

LABOUR MIGRATION, COMMUNITIES AND PERCEPTIONS OF SOCIAL COHESION IN ENGLAND

Rhys Andrews, Cardiff Business School, AndrewsR4@cardiff.ac.uk

European Urban and Regional Studies, 22, 1, 77-91.

LABOUR MIGRATION, COMMUNITIES AND PERCEPTIONS OF SOCIAL COHESION IN ENGLAND

Abstract

The unanticipated scale of labour migration from Eastern Europe to the UK following EU enlargement in 2004 was thought to pose a threat to the cohesiveness of those local communities hosting larger influxes of migrants. Nevertheless, areas rich in community capacity may have been able to incorporate migrant workers in ways that sustained social cohesion. This paper explores the effects of labour migration on residents' perceptions of social cohesion in urban areas in England using multivariate statistical techniques. The statistical results suggest that post-enlargement migration weakened social cohesion, but that the prospects of social incorporation were better in areas with stronger community capacity. Theoretical and practical implications of the findings are discussed.

KEY WORDS: *Enlargement; migration; social cohesion; community capacity; England.*

Introduction

The incorporation of migrant workers is one of the most significant challenges faced by the European Union (EU) member states, especially as the EU continues to grow in cultural and political diversity (Sussmuth and Weidenfeld, 2005). In particular, the eastward enlargement in 2004 to include eight post-communist countries from Eastern Europe raised fears that economic migration might undermine perceived social cohesion within (and across) the EU member states (Jacoby, 2010). At the same time, the prospect of further eastern enlargements, make the relationship between expansion of EU membership and the incorporation of new migrant groups an on-going issue of high topicality, especially in the urban areas beyond the “Europe of cities” (Harding, 1997). A growing scholarship examines the attitudes of European nationalities towards each other (Delhey, 2007) and how immigration affects the development of a pan-European identity (Laffan, 1996). Scholarly attention is also increasingly being paid to the experiences of migrants from the eight Accession (A8) countries (the Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Slovakia and Slovenia) within host countries (e.g. Garapich, 2008; Mingioni, 2009; Perrons, Plomien and Kilkey, 2010; Ryan et al, 2008), and the role that local governments play in the process of economic incorporation for migrants (e.g. Hatziprokopiu, 2004; Wills et al., 2009). Missing in this literature, though, is an assessment of how communities might remain cohesive in urban areas experiencing high rates of labour migration, and thereby be better equipped to facilitate the “social incorporation” of economic migrants.

Analysis of the causes and consequences of variations in cohesion amongst members of communities has a venerable history within urban studies (e.g. Shaw and McKay, 1969; Wirth, 1938). Much of this work reflected the notion that population movements pose a serious challenge to the viability and cohesiveness of communities. In particular, beyond the problems associated with poverty, socio-economic disadvantage and social heterogeneity, the

arrival of non-native immigrant groups within an area may disturb long-held norms of social interaction within an area as residents are confronted with newcomers who may bring dissimilar social and cultural practices (Blau, 1977; Shaw and McKay, 1969; Wirth, 1938). Within the context of EU Enlargement, civil society is likely to bear a great responsibility for addressing the need for the incorporation of immigrants within an area. In particular, the community capacity of a local area may play a key role in this process, as it represents a potentially vital source of the institutional support required to facilitate the social incorporation of immigrants. In addition to examining the direct effects of labour migration following the eastern enlargement of the EU in 2004 on residents' perceptions of social cohesion across urban areas in England, this paper therefore explores whether community capacity has moderated any negative implications of that migration for cohesiveness.

The United Kingdom serves as an interesting test case for studying post-enlargement migration and its potential effects on perceptions of social cohesion. During the 2000s, UK immigration policy was relaxed in order to gain the economic benefits assumed to accrue from increased migrant labour (Coleman and Rowthorn, 2004; Favell, 2001). In response to eastern enlargement in 2004, in particular, the Labour government extended the freedom of movement for citizens of countries within the European Economic Area to economic migrants from the A8 countries with few conditions. This decision to place fewer restrictions on the movement of A8 citizens than most other EU states (see Jacoby, 2010) is widely assumed to have had a major impact on the perceived cohesiveness of local communities as the number of Eastern European migrants entering the UK was far greater than expected (Lords Select Committee on Economic Affairs, 2008). Moreover, not only was the level of migration associated with the eastern enlargement of the EU far above that predicted by the UK government, but its spatial distribution was not easy to foresee and did not follow established patterns of immigration from Eastern Europe. The incidence of migrants was not

limited to London or core metropolitan areas, such as Birmingham or Manchester, but was also observed in urban areas with little prior history of immigration, including those in Yorkshire and the North East of England (Stenning and Dawley, 2009).

To explore the relationship between labour migration in the wake of the eastern enlargement of the EU in 2004 and social cohesion this paper utilizes multivariate statistical techniques to model local people's perceptions of social cohesion in urban areas across England. First, the theoretical relationship between immigration and social cohesion is outlined, before arguments on the benefits of community capacity for social incorporation are developed. Following this, measures of social cohesion, labour migration, community capacity and other relevant control variables are identified, exploratory spatial analysis undertaken and statistical evidence on social cohesion in urban areas across England presented.

EU enlargement and social cohesion in urban areas

EU enlargements raise the profile of economic migration as a social and political issue and its costs and benefits for the citizens of host countries, as well as for migrants and their home countries (European Parliament, 1999). The large eastward enlargement of the EU in 2004, in particular, prompted concern that labour migration from the A8 countries might damage perceptions of social cohesion within and across existing member states. In addition to requiring basic housing, welfare and education provision to settle successfully, migrant workers confront the challenge of acculturation (or incorporation) within the integration regimes of a host country (Williams, 2009). In the context of the EU enlargement of 2004, this challenge may be especially acute for East European migrant workers entering the labour market of countries with very different linguistic, religious and social practices, such as the UK. Delhey (2007) points to the spatial distance, different languages, Protestant versus

Catholic religious traditions and varying social and economic development which characterize relations between Eastern and Western EU member states. These differences are potential threats to the trust which can underpin a sense of cohesion between EU nationalities, especially when those differences are brought into contact through large-scale migrations.

Because cultivation of the degree of interpersonal trust underpinning the incorporation of newcomers within local communities requires substantial time and effort, sudden demographic movements represent a particular challenge to the perceptions of social control within urban areas (Sennett, 1970). The arrival of new residents with different ethnic origins and cultural and religious mores can ultimately lead existing community members to feel that they are becoming strangers to one another (Lofland, 1973). Thus, although economic migration may signal burgeoning prosperity within an area, it can also present serious challenges for the cohesiveness of those communities in which immigrants reside (at least in the short term) (Bursik, 1988).

Labour migration is likely to pose a challenge for social cohesion in urban areas in large part because of its impact on the perceptions of community members. Anxieties about the arrival of new migrant groups are sometimes experienced by residents as a loss of control over the destiny of their current imagined community of solidarity (Sennett, 1970). This may reflect a 'natural aversion to heterogeneity', which leads people to like others who more closely resemble themselves (Alesina and La Ferrara, 2002). It could also be a product of feelings of threat whereby cultural prejudices are brought to the fore when the size and visibility of new immigrant groups is much greater (Quillian, 1995). At the same time, collective action problems associated with influencing local affairs, such as the need for effective communication and coalition building, may be exacerbated by the introduction of diverse, conflicting and potentially irreconcilable viewpoints on important community

matters (see Walsh, 2006). Whatever its possible origins, a negative relationship between immigration and perceptions of social cohesion has been corroborated by a number of quantitative studies suggesting that it weakens social bonds (e.g. Putnam, 2007; Shumaker and Stokols, 1982). This leads to the expectation that labour migration in the wake of EU enlargement in 2004 will be negatively related to residents' perceptions of social cohesion in urban areas across England.

Social incorporation of migrant workers: the benefits of community capacity

Community capacity is assumed by urban scholars and policy-makers alike to be at the heart of efforts to promote collective action at the local level, especially in urban areas confronting complex social issues (Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, 2001; Rich, Giles and Stern, 2001; Saegert, 2006). Community organizational life, in particular, forms the backbone of the capacity within an area playing a vital role in building and supporting the development of social cohesion (Sampson et al., 2005). This activity is frequently driven by a need to respond to social changes that are the product of socio-economic and political forces beyond the control of local communities, especially the arrival of new immigrant groups from other countries. Community organizations of all types have a long history of carrying out both a *deepening* role, by organizing local people to act collectively, and a *stretching* role, by delivering services on behalf of or in collaboration with local public agencies (Krishna, 2004). Indeed, providing 'services and building relationships of trust and collaboration' is, in many respects, the *raison d'être* of such organizations (Maxwell, 2004: 271). By providing opportunities for collective action and coordinating community-level services, community organizations may be especially well-placed to advance the interests of new immigrant groups from other countries in ways that contribute to

their successful incorporation within the host area (see Theodore and Martin, 2007). Whether by providing platforms for political mobilization or by crafting local policies and services that respond to the needs of immigrant groups, community organizational life could therefore be key to the social incorporation of migrant workers (Wills et al., 2009).

Community-based organizations are increasingly regarded by urban academics and policy-makers as ideally placed to bring local expertise to bear on complex social issues, especially those that require greater capacity for collective action (Saegert, 2006; Sampson et al., 2005). Sports clubs, residents' associations and church groups, are important sources of the norms and networks that underpin the growth of residents' perceptions of social cohesion. They also play an increasingly important role as providers of public services (Maxwell, 2004), especially those housing and welfare services upon which immigrants from other countries often rely (Theodore and Martin, 2007). In certain circumstances, tensions can be generated by excessive competition for political influence between the organizations representing different social groups (McAdam, Tarrow and Tilly, 2001). Nevertheless, a high density of community organizational life within an urban area is likely to offer up a wider range of potential institutional sources of support for the resolution of collective action problems, such as the incorporation of migrant workers, thereby strengthening the sense of cohesion.

In addition to providing opportunities for the development of social norms that contribute to community cohesiveness and possessing particular expertise in addressing complex social problems, community-based organizations are often better able to meet the specialized cultural needs of migrants than local state institutions (see Hung, 2007). Research has highlighted that in areas rich in community capacity, immigrants may find that incorporation within the local labour market is more straightforward whether through participation in community organizational life (Aguilera and Massey, 2003) or by accessing

the social support that this can provide (Schneider, 2007). Similarly, the propensity of such organizations to bring together diverse social groups in pursuit of collective goals may have an especially profound impact on the political influence of immigrant groups (see Cordero-Guzman et al., 2008). At the same time, organizational level factors, such as the sheer number of sources of support, have been shown to be important determinants of the rate and intensity of volunteer participation amongst immigrant groups (Handy and Greenspan, 2009). Thus, urban areas rich in community capacity may be especially resilient to the potential social problems associated with economic migration, as the greater density of community organizational life within those areas furnishes a larger stock of appropriable collective resources for the purposes of social incorporation (see Hickman, Crowley and Mai, 2008). All of which suggests that community capacity is likely to be an important moderator of the potentially negative effect of post-enlargement migration on perceptions of social cohesion in urban areas across England.

Data and methods

Multivariate statistical techniques are used to evaluate the relationship between immigration, community capacity and social cohesion. Quantitative data analysis of this sort enables the independent and combined effects of independent variables of interest to be assessed while holding other relevant variables constant. The units of analysis are all urban areas across England.⁽¹⁾ Using data on the full population of such areas minimizes the likelihood of sample selection bias and enhances the potential for generalizing the findings (Heckman, 1979). These areas also represent a particularly suitable context for examining the benefits of community organizational life for immigrant incorporation. In response to the pressures associated with labour migration in the wake of eastern enlargement in 2004, a recent House of Lords report *Community cohesion and migration*, suggested that ‘the government’s

migration policy needs to ensure that it takes into account the effect of migration on community cohesion' (2008, p. 4). An emphasis on the desirability of social cohesion remains evident in the desire of the Conservative-Liberal Democrat coalition government to promote the 'Big Society' (Stunell, 2010). Moreover, the freedom of movement for citizens of any potential new EU member state is likely to prove as challenging an issue for the current government as for its predecessor (Bagehot, 2010).

Dependent variable

Friedkin (2004) suggests that communities and societies are cohesive when aggregate level conditions 'are producing positive membership attitudes and behaviours' (p.410). To isolate positive membership attitudes, social cohesion is conceived here as an *ideational* construct that rests on individuals' perceptions of different elements of social life, rather than as a *relational* construct pertaining to the composition of their social networks (Moody and White, 2003). This focus on an ideational approach to social cohesion does not imply a causal precedence over the relational one. However, the specific question of relational cohesion is left in the background for this study and the relative degree of social cohesion within an urban area considered in large part to be constituted by the attitudes and perceptions of the people residing within that area. This approach matches that adopted in Delhey's (2007) analysis of the impact of enlargements on social cohesion across the EU.

Residents' perceptions of social cohesion across urban areas of England in the wake of the eastern enlargement of the EU in 2004 is measured using data from the *General User Survey* carried out by English local governments in 2006, and later published by the Department of Communities and Local Government (2007). The survey asked a demographically representative random sample of 1,100 residents in each one of the 209 urban local governments a series of questions about the quality of life in their area (giving a

total sample size of approximately 230,000 respondents). The data were collected by local governments using a standard questionnaire, and independently verified by the Audit Commission (a central government regulatory agency). The published figures show the percentage of respondents in each area agreeing with the survey statements.

To ensure that positive membership attitudes towards diverse social groups are captured, the analysis presented in this paper draws on a measure of social cohesion from the User Survey, which assesses whether respondents believed that people from diverse backgrounds got on well together in the area. This measure encapsulates the deeper cohesion characteristic of communities which are receptive to social heterogeneity (Cantle, 2005). It is also the standard indicator of a cohesive society used by UK central government (Department of Communities and Local Government, 2008).

Independent variables

The explanatory variables used for the statistical analysis are all drawn from published sources of secondary data. To ensure that temporal causality runs in the correct direction, these are all operationalized at least one year prior to the dependent variables.

Immigration The effects of post-enlargement migration were measured by calculating the numbers of European Union Accession (EU A8) citizens allocated National Insurance (NI) numbers in English local government areas during 2005. This is an especially relevant measure to test the paper's hypotheses because the migration from the EU A8 countries in that year was unprecedented. In the wake of the accession to the European Economic Community of the Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Slovakia and Slovenia in 2004, the UK Home Office estimated an annual rate of immigration of 5,000-13,000 EU A8 nationals (Dustmann et al, 2003). The NI numbers allocated to EU A8 citizens in England during 2005 (228,080) was vastly greater than the predicted rate. Thus, the labour

migration to England following eastern enlargement in 2004 represents a kind of natural experiment for testing for the impact of enlargements on perceptions of social cohesion. For the purposes of analysis, the number of allocations to EU A8 citizens was summed, and the resulting figure divided by the local government population.

Community capacity in urban areas was measured as the number of community, social and personal services organizations per 1000 capita registering for value added (goods and services) tax in 2005. These organizations are those not-for-profit organizations, such as amateur sports clubs, family support groups and heritage societies, which form an important part of the fabric of civil society within local communities. They are “community-based” in that they operate within a particular local geographic space, rather than across multiple sites over a wide spread of geographic places. These organizations may be charities, but are not exempt from taxation on ‘business’ activities. Due to their legal status, such organizations are likely to be persistent features of community life, with stable structures, finances, and social and political influence. The measure is therefore a good indicator of the strength of community capacity, and has been used in prior work (e.g. Andrews, 2007; Putnam, 2000).

Control variables

Socio-economic disadvantage was measured using each area’s average ward score on the indices of deprivation in 2004 – the instrument UK central government uses to gauge deprivation in: income, employment, health, education, housing, crime, and environment. Although deprived communities may benefit from strong informal social networks (such as kinship ties, see Stack 1974), disadvantaged areas typically confront greater pressures towards disharmony, disorder and discord than their more prosperous counterparts (Browning and Cagney, 2002; Cohen, 2001).

Demographic diversity Ethnically diverse areas can suffer lower levels of social trust and investment in public goods (Alesina and La Ferrara, 2002), while age and social class diversity can cause the multiplication of sectional interests, and exacerbate collective action problems (Costa and Kahn, 2003; Withers, 1997). Three measures of demographic diversity are constructed, based on the proportions of the age, ethnic and social class sub-groups identified in the 2001 UK national census (e.g. children aged 0-4, Black Africans and Lower Managerial and Professional Occupations). The proportions of each sub-group within an area were squared, summed and subtracted from 10,000, with high scores reflecting high diversity. These scores are equivalent to the Hehrfindahl indices economists use to measure market fragmentation.

Social alienation Population size and density figures control for the challenges posed to social cohesion by higher levels of alienation in bigger, more densely populated urban areas (Oliver, 2000). A dichotomous variable coded 1 for areas within London and 0 otherwise is also included in the models to control for additional urban dislocation effects associated with the sheer size and complexity of the capital.

Government resources The neighbourhood renewal funding per capita allocated to urban governments in 2005 is included in the models. This controls for the financial resources that were made available to English urban authorities to produce better social and economic outcomes in areas suffering serious socio-economic disadvantage (Social Exclusion Unit, 2001). Table 1 presents the descriptive statistics and data sources for all the variables used in the modelling of residents' perceptions of social cohesion. (2)

INSERT TABLE 1 ABOUT HERE

Before carrying out the statistical modelling of social cohesion, it is possible to gain a deeper insight into the relationships between the independent variables and the dependent variable by exploring the spatial distribution of the main variables of interest. This can be done by mapping their distribution and investigating the propensity for areas that are spatially contiguous to exhibit patterns of auto-correlation.

Figures 1-4 map the spatial variations in residents' perceptions of social cohesion, deprivation, A8 immigration and community capacity across the urban areas of England by quintile from 1 (lowest) to 5 (highest). Figure 1 indicates that urban areas in the 5th (highest) quintile for residents' perceptions of social cohesion can be found across all the different regions of England. In fact, further analysis revealed that perceptions of social cohesion were not subject to spatial auto-correlation (Moran's I correlation coefficient of .06). Nevertheless, areas in the lowest quintile for social cohesion appear more likely to cluster in localities of high deprivation (such as East London, North Manchester and West Yorkshire) (Moran's I of -.59 for perceptions of social cohesion in deprived areas). Figure 2 illustrates that the distribution of deprivation across the urban areas itself tends to be concentrated across contiguous areas (Moran's I of .50).

Figure 3 shows that urban areas in the 5th (highest) and 1st (lowest) quintiles for A8 immigration were fairly randomly distributed across England, though there is some weak spatial auto-correlation overall in the distribution of immigrants across contiguous areas (Moran's I of .11). Figure 4, by contrast, highlights that community-based organizations tend very strongly to cluster across spatially contiguous urban areas (Moran's I of 0.72), especially in London. In fact, further analysis revealed spatial auto-correlation between community-based organizations and perceptions of social cohesion (Moran's I of .26) and A8 immigration (.59). Nevertheless, there appeared to be little evidence of spatial auto-correlation between all the other main variables of interest, indicating that the incorporation

of spatial lags within the statistical model is unlikely to markedly affect the efficiency of the regression estimates. (3)

INSERT FIGURES 1-4 ABOUT HERE

Statistical model

To explore the independent and combined effects of immigration, community capacity and social cohesion, a three-stage multivariate analysis is undertaken. First, the potential determinants of residents' perceptions of social cohesion in urban areas across England are modeled, incorporating the measure of community capacity to illustrate its benefits for cohesiveness. This model of social cohesion can be represented through notation as equation [1], in which perceptions of social cohesion at some time period (SC_t) is a function of community capacity (CC), socio-economic disadvantage (SD), demographic diversity (DD), social alienation (SA), and government spending (GS):

$$SC_t = \beta_1 CC + \beta_2 SD + \beta_3 DD + \beta_4 SA + \beta_5 GS + \varepsilon \quad [1], \text{ where } \varepsilon \text{ is an error term.}$$

Next, the measure of A8 National Insurance allocations per capita (A8) is introduced to estimate the potential influence of EU Enlargement on social cohesion in urban areas. Equation [2] takes the following form:

$$SC_t = \beta_1 CC + \beta_2 SD + \beta_3 DD + \beta_4 SA + \beta_5 GS + \beta_6 A8 + \varepsilon \quad [2]$$

Finally, a variable interacting community capacity and A8 National Insurance allocations per capita (CC*A8) is added to the model to establish the extent to which community capacity may moderate any negative effects of immigration for perceptions of social cohesion, and thereby serve as a potential source of support for migrant incorporation. The notation for the third equation [3] can be illustrated thus:

$$SC_t = \beta_1 CC + \beta_2 SD + \beta_3 DD + \beta_4 SA + \beta_5 GS + \beta_6 A8 + \beta_7 CC * A8 + \varepsilon \quad [3]$$

Labour migration, community capacity and social cohesion

The results for statistical tests of the independent and interactive relationships between immigration, community capacity and perceptions of social cohesion are shown in Table 2. Three Ordinary Least Squares Regression (OLS) models are presented: model 1 presents estimates for the first equation; model 2 shows the estimates for the second equation; and model 3 the estimates for the third equation. The findings for all of the models are not distorted by multicollinearity as the average Variance Inflation Factor score for the independent variables in the models is about 1.8. White's (1980) test for heteroscedasticity revealed the error variance to be constant so ordinary estimation of the standard errors is carried out.

 INSERT TABLE 2 ABOUT HERE

The statistical results provide mixed support for the anticipated relationships between the control variables and social cohesion. The coefficient for deprivation has a negative sign and is statistically significant. The results for demographic diversity, however, do not reflect the anticipated relationship with social cohesion. Support for the expected relationships

between sources of social alienation and social cohesion too is somewhat mixed. When controlling for other relevant variables, population is not, as anticipated, negatively related to social cohesion. Indeed, contrary to expectations, population density is negatively related to cohesion. Urban areas within London, though, are associated with weaker social cohesion (at least for this sample and time period), and areas benefiting from additional government support are associated with more cohesion.

Community capacity makes a large statistically significant addition to the explanatory power of the model 2: (F ratio = 84.98, $p \leq .001$). In addition, the coefficient for community-based organizations per capita is positive and statistically significant. Greater community organizational life within an area is thus positively associated with perceptions of social cohesion. This mirrors growing evidence on the benefits associated with community organizational life (e.g. Sampson et al., 2005).

The findings provide strong support for the argument that post-enlargement labour migration will be associated with lower social cohesion in urban areas. The EU A8 NI Allocations measure makes a statistically significant addition to the explanatory power of the model: (F ratio = 4.87, $p \leq .05$), and the coefficient is negative and statistically significant. High levels of economic in-migration following eastern enlargement in 2004 therefore appear to have a detrimental effect on perceived social cohesion, even when controlling for other relevant variables. This corroborates prior research that uncovers the pressures that large numbers of newcomers can place upon existing community bonds (e.g. Bursik, 1988; Putnam, 2007). It also illustrates that the effects of prejudice and outgroup hostility on perceptions of social cohesion are likely to include cultural and social as well as racial biases, mirroring the findings of studies that reveal the strains that white ethnic diversity can place on perceptions of community attachment (Rice and Steele, 2001).

These findings highlight that the social incorporation of migrant workers is a challenging issue. To explore the potentially positive role community capacity may play in facilitating migrant incorporation, it is necessary to include an interaction term in the statistical model. The interaction between community capacity and labour migration shown in Table 2 makes a statistically significant addition to the explanatory power of model 2: (F ratio = 8.63, $p \leq .001$). Moreover, the coefficient of the interacted term is positive, and statistically significant, suggesting that community capacity may have important moderating effects on the negative relationship between post-enlargement immigration and social cohesion – at least for urban areas in England. To fully explore interaction effects it is necessary to calculate the marginal effects of immigration on cohesion at varying levels of the moderator variable (i.e. community capacity) (see Brambor, Clark and Golder, 2006). Graphing the slope and confidence intervals of the marginal effects is the most effective way to present this information. Accordingly, Figure 5 provides a graphical illustration of the moderating influence of community capacity on the relationship between labour migration and social cohesion.

INSERT FIGURE 5 ABOUT HERE

Figure 5 confirms that the relative degree of community capacity is likely to have an important moderating effect on the relationship between immigration and social cohesion. In particular, as the number of community-based organizations per capita rises from its minimum level (1.46 for the interaction model) the negative effects of immigration decrease, becoming statistically insignificant at about the mean level of community capacity within urban areas of England. Further analysis revealed that in about 50 per cent of urban areas the incorporation of East European migrant workers would therefore benefit from stronger community capacity. Moreover, in six areas the strength of community capacity was such

that it appears to have resulted in increased perceptions of social cohesion in the wake of EU Enlargement, pointing to the possibility that in some localities the intersection of community organizations and migrant workers can be a rich source of social and cultural growth and development.

Community capacity appears to have a moderating effect on the influence of the arrival of migrant workers on urban residents' attitudes towards social cohesion. Detailed qualitative investigation in those areas successfully reaping the benefits of rich community organizational life is required to fully explore the ways in which community-based organizations can mitigate the negative impact of post-enlargement migration on social cohesion. Likewise, extended consideration of the challenges such organizations face in overcoming the influence of immigration on resident's perceptions of social cohesion would cast further light on the findings uncovered here.

Conclusions

To explore the potential impact of enlargement migrations on social cohesion, this paper has presented a statistical analysis of the separate and interactive effects of Eastern European labour migration and community capacity on residents' perceptions of social cohesion in urban areas across England. The statistical results suggest that perceptions of cohesion were negatively associated with labour migration, even when controlling for other relevant external circumstances. However, although the arrival of this large new immigrant group had a negative impact on perceptions of social cohesion, areas with strong community capacity appeared to offer the prospect of better social incorporation of migrant workers.

The analysis provides food for thought for policy-makers at the local, national and EU levels about the kinds of substantive interventions that might sustain social cohesion in the wake of enlargements. Urban studies scholars increasingly draw attention to the benefits of

civil society for social cohesion (see Kearns and Forrest, 2000), and it would seem that efforts to build community capacity may be especially beneficial when urban areas confront new or unexpected population movements. Indeed, encouraging processes of social innovation by non-state actors and organizations is now a key goal for EU policy-makers seeking to uncover new sources of social cohesion (Hubert, 2010). These benefits are illustrated here by theorizing and empirically exploring community capacity's role in the incorporation of East European migrant workers in urban areas of England.

The findings presented here nonetheless raise several important questions about the relationship between immigration, community capacity and social cohesion that are worthy of further analysis. Firstly, the statistical results may simply be a product of when and where the study was conducted. It is therefore important to identify whether the relationships identified here are replicated in other European countries experiencing sudden influxes of migrant workers, especially those EU countries that operated relatively relaxed immigration controls for A8 citizens, such as Ireland and Sweden. Quantitative and qualitative research which tracked how community capacity influences (and is influenced by) the process of incorporation through time would also reveal more about the long-term challenges faced by migrants and host countries in a Europe of rapidly changing mobilities.

In depth, qualitative comparisons of the alternative approaches to working with immigrants by community-based organizations carrying out a predominantly *deepening* role with those performing a *stretching* role (Krishna, 2004) could also provide an initial indication of how and in what ways community organizing and the provision of services contribute to social incorporation. For example, it is likely to matter that community-based support for recent immigrants includes initiatives that raise awareness of the opportunities available to them within civil society, as well as the provision of labour market information, English language support and vital welfare services (Hickman, Crowley and Mai, 2008).

Likewise, comparison of the roles played by host country and immigrant community organizations in the pursuit of social incorporation would furnish valuable evidence on what sorts of organizations (and interventions) are most successful and when. It is also important to remember that immigrants are active participants in the process of social incorporation (Williams, 2009). Systematic analyses of the relationships between immigration and social cohesion using relational measures that capture migrant workers' social networks within urban areas would furnish an illustration of the ways in which they adapt to the integration regime with which they are confronted. A research agenda that sought to address each of these issues would thus cast considerable light on the nature of migrant civil society within and across EU member states.

The findings presented here indicate that labour migration in the wake of EU Enlargement in 2004 had especially large statistically significant effects on perceptions of social cohesion in England. They also highlight that community capacity can moderate negative externalities for social cohesion associated with sudden influxes of such newcomers. Ultimately, this implies that the work of community organizations may be vital to the incorporation of economic migrants, and that more should be done to understand and support their role in promoting migrant social incorporation.

Acknowledgements

The research leading to these results was supported under the European Commission's Seventh Framework Programme under grant agreement No. 266887 (Project COCOPS). The author would also like to thank Sam Jones of the Welsh Institute of Social Economic Research, Data and Methods for his technical assistance and the anonymous reviewers of the article.

Notes

- (1) To ensure the analysis focused on urban areas, data were collected on the basis of the urban-rural administrative area classification used by UK central government (see Office of the Deputy Prime Minister, 2002). This classifies the areas served by local governments as urban or rural on the basis of an index of population density, overall employment, public transport usage, agricultural employment, mining/energy/water production employment and ethnic homogeneity.
- (2) Skewness tests revealed that recent immigration, age diversity, social class diversity, population, population density and community organizations per capita were not normally distributed (test results of 2.04, -4.07, -7.33, 3.13, 2.32 and 7.33). Log transformation is the standard technique for reducing the effect of positive skew on statistical models, so logged versions of the positively skewed variables were used in the analysis. To correct for negative skew it is usual to square-transform a variable. Thus, squared versions of the age and social class diversity measure were used.
- (3) Near-identical statistical results were obtained to the Ordinary Least Squares (OLS) estimates presented in the paper using a spatial auto-regressive model, which controlled for the possible influence of spatial dependence (available on request).

References

- Aguilera, M.B. and Massey, D.S. (2003) 'Social Capital and the Wages of Mexican Migrants: New Hypotheses and Tests', *Social Forces*, 82 (2): 671-701.
- Alesina, A. and La Ferrara, E. (2002) 'Who Trusts Others?', *Journal of Public Economics*, 85 (2): 207-34.
- Andrews, R. (2007) 'Civic Culture and Public Service Failure: An Empirical Exploration', *Urban Studies*, 44 (4): 845-64.

- Bagehot (2010) 'David Cameron's Disingenuous Defence of Turkey', *The Economist*, 27th July 2010.
- Blau, P.M. (1977) *Inequality and Heterogeneity: A Primitive Theory of Social Structure*. New York: Free Press.
- Brambor, T., Clark, W.R. and Golder, M. (2006) 'Understanding Interaction Models: Improving Empirical Analyses', *Political Analysis*, 14: 63-82.
- Browning, C.R. and Cagney, K.A. (2002) 'Neighbourhood Structural Disadvantage, Collective Efficacy, and Self-rated Physical Health in an Urban Setting', *Journal of Health and Social Behavior*, 43 (4): 383-99.
- Bursik, R.J. (1988) 'Social Disorganization and Theories of Crime and Delinquency: Problems and Prospects', *Criminology*, 26 (4): 519-52.
- Cantle, T. (2005) *Community Cohesion: A New Framework for Race and Diversity*. Houndmills: Palgrave.
- Cohen, C.J. (2001) 'Social Capital, Intervening Institutions, and Political Power', in S. Sagert, J. p. Thompson and M. R. Warren (eds) *Social Capital and Poor Communities*. London: Sage, 267-89.
- Coleman, D. and Rowthorn, R. (2004) 'The Economic Effects of Immigration into the United Kingdom', *Population and Development Review*, 30: 579-624.
- Cordero-Guzman, H., Martin, N., Quiroz-Becerra, V. and Theodore, N. (2008) 'Voting with their Feet: Nonprofit Organizations and Immigrant Mobilization', *American Behavioral Scientist*, 52 (4): 598-617.
- Costa, D.L. and Kahn, M.E. (2003) 'Understanding the American Decline in Social Capital', 1952-1998. *Kyklos*, 56 (1): 17-46.
- Delhey, J. (2007) 'Do Enlargements make the European Union less Cohesive? An Analysis of Trust between EU Nationalities', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 45: 253-79.

- Department for Communities and Local Government (2007) *Best Value User Satisfaction Surveys 2006-07*. Department for Communities and Local Government: London.
- Dustmann, C., Casanova, M., Fertig, M., Preston, I. and Schmidt, C. (2003) *The Impact of EU Enlargement on Migration Flows, Home Office Online Report 25/03*. Home Office Research, Development and Statistics Directorate: London.
- European Parliament (1999) *The Social Aspects of Enlargement*. Briefing Paper no.39.
- Favell, A. (2001) *Philosophies of Integration: Immigration and the Idea of Citizenship in France and Britain*. Houndmills: Palgrave.
- Friedkin, N.E. (2004) 'Social Cohesion', *Annual Review of Sociology*, 30: 409-25.
- Garapich, M. (2008) 'The Migration Industry and Civil Society: Polish Immigrants in the United Kingdom Before and After EU Enlargement', *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 34 (5):735-752
- Handy, F. and Greenspan, I. (2009) 'Immigrant Volunteering: A Stepping Stone to Integration?', *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly*, 38 (6): 956-82.
- Harding, A. (1997) 'Urban Regimes in a Europe of the Cities', *European Urban and Regional Studies*, 4 (4): 291-314.
- Hatziprokopiu, P. (2004) 'Balkan Immigrants in the Greek City of Thessaloniki: Local Processes of Incorporation in an International Perspective', *European Urban and Regional Studies*, 11 (4): 321-38
- Heckman, J.J. (1979) 'Sample Selection Bias as a Specification Error', *Econometrica*, 47: 153-61.
- Hickman, M., Crowley, H. and Mai, N. (2008) *Immigration and Social Cohesion in the UK: The Rhythms and Realities of Everyday Life*. York: Joseph Rowntree Foundation.
- Hubert, A. (2010) *Empowering People, Driving Change: Social Innovation in the European Union*. Luxembourg: Bureau of European Policy Advisors.

- Hung, C.K.R. (2007) 'Immigrant Nonprofit Organizations in US Metropolitan Areas', *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly*, 36 (4): 707-29.
- Jacoby, W. (2010) 'Managing Globalization by Managing Central and Eastern Europe: The EU's Backyard as Threat and Opportunity', *Journal of European Public Policy*, 17: 416-32.
- Kearns, A. and Forrest, R. (2000) 'Social Cohesion and Multilevel Urban Governance', *Urban Studies*, 37 (5-6): 995-1017.
- Krishna, A. (2004) 'Partnerships between Elected Local Governments and Community-based Organizations: Exploring the Scope for Synergy', *Social Development Papers*, 52: 2-32.
- Laffan, B. (1996) 'The Politics of Identity and Political Order in Europe', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 34: 81-102.
- Leroux, K. (2007) 'Nonprofits as Civic Intermediaries: The Role of Community-based Organizations in Promoting Political Participation', *Urban Affairs Review*, 42 (3): 410-22.
- Lofland, L. (1973) *A World of Strangers: Order and Action in Urban Public Space*. New York: Basic Books.
- Maxwell, N.P. (2004) 'Privatizing the Welfare State: Nonprofit Community-based Organizations as Political Actors', *American Sociological Review*, 69 (2): 265-91.
- McAdam, D., Tarrow, S. and Tilly, C. (2001) *Dynamics of Contention*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Mingioni, E. (2009) 'Family, Welfare and Districts: The Local Impact of New Migrants in Italy', *European Urban and Regional Studies*, 16 (3): 225-236.
- Moody, J. and White, D.R. (2003) 'Social Cohesion and Embeddedness: A Hierarchical Conception of Social Groups', *American Sociological Review*, 68 (1): 103-27.

- Office of the Deputy Prime Minister (2002) *Urban and Rural Area Definitions: A User Guide*. London: Office of the Deputy Prime Minister.
- Oliver, J.E. (2000) 'City Size and Civic Involvement in Metropolitan America', *American Political Science Review*, 94 (2): 361-74.
- Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (2001) *The Well-being of Nations: The Role of Human and Social Capital*. OECD: Centre for Educational Research and Innovation.
- Perrons, D., Plomien, A. and Kilkey, M. (2010) 'Migration and Uneven Development within an Enlarged European Union: Fathering, Gender Divisions and Male Migrant Domestic Services', *European Urban and Regional Studies*, 17 (32): 197-215.
- Putnam, R. (2000) *Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community*. New York: Simon & Schuster.
- Putnam, R. (2007) '*E Pluribus Unum*: Diversity and Community in the Twenty-first Century', *Scandinavian Political Studies*, 30 (2): 137-74.
- Quillian, L. (1995) 'Prejudice as a Response to Perceived Group Threat: Population Composition and Anti-immigrant and Racial Prejudice in Europe', *American Sociological Review*, 60 (4): 586-611.
- Rice, T.W. and Steele, B. (2001) 'White Ethnic Diversity and Community Attachment in Small Iowa Towns', *Social Science Quarterly*, 82 (2): 397-407.
- Rich, M. J., Giles, M. W. and Stern, E. (2001) 'Collaborating to Reduce Poverty: Views from City Halls and Community-based Organizations', *Urban Affairs Review*, 37 (2): 184-204.
- Ryan, L., R. Sales, M. Tilki and B. Siara (2008) 'Social Networks, Social Support and Social Capital: Polish Migrants in London', *Sociology*, 42 (4): 672-90.
- Saegert, S. (2006) 'Building Civic Capacity in Urban Neighborhoods: An Empirically Grounded Anatomy', *Journal of Urban Affairs*, 28 (3): 275-94.

- Sampson, R.J., McAdam, D., MacIndoe, H. and Weffer-Elizondo, S. (2005) 'Civil Society Reconsidered: The Durable Nature and Community Structure of Collective Civic Action', *American Journal of Sociology*, 111 (3): 673-714.
- Schneider, J.A. (2007) 'Connections and Disconnections between Civic Engagement and Social Capital in Community-based Nonprofits', *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly*, 36 (4): 572-97.
- Sennett, R. (1970) *The Uses of Disorder: Personal Identity and City Life*. New York: W.W.Norton.
- Shaw, C.R. and McKay, H.D. (1969) *Juvenile Delinquency and Urban Areas*, revised ed. Chicago, Il: University of Chicago Press.
- Shumaker, S.A. and Stokols, D. (1982) 'Residential Mobility as a Social Issue and Research Topic', *Journal of Social Issues*, 38 (3): 1-19.
- Social Exclusion Unit (2001) *A New Commitment to Neighbourhood Renewal: National Strategy Action Plan*. London: Cabinet Office.
- Stack, C.B. (1974) *All our kin: Strategies for survival in a Black Community*. New York: Harper & Row.
- Stenning, A. and Dawley, S. (2009) 'Poles to Newcastle: Grounding New Migrant Flows in Peripheral Regions', *European Urban and Regional Studies*, 16 (3): 273-294.
- Stunell, A. (2010) 'Keeping Faith in the Big Society', Speech by Parliamentary Under-Secretary in the Department of Communities and Local Government to The Inter-Faith Network for the UK, 12th July 2010.
- Sussmuth, R. and Weidenfeld, W. (eds) (2005) *Managing Integration: The European Union's Responsibilities Towards Immigrants*. Washington: Migration Policy Institute.
- Theodore, N. and Martin, N. (2007) 'Migrant Civil Society: New Voices in the Struggle over Community Development', *Journal of Urban Affairs*, 29 (3): 269-397.

- Walsh, K.C. (2006) 'Communities, Race and Talk: An Analysis of the Occurrence of Civic Intergroup Dialogue Programs', *Journal of Politics*, 68 (1): 22-33.
- White, H. (1980) 'A Heteroscedasticity Consistent Covariance Matrix Estimator and a Direct Test of Heteroscedasticity', *Econometrica*, 48: 817-838.
- Williams, A.M. (2009) 'International Migration, Uneven Regional Development and Polarization', *European Urban and Regional Studies*, 16 (3): 309-322.
- Wills, J., May, J., Datta, K., Evans, Y., Herbert, J. and McIlwaine, C. (2009) 'London's Migrant Division of Labour', *European Urban and Regional Studies*, 16 (3): 257-71.
- Wirth, L. (1938) 'Urbanism as a Way of Life', *American Journal of Sociology*, 44 (1): 3-24.
- Withers, S.D. (1997) 'Demographic Polarization of Housing Affordability *in situ* Major United States Metropolitan Areas. *Urban Geography*, 18 (4): 296-323.

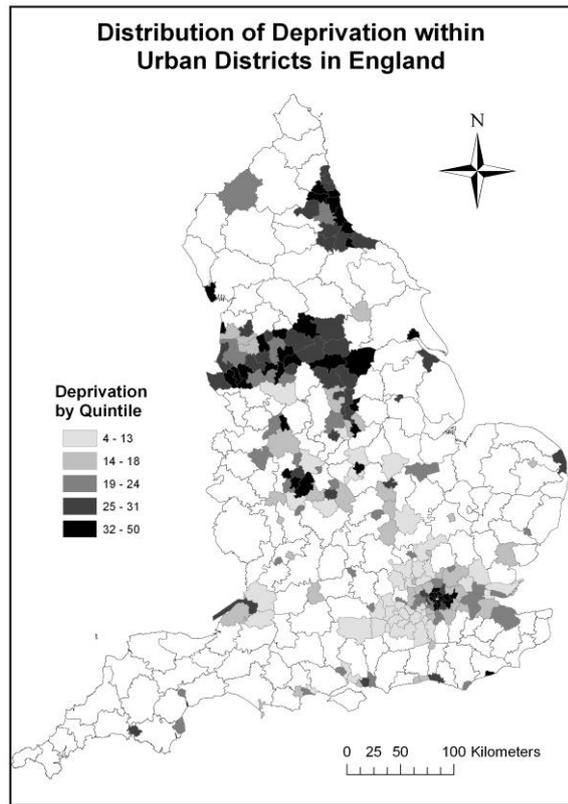
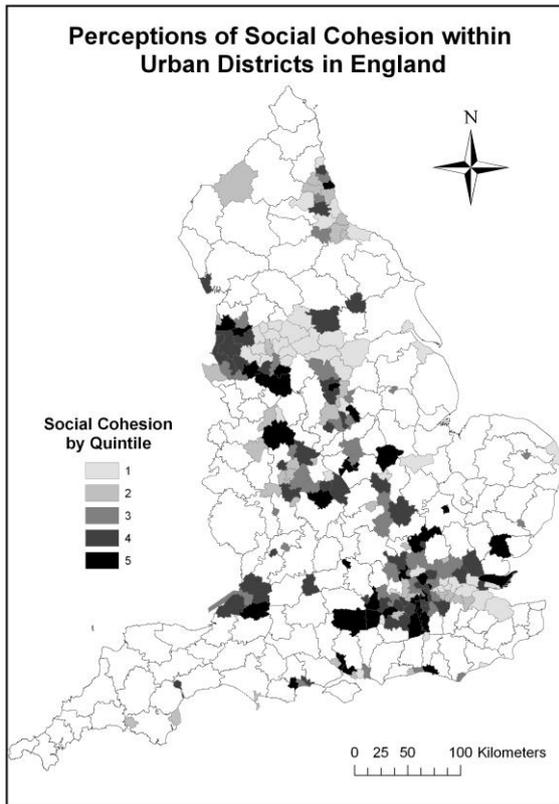
Table 1 Descriptive statistics

	Mean	Min	Max	s.d.
Percentage of residents who agree that their local area is a place where people from different backgrounds get on well together	77.44	48.00	90.00	7.30
EU A8 NI allocations per capita	4.63	.23	24.99	4.34
Community-based organizations per capita	2.49	0.59	30.09	2.59
Deprivation	21.86	4.17	49.78	9.94
Ethnic diversity	2138.61	238.80	8452.82	2018.55
Age diversity	8728.56	7358.73	9463.16	132.23
Social class diversity	8755.22	7244.91	8933.46	135.32
Population	168330	34563	977087	107884
Population density	2249.67	91.67	14916.70	2339.82
NRF funding per capita	11.10	93.52	0.00	20.30
London	0.15	0.00	1.00	0.36
Data sources:				
Community-based organizations per capita	Small Business Service. (2006) <i>Business start-ups and closures: VAT registrations and de-registrations</i> , London: DTI.			
Deprivation	Office of the Deputy Prime Minister (2004) <i>The English indices of deprivation 2004</i> . London: ODPM.			
Age diversity, ethnic diversity, social class diversity	Office for National Statistics. (2003). <i>Census 2001: Key statistics for local authorities</i> . London: TSO. Age diversity comprised 12 groups: 0-4, 5-9, 10-14, 15-19, 20-24, 25-29, 30-44, 45-59, 60-64, 65-74, 75-84, 85+. Ethnic diversity comprised 16 groups: White British, Irish, Other White, White and Black Caribbean, White and Black African, White and Asian, Other Mixed, Indian, Pakistani, Bangladeshi, Other Asian, Caribbean, African, Other Black, Chinese, Other Ethnic Group. Social class diversity comprised 12 Socio-Economic Classifications: Large Employers and Higher Managerial Occupations, Higher Professional Occupations, Lower Managerial and Professional Occupations, Intermediate Occupations, Small Employers and Own Account Workers, Lower Supervisory and Technical Occupations, Semi-Routine Occupations, Routine Occupations, Never Worked, Long-Term Unemployed, Full-time Students, Non-Classifiable.			
Recent immigration	Department of Work and Pensions (2006) <i>National Insurance number allocations to overseas nationals entering the UK</i> . DWP/ONS: London.			
Population, population density	Office for National Statistics. (2003). <i>Census 2001: Key statistics for local authorities</i> . London: TSO.			
Neighbourhood	http://www.neighbourhood.gov.uk/page.asp?id=615 .			
Renewal funding				

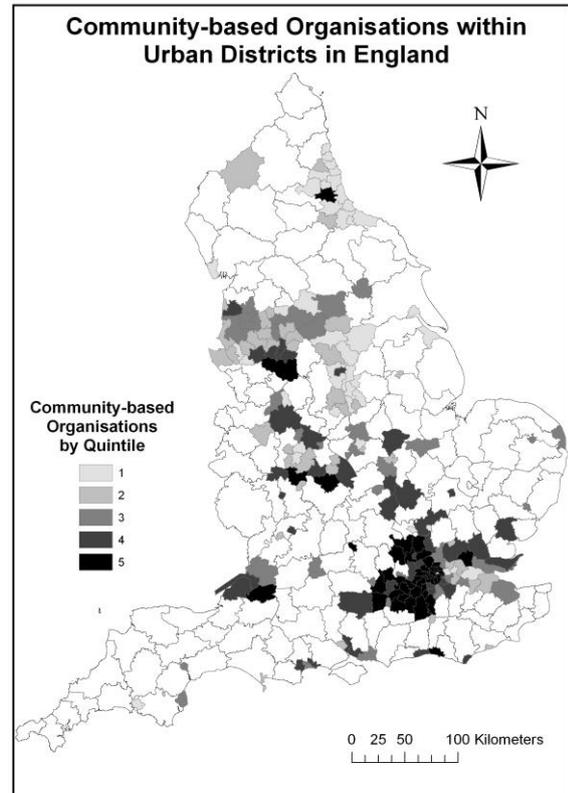
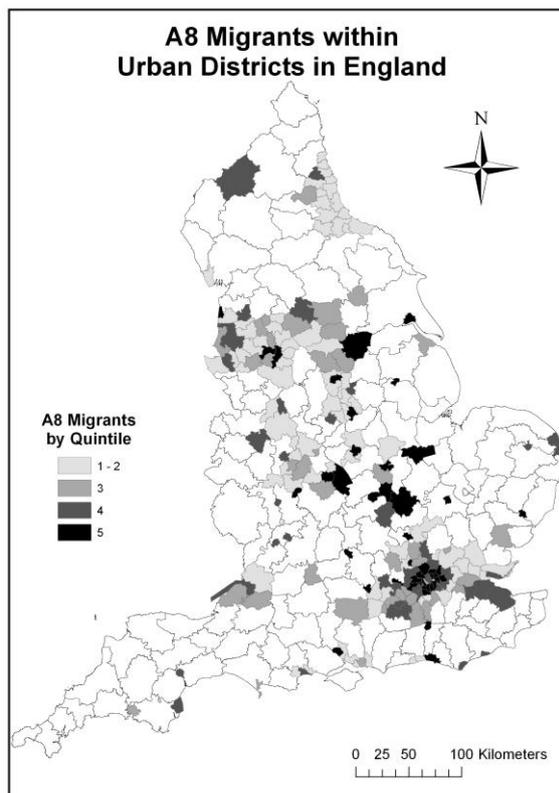
Table 2 Labour migration, community capacity and social cohesion

	People from different backgrounds get on well		
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Labour migration		-1.235* (.579)	-7.986** (2.272)
Community capacity	4.511** (1.017)	4.871** (.981)	-4.359 (2.93)
Labour migration x community capacity			2.759** (.880)
<i>Control variables</i>			
Deprivation	-.537** (.093)	-.500** (.094)	-.581** (.097)
Ethnic diversity	-.0001 (.0004)	.0003 (.0004)	.0002 (.0004)
Age diversity ²	-1.13E-07 (1.60E-07)	-9.40E-08 (1.38E-07)	-1.98E-08 (1.19E-07)
Social class diversity ²	-1.33E-08 (1.95E-07)	5.32E-08 (1.90E-07)	-1.24E-07 (1.58E-07)
Population (log)	1.383 (.958)	1.449 (.933)	1.838* (.915)
Population density (log)	.929+ (.550)	.981+ (.543)	.971+ (.915)
London	-2.937+ (2.131)	-3.736* (2.177)	-4.536* (2.168)
Neighbourhood Renewal funding per capita	.147** (.040)	.129** (.039)	.136** (.036)
Constant	60.368** (22.245)	56.356** (20.511)	65.045** (19.320)
F statistic	11.84**	13.41**	12.35**
<i>R</i> ²	.39	.41	.43

Note: n=209. Standard errors are in parentheses. Expected relationships evaluated with a one-tailed test, others with a two-tailed test. + $p \leq 0.10$; * $p \leq 0.05$; ** $p \leq 0.01$.



Figures 1 and 2 Spatial distribution of residents' perceptions of social cohesion (2006) and the distribution of deprivation (2004) in urban areas of England



Figures 3 and 4 Spatial distribution of A8 migrants and community based organizations across urban areas of England (2005)

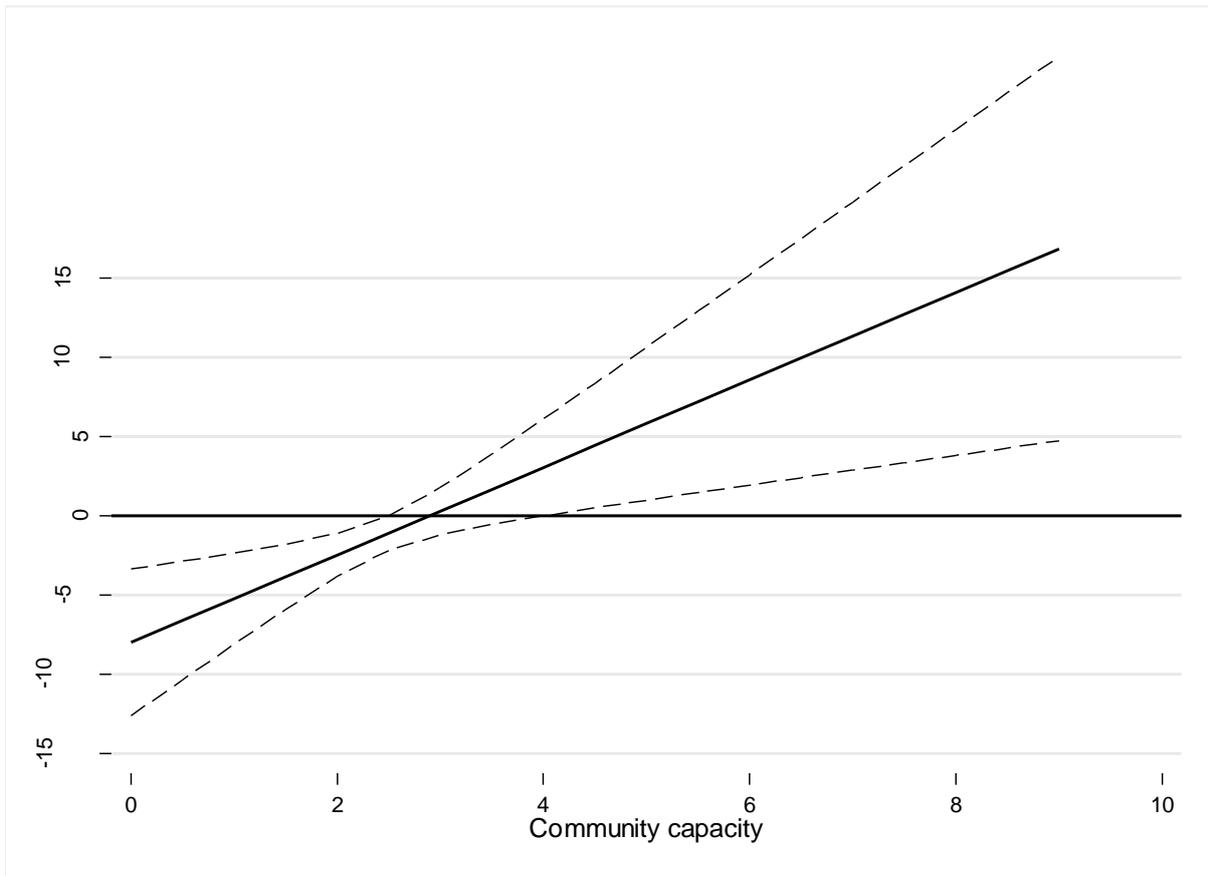


Figure 5 Marginal impact of immigration on how well people from different backgrounds get on contingent on community capacity (95% confidence interval)