity.

Table 4.3. LAs in two highest deciles for poor English fluency amongst migrants and Ethnic Diversity Index

LA	Poor Migrant English Fluency Decile[152]	Ethnic Diversity Index Decile[153]	Index of Dissimilarity Decile[154]
Birmingham	10	10	10
Blackburn with Darwen	10	9	10
Bradford	10	9	10
Derby	10	9	10
Gravesham	10	9	8
Peterborough	10	9	9
Sandwell	10	9	10
Walsall	10	9	10
Wolverhampton	10	9	9
Enfield	9	10	7
Hackney	9	10	3
Leicester	9	10	10
Luton	9	10	9
Bedford	9	9	9

Source: Census 2011 Data and Ministry of Housing, Communities & Local Government

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152. Where those in the highest decile are the 10% of LAs (10) with the highest percentage of migrants who cannot speak English well
153. Where those in the highest decile are the 10% of LAs (10) with the highest score of the Ethnic Diversity Index: in other words, the 10% most ethnically diverse LAs.
154. Where those in the highest decile are the 10% of LAs (10) with the highest score of Index of Dissimilarity: in other words, the 10% most segregated LAs.

This additional data analysis by Bright Blue lends some weight to our hypothesis that in ethnically diverse areas where there are high levels of poor English language competency amongst migrants, there is likely to be more ethnic segregation, which may improve levels of predicted neighbourhood trust. This might be due to frequent interactions that occur between ethnically homogenous groups, rather than between ethnically heterogeneous groups. This boosts our earlier point that neighbourhood trust is only a good measure of social integration if it is between ethnically and religiously diverse groups. This is explained in further detail later in this chapter.

An alternative potential explanation is offered in the wider academic literature. Ethnically diverse areas where a significant number of migrants do not have English proficiency might actually have lower barriers to interaction, as residents in those areas are more used to people from different backgrounds and those who cannot speak English well.[155] Such areas are also more likely to be 'super-diverse', where there is a large number of ethnic groups, but no single dominant group, which makes English language much less important in establishing relations and developing neighbourhood trust.[156]

How other local-level factors affect levels of neighbourhood trust

We should also scrutinise the effects that we observed in other model variants of the independent statistical analysis in relation to level of qualifications of migrants and unemployment changes between 2001 and 2011.

First, in local areas where there is a high number of migrants

155. Susanne Wessendorf, "Pathways of settlement among recent migrants in super- diverse areas", https://www.birmingham.ac.uk/Documents/college-social-sciences/social-policy/iris/2018/iris-working-papers-25-2018.pdf, 18. (2018), 1 – 25.
156. Kitty Lymperopoulou and Arkadiusz Wisniowski, "Immigration, diversity and trust: a re-examination of the neighbourhood determinants of trust using the UK Citizenship Survey 2009-11", European Sociological Review (Forthcoming).

without any qualifications, levels of neighbourhood trust are actually marginally higher in more deprived areas. This is a strange finding: we would expect to see neighbourhood trust levels to be lower in deprived areas as the native population would be more likely to compete for low-skilled jobs. However, it is important to note that the statistical significance of this relationship is weak.

However, greater increases in unemployment between 2001 and 2011 are also associated with lower levels of predicted neighbourhood trust. Though there are multiple plausible ways unemployment levels can affect neighbourhood trust, it is likely that real or perceived greater competition for jobs is at least part of the story.

These findings show a contradictory story of the impact of competition for low-skilled jobs between migrants and the native population on levels of neighbourhood trust. No definitive conclusion can be reached, therefore.

Ultimately, however, local-level variables play a significant role in determining levels of neighbourhood trust. Ethnic diversity is associated with neighbourhood trust, as Professor Putnam finds in the US, but as the independent statistical analysis shows, this relationship has an unexpected pattern that is dependant on English language of competency of migrants in a local area. Furthermore, relatively larger decreases in White British population in an area between 2001 and 2011 also decreased the likelihood of people in an area trusting most of their neighbours. Finally, a large range of other local-level factors also play a role. Some of them relate to the social factors of the area, such as the proportion of the elderly, rurality and number of family households, while others relate economic factors, such as the Income and Crime Score, and changes in unemployment in the previous ten years.

Predicted levels of neighbourhood trust across different local communities in England

As outlined in Chapter Three, there is insufficient evidence on how

levels of neighbourhood trust vary across different areas of England. The independent statistical analysis is able to provide the predicted probability of an individual trusting most of their neighbours in each local authority in England, as seen in Figure 4.8 below. The full data behind the map can be seen in the Annex.

Local authorities with high levels of neighbourhood trust are represented by bluer shades and local authorities that are low in neighbourhood trust are represented by redder shades. They are divided by deciles of predicted trust. The top decile, in the deepest blue, represents LAs where 73%-82% of individuals are predicted to trust most of their neighbours, while the bottom decile, represented by the deepest red, shows LAs where only 13%-26% of individuals are predicted to trust most of their neighbours.

The results show significant variation in predicted levels of neighbourhood trust among LAs across England. The LA with the lowest predicted trust, where only 12.6% are predicted to trust most of their neighbours, was Haringey. Haringey is in fact typical of LAs with the lowest levels of neighbourhood trust in England, which are primarily London Boroughs. In fact, as the Annex and Table 4.4 below shows, the top ten local authorities with the lowest levels of predicted neighbourhood trust in England are all in London. Other areas with low levels of neighbourhood trust are mainly found in large urban areas located in or near Manchester, Birmingham, Leeds and Liverpool, as can be seen in Figure 4.8 below.

In stark contrast, the LA with the highest predicted levels of neighbourhood trust, where 82.4% of individuals in that area trust most of their neighbours, was Uttlesford, a non-metropolitan district in Essex. Uttlesford is also typical of LAs with high levels of predicted neighbourhood trust, which are rural and semi-rural districts, with a large number of them being located in the East of England and South East of England, though some are also found in the South West of England, as can also be seen in Table 4.4 below.

Figure 4.8. Predicted probability of neighbourhood trust in England by local authority

Predicted level of neighbourhood trust

- 73% – 82%
- 67% – 73%
- 62% – 67%
- 57% – 62%
- 54% – 57%
- 48% – 54%
- 43% – 48%
- 36% – 43%
- 26% – 36%
- 13% – 26%

Greater London
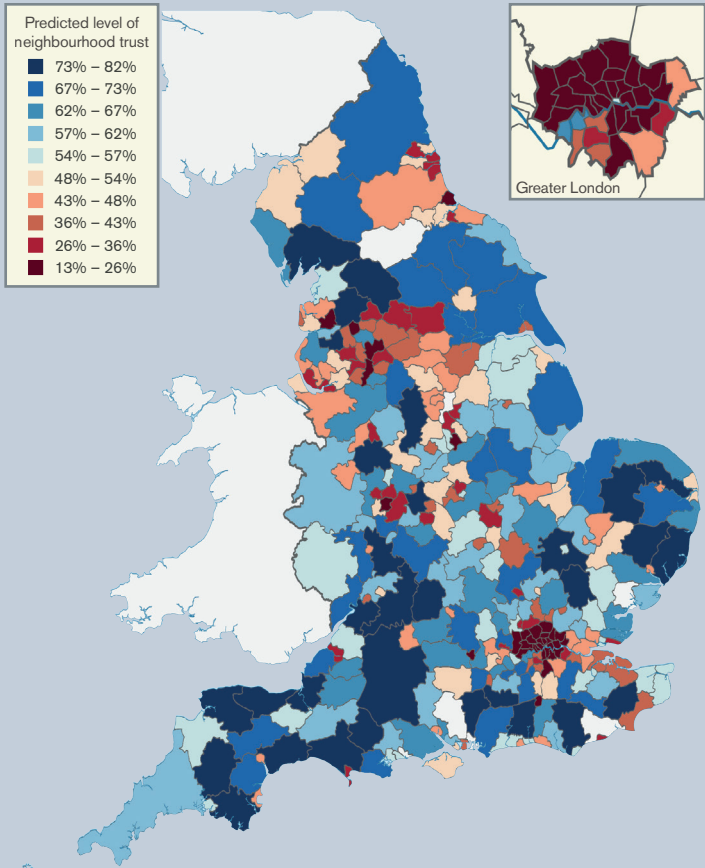
Source: Citizenship Survey, pooled 2009-10 and 2010-11 (secure access) and Census 2011 data[157]

157. Local authorities with sample size lower than 10 were removed, of which there were eight: Bolsover, Christchurch, Folkestone and Hythe, Havant, Isles of Scilly, Richmondshire, Rother and Winchester. These are shown in white.

Table 4.4. The local authorities with the lowest and highest predicted levels of neighbourhood trust

Lowest trust		Highest trust	
LA	Trust	LA	Trust
1. Haringey	12.6%	1. Uttlesford	82.4%
2. Greenwich	14.4%	2. Mid Suffolk	81.9%
3. Newham	14.6%	3. North Dorset	81.1%
4. Southwark	14.6%	4. Suffolk Coastal	81.0%
5. Waltham Forest	14.6%	5. Horsham	80.3%
6. Barking and Dagenham	14.7%	6. Cotswold	79.9%
7. Westminster	15.6%	7. North Devon	77.9%
8. Hackney	16.9%	8. South Cambridgeshire	77.9%
9. Islington	17.1%	9. Waverley	77.8%
10. Hillingdon	18.0%	10. West Oxfordshire	77.6%

Source: Citizenship Survey, pooled 2009-10 and 2010-11 (secure access) and Census 2011 data

The differences between predicted levels of neighbourhood trust among LAs strongly reflects many of the individual-level and local-level factors that were found to be significantly associated with levels of neighbourhood trust and described earlier in this chapter. The LAs with lowest levels of predicted neighbourhood trust are predominantly more urban, younger, and have higher incidences of crime and poverty when compared with those that have the highest trust ratings. Importantly, the low trusting LAs are also much more ethnically diverse than the latter.

In contrast, the LAs with highest levels of predicted neighbourhood trust are predominantly more rural, older, have lower incidences of crime and poverty and are much less ethnically diverse.

Ethnically diverse and relatively trusting? Socially integrated communities

We believe that it would be helpful to do further analysis by identifying local authorities that are highly ethnically diverse and have relatively high in levels of neighbourhood trust. According to our proposed measure of social integration, offered in Chapter One, these would be examples of socially integrated local authorities. Indeed, there may be policies and programmes in these local authorities that could be identified as contributory to effective social integration.

The independent statistical analysis identified the most ethnically diverse LAs with relatively high levels of neighbourhood trust. LAs were chosen by selecting those in the top two deciles of ethnic diversity alongside being in the top five deciles of predicted levels of neighbourhood trust. In other words, they were local authorities that were among the most ethnically diverse in England, but also had above average levels of neighbourhood trust.

Table 4.5. Local authorities with relatively high levels of ethnic diversity and predicted neighbourhood trust

LA	Ethnic Diversity Index	Ethnic Diversity Index Decile[158]	Predicted Neighbourhood Trust	Predicted Neighbourhood Trust Decile[159]
City of London	0.627	9	54.7%	5
Cambridge	0.535	9	54.6%	5
Richmond upon Thames	0.465	9	66.5%	3
Milton Keynes	0.430	9	54.3%	5

Source: Citizenship Survey, pooled 2009-10 and 2010-11 (Secure Access) and Census 2011 data

158. Where those in the highest decile are the 10% of LAs (10) with the highest score of the Ethnic Diversity Index: in other words, the 10% most ethnically diverse LAs.
159. Where those in the highest decile are the 10% of LAs (10) with the highest level of predicted neighbourhood trust

These local authorities fit our definition of successful social integration: high levels of neighbourhood trust in ethnically diverse areas. So, the four local authorities in Table 4.5 above are what we consider to be the most socially integrated local authorities in England. These are: City of London, Cambridge, Richmond upon Thames and Milton Keynes.

These local authorities have some socio-economic and socio-demographic commonalities. They are all urban areas located in the South East of England, with the exception of Cambridge, which is in the East of England. They are all more affluent than the average local authority, with City of London being extremely affluent[160] and Richmond upon Thames being one of the most affluent boroughs in London.[161] With the exception of Milton Keynes, their population also has a significantly higher level of educational qualifications than the average, and are also more likely to be employed in management positions.[162] These local authorities are all in the bottom half of the Index of Multiple Deprivation, meaning they are relatively less deprived areas in England.[163]

Furthermore, it should be noted that City of London is an especially peculiar case, as it has an extremely low population (9,401 as of 2016, while an average local authority had 168,900[164]) and its demographic profile is very different from an average local authority, coming near the top in terms of average incomes and level of qualifications and near the bottom in terms of children per household and married couples.

Now, our thesis that these are the most socially integrated local authorities in England could have a problem. It could be that these local

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160. Nomis, "Official labour market statistics", https://www.nomisweb.co.uk/home/profiles.asp
161. Trust for London, "Poverty and inequality data for Richmond", https://www.trustforlondon.org.uk/data/boroughs/richmond-upon-thames-poverty-and-inequality-indicators/
162. Nomis.
163. National Statistics, "English indices of deprivation 2015", https://www.gov.uk/government/statistics/english-indices-of-deprivation-2015 (2015).
164. ONS, "Population estimates for the UK, England and Wales, Scotland and Northern Ireland : mid – 2017", https://www.ons.gov.uk/peoplepopulationandcommunity/populationandmigration/populationestimates/bulletins/annualmidyearpopulationestimates/mid2017 (2018).

authorities have high ethnic diversity generally, but different ethnic groups are still segregated within different neighbourhoods of the area. The Index of Dissimilarity can help here. If these areas have high levels of residential segregation, according to the Index of Dissimilarity, then this would undermine our thesis.

Luckily, as Table 4.6 below demonstrates, the four local authorities we have identified as being examples of high social integration also have low levels of residential segregation. All are in the bottom five deciles of dissimilarity, meaning that they are less residentially segregated than the average local authority. This implies that even at a more granular level within local authorities, there is likely to be social integration between different ethnic groups taking place. Thus, we are confident in our thesis that these local authorities are likely to be among the most socially integrated in England.

Table 4.6. Index of Dissimilarity for local authorities with relatively high levels of ethnic diversity and trust

LA	Index of Dissimilarity	Index of Dissimilarity decile[165]
City of London	24.8	3
Cambridge	15	1
Richmond upon Thames	19.3	1
Milton Keynes	28.1	5

Finally, this additional analysis by Bright Blue reveals the components of our measure of social integration: high levels of neighbourhood trust in ethnic and religious areas, where there is low residential segregation. How this measure should be used is the focus of Chapter Six.

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165. Where those in the highest decile are the 10% of LAs (10) with the highest score of Index of Dissimilarity: in other words, the 10% most segregated LAs.

Conclusion

The independent statistical analysis has found significant variation in levels of neighbourhood trust across England. The independent analysis suggests that levels of neighbourhood trust are associated with a large variety of individual-level and local-level factors. This includes ethnic diversity of an area, broadly confirming Professor Putnam's thesis. However, the findings suggest that the effect of ethnic diversity appears to be complex, as it depends on the level of English language capability amongst migrants and the rate of recent white British population change.

Having identified the English local authorities that not only are the most trusting, but also most likely to be socially integrated, the next chapter will examine these latter areas to find out whether there are particular policies and programmes that could be behind their success. If so, it will be useful for national and local decision- and policy-makers to understand whether these policies and programmes would be applicable elsewhere to improve social integration.

Chapter 5: **Current policies and programmes to support social integration**

Chapter Four presented the results of the independent statistical analysis, demonstrating the extent to which different individual-level and local-level characteristics determine levels of neighbourhood trust in England. The independent statistical analysis also enabled us to identify the local authorities that have the highest levels of neighbourhood trust in England. From this, Bright Blue conducted additional analysis which found the local authorities that – under our proposed measure – are the most socially integrated. This chapter seeks to identify public policies and programmes in this country that have been effective in improving social integration.

Policies and programmes from the most socially integrated local authorities in England

In our quest for effective policies and programmes to bolster social integration, we can begin by studying any relevant policies and programmes in the four local authorities that we ascertained through the independent statistical analysis as being the most socially integrated in England.

It is important to emphasise that all the statistical analysis conducted for this report is limited in that it cannot explain why these four local authorities have high levels of social integration. It could be, to

some extent, about policies and programmes introduced by the local government or third sector organisations in the area. But, it could also be, to some extent, about the characteristics and behaviours of the different ethnic groups that live in the local authority.

Notwithstanding the fact that it is not possible to determine the extent to which, if at all, it is public policy or socio-demographic reasons that are driving high levels of social integration, Box 5.1 below summarises noteworthy policies and programmes on social integration in the four local authorities in England we deem to be the most socially integrated following statistical research. The policies and programmes identified are recent, since this is where information is available. The underlying data from the original statistical analysis presented in Chapter Four, of course, is a little dated. Nevertheless, we still feel it is useful to examine more contemporary policies and programmes which could be playing a positive role on levels of social integration in these local authorities.

Box 5.1. Case studies of policies and programmes in the most socially integrated local authorities in England.

Richmond upon Thames
Richmond upon Thames is a borough in south-west London. Sixty-seven percent of residents are White British. The next largest ethnic groups are 'Other White' (14.5%) and 'Other Asian' (3.1%).[166] Overall, Richmond upon Thames is the 47th most ethnically diverse of 326 local authorities in England.[167] Richmond upon Thames has the highest employment rate (77.8%) and lowest unemployment rate (3.8%) out of all London boroughs.[168] While there are certain areas of the borough which are more deprived,

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166. Datarich, "Data themes : Population", https://www.datarich.info/population/ (2018).
167. Census information scheme GLA Intelligence, "2011 census snapshot : Ethnic diversity indices", https://londondatastore-upload.s3.amazonaws.com/gNI%3D2011-census-snapshot-ethnic-diversity-indices.pdf (2012), 1 – 6.
168. Nomis, " Labour market profile – Richmond Upon Thames", https://www.nomisweb.co.uk/reports/lmp/la/1946157276/printable.aspx (2019).

overall Richmond upon Thames is the 294th most deprived out of the 326 local authorities in England, according to the rank of average score in the Index of Multiple deprivation.[169]

Richmond upon Thames Borough Council has notably few policies on social integration. As Richmond upon Thames is a London borough, it falls under the Mayor of London's remit and under City Hall's integration strategy, described briefly in Box 1.2 earlier in the report. This may explain why Richmond upon Thames Borough Council is not taking many prominent policy positions on its own.

There are some civil society groups active in Richmond upon Thames which are promoting social integration. The 'Richmond Interfaith forum' provides a platform for people from different religious groups to meet and discuss issues that are of mutual interest.[170] Additionally, there is the 'Ethnic Minorities Advocacy Group' which works to improve race relations in the borough and help ethnic minority groups settle in the area. In 2013, for example, the group organised a Holi 'Festival of Colours', working with local Children's Centres and local schools. The event saw 4,000 people attend and aimed to reduce isolation and promote understanding between South Asian communities.[171]

City of London

The City of London, as mentioned in Chapter Four, is an unusual local authority because of its small population size. In the 2011 census, 57.6% of residents were White British, with White Other the second largest group at 19% of residents, followed by Chinese

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169. National Statistics, "English indices of deprivation 2015".

170. London Borough of Richmond, "Richmond inter faith forum" https://www.richmond.gov.uk/inter_faith_forum (2019).

171. Ravi Arora, "How multicultural Richmond is promoting community cohesion in Richmond upon Thames", http://www.emaguk.org/community-cohesion-in-richmond-upon-thames/ (2017).

at 3.6%.[172] It is the 32nd most ethnically diverse local authority in England.[173] The City of London has an employment rate of 76% and,[174] overall, it is the 226th most deprived of 326 local authorities in England.[175]

The City of London Corporation (the City of London's local authority) operates a Central Grant Programme to support projects and on housing estates run by the Corporation. This includes a 'Stronger Communities' strand, which provides grants, ranging from £500 to £10,000,[176] for projects that enable a diversity of people to become involved in their communities. The Central Grant Programme awarded £92,725 to 'Stronger Communities' projects between April 2018 and March 2019.[177]

The City of London Corporation does run ESOL classes. These focus on giving participants the skills to "participate in daily life in Britain", as well as boosting employability skills and teaching participants about British culture.[178] While these classes aren't free, those receiving benefits and those aged 60 or over are offered concession rates of £50 for a term's course, compared to the full rate of £100.[179]

Due to the unusual size of the City of London, there are few

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172. ONS, "City of London residential population, Census 2011, ethnicity and nationality" https://www.cityoflondon.gov.uk/services/environment-and-planning/planning/development-and-population-information/Documents/census-information-reports-ethnicity.pdf (2013), 1 – 10.
173. Census information scheme GLA Intelligence, "2011 census snapshot", 1 – 6.
174. ONS, "LI01 regional labour market : Local indicators for counties, local and unitary authorities", https://www.ons.gov.uk/employmentandlabourmarket/peopleinwork/employmentandemployeetypes/datasets/locallabourmarketindicatorsforcountieslocalandunitaryauthoritiesli01 (2019).
175. National Statistics, "English indices of deprivation".
176. City of London Corporation, "Stronger Communities", https://www.cityoflondon.gov.uk/about-the-city/community-work/Documents/stronger-communities-august.pdf (2016).
177. City of London Corporation, "Central grants program annual report", http://democracy.cityoflondon.gov.uk/documents/s114516/Central%20Grants%20Programme%20-%20Annual%20Report.pdf (2019).
178. City of London Corporation, "English for speakers of other languages (ESOL)",https://www.cityoflondon.gov.uk/services/education-learning/adult-learning/adult-courses/Pages/esol.aspx, (2019).
179. Ibid.,

examples of third party organisations involved in social integration in the local authority. The Mansell Street Women's Group is a free group for older women from ethnic minority backgrounds which meets monthly. The group provides an opportunity for attendees to socialise, receive support such as health checks, and also to get involved with ESOL classes.[180] The group is supported by the charity Age Concern, and its ESOL classes are supported by the City of London Corporation.[181]

Cambridge

Cambridge is a city in the east of England. Sixty-six percent of Cambridge's population are White British, with 'White Other' and 'Asian' accounting for the next two largest ethnic groups, with 15% and 11% of the population respectively.[182] Cambridge is the 42nd most ethnically diverse of 326 local authorities in England.[183] It has employment levels above the national average at 75.5% and unemployment in Cambridge is below the national average at 3.8%.[184] Cambridge is ranked as the 227th most deprived local authority in England.[185]

Events such as the 'Big Weekend', supported by Cambridge City Council, are designed to encourage community pride and cohesion. In particular, this includes Cambridge Mela, a celebration of Asian

180. City of London Corporation, Community active : Guide to activities and groups in the square mile", https://www.cityoflondon.gov.uk/services/community-and-living/Documents/community-active-brochure.pdf, 1 – 32.
181. Age Concern City of London, "Mansell Street Women's Group", http://ac-cityoflondon.org.uk/mansell-street-womens-group/
182. Cambridge City Council, "What more do we know about people in Cambridge", https://www.cambridge.gov.uk/media/1266/what_more_do_we_know_about_people_in_cambridge_2017v2.pdf, 1 – 68.
183. Census information scheme GLA Intelligence, "2011 census snapshot", 1 – 6.
184. Nomis, "Labour market profile – Cambridge", https://www.nomisweb.co.uk/reports/lmp/la/1946157205/report.aspx (2019).
185. Department for Communities and Local Government, "Briefing note : Findings for Cambridge for IMD Index 2015", https://www.cambridge.gov.uk/media/1262/imd_2015_findings_2.pdf (2015), 1- 49.

culture.[186] In 2018, attendance was around 30,000 people, out of a total estimated population of 125,000 people (as of 2017).[187] Similarly, Cambridge City Council provided support to a scheme which celebrated the Chinese community and its culture in libraries across Cambridge.[188]

Cambridge City Council also runs 'community centres', mostly located in disadvantaged areas. The Council encourages the use of these centres by local community groups. Cambridge City Council's five main 'community centres' in 2015 recorded 130,000 visits from residents in the council's 'priority' groups, which includes black and minority ethnic residents. For example, a 'Women's Health Project', which initially started as an 'Asian Women's Health Project', is delivered in the 'community centres' and provides a forum for women who may be isolated and face barriers to participation to discuss issues affecting them. Alongside this, seminars have been arranged by Cambridge City Council in Mosques, targeting young people using British-born Imams to help promote social integration.[189]

Cambridge City Council's 'Community Grants' programme includes funding for projects which bring people together "from different communities to improve and develop cohesion and integration".[190] In 2016-17, the total amount granted under this

186. Cambridge City Council, "Single Equality Scheme 2015 – 2018", https://www.cambridge.gov.uk/media/3538/single_equality_scheme_year_two_review_2017.pdf (2017).
187. Cambridge Live, "The Big Weekend", https://www.cambridgelivetrust.co.uk/city-events/events/big-weekend.
188. Ministry for Intergenerational Affairs, Family, Women and Integration of the State of North Rhine-Westphalia Active Ageing of Migrant Elders across Europe, "Report of the project : Active ageing of migrant elders across europe from 01.12.2007 to 30.11.2009", http://www.healthyageing.eu/sites/www.healthyageing.eu/files/resources/Active_Ageing_of_Migrant_Elders_Across_Europe_Project_Report.pdf (2010).
189. Cambridge Local Health Partnership, "Migrant and refugees joint strategic needs assessment", https://democracy.cambridge.gov.uk/documents/s34869/ITEM%203%20Background%20Paper%20for%20Migration%20and%20Refugees%20JSNA.pdf, (2016).
190. Cambridge City Council, "Community grants 2019 – 2020 Application guide", https://www.cambridge.gov.uk/media/5914/community-grants-application-guide.pdf (2019).

programme was £900,000, and included £2,000 of funding to organisations such as the 'Cambridge Ethnic Community Forum' for "cohesion events and activities".[191]

There are some local third sector social integration initiatives in Cambridge. The Indian Community and Culture Association is a charity which aims to promote Hindu culture and improve cohesion between the Hindu community and the wider Cambridge Community.[192] Similarly, the Cambridge Chinese Community Centre and aims to provide facilities for social contact, both between members of the Chinese community and with other communities in Cambridge, by, for example, hosting celebrations for Chinese New Year.[193]

The Cambridge Ethnic Community Forum aims to promote social cohesion and understanding of different ethnic and religious groups across Cambridge. It has also hosted free English language classes, as well as establishing the Cambridgeshire Human Rights and Equality Support Service, which provides free advice to those experiencing discrimination.[194]

Additionally, the Chesterton ESOL Cafe offers English language classes to adults of all levels in a relaxed environment. They also offer women-only sessions. The long-term aim of the courses is to enable their students to take a more active role in Cambridge life and be able to talk confidently in social situations. Its summer 2019 project charged £34 for eight lessons and £68 for 16 lessons.[195]

Milton Keynes
Milton Keynes is a town in the south east of England, near

191. Cambridge City Council, "Community grant awards 2016 – 17" https://www.cambridge.gov.uk/media/1162/award_figures_16-17_annual_report_0.pdf, 2 – 4.
192. Indian Community and culture association – Cambridge, http://www.iccacambridge.co.uk/
193. Cambridge Chinese Community Centre, http://camchinese.org/en/about-us/
194. Cambridge Ethnic Community Forum, http://www.cecf.co.uk/joomla2/
195. ESOL cafe, "ESOL Courses", http://esolcafe.weebly.com/what-we-do.html,

London. Seventy-four percent of the population are White British, with the next largest ethnic groups being Black African at 5.2% of the population and White Other, accounting for 5.1% of the population.[196] Milton Keynes is the 50th most ethnically diverse of 326 local authorities in England.[197] Overall, Milton Keynes ranks as the 164th most deprived local authority in England.[198] Its employment figures are slightly below the national average, at 74%, while the area's unemployment rate is very slightly above the national average at 4.3%.[199] Notably, between 2010 and 2016, the area experienced employment growth of 29%, the highest percentage growth in employment of any UK city.[200]

Milton Keynes Council has received funds from the government's Controlling Migration Fund, which was launched in 2016 to provide financial assistant to local authorities to help them mitigate the impact of recent migration on communities. Milton Keynes Council was awarded over £700,000 from the Controlling Migration Fund in 2017 to recruit 'Parent Ambassadors' in 12 schools. These 'Parent Ambassadors' are intended to support newly arrived families' integration into the local community and improve schools' knowledge of diverse local communities.[201]

There are several prominent third sector organisations which exist in Milton Keynes to promote social integration. There is a 'Milton Keynes Tamil Forum' and 'Polish British Integration Centre', the latter of which provides ESOL classes, along with

196. Milton Keynes Council, "Diversity facts", https://www.milton-keynes.gov.uk/your-council-and-elections/council-information-and-accounts/equalities/diversity-facts (2017).
197. Census information scheme GLA Intelligence, "2011 census snapshot", 1 – 6.
198. National Statistics, "English indices of deprivation 2015".
199. Nomis, "Labour market profile – Milton Keynes", https://www.nomisweb.co.uk/reports/lmp/la/1946157283/report.aspx#tabempunemp (2019).
200. Milton Keynes Council, "Economic development", https://www.milton-keynes.gov.uk/business/economic-development-main-page (2019).
201. MHCLG, "Controlling Migration Fund allocations announcement", https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/658707/CMF_allocations_announcement.pdf (2017).

hosting social events.[202]

The MK Community Foundation is a grant-giving organisation which states that "place-making for social integration" must be at the core of Milton Keynes' development.[203] In May 2019, for example, the MK Community Foundation was the main funder of 'The Great Get Together Iftaar MK' event in which over 800 people from the Muslim and wider communities of Milton Keynes gathered for a traditional meal which takes place during the fasting month of Ramadan.[204]

Box 5.1 illustrates that there are some prominent policies and programmes, from both local government and the third sector, that are designed to improve social integration in our most socially integrated local authorities in England. However, there is no evidence on the effectiveness of these programmes and policies. Admittedly, it does seem unlikely that these policies and programmes, considering their scale, are having substantial inputs on levels of social integration in these local authorities. It should also be highlighted that, as Box 5.1 makes clear, these local authorities are relatively affluent with good employment levels.

Social integration policies in other parts of England

Considering the limitations of the evidence around the effectiveness of the policies and programmes in the most socially integrated local authorities in England, we need to look wider for examples of policies that can boost social integration.

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202. Polish British Integration Centre, https://www.pbic.org.uk/about/

203. Milton Keynes Community Foundation, "Strategic plan", https://www.mkcommunityfoundation.co.uk/news-events/milton-keynes-community-foundation-news/2018/april/strategic-plan/

204. Milton Keynes Community Foundation, "The great get together Iftaar", https://www.mkcommunityfoundation.co.uk/news-events/milton-keynes-community-foundation-news/2019/may/great-get-together-iftaar/ (2019).

In contrast to the successful socially integrated local authorities already established, the current UK Government identified – through its *Integrated Communities* green paper in 2018 – five local authorities that it deemed to have problems with social integration. As explained in Chapter One, these local authorities were deemed 'Integration Areas' by the UK Government.

These five areas were chosen by the Government as they not only face significant social integration challenges, but have demonstrated an awareness of these problems and expressed a desire to try new policies and programmes to improve social integration. The Government has worked with each of these Integration Areas to produce 'local integration strategies'. As of May 2019, the following local authorities had produced these strategies: Blackburn with Darwen; Bradford; Waltham Forest; and, Walsall. The remaining local authority, Peterborough, is yet to publish their plans.

Box 5.2 below examines the policies and programmes advocated in the local integration strategies of the four local authorities that have so far worked with the UK Government to develop them. Although the local authorities are not currently examples of successful social integration, the policies and programmes suggested will presumably be drawn from the evidence and best practise collected by both national and local governments in England.

Box 5.2. Social integration policies and programmes in the government's 'Integration Areas'

Blackburn with Darwen
Blackburn with Darwen Council is a local authority in the North West of England, encompassing the town of Blackburn and smaller town of Darwen. Sixty-six percent of the population identify as White British. Its two largest minority groups are Indian and Pakistani, consisting of 13% and 12% of the population

respectively. It is the 43rd most ethnically diverse of the 348 local authorities in England and Wales.[205]

Blackburn with Darwen Council's local integration strategy has four key pillars: increasing economic prosperity as an essential prerequisite for social integration; strengthening relationships between diverse communities; building connections between young people in those communities; and, connecting disadvantaged communities using shared spaces.

Blackburn with Darwen Council has stated it will create a central ESOL hub to coordinate English language provision. This will aim to improve understanding of barriers to those who currently don't access ESOL, and explore innovative ways to fill existing gaps in ESOL provision.

Blackburn with Darwen Council also announced the creation of 'Community Ambassadors', which are individuals identified by the Council as having the confidence and willingness to take on a leadership role on local integration issues. These Community Ambassadors, from different ethnic and religious groups across the area, will work to build bridges between different groups and promote social integration, by, for example, delivering community-based activities.

In a similar vein, Blackburn with Darwen Council will support a 'Youth Voices' programme to give young people from different ethnic and religious backgrounds the chance to improve their leadership skills on social integration matters and improve relationships between young people from different ethnic and religious backgrounds. Blackburn with Darwen Council also commits to expanding its schools linking programme, which was established in 2017 through the National Linking Network

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205. Richard Norrie, "Profiling the five integration areas", http://www.integrationhub.net/profiling-the-five-integration-areas/, (2018).

programme, and currently has 26 classes taking part. [206]

School linking is where schoolchildren from different schools, which are usually demographically distinct, are brought together on a regular basis to engage in collaborative activities. This is done to increase contact between children of different ethnic, religious and socio-economic groups who would otherwise not meet. This can include, but is not limited to, joint drama, arts and sports sessions, joint school lessons and community projects for older children.

Bradford

Bradford is a City in West Yorkshire, England. In Bradford, 63.9% of the population are White British.[207] It has the largest proportion of people of Pakistani ethnic origin in England, at 20.3% of the population and is the 40th most ethnically diverse local authority in England and Wales. As mentioned in Chapter One it should also be highlighted that Bradford was the scene of significant riots in 2001.[208]

Bradford City Council has divided its strategy into four key themes of 'getting on'; 'getting involved'; 'getting along'; and, 'feeling safe'. It also identifies four key communities that are in need of more support: young people; women; poorer communities; and, new migrant communities.[209]

Bradford City Council commits to establishing a central ESOL unit to manage ESOL provision throughout the borough. Working with ESOL providers in the area, the unit will aim to ensure that all adults have access to ESOL provision ranging from conversational

206. The Linking Network, "Blackburn with Darwen", https://thelinkingnetwork.org.uk/contact-details/national-linking-network/blackburn-with-darwen/
207. City of Bradford Metropolitan District Council, "Population", https://www.bradford.gov.uk/open-data/our-datasets/population/
208. Jill Rutter and Rosie Carter, "National conversation on immigration: Final report", http://nationalconversation.uk/wp-content/uploads/2018/09/FINAL-2-national-conversation-september-report-2018-09-final.pdf (2018), 185.
209. City of Bradford Metropolitan District Council, "Stronger communities together: strategy for Bradford district", https://bdp.bradford.gov.uk/media/1357/stronger-communities-together-strategy.pdf (2018).

English delivered through local community venues, to more formal learning for those who require English for work or education.

In terms of education, Bradford City Council plans to expand their schools linking programme, which is part of the National Linking Network programme, to ensure that all primary schools have the opportunity to link with a school which has a different ethnic and religious population. Currently, 103 classes are engaged in linking.[210] The programme will also be expanded to a small number of secondary schools.

Bradford City Council will also recruit volunteers from different ethnic and religious backgrounds who can speak to organisations, such as businesses and local community groups, about their life and culture. Similarly, Bradford City Council will appoint 16 – 26 year olds as 'Ambassadors' for social integration campaigns.

Perhaps the most innovative development from Bradford City Council is the announcement of the creation of a mobile phone app that will encourage people to engage in activities and with others.

Finally, Bradford City Council commits to creating an 'Innovation Fund', to continue developing and researching new social integration policies, although the size of this fund is not specified.[211]

Walsall

Walsall is a town in the West Midlands of England. Seventy-seven percent of the population are White British. Its largest minority groups are Indian and Pakistani, representing 6% and 5% of the population respectively and the area was ranked as the 59th most

210. The Linking Network, "Bradford", https://thelinkingnetwork.org.uk/contact-details/national-linking-network/bradford/
211. Bradford Stronger Communities Partnership, "Stronger communities together : Strategy for Bradford district", https://bdp.bradford.gov.uk/media/1357/stronger-communities-together-strategy.pdf, (2018) 1 – 24.

ethnically diverse of the 348 local authorities in England and Wales at the last census.[212]

In its local integration strategy, *Walsall for All*, Walsall Council outlines its priorities for social integration in four themes: 'connecting across communities'; 'young people growing together'; 'working and contributing together'; and, 'living together'.

There is a significant focus on English language by Walsall Council. For example, in 2018, Walsall Council launched its 'Let's talk about it' project, which provided funding for voluntary, community and faith organisations to create innovative ESOL programmes. Intended to be more relaxed and informal than regular ESOL provision, there are no exams and Walsall Council pay all the costs of the courses.[213]

Additionally, Walsall Council will create an 'English Language Intelligence Unit' to act as a single point of contact for all ESOL classes and participants in the area. The aim of this Unit is to act a brokerage service between potential learners and all of Walsall's ESOL providers, gathering data to ensure ESOL needs are met.

Walsall Council has also stated that it will expand its schools linking programme, as part of the National Linking Network, to include an additional 20 schools. Walsall Council also signalled its intention to work with the Department for Education to consider new policies on school admissions.

Walsall Council also announced the creation of a new fund which will give third sector organisations the opportunity to bid for up to £10,000 to develop innovative approaches to improving social integration, including developing digital solutions to support

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212. Norrie, "Profiling the five integration areas".
213. One Walsall, "Funding : Let's talk about it", https://onewalsall.org/funding-lets-talk-about-it/, (2018)

integration.[214]

'Walsall Works' aims to support local people to find jobs or training. Walsall Council has committed to expanding this work programme to work with employers to develop social integration leadership capabilities amongst their staff.[215]

Waltham Forest

Waltham Forest is a borough in north London. As the only local authority area out of the five Integration Areas in London, it is perhaps unsurprising that Waltham Forest is the most ethnically diverse of the Government's Integration Areas. Thirty-six percent of residents identify as White British. The area's largest ethnic minority groups are 'white other', Pakistani and black Caribbean, representing 15%, 10% and 7% of the population respectively. The area is the fifth most ethnically diverse of the 348 local authorities in England and Wales.[216]

Waltham Forest Council's local integration strategy is divided into three key themes: 'creating the movement'; 'introducing new Community Networks'; and, 'creating new opportunities to enable people to connect'.

One of Waltham Forest Council's areas of focus is the development of Community Networks to bring together representatives from voluntary and community groups, local leaders, businesses and key public services. With plans to set up four of these Community Networks, Waltham Forest Council will provide a full-time facilitator for each network to help connect people and support collective decision-making. The aim of these Community Networks is to develop shared local priorities and decide how local resources

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214. Walsall Council, "Walsall for all: our vision for integrated and welcoming communities", https://docs.wixstatic.com/ugd/ffd8a6_0f6ab95a53e4458cb1d320de074841b1.pdf (2019)

215. Youth of Walsall, "About Us", https://www.youthofwalsall.co.uk/about,

216. Norrie, "Profiling the five integration areas".

can be used to support these, including innovative approaches to social integration.

Similar to other Integration Areas, Waltham Forest Council intends to create a 'Single Point of Contact' for ESOL provision, which will establish the current state of ESOL provision in the borough and aim to raise awareness of the provision on offer. Additionally, Waltham Forest Council will set up a 'peer-to-peer language buddy programme' to enable the learning of English language in an informal setting with friends and neighbours.

Waltham Forest Council is committed to developing a 'welcome pack' for new arrivals in the borough, and creating opportunities for informal learning and social integration through establishing 'Friends and Neighbours Networks' which will connect new arrivals with existing residents.[217]

Waltham Forest Council intends to create a programme with secondary schools which will aim to develop stronger connections between schools and parents and between parents of different ethnic and religious backgrounds. For primary schools, Waltham Forest Council is committed to developing a sports programme to encourage meaningful social mixing amongst children and families of different ethnic and religious backgrounds, as well as building a stronger partnership with the National Citizen Service.[218]

Box 5.2 presented the policies and programmes Integration Areas are supporting to boost social integration. There are common themes that emerge. Specifically, there is a focus on five key themes, listed below:

● improving accessibility to and the provision of ESOL courses

217. Waltham Forest Council, "Our place : A shared plan for connecting communities in Waltham Forest", https://www.walthamforest.gov.uk/sites/default/files/Connecting-Communities-Strategy.pdf (2019).
218. Waltham Forest Council, "Our place".

- increasing the amount of school linking
- providing innovation funding for new policies and projects to boost social integration
- creating social integration ambassadors
- providing free-for-all and digital networks for local people

The policies and programmes detailed in Box 5.2 seem sensible. But it is still the case that we have yet to determine public policies or programmes with evidence showing they effectively bolster social integration. For this, we need to look to the past. That is the focus of the remaining part of this chapter.

Policies that have successfully boosted social integration in England

In this section, we present examples of effective policies and programmes in England that have improved social integration. Each policy and programme will be described, as well as the evidence behind them. The identified policies and programmes include: Talk English; Hackney ESOL Advice Service; The Linking Network; school merging; National Citizen Service; uniformed youth groups.

We focus on these policies and programmes next not only because of the evidence behind them, but also because they relate to the common themes identified from Box 5.2, relating to ESOL provision and young people.

Talk English in Manchester

Talk English is an ESOL project led by Manchester Adult Education Service (MAES), which started in 2014. The project is a consortium of local authorities and colleges which was awarded funding by the Department for Communities and Local Government as part of its £8 million 'English Language Competition'. The aim of this competition was to find innovative and cost-effective ways of delivering ESOL that would improve both English language proficiency and social

integration, primarily targeting isolated women.[219]

Talk English recruits, trains and supports volunteers from the local community to teach people with very low levels of English language proficiency. The project involves a strong focus on informal, real-world English and encourages learners to use local facilities such as libraries and museums. Examples of classes include Discover and Talk English, which involves visiting museums with a volunteer.[220]

The UK Government carried out an assessment of Talk English, based on evaluating 66 hours of learning over an 11 week period across 22 community centres in five different local authorities. It was found to be successful in targeting and recruiting people from communities with low levels of English language proficiency, especially women from Pakistani, Bangladeshi and Somali communities. Participants saw their English language proficiency significantly improve, as well as an increase in English language interactions outside classes, increased social mixing, and to a lesser extent, more participation in wider society. The government's evaluation concluded, overall, that community-based ESOL provision can promote social integration.[221]

Hackney ESOL Advice Service

Hackney Borough Council in London created the 'Hackney ESOL Advice Service' (EAS) in 2010. The EAS is a specialist, borough-wide assessment, advice and data service, sitting within Hackney Council's Children and Young People's Service. The aim of the service is to assist potential learners with suitable ESOL provision, identify gaps in ESOL provision, and work with ESOL providers to fill these gaps. The EAS works with a wide range of stakeholders across Hackney,

219. Manchester City Council, "ESOL at Manchester Adult education Service (MAES): experiences of entry 3 and level 1 learners), http://mlm.humanities.manchester.ac.uk/wp-content/uploads/2018/10/ESOLatManchesterAdultEducationServicev6.3-1.pdf (2018).
220. Manchester City Council Economy Scrutiny Committee, "Manchester City Council report for resolution", https://secure.manchester.gov.uk/download/meetings/id/24288/7_english_for_speakers_of_other_languages_esol , (2017), 1 – 14.
221. MHCLG, "Measuring the impact of community-based English language provision".

including libraries, education and health organisations and third sector organisations.

A database was created to log all learners following their initial assessment with the EAS, meaning that if a learner is not placed on a course immediately, they will be notified as soon as a place becomes available. ESOL providers have access to this database, allowing them to monitor demand and adapt their services. In return for access to this database, the EAS asks providers to contribute advice services in support of the EAS. The EAS then runs regular advice services throughout the borough. In 2016-17, they ran six sessions in the borough, including an evening session for learners who worked during the day. These sessions involve a qualified ESOL practitioner assessing a learner's speaking, listening, reading and writing skills before helping them find an ESOL class which will suit their needs best.

In the year 2016-17, a total of 1,205 learners were registered on the EAS. This has grown from 572 learners in 2009-10. Eighty-four percent of learners are female, with 53% of all learners either not working or looking for work. Additionally, 67% of those who are not accessing benefits are on low incomes. Of learners who had used the EAS to join an ESOL class during the academic year 2016-17, 93% rated the service 'very good' or 'excellent'.[222]

The success of the EAS has no doubt been a model for the ESOL units proposed in the strategies of the Integration Areas, as described in Box 5.2 earlier.

The Linking Network

The Linking Network is a charity which helps schools and local authorities to establish and develop local school linking programmes through providing training and resources. They also manage and maintain a national network for schools linking facilitators throughout

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222. Hackney ESOL Advice Service, " ESOL learners in Hackney 2016 – 17", https://www.learningtrust.co.uk/sites/default/files/document/ESOL%20Learners%20in%20Hackney%202016-17.pdf, (2017), 1 – 39.

the country, now known as the National Linking Network. They are the largest organisation in the UK to support school linking and are partly funded by the MHCLG and the Department for Education.[223]

As discussed in Box 5.2 earlier, school linking is where schoolchildren from different schools, who would likely otherwise not meet, are brought together for collaborative activities to increase contact between different ethnic and religious groups. Established in 2007, the Linking Network is active across 26 areas in England and now involves 865 classes and over 22,000 children.[224]

A 2011 report into The Linking Network found that their school linking can have a positive impact on pupils, including in their respect for others, self-confidence and for broadening the social groups with whom pupils interact. For example, 25% of pupils who had taken part in their schools linking programmes reported that, since doing so, they felt their beliefs or assumptions about other communities and cultures had been challenged. This 2011 report emphasised the importance of sustained involvement in the programme for it to be effective, noting that two or more visits to different schools are necessary for the benefits to be felt.[225] The significant expansion of The Linking Network since then suggests that schools and local authorities feel it is a beneficial programme for their students.

School merging: Waterhead Academy

It is worth exploring the example of Waterhead Academy, which goes much further than school linking. It included a merger of two schools, with two different populations.

Waterhead Academy is a secondary school in Oldham. Now with nearly 1,300 pupils, Waterhead Academy was formed from two schools

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223. The Linking Network, "About", https://thelinkingnetwork.org.uk/about/

224. The Linking Network, "School linking", https://thelinkingnetwork.org.uk/what-we-do/school-linking/, (2019).

225. National Foundation for Educational Research, "Evaluation of the schools linking network : final report", http://thelinkingnetwork.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2017/02/NFER-SLN-Report.pdf, (2010).

in Oldham, Breezehill School, at which more than 90% of pupils were from an Asian background, and Count Hill School, at which more than 90% were White British.[226]

The merger began in September 2010, with the two schools initially split across two campuses. To slowly begin the integration process, Waterhead Academy started with mixed sports team which trained together once a week. Only in September 2011 did the two schools move to mixed lessons two days a week.[227] The two constituent schools merged fully into a new campus in September 2012.

Academically, Waterhead Academy has struggled, and was placed under special measures by Ofsted in November 2014. In 2015, it was ranked in the bottom 200 schools in the country for GCSE results.[228]

It has, however, since been removed from special measures, and in 2016 was one of the most improved schools in Greater Manchester.[229] However, in truth, its latest Ofsted inspection rating in 2019 was 'requires improvement'.[230]

The outcomes for social integration, nonetheless, have been impressive. Professor Miles Hewstone studied the impact of the merger and found that both White British and Asian British pupils experienced increased contact with and liking of the other group, as well as a reduction in anxiety towards the other group. Waterhead Academy has received national attention for its efforts and success in improving social integration in the school.[231]

National Citizen Service

The National Citizen Service (NCS) is an initiative sponsored by the

226. Catrin Nye, "Oldham schools attempt to bridge race divide", *BBC News*, 27 April, 2011,.
227. David Goodhart, "A very British school", *Prospect*, April 24, 2013.
228. David Edmonds, "The integrated school that could teach a divided town to live together", *The Guardian*, 5 November 2015.
229. Tes, "Waterhead Academy", https://www.tes.com/jobs/employer/waterhead-academy-1060422.
230. Ofsted, "Waterhead Academy", https://reports.ofsted.gov.uk/provider/23/144508
231. BBC, "Oldham riot lessons not implemented across country, says expert", *BBC*, 26 May 2016. David Edmonds, "The integrated school that could teach a divided town to live together"; Nazia Parveen, "'Divided Oldham'? Inside the school that defies Farage's narrative", *The Guardian*, 21 May 2019.

British Government, which brings together young people aged 15 to 17 from different backgrounds in extracurricular activities which aim to improve personal and social development and community action. Its overall aims are to enable and encourage social cohesion, social mobility and social engagement.

The NCS programme takes place in the summer or autumn in four stages over three to four weeks. It includes outdoor adventure activities, and designing and implementing a social action project in their local community.[232] Over 500,000 young people have taken part in the programme since it was founded in 2011, with 12% of all 16 to 17-year olds having participated in the programme in 2016.[233]

An evaluation of the NCS found improved levels of social integration using several different measures. For example, the 2016 Summer course programme saw a 2% increase in participants saying that most people can be trusted, with a 3% increase for the 2016 Autumn course. Additionally, there was a 6% increase in the percentage of participants who rarely or never have negative or bad experiences with people from a different race or ethnicity once they had completed the 2016 Summer course. However, admittedly, its 2016 Autumn programme saw a 1% reduction in this measure. There was also an 8% and 7% increase respectively for the 2016 Summer and 2016 Autumn courses in participants who agreed, after completing the course, that "my local area is a place where people from different backgrounds get on well together".[234] A separate evaluation in 2018 found that, overall, the NCS leads to important improvements in social integration. This was especially the case with participants who joined the programme with

232. National Citizen Service, "Annual report and accounts 2018", https://www.ncsyes.co.uk/sites/default/files/2018-10/NCS_Trust_Annual_Report_1718.pdf (2018).
233. National Audit Office, "National Citizen Service", https://www.nao.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2017/02/National-Citizen-Service.pdf (2017).
234. DCMS, "National Citizen Service 2016 Evaluation", https://www.ncsyes.co.uk/sites/default/files/2018-10/NCS%202016%20Evaluation%20Report.pdf (2017).

already lower levels of social integration.[235]

The NCS programme has also led to "significantly higher rates of volunteering" up to 28 months after the end of the programme. The NCS is a well-evidenced programme which is seemingly improving social integration for young people.[236]

Uniformed youth groups

There are a number of uniformed youth groups in the voluntary sector, most notably the Army Cadets, Boys' Brigade, Fire Cadets, Girlguiding/Brownies, Girls' Brigade, Jewish Lads' and Girls' Brigade, Police Cadets, RAF Air Cadets, Scouts, Sea Cadets and St John Ambulance. They offer the opportunity for young people to volunteer to build their skills, as well as gain an idea of what working in some of the uniformed services, such as the police or armed forces, involves.

Youth United Federation (YUF), an umbrella organisation of youth groups, has carried out several assessments of uniformed youth groups, including with regard to social integration.

The YUF has found that uniformed youth are eleven percentage points more likely than non-uniformed youth to socially mix with someone from a different ethnicity from them. In fact, 88% of uniformed youth report that at least some of the people they come into contact with through group activities are people who are different from them. Experiences of contact with people from different ethnic and religious backgrounds is also more likely to be positive in uniformed groups. Fifty-five percent of those in a uniformed youth group say that recent contact with someone of a different religion was positive, compared to 42% of young people not in a uniformed group.[237]

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235. James Laurence, "Meeting, mixing, mending: how NCS impacts young people's social integration" https://www.ncsyes.co.uk/sites/default/files/2018-10/Social%20Integration%20Report. pdf (2018).
236. DCMS, "National Citizen Service 2016 Evaluation"
237. Youth United Foundation, "Social integration: the role of uniformed youth groups", http://yuf. org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2018/07/FULL-REPORT-COMJ6149-Social-Integration-Youth-Groups-Report-0106-WEB.pdf (2018).

Conclusion

From all our research into successful social integration policies across England, we identified three major themes that consistently emerged as the focus:

- **Improving ESOL provision.** Measures that work to improve the provision and availability of English language teaching.
- **Improving social mixing between young people.** Measures that ensure young people from different ethnic and religious backgrounds mix, especially at school. This can also bring together parents, since they often have to accompany their children.
- **Expanding school linking.** Measures that encourage primary and secondary schools to establish school linking, especially between schools which have very different ethnic and religious cohorts.

Really, these two themes reflect two types of interventions to improve social integration. First, interventions that aim to better equip individuals with the tools they need to better integrate, such as ESOL provision. Second, interventions that seek to reform institutions to enable people from different ethnic and religious backgrounds to better mix with one another, such as school linking.

The next chapter will outline original and credible policy recommendations to improve social integration. It focuses on policies that will better support individuals (with the tools they need to integrate) and institutions (to reform so they are better able to provide a platform for different people from different ethnic and religious backgrounds to mix).

Chapter 6: **New policies**

Chapter Five revealed different policies and programmes in England to bolster social integration. In this chapter, we propose new policies to help boost social integration, considering benefits for both individuals and wider society that will derive from this.[238] The policies are particularly focussed on the policy themes for social integration identified in Chapter Five: improving the provision of ESOL courses; improving social mixing between young people; and, expanding school linking.

It must be noted that there is of course a limit to what public policy can achieve in improving social integration. Social integration depends on interactions between people. It is both right and obvious that people themselves will determine whether they want to form relationships with different people, including those from other ethnic and religious backgrounds. However, certain policies and programmes can increase the likelihood of people from different ethnic and religious backgrounds meeting and mixing.

As indicated in Chapter Five, there are broadly two aims of policies and programmes to boost social integration, as shown in Figure 6.1 below. First, policy and programmes that give individuals the tools to maximise their ability to socially integrate with others. The most obvious example of this is policies and programmes to improve

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238. Shorthouse, "Reducing poverty by promoting", 1.

English language competency. The second aim is to develop policy and programmes that transform institutions, so that they are more likely to include people from different ethnic and religious backgrounds. The most obvious example of this is schools.

Figure 6.1. Policy aims to increase social integration
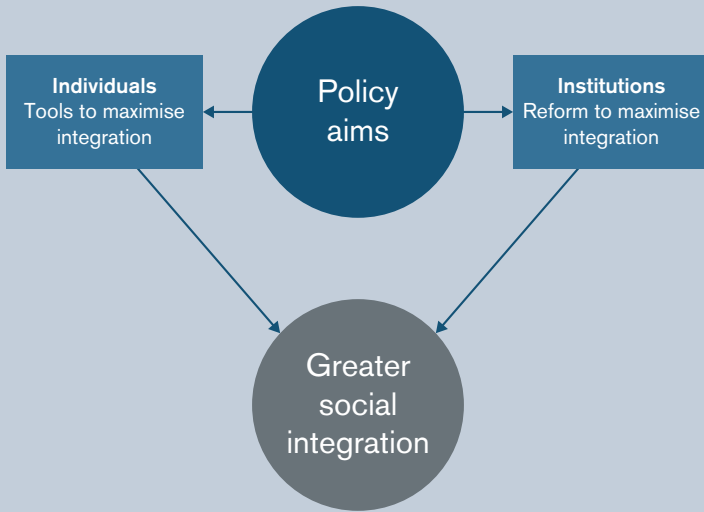
Now, there are of course a range of institutions that could be used to facilitate social integration. There are voluntary institutions (such as churches), private institutions (such as businesses) and public institutions (such as schools) that can make a considerable impact on social integration. But we do not have the capacity to focus on all of these. Instead, we focus on, in line with past and current policies detailed in Chapter Five, schools.

Policy approach

When formulating policies to try and facilitate greater social

integration, we applied three particular tests that had to be met:

- **Fiscal realism:** While the Government is now more fiscally committed to the issue of social integration, there nevertheless appears little scope for further significant investment in this area. Even though the current Prime Minister recently declared an "end to austerity",[239] the Government is still aiming to 'balance public finances' by the middle of the next decade and other significant spending commitments have been made. Therefore, there is not huge amounts of new government funding available. Policy recommendations must therefore be realistic in the level of government funding required to enact them.
- **Respecting individual freedom:** Individuals have a fundamental right to freedom of association, allowing them to learn, work and live in communities of their choice. However, such individual choices can also eventually lead to ethnic and religious segregation, which decreases opportunities for strong and positive relationships across these socio-demographic divides. To respect individual freedom, measures to improve social integration should encourage people to socially integrate, rather than force them to do so.
- **Progressivity:** The independent statistical analysis, described in detail in Chapter Four, found diverging levels of neighbourhood trust across England. In particular, it found that levels of neighbourhood trust were strongly associated with levels of deprivation in a local area, with more deprived areas displaying lower levels of neighbourhood trust. Our additional analysis also found that local authorities that were deemed to be the most socially integrated in England were also relatively affluent. To have the most impact, resources and policies to boost social integration,

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239. Theresa May, *Speech at the Conservative Party conference*, 3 October 2018, https://www.politicshome.com/news/uk/political-parties/conservative-party/news/98760/read-full-theresa-mays-speech-2018

should be primarily focussed on deprived areas.

The policies proposed in this report are not exhaustive. Indeed, there are lots of good public policy suggestions that originate from other organisations, which merit serious consideration for implementation. Instead, with the policies we propose, we seek to fill in the gaps: to offer original but credible policy ideas to boost social integration, focussing on recommendations that could support individuals to better integrate as well as recommendations that reform institutions so they can better facilitate integration.

For policies to equip individuals to integrate better, we focus on improving English language capability. We focus on this not only because it is a common area for policymakers to focus on, but also because the independent statistical analysis, as well as the wider evidence base, showed the importance of English language for forming relationships with those from other ethnic or religious groups.

For policies to reform institutions to facilitate greater social integration, we put an emphasis on schools. As already illustrated, this is also a common focus for policymakers seeking to strengthen social integration. But, in addition, we focus on schools because they are often the institution where both children and parents from different backgrounds are most likely to form new relationships. It is especially educational settings for younger children, such as children's centres and nurseries, where parents are most likely to interact and thus most likely to generate new relationships. Ideas to boost diverse social networks in these early years settings are offered in a previous Bright Blue report.[240] Hence, in this report, we focus on new policy ideas for primary and secondary schools. At these ages, it is children who are most likely to form new relationships and integrate, although parents will still become involved with schools through Parent-Teacher Associations and governing bodies – and thus are still likely to integrate with parents from other backgrounds if the schools have

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240. Shorthouse, "Reducing poverty by promoting", 1.

sufficiently mixed intakes.

Recommendation one: The UK Government should introduce and use a new definition and measure of social integration, based primarily on neighbourhood trust in ethnically diverse areas

In this report, we have proposed a new definition of social integration. We define social integration as the presence of meaningful, positive and sustained interactions between individuals of different ethnic and religious backgrounds. This definition is more demanding than ones currently used, as it highlights the significant role of deeper and frequent interactions in facilitating connections and relationships between individuals from different religions and ethnicities.

On the basis of our new definition, we proposed a new measure of social integration that includes levels of neighbourhood trust in ethnically diverse areas. This is because neighbourhood trust is a highly effective measure of positive, meaningful and sustained interactions between individuals in a local area, but the area needs to be ethnically diverse to signify social integration.

However, since it is also possible for people in residentially segregated communities to trust their neighbours on the basis of them being in the same ethnic group, high levels of neighbourhood trust in ethnically and religiously diverse communities only indicate high levels of social integration when the local area is not residentially segregated. This is an important qualification that needs to be included when measuring levels of social integration.

We recommend that the UK government, as well as local and combined authorities and public bodies, utilise this new definition and measure of social integration in the context of assessing and funding any project or policy development that focuses on social integration. This proposed new measure of social integration could consider incorporating, or sitting alongside, other measures, such as levels of deprivation.

Recommendation two: The Government should publish a Social Integration Index score for each local authority every ten years

Our proposed measure of social integration requires data on ethnic diversity (for the Ethnic Diversity Index), residential segregation (for the Index of Dissimilarity), and levels of neighbourhood trust in each local authority.

The data for the first two is already publicly available from sources such as the ten-yearly Census. Data on levels of neighbourhood trust is collected for the Community Life Survey.[241] In fact, the question on neighbourhood trust in the Community Life Survey, "thinking about the people who live in this neighbourhood, to what extent do you believe they can be trusted?", is very similar to the question utilised in this report. However, the current sample size only allows to calculate neighbourhood trust at the level of regions at best, rather than local authorities. This should change: the Community Life Survey should have a bigger sample size.

Then, using all this data, the Government should produce a ten-yearly Social Integration Index, measuring levels of social integration across all different local authorities in the country.

This Social Integration Index would be helpful to researchers and policymakers, who could use this data to examine and compare the impact and effectiveness of social integration policies over time. Decision-makers and policymakers could also use this to identify problem areas that require more policies and resources. It would also be useful to private individuals and businesses, enabling them to be better informed about the area they are living or working in, or would like to. Hence, the information will be useful for them for a variety of decisions regarding housing, education and investment.

We recommend that the Government begins to collect data on levels

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241. DCMS, "Community life survey technical report 2017-18", https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/770554/Community_Life_Online_and_Paper_Survey_Technical_Report_2017-18.pdf (2019), 70.

of neighbourhood trust for each local authority, with the MHCLG expanding the Community Life Survey as necessary to enable the sample sizes necessary to accurately report such levels for each local authority. The Government should then use this new data, along with census data every ten years for the Ethnic Diversity Index and Index of Dissimilarity, to produce a Social Integration Index score for each local authority every decade. This Social Integration Index could consider incorporating other measures, such as levels of deprivation, which can also be identified through the Census.

Recommendation three: The Government should continue the Controlling Migration Fund beyond 2020 and should dedicate a minimum proportion of the Controlling Migration Fund to fund ESOL provision only

The government fully funds ESOL courses for those for those who are aged 19 and over and are in unemployment, and partially funds all others eligible for ESOL course.[242] However, overall funding of ESOL courses has fallen by 56% from 2009-10 to 2016-17, which has been accompanied by a decline in participation from 179,000 to 114,000 people in the same time period.[243] A survey of ESOL providers found that 80% of respondents had waiting lists of up to 1,000 students and 66% said that lack of funding was the main cause.[244]

The Controlling Migration Fund is a £100 million bidding fund launched in 2016 by the Ministry for Housing, Local Government and Communities to assist local authorities which are impacted the most by recent immigration to ease pressures on their services. Most of the funding has already been allocated to a number of projects,

242. Education & Skills Funding Agency, "ESFA funded adult education budget (AEB): funding and performance management rules 2019 to 2020", https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/804647/AEB_2019-20_rules_24_May_draft_v.1.pdf (2019), 33.
243. House of Commons Library, "Adult ESOL in England", https://researchbriefings.parliament.uk/ResearchBriefing/Summary/CBP-7905 (2018), 8.
244. Ibid.

including those which involve additional English language support for both children and adults.[245] Plans for the Controlling Migration Fund beyond 2020 are supposed to be considered during the next Spending Review.

Considering the importance of English language skills for social integration in this country, we recommend that the Government dedicates a minimum and significant proportion of the Controlling Migration Fund for funding ESOL projects. This will give local authorities who are under the most pressure a guaranteed resource with which they could provide ESOL courses to meet higher levels of demand.

Recommendation four: After an initial trial, the government should look to introduce a legal duty on all state secondary schools in England to ensure all pupils participate in at least one week of National Citizen Service (NCS) during term time in Year 9 or Year 10

As described in Chapter Five, NCS is a government-sponsored voluntary initiative for 15-17 year olds where they engage with a range of extracurricular activities that include outdoor team-building exercises, independent living and social action projects.[246] The scheme currently operates both a four-week and a one-week version during school holidays.

The UK is not alone in offering such programmes. France is currently introducing a 'Universal National Service', a similar one-month scheme where 16-17 year olds spend two weeks in a different region to learn survival and emergency skills and living independently, while another

245. MHCLG, "Annex A: Summary of projects already funded", https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/733135/Annex_A_summary_of_projects_already_funded.pdf
246. National Citizen Service, "Annual report and accounts 2018", https://www.ncsyes.co.uk/sites/default/files/2018-10/NCS_Trust_Annual_Report_1718.pdf (2018).

two weeks is spent on a 'collective' community or government project.[247]

NCS appears to improve some indicators of social integration in its participants, including increasing levels of trust in others and making it more likely to describe their local area as a place where people from different backgrounds get on well together.[248] Hence, we should aim to harness this benefit for as many young people as possible.

We recommend that the UK Government trials delivering at least one week of NCS to all Year 9 or Year 10 students in all state secondary schools in England during term time. This trial should examine the practical considerations of implementing NCS at a larger scale and whether the benefits of NCS are retained even if the scheme is effectively made compulsory and aimed at a younger cohort than previously.

Delivering it for all English state school secondary pupils in Year 9 or Year 10 will require the NCS to be running all year round during term-time, as to have entire cohorts participating only in the autumn half-term or summer holidays would be impractical. As NCS would in effect become compulsory, it would also be undesirable to insist participation is only during school holidays.

If the scheme runs throughout the school year, it is important not to allow it to significantly disturb preparation for and conduct of GCSE exams and coursework that usually happen in Year 11. Hence, the scheme should be applied to a slightly younger cohort of students, 13-15 year olds, who would be in Year 9 or Year 10.

If the trial is successful, the Government should introduce a legal duty for all state secondary schools in England to provide at least one week of NCS to either all Year 9 or Year 10 pupils, depending on which cohort is found to be responding best to the scheme. The optimal length of time of the NCS during term time, ranging from one week to one month, should also be discovered through the trial and introduced

247. "France begins trial of compulsory civic service for teens", *France 24*, 16 June, 2019, https://www.france24.com/en/20190616-france-trial-macron-new-compulsory-national-service-teen-military.
248. DCMS, "National Citizen Service 2016 Evaluation", https://www.ncsyes.co.uk/sites/default/files/2018-10/NCS%202016%20Evaluation%20Report.pdf (2017).

during national rollout. No pupil will have to pay to participate in this model of NCS.

Recommendation five: The Government should trial shorter summer holidays to examine whether it improves social integration

In the UK, state school summer holidays tend to last for approximately six weeks. Evidence suggests that summer holidays can have a detrimental effect on social mixing. Children tend to see fewer peers during school holidays and they tend to see much more of children from a similar socio-economic background. Evidence from the US suggests that their summer break (which is typically around eight to ten weeks) leads to children's social networks shrinking by around two thirds.[249]

Research suggests there are a number of benefits to reducing the length of summer holidays. The current six-week summer holiday can lead to 'learning loss', where a student loses or forgets academic skills and knowledge during the break.[250] This loss can be particularly pronounced for children from disadvantaged backgrounds.[251]

Moreover, the long summer holiday can also be detrimental to a child's health and fitness. A study by UK Active measured 400 pupils before and after the summer holidays, and found they were able to run significantly less distance before stopping with exhaustion after the summer break. They attributed this to more screen time and less physical education during the summer holiday.[252]

249. Jan N. Hughes and Duan Zhang, "Effects of the structure of classmates' perceptions of peers' academic abilities on children's perceived cognitive competence, peer acceptance, and engagement", *Contemporary Educational Psychology* (2007).
250. Jackie Shinwell and Margaret Anne Defeyter, "Investigation of summer learning loss in the uk—implications for holiday club provision", *Frontiers in Public Health* (2017).
251. The Perse School, "Could changing school holidays improve educational attainment?", https://www.perse.co.uk/blog/could-changing-school-holidays-improve-educational-attainment/ (2012).
252. Henry Bodkin, "Summer holidays 'bad for child health'", *The Daily Telegraph*, 11 July, 2017.

Both Nottinghamshire[253] and Isle of Wight Council[254] have recently approved plans to reduce the summer break by one week following a public consultation, while Brighton and Hove Council[255] did not go ahead with full implementation after a one-year trial. Notably, all of these plans are currently only subject to public consultations, but not in-depth studies that could examine their effectiveness in terms of actual outcomes, as their implementation has been motivated primarily by concerns around high holiday costs for families during conventional holiday periods.

We recommend that the Government trial shorter summer holidays in some areas and examine its effect, particularly that on social mixing and integration, between children from different ethnic and religious backgrounds. Should the results suggest a positive improvement, we recommend that the Government roll out shorter summer holidays across England.

Recommendation six: Part of Pupil Premium payments should be contingent upon primary and secondary schools taking part in, or establishing, a school linking programme

As described briefly in Chapter Five, school linking involves bringing together classrooms of children from demographically diverse schools with the aim of increasing social contact between groups who would otherwise not meet. This can involve a range of collaborative activities, including exchanging work, joint drama, arts and sports sessions, and even community projects for older pupils.

The National Linking Network (NLN), the largest programme of this kind, is funded by the Ministry of Housing, Communities and Local

253. Nottinghamshire County Council, "Shorter summer holidays for Nottinghamshire pupils", https://www.nottinghamshire.gov.uk/newsroom/news/shorter-summer-holidays-for-nottinghamshire-pupils (2017).
254. Isle of Wight Council, "Changes to school term dates approved", https://www.iow.gov.uk/news/Changes-to-school-term-dates-approved (2018).
255. Joel Adams, "October's half term goes back to one week in Brighton and Hove", *The Argus*, 7 March, 2018.

Government and the Department for Education.[256] In 2018-19, over 500 schools had at least one class involved in the NLN.[257]

Local authority schools, academies, free schools and independent schools can all take part in the NLN, and more than two schools can be jointly linked. While both primary and secondary schools participate, links tend to occur between schools with the same age cohort as linking activities usually involve sports and joint lessons.

An evaluation of the Schools Linking Network ,a predecessor to NLN, found that school linking can have a positive impact on many aspects of pupils' skills, attitudes, perceptions and behaviours, particularly their respect for others, their self-confidence and their self-efficacy, as well as broadening the social groups with whom pupils interact. It found evidence showing that school linking had a greater impact where it took place two or more times a year.[258]

The Pupil Premium is additional funding for state-funded primary and secondary schools designed to help disadvantaged pupils, such as those receiving free school meals and looked-after children, perform better. It is awarded for every eligible pupil in school and schools have significant freedom in how to spend it. The 2018-19 rate is £1,320 for pupils in Year 6 and below and £935 for pupils in Years 7 to 11 in the case of pupils receiving free school meals, and £2,300 for looked-after children.[259] Making part of this funding conditional on participating in the NLN, or a similar school linking scheme, could incentivise participation in such programmes, which the evidence suggests as supporting social integration between children and young adults.

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256. The Linking Network, "About", https://thelinkingnetwork.org.uk/about/,
257. The Linking Network, "National Linking Network" https://thelinkingnetwork.org.uk/contact-details/
258. National Foundation for Educational Research, "Evaluation of the Schools Linking Network", https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/182402/DFE-RR090.pdf (2011)
259. Education and Skills Agency, "Pupil premium 2018 to 2019: conditions of grant", https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/pupil-premium-conditions-of-grant-2018-to-2019/pupil-premium-2018-to-2019-conditions-of-grant#terms-on-which-ppg-is-allocated-to-schools (2019).

Recommendation seven: The charitable status of independent schools should be contingent on them taking part in, or establishing, a school linking programme

Approximately half of independent schools in the UK are registered as charities.[260] Charity status grants a number of tax concessions that provide independent schools with significant savings, but in return their activities must meet a 'public benefit' requirement. Independent schools can meet this requirement by providing a non-tokenistic material, educational or cultural benefit to those who cannot afford their fees, with means-tested bursaries being one of the most common examples.[261]

In 2016, the then Conservative Government proposed new benchmarks for independent schools who wished to retain charitable status, such as sponsoring state sector academies,[262] though these plans were later shelved. Instead, the Department for Education has encouraged independent schools to create formal partnerships and relationships with the state sector on a voluntary basis.[263]

As independent schools are not eligible to receive Pupil Premium payments, their participation in school linking programme must be incentivised through a separate mechanism. We recommend making the charitable status of such schools contingent on participation in NLN, or a similar school linking programme.

Recommendation eight: The government should publish separate league tables based on secondary school data for levels of both ethnic and religious diversity relative to the

260. Department for Education, "Schools that work for everyone", https://consult.education.gov.uk/school-frameworks/schools-that-work-for-everyone/supporting_documents/SCHOOLS%20THAT%20WORK%20FOR%20EVERYONE%20%20FINAL.PDF (2016), 13.

261. Charity Commission, "Charging for services: illustrative examples of benefits for the poor", https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/charging-for-services/charging-for-services-illustrative-examples-of-benefits-for-the-poor (2013).

262. Department for Education, "Schools that work for everyone", 14-15.

263. Department for Education, "Partnership is key to creating more good school places", https://www.gov.uk/government/news/partnership-is-key-to-creating-more-good-school-places (2017).

population of the local authority

Currently, the Government collects a significant amount of data, including for ethnicity of pupils, through a mandatory annual school census.[264] The Government should utilise this data to calculate ethnic diversity levels in secondary schools. The Ethnic Diversity Index, which was utilised in the independent statistical analysis in this report, should be utilised for comparing the school population with the population of the local authority.

However, the Government currently does not gather statistics on the religion of secondary school pupils. To be able to calculate a separate Religious Diversity Index, the Government should expand the mandatory school census to include collection of this data.

The Government should calculate the ethnic and religious diversity of each secondary school in the country in the context of its local authority population, to illustrate how diverse a school's intake is in comparison to its area. Then, a score should be granted for both ethnic and religious diversity, and it should be presented in new league tables by the Department for Education.

Unlike primary schools, which can have very small catchment areas that make it very difficult to have a representative intake of the local authority as a whole, we would expect secondary schools to be broadly reflective of the local authority in which they operate.

By publishing this data in such a format, secondary schools which have unrepresentative admission policies, and therefore intake of pupils, should come under greater scrutiny. Parents will be more informed about the efforts of individual schools to promote inclusion and integration. In particular, secondary schools will come under greater pressure to improve their admission policies, as their performance will be directly comparable to other schools in their local authority.

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264. Department for Education, "School census 2018 to 2019", https://assets.publishing.service. gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/779031/2018_to_2019_School_ Census_Guide_V1_7.pdf (2019), 60.

Recommendation nine: The Department for Education should provide annual financial prizes for primary and secondary schools with the most effective policies to encourage social integration

Schools can encourage social integration in numerous ways, including admissions policy, in the classroom, links with the wider community, and the contents of their extra-curricular activities.

It has been noted in studies that school admission policies can significantly increase school segregation by family background and by ethnic profile.[265] In fact, the Challenge has found that current approaches to admissions and parental choice in the UK make it difficult to address school segregation at school level.[266]

While all schools have a set of statutory requirements that they must meet when establishing admission policies, many of them have a substantial degree of freedom beyond them. Currently, a number of schools have an admissions authority other than the local authority: an academy trust, in the case of academies, or the governing body in the case of foundation and voluntary-aided schools.[267] In the *Integrated Communities Strategy* green paper, the Government already acknowledges that new approaches to admissions are being trialled by a variety of admission authorities.[268]

Furthermore, studies in America have found that a range of activities improved relations between pupils of different ethnic backgrounds, including shared extracurricular activities, group work in classrooms and being on the same sports teams.[269] This suggests that schools have

265. Martin Söderström and Roope Uusitalo, "School choice and segregation: evidence from an admission reform", *Institute for Labour Market Policy Evaluation* (2005), 1.
266. The Challenge, "Understanding school segregation in England: 2011 to 2016", https://the-challenge.org/uploads/documents/TCN-Understanding-School-Segregation-in-England-2011-to-2016.pdf (2017), 12.
267. Department for Education, "School admissions code", https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/389388/School_Admissions_Code_2014_-_19_Dec.pdf (2014), 6.
268. MHCLG, "Integrated communities strategy green paper", 28.
269. Alyce Holland and Thomas Andre, "The effects of participation in extracurricular activities in secondary school: what is known, what needs to be known", *Information Analyses*, (1987), 21-22.

a wide range of internal policies, not just admissions, to deploy to improve social integration within themselves.

We propose that the Government encourages innovative ideas by providing annual financial prizes for primary and secondary schools who have the most impactful reforms in their social integration policies. The presence of a financial award should incentivise more schools to create such initiatives, while the process of award assessment should inform the Government and other schools on what are effective social integration policies so that they can be adopted more widely.

Conclusion

The factors driving neighbourhood trust, and therefore social integration, are numerous and complex. There is no simple, straightforward solution to strengthen social integration. The limitations of public policy have to be recognised and respected, especially in regards to people being free to develop the relationships they want.

The recommendations in this report seek to give individuals the tools – specifically, English language capability – to better integrate socially, and reform institutions – specifically, primary and secondary schools – to enable young people, but also parents, to have better opportunities to integrate with those from different ethnic and religious backgrounds.

The policies recommended in this chapter are of course not exhaustive, but do present some significant and realistic ideas to improve social integration across England. But we have to recognise that it is people, not policies, that will improve social integration. And that social integration is a two-way street. It is not enough to say migrants and their children must do more to integrate; native Brits must also make an effort to welcome and involve newcomers.

Independent statistical report

An investigation of the area determinants of trust using the Citizenship Survey 2009-11

Kitty Lymperopoulou and Arkadiusz Wiśniowski[270]

This briefing report presents findings of analysis on the determinants of trust carried out between April and September 2018. The aim of the analysis was to identify the factors associated with trust in local areas in England, and examine the association between immigration, ethnic diversity and trust. Using a multilevel modelling framework and data from the Secure Access version (UK Data Service Secure Lab project no 121203) of the 2009-2010 and 2010-2011 Citizenship Survey (Department for Communities and Local Government & Ipsos MORI), we examine different model specifications which include individual, neighbourhood and local authority characteristics, to test the association of different factors

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270. Kitty Lymperopoulou is an honorary research fellow at the University of Manchester. Her work examines immigration, ethnicity and inequalities. Arkadiusz Wiśniowski is a lecturer at the University of Manchester. His work examines modelling and forecasting complex social processes, with a particular focus on migration. This work is a part of academic research on the determinants of trust in the UK. The views and opinions expressed in this report are the authors' own and do not necessarily reflect those of the University of Manchester.

with trust in neighbours in England. We use our model to generate predicted levels of trust in neighbours in English Local Authorities. The key findings of this analysis are summarised in the last section of this report.

Background

Against the backdrop of increasing levels of immigration there has been a lot of interest in its social, economic, political and cultural consequences. The extent to which immigration is having an impact on social relations and trust in local communities has been at the heart of public policy debates in the UK. The government-commissioned Casey Review highlighted the challenges of greater ethnic diversification in different areas of the country as a result of this immigration, particularly in terms of social cohesion – the glue that holds society together. Much of the political debates about the effects of immigration and ethnic diversity on cohesion in the UK have been influenced by Robert Putnam's thesis that 'diversity fosters out- group distrust and in-group solidarity' (Putnam 2007: 142). Explanations of the mechanisms through which immigration impacts on trust emphasise the role of 'racial threat' which results in competition for scarce resources, prejudices towards minority groups and lower trust and social cohesion; and the 'contact' hypothesis where interpersonal contact helps dissolve stereotypes and increase interethnic trust leading to improved cohesion (van der Meer and Tolsma, 2014).

There is a growing academic literature on the relationship between ethnic diversity and social cohesion which has produced contradicting findings about the extent to which immigration impacts negatively on cohesion. Alongside levels of ethnic diversity, the demographic and socio-economic composition of the population in the local community, such as population turnover and density, and levels of deprivation have been shown to be significant predictors of cohesion and trust (Laurence, 2016). The characteristics of the immigrant

population and their association with community cohesion are less well explored. In public policy debates, low levels of trust and cohesion have been associated with low levels of inter-ethnic contact and poor English language ability, either because of the recency of immigration or as a result of the persistence of residential segregation and exclusion of ethnic minority groups (Casey, 2016). Communities with higher ethnic diversity are expected to be less cohesive and trusting because it is hypothesised that linguistic diversity breeds mistrust and hostility, with poor communication and social contact instigating feelings of anomie and general distrust (van der Meer and Tolsma, 2014). There is also a link between prejudice and poor economic circumstances most evident in deprived neighbourhoods with concentrations of disadvantaged groups, where mistrust towards migrants results from competition for jobs and other resources (Quillian, 1995). Perceived competition for jobs is expected to be higher in deprived areas where workers are predominantly low skilled and can be more easily substituted by low skilled migrants (Wilson and Jaynes, 2000).

In this report we examine these propositions using multilevel models of trust which take into account individual demographic and socio-economic characteristics and wider neighbourhood contextual factors. Our models indicate significant variation in predicted levels of trust in neighbourhoods and local authorities in England, depending on local area population socio-economic and demographic characteristics, as well as levels and characteristics of ethnic diversity such as the language proficiency and qualifications of migrants.

Measures and methodology

The analysis uses data from the Secure Access version (UK Data Service Secure Lab project no 121203) of the 2009-2010 and 2010-2011 Citizenship Survey (Department for Communities and Local Government & Ipsos MORI, 2012), matched to Middle Layer Super

Output Area (MSOA) and Local Authority (LA) variables obtained from a variety of sources including the 2011 Census and the Office for National Statistics (ONS). The data from two years of Citizenship Survey have been pooled together to boost the sample size.

Dependent variable

Studies on social capital employ measures of generalised trust (expressed in people in general), and particularised trust (expressed to in people who are known to us). Since the focus of our analysis is local 'neighbourhood' context we use a measure of particularised trust commonly measured in surveys by the question on how much participants trust people in their neighbourhood. While the precise meaning of 'trust in neighbours' is unclear, the semantic turn relative to measures of generalised trust would appear to reflect Putnam's view that social capital is a property, not so much of individuals or countries, but of local areas (Sturgis and Smith, 2010). Our key outcome is trust in neighbours which measures whether people trust most of the people in their neighbourhood.

Individual and neighbourhood level variables

At the individual level we will control for: length of time lived in the neighbourhood, age, gender, household income, socio-economic class, ethnicity, marital status and children in household (see Table 1).

The neighbourhood level variables include:

Ethnic diversity. We use the Census ethnicity variable to calculate diversity using Simpson's (1949) diversity index which captures the probability of two randomly chosen individuals within one neighbourhood being members of different ethnic categories.

Composition of recent immigration. We include a measure of concentration of low skilled migrants measured by the proportion

of migrants with no qualifications and a measure of language fluency of all migrants measured by the proportion of migrants who cannot speak English well.[271]

Age and family structure of population. These include the proportion of people aged 65 or above and the proportion of families with children.

Local area deprivation. We used the 2015 Index of Multiple Deprivation income deprivation domain and the crime domain to measure neighbourhood income and crime inequalities.

Urban-rural indicator. This is drawn from the ONS/DEFRA 2011 rural/urban classification.

White British population change 2001-11. This is drawn from the 2001 and 2011 Census of Population and measures the change in the proportion of people who were White British in each Local Authority.

Unemployment rate change 2001-11. This is drawn from the 2001 and 2011 Census of Population and measures the change in the proportion of people who were unemployed in each Local Authority.

Spatial scale of neighbourhood

The Citizenship Survey contains information on Lower Layer Super Output Area (LSOA) (average size of 1,600 people) and Middle Layer

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271. In previous model specifications we also included the proportion of immigrants defined by two country groupings, South Asia and EU Accession countries, which represent 'new' and established migrant groups in the UK and the proportion of migrants who are recent arrivals (year of arrival 2007-11). The results showed that higher concentration of migrants from the EU accession countries are associated with lower levels of trust. The inclusion of South Asian migrants was not significant in any of the models. We also included a measure of the recency of migration captured by the proportion of migrants who arrived in the UK between 2007-11 which was not significant. These variables were not included in our final models on the basis of model fit and correlation statistics which indicated the final models should be preferred.

Super Output Areas (MSOA) (7,500 people) but since a large number of LSOAs contained just one individual which could have affected our results we measure neighbourhoods at the MSOA level. We also included Local Authority districts, which are the administrative areas within which neighbourhoods sit, as an additional level of analysis. Local Authority districts are heterogeneous in size, with an average population of around 161,000.

Modelling approach

The modelling strategy involved estimating three level models of trust. Following Guo and Zhao (2000) a three level model allowing for the clustering of the MSOAs and the LAs with a single explanatory variable X_{ijk} can be written as:

$$Log\left(\frac{p_{ijk}}{1-p_{ijk}}\right) = Logit(y_{ijk}) = \beta_0 + \beta_1 X_{ijk} + u_{0jk} + v_{0k}$$

where y_{ijk} is a binary indicator variable taking the value of 1 for trust in most people in the neighbourhood and 0 otherwise for individual i living in MSOA j and Local Authority k. The probability of trust in neighbours is defined as:

p_{ijk}=Pr $(y_{ijk}$=1); where β_0 and β_1 are the coefficients to be estimated and u0jk and v0k are the random effects representing unobserved MSOA and Local Authority characteristics which follow a Normal distribution with mean 0 and variance s^2_{u0} and s^2_{v0} respectively.

The modelling strategy adopted to estimate trust in England involved a number of stages. First, single level logistic models were estimated, and then two and three level random intercepts models were estimated based on individual characteristics with individuals at the first level, MSOAs at the second level and Local Authority districts at the third level. In the final stage the random intercept models were estimated using both individual and contextual variables.

Results

The means and standard deviations of the variables included in the model are listed in Table 1.

Table 1. Means and standard deviations of model variables		
Variable	**Mean**	**Std. Dev.**
Trust (binary: whether trusts most of people in neighbourhood)	0.39	0.49
Individual-level variables		
Female (proportion)	0.53	0.5
Age	43	16
Respondent Income (15 ordinal categories)	4.6	3.2
Ethnicity (ref: White, proportion)		
Asian	0.27	0.44
Black	0.13	0.33
Mixed	0.03	0.17
Chinese	0.01	0.11
Other	0.04	0.19
Having children (proportion)	0.34	0.47
Married (proportion)	0.48	0.50
Lived for 5 years or longer (proportion)	0.64	0.48
Socio-economic status (ref: Higher and lower management)		
Intermediate; small employers	0.25	0.43
Semi-routine and routine	0.25	0.43
Other (never work/ long-term unemployed/students)	0.20	0.40
MSOA-level variables		
Ethnic Diversity Index	0.45	0.30
Cannot speak English well (pc of those whose 1st language not English)	20.9	8.2
Cannot speak English well (proportion > 30pc)	0.16	0.36

Immigrants with no qualifications (proportion >25pc)	0.28	0.45
Married households with dependent children (pc)	16.0	5.1
Percentage of population aged 65+	13.9	5.9
Rural (proportion)	0.12	0.33
IMD: Income Score 2015	0.18	0.095
IMD: CrimeScore2015	0.25	0.66
LA-level variables		
White British Population change between 2001 and 2011 (pc)	-3.29	6.14
White British Population change between 2001 and 2011 (proportion < −5pc)	0.38	0.48
White British Population change between 2001 and 2011 (proportion between −5pc and 0pc)	0.29	0.46
Unemployment change between 2001 and 2011 (pc)	1.06	0.93

Notes: 1. Total sample size: 28,822. 2. The characteristics at the MSOA and LA level are calculated for the areas that are covered by the Citizenship Survey (see Table 2), therefore they may not represent the actual values in the whole population of England. 3. The Ethnic Diversity Index and IMD scores are further used in the model in form of deciles to remove the scale effect. Source: Citizenship Survey, pooled 2009/10- 2010/11 (Secure Access) and Census 2011 data.

The model results shown here are based on a modelling strategy which involved estimating a three level model with individual level, neighbourhood (MSOA) and Local Authority (LA) level covariates. The sample sizes at each of the three levels are shown in Table 2.

Table 2. Sample sizes of pooled data.	
Group Variable	**Groups**
Local Authority	319
MSOA	3,134
Individuals	28,822

Note: There are 6792 MSOAs and 326 Local Authorities in England.
Source: Citizenship Survey, pooled 2009/10-2010/11 (Secure Access)

Table 3 shows the odds ratio (OR) of neighbour trust with a given set of individual and neighbourhood characteristics. The constant has been suppressed in all results. The findings at the individual level show that age and higher socio-economic class have a positive relationship with trust. We find that ethnic minority groups are less likely to trust their neighbours than White people. Length of residence in the neighbourhood is also a significant predictor of trust, with those living in the neighbourhood for more than five years being more trusting than those who have lived for less than five years.

Our results further show that increases in income are associated with lower probabilities of trust but at an increasing rate, as indicated by the positive coefficient for income squared. Increases in income from low income thresholds therefore are associated with diminishing trust but after reaching a certain income threshold trust increases again.

Neighbour trust is higher in rural (than urban) neighbourhoods. As expected, higher income and crime neighbourhood inequalities are negatively associated with trust. On the other hand, the percentage of the population aged 65 and over and families (married people with children) are positively associated with trust.

In line with other studies (see van der Meer and Tolsma, 2014) our findings demonstrate that immediate neighbourhood ethnic diversity is negatively associated with neighbour trust. Our model also shows that neighbourhoods with a higher proportion (>30%) of migrants who cannot speak English well are associated with lower levels of trust. The cut-off point of 30% was selected based on the distribution of those neighbourhoods. There were around 16% of neighbourhoods that reached this threshold (see Table 1), which is relatively low proportion. Also, the effect size was slightly lower but relatively robust to a change of the threshold to lower levels.

In addition, our model suggests that the effect of ethnic diversity on trust depends on the language ability of the migrant population shown by the significant interaction between the proportion of migrants who cannot speak English well and ethnic diversity. As the interaction

term is positive the odds of neighbour trust are higher in ethnically diverse areas with a higher proportion (>30%) of migrants who cannot speak English well compared to ethnically diverse areas with a lower proportion (<30%) of migrants. The effect of ethnic diversity is however different in neighbourhoods with a high and low proportion of migrants who cannot speak English well. When the proportion of migrants who cannot speak English well is higher than 30%, the effect of ethnic diversity is negative in the three lowest deciles of ethnic diversity (low diversity) but as diversity increases, the effect on trust becomes positive.

This is illustrated in Figure 1(i), which presents the marginal predictive means of the expected levels of trust for combinations of the two variables. The blue line (representing the relationship between low proportions of those who cannot speak English well and ethnic diversity deciles) has a negative slope whereas the red line (high proportion of those who cannot speak English well) is increasing with ethnic diversity. This is an interesting finding suggesting that in areas with very low ethnic diversity the effect of language barriers between neighbours has a strong and negative impact on trust. This negative impact, however, disappears as ethnic diversity increases. In areas with relatively low language barriers, higher ethnic diversity leads to decreases in trust.

Model 2 also includes a measure of concentration of low skilled migrants measured by the proportion of migrants (> 25%) with no qualifications in the neighbourhood which has a negative effect. Again, the threshold of 25% was selected based on the distribution of the data and showed reasonable robustness with respect to different specifications. The model results show that the effect of concentration of low skilled migrants on trust depends on neighbourhood deprivation levels. When interacted with the income deprivation variable, it shows that if the proportion of migrants with no qualifications is low, the predicted trust is relatively higher for low deprivation scores but lower for high deprivation scores, compared to the high proportion of

migrants with no qualifications. This is illustrated in Figure 1(iii), which presents the marginal predictive means of the expected levels of trust for combinations of the two variables. The predicted trust decreases with the increase of income deprivation (negative slopes) but it does so at a slightly lower pace in areas with a higher proportion of unskilled migrants. It is worth noting that the 95% CIs for the predicted trust overlap for the lowest and highest income deprivation score for the two configurations with high and low proportion of unskilled migrants.

To evaluate the extent of homogeneity between individuals in the same neighbourhoods the intra-class correlation (ICC) is used. The ICC for the final model was 1.81% (SE: 0.4%) at the LA level and 8.65% (SE: 0.7%) at the MSOA level conditional on LA, which means that 8.65% of variance is explained by the variability at both geographies.

The models in Table 4 introduce Local Authority variables measuring the change in the White British population (Model 3) and change in unemployment rate (Model 4) both of which are significant indicating that intra-neighbourhood trust is higher in local authorities which experienced modest losses or increases in the White British population (compared with those which experienced larger population losses) during the intercensal period 2001-2011. Similarly, worsening economic conditions in local authorities indicated by increases in the unemployment rate over the ten year period are also associated with lower neighbour trust.

Figure 1(ii) suggests that after taking into account White British population change in the Local Authority, ethnic diversity does not have a noticeable effect on trust in neighbourhoods with a low proportion of migrants who cannot speak English well. This is indicated by the insignificant coefficient for ethnic diversity in Model 3 (Table 4) and depicted by the almost flat blue line in Figure 1(ii) which shows trust levels falling into 95% CIs that range from 0.37 and 0.425 for the lowest ethnic diversity decile to 0.35 and 0.4 for the highest decile, thus, clearly overlapping with each other. However, in neighbourhoods with a high proportion of migrants who cannot

speak English well trust levels vary in expectation from 0.375 to 0.51 (positive slope of the red line in the figure) with an increasing ethnic diversity of neighbourhoods, which clearly demonstrates a significant effect of ethnic diversity. In other words, in the presence of language barriers, ethnically diverse areas tend to have relatively higher trust. Nonetheless, this level of trust is still quite low comparing to the highest trust areas as shown in Table 5, for which other factors, such as rurality and the proportion of older population coupled together with individual demographic characteristics, contribute to trust much more strongly than ethnic diversity.

Table 3. MSOA-level variables effect on neighbourhood trust (dependent variable).

	Model 1			Model 2		
	OR	SE	p- val	OR	SE	p- val
Female	0.82	(0.03)	.000	0.82	(0.03)	.000
Survey Year 2010-11 (ref: 2009-10)	0.94	(0.03)	.063	0.94	(0.03)	.065
Age	1.02	(0.00)	.000	1.02	(0.00)	.000
Respondent Income	0.95	(0.02)	.005	0.95	(0.02)	.005
Respondent Income Squared	1.01	(0.00)	.000	1.01	(0.00)	.000
Ethnicity (ref: White)						
Asian	0.81	(0.04)	.000	0.81	(0.04)	.000
Black	0.69	(0.04)	.000	0.69	(0.04)	.000
Mixed	0.83	(0.08)	.054	0.83	(0.08)	.053
Chinese	0.86	(0.12)	.301	0.86	(0.12)	.299
Other	0.57	(0.06)	.000	0.57	(0.06)	.000
Married	1.22	(0.04)	.000	1.22	(0.04)	.000
Lived for 5 years or longer	1.14	(0.04)	.000	1.14	(0.04)	.000
Socio-economic status (ref: Higher and lower management)						
Intermediate; small employers	0.80	(0.03)	.000	0.80	(0.03)	.000
Semi-routine and routine	0.63	(0.03)	.000	0.63	(0.03)	.000

Other (never work/ long-term unem/students)	0.78	(0.04)	.000	0.78	(0.04)	.000
Ethnic Diversity Index (deciles)	0.95	(0.01)	.001	0.95	(0.01)	.001
Cannot speak English well (>30%)	0.74	(0.10)	.032	0.77	(0.11)	.062
Ethnic Diversity Index*Cannot speak English well	1.12	(0.03)	.000	1.11	(0.03)	.000
Immigrants with no qualifications (>25%)				0.76	(0.11)	.062
Immigrants with no qualifications * IMD: Income Score 2015				1.05	(0.02)	.022
Married households with dependent children	1.01	(0.01)	.030	1.01	(0.01)	.096
IMD: Income Score 2015 (deciles)	0.88	(0.01)	.000	0.86	(0.01)	.000
IMD: CrimeScore2015 (deciles)	0.96	(0.01)	.001	0.96	(0.01)	.001
Percentage of population aged 65+	1.03	(0.01)	.000	1.03	(0.01)	.000
Rural	1.53	(0.10)	.000	1.51	(0.10)	.000
LA var	0.07	(0.01)		0.06	(0.01)	
MSOA var	0.25	(0.03)		0.24	(0.03)	
AIC		27958			27956	
BIC		28169			28184	

Source: Citizenship Survey, pooled 2009/10-2010/11 (Secure Access) and Census 2011 data.

Table 4. MSOA- and LA-level variables effect on neighbourhood trust (dependent variable).

	Model 3			Model 4		
	OR	SE	p- val	OR	SE	p- val
Female	0.82	(0.03)	.000	0.82	(0.03)	.000
Survey Year 2010-11 (ref: 2009-10)	0.94	(0.03)	.067	0.94	(0.03)	.068
Age		(0.00)	.000	1.02	(0.00)	.000
Respondent Income	0.95	(0.02)	.004	0.95	(0.02)	.005
Respondent Income Squared	1.01	(0.00)	.000	1.01	(0.00)	.000
Ethnicity (ref: White)						

Asian	0.82	(0.04)	.000	0.80	(0.04)	.000
Black	0.70	(0.04)	.000	0.68	(0.04)	.000
Mixed	0.84	(0.08)	.077	0.83	(0.08)	.050
Chinese	0.88	(0.13)	.372	0.86	(0.12)	.290
Other	0.58	(0.06)	.000	0.57	(0.06)	.000
Married	1.21	(0.04)	.000	1.22	(0.04)	.000
Lived for 5 years or longer	1.15	(0.04)	.000	1.14	(0.04)	.000
Socio-economic status (ref: Higher and lower management)						
Intermediate; small employers	0.80	(0.03)	.000	0.80	(0.03)	.000
Semi-routine and routine	0.63	(0.03)	.000	0.63	(0.03)	.000
Other (never work/ long-term unem/students)	0.78	(0.04)	.000	0.78	(0.04)	.000
Ethnic Diversity Index (deciles)	0.98	(0.02)	.287	0.95	(0.01)	.001
Cannot speak English well (>30%)	0.77	(0.11)	.059	0.75	(0.10)	.032
Ethnic Diversity Index*Cannot speak English well	1.11	(0.03)	.000	1.12	(0.03)	.000
Married households with dependent children	1.01	(0.01)	.005	1.01	(0.01)	.009
IMD: Income Score 2015 (deciles)	0.88	(0.01)	.000	0.88	(0.01)	.000
IMD: CrimeScore2015 (deciles)	0.96	(0.01)	.003	0.96	(0.01)	.002
Percentage of population aged 65+	1.03	(0.01)	.000	1.03	(0.01)	.000
Rural	1.51	(0.10)	.000	1.51	(0.10)	.000
White British pop change (ref: < -5pc)						
White British pop change (-5pc to 0pc)	1.42	(0.11)	.000			
White British pop change (> 0pc)	1.49	(0.12)	.000			
Change of unemployment (pc)				0.93	(0.03)	.029
LA var	0.06	(0.01)		0.06	(0.01)	
MSOA var	0.24	(0.03)		0.25	(0.03)	
AIC		27935			27955	
BIC		28163			28174	

Source: Citizenship Survey, pooled 2009/10-2010/11 (Secure Access) and Census 2011 data.

Figure 1. Marginal predictive means of the levels of trust

(i) Model 1
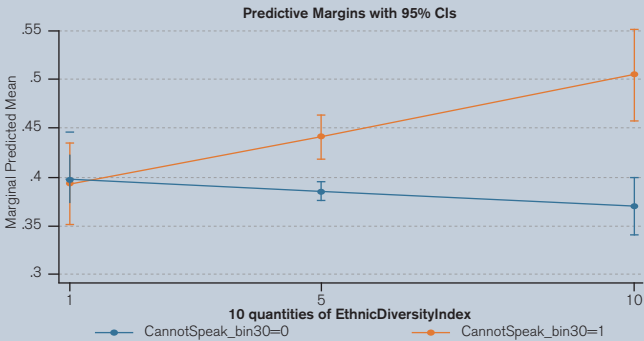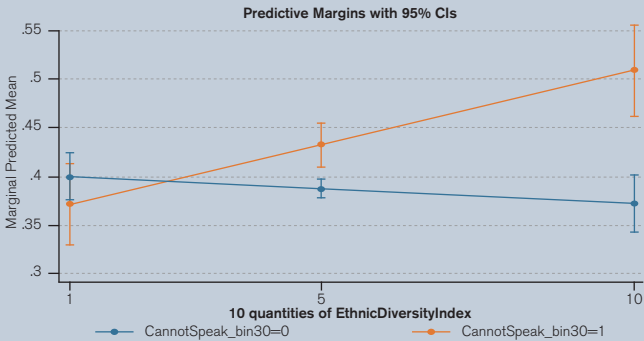
Predictive Margins with 95% CIs

CannotSpeak_bin30=0
CannotSpeak_bin30=1

(ii) Model 2

Predictive Margins with 95% CIs

CannotSpeak_bin30=0
CannotSpeak_bin30=1

(iii) Model 3

Predictive Margins with 95% CIs

Immigrantsnoqual_bin=0
Immigrantsnoqual_bin=1

Source: own calculations based on Citizenship Survey, pooled 2009/10-2010/11 (Secure Access) and Census 2011 data

Figures 2-6 show predicted levels of trust (predicted probabilities) for people with different characteristics. All results are based on model 3 (Table 4) as it scored the lowest Bayesian information criterion (BIC) and Akaike information criterion (AIC) (Tables 3 and 4) indicating that this model should be preferred. The results, however, are relatively insensitive to the introduction of LA-level variables. The average absolute difference in predicted trust in Model 3 compared with Model 1 was 0.007 and all differences were smaller than 0.05.

The figures show that females tend to have lower trust on average compared to males (Figure 2) and trust is positively associated with socio-economic status (the higher the status, the higher the trust – Figure 3). The highest trust is amongst the White ethnic group and the lowest for the Other and Black ethnic groups (Figure 3). The effect for Chinese ethnicity was not significant (cf. Table 3). Trust increases with increases in income though there is some minor variability observed for particular income groups (Figure 4). Trust tends to decrease from ages 16 to 23 where it starts to increase reaching the highest levels in ages 88-89 (Figure 6).

Figure 2. Predicted probability of trust for males and females
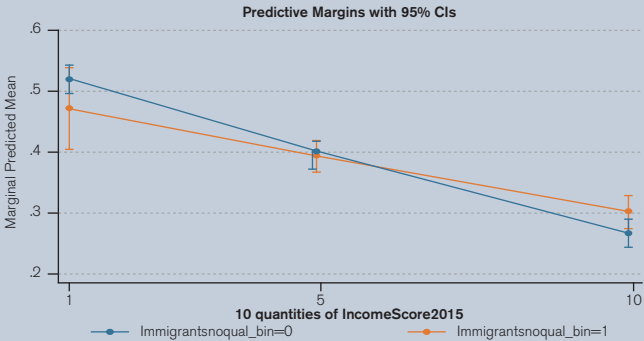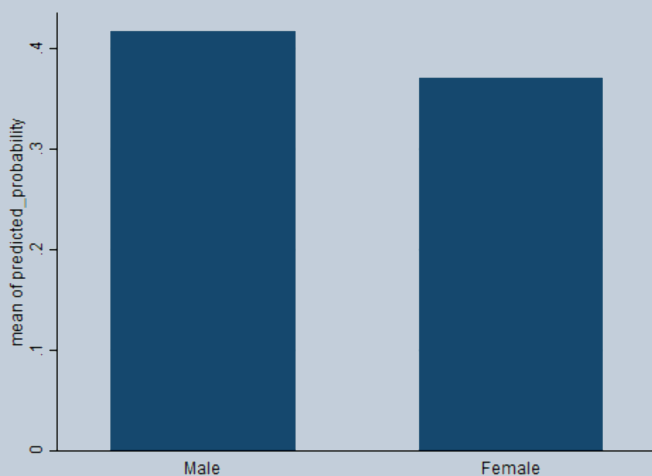
Source: own calculations based on Citizenship Survey, pooled 2009/10-2010/11 (Secure Access) and Census 2011 data

Figure 3. Predicted probability of trust for four SES categories
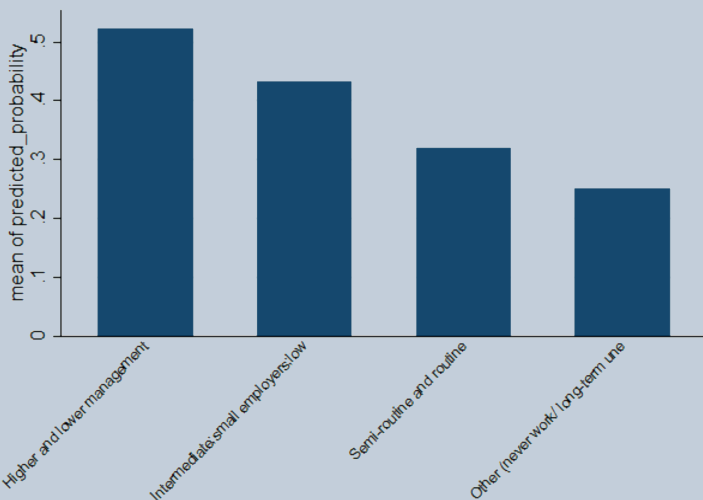
Source: own calculations based on Citizenship Survey, pooled 2009/10-2010/11 (Secure Access) and Census 2011 data

Figure 4. Predicted probability of trust for wide ethnic groups

Source: own calculations based on Citizenship Survey, pooled 2009/10-2010/11 (Secure Access)and Census 2011 data

Figure 5. Predicted probability of trust for income categories

Source: own calculations based on Citizenship Survey, pooled 2009/10-2010/11 (Secure Access) and Census 2011 data

Figure 6. Predicted probability of trust by age
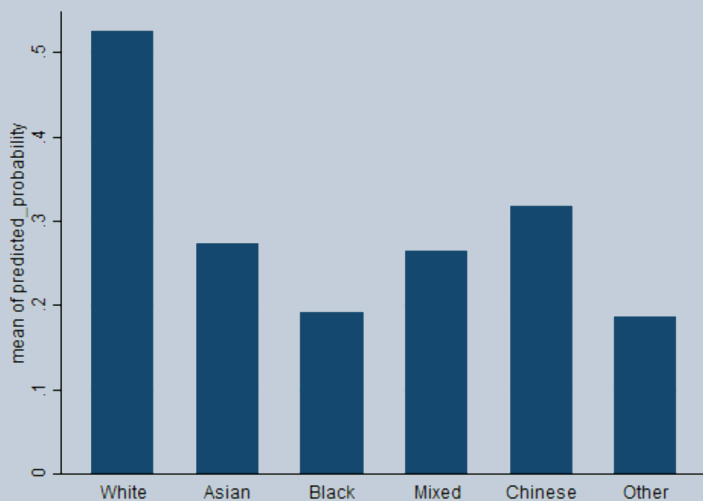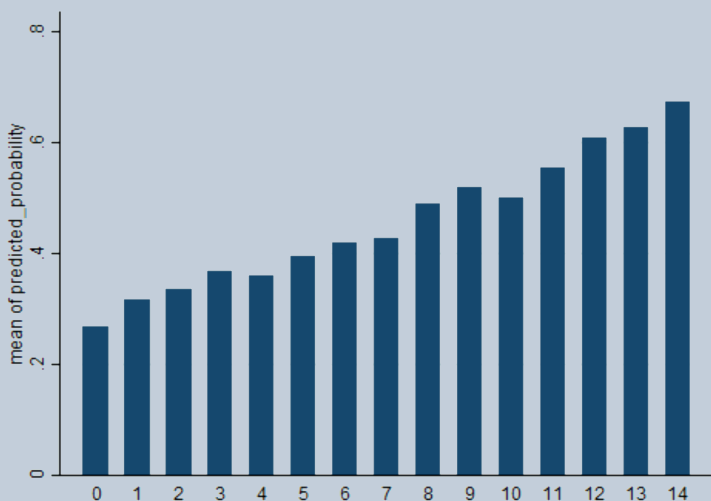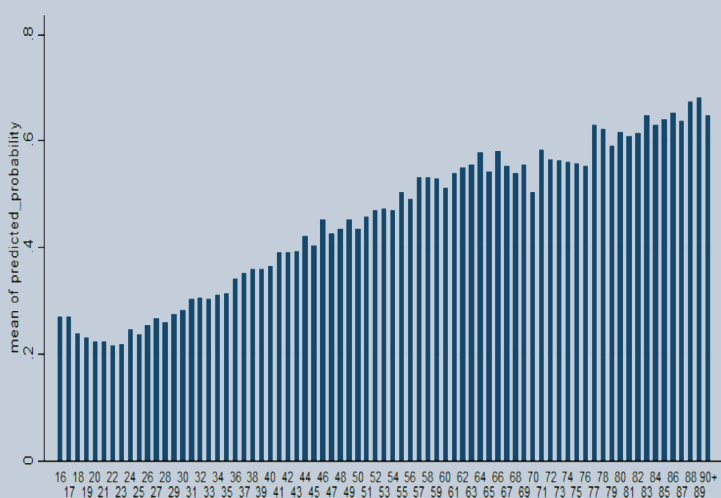
Source: own calculations based on Citizenship Survey, pooled 2009/10-2010/11 (Secure Access) and Census 2011 data

Figure 7 shows predicted probability of trust in English Local Authorities based on our final model specification. As shown, trust is lowest in large urban conurbations including most of London, and parts of the Manchester, Birmingham, Leeds and Liverpool conurbations. Nearly all of the top 20 districts with the lowest predicted trust (Table 5) are London Boroughs with Haringey, Greenwich, Newham, Southwark and Waltham Forrest ranking top of the list of districts with the lowest levels of predicted trust in England.

Similarly, the list of districts with the highest predicted trust are mainly rural and semi- rural districts found throughout England, with a large number of local authorities with higher levels of trust found in the South East of England. The five districts with the highest levels of predicted trust are Wealden, East Hampshire and Ashford in the South East, Ribble Valley in the North West, and Wiltshire in the South West. The full list of Local Authoritiy predicted trust levels is shown in Table 6 in the Appendix.

Table 5: Local Authorities with lowest and highest predicted trust			
Lowest trust		**Highest trust**	
LA	**Trust**	**LA**	**Trust**
Haringey	0.126	Wealden	0.739
Greenwich	0.144	Ribble Valley	0.745
Newham	0.146	East Hampshire	0.752
Southwark	0.146	Ashford	0.754
Waltham Forest	0.146	Stafford	0.754
Barking and Dagenham	0.147	Wiltshire	0.766
Westminster	0.156	East Devon	0.770
Hackney	0.169	South Lakeland	0.770
Islington	0.171	Derbyshire Dales	0.773

Hillingdon	0.18	Wychavon	0.773
Brent	0.182	West Oxfordshire	0.776
Preston	0.182	Waverley	0.778
Lewisham	0.187	North Devon	0.779
Lambeth	0.188	South Cambridgeshire	0.779
Tower Hamlets	0.194	Cotswold	0.799
Ealing	0.207	Horsham	0.803
Hounslow	0.209	Suffolk Coastal	0.810
Enfield	0.212	North Dorset	0.811
Barnet	0.217	Mid Suffolk	0.819
Manchester	0.220	Uttlesford	0.824

Source: Citizenship Survey, pooled 2009/10-2010/11 (Secure Access) and Census 2011 data. Note: Local authorities with sample size lower than 10 were removed.

Key findings

The analysis presented in this report examined the determinants of trust in England using data from the Citizenship Survey 2009-11 matched to aggregate data from the Census and administrative sources. The main findings of the analysis are summarised below.

Firstly, both person and contextual characteristics at the immediate and wider neighbourhood explain trust within neighbourhoods. Most of variation in trust towards neighbours can be explained by person level characteristics such as age, ethnicity, income, socio-economic status and length of residence in the neighbourhood. Females, younger people, people with less than 5 years length of residence, from ethnic minority and lower socio-economic status groups exhibit lower trust towards neighbours than males, older people, people with 5 years or more length of residence, White British people and those from higher socio-economic status groups.

Figure 7. Predicted probability of trust in England, Local Authorities (deciles)
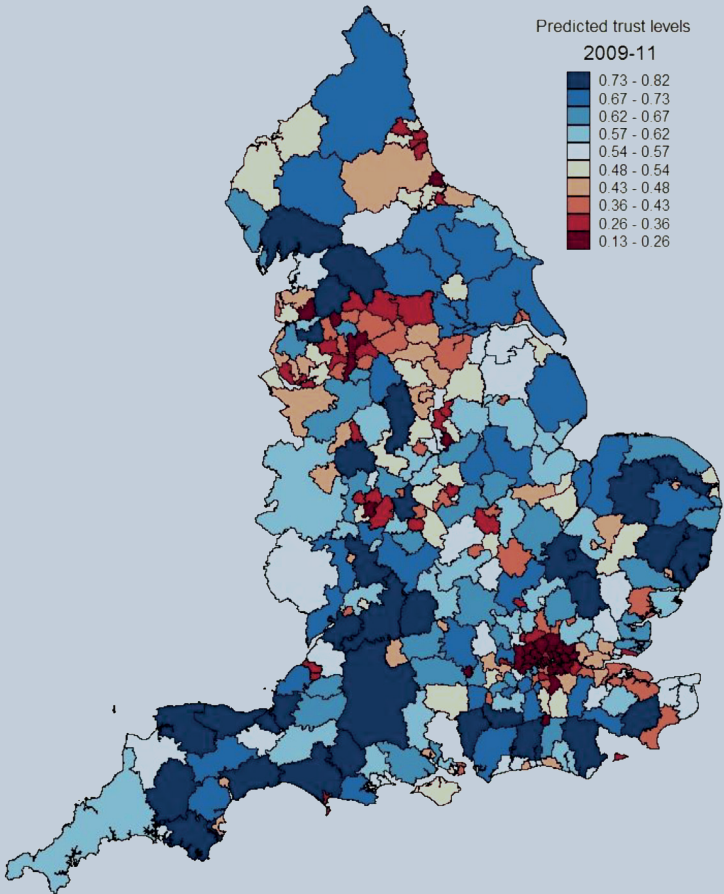
Predicted trust levels
2009-11

- 0.73 - 0.82
- 0.67 - 0.73
- 0.62 - 0.67
- 0.57 - 0.62
- 0.54 - 0.57
- 0.48 - 0.54
- 0.43 - 0.48
- 0.36 - 0.43
- 0.26 - 0.36
- 0.13 - 0.26

Source: Citizenship Survey, pooled 2009-10 and 2010-11 (secure access) and Census 2011 data
Note: there was no data for 7 LAs

Secondly, neighbourhood level characteristics found to be significant predictors of trust include ethnic diversity, area deprivation, population age and density. Higher levels of ethnic diversity and deprivation are

associated with lower trust while living in a neighbourhood in a rural (than urban) settlement, with higher levels of older (than younger) people and married people with children (than other households) are all associated with higher levels of trust.

Thirdly, we find that the characteristics of ethnic diversity are significant predictors of trust in local areas. We examine the proposition that people in ethnically diverse areas are less trusting because language barriers prevent interethnic interaction and find poor language ability of migrants has a negative effect on trust but the effect depends on levels of ethnic diversity. Our analysis shows that neighbourhoods with high ethnic diversity and a high proportion of migrants who cannot speak English well have higher levels of trust towards neighbours than neighbourhoods with a low proportion of migrants who cannot speak English well. Language is therefore likely to be more important for neighbour trust in areas with little experience of immigration.

Fourth, the model results show there is an effect of concentration of low skilled migrants on trust which depends on neighbourhood deprivation levels. In particular, the negative effect of low skilled migration on neighbour trust is lower in areas with higher deprivation levels. This suggests that it is unlikely that competition for jobs lowers trust. Finally, we show that population and unemployment change at the Local Authority district level are significant predictors of trust with higher levels of unemployment and population loss of the White British population associated with lower levels of trust.

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Appendix

Table 6: Levels of predicted trust for Local Authorities. Source: own calculations based on Citizenship Survey, pooled 2009/10-2010/11 (Secure Access) and Census 2011 data.

Local Authority Name	Predicted trust	Local Authority Name	Predicted trust
Haringey	0.126	Arun	0.540
Greenwich	0.144	Bournemouth	0.540
Newham	0.146	Daventry	0.540
Southwark	0.146	Herefordshire, County of	0.540
Waltham Forest	0.146	Stevenage	0.540
Barking and Dagenham	0.147	North Lincolnshire	0.541
Westminster	0.156	Dover	0.542
Hackney	0.169	Milton Keynes	0.543
Islington	0.171	Thanet	0.543
Hillingdon	0.180	Adur	0.545
Brent	0.182	Castle Point	0.545
Preston	0.182	Cambridge	0.546
Lewisham	0.187	Three Rivers	0.546
Lambeth	0.188	City of London	0.547
Tower Hamlets	0.194	Braintree	0.549
Ealing	0.207	Oadby and Wigston	0.551
Hounslow	0.209	Canterbury	0.554
Enfield	0.212	Erewash	0.554
Barnet	0.217	Lancaster	0.556
Manchester	0.220	Taunton Deane	0.556

Local Authority Name	Predicted trust	Local Authority Name	Predicted trust
Kensington and Chelsea	0.221	Wycombe	0.556
Reading	0.224	South Gloucestershire	0.559
Rochdale	0.224	Tonbridge and Malling	0.559
Hammersmith and Fulham	0.228	West Lindsey	0.560
Hyndburn	0.239	Chelmsford	0.561
Sandwell	0.242	Eastbourne	0.561
Harrow	0.243	Poole	0.561
Croydon	0.249	Broxtowe	0.563
Crawley	0.252	Spelthorne	0.563
Hartlepool	0.254	Plymouth	0.565
Nottingham	0.258	Cannock Chase	0.566
Camden	0.264	Torridge	0.568
Redbridge	0.264	East Northamptonshire	0.572
Bradford	0.284	North Hertfordshire	0.572
Bolton	0.285	Guildford	0.574
Birmingham	0.288	Redditch	0.577
Salford	0.291	Epping Forest	0.579
Merton	0.294	Solihull	0.579
Wolverhampton	0.294	Boston	0.581
Watford	0.300	Tendring	0.582
Middlesbrough	0.305	Cherwell	0.585
Stoke-on-Trent	0.318	South Somerset	0.585
Kettering	0.322	Dacorum	0.586
Luton	0.324	Lewes	0.595
Southend-on-Sea	0.324	Wyre Forest	0.596
Pendle	0.328	Newark and Sherwood	0.598
Coventry	0.329	South Holland	0.598

Local Authority Name	Predicted trust	Local Authority Name	Predicted trust
Halton	0.329	Shropshire	0.600
Leicester	0.329	Tewkesbury	0.602
Sunderland	0.329	Brentwood	0.606
Walsall	0.331	South Derbyshire	0.608
Hastings	0.333	East Dorset	0.610
Bexley	0.338	South Northamptonshire	0.612
Newcastle upon Tyne	0.340	St Albans	0.612
Leeds	0.341	Cornwall	0.613
Bristol, City of	0.346	Fareham	0.613
Hertsmere	0.347	Test Valley	0.616
Oldham	0.347	Scarborough	0.617
Ashfield	0.350	South Ribble	0.617
Liverpool	0.355	North West Leicestershire	0.618
South Tyneside	0.356	Maidstone	0.619
Mansfield	0.359	North Kesteven	0.619
Slough	0.362	Staffordshire Moorlands	0.621
Medway	0.364	East Cambridgeshire	0.622
Weymouth and Portland	0.364	Mid Sussex	0.625
Blackpool	0.367	Barrow-in-Furness	0.627
Kingston upon Hull, City of	0.370	Bath and North East Somerset	0.627
Corby	0.376	Stockport	0.627
Derby	0.378	Copeland	0.629
Wandsworth	0.379	Runnymede	0.629
Blaby	0.386	Lichfield	0.631
Sutton	0.390	Mendip	0.631
Harlow	0.391	Rushcliffe	0.632
Shepway	0.392	West Berkshire	0.633

Local Authority Name	Predicted trust	Local Authority Name	Predicted trust
Kirklees	0.393	Surrey Heath	0.636
Broxbourne	0.394	Huntingdonshire	0.637
Calderdale	0.395	South Staffordshire	0.638
Welwyn Hatfield	0.395	Aylesbury Vale	0.639
Tameside	0.396	New Forest	0.643
Burnley	0.399	Rochford	0.645
Northampton	0.402	Rutland	0.650
Trafford	0.407	Babergh	0.652
Kingston upon Thames	0.408	Cheshire East	0.654
Gloucester	0.409	Chiltern	0.654
Bedford	0.410	North Norfolk	0.655
Bury	0.415	West Lancashire	0.656
Rushmoor	0.415	Vale of White Horse	0.657
Dartford	0.417	Waveney	0.660
Doncaster	0.418	Warwick	0.662
Portsmouth	0.418	Wokingham	0.662
Lincoln	0.421	East Hertfordshire	0.664
Nuneaton and Bedworth	0.421	Maldon	0.665
Swale	0.421	Richmond upon Thames	0.665
Colchester	0.422	Rossendale	0.665
Blackburn with Darwen	0.426	Harborough	0.666
Tamworth	0.427	Eastleigh	0.670
Sefton	0.428	Chichester	0.671
Forest Heath	0.431	Elmbridge	0.671
Havering	0.432	King's Lynn and West Norfolk	0.672
Newcastle-under-Lyme	0.433	Epsom and Ewell	0.674
Swindon	0.435	Woking	0.678

Local Authority Name	Predicted trust	Local Authority Name	Predicted trust
Ipswich	0.437	East Lindsey	0.680
Worthing	0.438	South Oxfordshire	0.680
Peterborough	0.440	Forest of Dean	0.681
Oxford	0.442	South Kesteven	0.681
Thurrock	0.443	Mid Devon	0.685
Gravesham	0.448	Sevenoaks	0.685
Rotherham	0.448	Tunbridge Wells	0.687
Torbay	0.449	East Riding of Yorkshire	0.689
Exeter	0.450	Bromsgrove	0.690
Southampton	0.450	Melton	0.691
Wyre	0.451	Selby	0.692
Basildon	0.454	South Bucks	0.693
Bromley	0.459	Malvern Hills	0.694
Worcester	0.460	Northumberland	0.696
Barnsley	0.462	Mole Valley	0.697
Knowsley	0.463	Teignbridge	0.698
St. Helens	0.465	Ryedale	0.704
Wakefield	0.465	Harrogate	0.705
Brighton and Hove	0.468	North Somerset	0.707
Chesterfield	0.470	South Norfolk	0.707
Redcar and Cleveland	0.470	Hart	0.714
Norwich	0.471	Central Bedfordshire	0.715
Telford and Wrekin	0.472	Hambleton	0.718
Cheshire West and Chester	0.476	Purbeck	0.721
County Durham	0.476	Stratford-on-Avon	0.723
North East Derbyshire	0.476	Eden	0.726
Windsor and Maidenhead	0.476	High Peak	0.728

Local Authority Name	Predicted trust	Local Authority Name	Predicted trust
North East Lincolnshire	0.480	Broadland	0.729
Sheffield	0.480	South Hams	0.731
Charnwood	0.481	West Devon	0.731
Gedling	0.481	Stroud	0.732
Wellingborough	0.481	Sedgemoor	0.735
Basingstoke and Deane	0.485	Breckland	0.736
Dudley	0.485	Chorley	0.738
North Tyneside	0.485	Wealden	0.739
Allerdale	0.494	West Dorset	0.739
Darlington	0.495	Ribble Valley	0.745
East Staffordshire	0.495	East Hampshire	0.752
Gateshead	0.496	Ashford	0.754
Isle of Wight	0.504	Craven	0.754
Wigan	0.505	Stafford	0.754
York	0.507	North Warwickshire	0.756
Reigate and Banstead	0.508	Wiltshire	0.766
Stockton-on-Tees	0.508	East Devon	0.770
Fylde	0.509	South Lakeland	0.770
Amber Valley	0.512	Derbyshire Dales	0.773
Cheltenham	0.512	Wychavon	0.773
Fenland	0.512	West Oxfordshire	0.776
Gosport	0.512	Waverley	0.778
Tandridge	0.514	North Devon	0.779
Bassetlaw	0.518	South Cambridgeshire	0.779
Wirral	0.519	Cotswold	0.799
Warrington	0.520	West Somerset	0.801
Hinckley and Bosworth	0.523	Horsham	0.803

Local Authority Name	Predicted trust	Local Authority Name	Predicted trust
Bracknell Forest	0.526	Suffolk Coastal	0.810
Carlisle	0.526	North Dorset	0.811
St Edmundsbury	0.526	Mid Suffolk	0.819
Rugby	0.534	Uttlesford	0.824
Great Yarmouth	0.539		

Political concern about a lack of social integration has been high for some time. But what is social integration, and why it it so important?

This report argues that neighbourhood trust should be at the heart of our understanding and measurement of social integration, since it is indicative of positive, meaningful and sustained interactions with people in a neighbourhood. However, the best measure of social integration is only when neighbourhood trust is between ethnically and religiously diverse communities.

This report primarily seeks to understand the trends and drivers of neighbourhood trust, including how neighbourhood trust and ultimately social integration varies across England. Original policies are proposed to boost social integration. These are focused on giving individuals the tools to maximise their ability to socially integrate, and on reforming institutions so the opportunities for those from different ethnic and religious backgrounds to integrate are increased."

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