HOPE
HATE
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HOPEFUL TOWNS

UNDERSTANDING COMMUNITY RESILIENCE IN OUR TOWNS

HOPEFUL TOWNS

This report has been published as part of HOPE not hate Charitable Trust's Hopeful Towns project.

The project aims to better understand what makes a place confident, optimistic and open, and to help towns across England and Wales to fulfil their potential. We want to address the root causes of hate, to stop divisive narratives from taking hold in the first place. And we want to promote policies which champion the value of towns, and stress that every town matters.

As well as producing research to understand risk and resilience in our towns, we're working with local partners in towns to develop local solutions and will be building a Towns Leadership Network to push for positive change across Britain.

Email us via towns@hopenothate.org.uk to get involved or find out more

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FOREWORD

STEPHEN KINNOCK, MP FOR ABERAVON

Since my election to Parliament on 7 May 2015 it is no exaggeration to say that each and every day I have felt an enormous sense of honour and pride to represent my Aberavon constituency in Westminster.

Aberavon is home of Port Talbot, a genuinely welcoming seaside town in South Wales with a proud industrial, steelmaking history, surrounded by villages and valleys that add so much character to our local area. Our steelworks remain front-and-centre to the town's economy and identity – despite employing just 4,000 workers compared to 18,000 at its 1960s peak – but we have plenty more that we are also proud of; from our creative community groups, to our state-of-the-art Swansea Bay campus, to the incredible contribution key workers have made in tackling Covid-19.

I know many other Members of Parliament that feel similar level of pride in the towns that they represent. Yet I know that they also share my grave concerns that for too long too many British towns have been made to compete with one hand tied behind their backs.

Both accident and design have played their part. For a generation politicians have stood by as globalisation has driven de-industrialisation and the erosion of high skilled jobs while the internet age has gutted high streets. For a decade right-wing governments have actively foisted austerity on areas that can handle it least when investment was required. Meanwhile ivory tower thinkers have championed city-centric growth models which have inevitably resulted in the agglomeration of resources, wealth and opportunity around our major cities.

Towns have been largely forgotten as engines for growth. As a result the energy and talent found in local people has either been under-utilised or has left for university, unlikely to return due to a lack of career opportunities. Brain drain and ageing populations are the inevitable result, as is a level of cynicism about the benefits of fast-paced economic and cultural change.

This is not to say that all towns fit the popular 'left-behind' narrative, or that it is appropriate to associate towns residents with 'backward' social views. For instance, Port Talbot continues to flourish and our community is welcoming of new faces, whoever you are, wherever you are from.

Indeed, this new report by HOPE not hate Charitable Trust reminds us of the diverse nature of UK towns and the different types of challenges they face. The authors identify 14 'clusters' of challenging economic characteristics faced by English and Welsh towns – from 'shrinking and ageing' to 'uncertain industrial futures' to 'cross-cutting deprivation' – alongside a wide range of attitudes towards multiculturalism and immigration.

My experiences have taught me that a prevalent force in town communities tends to be Communitarianism – which means that there is a strong sense of place-based identity (national and local), a strong desire for community cohesion, and a determination that people should play by the rules, work hard and contribute. This 'politics of belonging' can sometimes spill over into racism or xenophobia – but this usually occurs when mainstream politicians have ceded the conversation to the far right, by either disengaging from communitarian values, or at times generalising about – or actively goading – small town communities.

Scratch under the surface and there is actually enormous potential for mainstream, centre-left politicians to harness place-based identity for progressive ends, by developing an inclusive national politics which articulates the language of family, community, good work and fairness.

This must of course be married with the empowerment of local experts to meet the unique challenges of each local area. Get this right and there is an exciting opportunity to shape a compelling and unifying story about the type of society we want to shape post-pandemic, and to emphasise how – with the right support from government – towns can be the forefront of our economic recovery.

HOPE not hate Charitable Trust's new recommendations and wider work help point us towards a principled pathway forward that can help foster confidence, resilience, optimism and inclusive identities in towns across Britain. Politicians of all stripes should take note, because as the 2019 general election showed, the party that wins in our towns is the party that will shape our country's future.

THE AUTHORS

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HOPEFUL TOWNS

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

THE NEED FOR A 'TOWNS MOMENT'

The past few years have seen a renewed focus on towns. Wider patterns of change have been expressed through recent political upheavals, the 2016 EU referendum and the collapse of Labour's 'Red Wall' in the 2019 general election. The geography of a growing economic and values divide within the country has drawn lines on the map, between smaller settlements and cosmopolitan hubs; between diverse core cities and university towns and their neighbouring towns, coastal and ex-industrial communities.

This socio-economic sea-change is reflected in attitudes to migration and race, where local tensions are likely to occur, and where the populist radical right is able to take hold. In each case it is now in smaller places, away from the centres of big cities, where the risk is most acute – with a sense of loss and a suspicion of difference often going hand-in-hand. Resentments and frustrations that people see in their own lives are easily exploited into blame, scapegoating and anger at a changing world.

Addressing the challenges faced by towns is central to neutering the far right – and to tackling at source the factors which enflame hostility to migration. As the country looks to rebuild following the coronavirus pandemic, there is an urgent need for a 'towns moment'.

Policies and strategies need to focus as much on towns' resilience in the face of change and difference as on cohesion or integration. Hence, rather than describing how good or bad relations are between white and non-white communities, resilience in this report describes how well-equipped a place is to establish good relations in the first place. By this we mean:

- the extent to which a place is confident, open and optimistic;
- how much the community there is able to adapt to change or absorb shocks;
- how much agency residents feel, and how much trust there is likely to be for decision-makers, outsiders and each other;
- how positive residents are about racial and cultural difference;
- how able the community is to withstand abrupt demographic shifts or one-off flashpoints, without these events escalating;
- and, correspondingly, how predisposed a place is to welcome migrants, refugees or other new groups.

THE 'TOWNS CHALLENGE'

When it comes to resilience, evidence suggests a specific 'towns challenge'. Towns are significantly less liberal about migration and multiculturalism than big cities. But they are also less liberal than very small places, like villages. So, this is not merely a case of the physical size of a settlement.

Nor can differences be explained by deprivation alone, though this plays a significant role, or by demographics and the size of the non-white population. In each case there are enough outliers when it comes to attitudes – enough 'affluent but hostile' or 'non-diverse but liberal' places – to suggest that looking at the issue through a single lens will restrict a genuine understanding.

The only solution is a genuinely place-based approach, which examines the myriad social, economic, cultural and geographical factors at play. This offers a way of crafting policies which recognise the unique circumstances each town is operating in – while also grasping the wider shared challenges that different groups of towns face, and thus offering the capacity to scale up policy interventions.

Towns are not a proxy for 'left behind'. Each has a different geography, population, and history, and not all are feeling the effects of deindustrialisation or geographical isolation.

Our answer to this has been the creation of a towns index, an extensive inventory of the UK's towns bringing together well over 100 data variables for all 862 towns across England and Wales. We have created 14 'clusters', each representing a set of resilience challenges faced by each town, from coastal challenges and cross-cutting deprivation to rapid change and competition for resources.

14 CHALLENGES TO RESILIENCE

What makes one town more confident, welcoming and optimistic than the next? And how can national and local policies level the playing field? This report looks at 14 factors which could create particular challenges for towns, undermining resilience and increasing hostility to immigration.

This creates 14 'clusters' of towns which are subject to these characteristics, and would benefit from similar solutions.

Very few of the 14 characteristics are wholly negative for a town, and many come with positive side-effects. But our hypothesis is that the factors each, in different ways, increase the likelihood of a town being less resilient to change, and indicate higher degrees of hostility towards immigration and diversity.

It is important to point out that each of our 862 towns can fall into more than one of the clusters, and most do. If a place is subject to several at the same time then it makes resilience to change and difference much harder to forge – creating the 'dry brushwood' for adverse community outcomes. The more clusters a town falls into, the more acute this hostility is likely to be.

Regional differences in terms of how many clusters a town falls into are very acute here – as are differences in the purpose or history of a place. Towns in Wales and the North East are more likely to fulfil the 'shrinking and ageing' trait for instance. Places in the North West and the West Midlands are more likely to have experienced 'migration in the community'. New Towns are more likely to have 'fewer cultural assets' and are less likely to fall into the 'less connected' grouping.
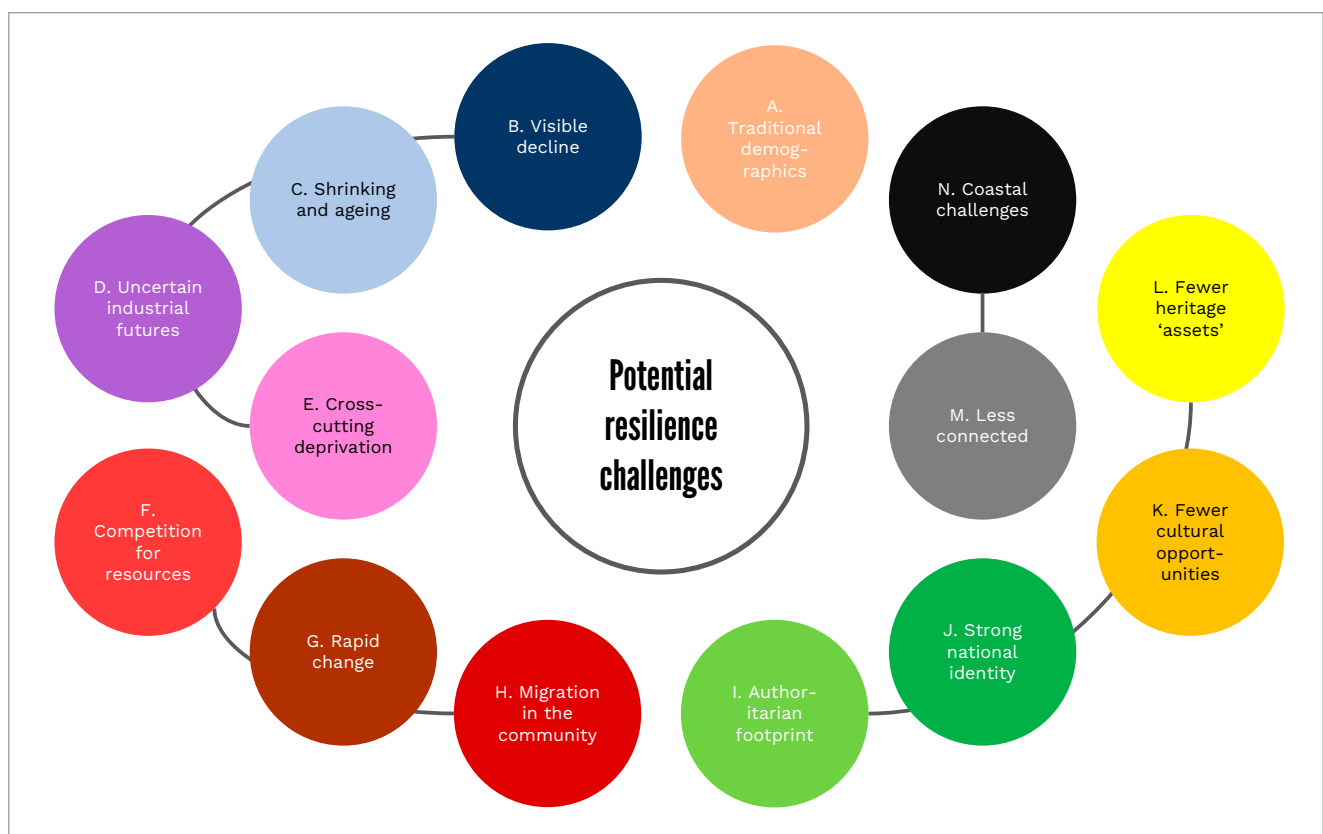
Cluster	Characteristics	Number of towns	Example towns	Potential solutions
a. Traditional demographics	The area has an older, predominantly white British community, with lower education levels and little experience of diversity or difference	110 (a further 169 nearly fulfilling the criteria)	Ilfracombe, Immingham, Sudbury, Morecambe	Interventions which gradually introduce change and difference
b. Visible decline	Social problems and public realm issues potentially reduce trust in others and amplify feelings of loss	67 (158)	Accrington, Abersychan, Halifax, Swinton	Approaches which reduce public realm issues and support local people to take pride in an inclusive sense of identity
c. Shrinking and ageing	Existential questions about the town's future leading to a blanket fear of all change	79 (205)	Ebbw Vale, Worksop, Wigan, Redditch	Macro-economic policies which identify a sense of clear purpose
d. Uncertain industrial futures	A lack of immediate prospects feeding uncertainty, resentment and frustration – which can merge into anti-immigrant rhetoric	45 (231)	Birstall, Hucknall, Kirkby-in-Ashfield, St Austell	Policies which support adult skills, opportunities, re-training and establishing new, green industries
e. Cross-cutting deprivation	A genuine and pronounced lack of basic resources create wider feelings of hostility	115 (120)	Ystrad Mynach, Peterlee, Bloxwich, Bootle	Targeted spending in key communities, and an emphasis on schools as central hubs, healthcare, adult skills etc.
f. Competition for resources	Economic pressure on infrastructure – combined with a visible migrant community – create the potential for narratives of scarcity	94 (226)	Ashford, Luton, Walsall, Smethwick	Charters around rights/responsibilities (e.g. HMO licensing schemes), enforcement of minimum wage
g. Rapid change	Rapid flux caused by gentrification, migration and growth creates tensions between new and existing residents	47 (129)	Salford, Dartford, Slough, Oldbury	Interventions which foster connections between new and existing communities, and allow residents to shape the direction the community takes
h. Migration in the community	Patterns of migration exist which are particularly likely to feed into tensions – through pace of change or through patterns of settlement	50 (78)	Keighley, Tilbury, Bilston, Pudsey	Emphasis on creating connections, as well central government funding for ESOL etc
i. Authoritarian footprint	Pre-existing organisational foundations for the far right or the populist radical right mean there are organisational roots for the far right to build on	37 (95)	Sheerness, Burnley, Boston, Dudley	A focus on strengthening community relations, and the development of inclusive narratives that make a virtue of how a place has changed
j. Strong national identity	There is a tendency to see the world through a national lens, feeding nativism under certain circumstance	92 (194)	Wisbech, Harwich, Pontefract, Skegness	Events which celebrate a shared English or Welsh identity which is inclusive and tolerant
k. Fewer cultural opportunities	There are fewer opportunities for self-expression or for new experiences, leading to more insular communities	78 (183)	Swallownest, Chatteris, Heanor, Minster (Swale), South Ockendon	Ideas which resituate towns as cultural hubs, enabling arts and educational opportunities in smaller places
l. Fewer heritage 'assets'	An unclear place identity limits a town's confidence to absorb or welcome others	65 (333)	Corby, Runcorn, Washington	Local work to develop clear place narratives and to fund projects which champion this

m. Less connected	Geographical remoteness means a lack of experience of change or difference	80 (194)	Caister-on-Sea, Goole, Cannock, Devizes	Investment in rail, alongside improvements to local bus routes, promoting cycling and walking through improving infrastructure
n. Coastal challenges	Social problems lead older residents to fear deterioration and to see migration as part of the problem	51 (53)	Blackpool, Dover, Mablethorpe, Great Yarmouth	Public promotion of holidaying in the UK, alongside infrastructure improvements, improving quality of housing

While the full impact of Covid-19 remains hard to predict, towns are likely to bear the brunt of an economic downfall, though different clusters will respond in different ways. Nonetheless, our analysis shows that it is now more important than ever that we address the towns challenge.

Doing this will require a balance of national and local policy solutions. Among some clusters the answers will need to lean more towards the former (with 'less connected' places, for instance). Among others the most successful interventions are more likely to come locally (e.g. in towns with 'rapid change').

STEPPING UP TO THE 'TOWNS CHALLENGE'

To properly address the towns challenge, we believe there are five strategic areas in which to focus:

- **Adopting a more joined-up approach**, so that towns with similar challenges can more easily collaborate with other places facing the same obstacles – identifying localised policies that work and sharing best practice. There needs to be a broad set of working groups and idea-sharing networks to enable resilience in towns – in the same way that there often is between big cities

- **Establishing towns as the primary unit**, and looking at the challenge in a town-by-town, 'place-based' way. This does not mean ignoring district councils or parliamentary constituencies. But it means decision-makers looking at towns as individual places, and seeking to understand the very specific circumstances of each one.

- **Deploying targeted policies at the national level**, in recognition of the quite distinct issues faced in different places. Teasing the various 'towns challenges' apart and looking at them in isolation will allow policy-makers to focus on the individual factors which, taken together, can both embed and undermine resilience.

- **Sharing expertise and best practice**, as part of a 'preventative' approach. This means recognising that resilience issues are latent within many non-diverse communities, and seeking to embed policies which address this. What is the correct community policy in an area with a lack of heritage assets, for example, or in one that is hard to get to? Much more is needed to establish a clear sense of best practice when tackling each issue locally.

- **Promoting an 'every town counts' ethos**, which calls out pejorative language about towns. This is primarily a question about language and way of thinking. But it reflects an urgent need for a new conversation about towns, which emphasises that each place has inherent value. To dismiss a place is to dismiss its people.

NEXT STEPS

This report has aimed to look, in isolation, at what the different challenges are for resilience across English and Welsh towns. We do not have all the answers when it comes to what the solutions are, but we want to start a conversation to get there.

Our next step is to begin the creation of a Towns Leadership Network. The primary focus for this network will be to:

- **Reach out to decision-makers in all of the places within each cluster**, so as to develop a group of towns committed to addressing each of the 14 challenges identified.

- **Build up a bank of experts and thought-leaders across the 14 different clusters**. These groups and individuals can work with us as ad hoc specialist partners, helping to develop best practice for the respective challenges.

- **Share insights with national policy-makers**, so as to encourage targeted policies.

INTRODUCTION

HOPE not hate was established on the premise that when people are given a choice between hope and hate, they choose hope. The far right take root where hope is lost. They exploit people's fears and frustrations, offering simple answers to complex problems in order to stir up hate and division.

Our fight against the far right has often occurred at the ballot box – such as with the British National Party in 2000s. Yet we have also seen the same patterns emerge ten years later, as figures like Stephen Yaxley-Lennon seek out deprived northern council estates to sell their hateful politics.

Each time hate has lost out to hope, with the decline of the electoral far right in the UK, accompanied by dwindling support for street movements. However, the anger and disaffection which these groups both exploited and catalysed has not disappeared, and neither have the underlying problems.

Immigration and multiculturalism have become a focus for grievances felt in many communities. But there are deeper feelings of resentment as well, towards a distant political establishment and an economic model that is unfeeling to place or people.

Our 2018 report, *Fear, Hope and Loss*, mapped attitudes in England and Wales. It starkly laid out how a feeling of loss, a lack of opportunities and economic decline in post-industrial and coastal towns was creating pockets of hostility.

In the National Conversation on Immigration, meanwhile, we found that immigration was seen as a national issue, passed through a local lens. Localised pressures or points of tension could often spill over into anti-migrant sentiment in places with little history of diversity. Sometimes, these were directly related to immigration, such as in neighbourhoods overwhelmed by large numbers of houses of multiple occupancy for a rapidly growing population of migrant workers. But often they were not about migration at all, and instead reflected of broader resentments – about housing, healthcare, or a lack of secure employment.

This context is by no means unique to the UK. Across the world, we have seen the rise of populist politicians exploiting the consequences of decades of uneven economic growth and political disillusionment. We know that unless some of these underlying conditions are addressed, people will continue to feel this way, and the potential for a populist right to take hold will remain. We need to not just respond to the manifestations of resentment, but to treat the causes.

While no town is the same, in many ways this is a 'towns issue'. Wealth, infrastructure and industry, as well as cultural investments, continue to be concentrated in core cities. The populations of towns are getting older, as younger graduates leave for cities to find work. Towns are, on the whole, less diverse places with less history of migration, where people are less likely to have meaningful contact with someone from a different background to themselves.

Moreover, the coronavirus outbreak looks set to deepen these divides. While the full economic impacts of the pandemic are yet to be seen, many of the industries most at risk of job losses are in coastal towns or rural areas – places struggling as a result of physical remoteness and seasonal tourist economies.

With this said, a central message of this report is that no two towns are the same. Towns should not be a proxy for 'left behind'. Each has a different geography, population, and history, and not all are feeling the effects of deindustrialisation or geographical isolation.

Definitions of integration or community cohesion have, over recent years, moved away from unrealistic assimilationist views of conformity. They have moved towards an understanding that living well together must be a 'two-way-street', requiring effort both from newcomers and from receiving communities.

This means creating places that are confident, optimistic and welcoming – ensuring that everyone can access opportunities and feel more in control of their own lives.

Issues like good public transport, secure jobs and decent housing all have a big social impact. These are cohesion issues too. Getting them right means that resentments are less likely to form in the first place, and that it is harder for hateful narratives about immigration and multiculturalism to take hold.

This report aims to take a 'place-based' approach, so as to better understand how to build cohesive communities across Britain's towns. To achieve this we delve down into the issues which make certain towns more vulnerable than others to divisive narratives – and into the countervailing factors which build resilience.

We define resilience as:

- the extent to which a place is confident, open and optimistic;

- how much the community there is able to adapt to change or absorb shocks;

- how much agency residents feel, and how much trust there is likely to be for decision-makers, outsiders and each other;

- how positive residents are about racial and cultural difference;

- how able the community is to withstand abrupt demographic shifts or one-off flashpoints, without these events escalating;

- and, correspondingly, how predisposed a place is to welcome migrants, refugees or other new groups.

Through developing a towns index – an extensive inventory of the UK's towns, bringing together well over 100 data variables for all 862 towns across England and Wales – we have created 14 'clusters', each representing a set of resilience challenges faced by some towns but not by others. These clusters of characteristics range from 'shrinking and ageing' populations to economies experiencing 'competition for resources'. Many towns fit into several of these groupings, hence resilience is particularly difficult to achieve.

The clusters help us to separate out the multitude of challenges that different types of place face when fostering resilience, in order to develop more targeted solutions. They also offer a route-map, through which we aim to develop networks of towns struggling with similar challenges, to share lessons, establish best practice and build resilience.

There is of course, already a lot of good work in towns to be built on, which this report aims to support. This ranges from community groups to dedicated local authorities to positive ideas for 'levelling up' from national government.

Ultimately, this report guides our Hopeful Towns project, setting a pathway for thinking about confident, optimistic and inclusive identities in Britain's towns. Our next step is to begin the creation of a Towns Leadership Network, to support towns locally by sharing knowledge, expertise and best practice, while also working to push for change at the national level.

We want to address the root causes of hate, to stop divisive narratives from taking hold in the first place. And we want to promote policies which champion the value of towns, and stress that every town matters.

1. THE IMPORTANCE OF PLACE

THE CONTEXT FOR RESILIENCE

The past few years have seen a renewed focus on towns. Recent political upheavals have been framed as part of a growing economic and values divide within the country. This divide has drawn lines on the map, between smaller settlements and cosmopolitan hubs; between diverse core cities and university towns and their neighbouring towns, coastal and ex-industrial communities.

This is exemplified, of course, by the fallout from Britain's decision to leave the European Union in 2016. The geographical distribution of the Leave and Remain votes – and the political polarisation that followed – has highlighted rifts within the UK, and has raised a whole set of cultural questions. While the vote was complex, and there was no single issue behind voters' decisions, the decision to leave the EU was fed by a divisive debate on immigration.

More recently, the 2019 General Election delivered a sea-change moment in British party politics, with many 'Red Wall' constituencies in the North and the Midlands electing Conservative MPs for the first time. Cities, by contrast – particularly inner cities and those with large student populations – have tended to move in the opposite direction, becoming Labour strongholds.

The backdrop for this is a national discourse fraught with 'culture war' debates – about everything from veganism to Winston Churchill's legacy. While much of this debate is overstated, instead confined within the echo chambers of social media, here too there tends to be a geographical dimension, with older residents in smaller towns taking a different view to younger city-dwellers.

All of these things reflect a longer-term evolution in Britain's economic geography. During the past three or four decades, the transition away from an industrial economy has created a reliance on a smaller number of globally networked hubs – most notably, London. Social, cultural and economic capital is increasingly concentrated in these places.

As a result, inner parts of the UK's 'core cities' are becoming more affluent and gentrified – as well as younger. And newer waves of migrants are often settling elsewhere.

In the 1970s and 1980s – when the capital was a city with a 'hollowed out centre'[1] – the National Front were most active in the parts of inner London where immigration was rapidly increasing. It is notable that London boroughs like Lambeth or Tower Hamlets are now among the last places which the authoritarian right would choose to target.

THE NEED FOR A 'TOWNS MOMENT'

The outbreak of Coronavirus adds an extra dimension to place based divisions in Britain. The direct health impacts of the pandemic have tended to spike in crowded urban centres. But all evidence suggests that the economic hit so far has been hardest in smaller towns.[2]

How the changes wrought by COVID-19 will affect different settlements in the long-term remains to be seen. The pandemic means that some large employers have discussed abandoning their city centre bases in favour of remote work, with the head of Barclays predicting in April that large city offices could be "a thing of the past."[3] If this were to transpire it could result in a large scale rebalancing of the country's economy, reversing the 'shrinking and ageing' process that has taken place in many towns. (Welsh think tank The Bevan Foundation, for example, have already written about the potential for a 'work from Wales' campaign).[4] Yet this is unlikely to be a rapid process, and if we were to see an exodus from cities, this would most likely result in the relocation of middle class professionals leaving lower-wage workers in the service industry behind, exacerbating urban inequalities.

And towns look set to see existing issues deepen with the Covid-19 recession. The bus company Stagecoach expressed worries, in July, that a recovery in bus travel will "take years," potentially meaning long-term reductions to services. This would make remote towns even harder-to-get-to, and could open up the chasm between networked and non-networked areas.[5]

2020 presents a crossroads for community resilience, carrying serious implications for the future of Britain's towns. COVID-19 must be treated as a 'towns moment'. It needs to act as a spur for local and national government to tackle the economic and infrastructure challenges which reduce resilience in towns.

A PLACE-BASED APPROACH

In the National Conversation on Immigration[6], where we travelled to 60 towns and cities across each region and nation of the UK engaging with more than 19,950 people in a conversation on migration, we found that more often than not, attitudes to immigration were shaped through local experiences. While we found that most people held balanced views on immigration, seeing both positive impacts alongside challenges, we also found the scales of this balance are weighted differently from place to place.

We found that a "local lens" framed immigration as a national issue, reflecting everyday experiences. Concerns about the labour market impacts of immigration were more prevalent in places where concerns were tied to unscrupulous behaviour by employers or businesses. In the southeast, a scarcity of housing meant a common demand was greater control over rates of immigration and over migrants' access to social housing. Hostility towards immigration often emerged most strongly when participants told a broader story about dissatisfaction with their own lives.

Our 2018 report, *Fear, Hope and Loss*[7], looked at the drivers of hope and hate in light of these place-based differences. We found clear correlations between deprivation and economic loss on the one hand, and hostility to change and difference on the other. As the report argued, we will struggle to challenge narratives of division until we can address regional inequalities and halt patterns of economic decline.

In particular, *Fear, Hope and Loss* looked at questions of community cohesion through an 'ecological' lens. This meant trying to view attitudes to immigration and multiculturalism in UK towns as the products of broader environmental dynamics. What were the elements which made certain towns less resilient than others? What made communities stronger? How could we understand xenophobia or hostility to migration as broader products of circumstance?

This report aims to drill down further on these big questions, examining the multitude of things going on in Britain's large and varied number of towns. How is each place different? And what are the shared challenges? Can we find shared solutions to build resilience?

Clearly, many of the issues at stake relate to economics. But there are also other differences, between towns' histories, sizes, population makeups and physical geographies. All of these aspects shape community relations and feed into questions of identity, narrative and local pride.

Through separating out the different characteristics, we can avoid 'towns' becoming a catch-all synonym for 'left behind'. We can understand what makes different types of settlements tick, and how distinct place identities are formed. And we can start to anticipate the policy interventions that will make our towns more resilient.

The decision to focus on towns as individual places – rather than on local authority districts or on parliamentary constituencies – is a central part of our approach here. The anthropologist Sandra Wallman argues in the Capability of Places (2011) that we need to give more consideration to place-based resilience, so as to enable communities to maximise the benefits of migration, while minimising negative impacts. Her work suggests that factors such as the quality of local jobs, the type of local industry, the heterogeneity or homogeneity of housing stock and transport connectivity all impact of how communities come to terms with migration.

Our methodology (introduced on pages 137-147) owes a great deal to the categorisations and classifications developed by the Centre for Towns, who we have collaborated with in this project. A central goal of this research is to use 'towns' as our primary geographical unit, rather than the administrative areas within which they sit.

While this creates definitional challenges, and has sometimes made the collation of data harder, we believe that it ultimately corresponds better with how people see their local identity and is more conducive to the development of place-based policy solutions. If local authorities, for example, are able to tailor policies to an individual town within their dominion – and to the specific set of challenges and opportunities – then the wins for the area are likely to be greater than a district-wide or constituency-wide approach.

HOW COUNCILS CAN SHAPE HOPEFUL TOWNS

Luca Tiratelli, *Senior Policy Researcher, New Local Government Network*

The HOPE not hate Charitable Trust's new 'Hopeful Towns Index' will provide an invaluable resource for policy makers interested in improving the lives of the 33 million people who call the towns of England and Wales home.

As the HOPE not hate Charitable Trust have argued in previous reports, many towns have been at the sharp end of the major economic issues – poor productivity, weak growth, increasing inequality – that have beset Britain over the last ten years. Unfortunately, COVID-19 looks set to ensure that the 2020s offer little respite. The national economy has shrunk in the first two quarters of the decade, and the easing of the furlough scheme looks set to lead to a major spike in unemployment in the autumn.

In many cases, these economic problems combine with cultural issues, leading to feelings of disenfranchisement, resentment and, above all, a sense of diminishing agency. It is in these kinds of circumstances, as we know from The HOPE not hate Charitable Trust's work over the years, that toxic political outlooks can take hold.

Appropriately enough though, we at NLGN know from our work with councils from across the country, that there is hope. On the economic side of things, many local authorities are developing 'inclusive growth' plans, which aim to build local economies from which everyone can benefit. This means creating local routes to reducing inequalities and creating economic opportunity for all.

On the political and cultural level, we are seeing more and more councils becoming interested in our idea of a 'community paradigm' in public service delivery, which means handing significant power and resources over to residents. In so doing, local authorities can counter feelings of disenfranchisement, and offer people a genuine sense of control over the places in which they live, reversing the trends of recent decades.

Britain's towns have borne the brunt of much of what's gone wrong in this country in recent years – we need to ensure that that pattern isn't repeated in the 2020s and beyond.

WHAT WE MEAN BY RESILIENCE?

Debates around migration and place frequently focus on cohesion or integration – terms which are often used interchangeably to describe how strong relations are between diverse groups. The Greater London Authority, for example, uses the following definition (taken from the Social Integration Commission) as a benchmark for the strength of its communities:[10]

The extent to which people positively interact and connect with others who are different to themselves... 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.

The Government deploys a similar definition, based on *"communities where people, whatever their background, live, work, learn and socialise together, based on shared rights, responsibilities and opportunities."*[11]

While we deploy these definitions of cohesion and integration throughout the report, we also hope to build on what a 'two way street' approach to integration looks like in practice through a focus on 'resilience'[12] By this we mean:

■ the extent to which a place is confident, open and optimistic;

■ how much the community there is able to adapt to change or absorb shocks;

■ how much agency residents feel, and how much trust there is likely to be for decision-makers, outsiders and each other;

■ how positive residents are about racial and cultural difference;

■ how able the community is to withstand abrupt demographic shifts or one-off flashpoints, without these events escalating;

■ and, correspondingly, how predisposed a place is to welcome migrants, refugees or other new groups.

'Resilience' as used in this report is not a straight synonym for 'integration' or 'cohesion'. Rather than describing how good or bad relations are between a new community and the existing one, it describes how well-equipped a place is to establish good relations in the first place.

Nonetheless, we understand resilience to be a central part of cohesion or integration. The less a town or community fulfils these criteria for resilience, the greater the risk is that things could – under the right circumstances – spiral in an authoritarian or xenophobic direction.

This could take the form of an electoral tilt towards the far-right or the hard right. It could manifest itself in local activism against a new minority group (e.g. against a Mosque being built).

And it could even lead to individuals within the community committing hate crimes or worse.

It could also, at a lower level, feed day-to-day prejudices against new arrivals, or prompt a sharp decline in social capital.

In short, low resilience of the kind we are describing represents the dry brushwood for adverse community outcomes. Its presence alone does not mean that such outcomes will occur. But it does mean that the susceptibility for issues to 'catch light' is greater.

In our focus on resilience, we understand that cohesion or integration are not only the concern of diverse areas. Many of the towns which we are looking at are not especially diverse. One-off flashpoints may have occurred in the past. The central challenges relate less to fostering integration between groups than to addressing latent attitudes towards change and difference.

This relates to a bigger risk, in that often when decision-makers speak of integration or cohesion, they are behind the curve. An emphasis purely on cohesion between different groups, while admirable, sometimes happens after a place has significantly diversified. Often a major event – be it a local demonstration or the election of a far-right councillor – is the catalyst for the issue being taken seriously.

In other instances, meanwhile, the focus on cohesion can push resources and energy towards areas with long histories of migration, where different groups have long-since learnt to live harmoniously.

The overall risk is of a 'firefighting' approach, with public policy failing to pre-emptively address the root causes of cohesion challenges. The result of this is that we do not acknowledge that communities are lacking in resilience until something has gone wrong. Frequently, those on the sharp end of this may be newer minority groups that have decided to settle.

Understanding the attitudes within a community – regardless of how diverse that community may be – is essential to changing this. By looking at towns through the lens of resilience we want to examine how local and national decision-makers can take the initiative on these questions.

'DUMPS' AND 'DIVES' – THE EFFECT OF LANGUAGE

"The place needs investment and putting back on the map. It was on the map once." Jamie, Newcastle-under-Lyme, focus group[8]

Place identity is central to many of the questions we are looking at in this report. The shift towards the divisive politics of the far right frequently comes because a town is felt to be neglected, bypassed or scorned.

This can lead to toxic forms of nationalism taking the place of local pride. It ignite narratives about a town becoming a 'dumping ground'. It can lead to a siege mentality or to low trust, feeding populist rhetoric about 'liberal elites' who do not value ordinary places. It explains why even fairly cosmetic issues – around litter in the high street or 'eyesore gardens' – become totemic.

One of our observations in this report is that towns that have more of the 'baubles' associated with status or prestige are, on balance, more liberal about migration. This may take the form of city or county town status, or of a successful football club or university to coalesce around. But if a place is confident in itself then it tends to be more able to welcome others and absorb change; more likely to see these things as proof of the area's positive centre of gravity.

Conversely, negative narratives about a place often become gradually internalised within the people who live there. In some instances this may be taken in good humour, such as with the newspaper hoarding pictured above. But in others it can entrench hostility to change and difference. A lack of confidence in the local identity may lead newcomers to be seen as harbingers of dereliction and loss.
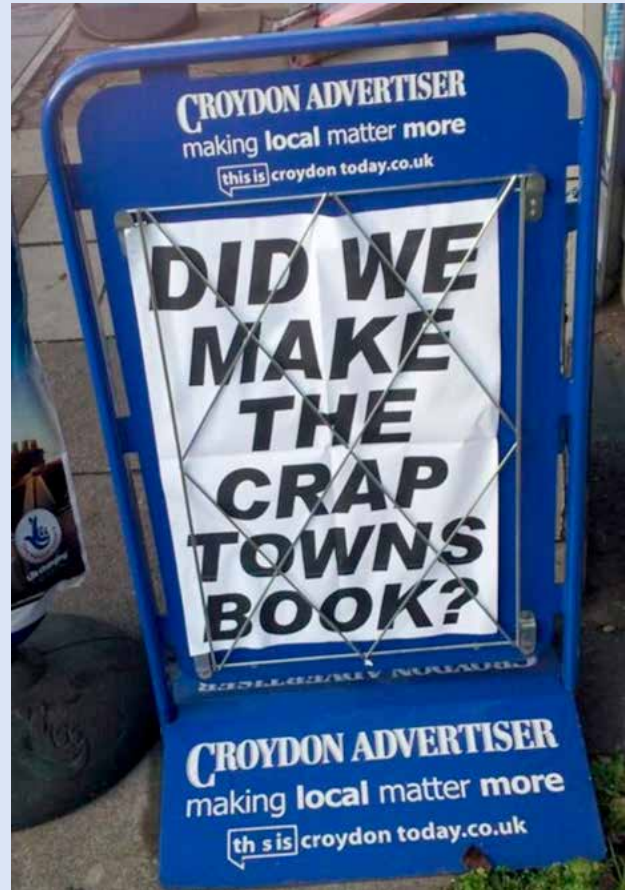
For this reason, language is very important. Books like *Crap Towns*, websites such as 'ilivehere.co.uk' and newspaper articles about the 'worst places in Britain', while intended to be light-hearted, feed into low resilience. Pejorative, dismissive or derogatory language about 'dumps', 'dives' or 'sh*holes' serves the same purpose. The same goes for adverts such as EasyJet's controversial campaign in 2013, 'Rather be in Malaga than Margate' (pictured).

Of course, a great many of the problems faced by towns are deeply systemic, relating to transport infrastructure and macro-economics. Surface-level changes to language will not solve the central issues. The limitations of 'place branding' have been pointed out before, with Elisabeth Collett writing that "branding efforts will only be as strong as the cities [and towns] which they reflect."[9]

But these questions remain important when it comes to getting the ethos right, and to adopting an 'every town counts' approach to resilience. We need to see places as collections of people, which possess a fundamental equality with each other, and which deserve respect.

INVESTMENT AT THE LOCAL NEIGHBOURHOOD LEVEL IN SOCIAL INFRASTRUCTURE MUST THEREFORE BE A KEY PART OF ANY VISION FOR REVITALISING OUR TOWNS

Daniel Crowe *and the Local Trust Policy team*

Photo: Peter Oliver

This report is an important contribution to the growing debate around how we improve and 'level up' social and economic outcomes for residents in those parts of the country that have in the past been overlooked or forgotten when it comes to Government priorities and investment. Its focus on towns, and exploration of factors that can hold an area back such as multiple deprivation, being less connected or experiencing visible decline – reflecting a depletion of civic assets which in turn can make it harder to foster social capital – is to be welcomed.

Local Trust in its work supporting the Big Local Programme, and more recently in its research into 'left behind' neighbourhoods, recognises many of the challenges that our communities face and which the report draws attention to. As an organisation committed to empowering communities and supporting resident-led change we agree with the importance of identifying localised policy solutions and interventions "that allow residents to shape the direction the community takes".

We also agree that towns are certainly not a "proxy for left behind", and that there is the need for a "towns moment". However, we would also argue that for those communities on the periphery, including many of the 225 neighbourhoods across England identified by Local Trust as being 'left behind', the centre of their nearby town can often feel a long way away. Town centre-focussed funding and planning isn't enough to help turn the tide in these areas. Investment at the local neighbourhood level in social infrastructure must therefore be a key part of any vision for revitalising our towns.

This is essential in supporting stronger and more resilient communities, particularly in their attempts to rebuild following COVID-19. Our most recent research for the new All Party Parliamentary Group for 'left behind' neighbourhoods has highlighted just how vulnerable these areas are in terms of health, economic and social risks. It also shows how a considerably lower level of response by local voluntary and community sector organisations has left them less prepared or equipped to be able to 'build back better.' That's why one of our key policy proposals is for a new £2billion Community Wealth Fund, endowed through the second wave of dormant assets, and dedicated to building foundational social infrastructure in 'left behind' neighbourhoods. It's investment of this scale and scope, targeted at the right geographical level and the communities that need of it most, that will help address wider social and economic problems and sense of disaffection and abandonment, bringing hope and building resilience for the future.

2. WHY TOWNS?

THE TOWNS CHALLENGE

HOPE not hate's Fear and Hope polling has looked, over a sustained period, at the different strains of opinion when it comes to immigration, diversity and race relations – extrapolating the outcomes to the Lower Super Output Areas (LSOA), small geographic units with a minimum population of 1,000 and a mean size of 1,500.

This rich dataset was deployed in the *Fear, Hope and Loss* report. We use it again as a benchmark in this paper, with which to try and understand the extent to which those living in an area express hostile or liberal views on multiculturalism and immigration – as a prerequisite to understanding why.

One reason for choosing this as our yardstick – as opposed to the far-right vote, for example – is that the Fear and Hope data gauges sentiment as opposed to action or activity. Hence, it helps us to identify latent attitudes within a population – rather than just those which spill over into overt support for far-right movements.

The fact that our Fear and Hope data is deduced to LSOA level, meanwhile, means it can be overlaid to the precise borders of individual towns.

To recap, the Fear and Hope research began in 2011, and divided attitudes towards migration, diversity and race into six basic groupings:

1. **Confident Multicultural:** See immigration as hugely positive, both economically and culturally and celebrate multiculturalism.

2. **Mainstream Liberal:** See immigration as a good thing for the country, though to a slightly lesser extent than the confident multicultural group

3. **Immigrant Ambivalent:** This group view immigration through the prism of its economic impact on their opportunities and the social impact on their communities. Around half believe immigration has been good for the country.

4. **Culturally Concerned:** This group are more economically secure, but are concerned about the pace of change. They are more likely to view immigration as a cultural issue with concerns about the impact of immigration on national identity and about immigrants' willingness to integrate.

5. **Latent Hostile:** This group voice hostile attitudes towards immigration, though to a lesser extent than the active enmity group, with the vast majority agreeing that immigration has been a bad thing for the country. For them, immigration has undermined British culture, public services and their own economic prospects.

6. **Active Enmity:** The most hostile of all the tribes, this group see immigrants and what they think immigration represents as having negative effects on all aspects of life. Overwhelmingly white, opposed to all ethnicities or religions other than their own, many also believe that violence is acceptable if it is a consequence of standing up for what is 'right'.

The maps in Figure 1 show the LSOAs with the greatest affinity with each of the respective segments across England and Wales. This is deduced by identifying, for each LSOA, which or the six segments makes up the largest proportion of the population. The findings highlight stark geographical differences.

Confident Multiculturalism, for example, tends to be concentrated in urban centres, whereas Cultural Concern is much more common in rural and coastal places. The greatest levels of anti-immigrant hostility appear to be in some – although not all – of the UK's former industrial heartlands.

If we look, meanwhile, at how these different types of attitude are distributed by sizes of settlement (and by status of settlement), we can see that distinct patterns emerge in towns.

Figure 2 shows, using the Centre for Towns' typology, how different settlements over or under-index for different Fear and Hope sentiments. For simplicity, we have grouped together the two pro-immigrant or 'liberal' groupings (confident multiculturalism and mainstream liberal) and the two anti-immigrant or 'hostile' groupings (active enmity and latent hostile).

This shows that large towns (75,000+ residents), medium towns (30,000-75,000 residents) and small towns (10,000-30,000 residents) are all, on average, likely to over-index for the proportion of residents in the hostile groupings.

Figure 1.

LSOAs where the largest segment is...

- ● Active Enmity
- ● Latent Hostility
- ● Immigration Ambivalence
- ● Cultural Concern
- ● Mainstream Liberalism
- ● Confident Multiculturalism
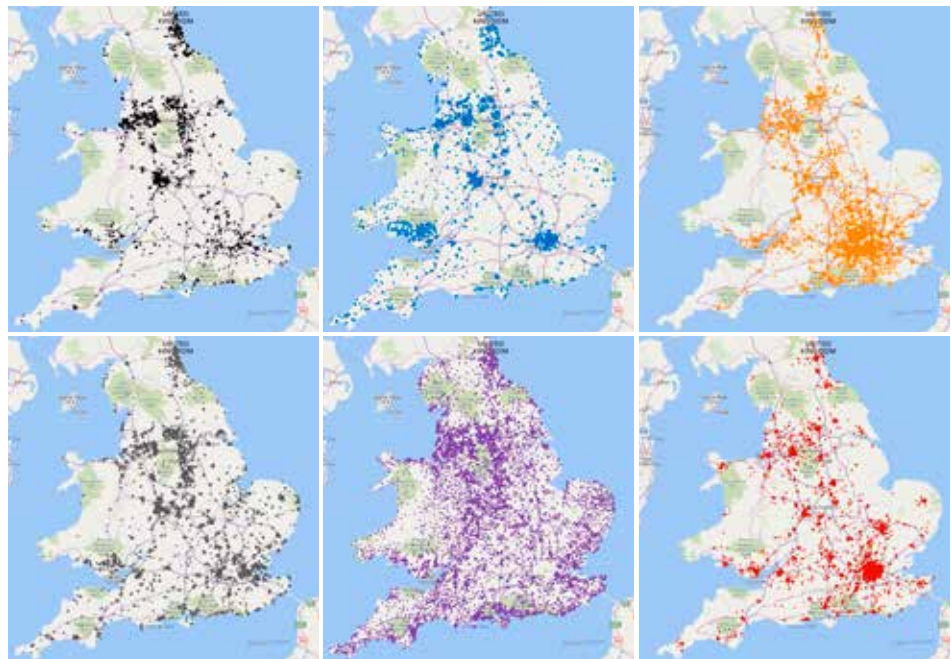
Figure 2. Fear and Hope attitudes to migration and diversity, by place size

Legend: ■ Hostile ■ Economically anxious ■ Culturally anxious ■ Liberal

Figure 3. Migration liberalism versus overall IMD score (larger settlements in England)

Legend:
○ Large towns and non-core cities
◉ Core cities
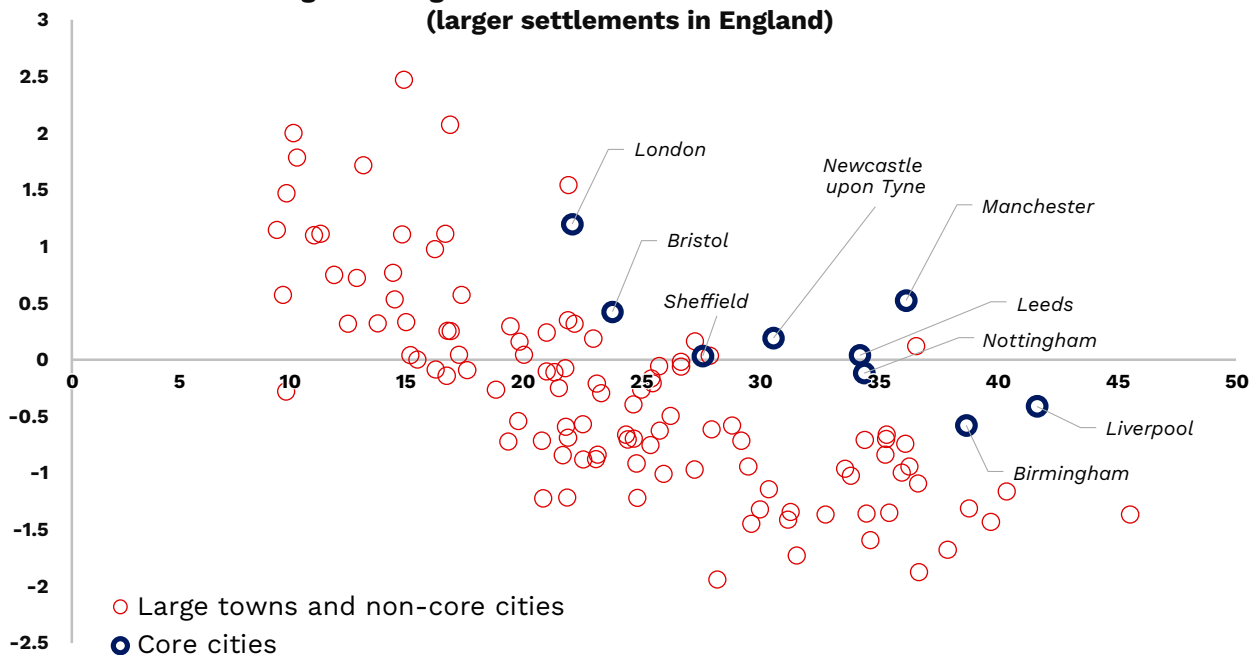
This is not the case for 'communities' (5,000-10,000 residents) or for villages (under 5,000 residents). And it is not the case for places with city status – including those, like Gloucester or Canterbury, which are similar in size to many of our towns.

In short, the uneven distribution of pro-migration sentiment is not simply a case of big settlements having more liberal attitudes than small ones. Whether thanks to towns being hit hardest by a redistribution of wealth through globalisation and the changing nature of work, or having undergone other changes in their status as places to live, there does seem to be a particular challenge for towns.

Figure 3 reiterates these patterns. The vertical axis shows migration liberalism based on our Fear and Hope data, with higher scores representing high support for migration and diversity. The horizontal axis shows overall deprivation scores from the indices of multiple deprivation, deduced by aggregating all the LSOAs within a town.

The chart suggests that, even once you set aside levels of deprivation, England's 'core cities' are more likely to hold liberal views on immigration.

This tugs at some of the central questions this report is looking to answer – namely, what are the resilience issues which are particular to towns? Why do they exist? And how can a 'levelling up' strategy mitigate them?

In starting to find answers, it is worth also looking at specific types of place sitting under the 'towns' umbrella. Through doing this can we observe large variations between categories of towns.

Figure 4 features six types of settlement from the Centre for Towns typology: New Towns, Commuter towns, University towns, Market towns, Coastal towns and Ex-industrial towns. Again, it shows whether the average place in each grouping over or under-indexes for the different attitude segments.

It suggests that residents in New Towns, Coastal towns and Ex-industrial towns are more likely to fit into the hostile groupings than those in Commuter towns, University towns and Market towns.

This is unsurprising in itself, given that these respective types of place have fared very differently in economic terms. But within this we observe interesting nuances.

For instance, Coastal towns are not as likely as Ex-industrial towns to over-index for hostility. But they do have significantly higher cultural concern. This may explain why many seaside resorts have provided fertile territory for culturally nationalist parties like UKIP, but not for far right parties like the BNP.

Indeed, far right parties have tended to do best in deprived areas with an industrial history and a sizable non-white population. Historically, they have stirred community tensions in these places, feeding fear by playing on anxieties about genuine hardship with stories about immigrants receiving preferential treatment, stealing jobs or going to the front of the queue for services.

New Towns, meanwhile, have higher levels of hostility, but do not significantly over-index for the two intermediate groupings – economic and cultural anxiety.

Figure 4. Fear and Hope attitudes, by town type

Legend: ■ Hostile ■ Economically anxious ■ Culturally anxious ■ Liberal
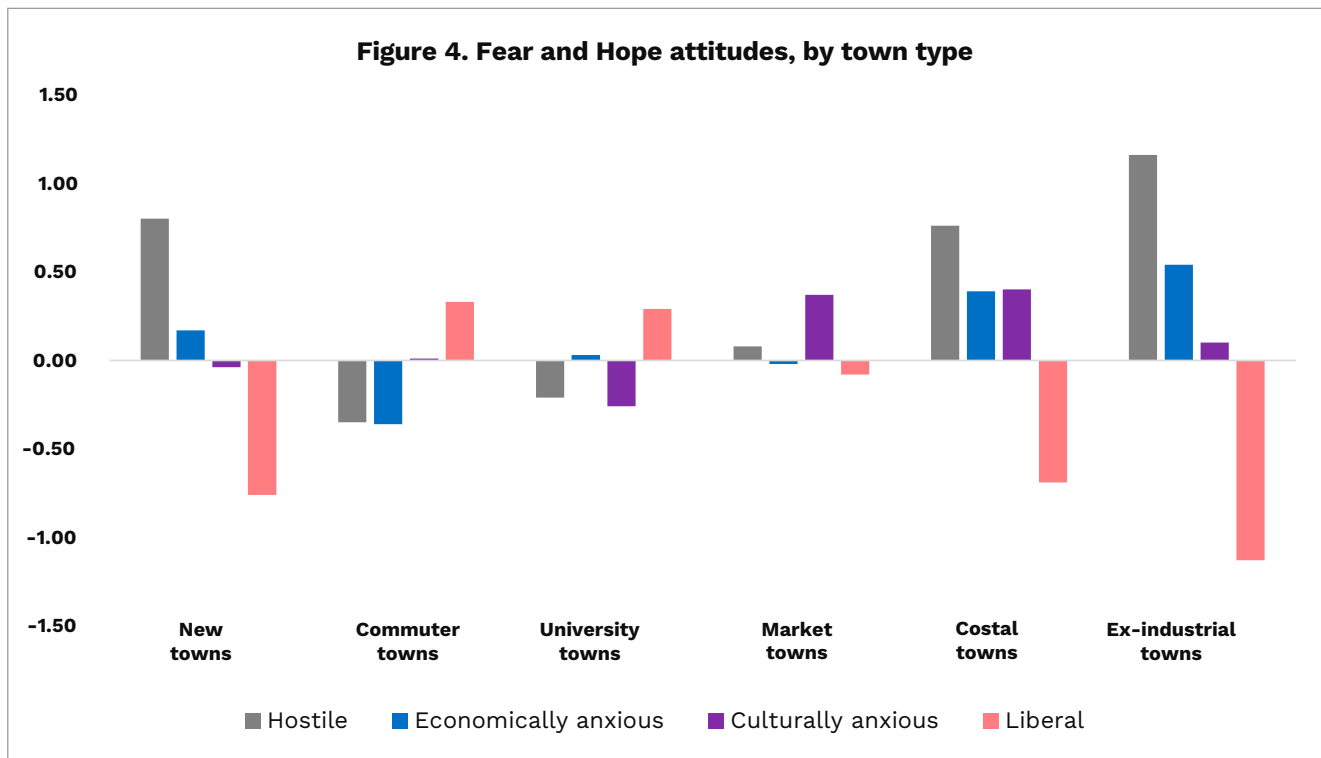
One hypothesis might be that New Towns have less economic or cultural history to draw upon – hence overt hostility acts as a lightning rod for all forms of migration anxiety. Either way, it is clear from the data that qualitative differences exist between the issues in New Towns and those in coastal or industrial areas.

Our segmentation was updated in 2019, to reflect the ways in which society changed as a result of the vote to leave the EU, as worldviews became shaped by Brexit identities. Nonetheless, we have taken the decision to apply the original Fear and Hope tribes here. This helps us to understand the concatenation of different factors and dynamics, which mean that some places are more resilient, or that certain types of town are more vulnerable to narratives of division.

Coastal towns are not as likely as Ex-industrial towns to over-index for hostility. But they do have significantly higher cultural concern. This may explain why many seaside resorts have provided fertile territory for culturally nationalist parties like UKIP, but not for far right parties like the BNP.
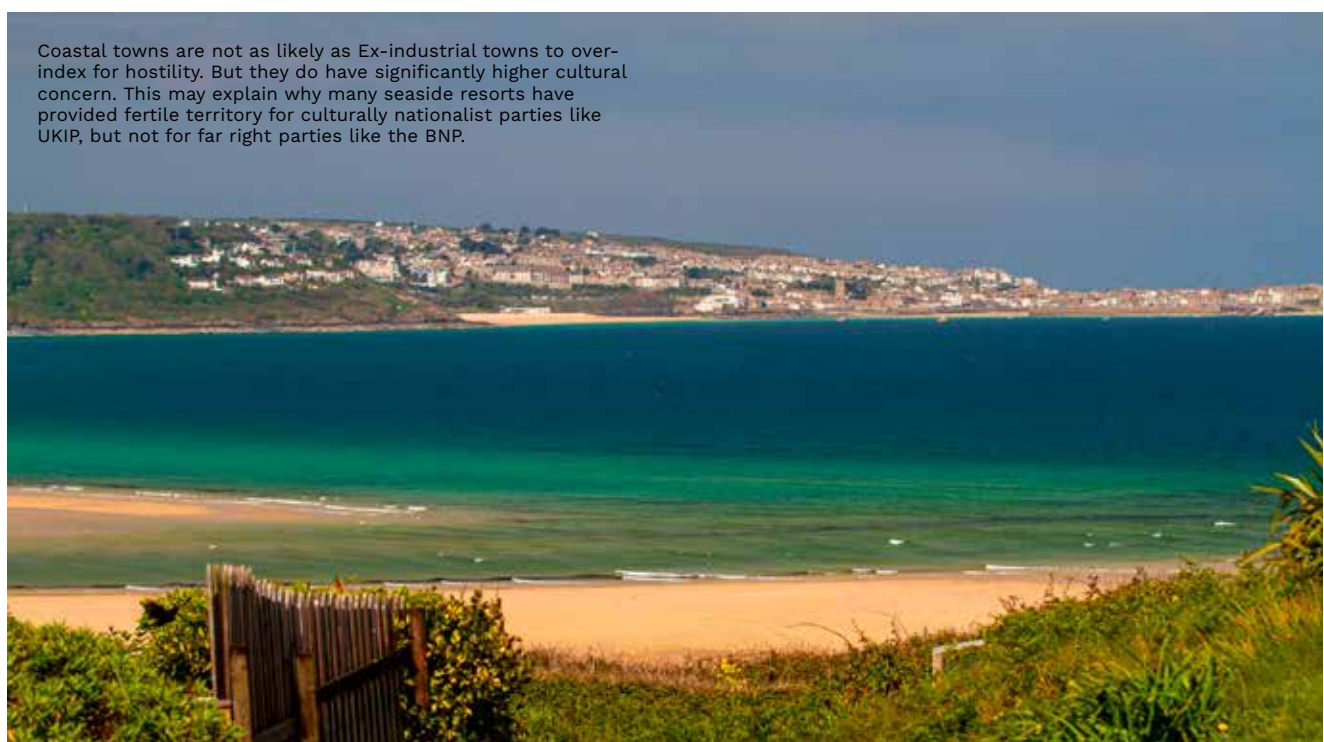
DEFINING TOWNS

In this report we use the Centre for Towns 'towns' definition, which offers a longlist of 862 places. These are settlements with a population of between 10,000 and 250,000. Larger conurbations are not included – meaning all of the country's 'core cities' do not feature (NB: note that there is no town larger than 250,000, according to our definition). However, the list does include 35 places with city status – the largest being Plymouth. There are two primary reasons why we have chosen to include these cities:

a) Small cities are frequently less hostile about migration, but not always for reasons that are immediately obvious. The likes of Canterbury and Lancaster provide a useful counterpoint to similarly sized towns, helping us to try and unpick what precisely makes them more liberal.

b) Just as importantly, there are a number of smaller cities which are hostile about migration, and which share similar resilience challenges to towns – whether thanks to de-industrialisation or a lack of connectedness. It seems important to include these places, even though they technically have city status.

Our remit here covers England and Wales but not Scotland or Northern Ireland – where the socio-political context is different. It should also be noted that the list of towns does not include anywhere in the Greater London Authority (GLA). Although there are places within the 32-borough GLA area which could arguably be described as self-contained towns – e.g. Romford or New Addington – these places are mostly infilled by the sprawl of London.

METHODOLOGY: THE TOWNS INDEX AND THE CLUSTERS

Our analysis is the result of an extensive inventory of the UK's towns, which we have named the towns index. By collecting together well over 100 data variables for each town, with support from, the Centre for Towns, we have mapped out the potential challenges for resilience across the 862 towns in England and Wales. The table below shows the broad types of data collected, and the full list of sources is available in Appendix B.

Data	Year
Indices of multiple deprivation (English IMD and Welsh WIMD deprivation), across all metrics	2019
Origins postcode analysis	2011-19
Identity polling, locally aggregated	2018
Far right and hard right activity	Various
Fear and Hope segmentation data	2016
Census data	2001-11
Travel data from transport providers	2015, 2017
COVID-19 impact data	2020
Economic data from ONS	Various (1995-2020)
Population data from ONS	Various (2002 up to 2024 projections)
Local authority level data	Various (2016-19)
Place markers	N/A

Figure 5. All

Plymouth (largest place)

Northampton (largest town)

Cannock (largest medium town)
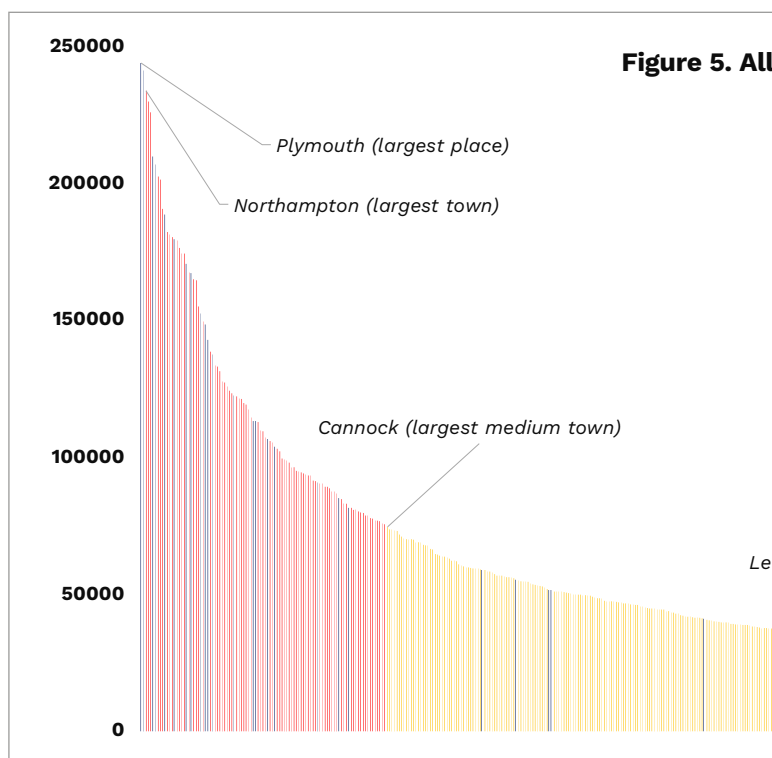
Level	Detail
LSOA	Deprivation relating to income, employment, education, crime, public realm, services etc.
LSOA and postal sectors	Ethno-cultural composition, change in the population, pace of change, migrant groups settling and departing, diversity
Local Authority (lower)	British, English and European identity, equivalent 2019 dataset used for Welsh identity
Town level/ postcode/ ward level	Signatures for 'Free Tommy' petitions, BNP and UKIP electoral outcomes, inventory of specific flashpoints
LSOA	Hostility and liberalism when it comes to migration attitudes, and whether anxieties are cultural or economic
LSOA	Age profiles, social grade makeup, highest qualification, occupation, housing tenure
LSOA	Distance by car and on foot to: major rail stations, town centres, economic hubs
Local authority (lower)	Deaths due to COVID-19, proportion of workforce furloughed
LSOA/ Local authority (lower)	Wage stagnation, decline in industrial jobs, changes in house prices, level of house price and affordability of housing relative to local economy
LSOA/ Local authority (lower)	Long-running and projected data on population change, internal migration, population churn, etc
Local authority (lower)	EU referendum vote and turnout, Risk of Automation, passport ownership, pub closures, asylum seeker settlement, deaths through drug overdoses and misuse
Town level	City status, county towns, edge of 'core city', professional football club, university, barracks, new town, medieval history, Red Wall, Port Town, Mill Town, seaside resort, etc

. the places looked at in this report, ordered by size of population

- ■ City status
- ■ Large towns (75,000 to 250,000 residents)
- ■ Medium towns (30,000 to 75,000)
- ■ Small towns (10,000 to 30,000)

tchworth (largest small town)

Aston Clinton (smallest place)

Some geographical datasets are more accurate than others, with those measured to local authority level being less precise. But taken together the different datasets provide a comprehensive audit for each town, from which we can build a better understanding of resilience.

Our approach to doing this has been based on grouping together 'clusters' of data criteria, which point towards similar conditions or outcomes. (These broadly fall into 5 wider themes, explained towards the start of Section 3).

The 14 factors/ characteristics which we have looked to build clusters around are outlined in the next section, along with a rationale for why we have honed in on them. And the clusters subsequently derived from this are listed in Section 4, including details about the criteria for each one.

In generating the clusters we have used the data in the index in different ways, to tease out a particular trait. We have used four data criteria to do this in the case of each cluster, to avoid anomalies and outliers, and to whittle down the grouping of towns so that it is as targeted as possible.

An obvious example is the 'cross-cutting deprivation' factor, which describes the impact of deprivation across all fronts. Towns within this cluster fulfil four traits: they score above average for overall deprivation, for income deprivation, for health deprivation and for education deprivation.

To avoid this being too restricted, we have also listed separately, for each cluster, the list of towns which fulfil three of the four traits.

So, to recap, there are essentially two elements which we are looking at in this report:

A. **The <u>level</u> of liberalism in a place, when it comes to migration, diversity and race relations**. This draws on our Fear and Hope data to establish a simple plus or minus score for each town.

b. **The <u>reasons</u> *why* a place might have lower liberalism**. These draw on almost all of the datasets described above, and are based on five themes, which can be broken down into...

■ Fourteen factors or characteristics, that form the basis for our clusters, developed from...

■ A plethora of individual datasets/ traits (e.g. IMD employment score, English identity polling)

The report focuses on the latter element (the reasons), but uses the former (the level) to sense check and cross-reference each factor. But the important point to make is that the two are not explicitly linked. A place could, theoretically, be

subject to many of the characteristics which traditionally feed migration hostility, without scoring highly for it, and vice versa.

Nonetheless, although we find significant variations in the strength of sentiment, we find almost no places that have multiple characteristics of low resilience but which remain very liberal – or that suggest high resilience but are hostile. Section 4 looks at this in more detail.

Figure 6.
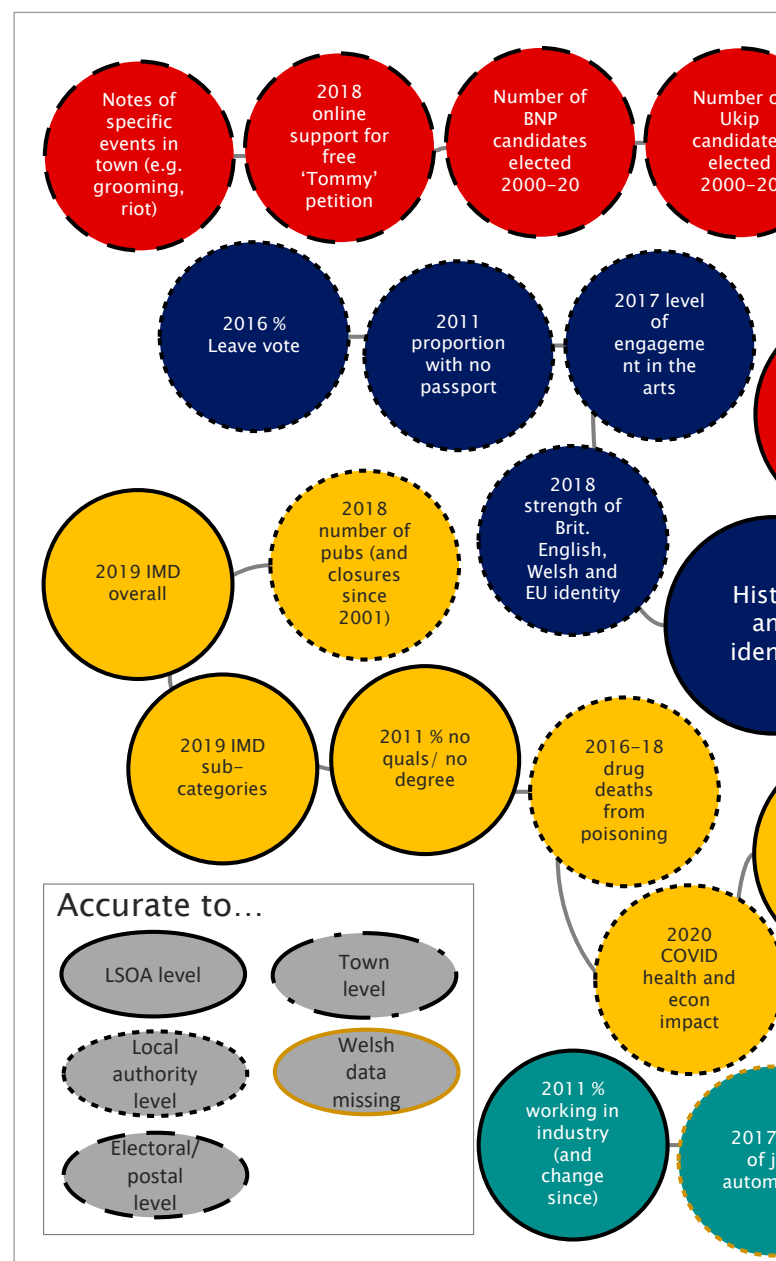
FEAR AND HOPE DATA'

In the week after the 2016 EU referendum, we polled 4,035 people across England. We then modelled this data onto Lower Super Output Areas (LSOAs) – small areas of around 1,600 people.

These were coded according to the affinity of the people who live there with each of the Fear and Hope 'tribes': Confident Multiculturals, Mainstream Liberals, Identity Ambivalent, Culturally Concerned, Latent Hostile and Active Enmity.

Of the 32,845 LSOAs identified, some clear trends emerged – especially when profiling the 100 areas which most closely associate with the most liberal and most hostile Fear and HOPE identity tribes.

The most hostile tribes are concentrated in areas which face significant socio-economic problems, ex-industrial areas and isolated coastal communities. Almost all are in towns, places which have experienced significant decline, with overwhelmingly white British populations, where work is scare, precarious, low-paid and low-skilled.

Conversely, the most liberal tribes are concentrated in major cities or in university towns, places where a university education is customary, where opportunities are abundant.

Fear and Hope (OLD segmentation)

Origins 2019: makeup of minorities, pace of change, diversity

Origins 2019: makeup of minorities, pace of change, diversity

Origins 2011: makeup of minorities, pace of change, diversity

2018 Asylum seekers per 10,000

2011 % students

Diversity/ migration

% of population 65+ (and increase since 2002)

2011 housing tenure (i.e. % private renters)

Far right footprint/ sentiment / specific events

Demographic

2011 ABC1C2DE social class

Datasets feeding into The Towns Index

Size of population (and increase since 2002)

2014–24 Projected 'Within UK' and non–UK migration

2018–19 population turnover

Population

Geographical tags

City status?

2015 travel time to nearest major rail station

County town

Social

2017 travel time to economic/ retail centres

CfT type 1 (e.g. village/ small town)

Old? (In the Doomsday book?)

Geography

CfT type 2 (e.g. market town)

Edge of 'core city'?

Mill town?

Resort?

Economic

Inside Red wall seat?

Next to the sea?

Small WITH uni campus?

Port town?

risk ob ation

2012–19 wage stagnation

2018 house prices, %s, (and change since 1995)

Professional football club?

Large, WITHOUT uni campus?

Barrack town?

THE IMPACT OF COVID-19 ON TOWNS

The full impacts of the coronavirus pandemic are yet to be seen. As this report goes to publication the country is still emerging from the crisis, and there is a serious risk of a second spike. While many are already feeling financial hardship following lockdown, the full economic impact of the crisis remains unclear.

With this said, there have already been a number of attempts to predict where the jobs market or the economy will be worst affected. The RSA think tank's briefing on the topic, for example, suggests that the worst hit places will be *"largely rural areas located in the north or south west of England. Many are national parks, coastal towns and other tourist hotspots where the economy is geared towards hospitality and retail."*[13]

Our partners at Centre for Towns, meanwhile, uses the 'proportion employed in shutdown sectors' as their central mode of analysis – exploring in detail accommodation, arts and leisure, pubs and restaurants, and retail. Again, the findings indicate a list of towns combining physical remoteness and reliance on tourism – with Newquay, Skegness, Whickham, Cleveleys and St Ives (Cornwall) topping the list.[14]

Another analysis for Tortoise Media, which looks at specifically at towns, identifies the settlements which saw the biggest drop in immediate sales thanks to the virus. The list includes the likes of Penrith, Penzance, Colwyn Bay and Whitby.[15] These are places which very much fit with the RSA and Centre for Towns analyses.

We have sought to build the potential consequences of COVID-19 into our own dataset, by including local authority data for a) the COVID-19 death rate during the peak of the crisis, and b) the proportion of the workforce furloughed.

These act as rough proxies, respectively, for where the immediate health impacts of the crisis hit hardest, and where the economy is least able to sustain a prolonged shutdown (i.e. where people are less able to work remotely, etc).

As the two maps in Figure 7 suggest, however, these respective types of impact – health and economics – will hit different parts of the country.

The health impact of the crisis was in networked urban centres. The economic impact – at least in terms of the proportion least able to work during lockdown, and thus likely to recover slowest – has hit remote tourist destinations and towns serving airports.

Within our index the towns hit hardest health-wise are in networked commuter areas (e.g. Potters Bar, Radlett) or in deprived areas with inner-city characteristics, like dense populations (e.g. West Bromwich, Luton).

The places where businesses have been most reliant on the furlough scheme to keep going, by contrast, include places built around air travel (e.g. Slough, Harlow) as well as a small towns reliant on tourism (e.g. Kendall, Stratford-upon-Avon). This seems to corroborate the various forecasts made by RSA Centre for Towns and co.

The table below lets us look at the top 40 towns for death rate and furlough rate respectively (bearing in mind that both only work to the level of the local authority which the town is within).

Figure 7.

COVID-19 death rate per 10,000 (first 6 weeks)

Under 2
2-4
4-6
6-8
8-10
Over 10

Proportion of workforce furloughed

Under 10%
10%-12%
12%-14%
Over 14%
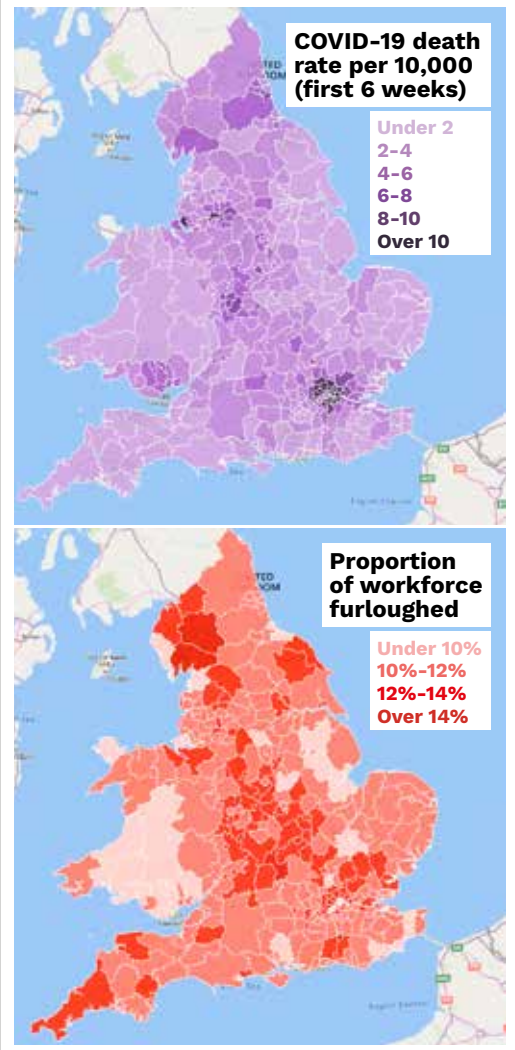
Top 40 towns for COVID-19 death rate per 10,000 residents (March 1st to April 17th)	
1. Bushey	9.63
2. Potters Bar	9.50
3. Borehamwood	9.46
4. Swinton	9.26
5. Eccles	9.26
6. Irlam	8.82
7. Radlett	8.75
8. Salford	8.09
9. Sutton Coldfield	7.52
10. Smethwick	7.13
11. Waltham Cross	7.05
12. Oldbury (Sandwell)	7.01
13. Tipton	7.01
14. West Bromwich	7.01
15. Walkden	7.00
16. Luton	6.91
17. Wednesbury	6.91
18. Watford	6.72
19. Chigwell	6.67
20. Rowley Regis	6.66
21. Middlesbrough	6.65
22. Bilston	6.64
23. Oldham	6.60
24. Shaw (Oldham)	6.60
25. Uppermill	6.60
26. Lees	6.53
27. Royton	6.50
28. Walsall	6.50
29. Chadderton	6.50
30. Willenhall	6.49
31. Aldridge	6.47
32. Wednesfield	6.47
33. Brownhills	6.47
34. Darlaston	6.47
35. Slough	6.46
36. Wolverhampton	6.44
37. Bloxwich	6.39
38. Hetton-le-Hole	6.28
39. Houghton-le-Spring	6.28
40. Washington	6.28

Top 40 towns for % of the population with employment furloughed (up to May 31st)	
1. Crawley	17.79
2. Kendal	15.78
3. Ulverston	15.78
4. Staveley	15.78
5. Tamworth	15.52
6. Penrith	15.13
7. Rugeley	14.78
8. Cannock	14.78
9. Great Wyrley	14.78
10. Redditch	14.59
11. Kidlington	14.21
12. Bicester	14.21
13. Banbury	14.21
14. Carlisle	13.93
15. Uttoxeter	13.58
16. Braintree	13.53
17. Halstead	13.53
18. Witham	13.53
19. Haverhill	13.53
20. Sudbury	13.53
21. Waltham Cross	13.52
22. Cheshunt	13.52
23. Slough	13.48
24. Poyle	13.48
25. Wellingborough	13.46
26. Bedworth	13.42
27. Atherstone	13.42
28. Ashby-de-la-Zouch	13.41
29. Coalville	13.41
30. Stratford-upon-Avon	13.40
31. Harlow	13.40
32. Whitby	13.34
33. Scarborough	13.34
34. Watford	13.33
35. Ashford (Spelthorne)	13.29
36. Bewdley	13.26
37. Worcester	13.25
38. Barnoldswick	13.24
39. Brierfield	13.24
40. Colne	13.24

The challenge, in the aftermath of COVID-19, will be to tease these elements apart – re-building society so that BME or migrant groups are not hit hardest next time there is a health crisis, while ensuring that remote towns do not come off worst in the subsequent economic fallout.

Within Section 5 we look in more detail at how the pandemic might affect different types of town within our index.

3. RISK AND RESILIENCE

SEPARATING OUT THE FACTORS

Figure 8 overlays the Fear and Hope data with Indices of Multiple Deprivation (IMD) data. We have included data for LSOAs which are among the top three deciles for deprivation but which also score highly for liberalism (pink), and those which are in the three most affluent deciles, but which over-index for hostility (black).

As this map suggests, deprivation and hostility are not always two sides of the same coin. Although often linked, there are a large number of communities which buck the trend in both directions – and thus, we can infer, a range of other factors at play.

Indeed the fact that these LSOAs are distributed as they are – with 'liberal deprived' areas almost exclusively in core cities, and 'hostile affluent' LSOAs invariably in smaller and more remote places – points to significant geographical, cultural and demographic factors.

Of course, there is an extent to which this merely reflects the fact that deprived inner-city areas are much more diverse – and that British and Asian communities are, are, on average, less likely to voice hostile attitudes towards multiculturalism

Over +1 for hostility, bottom 3 deciles for deprivation

Over +1 for liberalism, top 3 deciles for deprivation

Other LSOAs
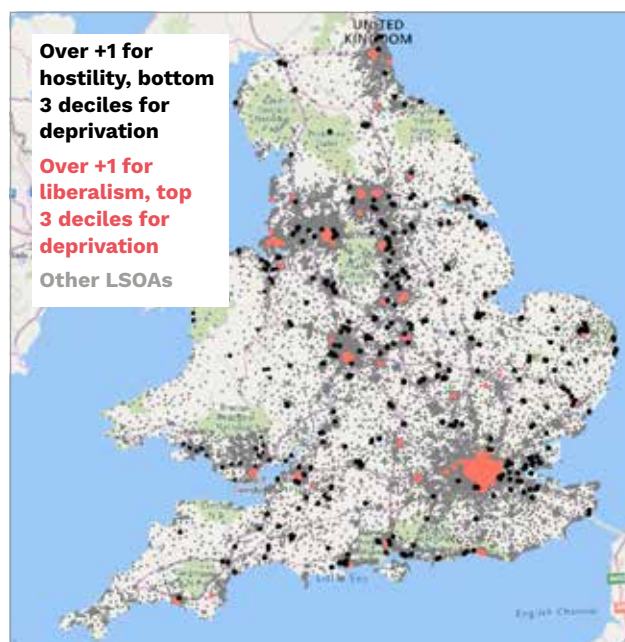
Figure 8.

and immigration. The visualisation below shows four scatter charts – the vertical axis for each one denoting whether an area over or under-indexes

Figure 9. Migrant liberalism versus IMD overall score (town and city LSOAs in England with BELOW average non-WB populations)

Figure 10. Migrant liberalism versus IMD overall score (town and city LSOAs in England with ABOVE average non-WB populations)

Inner city LSOAs (above average diversity)

Large town LSOAs (above average diversity)

Medium town LSOAs (above average diversity)

Small town LSOAs (above average diversity)
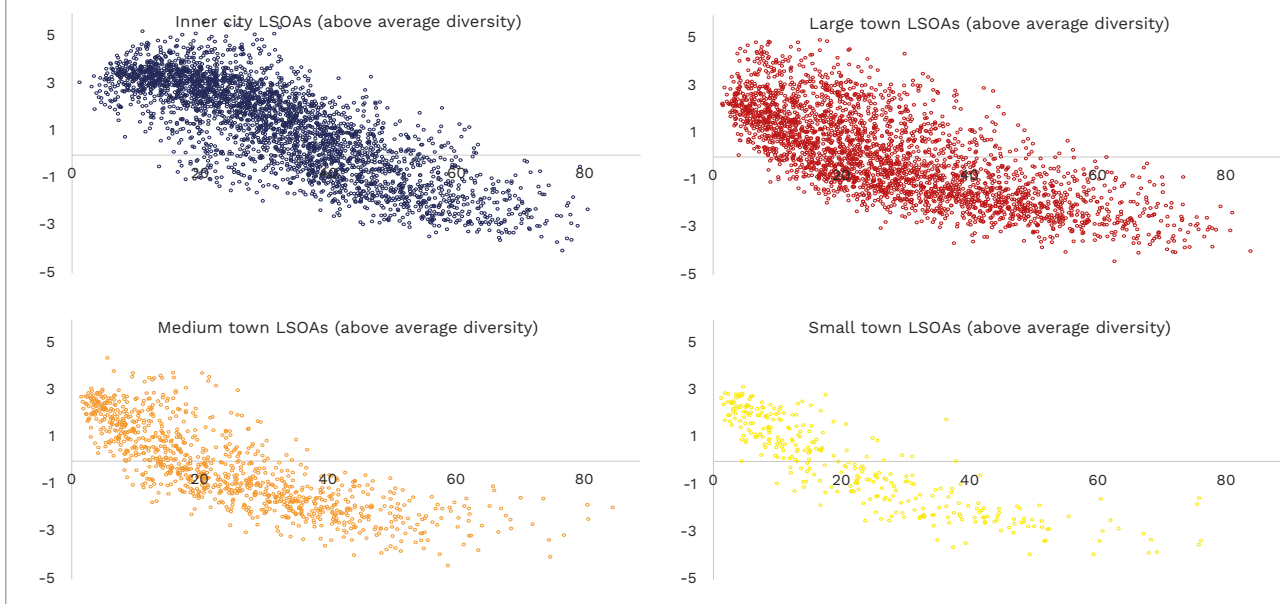
for migration liberalism, and the horizontal axis showing the IMD overall deprivation score.

Figure 9 shows LSOAs in city centres i.e. in inner London boroughs and within other 'core cities' (navy). LSOAs in large, medium and small towns are shown in red, orange and yellow respectively. The data shown above only includes LSOAs with non-white British populations (non-WB) that are below the UK average.

As we can see, better-off LSOAs in white British areas of city centres tend to be more liberal than similarly affluent LSOAs in towns. But there is not a major difference between deprived, white British areas in city centres and those in towns.

Figure 10, meanwhile, shows the same thing, but includes only the LSOAs where the non-WB population is above average. Here, the difference is a little more pronounced. We can see that diverse neighbourhoods in city centres generally remain migration liberal even if they score 40 or 50 for deprivation. In diverse LSOAs in large towns, by contrast, areas which score above 20 for deprivation quickly start to become more hostile.

This difference is subtle, but it suggests that diverse parts of city centres are more liberal towards migration than similarly diverse areas in towns.

This may relate to BME communities being more liberal about migration, although we should note that this is not always the case.[16] But it could also reflect deprived white British groups in urban, multicultural areas being more liberal thanks to contact with other groups or the greater range of cultural and economic opportunities on offer in city hubs. The precise balance here is hard to gauge.

Figure 11, meanwhile, features two maps showing the size of the non-WB populations by LSOA, against the strength of hostile and liberal sentiments, respectively.

The orange and red dots in the left map show neighbourhoods which have very large non-WB populations but which still have high hostility. The light green and dark green dots in the right-hand map show places with very small non-WB populations, but with high levels of migration liberalism.

For example, predominantly white British LSOAs in places like Harrogate, Chester and parts of Birkenhead score highly for liberalism. And there are a number of very diverse places in Lancashire and the West Midlands where hostility is high. This disrupts the idea that diverse areas are migration-liberal and non-diverse areas migration-hostile.

These examples demonstrate that there are too many outliers, in the cases both of deprivation and demographics, for these things alone to explain levels of hostility. There is no single, all-conquering explanation of why one town is positive about difference and change and another is not.

Instead, a large range of factors exist, which can enflame or dampen resilience. Understanding what these factors are can help us to better address the towns challenge.

TYPES OF RISK

So, why are some of our 862 towns more vulnerable to cohesion issues? Why have some provided fertile territory for the far-right and others not?

This report develops a series of 14 clusters,

Over +1 for hostility, above 80% non-WB

Over +1 for hostility, above 50% non-WB

Other LSOAs

Over +1 for liberalism, below 2.5% non-WB

Over +1 for liberalism, below 5% non-WB

Other LSOAs

Figure 11.
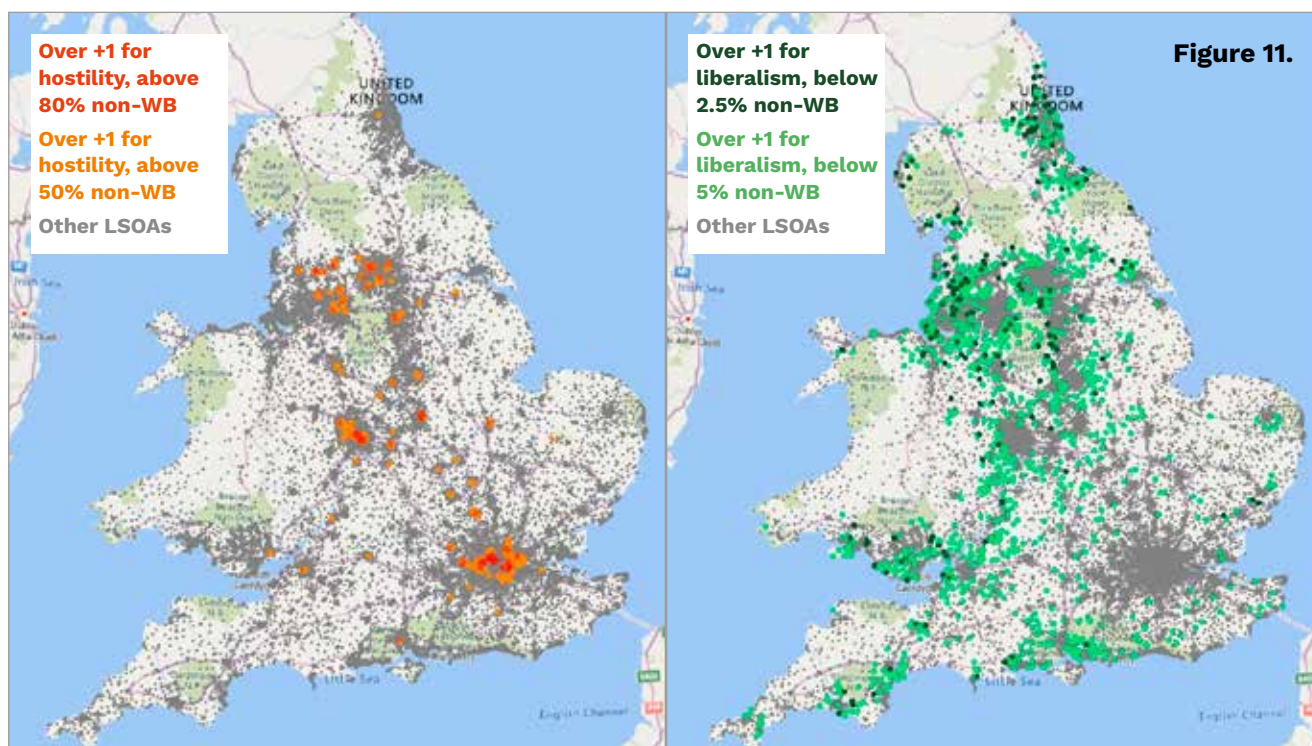
outlining a combination of factors which might lead certain places to be less resilient, based on characteristics which could heighten the vulnerability to non-inclusive narratives. The aim is to separate out the multitude of challenges that different types of place face when fostering resilience, in order to develop better solutions.

Figure 12 depicts these clusters. They are not exhaustive, but they pull together the standout traits which, when all else is set aside, seem most likely to feed narratives of decline and division, or to reduce community resilience.

Figure 12.

Potential resilience challenges

A. Traditional demographics
B. Visible decline
C. Shrinking and ageing
D. Uncertain industrial futures
E. Cross-cutting deprivation
F. Competition for resources
G. Rapid change
H. Migration in the community
I. Authoritarian footprint
J. Strong national identity
K. Fewer cultural opportunities
L. Fewer heritage 'assets'
M. Less connected
N. Coastal challenges

Although they are distinct, some of them loosely relate to each other. Hence the 14 clusters can be seen in terms of five broad themes: population-led (factor A); a sense of lost purpose (factors B-E); quick, competitive change (factors F-H); a quest for identity (factors I-L), and geographical marginalisation (factors N-M).

This section will outline the rationale behind each of these 14 factors – drawing on secondary research as well as data analysis based on our towns index.

In doing this, we are able to ascertain correlation, but not causation. For example, in looking at attitudes in asylum dispersal areas, the data shows that these places tend to be less liberal when it comes to migration. But we cannot determine that asylum settlement has had an impact on local attitudes, or that they are less liberal because they are more deprived areas.

With many of these 'cause and effect' questions, the answer is usually a combination of effects. But by flagging the multitude of factors in a given town, we are able to identify patterns.

A.   TRADITIONAL DEMOGRAPHICS

It could be argued that focusing too heavily on place-based issues underestimates the effects of certain demographic traits, which correspond with hostility to immigration and tend to be far more common in certain types of place than in others. A 2010 study of the BNP, for example, found that "older, less educated working-class...white men" were the main group drawn to the far right.[17] While it acknowledged local factors, the existence of

these demographics was important for the far right in getting a foothold.

Polling – including Fear and Hope analysis – has long backed this up, with migration liberalism being more consistent among younger groups or graduates, and older, working-class demographics being more hostile.[18]

So, before we look at more explicitly 'place' driven elements, our first factor, 'traditional demographics', simply looks at places where this grouping is most common. It relates to the makeup of town populations when it comes to class, age, race, nationality and education level (we have not included gender because this does not vary a great deal).

Thus, it stands to reason that places whose populations fit this description tend to be less positive about migration.

And this is reflected in our index data – particularly when it comes to education and social grade. The scatter chart in Figure 13, for example, shows whether the town over or under-indexes for migration liberalism, according to Fear and Hope scores (vertical axis) versus the percentage that are degree-educated in the town (horizontal axis).

As the trend line shows, the correlation is clear. And when we do the same thing by social grade, the outcomes are similarly pronounced.

The parallels between migration sentiment and the proportion that is white British, meanwhile, are less obvious but are still present. Figure 14 shows migration liberalism (vertical) against the percentage with white British names – i.e. names of Anglo-Saxon or Celtic heritage.[19]

Figure 13. Migration liberalism versus proportion degree-educated

Axis label (vertical): Migration liberalism

Legend: ● Large towns   ● Medium towns   · Small towns   .... Linear (Small towns)
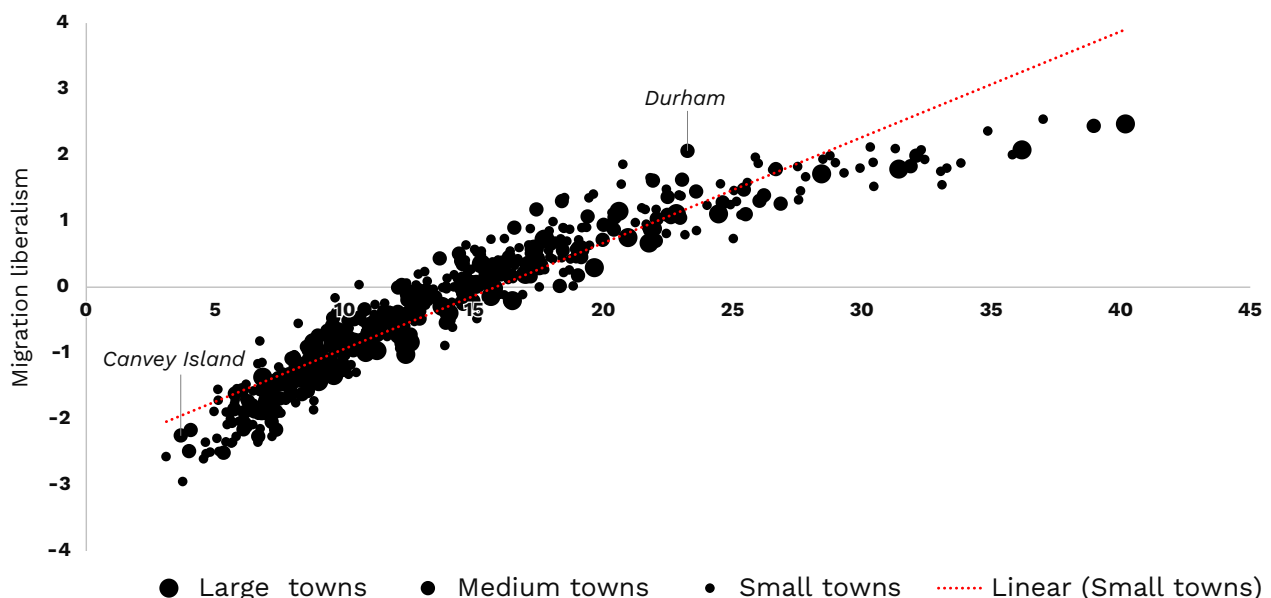
Figure 14. Migration liberalism versus % of population English or Celtic origin names

● Large towns   ● Medium towns   · Small towns   ······· Linear (Small towns)
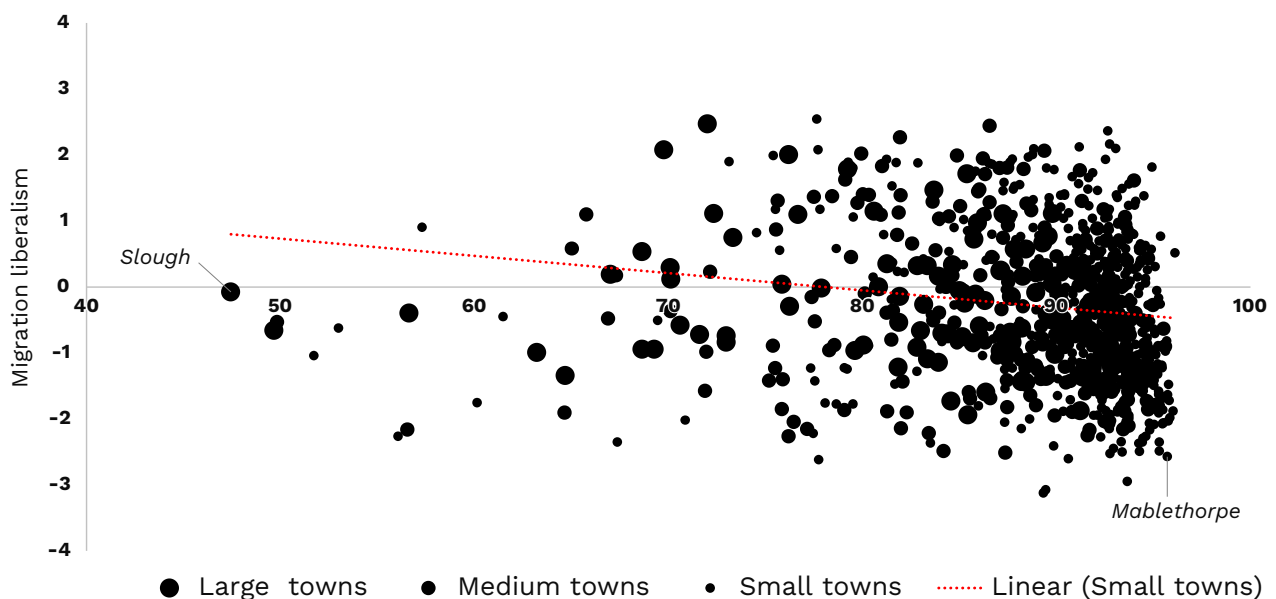
There are a number of outliers here, with places that have smaller white British populations varying quite a lot, a phenomenon we will look at later. Nonetheless, places that are overwhelmingly white British are, on balance, more likely to over-index for hostility. The 45 towns within our index that are more than 95% white British – places like Workington or Abertillery – are, according to the Fear and Hope data, around four times less liberal on immigration than the average town.

This generates a large degree of speculation – relating to everything from white identity to resistance to change to a greater sense of entitlement among white populations. Anxieties about migrants and minorities are often, fundamentally, about race. Although most people follow anti-racist norms, among many white British people, anxieties about immigration often stem from engrained racist beliefs and white racial grievance. Of course, much immigration in the UK, particularly to towns, is from within the EU with large numbers of white migrants arriving from Eastern European to work in the UK. However, these groups are often racialized as other by British whites.[20]

Another explanation for this is down to where people live. Sometimes, rapid immigration or increased diversity can trigger 'white flight', whereby white populations who feel threatened by demographic changes to their locality move out to whiter areas.

Nonetheless, national identity in Britain has rarely being seen in purely ethnic terms[21] – and our data suggests that to a large extent, opposition to immigration in areas with very large white British populations is more a result of experiences of

difference. People in very ethnically homogenous places will have had less personal encounters with others from different racial, national or religious groups to themselves, and as a result, are more susceptible to narratives about the supposed 'failure' of multiculturalism.

This could be reinforced if the majority white British population is similar in other ways – i.e. in terms of age and education. In places where people are demographically very similar there is likely to be much higher 'bonding' capital (defined as "links to people based on a sense of common identity...such as family, close friends and people who share our culture or ethnicity). And there may be an absence of 'bridging' capital with those who are different.[22]

Age is a curious factor here, and the correlations are less clear within our data – despite wider polling evidence suggesting that older people are less in favour of migration.

Generally, age correlates heavily with cultural anxiety about migration, but much less with overt hostility. Towns with older populations tend, all other things being equal, to score highly in terms of the milder 'cultural concern' sentiment, even if they are no more likely than younger places to feel overt hostility.

A great deal of caution is required on all of the above points – particularly when it comes to class and race. For instance, the Commission for Diversity in the North found that an increased political focus on the 'white working class' meant that inequalities faced by migrants and ethnic minorities in northern regions were being overlooked.[23]

However, it does seem, overall, that resilience to change and difference is likely to be lower in towns which are predominantly white British, older than average, social grade C2DE and non-university-educated.

B. VISIBLE DECLINE

Broken Windows Theory (published in 1982) emphasises that if people feel that an area is deteriorating then social capital is harder to foster.[24] Visible decline tends to fuel the idea that the place and its people are not valued.

This applies in a very direct way to UK towns. An LGA report found that *"For many the most visible signs of diminishing community spirit are the loss of pubs and social clubs, post offices, and local bakers or butchers, and their replacement with take away outlets, nail painting bars...or boarded up outlets that no one wants to rent."* [25]

Meanwhile the Community Wellbeing Index, put together by the Co-op and the Young Foundation, describes 'Housing, space and environment' as one of its nine central pillars for community wellbeing. The authors write of research feeding into the index in which *"people spoke about how broken shop windows, pollution, litter, fly tipping, dog fouling and damage to the natural environment decreased their community wellbeing."*[26]

This also relates to the loss of community infrastructure – austerity cuts having altered the way our towns look and feel, with the closure of community centres and libraries reducing communal spaces – while independent businesses have struggled to survive with the growth of out of town shopping centres.

In The Coventry Study, a major piece of research on the attitudes of American white working class communities, this was found to be a driver of cultural anxieties. One passage described how: *"Looking back, the community and neighbourhood which they had known had been largely white and working class, containing a social infrastructure of churches, social clubs, bars, and grocery stores that provided common points of reference. The reality was that this had been all but swept away by demographic changes."*[27]

Often, this marks out deprived town areas from inner-city neighbourhoods with significant deprivation. Very deprived areas in central Manchester, central London or central Bristol often have intensified challenges around inequality and the cost of living, for example. But these areas less often have the obvious hallmarks of decline or disrepair which boarded-up pubs or conspicuous drug use can come to represent.

Figure 15 shows, for our 862 towns, the Fear and Hope migration liberalism estimates (vertical axis) versus IMD living environment deprivation (horizontal). The living environment metric refers to housing quality as well as to issues like air quality and road accidents.

The chart shows a mild correlation between high living environment deprivation and low migration liberalism – especially in places with run down living environments. 60 towns score very highly (above 30.0), and this group of places are almost three times as likely to index for hostility to diversity and migration as the average town.

Figure 15. Migration liberalism versus living environment deprivation
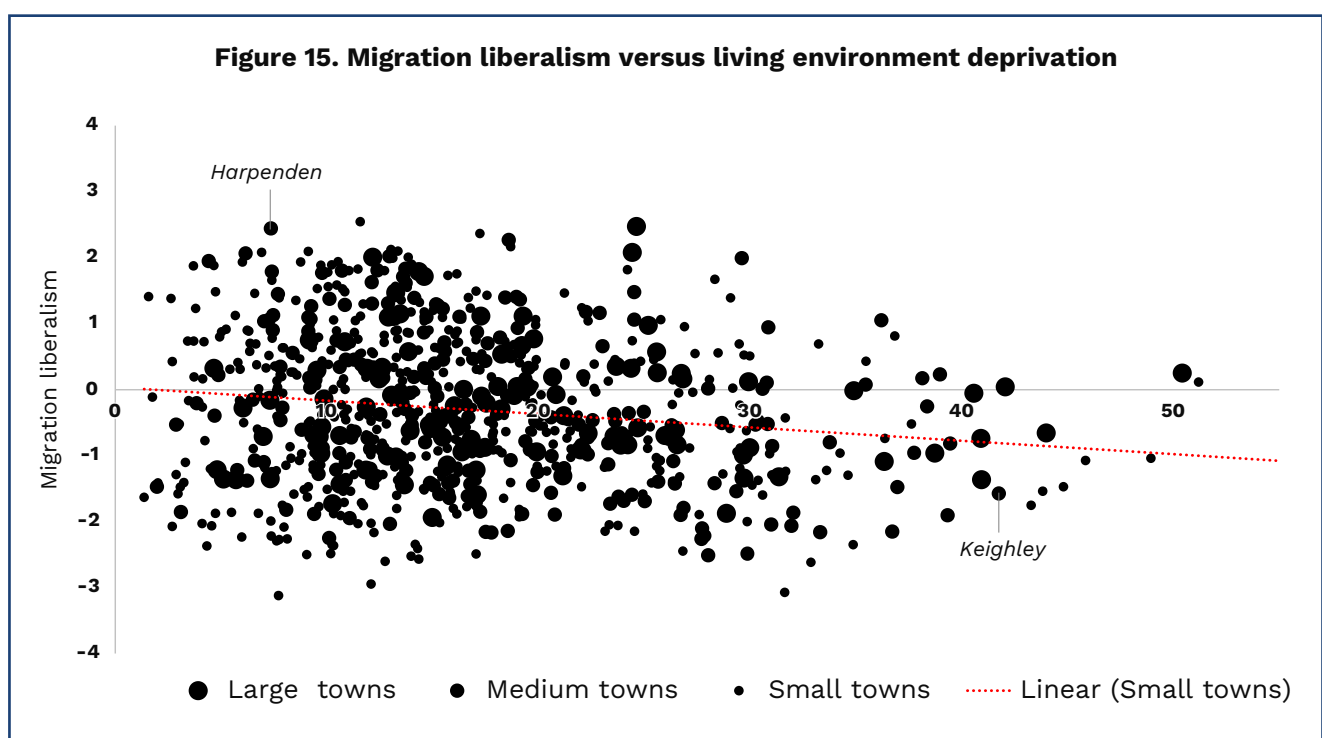
Figure 16. Migration liberalism versus % change in number of pubs between 2001 and 2018
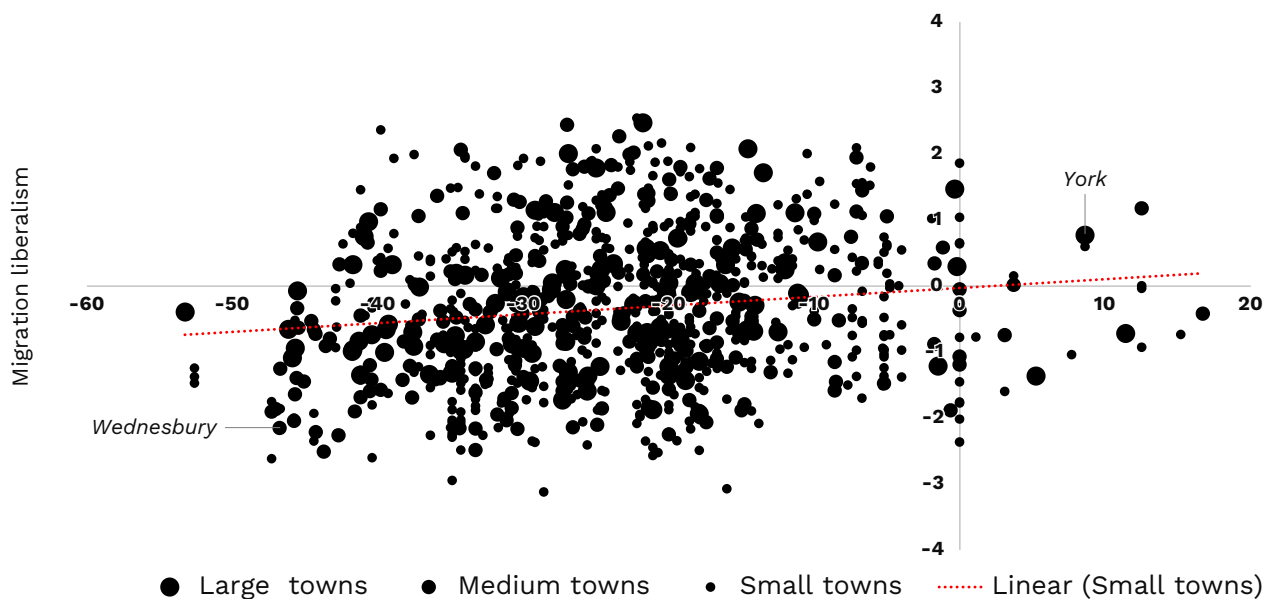
Figure 16, meanwhile, shows a parallel between the change in the number of pubs in a town and the attitudes to immigration. Pubs are shutting across the UK, but places with less closures tend, on average, to be more liberal.

The same goes for extensive drug use, poor community safety and high crime – with the latter tallying, in a particularly clear way, with hostile sentiment.

In the National Conversation on Immigration, local concerns about neighbourhood decline and low-level anti-social behaviour were expressed widely, though often focused on small areas of just one or two streets where there were new communities living in overcrowded and poorly maintained housing. Where such housing is concentrated in particular areas, it can lead to associations between migration and neighbourhood decline. Overflowing bins, street drinking and groups of men who 'hang around' can add to community tensions.

Indeed, a project by IPPR and Migration Yorkshire found that *"Perceptions of migration can be shaped by other issues in a neighbourhood, even where these issues are not necessarily connected [such as] perceptions of challenges related to...the neighbourhood environment and crime and safety. Neighbourhood changes more broadly could combine with migration to the local area to fuel hostilities."[28]*

Visible decline is thus a characteristic which can exacerbate tensions, creating tangible symbols of deterioration and loss, and fuelling narratives which claim that newcomers do not respect the neighbourhood.

C.   SHRINKING AND AGEING

Research from the Centre for Towns into the age profile of places in the UK brings to light stark patterns over the past four decades.[29] Smaller places are growing older and larger places are getting younger – with the biggest 'core cities' getting younger fastest, and the smallest villages ageing most quickly.

This reflects changes in the UK's economic geography, highlighted in Section 1. The decline of traditional employment sectors means younger generations increasingly move to big cities for work.

This has wider implications, with town populations falling or stabilising thanks to the departure of younger cohorts. Towns where populations are actively shrinking are ageing at twice the pace of the average town. Alongside this, there may be sluggish house price increases.

78 of the 862 towns in our index have seen their populations fall in real terms since 2002. Most of these places are smaller settlements, like Peterlee in County Durham, but the list also includes larger places, like Sunderland, Burnley, and South Shields. The average level of hostility in shrinking places like this is around half again that for towns as a whole. Hence, as Figure 17 shows, there is a moderate relationship between slow population growth and low migrant liberalism.

Meanwhile, there are 32 towns in our index where house prices have less than doubled since 1995. These slow-growth places are four times as hostile to migration, according to Fear and Hope figures, as towns are overall. We can see this in Figure 18.

Figure 17. Migration liberalism versus 2002–2018 population growth

Migration liberalism (y-axis)

Milton Keynes

Bootle

● Large towns   ● Medium towns   ● Small towns   ⋯⋯ Linear (Small towns)
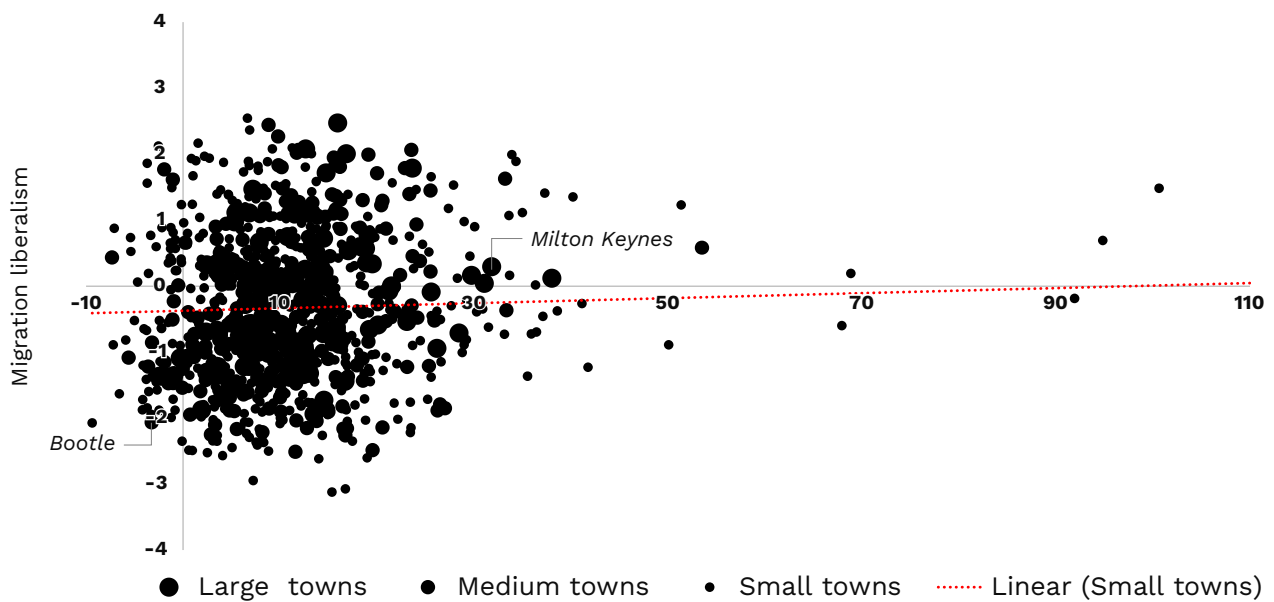
Interestingly, the correlations with low migration liberalism do not exist when it comes to ageing towns. This is partly due to the fact that, as we have seen already, older people over-index for affinity with the Culturally Concerned Fear and Hope tribe; ageing places have higher social conservatism, but do not necessarily have overt hostility.

But it also reflects the UK's ageing population as a whole settling in smaller towns and villages.

Wetherby in Yorkshire, for example, is a migration liberal place, but is nevertheless becoming older – perhaps thanks to affluent retirees moving there or to the overall life expectancy being longer in well-off communities.

We would nevertheless infer that if a town is both ageing and contracting in other senses (i.e. falling populations, stagnant house prices), serious long-term questions arise for what the area's future looks like. Such towns are likely to become

Figure 18. Migration liberalism versus % change housing prices between 2002 and 2019

Migration liberalism (y-axis)

Hitchin

Skelmersdale

● Large towns   ● Medium towns   ● Small towns   ⋯⋯ Linear (Small towns)
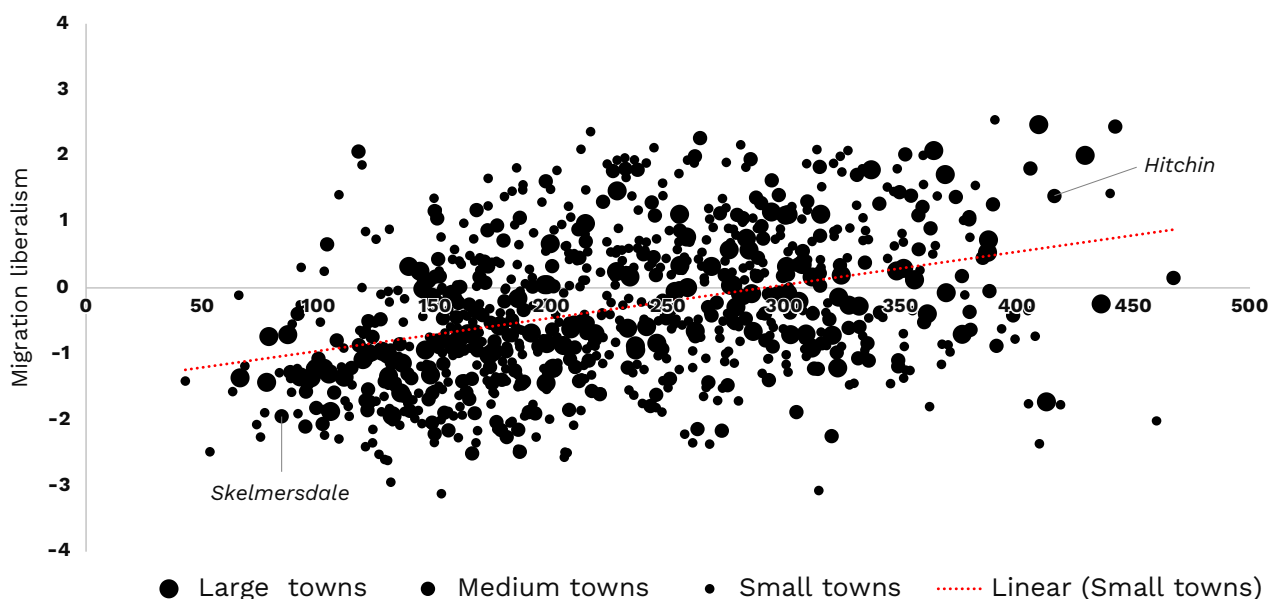
PORT TALBOT

As part of our wider Hopeful Towns project, we have been working with community leaders and local decision-makers in two areas – Port Talbot in South Wales and the Gravesend/ Northfleet urban area in Kent. We wanted to understand some of the underlying challenges and potential solutions.

Port Talbot is a medium-sized town on the South Wales coast, stretching along the north-east shore of Swansea Bay. It boasts a glittering cultural history, a strong sense of community, and genuinely breath-taking natural surroundings. However, headlines about the town are dominated by the Port Talbot Steelworks.

Like many industrial towns, Port Talbot has a complicated relationship with its traditional industry. 4,000 people work at the steelworks – fewer than the 18,000 that did in the 1960s, when the works were the largest single employer in Wales, but still enough to impact nearly every household in Port Talbot. The works are a defining part of the Port Talbot skyline and, while the town has much more to offer and much more to say, any conversation about its future that

doesn't mention steel feels incomplete. Some of those we spoke to locally said that this made it hard for other parts of the town's culture and identity to cut through.

***

Some of Port Talbot's community leaders believe that the key to fostering hope lies in changing perceptions about the town. The steel headlines often mean that Port Talbot is defined by its industry rather than the more organic parts of the community's identity: its personality, its environment, and its culture.

There is a genuine warmth to the town - a common theme in every conversation we had there. Large amounts of social capital create an openness and a sense of belonging in Port Talbot that's hard to find elsewhere. The far right have never established a presence on the local council despite UKIP and Brexit Party campaigning across much of south Wales. Strong community ties - alongside the town's active BME Community Association and faith groups - play an important role in stemming the alienation and isolation that can create a foothold for the far right.

Port Talbot
Photo: Steve, geograph.org.uk

The natural environment is a core part of Port Talbot's identity, with the town centre acting as a divider between its 'green and blue' sides. To the southwest is Aberavon Beach, one of Wales' longest beaches and a popular surfing destination. And heading north east takes you into the expansive Margam and Afan forests.

Indeed, Port Talbot's surroundings are a core source of community pride, and are considered by many of the people we spoke to as key to the town's future. They may also explain some of the more positive recent economic indicators, like rising house prices.

Port Talbot's cultural history is also impressive, and the town boasts native sons in Michael Sheen, Sir Anthony Hopkins and Richard Burton. It has set the scene for important events in British culture, including Port Talbot's 72-hour and 13,000-strong retelling of *The Passion* - which remains "the most ambitious piece of theatre Wales has ever seen" (BBC). More recently, *We're Still Here* was a critically-acclaimed, site-specific production that told the story of the 'Save Our Steel' campaign through local voices.

While many references to Port Talbot's cultural legacy express a quiet surprise at such prolific artistic output, many of the people we met considered the production of culture to be as inherent to the town as the production of steel.

***

The steelworks are still a central part of Port Talbot's identity, and are a deciding factor in the material conditions of many who live there. While some community leaders are bored of talking to the rest of the world about the fate of British steelmaking, there's an anxiety about Port Talbot's economic future and the wellbeing of its inhabitants.

Warmth, nature and art may be less complicated cornerstones of the town's identity. But the pressure they face following years of austerity is unlikely to be eased by the fallout of COVID-19. The town's future could depend on how it balances the industry it formed around and the strong culture that has grown up alongside this.

map: wikimedia.org

PORT TALBOT

steadily more conservative on questions around British identity and culture – even if this does not immediately spill over into overt hostile anger or activism.

D. UNCERTAIN INDUSTRIAL FUTURES

The Resolution Foundation showed, in its analysis of the 'Red Wall' seats won by the Conservatives in 2019, that wage stagnation was a definitive factor for voters. These seats had *"fallen behind relative to other areas over the course of the 2010s."*[30]

Separate to the analysis based on our towns index, the HOPE not hate Charitable Trust have carried out polling in Red Wall seats. This shows disproportionate economic pessimism in these places (there is some more detail on this in the feature about Red Wall Towns on page 70).

Irrespective of the implications for Britain's two

Figure 19. Migration liberalism versus 2001-2011 change in % doing industrial jobs
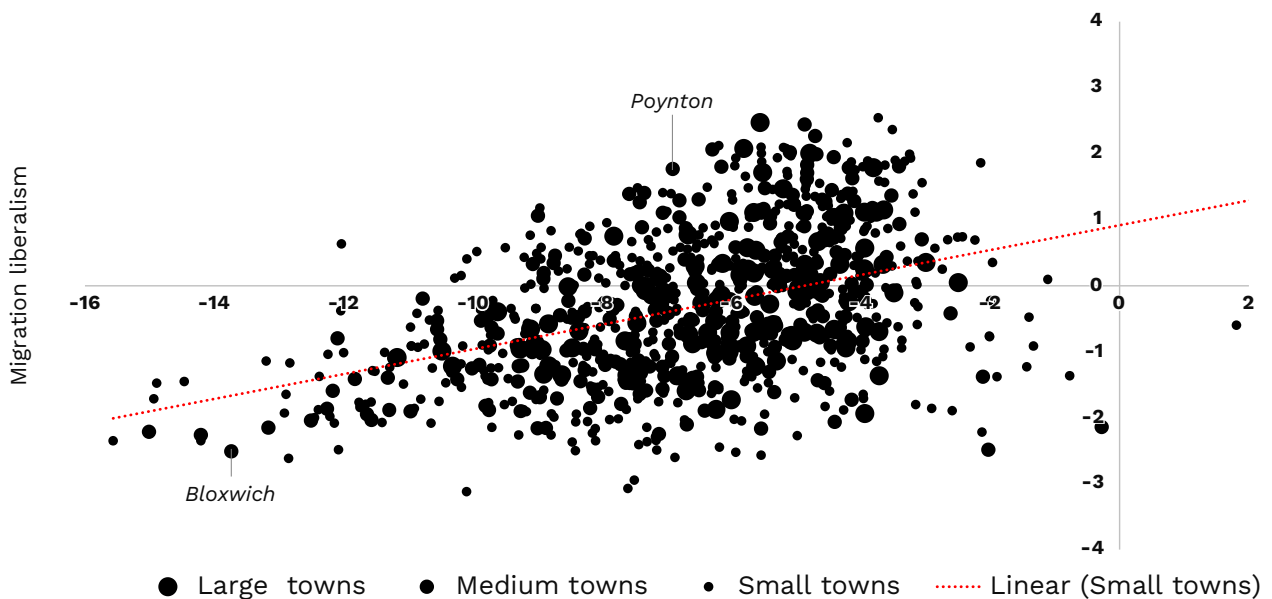
Figure 20. Migration liberalism versus % risk of automation
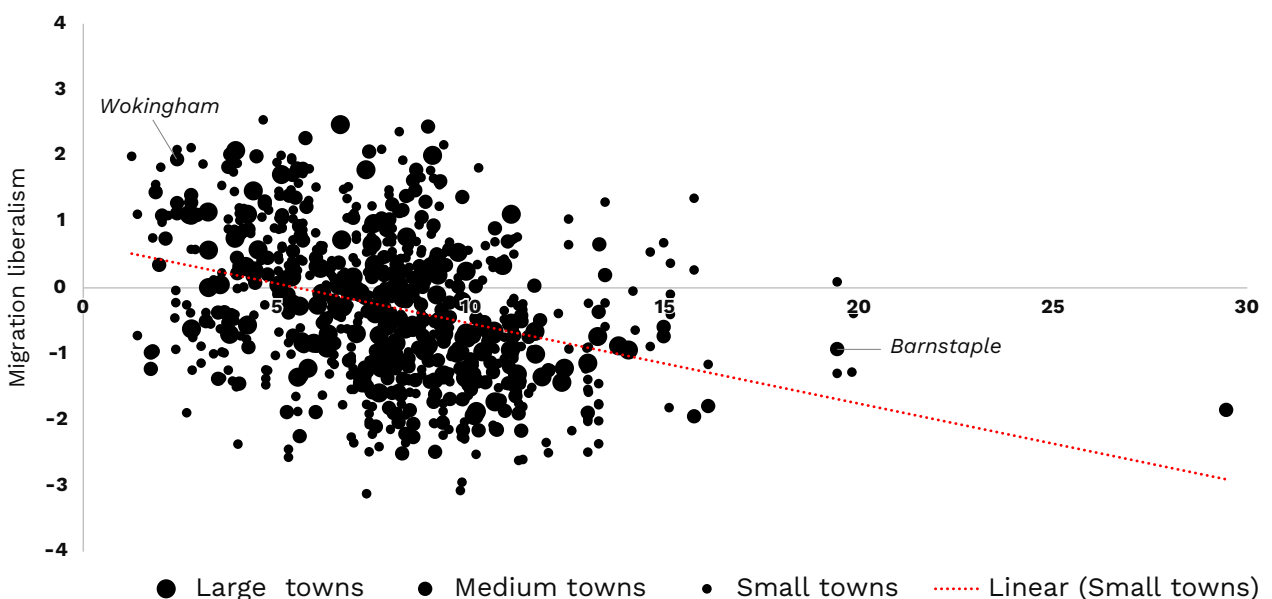
main parties, this implies that wage stagnation and economic stasis could be a significant factor in understanding the political undercurrents in British towns.

We have tried, using the index data, to look at this. The correlations between wage stagnation and hostility to migration are not, according to our research, as marked as you might expect. This is partly because the data in our index is somewhat skewed by a cluster of liberal and well-off Surrey towns, which also saw wages fall dramatically during the 2010s – perhaps due to large numbers working in the post-crash financial sector.

Nevertheless, there can be no doubt that a link exists between uncertain employment prospects and heightened hostility.

One academic paper finds that decline solidifies nativism, with economic and cultural identities reinforcing each other. *"Cultural backlash is a result of long-term inequalities in economic performance between areas benefiting from structural economic changes...and regions engulfed in a long-term economic decline."* [31]

Figure 19 plots migration liberalism (shown, as always, on the vertical axis) against the change in the proportion doing industrial jobs, such as mining and manufacturing. Almost every town saw Significant decline in industrial jobs during the 2000s. But for those towns with the greatest decreases, the levels of hostility are highest.

Similarly, Figure 20 shows migration liberalism against the likelihood of jobs in the area being automated in the near future – based on analysis by the ONS. Places where there is a greater risk of workers becoming obsolete are potentially less resilient when it comes to migration.

Like shrinking and ageing, uncertain industrial futures thus is a factor which overlays with a sense of local decline. However, it refers more to places with immediate challenges relating to economic prospects and job opportunities, than to longer-term existential questions.

The economic impact of COVID-19 will have a large contribution to this. Aforementioned work by the RSA suggests that deprived areas in the North and in the South West are prone to be worst hit by the economic impacts following the coronavirus outbreak.[32] The likelihood is that the impact of coronavirus will destabilise already uncertain industries and disproportionately affect those in manual jobs.

E. CROSS-CUTTING DEPRIVATION

Migration hostility is closely tied to the fifth factor undercutting resilience: deprivation. Communities with high deprivation are usually the most suspicious of change and difference.

This was repeatedly shown in our Fear, Hope and Loss report. It applies with income and job prospects, as well as with deprivation relating to education and health.

The impacts of austerity, especially on local government funding, have exacerbated this, creating in many areas a culture of scarcity. The data used to understand deprivation in this report is from 2019, so acknowledges the impacts of the budget reductions since 2010.

Figure 21. Migration liberalism versus overall IMD deprivation score
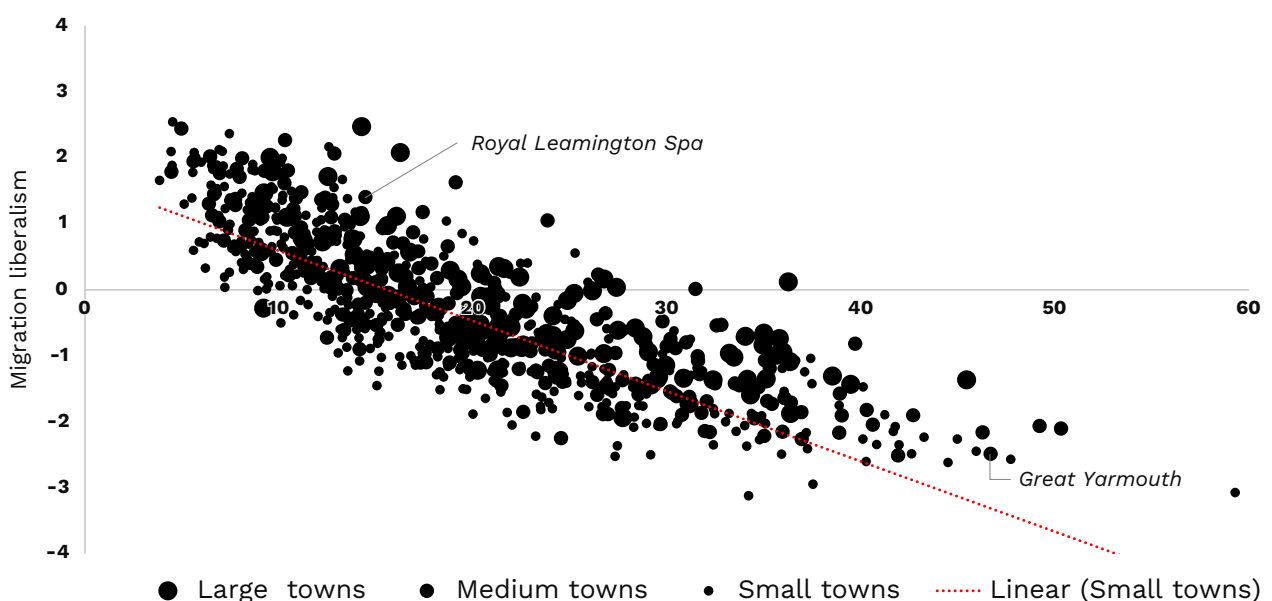
As discussed in Section 2, there is an attitudinal difference between deprivation in diverse areas and that in non-diverse ones. Places with high deprivation can buck the trend – in areas with a history of migration, where there are more cultural and economic opportunities. Indeed, despite being among the poorest groups in the UK on many fronts, Britain's BME communities remain more migration liberal. The Local Trust have quite rightly pointed out that the types of areas they term 'left behind' are "distinctive and different from those that have traditionally been the focus of debate[s] around deprivation."[33]

However, it remains the case that, of the 352 places which over-index for deprivation, 333 also over-index for hostility. (The 19 exceptions include a number of small cities, like Truro, Worcester and Lancaster). Figure 21 which plots overall deprivation against migration liberalism, illustrates this.

Hence, while a range of other factors dampen or enflame resilience, deprivation remains a highly significant corollary.

F.   COMPETITION FOR RESOURCES

'Competition for resources' is the factor whereby economic pressures on jobs and services, combined with rising populations, feed narratives about there not being 'enough to go round' – leading people to blame migrant groups.

In the National Conversation on Immigration, for example, anxieties about immigration were commonly expressed through concerns about competition in access to jobs and public services. In some cases, participants' own difficulties

negotiating the welfare system appear to have led to resentment and to a view that migrants receive preferential access to benefits. Others spoke of the impact of immigration on the availability of affordable housing, competition for school places or pressures on the NHS. Participants who were struggling to find work sometimes voiced concerns about the labour market impact of immigration.

This is not to say that such narratives are accurate. The real labour market effects of high migration are small, according to the data. A Migration Observatory review found that there is *"a very small impact of overall immigration on employment and unemployment of UK-born workers, though this effect is stronger among those with lower levels of education."*[34]

Nonetheless, hostility is based on perceptions, and there is often a reality of scarcity. Certain environments can create more fertile territory than others for the idea that we need to pull up the drawbridge and protect what we have.

Figure 22 compares migration liberalism with the IMD's employment deprivation metric, defined as the proportion 'involuntarily excluded from the labour market'. It reveals a clear correlation between employment deprivation and hostility.

Interestingly, when we look at the access to housing/services IMD dataset, we do not find anything like such pronounced patterns. The places which are most deprived in terms of access to services include liberal cities like Oxford or Canterbury – which have challenges around housing. Nevertheless, we might assume that if both employment and service deprivation exist, the two will play off each other.

Figure 22. Migration liberalism versus overall IMD employment score
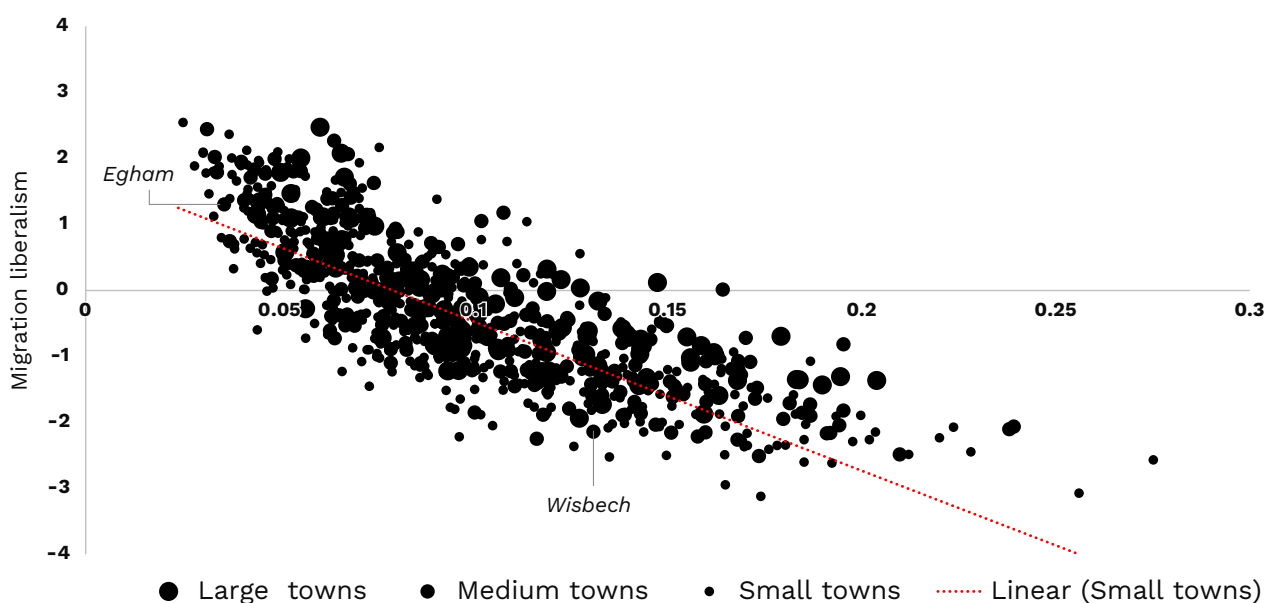
Figure 23. Migration liberalism versus population % of East European heritage
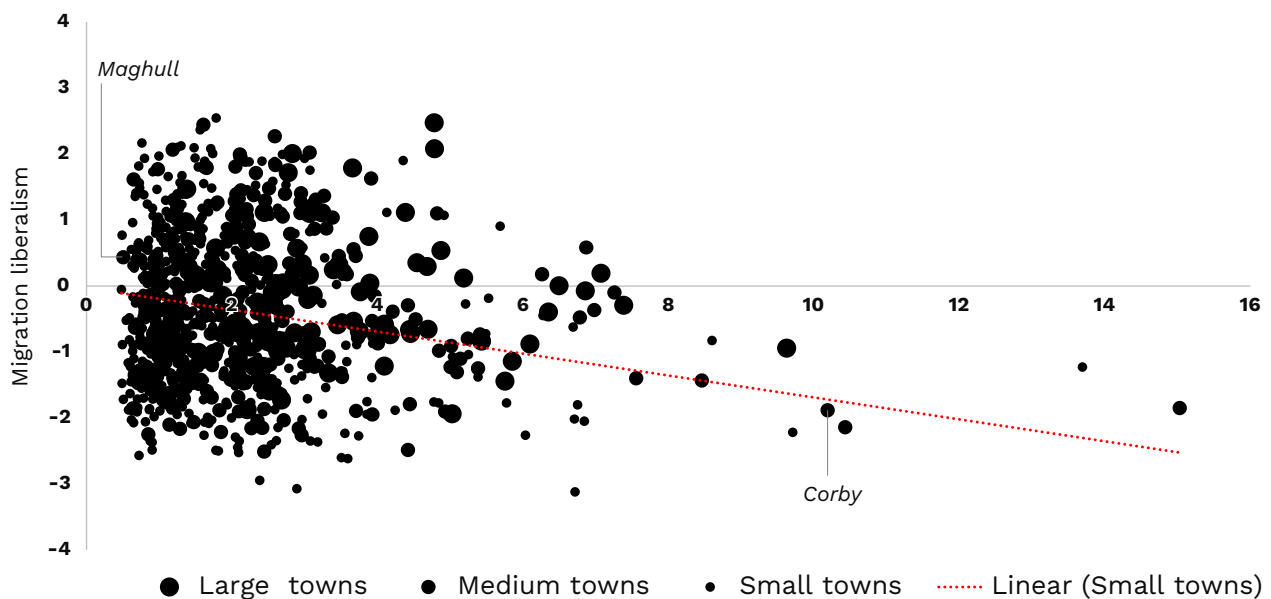
Perceptions of resource competition could also be increased by rapid population growth. A rising population can add to pressure on services, and can lead to issues like overcrowding. It is more likely to mean more internal 'within UK' migration, and that services have to work harder to meet resident needs.

This provides something of a counterpoint to some of the scatter charts above, which suggest that population growth and hostility to migration align with each other. And it is certainly true that population growth tends, all things being equal, to correlate with more liberal attitudes – with growing towns more likely to have a positive economic story and a clear future.

However, if the population is growing, pressure on jobs is high and access to housing and services is hard, then we can guess that it will be easier for 'lump of labour' narratives to kick in.

This is especially true if there is a migrant population to blame for these difficulties.

Figure 23, for example, shows a relationship in the data between low migration liberalism and the presence of larger East European populations (the group most likely to be seen as competing for unskilled work).

Among the 20 places in our index with the biggest East European communities, 18 are migration hostile – including towns like Spalding and Northampton.

Hence, the 'competing for resources' characteristic is qualitatively different from some of our previous factors. Our hypothesis would be that it aligns less with feelings of nativism and

fears of cultural decline, and more with 'lump of labour' narratives and a 'cheek by jowl' sense that the country is 'full'.

G.   RAPID CHANGE

A 2012 Migration Advisory Committee report suggested that *"Migration may have a larger impact on cohesion in areas with no experience of receiving and integrating new migrant groups."*[35]

Meanwhile one analysis of the 2008 BNP vote in London emphasised *"the distinction between levels and changes in diversity at the local level... The former dampens anti-immigration feeling while the latter elevates it."*[36]

The roots of these findings lie in contact theory, with regular interactions over a sustained period building familiarity and trust. As time passes, the general rule is that migration becomes part of an area's history and identity. Fears about competition for jobs with incoming groups cease to be a big factor.

Other research tends to point to much the same thing: a sense that a place is changing very fast can unsettle social foundations, even if that change is ultimately positive for the town.[37]

Figure 24 shows the relationship between migration liberalism and recent increase in the non-WB population. It illustrates that towns with rapid recent increases are more likely to have high hostility.

There are exceptions to this in our research, such as Watford, Chigwell and Milton Keynes. But the towns index nevertheless suggests that –

Figure 24. Migration liberalism versus 2011-2019 % point increase in non-WB populations

Large towns ● Medium towns ● Small towns · Linear (Small towns) ·······
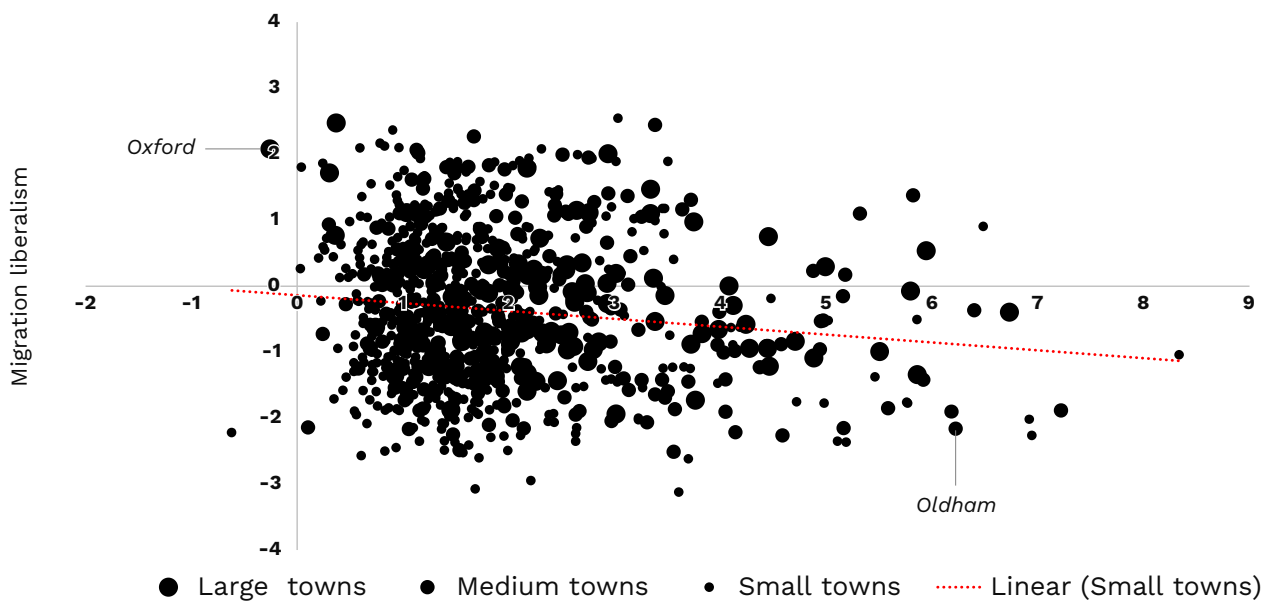
whereas already-diverse places tend to be more liberal – those undergoing rapid change as a new phenomenon are frequently more hostile.

As the chart shows, Oxford is at the ultra-liberal end of this. A historically diverse place with a highly educated population – but now a very expensive and economically unequal place – it is just about the only place in our index where the non-WB population is shrinking.

An interesting element of this is the fact that a rising non-WB population in a town correlates both to rising house prices and to growing populations. An expanding non-WB population tends to point, in the longer term, to an area being on the economic ascent. This may be because second or third generation Black British or British Asian residents are buying homes there. Or it may be because newer migrants tend to settle in places that are affordable but growing.

Places with the most rapid change on all of these fronts – i.e. a growing population which is set to continue expanding, rising diversity, gentrification etc – are those in the 'halo' of high-growth big cities. This might include the likes of Grays, Salford and Gravesend. The Centre for Cities point out the 'intrinsic link' between towns and cities, arguing that *"when a city prospers, nearby towns are also more likely to be successful."*[38]

While this may be the case, rapid change remains a double-edged sword. In the short-term both internal and external migration can create new pressures on infrastructure, higher living costs and more transient populations. Graduates relocating from London can push house prices

up for instance, or change the face of the high street. And migrants settling can shift the makeup of an area, providing an easy scapegoat. High churn can disrupt settled communities in the short term (even though it ultimately helps cohesion in the long-term).[39]

Indeed, as our previous research has outlined, 'halo' areas are often disproportionately hostile to migration, compared to the UK as a whole.[40] Large halo towns in particular (Harlow or Bolton, for example), tend to be significantly less positive about migration than similarly sized places which are not in the immediate orbit of big cities (e.g. Poole or Norwich).

The 'rapid change' characteristic therefore describes towns experiencing cultural and demographic overspill from big cities, in tandem with economic growth.

The combined consequences – increasing diversity, rising populations and higher house prices – may be a net positive for the resilience of the town. But the reaching of this destination can nevertheless mean a hard and painful transition.

H. MIGRATION IN THE COMMUNITY

Are places with large migrant or more ethnically diverse communities more liberal and thus more resilient? The hypothesis of the 'traditional demographics' factor was that places with few non-WB residents are more hostile. Thus, we might think, places with big migrant-heritage populations are automatically more liberal.

Yet the real answer is more complicated, and

Figure 25. Migration liberalism versus asylum seekers settled per 10,000 residents
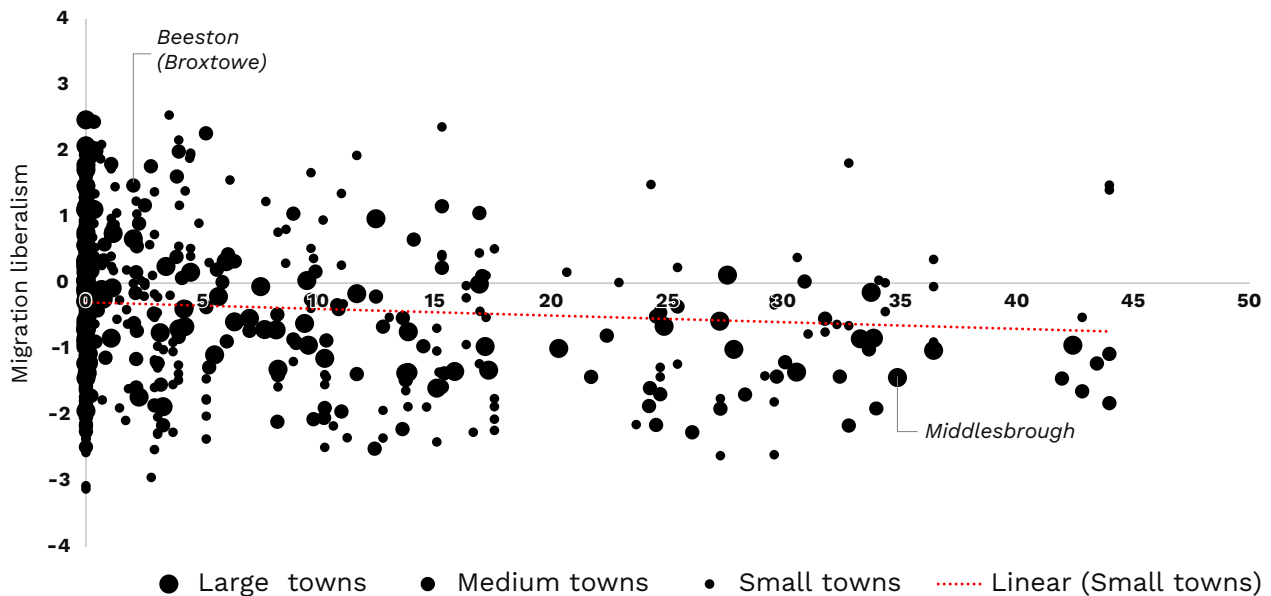
depends on several other questions.

Firstly, the pace of change. As we have already seen, areas with rapidly growing non-WB populations are usually less liberal about migration, even though places with already large non-WB populations tend to be more so.

Peterborough, for example, has a large migrant-heritage population, from the Baltic States in particular. But it is also changing very fast and is, according to the Fear and Hope data, much less positive about immigration than a lot of places.

Secondly, the composition of the non-WB population. Settlements with large Western European student populations, for instance, are usually more liberal than places with migrant and BME communities from other backgrounds. The 10 large towns in our index with the biggest West European populations are Bedford, Cambridge, Oxford, Woking, St Albans, Guildford, Salford, Crawley, Bournemouth and Peterborough. Among the smaller towns Esher, Weybridge and Borehamwood have big West European populations. Most of these places are well-off and liberal. Whether because they tend to be in more 'skilled' parts of the economy or simply because they are harder to portray as an ethnic 'other', towns with big West European populations appear to be more supportive of immigration.

This is particularly true if non-WB groups within the community are asylum seekers, who have a very particular set of needs and challenges. Asylum-seekers are not allowed to work in the UK and those asylum-seekers – the majority – who have no means of supporting themselves apply

to the UK Borders Agency of the Home Office for cash support, or for a support and housing package. The Home Office commissions housing for asylum-seekers who require accommodation – most of which is provided under contract by private property management companies in what are termed 'dispersal areas'. These areas tend to be more deprived, as it is in these areas that accommodation is more affordable.

Ipsos MORI research has found that asylum dispersal areas are the most hostile of the 12 'migration clusters' of local authorities identified by the Home office..[41] Those within these local authorities are twice as hostile as those in the most liberal group of councils, 'cosmopolitan London and peripheries'.[42] IPPR's Communities up Close report described how people they interviewed who were seeking asylum *"spoke of the challenges of living in small and relatively ethnically homogeneous towns."*[43]

Figure 25 seems to corroborate this. It shows migrant liberalism (on the vertical axis, as usual) as compared to the proportion of asylum seekers a place has. This demonstrates clear correlations. Of the 35 towns in authorities with more than 30 asylum seekers per 10,000 residents, hostility is around double the towns average.

The third and final question is how mixed non-WB communities are. This distinction might be phrased in terms of 'uni-diversity' (where the non-WB community is primarily from a single nationality or ethnicity) and 'multi-diversity' (where a variety of different non-WB groups have moved to an area).

POVERTY, AUSTERITY, INSECURE LABOUR MARKETS, DEINDUSTRIALISATION, DECLINING TOWN CENTRES AND A PAUCITY OF COMMUNITY SPACES ARE OFTEN THE BACKDROP TO SCEPTICISM AND CONCERNS ABOUT MIGRATION LOCALLY

Lucy Mort, *Research Fellow, IPPR*

The Hopeful Towns report is an important read for those interested in understanding the complexities of integration in Britain's towns and how all communities can be supported to thrive in times of change. The analysis presented in the report chimes with work undertaken by IPPR and sets out a blueprint for developing networks that can share challenges, lessons and ideas for greater community cohesion.

The recent Communities up Close report from IPPR and Migration Yorkshire shared the findings of a two-year research project that sought to understand how ten areas across the Yorkshire and Humber region have experienced and responded to neighbourhood change and migration in recent years. Researchers developed a neighbourhood typology that identified five different types of places, categorised according to how those places respond to changing levels of migration.

Six of the ten research sites were in towns, and all of these were categorised as one of either 'Dynamic Districts' or 'Tight-Knit Towns'. As shown in the 'migration in the community' factor in the Hopeful Towns analysis, these were areas that were generally less diverse overall but which had experienced greater migration in recent years. Both of these types of areas have experienced quite significant challenges, both economically and in terms of integration. Poverty, austerity, insecure labour markets, deindustrialisation, declining town centres and a paucity of community spaces were often the backdrop to scepticism and concerns about migration locally.

The Towns Index developed by Hope Not Hate charitable trust is a welcome addition in the efforts to greater understand the specific issues that coalesce to shape negative responses to migration locally. It points to the need for local leadership and partnership working to address issues on the ground, but also to the need for macro-level policies that address community tensions through greater economic and social security for all.

Photo: Ian Halsey

Figure 26. Migration liberalism versus diversity of non-WB populations (higher number = 'multi-diverse')
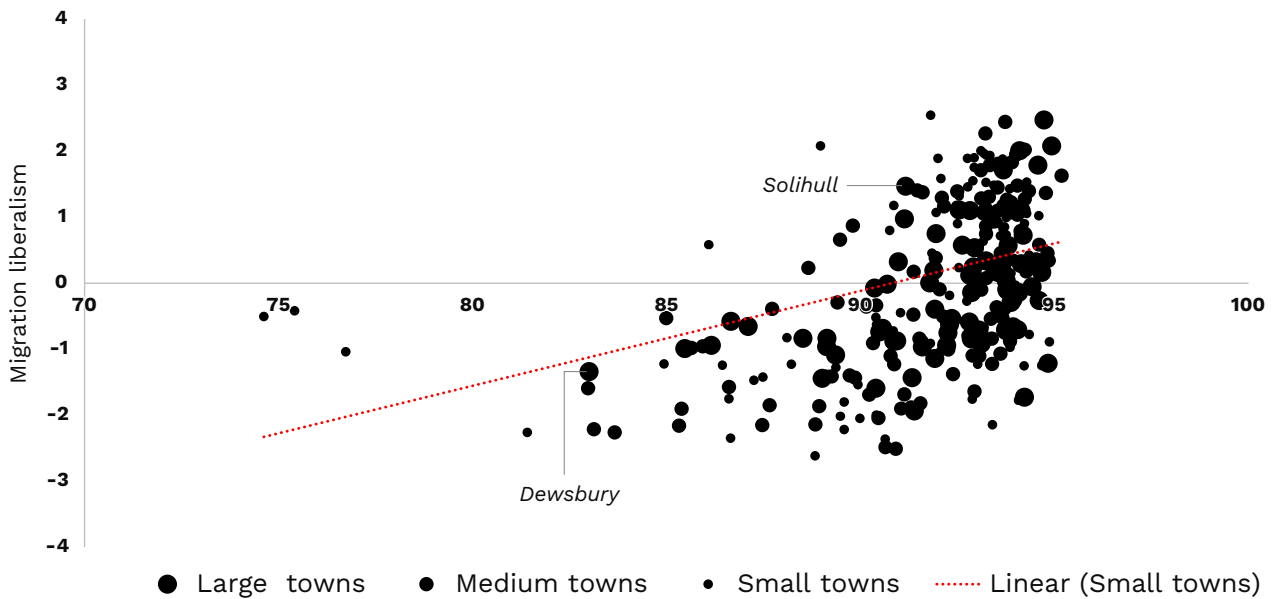
Some of the UK's most overt racial tensions have tended to come to a head in places that are much more 'uni-diverse'– such as the riots that took place in Oldham in 2001. This may be because a single non-WB group is easier for the far-right to single out and scape-goat. And it could also be that 'uni-diverse' places have fewer shared spaces and opportunities for interactions and engagement between communities.[44]

Our research does seem to suggest that in places where there is a single migrant heritage community – as opposed to a range of different groups – resilience can be harder to achieve.

Figure 26 shows this for places where the non-WB population is above the towns average. The horizontal axis shows the 'multi-diversity' score – deduced by working out the likelihood that two non-WB residents will come from the same nationality.

It suggests that places with a single migrant heritage population – i.e. 'uni-diverse' places – tend to have lower liberalism than places where the non-WB population includes a range of different groups. The cluster of very 'uni-diverse' towns within our index – settlements like Birstall, Bilston, Blackburn and Dewsbury – all have levels of migration liberalism that are some way below the towns average.

While analysis of 'uni-diversity' has often centred on areas of the North West with large Pakistani heritage populations, there are many other types of 'uni-diverse' settlements across England and Wales. These include towns in the East Midlands with big Hindu heritage populations, places in the East of England with significant Lithuanian

diaspora, and areas along the Thames Estuary with large populations who are of Ghanaian or Nigerian ancestry.

Levels of hostility or liberalism vary across these types of town, and there are many that are success stories in terms of cohesion and resilience. But it remains the case that 'uni-diversity' has the capacity, all things being equal, to make it easier for far right narratives to gain a foothold.[45]

Overall, the 'migration in the community' factor describes the patterns of migration that are more likely to increase tensions. Places with these patterns tend to be asylum dispersal areas, with rapid increases in their non-WB populations and more 'uni-diverse' forms of living.

I. AUTHORITARIAN FOOTPRINT

We use the term 'authoritarian footprint' to refer to the hard right or the extreme right's organisational history in an area. The hypothesis underlying it is that while these groups have largely fallen away from electoral success, the anger and disaffection they catalysed remain. We suggest that if an area has been successfully courted by racist parties in the past, it is more likely to be vulnerable in the future.

Academic work to understand how authoritarian movements mobilise has found that this can be a central factor. In a five-point framework for the things that lend the far-right and the hard right local 'credibility', for example, academics identify *"the local activist networks and the wider movement structures with which they are connected,"* as a defining factor.[46]

Figure 27. Migration liberalism versus number of BNP or Ukip candidates historically elected per 10,000 residents
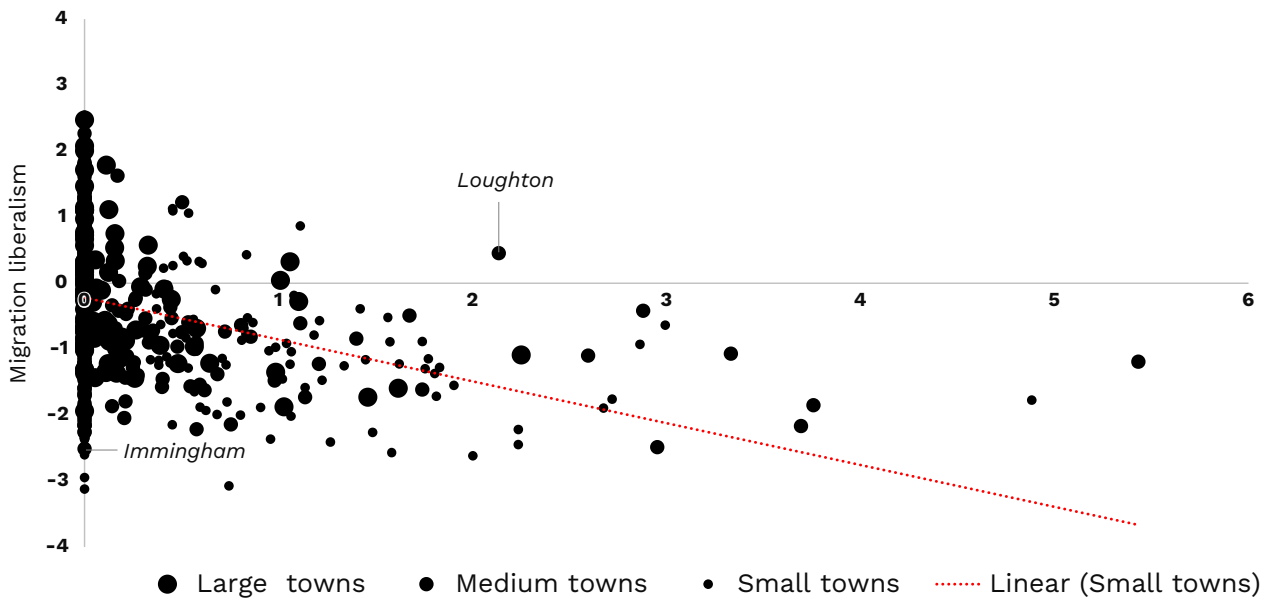
Hence, if there is a history or BNP organisation in an area, or a precedent for UKIP councillors being elected has been established, then there is more likely to be the local infrastructure for it to happen again.

The next scatter shows the correlation between migration liberalism (vertical axis) and the number of times, since 2000, that one of the wards in the town has elected a BNP or UKIP councillor. (This is expressed per 10,000 residents, to account for the big size differences between towns).

We have chosen to focus on actual wards won, rather than percentage of the vote. The idea is that, if a far-right candidate has represented a ward in the town for a sustained four year period, this will create much more of a 'footprint' effect than if they have come a close second. There is more likely to be parts of the resident base – even if only a significant minority – who have crossed the line once and would do so again.

Figure 27 shows, unsurprisingly, that places with an authoritarian footprint are more hostile.

Figure 28.
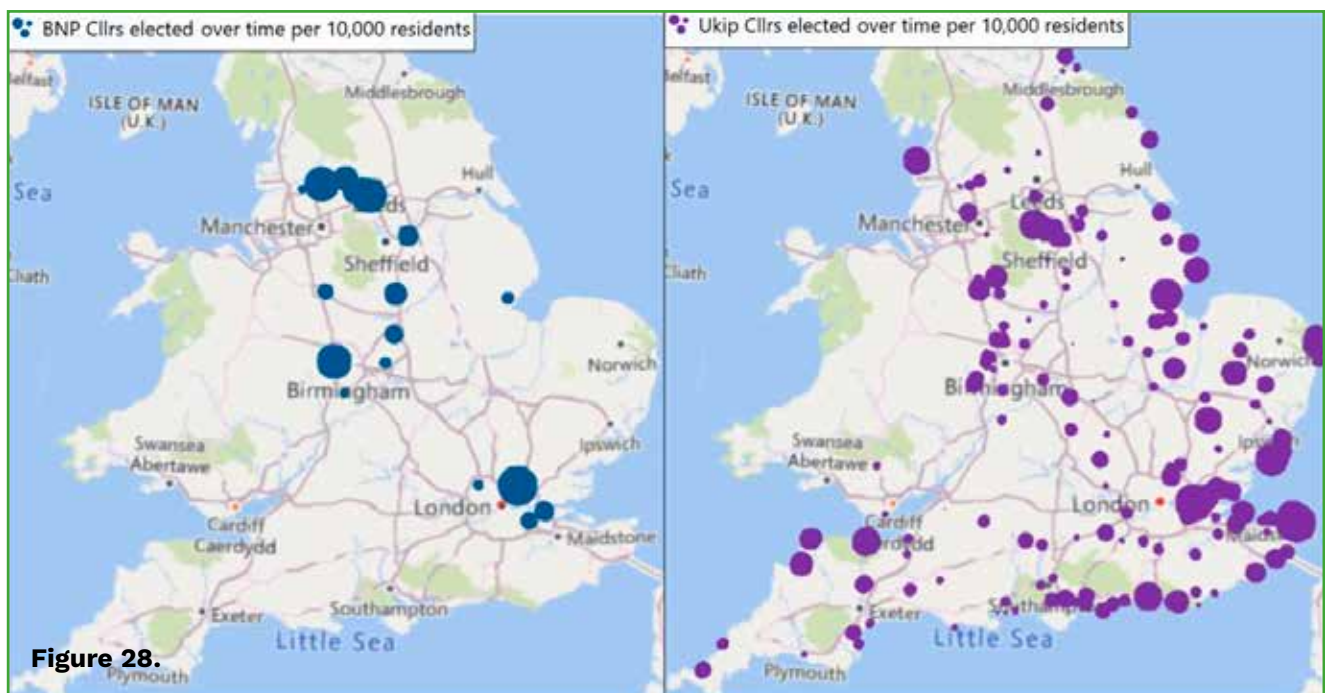
UKIP AND THE BNP

Our 'authoritarian footprint' characteristic looks at areas where UKP or the BNP have gained a foothold in the past (along with other things happening, such as online support for Tommy Robinson). While we use 'authoritarian' as a shorthand here – for the phenomenon of nativist or strongly anti-immigrant policies having gained significant traction – the two parties are clearly not the same.

The BNP are usually referred to as 'extreme right' while UKIP are usually referred to as the 'populist radical right'. Many scholars have also applied 'traditional far right' and 'fascist' to the BNP.

Indeed, the **BNP** was an explicitly fascist movement from the off, and whilst it modernised its image in the 2000s – pivoting to an anti-establishment, anti-Islam message and moving away from street tactics and some of its more extreme policies – its leadership mostly remained a circle of fascists, anti-Semites and Holocaust deniers.

Even at its most 'mainstream' in 2010, it used racial characterisations and policies that UKIP would never use, such as repatriation and the use of "electronically tagged 'chain gangs' to provide labour for projects such as coastal defences".

UKIP, by contrast, was founded almost on the sole premise of Euroscepticism, and so from the beginning attracted a variety of anti-establishment types, including libertarians. It adopted a stronger anti-immigrant tone in 2013, coming to occupy that space. Numerous scandals have long shown that UKIP has attracted extreme elements. But it has officially always avoided the brutally anti-immigrant policies and the relentlessly aggressive tone of the BNP, and banned ex-BNP members from joining.

Whilst from 2018, under Gerard Batten, the party brought anti-Muslim politics to the fore – moving into street politics and forming alliances with prominent far-right figures – its official platform remained more moderate than the racial politics of the BNP.

This can still vary quite significantly. The two maps above, for example, demonstrate the very different distributions of the places where the BNP and UKIP have held seats – larger dots indicating more councillors.

'Authoritarian footprint' is most often an additional factor alongside the other issues we have explored which raise cohesion challenges. Our working hypothesis would be that a town with higher hostility and a far-right footprint like Burnley is

Figure 29. Migration liberalism versus strength of national identity (proportion identifying as English/Welsh)
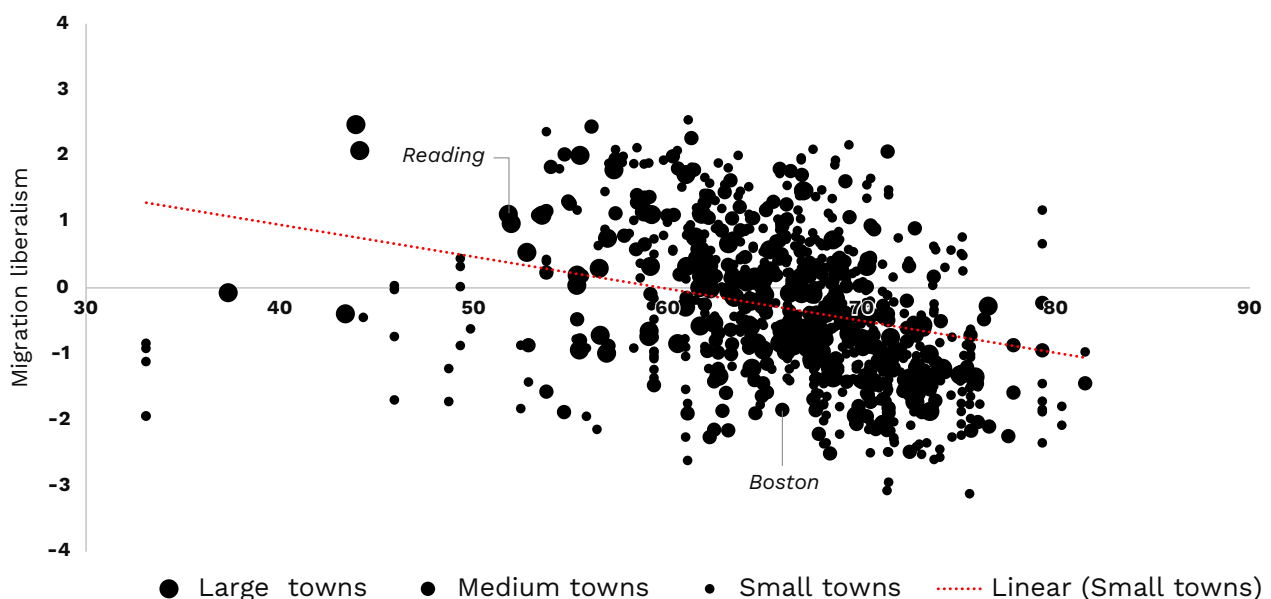
more likely than one like Immingham (which has higher hostility but has never elected a far-right candidate) to go down the same path again.

J. STRONG NATIONAL IDENTITY

John Denham, founder of the Centre for English Identity and Politics, describes a growing divergence when it comes to the voting habits of those who identify as English and versus those who identify as British. *"In recent years those who identify as primarily English...have been more likely to vote Leave and for parties on the right; those who are primarily British have tended to vote in the opposite direction."*[47] He points out that migration can be more culturally unsettling to those with more "deeply rooted local identities" (who tend to identify more strongly as English rather than British).

Our own analysis from within the index suggests that something similar is the case with the Welsh identity, at least when it comes to attitudes to immigration.

Once we set aside many of the demographic and economic factors discussed so far, it seems that certain places still have a stronger sense of national identity than others. And, as Figure 29 shows, this often correlates with lower levels of migration liberalism.

This essentially relates to historic identity, with regions and areas – such as parts of the East of England or the East Midlands – putting more emphasis on their English identity.

One explanation for why this is might be the historic size of the Irish Catholic community.

Places where Irish names form a larger percentage of the white British population tend to have a weaker English or Welsh identities – and to be a little more liberal on migration.

Figure 30 shows this. The relationship is only very slight, and is complicated by the fact that there are a large number of very deprived places in the North West, which have big populations of Irish ancestry but are nevertheless hostile to migration according to Fear and Hope. Nonetheless, once other factors are excluded, there does seem to be a pattern.

There is also a small correlation, within our data, between towns where the white British population is predominantly of Anglo-Saxon heritage (rather than Irish), and those with higher Leave votes in the EU Referendum.

Our hypothesis here would not be that Irish communities are necessarily more migration liberal in and of themselves. Rather it would be that areas with historically large Irish Catholic communities have a more ambivalent attitude with English national identity – as well as some historic precedent for migration and difference within the community. Moreover, these populations are more likely to have had some family history of migration with Ireland a country of emigration, and the religious makeup of these places might have an impact in promoting more open attitudes to immigration.[48]

Either way, stronger English or Welsh identities seem to interlink with lower resilience to difference and change. The 'strong national identity' factor therefore describes the extent to

Figure 30. Migration liberalism versus % of the White British population with Irish names
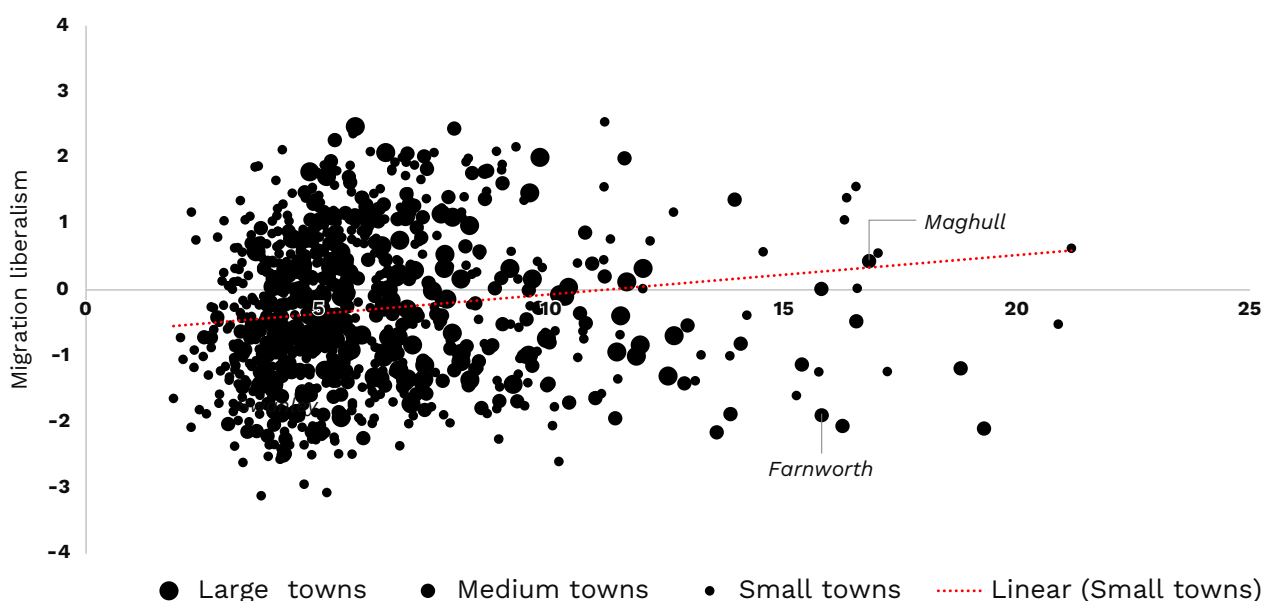
which an area, once all else is set aside, sets a lot of store by its country's identity and sees things through the prism of nationhood.

This is not to say that a strong English or Welsh identity is automatically a problem for an area. It can be a major positive factor. But there remains a more pronounced risk, especially if a town scores highly among some of our other clusters, that strong feelings of national identity end up being directed towards exclusive forms of nationalism and nativism based on ethnic-cultural identity, rather than inclusive types of patriotism.

K.   FEWER CULTURAL OPPORTUNITIES

The 'Fewer cultural opportunities factor' describes places where there is a lack of opportunities for cultural exchanges or for creative fulfilment.

Figure 31. Migration liberalism versus proportion attending or participating in arts events in the past year
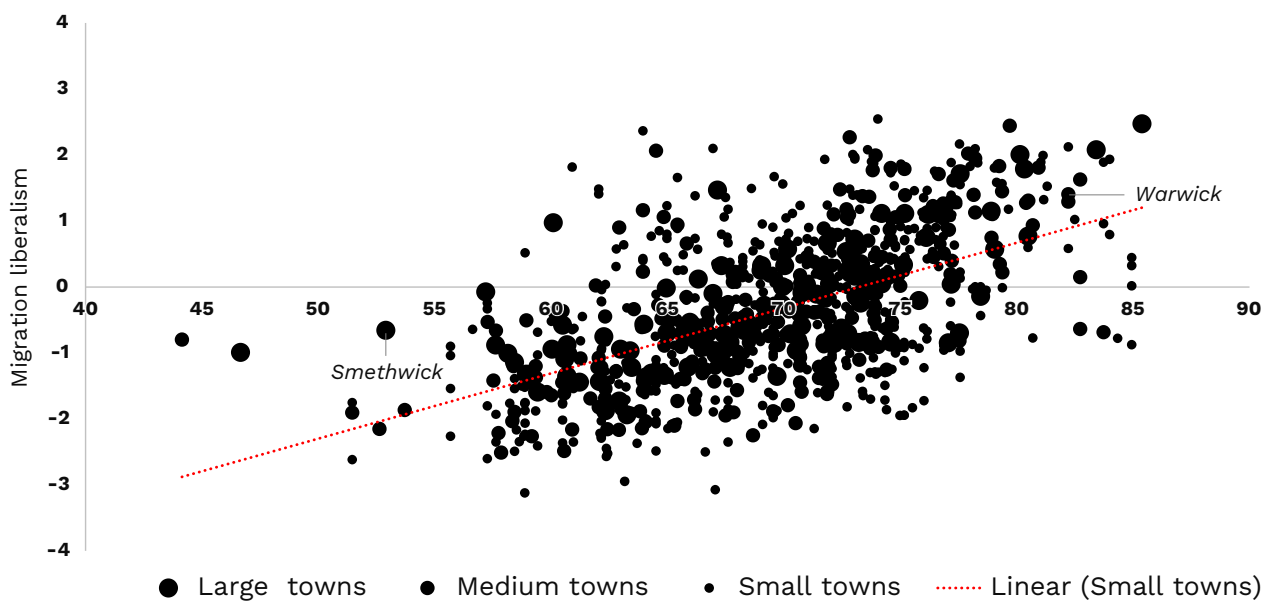
Figure 32. Migration liberalism versus % with no passport
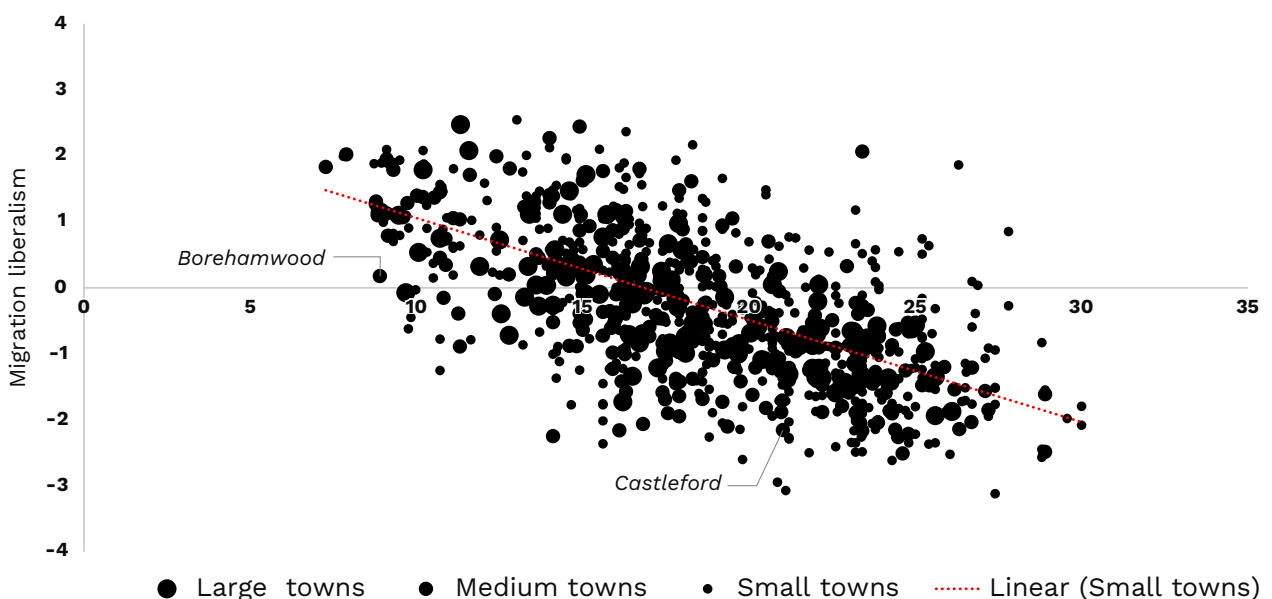
This might take the form of lower engagement in the arts, or of smaller student populations (universities tending to act as hubs for the arts). It also often reflects disproportionately low education levels.

Figure 31 shows migration liberalism set against the proportion of people within the local authority area that have attended or participated in at least one arts even during the past year. The correlation between the two is marked.

This is another of the trickier findings when it comes to disentangling cause from effect. Those who are struggling financially are obviously less likely to have the time or the resources to get involved in the arts.

However, when we look at local authorities' levels of deprivation versus their score for arts engagement, there remain significant differences. The London Borough of Greenwich, for example, has much higher deprivation than the district of South Holland in Lincolnshire. But it also has higher arts engagement and higher migration liberalism.

Fewer cultural opportunities is not necessarily a definitive factor. But it points towards specific types of challenge, which transcend pure economics.

Another element of understanding cultural engagement is international travel. If more people within a community have travelled widely or gone on foreign holidays, they are less likely to hold closed views on immigration and multiculturalism.' With 'Our Towns Index data suggests that attitudes to migration are generally more open in places where a large majority of the populace possess a passport, perhaps as they are more likely to have travelled internationally and been exposed to other cultures. Figure 32 shows the correlation between higher proportions of the population not possessing a passport and lower levels of migration liberalism.

Again, it is extremely difficult to disentangle the ability to travel abroad from broader economic factors, with those less well-off far less likely to be able to afford foreign holiday, and those in blue collar work unlikely to jet off on frequent business trips. Nonetheless, it seems to have some effect.

A great deal of recent political analysis around this has drawn a distinction between those who see the world through a national lens and those who see things via an international one. This is often framed as a split between culturally 'open' communities, which are comfortable with difference and positive about globalisation, and culturally 'closed' communities which are not.

Such analyses can be problematic, often falling either into the trap of talking pejoratively about 'closed' places, or of going the other way, and slipping into the unhelpful 'citizens of nowhere' critique made by Theresa May. But in purely descriptive terms, the distinction between

'national' and 'international' outlooks does seem to hold some sway over attitudes.

Fewer cultural opportunities thus describes places where opportunities for engagement and creative stimulation are lower – be it less opportunities for international travel, less of a culture of going into higher education, or less opportunities within the arts.

L. FEWER HERITAGE 'ASSETS'

The sense that a town has a revered history or a distinct 'brand' can be a major factor in determining how able it is to foster a confident and inclusive identity. Our next factor, 'Fewer heritage assets' reflects this. It describes the absence of certain features which give a place a clear identity or confer a certain status on a place.

Without these identifiers it is harder for a town to develop a shared history and identity, or to articulate a story about its past and its future. The feeling that the place you live is not valued can potentially feed to lower efficacy and pride. (Our analysis of New Towns, on page 84 illustrates this. It looks at the phenomenon of towns that were built after World War II, planned under the powers of the New Towns Act 1946 and were later used to relocate populations in poor or bombed-out housing).

Figure 33 shows how migration liberalism measures across places with a number of the 'assets' which might confer status on a town. The traits include: a Medieval history (i.e. the town being mentioned in the Domesday Book), City status, County Town status, a well-known military barracks, a professional football club (i.e. been in the top 5 flights for more than half of the past decade),[49] market town status (which would historically have made a town a hub for the area) or a university.

This is obviously not to suggest that these things genuinely make a town 'better' – or that the list of assets is in any way exhaustive. But it is to try and single out characteristics which are genuinely seen as bringing a certain status and make it easier to create a clearer place identity. 'Place branding' has increasingly been used to foster a more inclusive sense of identity

This suggests that towns with these traits are more liberal than the overall towns average. Places with none of the assets listed are less likely to over-index for migration liberalism than those with at least one.

The exception to this is the existence of a professional football club, which appears to make a town less migration liberal than average. However, it seems likely that this is the result of football being a (traditionally, at least) working-class sport – meaning that clubs are more common in post-industrial and working-class places. If we look at the attitudes to migration in working-class towns with professional clubs

Figure 33. Migration liberalism – over or under index
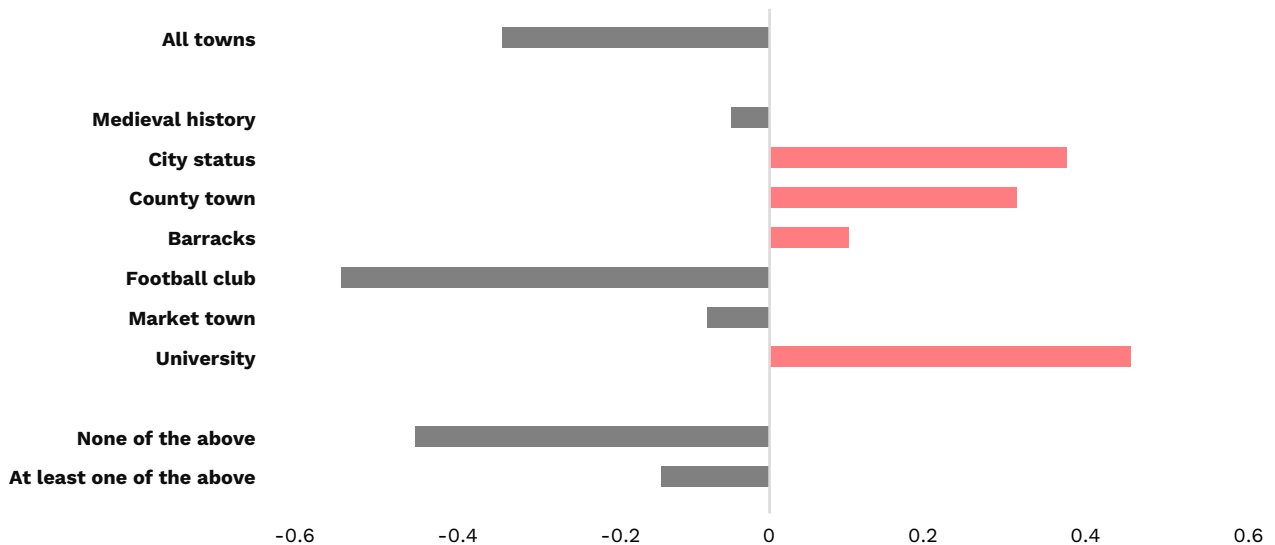
versus those in working-class towns without, for example, we find that the latter are more hostile to change and difference.

By way of example, figure 34 shows the average migration liberalism score for the 405 towns where the proportion in social grades C2DE – indicating those in manual or unskilled jobs or unemployed – is above average.

Social class is closely aligned to levels of education, a significant predictor of hostility to migration, and those in towns with an above average proportion of those in social grades C2DE are also likely to face other challenges such as uncertain industrial futures. So, attitudes are generally more hostile than the towns average. But we can see that the presence of a football club appears to reduce this. The same goes for pubs – with working-class towns that have more pubs tending to have less hostility.

Figure 35 shows house prices compared to

Figure 34. Average migration liberalism (only places with an above average proportion in social grade C2DE)
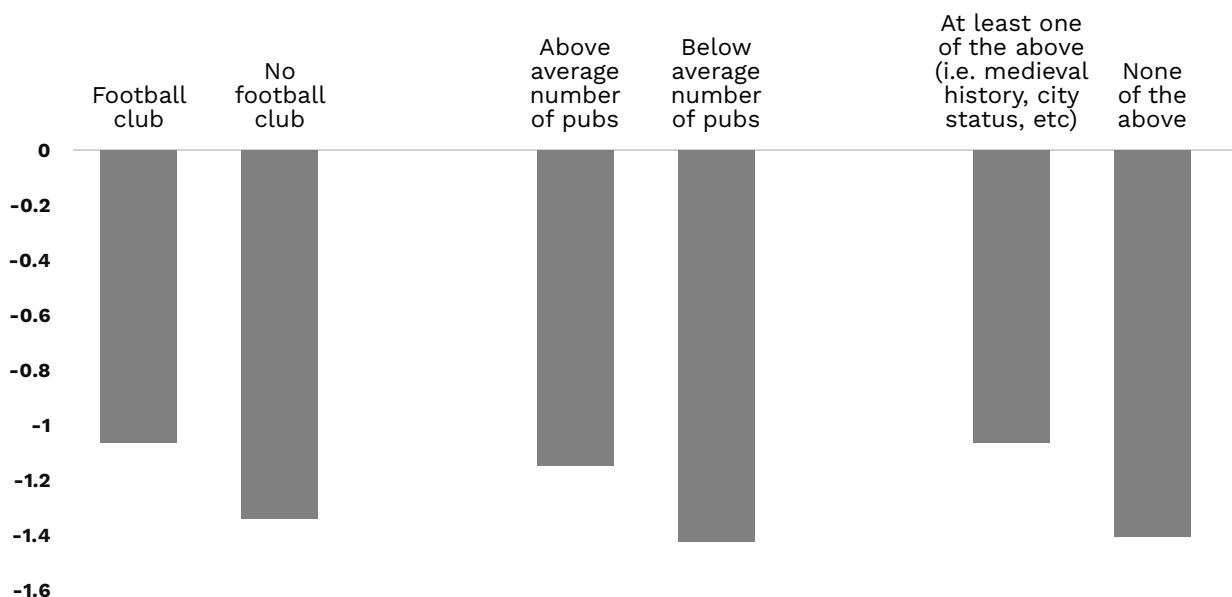
Figure 35. Migration liberalism versus average house price as a % proportion of the regional average

● Large towns ● Medium towns • Small towns ······ Linear (Small towns)
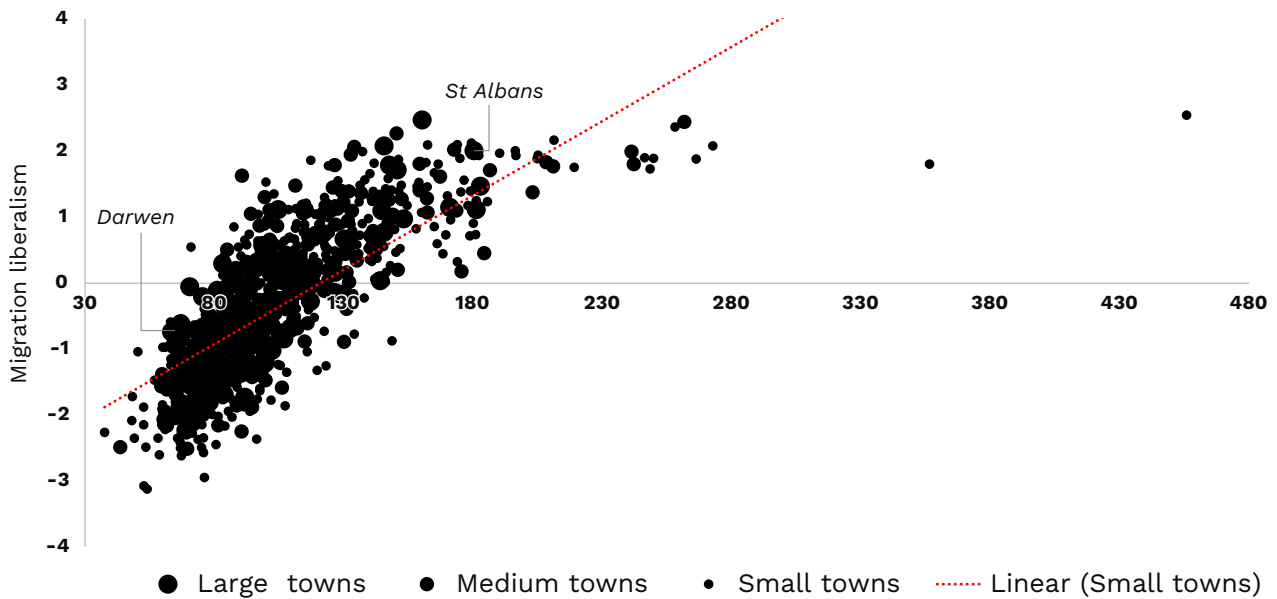
the regional average (horizontal axis). We have included the regional element to account for the regional imbalances in house prices, which means that even the least 'sought-after' towns in the South East are more expensive than many of the most 'sought-after' towns in the North of England.

As the chart shows, lower house prices compared to the regional average correlate very directly with migration attitudes.

This is partly, of course, because deprived places are cheaper and deprivation correlates with hostility. But it can also reflect a place's status. If a town is known for being cheaper to buy or rent in then it may be somewhere that is chosen for its affordable housing rather than as a place to live in its own right.

The cathedral city of Ely and the small town of Soham in Cambridgeshire provide a useful comparison here. These two neighbouring towns do not have markedly different deprivation scores, but house prices in the former are 109% of the East of England average, whereas those in nearby Soham are just 83%. Migrant attitudes within the two places are potentially amplified by this, with Ely indexing far higher for migration liberalism.

Generally, the 'Fewer heritage assets' characteristic denotes towns that do not have established reputations to draw outsiders, and which are primarily residential. Many are designated New Towns.

M. LESS CONNECTED

Well-connected places tend to benefit from a through-flow of people, with higher levels of social contact and cultural exchange. The Urban

Transport Group argue that *"transport that can plug towns into larger city regions and national economies, and in doing so widen labour markets, meet housing demand, draw in investment, and open up access to opportunity."*[50]

Findings by the Centre for Cities, meanwhile, suggest that the better connected towns are to major cities, the more they thrive.[51] While this would contradict our findings on the correlation between migration liberalism and the strength of a strong local economy and community infrastructure within a town, we understand connectivity to be a significant factor in shaping outlooks on immigration. In the National Conversation on Immigration, we were struck by the role of connectivity in shaping more open attitudes to migration, with poor internet and transport connectivity associated with a lack of opportunity.[52]

Figure 36 demonstrates that where towns are very remote they tend to under-index for liberalism. It shows the distance in minutes from each place in our index to the nearest major rail station. This is based on 79 English stations classed as by transport agencies as 'national or regional hubs'.

While the pattern is not as pronounced as with some of our metrics, it shows that towns which are over an hour from a major rail hub tend, in the vast majority of cases, to under-index for migration liberalism.

There are other ways of measuring transport connectivity – such as the distance to the nearest town centre – but most tend to point, one way or another, towards less connected places being less liberal.

Figure 36. Migration liberalism versus distance in minutes by public transport to nearest major rail station
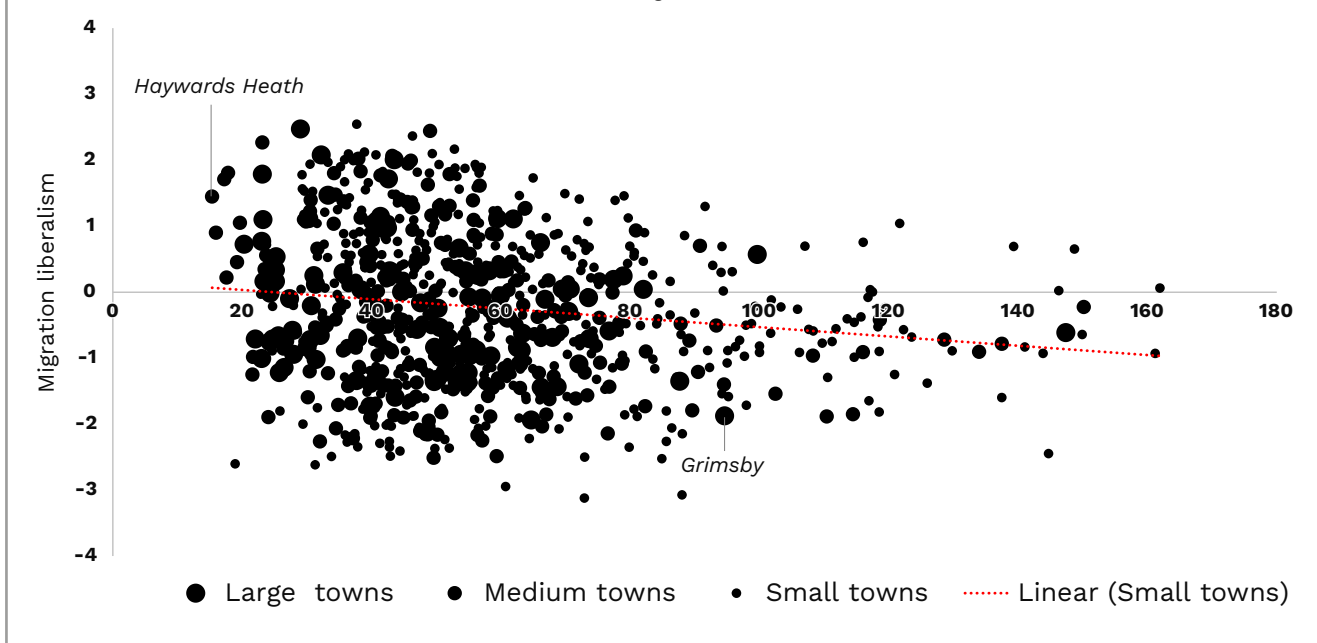
Part of the reason for this is to do with population turnover, and with opportunities to come into contact with new groups. Places which are more remote will have less of a through-flow of people.

Figure 37 shows the correlation between population churn and migration liberalism. Population churn is deduced by looking at the number of arrivals plus the number of departures within a local authority, as a proportion of the overall population.

The findings show that, at least according to this definition, churn generally makes populations more liberal. Other datasets from within our index show that churn correlates very clearly both with international migration and 'within UK' migration. Hence, more churn means people being more likely to come into contact with different groups.

This may appear to contradict some of the issues we discussed when looking at the 'rapidly changing' factor. However, our hypothesis would be that, whereas churn creates 'bridging capital' in the long-term sense (that is, people's confidence interacting with new groups) it often undermines 'bonded capital' (the tightness of relations between existing groups).

Another way of looking at this is in terms of what Michele Gelfand calls 'tight' and 'loose' cultures.

Tight cultures are those which perceive a high level of threat, and develop strong rules to help them survive. As a result, they tend to be less open, more ethnocentric, and to have much more cultural 'inertia'. More isolated areas with less diversity tend to fall into this category, and pull their defences higher as the threats they perceive grow.

Loose cultures, by contrast, are those where rules and norms are less set, and are more likely to develop in large, diverse and constantly evolving cities.

In this respect, the 'Less connected' factor is close to the opposite of the 'rapidly changing' one. Whereas the latter describes towns undergoing dramatic and difficult shifts, thanks to becoming more connected, the former describes those that are furthest from big cities and the 'loose' networked cultures which they represent.

Less connected towns are physically and figuratively cut off – the most distant towns from the networked global centres, and the least used to change and difference.

N. COASTAL CHALLENGES

The House of Lords select committee paper, 'The future of seaside towns', identifies a range of challenges which are distinct to seaside towns – including poor infrastructure, industrial decline and the pervasive issue of opioid addiction and drug use.[53] Indeed, our towns index shows that both seaside towns and port towns have rates of drug deaths that are half again the UK towns average.

'Coastal challenges' describes some of the specific characteristics that are associated with seaside towns – such as pensioner poverty and health inequalities, and high levels of private-rented accommodation.

The latter metric is relevant because, unlike many industrial towns, coastal areas often have lower historic levels of council house building. As a result there are usually more hostels

Figure 37. Migration liberalism versus % of the population departing and arriving each year

- Large towns
- Medium towns
- Small towns
- ⋯⋯⋯ Linear (Small towns)
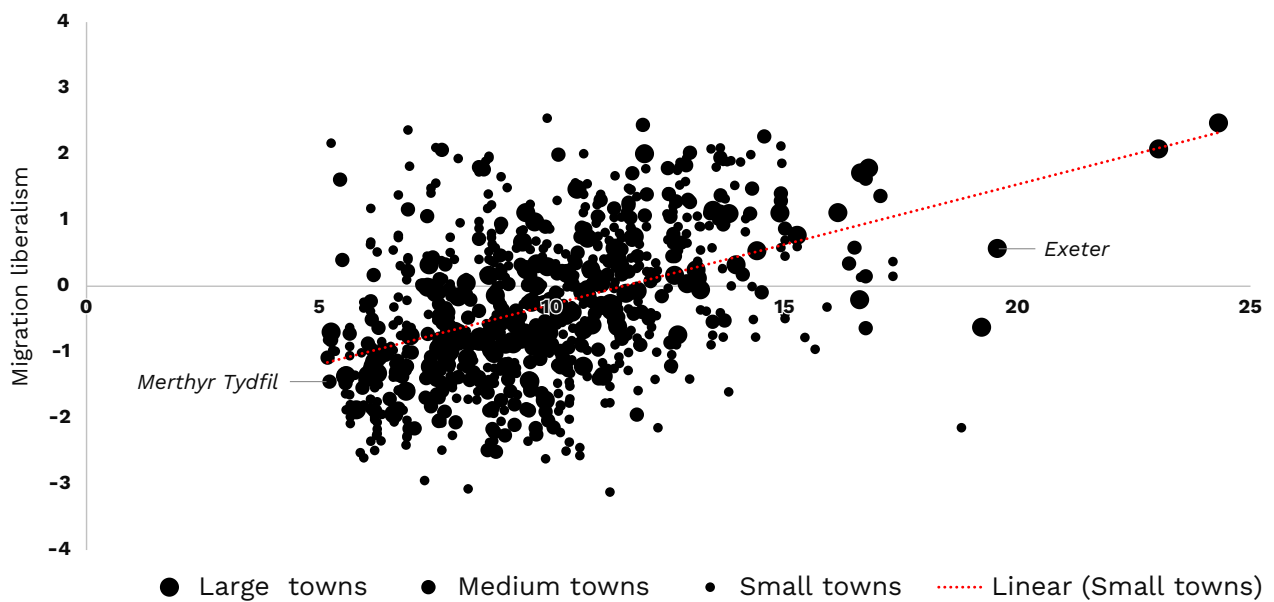
and an excess of low-quality, ultra-transient accommodation. This results in homeless people and looked-after children frequently being settled in coastal places.

The above circumstances can lead to a quite distinct type of issue in some of the poorest seaside towns: elderly residents with very little money, living in places which are seeing both economic decline (as all but a handful of seaside

towns are) and very visible social challenges.

Drugs in particular can fuel narratives of moral deterioration and a society in freefall, which creates fertile territory for cultural conservatives and those on the populist right. Figure 38, for example, shows the correlation between drug deaths and hostility to migration.

Indeed, the UKIP surge during the mid-2010s overwhelmingly focused on ports and resorts.

Figure 38. Migration liberalism versus deaths from drug poisoning per 10,000 residents

- Large towns
- Medium towns
- Small towns
- ⋯⋯⋯ Linear (Small towns)
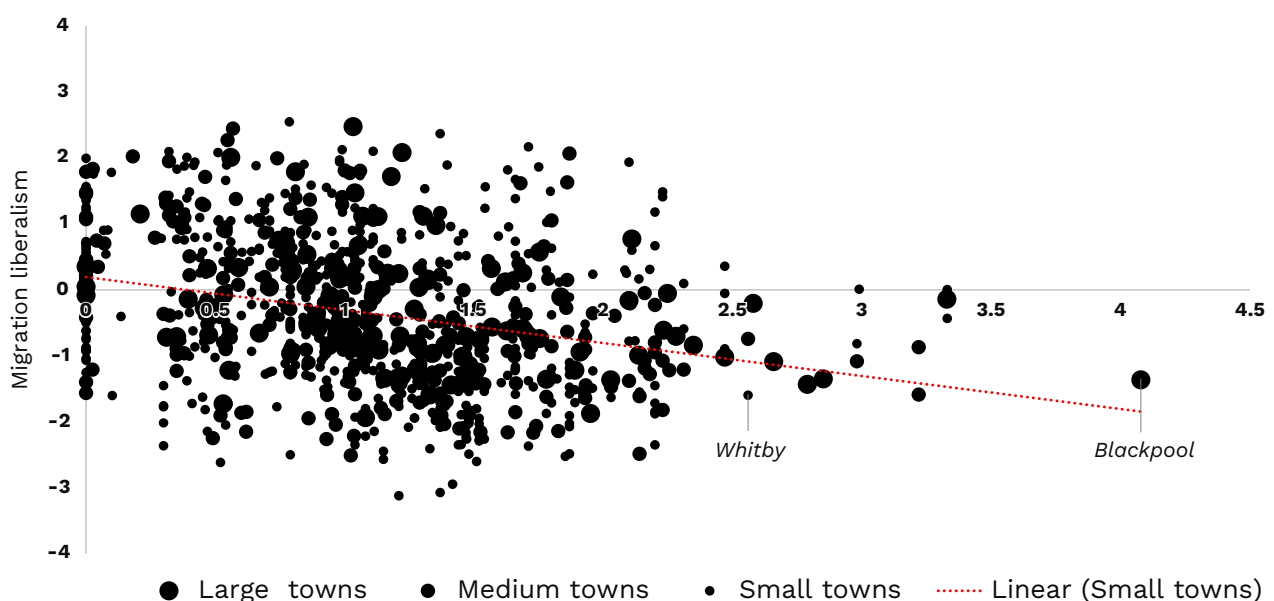
Figure 39. Average journey time in minutes to nearest major rail station

By public transport/ walk   By car
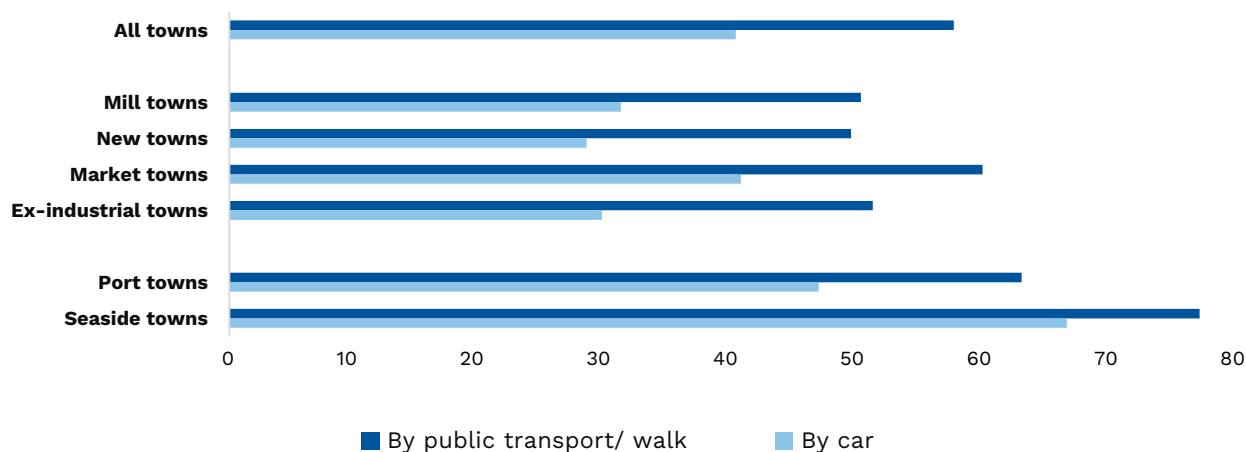
Of the 553 UKIP council victories in town wards during this period, 252 were in places we have termed 'coastal' – be it Ramsgate, Shoreham or Grimsby.

Physical geography is an additional aspect of this. The average journey to a major rail station is 71 minutes by public transport from a coastal town, compared to 51 minutes from the average non-coastal place. By car the average distance is 59 minutes (compared to 37 minutes for non-coastal places). For resorts the distances are especially great and they face additional seasonal challenges.

As Figure 39 shows, this sets coastal areas apart from some of the other types of town with lower liberalism – many of which are in fact better-networked than average (New Towns, for example).

This has implications for social mobility and for the prospects and opportunities of young people – with the resulting lack of social mobility feeding into social issues like drug use.

'Coastal challenges' is ultimately our most geographically exacting factor. It is an attempt to measure, through data, the particular dynamic that undermines resilience in coastal places.

COASTAL COMMUNITIES

Fernanda Balata, *Senior Programme Manager at the New Economics Foundation, and founder and lead on NEF's coastal economies programme*

The findings from this HOPE not hate Charitable Trust report contributes to a growing evidence base of the particular challenges facing our coastal communities.

Many of these challenges have been recognised and documented over the years, in academic reports, policy papers and media stories. Yet, coastal communities today still lack the scale of power and resources needed to address their complex and many unique challenges.

At the New Economics Foundation, we have been researching and engaging with coastal challenges since 2014. One of the great difficulties to achieve change on the coast is that our governance and economic systems are not fit to address structural issues. And policy makers across the political spectrum have not made this a political priority.

Given the complexity of coastal challenges, innovative analysis such as this new contribution from HOPE not hate are important to highlight the need for a more concerted and coordinated policy effort to support coastal communities. The particular distinction between cultural and economic dimensions of Britain's coastal towns is of particular relevance in identifying solutions. NEF's Blue New Deal action plan launched in 2016 – Turning Back to the Sea – had already found the incredible potential for economic renewal in our coast by building on the existing cultural heritage, natural and human richness, of fishing traditions and the wellbeing potential of our coast and ocean.

As we embark on a national journey towards a green recovery and societal transformation post-covid-19, the unique voices of the coast, and the challenges they face now, must be firmly in the public and political agendas.

The decisions we make now will not just impact on the lives and livelihoods of people during this crisis – they will shape the future values, goals and structure of our economy and society.

Seaton sea front in Devon.

THE IMPACT OF COVID-19 ON THE CLUSTERS

The coronavirus outbreak poses huge challenges for towns across the UK, though at present the scale of the impacts as well as the geographies of these remain unknown, so it is impossible to forecast what solutions are likely to be. The table below highlights how some of the potential scenarios the COVID-19 crisis may have and how this could impact our respective clusters.

Scenario	Impact on town clusters
We see an economic recession, hitting lower skilled jobs hardest. This enflames economic arguments against migration, based on there not being enough to go round.	Areas with **competition for resources** and **cross-cutting deprivation** are likely to suffer most in this scenario. Meanwhile, places with **uncertain industrial futures** could struggle if automation is accelerated or jobs relocate as a result. Another period of austerity could also reduce spending on the public realm and raise crime, thus increasing **visible decline**. Major unemployment or homelessness might also lead to changes, with a relocation of vulnerable groups to **coastal challenge towns**.
Transport and infrastructure experience long-term repercussions from lockdown. This makes travel harder or more expensive.	The spur for this would be if lost revenue for providers - thanks to the reductions in commuters and travellers, in high street shopping etc – forced route closures. Towns within the **Less connected** and **coastal challenges** groupings will struggle most if this happened, becoming more isolated. Previously successful and networked towns could also be dragged into these categories. Places with **Fewer cultural opportunities** might also be affected, if it becomes harder to travel around and thus experience different things.
The rise of remote work means living near the centres of 'core cities' becomes less of a prerequisite for skilled non-manual jobs. People increasingly settle away from cities like London.	The impacts of this might be positive for some towns where housing is more affordable. This could include changing the demographic make-up of towns that are **shrinking and ageing**, that have **Fewer heritage 'assets'** or which are **Less connected,** with a younger cohort relocating to these places from cities. Whether this would have a positive knock-on for place identity and social capital in these areas is an interesting question. Meanwhile, the **rapid change** and **competition for resources** groupings might struggle. Their proximity to globalised hubs could potentially reduce economic growth – a big mitigating factor for the rapid change seen in both.
The Brexit negotiations are postponed beyond the end of 2020 due to the pressures of COVID-19. The UK's negotiating hand is weakened as a result.	The impacts of this might enflame anger in towns that have a **strong national identity**, with some feeling betrayed by the outcome. With the Conservatives unable to deliver on their promise to 'Get Brexit Done', populists further to the right could seek to capitalise – especially in towns with an **authoritarian footprint**. Nonetheless, the impact of this is less straightforward. Those most passionate about leaving the EU are also unlikely to be pleased with any scenario – be it deal or no deal and the impact of a hard Brexit would deepen the challenges faced by towns across the clusters.
There is a major second spike in the number of COVID-19 cases in late autumn. This hits ageing communities hardest, and also has a disproportionate impact on deprived BME groups.	If a second spike occurred in tandem with a winter flu pandemic, towns with older populations– i.e. **shrinking and ageing**, **traditional demographics**, **coastal challenges** – could suffer most. This could reduce Government trust and be used by the far-right. Meanwhile, given the disproportionate impact Covid-19 has had on BME communities, a second spike might also hit BME groups in **migration in the community** areas. These groups could face the double bind of also being blamed or scapegoated for the spread of the virus. This is an especially acute risk in towns with an **authoritarian footprint**.

Looking at things in terms of a broad societal approach, Local Trust identify four types of long-term responses to the pandemic. The most troubling of these, 'Rise of the oligarchs', is both centralised and polarised. And the eventuality which the Local Trust are perhaps most positive about is 'Winning ugly' – whereby a community-level, collective response emerges – albeit in a piecemeal and patchy fashion.[54]

Meanwhile a blog by the NLGN think tank makes the point that fallout from the pandemic will require "an intensity of popular participation in decision-making that can only happen locally."[55] In different ways both of these assessments put their finger on a deeper truth about COVID-19 aftermath, which is that its success will depend on the trade-offs between centralised and localised types of response.

FOOTBALL, IDENTITY AND HOPE

An interview with **Wayne Bullimore***, CEO of Barnsley FC's Reds in the Community*

Football has been central to how many town communities see themselves. This is especially true in the face of regional inequality, economic decline and the retreat of traditional sources of identity like religion and trade unionism.

The way in which football teams connect with their communities is a unique one. According to Reds in the Community, the charity arm of Barnsley FC, "clubs are at the heart of their communities - not just geographically but more importantly, emotionally. They have a unique connection and draw, which enables them to reach further and wider than others. This provides a great opportunity and responsibility to make a difference."

Their CEO Wayne Bullimore believes that this unique connection makes organising within football a key part of community work in Britain. "We use football and Barnsley FC as a source for good. Pretty much all football clubs are the focal points of towns... We've got a captive audience, and in many ways we're better placed to reach people than anyone else."

COVID-19 and the loss of ticket income has exacerbated existing problems in the game, threatening clubs up and down the country. Huddersfield Town's Phil Hodgkinson fears that 60 professional clubs could close, and EFL Chairman Rick Parry warned that this threat will not necessarily retreat with the return of behind-closed-doors football.

The anxiety caused by the pandemic extends to club charities. "Across the network of football charities, we're seeing a lot of clubs turning their eyes towards the charities as budget-saving options, because that's just where the game is at the moment," says Wayne. "Challenges that existed pre-COVID are still there... Gaps have increased around health, education, mental health, discrimination."

With all of this said, the community around the game has proven incredibly resilient. "In terms of football, what's been a great positive factor has been clubs - and particularly their charity arms - pulling together during this time... I'd like to see that solidarity carried forward post-COVID."

As football becomes ever-more focused on finances, it is easy to fear that this will not happen; that the game's ability to strengthen communities seeping away. But Wayne reminds us that football remains an invaluable platform. "Boards should be sat thinking that they can't take supporters for granted again. It's the fans that make the game. When you strip that back, there's no soul in football."

Despite the COVID fallout there remains a huge amount of money in football, as well as the huge emotional weight behind it. Many fans will be hoping that the coronavirus crisis - and the economic fallout that is likely to follow - will be timely reminder of who the game is for.

GRAVESEND AND NORTHFLEET

As part of our wider Hopeful Towns project, we have been working with community leaders and local decision-makers in two areas – Port Talbot in South Wales and the Gravesend/ Northfleet urban area in Kent. We wanted to understand some of the underlying challenges and potential solutions.

Gravesend and Northfleet are two neighboruing towns on the southern bank of the Thames Estuary. Formed around the river, their histories have been defined by trade and immigration. Pocahontas' final resting place is here, having been brought ashore in 1617, and the Rosherville district was once a Victorian resort attracting thousands of Londoners. Meanwhile, Gravesend has had a long tradition as a market town for the wider area.

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The towns' economies have traditionally been related to the Thames, with employment being found in the port-related industries of paper, cement and heavy engineering. Decline in manufacturing industry from the 1980s has seen a broadening of the area's economic base, with growth in small businesses and more dependence on commuting out of the borough for work. But the area retains its important operational role on the river, as the base for the Port of London's Vessel Traffic Services control room.

Today, High Speed train services connect Gravesend to London St Pancras in only 25 minutes, and the area is experiencing regeneration in town centre and riverside sites. Some of these are part of the Government-backed Ebbsfleet Garden City, which is accommodating new housing growth on the western edge of Northfleet. Such growth brings pressure on existing communities but also facilitates new opportunities for investment and growth – such as through a strengthening of local arts and enterprise.

There is a strong local identity in the wider Gravesend area, with neither Gravesend nor Northfleet seeing themselves as part of the 'London sprawl'. Reconciling the more established population with newer groups commuting to or migrating from the capital is a challenge, with implications for cohesion. However, there is an acceptance in most quarters that in order for the area to prosper, certain changes are inevitable and can be a positive part of Gravesham's future.

Some community leaders in the two towns point out the opportunities presented by access to central London. But some also described a fear among residents of 'dormitory town' status (whereby the area becomes just a place for people to sleep while they live their actual lives in the capital). Redevelopment plans that include new affordable housing seek to mitigate against this and to create a town centre that will attract both existing and new residents.

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No far right or hard right candidate has ever won council seats in Gravesend and Northfleet, despite the 2000s BNP push and 2010s UKIP surge that affected many communities around the Thames Estuary. Some community leaders put this down to the area's status as a political bell-weather, and believe the fine balance in local government between the two main parties encourages consensus politics and prevents complacency.

It has also been pointed out that, unlike some nearby towns, Gravesend and Northfleet are already very diverse. A large Sikh population is a fundamental part of the social fabric there. The spectacular Guru Nanak Darbar Gurdwara stands testament to the community's importance, and a statue of RAF fighter pilot Squadron Leader Mohinder Singh Pujji Sikh, commemorating those from around the world who served alongside Britain in all conflicts 1914-2014 has pride of place in St Andrew's Gardens.

The area places particular emphasis on interfaith platforms as a means of building understanding. The Sikh festival of Vaisakhi and a St George's procession form part of the local calendar, enabled by an emphasis on integration and community engagement. Importantly, elements of the pre-austerity social infrastructure have survived: the Kent Equality Cohesion Council is highly influential, whereas similar bodies elsewhere have long-since closed.

A multi-generational Sikh community may be seen as offering a 'template' for others arriving in Gravesend and Northfleet – including the growing Romanian and Nigerian heritage communities. However, there is a challenge here for local decision-makers – who are often used to engagement work going through the established Sikh community – in how they engage with newer communities.

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Gravesend and Northfleet exemplify the challenges and opportunities ahead for many 'rapid change' areas, especially those in the 'halo' of big cities. Competition for resources and significant migration in the community require a fine balance, so that the area retains a centre-of-gravity of its own.

The COVID-19 economic fallout is likely to increase pressure on resources and services – which towns with change and growth already experience particularly acutely. It will present new challenges for work in the high street and public realm, and therefore, in terms of cohesion and resilience, a defining phase in the stories of both Gravesend and Northfleet.

Memorial to an Indian Second World War pilot at Gravesend.
Photo: Marathon / geograph.org.uk

4. TYPES OF CHALLENGE

LOCATING THE FACTORS

This section sets out 14 'clusters' of towns which, according to the data, are likely to fulfil each of the 14 respective characteristics identified in Section 3. This clustering helps us to understand patterns of risk and resilience by looking at where, and how many clusters, each of the 862 towns in our index fall into.

These clusters are not a mutually exclusive taxonomy. Towns can exist on more than one list, and many do. Rather they represent sub-sets of places with shared characteristics. These characteristics could, under certain circumstances, create gaps in resilience or fuel hostility to migration.

Ultimately we hope that, by understanding the clusters better, we can promote greater joined-up working between towns with shared traits – and can look for national policy solutions tailored to each resilience gap.

The central characteristics of the towns in each cluster are outlined below, with a simple map showing the rough geographical spread of the cluster and a diagram illustrating the four datasets which feed into it. Large dots on the maps show places fulfilling all four criteria, while small dots show places fulfilling three of the four.

The table in Appendix A shows the full list of the towns in each grouping. But for each of the descriptions below we have given a couple of examples.

A BRIEF METHODOLOGY NOTE

■ Although most of our towns fit into multiple clusters, there are certain groupings which it would be very difficult for a town to fall into whilst simultaneously falling into another. For instance, it would be rare for a place to experience 'rapid change' whilst also being 'Less connected'.

■ Each of the clusters is developed by identifying places which possess at least three of four data criteria. We have focused on the towns which fulfil all four criteria for a given cluster, but have also acknowledged those that fulfil three.

■ As we will see when looking at the clusters in detail, many of these are based on whether towns score 'above average' or 'below average' for certain metrics. It is worth bearing in mind that, when this is stated, it specifically refers to how places compare with the average among our 862 towns – rather than with the average for the UK as a whole.

■ The metrics and datasets we have used are, with one or two necessary exceptions, only used once during the process of creating the clusters. Almost no dataset feeds into more than one cluster – the aim being that we do not give disproportionate influence to one of our metrics. (There are one or two exceptions, such as the drug deaths metric, which were useful for looking at different things).

■ When we have used datasets on multiple occasions, we have tended to use them for different purposes – i.e. to gauge population growth in one instance, and population shrinkage in another.

A. THE 'TRADITIONAL DEMOGRAPHICS' CLUSTER

e.g. Ilfracombe, Immingham, Sudbury, Morecambe

Towns in this grouping have populations which are predominantly white British, over-65 and working-class (at least in the respect of being in social grades C2 or DE, which, while imperfect, are the best proxies we have). Levels of education are lower than average.

The 110 towns listed are very evenly spread across the UK, with the exception of the Home Counties. The towns in this cluster take in everything from Northern industrial regions to market towns and coastal areas. Some of the places have had notable instances of far-right activities activity, but a great many others have not.

Incorporating places as diverse as Barnoldswick in the Yorkshire Dales, Downham Market in Norfolk, Neath in South Wales and Walton-on-the-Naze on the Essex coast, the distribution of the towns shows both the strengths of the 'traditional demographics' cluster and the weaknesses. While it is effective as a way of identifying relatively 'homogenous' types of place – where latent hostility could thrive – it does little to point us towards solutions or to help us understand deeper questions of place. It is hard, for example, to see policy solutions that would be effective in all four of the aforementioned towns.

The main consequences for resilience among towns in this cluster would probably relate to a

Figure 41.

Large dots = all four criteria
Small dots = three of four criteria
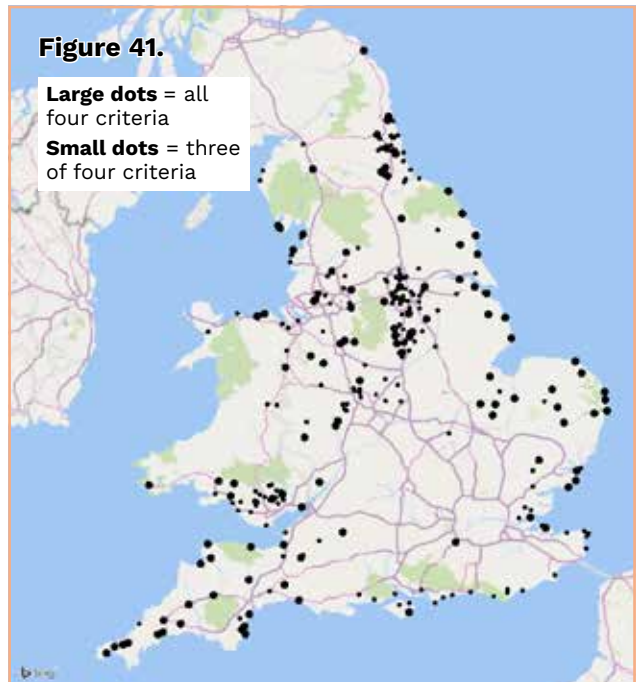
suspicion of outsiders, low bridging capital, and a lack of experience of cultural or racial difference.

Effective messages in these types of areas will likely focus on shared identities and commonalities, rather than emphasising difference. Simultaneously, effective strategies will look for means of establishing contact with non-WB communities that do exist, which gradually introduce change and difference.

Figure 40.

Above average for size of white British population 2019 (578 towns)

Above average for 2011 proportion with no qualifications AND proportion with no degree (394 towns)

110 towns with all four traits (169 with three traits)

Above average for 2011 proportion in social grade C2 and proportion in social grade DE (331)

Above average for proportion aged 65 and over as of 2018 (379 towns)

B. THE 'VISIBLE DECLINE' CLUSTER

e.g. Accrington, Abersychan, Halifax, Swinton

The 67 towns in this grouping have above average IMD scores both for crime and community safety issues, and for challenges relating to the living environment and the public realm. They have seen over a third of pubs close since 2001, and have higher levels of drug deaths than the average town. All of these factors can feed into low trust of others and a sense of deterioration and loss.

This cluster is striking in terms of how concentrated it is, running across a belt of Lancashire and West Yorkshire towns immediately north of The Peak District. Among the larger of the towns mentioned are Rochdale, Wakefield, Burnley and Halifax.

It would be interesting to drill deeper into the list, to try and understand why this particular group of towns score so highly. Far fewer of the towns in the North East and Wales fall into this grouping, for example – despite also having post-industrial economies and high levels of deprivation. One notable factor when trying to understand it, however, is the predominance of mill towns within this grouping. We look at this type of settlement in more detail on page 76. But it is certainly the case that places which were once the home to textile or cotton mills seem to have a disproportionately high number of towns in the 'visible decline' category.

Figure 43.

Large dots = all four criteria
Small dots = three of four criteria
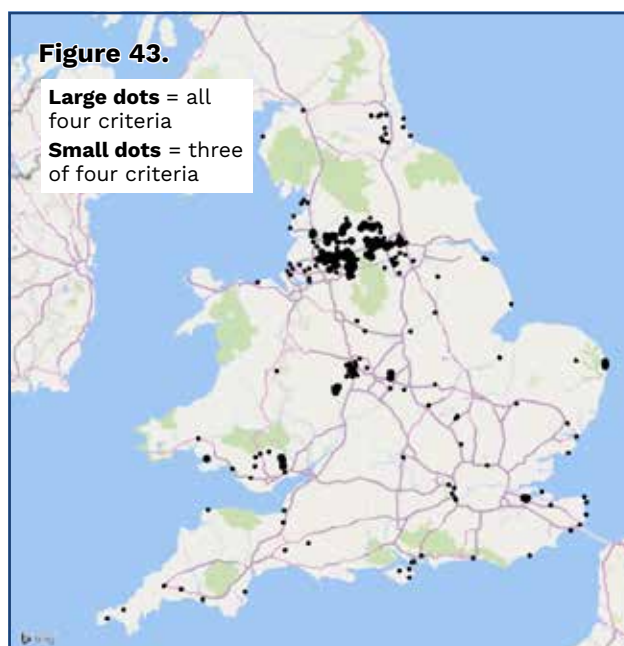
The effect of the characteristics associated with this trait is to enflame feelings of deterioration, cultural decline and economic abandonment. Solutions in these sorts of towns may some through visible 'clear-up' operations, spearheaded by community leaders. One precedent for this is the 'eyesore gardens' campaign in Barking & Dagenham during the 2000s, where a renewed focus on public realm issues helped to tackle at source the decline narratives promoting the far right.[56] The initiative continues to this day.

Figure 42.

Within an authority where more than a third of pubs have closed since 2001 (195 towns)

Above average for deprivation relating to crime/ community safety (412 towns)

67 towns with all four traits (158 towns with three traits)

Within authority with above average for drug deaths from poisoning/ misuse (399 towns)

Above average deprivation for living environment/ physical environment (356 towns)

C. THE 'SHRINKING AND AGEING' CLUSTER

e.g. Ebbw Vale, Worksop, Wigan, Redditch

The distribution of the 79 'shrinking and ageing' towns very much overlaps with the UK's former industrial heartlands in the West Midlands, the North East, the North West, Yorkshire and south Wales. These are often places where traditional industries have closed and where major questions exist about the long-term future of the town.

Settlements within this cluster over-index for the pace at which the population is ageing, but under-index for growth in the population, for projected growth in population, and for rises in house prices. Use of the latter metric latter reflects the overlay of economic and demographic challenges faced by these towns, resulting in more visible decline, with many hosting large numbers of empty houses or abandoned buildings.

Just 7 of the 79 our 'shrinking and ageing' towns are 'large towns', with a disproportionately high number of smaller places. As the name for the cluster perhaps suggests, this reflects that many of these towns had historically been built for a single purpose, serving a specific industry.

Our sense would be that attitudes among towns in this cluster are likely to reflect lower level hostility and social conservatism, rather than overt anger or activism. The issues in 'shrinking

Figure 45.

Large dots = all four criteria

Small dots = three of four criteria
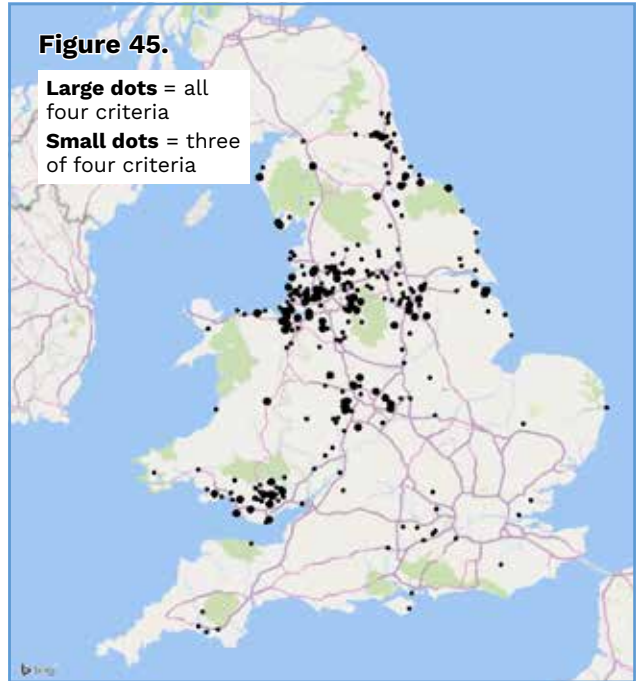
and ageing' towns ideally require economic policies at the national level, which re-establish a clear sense of purpose for each town. But local strategies can also help, by looking at other economic 'purposes' which generate centres of gravity – be it through encouraging different sorts of companies to invest or through promoting the town as an affordable place to commute to and from.

Figure 44.

2002-18 population growth below average (513 towns)

Within local authority where 2014-24 internal and external migration inflows are below average (279 towns)*

79 towns with all four traits (205 with three traits)

Population aged faster than average 2002-18 (400 towns)

1995-2019 house price increases below average (452 towns)

For Welsh towns, where this data is not collected, we have double-weighted the 2002-18 population growth figures.

KEEPING YOUNGER GENERATIONS IN THE TOWN – A REFLECTION FROM MARGATE

Will Scobie *is a former Mayor of Margate and is the manager of an SME near Ramsgate*

Lack of skills and an ageing population are major issues affecting the towns in Thanet. I grew up in Margate and now live in Ramsgate, and these questions frame a lot of your experiences and the decisions you make.

The Thanet area still has the grammar school system, and I went to a grammar. But my sister went to a comprehensive and the proportion who attended university was very low. Of my own friends from the grammar school who went to university, I am definitely unusual in having come back.

This is both to do with the lack of jobs here and the desire to experience a city lifestyle. But it creates a vicious circle, whereby businesses do not set up because of the lack of skills. Those in the senior roles which do exist here frequently commute in from "nicer" bits of Kent, like Canterbury or Maidstone. Hence, local organisations often have to pay their staff more to work in Thanet. (The grammar school system is an additional issue here, meaning that our non-selective schools do badly on national league tables).

The HS1 rail links into London are changing this over time. More people are moving to Margate, Broadstairs and Ramsgate. Some commute to London; others work remotely or pursue new endeavours in catering or the arts.

Important though this is, it does not necessarily solve the core problems, to do with skills and the local economy. Cliftonville in Margate has been transformed by Londoners moving down and renovating housing, for example. But the question remains of where the former tenants have gone.

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I now manage an employee-owned SME, specialising in business risk and crisis management. We are based at the Discovery Park in nearby Sandwich. The site is a designated Enterprise Zone (based on the premises of the old Pfizer pharmaceutical plant).

Many of the conditions are conducive to running a company, and the quality of life for staff is good. But we still have mixed experiences with recruitment locally.

In theory, we are close enough to get individuals living in London to relocate. But the reality is that the cost differentials do not make sense to either us or them.

We have had some success in identifying those who went away to university and came back, or who attended the Canterbury universities and stayed on. But these individuals often require a lot of extra training. Many of our newer recruits, meanwhile, are non-graduates in their 20s from the local area – with little relevant experience. We have had to create brand new development pathways for them.

This is something we are committed to and proud of. But it is nevertheless an expense that does not exist in other parts of the UK, and which most companies would prefer not to pay.

***

There are political implications to all of these problems. UKIP in 2013, 2014 and 2015 focused heavily on the lost past of the Thanet towns, with Nigel Farage running for the seat in 2015. They blamed perceived and real decline on 'London elites' and on migrants 'bringing the town down'.

For an area with a strong sense of loss, having a group to blame like this was an easy way out. Hence, when UKIP were at their peak there was a lot of cynicism and rumours spread quickly. It was claimed, for instance, that new social housing in Ramsgate was being ear-marked for Somalians from London, or that a Pakistani man that was arrested for rape was really part of a covered-up paedophile ring.

We never knew where these rumours came from. But they always blamed some outside group for a perceived or potential future loss for local people. In the process they made it harder for the Thanet towns to attract investment or encourage young people to stay.

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It was announced in summer 2020 that the new Thanet Parkway station – based next to the Discovery Park – will go ahead. This is a major step forward in terms of infrastructure, and will reduce London journey times to less than an hour.

Those of us living and working in the area hope this will enable more businesses to relocate – creating local jobs, getting commuters investing in the towns, and encouraging newer generations to see a future for themselves here.

The Parade in the Old Town area of Margate, Kent, England
Photo: Acabashi / wikimedia.org

map: wikimedia.org

MARGATE

D. THE 'UNCERTAIN INDUSTRIAL FUTURES' CLUSTER

e.g. Birstall, Hucknall, Kirkby-in-Ashfield, St Austell

Places with 'uncertain industrial futures' are among those most likely to have significant wage stagnation – along with a high proportion of jobs at risk of automation, and a high proportion of the workplace furloughed as a result of COVID-19. This latter point implies a higher proportion of individuals working in industries facing uncertainty in light of a second wave of coronavirus or potentially precarious futures in a post-pandemic landscape. The proportions employed in industrial jobs was above average in 2001 or in 2011, but declined sharply between those two dates.

There is less overlap than might be expected with the 'shrinking and ageing' cluster, with the focus being on more immediate economic questions. In many cases, although there have been significant declines in industry, a manufacturing base remains. The fear may be that as technology advances, the human element becomes surplus to requirement, more than that the industry leaves altogether.

Places with 'uncertain industrial futures are not necessarily in the regions we might expect, with the South West and the East Midlands featuring more heavily than some of the UK's traditional industrial heartlands.

This may be because the economies in question

Figure 47.

Large dots = all four criteria

Small dots = three of four criteria
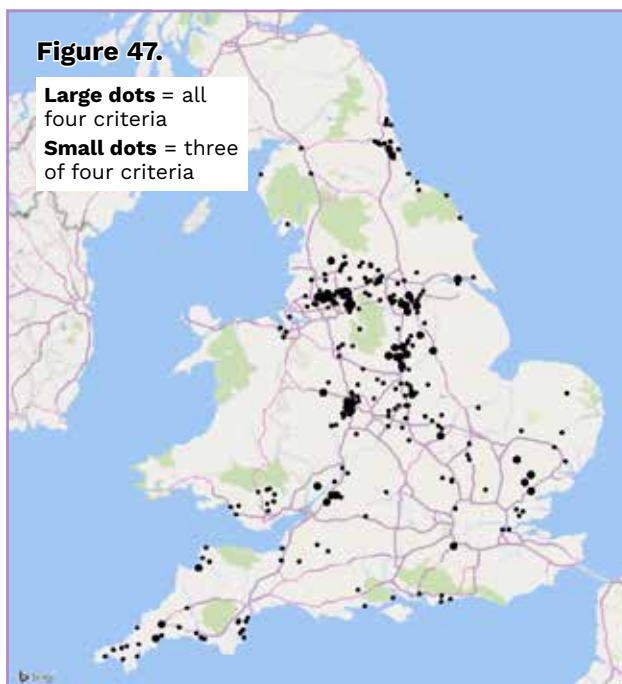
support lighter forms of industry. Telford, for example, saw the departure of a sugar beet factory in 2007. And Washington, a New Town in the North East, saw a number of jobs depart after the closure of a rubber tyre plant in 2006.

The answers here and likely to rely on policies which support adult skills, opportunities, re-training and investment – perhaps including a focus on things like green industries.

Figure 46.

In a local authority deemed to have above average risk of job automation (402 towns + 29 Welsh towns)*

Within local authority where 2012-19 wage stagnation was above average (Median OR Mean) (556 towns)

45 towns with all four traits (231 towns with three traits)

Above average for the number of employees on the COVID-19 furlough scheme (401 towns)

Above average for 2001 OR 2011 % in industrial jobs AND above average for % fall in that figure (328 towns)

Among Welsh towns the job automation data is not available in the same format, so we have substituted in IMD employment scores as a rough proxy, adding an extra 29 towns.

E. THE 'CROSS-CUTTING DEPRIVATION' CLUSTER

e.g. Ystrad Mynach, Peterlee, Bloxwich, Bootle

The towns in the 'cross-cutting deprivation' grouping over-index for economic, health, and educational deprivation – as well as for the overall IMD score. They have also experienced a COVID-19 health impact which is more pronounced than that in the average town. Examples include Hartlepool, Colne, or Bootle.

There are 115 places landing in this grouping, and they are very heavily centred around the UK's traditional industrial bases. Many are satellite suburbs of places like Liverpool or Birmingham, suggesting that they face 'inner-city problems' like overcrowding, without the economic centre of gravity to go with it.

The towns which fall into this cluster are overwhelmingly more negative than positive about migration and diversity. This hostility is likely to stem from genuine anger and disillusionment, from a feeling that the economic system puts others first, and from a very low sense of political agency and trust.

Ingrained deprivation is clearly a very hard problem to address. Targeted spending is clearly part of the solution. But some of the best ideas we have come across, when researching this report, stem from an emphasis on schools as central hubs, from which healthcare, adult skills, mental health services etc all flow.

Figure 49.

Large dots = all four criteria

Small dots = three of four criteria

Figure 48.

Above average for 2019 overall IMD (382 towns)

Above average for 2019 IMD income deprivation (211 towns)

115 towns with all four traits (120 towns with three traits)

Above average for 2019 educational deprivation AND % with no qualifications (350 towns)

Above average for 2019 health deprivation AND for 2020 COVID death rate (224 towns)

IN FOCUS: 'RED WALL' TOWNS

The 2019 General Election was a sea change moment in British party politics. A series of constituencies which had historically always voted Labour opted, for the first time, for Boris Johnson's Conservative Party. Labour's 'Red Wall' collapsed.

The outcome is relevant to this report because of the realignment it represented. Most of the seats in question were 'town' constituencies. The shift in support towards the conservatives reflected voters' position on Brexit, with Leave voting constituencies at odds with the Remain-leaning Labour party, a vote that was in a large part determined by attitudes towards free movement and immigration more generally. The declining Labour vote was also put down to a feeling of distance from the party under Jeremy Corbyn, a rejection of a London-based leadership with strong socially liberal values. Social conservatives switched to the Tories; cultural identity trumped economic identity.

HOPE not hate Charitable Trust polling in these seats** has suggested that voters were, on the whole, more socially conservative than in other areas of the country, though the margins of difference with the nationally representative group were lower than media reports might suggest. 44% said that having a wide variety of backgrounds and cultures had undermined British culture, compared to 36% of the nationally representative sample, and 43% said that on the whole, immigration into Britain has been a bad thing for the country, compared to just 35% of the nationally representative group.

Our polling did not find significant differences in the Leave vote recalled by Red Wall voters compared to those in the UK as a whole. But it did reveal marginally more optimism about life after Brexit, across a range of questions.

Our index identifies 76 towns in Red Wall seats – just 9 of which over-indexed for migration liberalism. Towns in this grouping include the likes Atherton, Barrow-in-Furness and Wednesbury.

The average Red Wall town falls into 4.55 clusters, whereas the average town in our index falls into just 3.17.

Figure 50 shows how this group of towns compare to English and Welsh towns in general. The groupings which the Red Wall seats are disproportionately likely to fall into are patterned with stripes.

It shows that they are more likely than the average town to be in the shrinking and ageing, cross-cutting deprivation, migration in the community and Fewer cultural opportunities clusters.

There are complex reasons behind the fall of the so-called 'red wall' into Conservative hands, among them, the importance of cultural issues as one of the new political fault lines when it comes to towns. A rejection of political loyalties in the 2019 election indicates that voters who feel dissatisfied an underrepresented may switch again, not necessarily back to Labour but also to look to alternatives if voters feel that the traditional parties do not offer credible solutions for them.

For many red wall switchers, the Conservatives' levelling up agenda offered hope for change to many of the issues they are facing; from cross—cutting deprivation to uncertain industrial futures. But in order to win these voters over again, the Conservatives must deliver tangible change for these places. If not, they risk further alienation, and we could see a hardening of rejectionist cultural values.

** *The Fieldwork was carried out between 29th May and 5th June. Focaldata poll of 5,317 adults aged 18+ of two groups:*

- 2,019 respondents who were nationally representative of the GB population (the 'nationally representative' portion of the sample); and

- 3,298 respondents in 100 constituencies of interest: 1,768 were in the 44 constituencies which were won by the Conservatives in 2019 but were previously held by Labour in 2017 in the North and Midlands ('Red Wall' seats), an average of 40 respondents per constituency

- 1,580 were in an additional 56 constituencies of interest, predominantly other seats that were marginal in 2019 plus other Conservative gains from Labour, an average of 28 respondents per constituency

Figure 50. Number of towns in each cluster: 'Red Wall' towns versus all towns

Legend:
- a. Traditional demographics
- b. Visible decline
- c. Shrinking and ageing
- d. Uncertain industrial futures
- e. Cross-cutting deprivation
- f. Competition for resources
- g. Rapid change
- h. Migration in the community
- i. Authoritarian footprint
- j. Strong national identity
- k. Fewer cultural oportunities
- l. Fewer heritage assets
- m. Less connected

All towns

Red wall towns
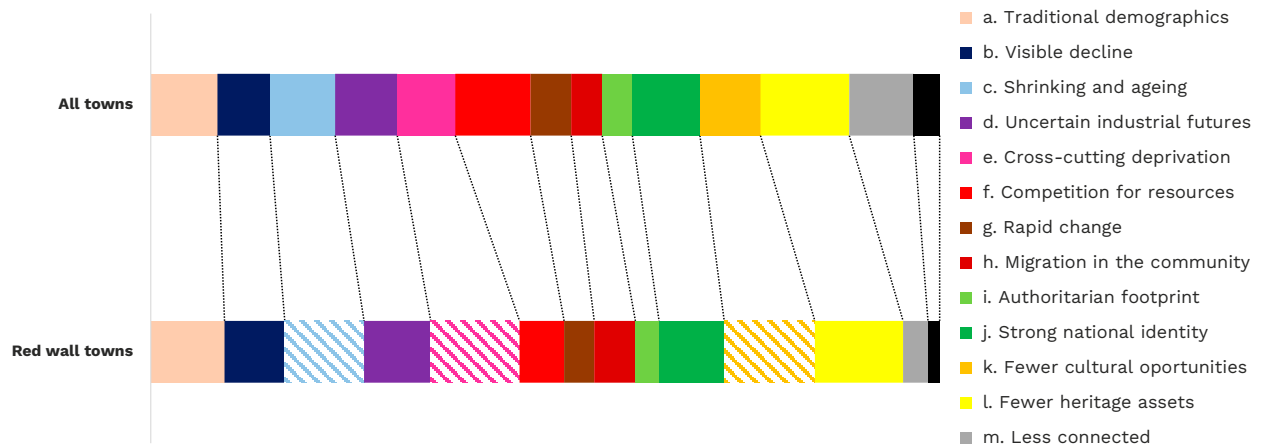
Shipyard office buildings viewed from Bridge Road on
Barrow Island, Barrow-in-Furness, England.
Photo: Stevvvv4444 / wikimedia.org
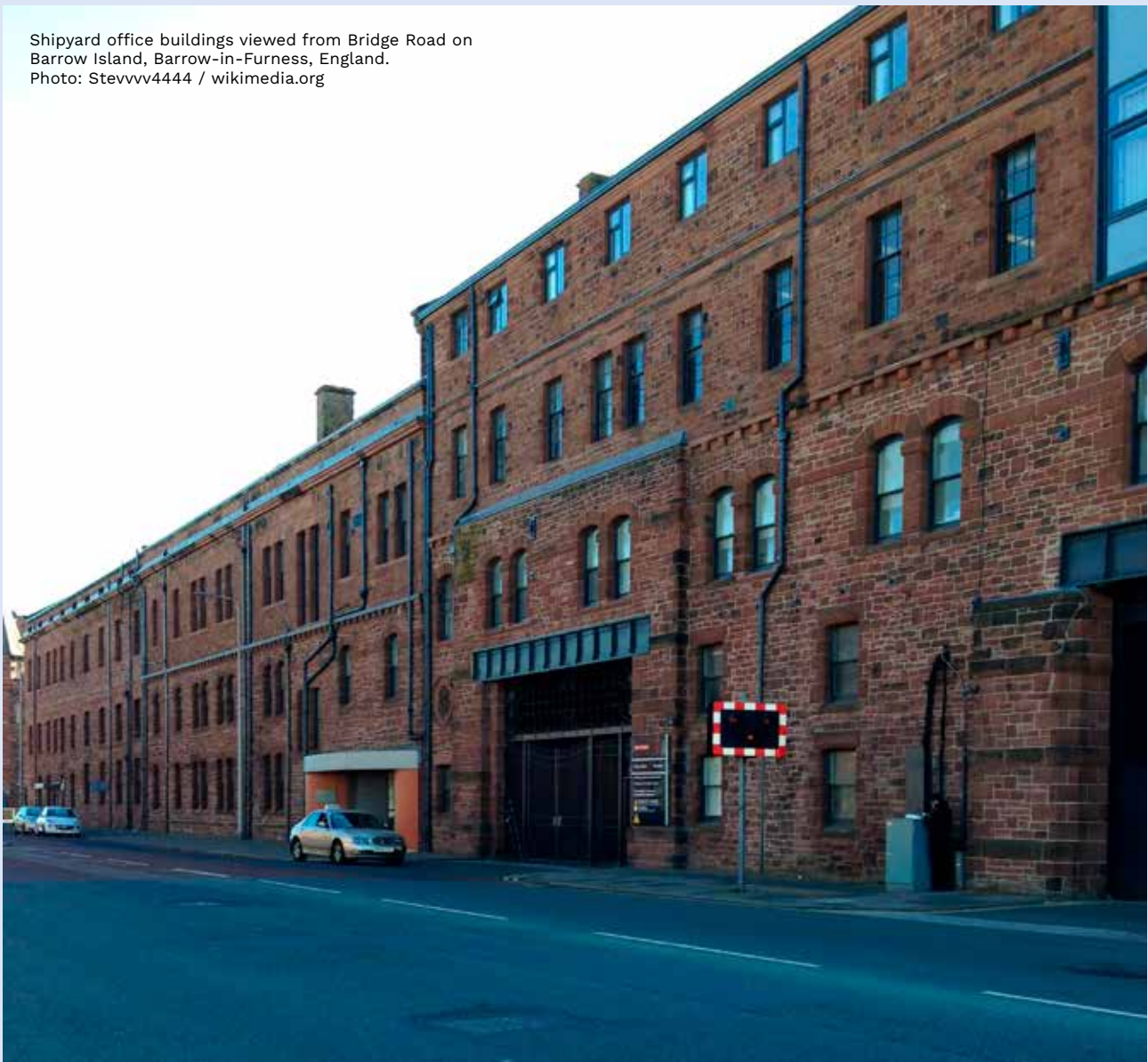
F. THE 'COMPETITION FOR RESOURCES' CLUSTER

e.g. Ashford, Luton, Walsall, Smethwick

Scattered across the England, particularly in places towards the east of the country and around London, 'competition for resources' describes places with rapidly growing populations combined with a lack of jobs or service access. This grouping includes the likes of Oldham, Dartford and Ipswich.

There are very few of these places in the North East or in Wales, the population growth in the 'competition for resources' settlements putting them in a fundamentally different category to some of the places in the earlier clusters.

Towns with 'competition for resources' are often fairly well-connected to economic hubs, but remain affordable places to live, hence newer waves of Eastern European migration settling there – often working in construction, distribution, hospitality or agriculture or food production.

Concerns about immigration will therefore centre more on whether there is enough to go round than on decline and loss (we have deliberately up-weighted economic anxiety). The presence of large East European communities potentially creates a more fertile territory for those looking to promote xenophobic narratives about immigration adding pressures to resources or displacing settled populations.

Figure 52.

Large dots = all four criteria

Small dots = three of four criteria
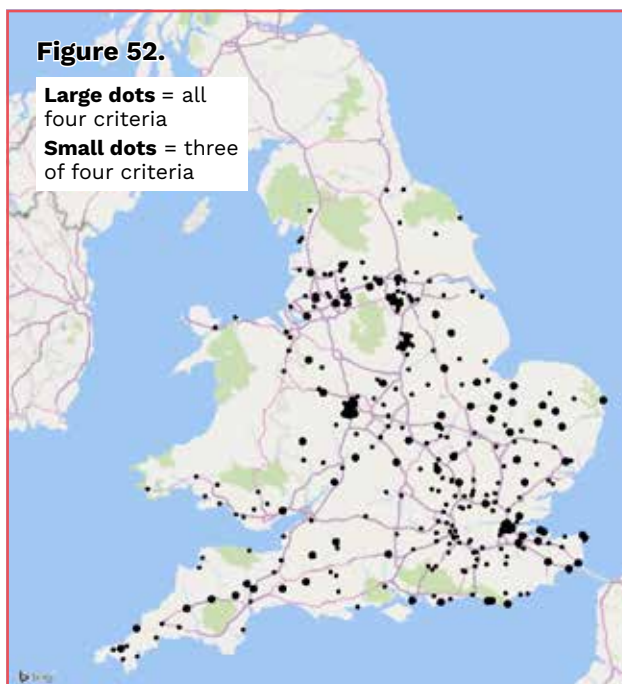
Enforcement policies can play a big role here – for example, the enforcement of the minimum wage or of landlord licencing schemes. Meanwhile, a focus on a shared 'social contract' of some sort is also important. This can sometimes be implemented via things like locally co-produced welcome packs or charters around the rights and responsibilities of local residents.

Figure 51.

Above average for IMD employment deprivation OR access to housing/ services (548 towns)

Above average for size of East European population or for growth (421 towns)

94 towns with all four traits (226 towns with three traits)

Above average for 2002-18 population growth (348 towns)

Above average for Immigration Ambivalence (489 towns)
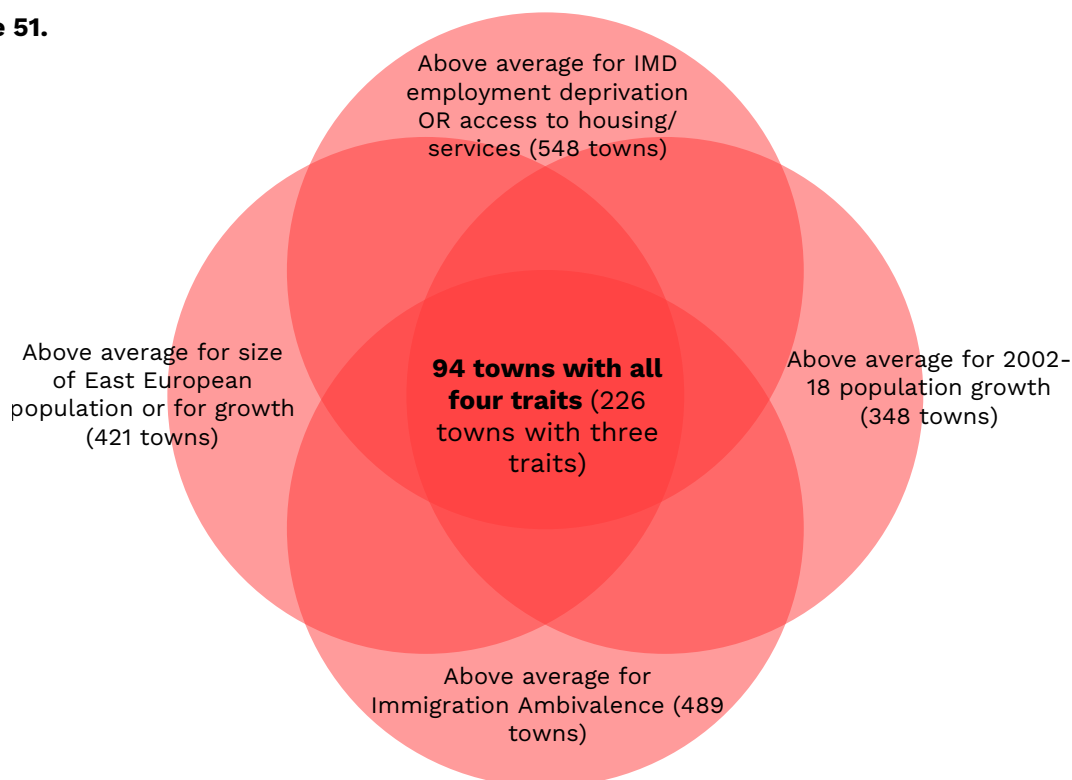
G.   THE 'RAPID CHANGE' CLUSTER

e.g. Salford, Dartford, Slough, Oldbury

Gathered in the 'halo' around economic hubs – predominantly London – 'rapid change' places are affordable offshoots of big cities. Both international and domestic migrants, including larger numbers of graduates, may be moving to these places, meaning waves of change in terms of population growth, diversification and gentrification.

The 'rapid change' category is one of our less vulnerable groupings, with the fear and hope data suggesting lower levels of migration hostility. Many of the towns listed are on a positive economic journey – including the likes of Slough, Gravesend and Salford. However, the arrival of newer waves of migration remains a risk, for places which may have historically been very settled.

The changes afoot may also pose big questions about place identity. With 'rapid change' comes the risk that settlements in this cluster will become 'dormitory towns' for those with little investment in the place itself – or else will be absorbed by larger cities. Hence, shifts in 'rapid change' areas need to be managed carefully, to avoid tensions.

Solutions here rely very much on local leadership, as well as on interventions which

Figure 54.

Large dots = all four criteria

Small dots = three of four criteria
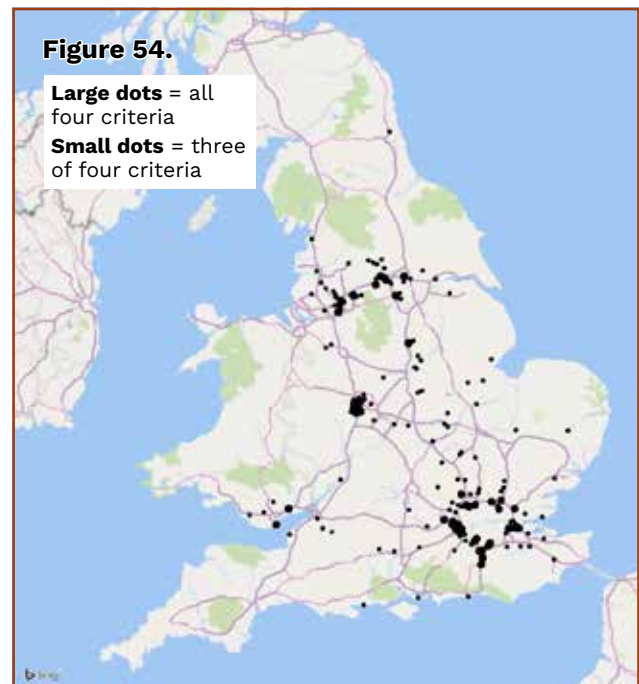
foster connections between new and existing communities.

Figure 53.

2011-19 increase in non-WB populations is above +2 percentage points (274 towns)

Above average for 2002-18 population growth, below average for increases in age (244 towns)

47 towns with all four traits (129 towns with three traits)

'Edge of city' towns (305 towns)

Above average for 2014-24 projected international AND 'within UK' migration (625 towns + 13 Welsh towns double weighted for population growth)*

Among Welsh towns the projected migration data is not available in the same format, so we have double-weighted 2002-18 population growth, adding an extra 13 towns.

THE 'HALO' EFFECT

The 'halo effect' is a phenomenon which may exist in some of the towns now experiencing rapid change. It was a term we identified during the National Conversation on immigration.

It described the fact that people in towns with predominently white British populations often constructed their views predominently from media and peer goup discussion. Many felt overwhelmed seeing the pace of change elsewhere, anxieties were further engrained by visits to nearby diverse cities, where they witnessed super diversity, but did not have meaningful contact with people different to themselves.

For example, in Kidderminster, interactions with preachers when visiting Birmingham were the only interactions many panel members had with Muslims and when twinned with stories in traditional and social media of events such as the 'Trojan horse schools', the citizens' panel had some anxieties about security which they linked directly to integration challenges for the Muslim community.

This has been something echoed in a Swedish study whereby the propensity to vote for the radical right is highest in areas close to immigrant-dense areas, but not within these areas.[57]

Moreover, their proximity to super diverse cities suggests greater resentment at the disjuncture of gains between these areas and their own towns, heightening a feeling that something had been 'taken away'.

High Street, Kidderminster, Worcestershire, England.
Photo: Rept0n1x / wikimedia.org

H.   THE 'MIGRATION IN THE COMMUNITY' CLUSTER

e.g. Keighley, Tilbury, Bilston, Pudsey

The 50 towns in this cluster have seen rapid increases in their non-WB populations since 2011, as well as patterns of migration whereby a single group settles – rather than multiple different groups – meaning higher 'uni-diversity'. The non-WB contingent are likely to be of south Asian, black African or eastern European heritage, as opposed to coming from West European groups, who are less likely to be on the receiving end of racist or xenophobic narratives based on ethnic-cultural difference. The areas will also have been more likely to be chosen as 'asylum dispersal areas'.

These combinations of factors are most common in a raft of smaller towns to the North West of Birmingham, and on the fringes of Manchester and Leeds. Among the larger places in the grouping are Middlesbrough, Wolverhampton and Rotherham. This suggests that many of these areas will be vulnerable to the so-called 'halo effect' we have described on page 74.

Many of the towns in this cluster are experiencing a series of intersecting challenges alongside migration, such as high deprivation. Middlesbrough, for instance, has a higher number of asylum seekers, predominantly because the area has significant deprivation and accommodation is very cheap. Tilbury in Essex is diversifying very fast – in part because it is a very poor area, and remains one of the few places within touching distance of

Figure 56.

Large dots = all four criteria

Small dots = three of four criteria
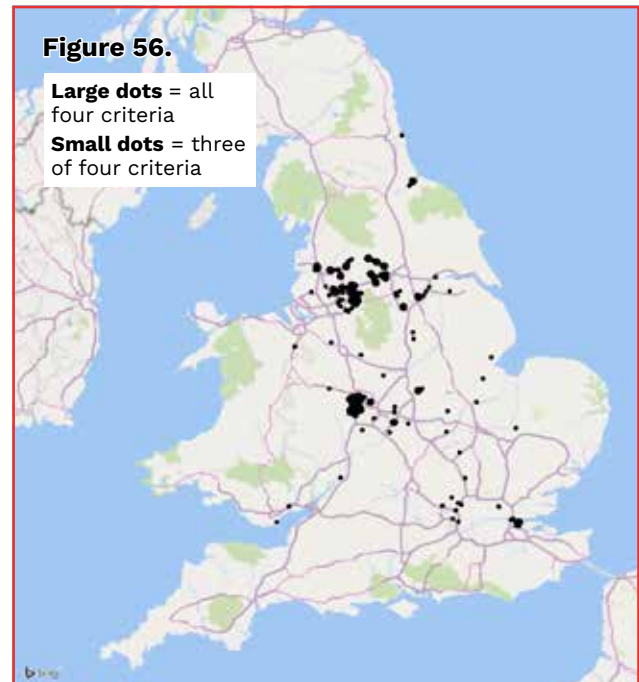
London which is affordable.

This combination of factors means that cohesion in this cluster needs to be properly resourced and prioritised across local government service provision. The emphasis should be on creating connections through ideas like interfaith partnerships, as well as on central government funding for language learning and other policies which help to build bridges between groups.

Figure 55.

Largest non-migrant heritage group is Muslim, East European, Hindu or Black African (225 towns)

Proportion of asylum seekers settled in local authority area is above average (201 towns)

50 towns with all four traits (78 towns with three traits)

Diversity of migrant-heritage populations below 92 (and non-WB population is above 10%) (126 towns)

2011-19 increase in non-WB populations since 2011 is above +2 percentage points (274 towns)

IN FOCUS: MILL TOWNS

We have 'tagged' 58 towns within our index as mill towns, based on research into the history of places manufacturing cotton and other textiles. The resulting list is not fully exhaustive. But covers the vast majority of towns which specialised in these types of production.

All of the settlements 'tagged' are in the North West or, to a lesser extent, the Yorkshire and Humber region (with Lancashire historically specialising in cotton and Yorkshire in wool). The dominance of these industries in the 19th century was such that Manchester came to be known as 'Cottonopolis' in its Victorian heyday.

Industrial expansion in these towns mainly took place in the first half of the 19th century, in line with the first Industrial Revolution. The sector shrank dramatically from the 1960s onwards.

The characteristics of mill towns are fairly distinct, especially in the North West, with houses tending to be made of red brick and public spaces often featuring statues of textile workers. Factories have in some cases been abandoned, and tall chimneys stripe the skyline. These very noticeable emblems of decline and loss mean there are arguably few places that have more come to epitomise post-industrial Britain.

As Centre For Towns' Ian warren wrote in *Fear, Hope and Loss*, there have also been very particular patterns of diversity in this region. In Lancashire in particular, there was largescale migration in the 1960s from the Mirpur district of Kashmir in Pakistan.

This has often meant much more 'uni-diverse' types of settlement than anywhere else in the UK, with non-WB residents tending to be of Pakistani Muslim heritage. Of the 20 most 'uni-diverse' places in England and Wales, 10 are former mill towns. These are Brierfield, Nelson, Dewsbury, Heckmondwike, Oldham, Blackburn, Batley, Rochdale, Accrington and Keighley.

The average mill town falls into 4.42 clusters, whereas the average town in our index falls into 3.17 clusters.

Figure 57 shows the breakdown of clusters which mill towns fall into. Compared to the typical English or Welsh town, they are more likely to be within the 'migration in the community' cluster. As well as the patterns of uni-diversity described above, this is due to rapid change in recent years and to a greater number of asylum settlement schemes. Of 100 towns in Britain which have taken the highest number of asylum seekers, 36 are mill towns.

Meanwhile, as well as over-indexing for 'cross-cutting deprivation' and 'uncertain industrial futures', mill towns are much, much more likely than the average town to feature within the 'visible decline' grouping. One theory here might be that mill towns' very conspicuous post-industrial decline – in the form of abandoned factories or warehouses – creates an environment where other elements of the public realm deteriorate too. It might even be that these environments enflame other social problems – creating cover for drug dealing, for example.

One positive thing, meanwhile, is that mill towns are not notably more likely than the average town to fall into the 'authoritarian footprint' grouping.

This is somewhat surprising, and comes despite a large number of mill towns having seen major challenges in the past on this front. This was most obvious during the 2001 race riots in Oldham, but also later on, with the EDL targeting towns like Dewsbury. Of the 24 towns in Britain to have at some point in the 2000s elected a BNP councillor, for instance, 8 are mill towns.

This makes it all the more interesting that the average mill town is not notably more likely to over-index for 'authoritarian footprint'. It reflects the fact that these places remained curiously immune to the allure of UKIP in the mid-2010s – in a way which was not true of other ex-industrial areas, like Merthyr Tydfil, Rotherham or Hartlepool. And it also comes because mill towns were much less likely than other industrial places – be they ports, mining or manufacturing communities – to have signed petitions such as those in support of Tommy Robinson.

The average Leave vote was also much lower in mill towns than in other industrial places (to the extent that we can tell this as a proxy for attitudes to migration).

In many cases community leaders' responses to challenges in mill towns can take some of the credit here. Many have placed a serious and laudable focus on addressing cohesion, and on consigning to the past the events of the 2000s. Demographic changes may also explain the shift. Either way, mill towns have been less drawn than we might expect to more recent overtures from the authoritarian right.

Figure 57. Number of towns in each cluster: Mill towns versus all towns

Legend:
- a. Traditional demographics
- b. Visible decline
- c. Shrinking and ageing
- d. Uncertain industrial futures
- e. Cross-cutting deprivation
- f. Competition for resources
- g. Rapid change
- h. Migration in the community
- i. Authoritarian footprint
- j. Strong national identity
- k. Fewer cultural oportunities
- l. Fewer heritage assets
- m. Less connected
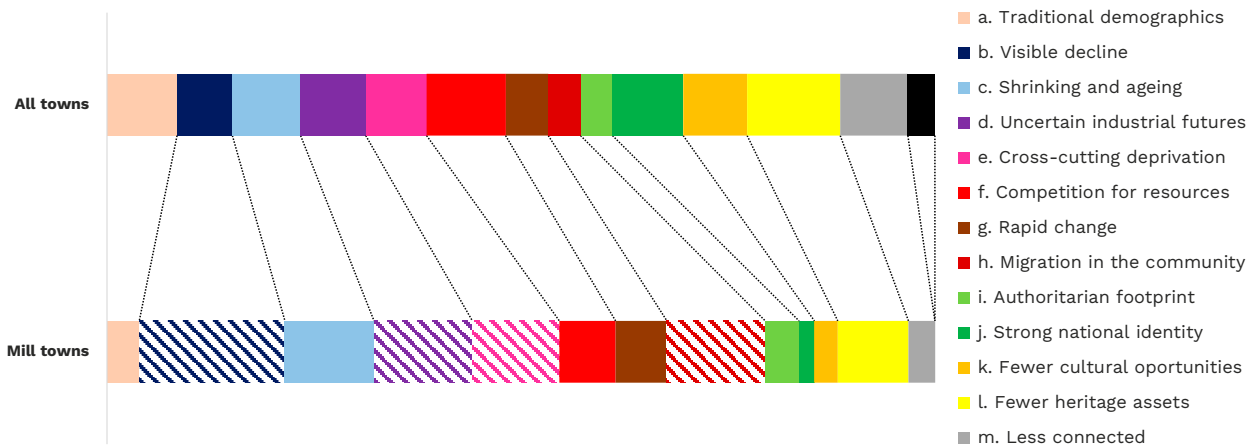
We should be careful about over-stating this. As recently as summer 2020 a 'White Lives Matter' banner was flown over a football match in the former mill town of Burnley. But, the mill towns story still shows that places with an authoritarian past do not necessarily need to be defined by it.

There may something to be learnt here for other towns, where cohesion challenges are newer.

A view over Broadway in Chadderton, towards Werneth and Oldham, all in Greater Manchester, England.
Photo: Matt / wikimedia.org

I. THE 'AUTHORITARIAN FOOTPRINT' CLUSTER

e.g. Sheerness, Burnley, Boston, Dudley

The 'authoritarian footprint' cluster is based in part on HNH data, both about the electoral record of UKIP and the far-right, and about online and offline far-right activism. We specifically focused on local elections when developing this cluster – not on Westminster or European elections – as ward data provides the granularity to extrapolate to town level. This meant Brexit Party results are not included.

The cluster includes 37 towns matching all criteria. These are places where authoritarian parties and far-right activists have had success both at the ballot box and beyond.

As we can see, many of the sites for this cluster are in the North West and along the Thames Estuary. There is some variety within the grouping, and it includes seaside towns successfully targeted by UKIP in the 2010s, as well as areas courted by the BNP in the 2000s. There have also been substantial instances of street organising or digital activism in these towns.

There is a question, with all of these places, about whether a historic 'authoritarian footprint' is likely to make an area more vigilant against racism, or to make it more ready to follow the same path again.

There are certainly many instances where the former is the case, and a far-right spike has acted

Figure 59.

Large dots = all four criteria
Small dots = three of four criteria
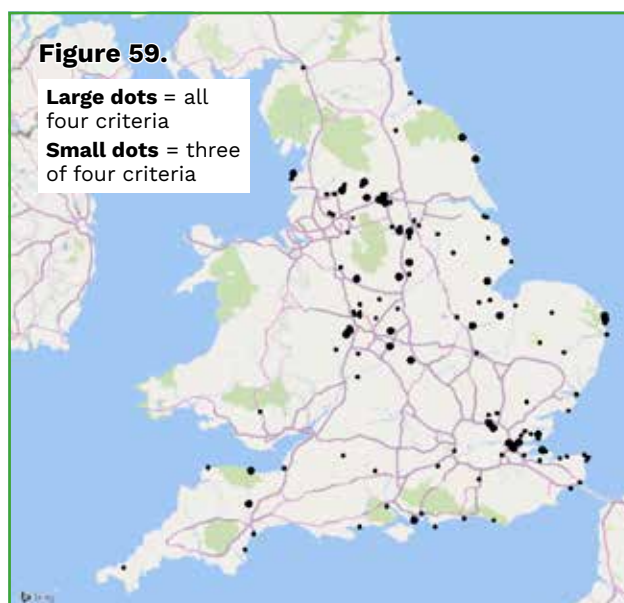
as a spur for a community to drive out racist elements. However, it seems equally likely that, despite electoral defeat or the collapse of street movements, the capacity for resentments to re-surface remains more acute in places where they have appeared before.

As our 'in focus' look at mill towns suggests (page 76) some of the best approaches in towns with an 'authoritarian footprint' will acknowledge the challenges of the past, and to develop inclusive narratives that make a virtue of how a place has learned from the experience and changed.

Figure 58.

At least one UKIP or BNP Cllr elected since 2000

Over-indexing for online activism – e.g. petition signatures, such as those for 'Free Tommy' in 2017

37 towns with all four traits (95 with three traits)

Over-indexing for UKIP and BNP Cllrs elected per 10,000 residents

Over-indexing for local organising, marches, or other offline activism
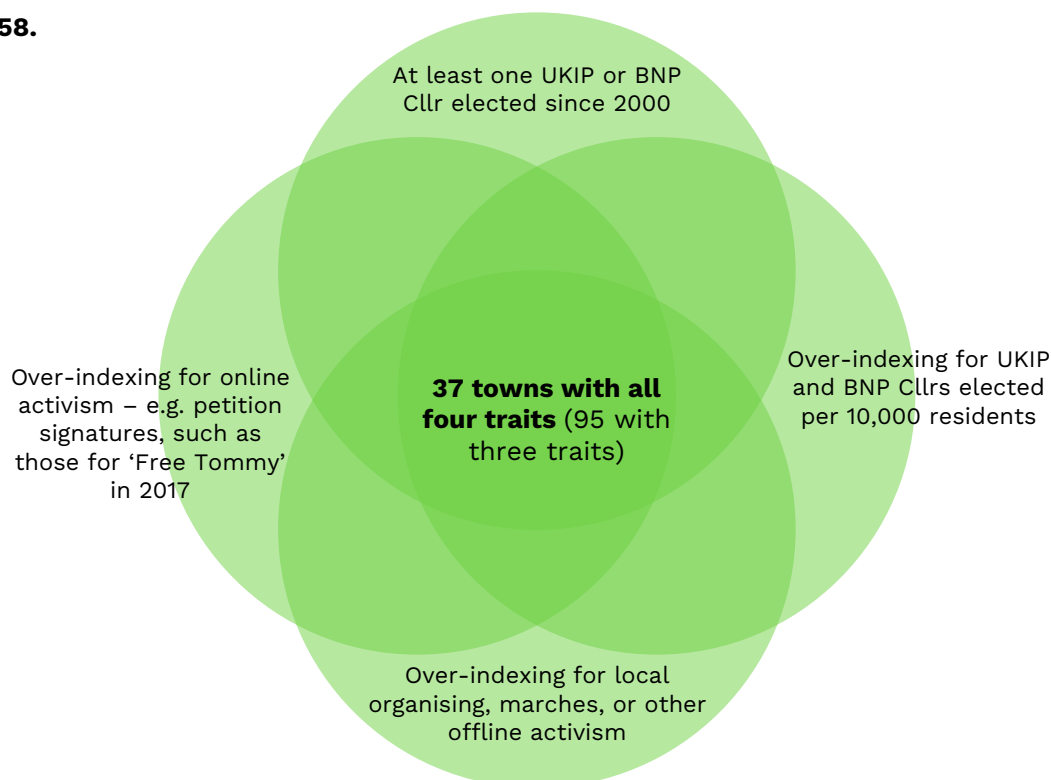
J. THE 'STRONG NATIONAL IDENTITY' CLUSTER

e.g. Wisbech, Harwich, Pontefract, Skegness

The 'strong national identity' cluster describes the group of towns in England and Wales which are most likely to see things through a national lens. Towns within this category have very strong English or Welsh identities (as opposed to British) and above average levels of cultural concern. They are in parts of the county where the Leave vote was at least 55%, and their white British population's historic makeup is disproportionately Anglo-Saxon rather than Irish.

As the map reveals, this strong cultural identity is particularly prominent in a group of coastal towns running from Suffolk to North Yorkshire. This takes in Great Yarmouth, Skegness, and Scarborough. The attitudes in these areas are likely to emphasise traditional values and patriotism – in some cases alongside overt nationalism and English exceptionalism. In some cases, although not all, a sense of localised decline will run alongside these narratives.

Many of the solutions for towns within this cluster are likely to stem from public events or community initiatives which put forward a shared English or Welsh identity – which is patriotic, inclusive and tolerant.

Figure 61.

Large dots = all four criteria

Small dots = three of four criteria

Figure 60.

English or Welsh identity above 70% in 2017-18 polling (252 towns)

Above average for 'Cultural concern' (467 towns)

92 towns with all four traits (194 towns with three traits)

2016 Brexit vote above 55% (469 towns)

The proportion of Irish-heritage names within the population is below average (545 towns)

K. THE 'FEWER CULTURAL OPPORTUNITIES' CLUSTER

e.g. Swallownest, Chatteris, Heanor, Minster (Swale)

These 78 towns are again clustered in post-industrial areas but also in remote and rural parts of the UK. The lack of arts opportunities often belies the fact that these places are difficult to get to, and do not have many of the institutions, such as universities, which might cultivate creative opportunities.

These towns are characterised by low levels of participation in the arts in the past year – as well as small student populations and lower levels of international travel, indicated by high proportions having low passport ownership. We have also included among the criteria towns which have above average numbers with no qualifications, but below average levels of poverty. This implies that they are places without much of a culture around education.

The challenges here, from a resilience point of view, relate to fulfilment and opportunity. Young people in these towns may now have visited big cities or been abroad. Not only may they hold resentments and frustrations about their own chances in life, which can spill over into blame and hostility towards migrant groups, but they are unlikely to have meaningful contact with others from different ethnic and cultural backgrounds to themselves.

Figure 63.

Large dots = all four criteria

Small dots = three of four criteria
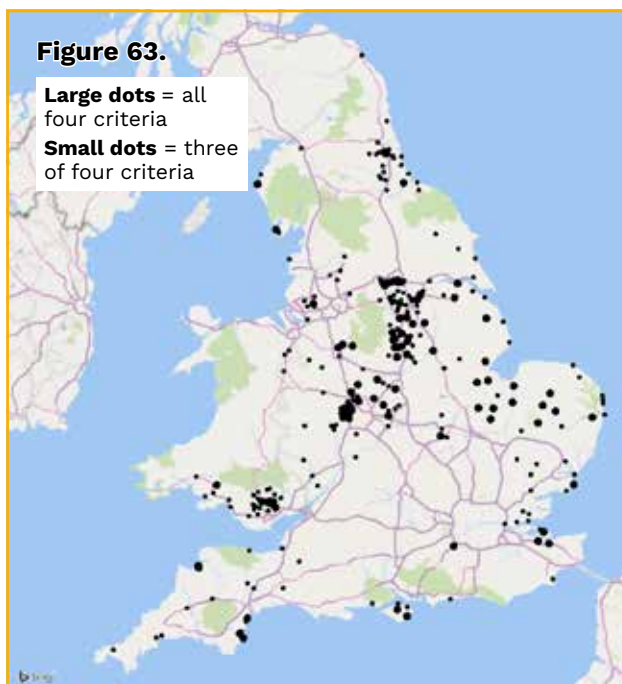
Successful ideas for towns in this cluster will be those which resituate towns as cultural hubs, enabling arts and educational opportunities in smaller places, and focusing on what towns have to offer in cultural terms. The idea of a 'town of culture' award for example, nominating 5-10 towns annually, would be a good way of replicating the policies which have been successfully applied to cities.

Figure 62.

Below average 2011 student population (581 towns)

Proportion with no passport above 20% in 2011 census (336 towns)

78 towns with all four traits (183 towns with three traits)

In a council area with below average arts engagement compared to Welsh/ English respective averages 2017-18 (399 towns)

Above average for 2019 proportion with no qualifications, but below average for 2019 income deprivation (212 towns)
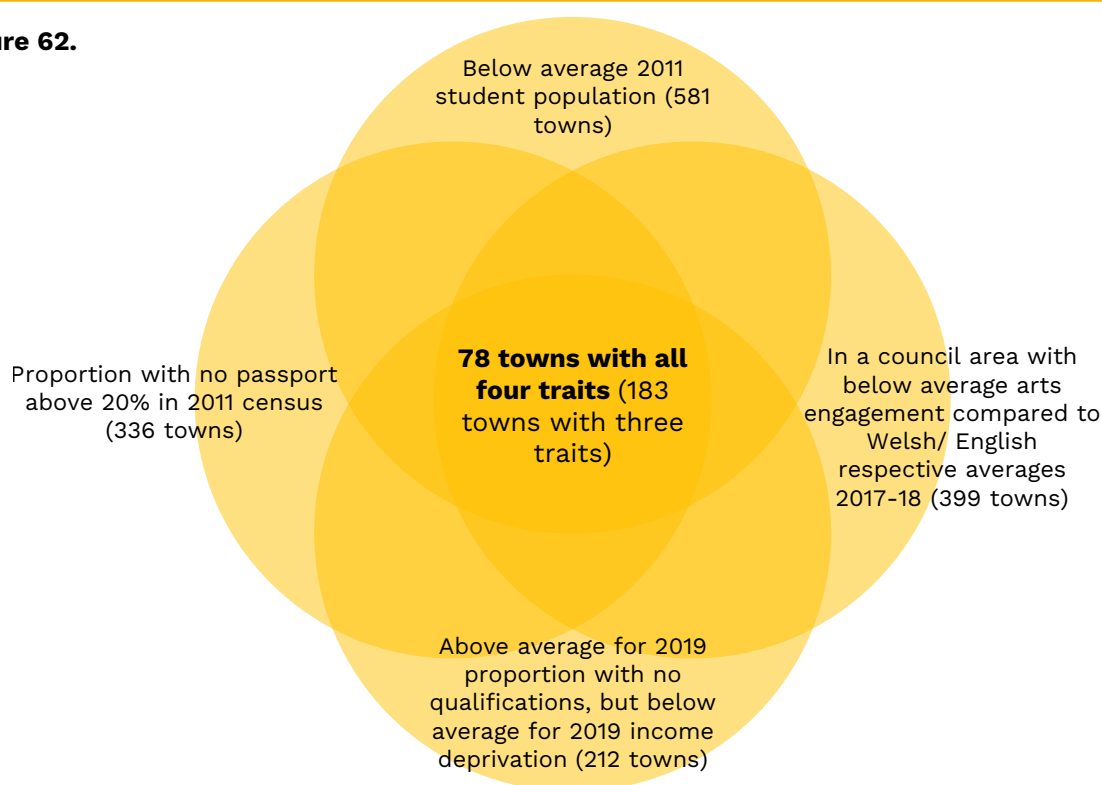
THIS IS HOW HERITAGE CAN PLAY A PART IN BUILDING MORE RESILIENT AND INCLUSIVE COMMUNITIES

Becca Antink, *Researcher, The RSA*

The correlation between a place having a weaker sense of history and heritage and less confidence in adapting to change is an important insight from this research. That this can result in exclusionary local identities and latent prejudice towards non-white British communities must also be more widely recognised.

Both COVID-19 and the Black Lives Matter movement have demonstrated the entrenched inequalities within and between places. With higher COVID-19 fatality rates and police violence experienced by people of colour, problematic historic monuments have proved flashpoints for protests. It is a recognition that our history shapes the present, which means that it can also be used to shape the future.

The RSA's Heritage for Inclusive Growth research explores the dynamics between local heritage, place identity and numerous social, economic and environmental outcomes.[58] A more holistic approach to heritage and local economic development can deliver the changes needed by local people and places.

But what 'counts' as heritage? Which heritages and histories are valued? Whose voices are heard? That a narrow subset of heritage assets – such as cathedrals and medieval built environments – carry the highest status, esteem and confidence challenges us to question ingrained biases.

Cathedrals and medieval market squares are important and loved parts of our heritage. But not all places can, or should, have them. We must broaden what we value and celebrate as heritage.

The RSA's Heritage Index maps the assets and activities in each UK local authority area, spanning: the historic built environment; museums, archives and artefacts; industrial heritage; parks and open spaces; landscape and natural heritage; and cultures and memories.[59]

It is intended to show that heritage is universal: all people and all places have heritage. But what heritage data exists, and what doesn't, is often shaped by historical precedents which have foregrounded the stories and preferences of elites.

From the outstanding natural landscapes of Barrow-in-Furness and the origins of the New Town movement, to the stories of Windrush Generation NHS workers and the Dagenham women that fought for equal pay in their factories, there are diverse, under-recognised heritages in places of all kinds across the country.

Those with less traditionally valued forms of heritage have the most to gain from celebrating it as part of that place's story. This is how heritage can play a part in building more resilient and inclusive communities and place-based identities into the future.

L.   THE 'FEWER HERITAGE ASSETS' CLUSTER

e.g. Corby, Runcorn, Washington, South Ockendon

Areas within the 'Fewer heritage 'assets" cluster are those that do not hold the status of cities, county towns, or market towns. They do not have barracks, universities or professional football clubs, and do not possess long histories – with some being New Towns. House prices are lower than regional averages and there are few pubs.

There are a couple of interesting exceptions here – such as Glastonbury, which happens to fall partially into this category but is obviously best known by a clear marker of identity, its music festival, as well as thriving independent businesses, despite not having any of our identified 'assets'. But most towns that fall into this cluster do not have such clear markers of place, and are often living in the shadow of larger and better known conurbations.

Many of the places within the cluster have a relatively settled population, indicated by large amounts of social housing, or else of newer accommodation for home owners. Transport connections may be good, but there are fewer community facilities.

The abiding challenge in places with 'Fewer heritage 'assets" relates to latent attitudes rather than overt tensions, and to the difficulty of confidence in the area's ability to absorb change.

Figure 65.

Large dots = all four criteria

Small dots = three of four criteria
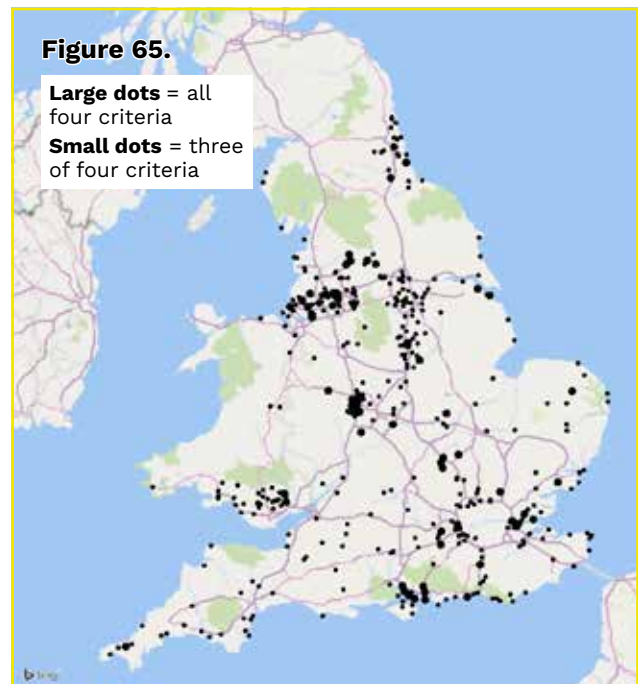
The issues can be helped by local work to develop clear place narratives, and to fund projects which champion these narratives.

Figure 64.

No city status, not a county town, a market town or a university town and no football club or military base (563 towns)

No medieval history (793 towns), 25 new towns weighted double

65 towns with all four traits (333 towns with three traits)

2019 housing prices below the regional average (487 towns)

Less than 5 pubs per 10,000 residents (161)

HOPEFUL TOWNS
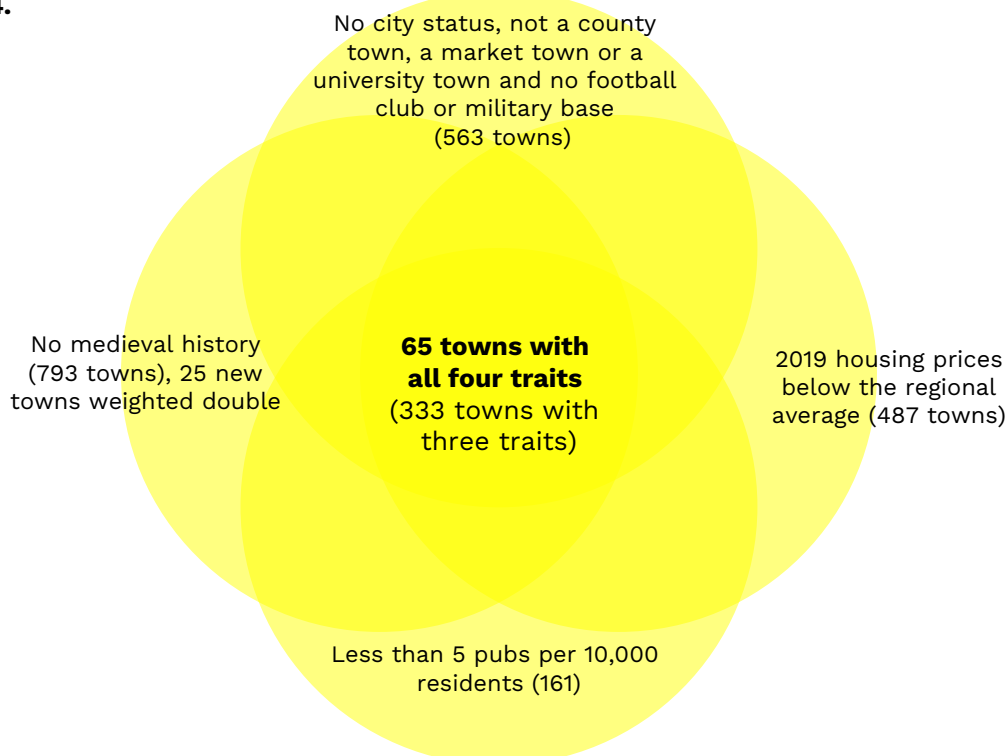
M. THE 'LESS CONNECTED' CLUSTER

e.g. Caister-on-Sea, Goole, Cannock, Devizes

As the name suggests, towns in the 'less connected' category are difficult to access from other parts of the UK, thanks to their being poorly connected to major rail stations by car or road. But they are also less connected in an immediate local sense, with longer journeys to town centres or to work. It will often be necessary to drive to the shops. The criteria for this grouping also includes lower population churn, more cut-off areas tending to be more settled with less population flux.

As would be expected, the places in this grouping are in more physically distant parts of the UK. They are less networked in every sense, and attitudes towards change and difference may reflect this. Most of the settlements within the grouping are small, and there is not a single large town among the 80 settlements listed.

There is a lack of comparable Welsh town data for this section though this certainly merits further research. Wales is a particularly remote part of the UK, and many of the solutions for 'Less connected' towns would also apply to parts of Wales.

Challenges in these places relate to keeping these communities connected and addressing infrastructure challenges. These are very hard to

Figure 67.

Large dots = all four criteria

Small dots = three of four criteria
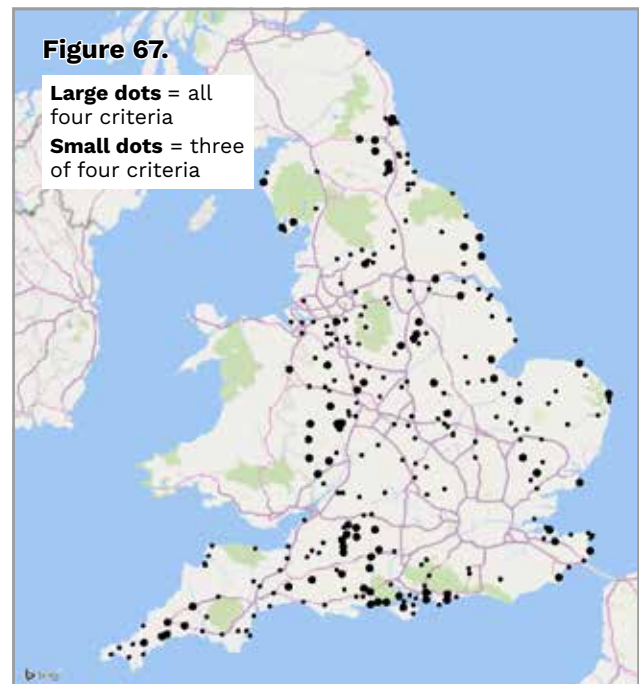
address unilaterally, at the local level – although small transport subsidies could help. At a national level there is a need for investment in rail, alongside improvements to local bus routes, and policies which promote cycling and walking through improving local infrastructure.

Figure 66.

Above average for distance in 2015 to the nearest major station by car OR public transport (OR classified as 'large town without station') (377 towns)

In a council area with below average 2018-19 population churn (377 towns)

80 towns with all four traits (194 towns with three traits)

Above average for 2017 distance from nearest town centre by public transport OR by car (382 towns)

Above average for 2017 distance to employment centres by public transport OR by car (505 towns)

All but one of the datasets are England only, so this cluster does not include Welsh towns. However, it is likely that many Welsh towns would fall into this cluster if we did have the data.

IN FOCUS: NEW TOWNS

There are 26 designated New Towns within our Index, including places like Warrington, Tamworth and Milton Keynes.

These sites were designated as New Towns during the 1940s, 1950s and 1960s, to address post-WW2 housing shortages. Earlier waves of New Towns tended to be built afresh, whereas later ones relied on the expansion of existing settlements.

The primary driver of the New Towns movement was the need to deal with the overspill from London and other major cities. Hence, New Town communities were often formed on the basis of people relocating from urban areas in search of a better life. From the perspective of resilience and migration attitudes, New Towns are fascinating.

In most cases they are growing rapidly. And many are easy to get to from bigger cities. There are green spaces and housing is comparably affordable. Yet they remain among the least positive groups about migration, according to Fear and Hope data. Resilience is often very low.

Places such as Basildon have voted in far-right or hard right candidates on a number of occasions, and towns like Harlow and Peterborough have seen local hostility to more recent East European arrivals.

Looking at our data, we can see some of the particular circumstances which New Towns face. House prices tend to be lower than regional averages in New Towns, and accommodation is often built in unusual or ultra-uniform ways, thanks to the trusts which oversaw development in the post-war years. The pubs-to-residents ratio in is significantly lower than the towns average, reflecting less high streets, central squares or places to mingle. And there are fewer sources of pride – with no football clubs or universities in most cases.

These factors are not necessarily a bad thing in every case. In some New Towns the planning and architecture contributes to a living environment which is cleaner and greener. But they can nevertheless result, in some places, to more atomised ways of living – making engagement between groups more difficult, and meaning it is harder to establish a shared identity.

Political attitudes in Basildon are interesting here, with the town moving rapidly during the 1980s from being a Labour Party and trade union fortress – reliant on the Ford factory for work – to becoming a Thatcherite stronghold. This perhaps suggests that political and ideological roots do not run as deep in newer places as in more longstanding communities.

Whereas the average town within our index falls within 3.17 categories, the average New Town falls within 4.22 categories. Figure 68 shows the range of clusters into which New Towns fall. The places where they significantly over-score, compared with towns in general, are striped.

This reveals that New Towns are much more likely than towns in general to fall into the Fewer heritage 'assets' category. In a certain sense this is unsurprising – almost by definition, these are settlements without football clubs, cathedrals, county town status or medieval histories. But the extent to which it is the case, with 25 of the 26 New Towns fulfilling the criteria, is nevertheless striking.

They are also more likely than average to be deprived, and to be places where it is easier for 'competition for resources' narratives to take hold.

An interesting element, meanwhile, is that New Towns are more likely than towns as a whole to fall into the 'shrinking and ageing' category, but are also more likely to be experiencing 'rapid change'. In reality the settlements where this is happening are not the same places, and instead reflects the divergent paths taken by different New Towns. Runcorn, for example, is in the shrinking and ageing category, whereas Crawley has seen rapid change.

On most fronts, New Towns are in a very different place to coastal and ex-industrial areas, or to other communities with higher hostility. Indeed, anecdotal evidence from some New Town stakeholders describes certain advantages for integration. For example, it can be easier to craft cohesion narratives when every resident of the town is ultimately, within a generation or so, a newcomer themselves.

Milton Keynes, meanwhile, the largest and most famous new town, has made a virtue of how affordable, connected and green it is. The town has high projected population growth and a diverse population. According to the Fear and Hope data it over-indexes for liberalism.[60]

New Towns are not, therefore, an open-and-shut case. They provide a useful test-case for what does and does not breed resilience, and a fascinating 'exception that proves the rule' when it comes to attitudes and identity.

Figure 68. Number of towns in each cluster: New towns versus all towns

Legend:
- a. Traditional demographics
- b. Visible decline
- c. Shrinking and ageing
- d. Uncertain industrial futures
- e. Cross-cutting deprivation
- f. Competition for resources
- g. Rapid change
- h. Migration in the community
- i. Authoritarian footprint
- j. Strong national identity
- k. Fewer cultural oportunities
- l. Fewer heritage assets
- m. Less connected
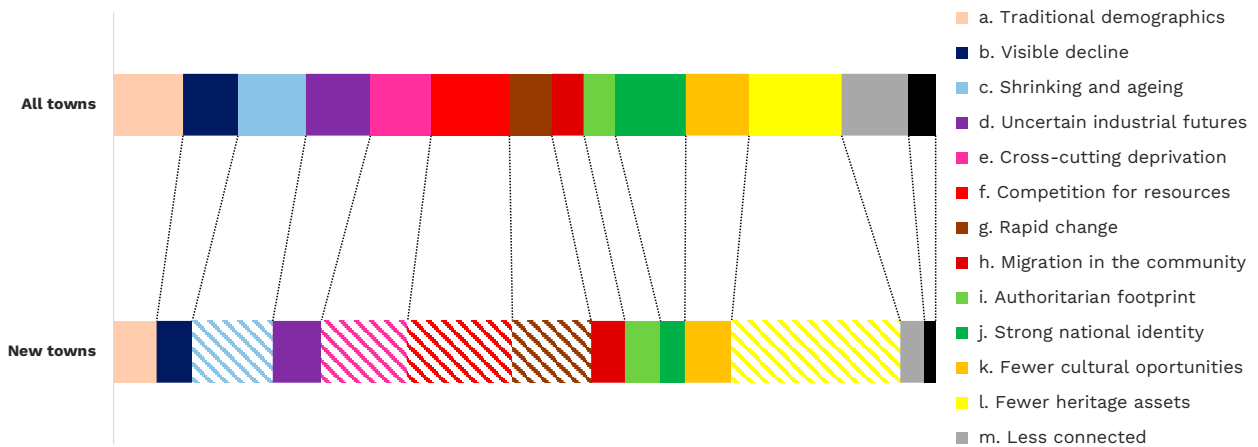
Looking towards Network Rail's "The Quadrant: MK" headquarters from the car park of Milton Keynes Central railway station.
Photo: mattbuck / wikimedia.org

N. THE 'COASTAL CHALLENGES' CLUSTER

e.g. Blackpool, Dover, Mablethorpe, Great Yarmouth

This grouping is the most geographically prescriptive, including only places which are next to the sea. This means that the great many are physically difficult to get to, perhaps explaining some of the traits they share.

They are also places which over-index for deaths from drug poisoning and misuse, for the size of the private rental sector, and for pensioner poverty. In Wales we use IMD health inequality as a substitute metric for pensioner poverty.

Blackpool is an emblematic example of coastal challenges. It has the highest drug death rate of any English or Welsh town and, despite very high deprivation just 8% of people live in social housing – compared to a towns average of 16%.[61]

The types of challenges for resilience in places like this relate in part to decline narratives carrying a lot of weight – compounded by genuine economic deterioration.

'Coastal challenges' are perhaps as tied to globalisation as any of our factors, reflecting and worldwide shift which is very hard to reverse. However, public promotion of holidaying in the UK, alongside infrastructure improvements, and an emphasis on quality of housing, can reduce many of the core issues – making it easier for struggling coastal areas to 'reinvent' themselves.

Figure 70.

Large dots = all four criteria

Small dots = three of four criteria

Figure 69.

Above average for 2019 income deprivation among older people (England) or for health (Wales) (368 towns)

Situated in coastal areas (144 towns)

51 towns with all four traits (53 towns with three traits) – must be coastal

Above average for drug deaths from poisoning/ misuse, 2016-18 (399 towns)

Above average 2011 proportion of private renters (370 towns)

IN FOCUS: PORTS AND RESORTS

The Dock, Felixstowe, Suffolk.
Photo: John Fielding / wikimedia.org

Our index 'tags' 27 places as 'port towns' and 51 as 'seaside towns'. These 'tags' were developed based on the list of places within each category according to government white papers on ports[62] and on seaside towns[63] respectively.

Whereas the average town within our index falls within 3.17 categories, the average port town falls within 4.60 categories and the average seaside resort falls within 4.39.

Port towns include the likes of Grimsby, Portsmouth, Felixstowe, Chatham and Bootle. Some are places with large 'lift-on-lift-off' container shipping facilities, like Immingham. Others, such as Harwich, have big ferry terminals with 'roll-on-roll-off' freight moving through by lorry – alongside car or even foot passengers – or form the base for deep-sea fishing.

A few of the places we have tagged as port towns are essentially industrial towns, which have deep-water shipping facilities for directly exporting raw materials, such as steel. An example would be Port Talbot.

The sector has changed a lot, with some ports – such as those which were originally part of the Port of London – seeing major decline, while others have boomed. But the economic characteristics in many of port towns remain similar to one another, with areas historically relying on jobs relating to docking, storage of goods, customs and border work or manning ferry terminals.

Port towns are both plugged into the globalised world – witnessing first-hand the reality of international supply chains – and detached from it. They are often not especially diverse places, and serve a longstanding and traditional economic role.

The extent to which this is the case is illustrated by Dover, one of Britain's most famous port towns. Synonymous with Britain's historic pride yet very run-down and deprived, the area voted heavily for Leave in the 2016 referendum. In recent years it has been at the forefront of national news, thanks both to controversies around lorry-drivers and the

Figure 71. Number of towns in each cluster: Port towns versus all towns

a. Traditional demographics
b. Visible decline
c. Shrinking and ageing
d. Uncertain industrial futures
e. Cross-cutting deprivation
f. Competition for resources
g. Rapid change
h. Migration in the community
i. Authoritarian footprint
j. Strong national identity
k. Fewer cultural oportunities
l. Fewer heritage assets
m. Less connected
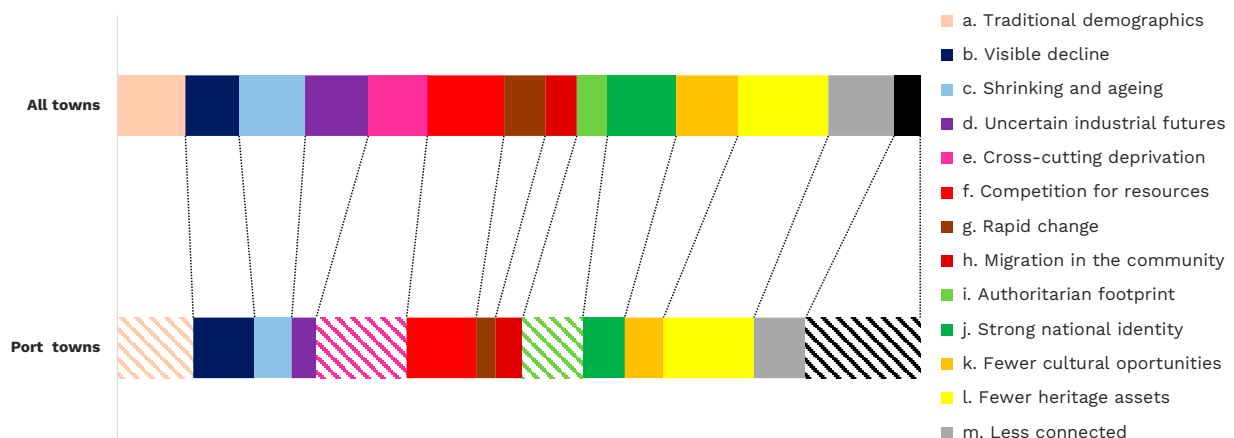
Figure 72. Number of towns in each cluster: Seaside towns versus all towns

Legend:
- a. Traditional demographics
- b. Visible decline
- c. Shrinking and ageing
- d. Uncertain industrial futures
- e. Cross-cutting deprivation
- f. Competition for resources
- g. Rapid change
- h. Migration in the community
- i. Authoritarian footprint
- j. Strong national identity
- k. Fewer cultural oportunities
- l. Fewer heritage assets
- m. Less connected
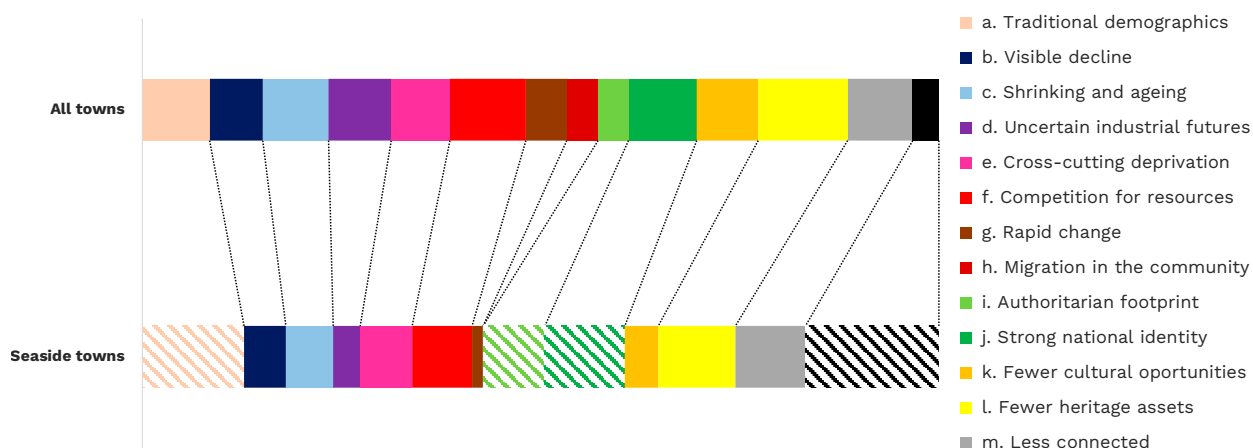
Calais Jungle and to the implications of a No Deal Brexit.

Figure 71 shows how the clusters into which port towns fall compare with towns as a whole. Communities are more likely to be older, less diverse and less likely to have degrees, and cross-cutting deprivation is significantly higher.

There is a significant far-right footprint, meanwhile – compared to most English and Welsh towns. This has come more from more from UKIP than from the extreme right. Grimsby, Fleetwood, Plymouth, and Newhaven are all port-towns where authoritarian movements have gained a foothold.

Notably, meanwhile, many port towns fall into the coastal challenges grouping. In a certain sense this is unsurprising, given that that being on the coast is among the criteria for that cluster. But it is still striking that so many ports score significantly above average for drug deaths and for pensioner poverty.

Port towns therefore occupy a curious position possessing traits both of the seaside town and of the ex-industrial settlement. They act both as gatekeepers to globalisation and as the places most detached from it.

The places tagged as seaside towns within our index include the likes of Morecambe, Skegness, Torquay and Rhyl. These towns vary a lot with respect to their historic role, but all are places which would have had a significant holiday-making contingent from the UK throughout much of the 20th century.

There is quite a significant degree of variety, among our resorts, in how prominent the resort element in some places was. But towns built entirely around pleasure beaches,

arcades and piers showing variety performances have particularly struggled – Blackpool being the most acute example.

Generally speaking, the places that are closest to London have been the most successful in finding ways of renewing themselves. The city of Brighton, which is not in our index, is probably the most obvious example.

Major technological shifts have put this under immense strain, and some resorts are now shadows of their former selves. Others have successfully reinvented as artistic hubs or as places for retirees to settle. Bournemouth and Newquay are technically seaside towns, for example, but deviate in notable ways from the conventional stereotype.

Figure 72 shows, unsurprisingly, that our 51 seaside towns are disproportionately likely to fall into the coastal challenges grouping. It also shows that seaside areas are generally, like ports, above average for white British, older, working-class demographics. And they also over-index for the size of the hard right vote – with towns like Great Yarmouth and Clacton-on-Sea becoming UKIP strongholds during the 2010s.

Interestingly, however, seaside towns are a lot less likely than ports to fall into the 'cross-cutting deprivation' category. And there is a much stronger cultural attachment to national identity.

These nuanced distinctions between ports and resorts offer a fascinating insight into the intersections between cultural and economic dimensions of Britain's coastal towns.

Regent Road in Great Yarmouth.
Photo: Romazur / wikimedia.org

NO CLUSTERS

e.g. Matlock, Dorking, Berkhamsted, Winchester

There are 50 towns which do not fulfil the criteria for any of the clusters, even once. (These are marked with large dots on the map to the right). And there are a further 101 towns which never fulfil all four of the criteria for a given cluster, but which fulfil three for one cluster (marked with smaller dots). There is a very heavy concentration of these places in the Home Counties and on the commuter belt. Harpenden is a classic illustration of this sort of town.

The towns which are least likely to fit into any of the clusters are those which are small and settled – with neither rapid change nor noticeable decline. They are on the whole, affluent and networked places, where opportunities are abundant.

As relatively affluent areas with high numbers of home owners, these towns are potentially both socially and economically liberal in terms of their politics. In Fear and Hope terms, many will fall into the Mainstream Liberal grouping, with the 2016 Leave vote around 10% lower among towns that do not fall into any of the categories than it is for the towns average. Interestingly, with this said, there remains a Culturally Concerned strand to opinion in 'no cluster' towns. But this does not slip into overt hostility, perhaps thanks to being relatively affluent.

Figure 74.

Large dots = don't fall into any cluster

Small dots = only fall into one cluster
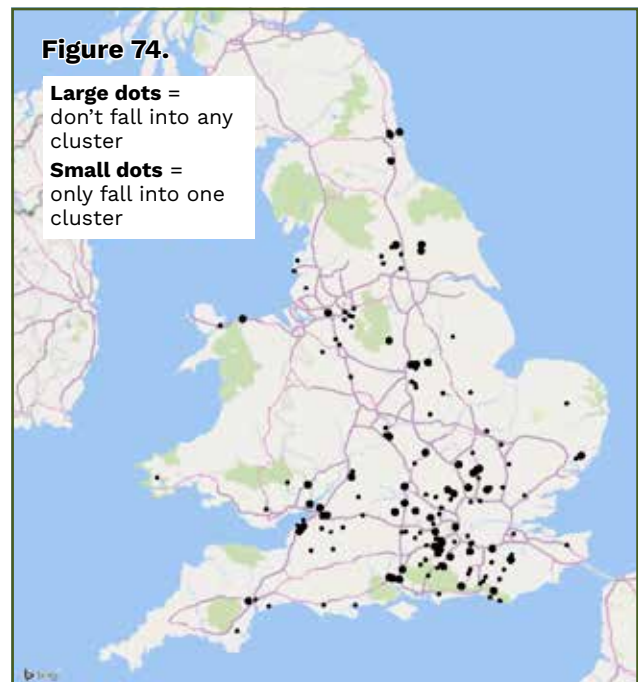
Some of our university towns are in this also in this group, including Cambridge and York. These places are clearly more left-wing, and lean towards Confident Multiculturalism. However, other university hubs – including Oxford and Colchester – fall into two or three clusters.

Colchester, for instance, indexes higher for migration liberalism but falls partially into the

Figure 73.

A further 101 towns do not fall fully into any cluster, but fulfil three of the four criteria for one

54 towns do not fall into any of the clusters at all

Figure 75. Migration liberalism versus internal equality in each settlement (Gini-coefficient 2016 (higher score = greater inequality)
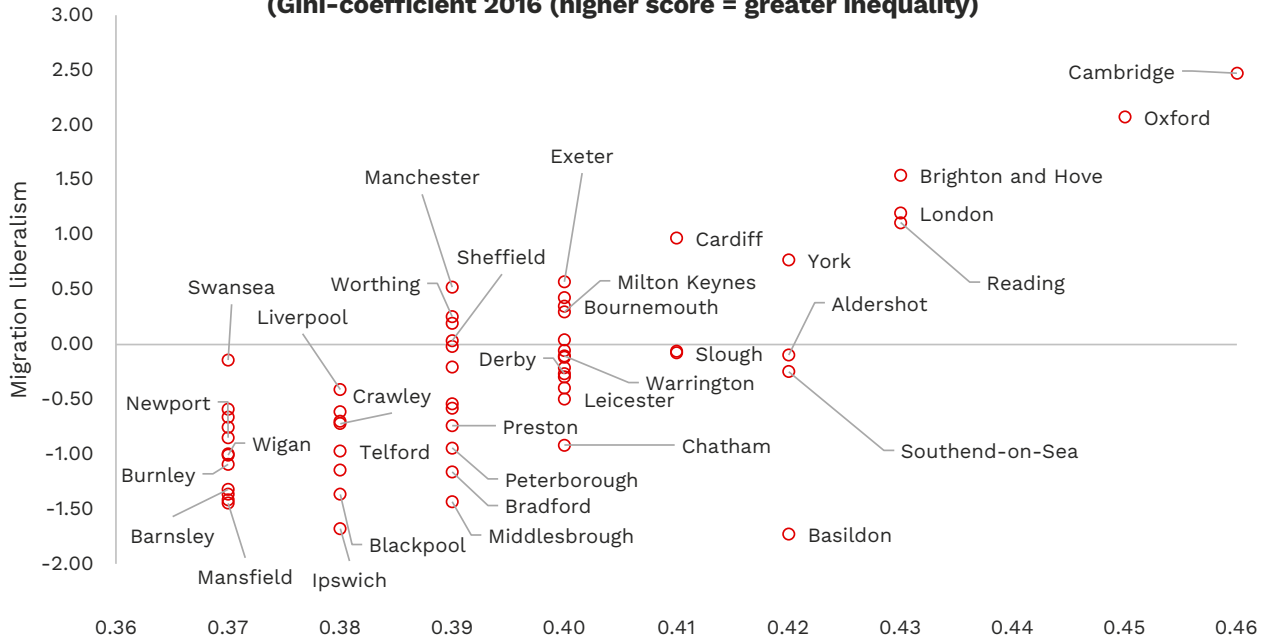
'rapid change' cluster and partially into the 'competition for resources' grouping. It is a city with a younger and more diverse population than the national towns average. Even though this sort of demography is generally conducive to more positive attitudes about migration and change, it is not without challenges as a result.

Liberal centres and small university cities are likely to be more sought after for accommodation, and to have higher housing prices. While this often leads to more liberalism on topics like immigration, and to higher levels of 'bridging capital', it can also create significant pressure on accommodation and services.

Generally, the more that these sorts of cities are diverse and liberal when it comes to cultural issues, the more likely they are to have problems with economic (rather than social) cohesion.

This can mean many of the problems we already see in inner London, like gentrification, in-work poverty or social exclusion. If we look at the Centre for Cities data on the internal inequality of cities and large towns, for example, we see that those with the highest economic inequality tend to be the most liberal about migration, and vice versa (see Figure 75).[64]

Hence, while some of our towns have higher or lower levels of migration liberalism, it is hard to see a perfect model for a town, even among the places which fit into fewer clusters.

WHAT DOES THIS MEAN?

The purpose of the 14 factors is not to say that towns in multiple groupings are automatically more hostile to immigration or to people from a different background. A town could technically fall into almost all of the 14 clusters but have a migration-liberal populace.

However, all of the evidence suggests that the more clusters a place falls into, the harder community leaders and decision-makers will have to work to build resilience – and more support from central government will be needed.

In essence, the clusters have a cumulative effect. Places in multiple clusters are less likely to be able to absorb a shock event or adapt to an abrupt demographic shift, and the risk of a flashpoint escalating is higher. And the more of the clusters a town falls into, the higher that risk will be.

We see this with some of the cases around grooming gangs, which have been a trigger point for community tensions in many places where an inflammatory rhetoric in the media has highlighted many cases involving Asian men grooming girls, often white, for sexual exploitation. The child sexual abuse scandals in Rotherham, Rochdale, Oxford and elsewhere have had a damaging impact on what are already overwhelmingly negative perceptions of Muslims and Islam in Britain.

It is right for these narratives on grooming to spark public anger, but often, the rhetoric is divorced from a matter of violence against women, girls and boys, and instead feeds a perception that different groups are 'too different to fit in', that integration is not working, and that multiculturalism has failed. These incidents sit alongside a broader belief that Islam promotes discrimination of and the physical abuse of women, with the grooming of white British girls a primary example of this.

While there are many reasons why incidents such as these might spark tensions, including the response from authorities, our data suggests that a place's resilience also has a hold on local responses. Oxford, which falls into only two of our clusters, was one of the places where a high profile case took place, but did not see widespread tensions. It has very high levels of resilience, and was towards the liberal end of almost every scatter chart we looked at earlier on. Rotherham, by contrast, which falls into eight of our fourteen clusters, is still experiencing the political fallout from the scandal which took place there.

Our focus on the resilience of towns stems from the differences between places like this, when it comes to how they are likely to respond to challenges. There are other issues at play, of course. The grooming cases in the different towns were not identical to each other - and were handled in different ways. But we cannot ignore the levels of resilience which the respective towns started out with.

Figure 76 shows, using our Fear and Hope attitude data, how many of the towns within each cluster over-indexed for hostility or for liberalism respectively. It also shows the same thing for the

Figure 76. Ratio in each cluster: number of towns over-indexing for hostility versus number over-indexing for liberalism

Categories (top to bottom):
- a. Traditional demographics
- b. Visible decline
- c. Shrinking and ageing
- d. Uncertain industrial futures
- e. Cross-cutting deprivation
- f. Competition for resources
- g. Rapid change
- h. Migration in the community
- i. Authoritarian footprint
- j. Strong national identity
- k. Fewer cultural opportunities
- l. Fewer heritage assets
- m. Less connected
- n. Coastal challenges
- No clusters

Legend: ■ Under-indexing for liberalism   ■ Over-indexing for liberalism

Figure 77. Migration liberalism versus number of clusters each town fits into
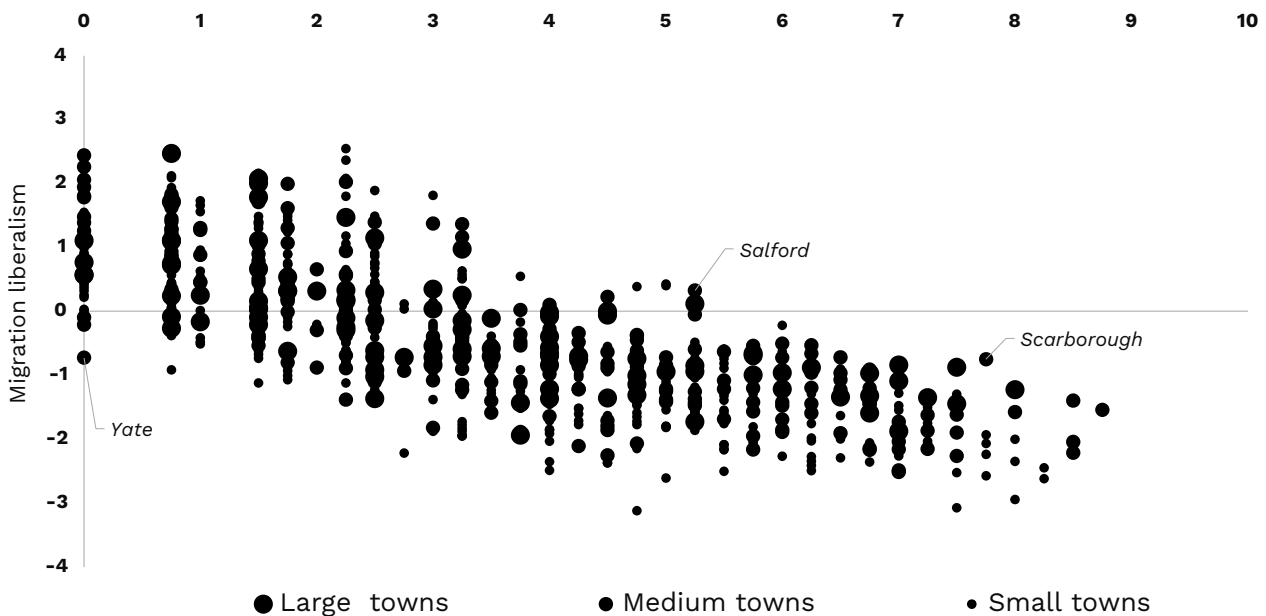
towns not fully in any cluster. It is worth noting that 536 of all towns over-index for hostility, while 326 over-index for liberalism.

The numbers in Figures 76-90 are deduced by giving a town a score of 0.75 if fulfils three of the four characteristics for a cluster, and a score of 1 if it fulfils all four.

With some of the clusters, such as 'cross-cutting deprivation' the tendency towards more hostile attitudes is overwhelming. For others it is less pronounced.

'Rapid change' – the cluster describing towns that are growing and becoming more diverse at

the same time – is the only grouping where there is rough parity with the overall towns ratio. This reflects that the shifts taking place among rapidly changing towns are both negative and positive when it comes to short-term resilience – bringing economic growth on the one hand and social change on the other.

As figure 77 shows, meanwhile – there is a clear correlation between a town's level of migration liberalism (vertical axis) and the number of clusters it falls into (horizontal).

As we can see, the more clusters a town falls into, the lower the levels of positivity towards migration.

Figure 78. Number of towns in each cluster, by region
(scored 1 for all four criteria, scored 0.75 for three criteria)
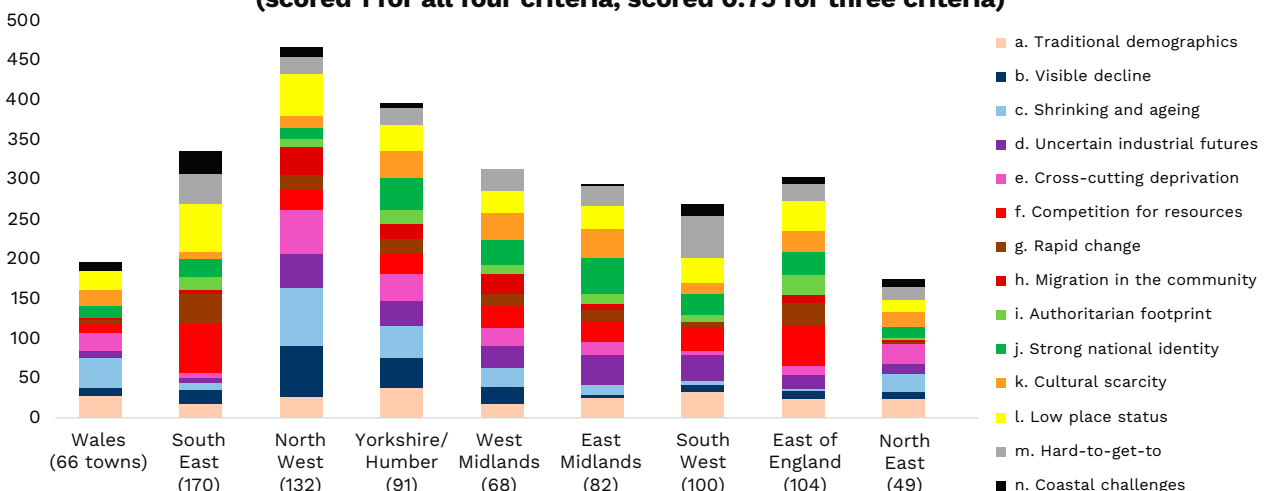
Figure 79. Number of towns in each cluster, by region (scored 1 for all four criteria, scored 0.75 for three criteria) – stretched
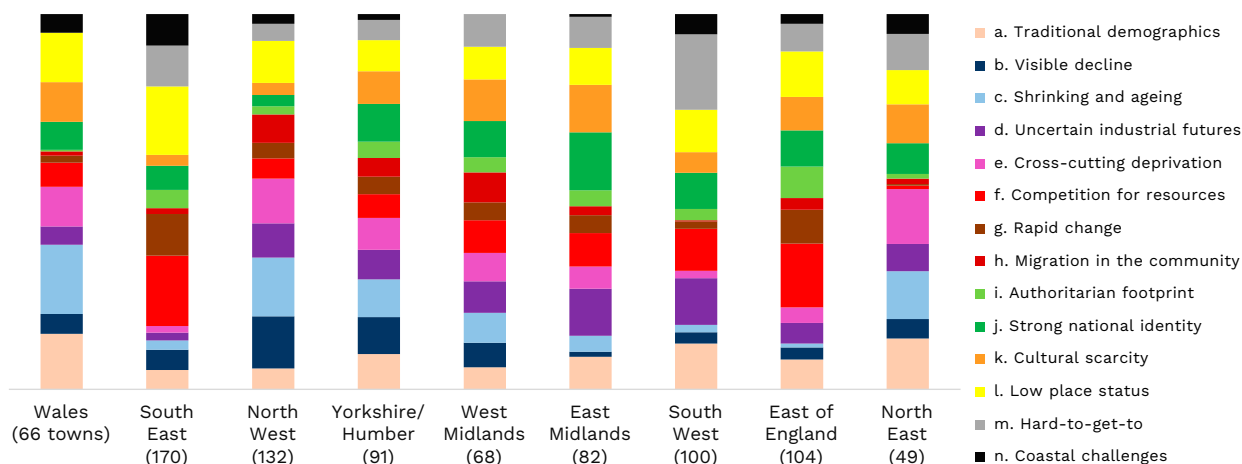
There are partial outliers, such as those identified in the chart. But the overall pattern is clear. Almost no town which falls into more than four clusters over-indexes for migration liberalism. And almost no town which falls into less than two clusters under-indexes.

Lastly, figure 78 shows how many clusters the towns within each region fall into. The base of the columns shows how many towns there are in the respective parts of the country, and by looking at this we can see that certain regions' towns are much more likely to fall into the clusters. The number of the East Midlands' towns falling into the different clusters, for example, is around the same as that for South East towns. This is despite there being only half the number of East Midlands towns in our index as there are South East Towns.

As figure 79 shows, by expressing regional town cluster patterns as percentages, we can see the differences between parts of the country.

These differences (outlined in the Fear and Hope by region' section) point us towards broader strategic priorities in terms of the regions and Britain's towns. When it comes to fostering resilience in different parts of the UK, for example, Wales and the North East face factors relating to cultural homogeneity, poverty and a longstanding industrial decline creating a sense of lost purpose in many smaller settlements. In East of England and South East towns, by contrast, issues relate much more to change, competition, and cultural identity in light of the London sprawl.

These are quite distinct challenges in terms of migration and cohesion, and are only possible to identify by drilling down into the 'towns' label.

'PEOPLE WILL ALWAYS WANT TO GET DRUNK AND EAT CHEESE'

Building a food and drink identity in the North East

"A lack of identity and several attempts to redefine the North East as one homogenous place failed to take into account this region that is fiercely proud of celebrating its tribal differences." That is how Food and Drink North East, the campaign to build the North East's reputation as a food and drink destination, defines the challenge ahead of it.

Food is one of the oldest expressions of cultural identity. Local dishes and drinks define the people around them as much as accent, landscape or industry. Breaking bread with each other has always been a core part of building relationships and communities.

In many areas, local cuisine has traditionally been overshadowed by heavier industries - steel, coal or ship-building. But it remains a vital touch-point, culturally and economically.

The coronavirus crisis has, predictably, created serious problems for the food and drink sector, while exacerbating existing ones. "Food and drink is the soul of a place - the bars and restaurants, breweries and sauces," says Jessie Joe Jacobs, Director of Food and Drink North East. She is concerned that COVID-19 could leave big multinationals as the only voices in Britain's food culture. If just the big firms survive the economic fallout of coronavirus, Britain's towns could lose some of the only sources of visible, physical identity left.

Even before the coronavirus struck, independent venues and producers were struggling in the face of an increasingly monopolised industry, with 994 pubs closing in 2019 alone. Indeed, the average town in the North East saw 26.7% of pubs close between 2001 and 2018. Only among North West and West Midlands towns (27.5% and 29.2% respectively) is the figure higher.

Food and Drink North East has reasons to be hopeful, though. Coronavirus is a chance to ground us in our immediate neighbourhoods. The organisation's Local Heroes campaign, for instance, has proven a successful means of mobilising the community around food and drink during the crisis, and of encouraging people to buy local.

Looking beyond coronavirus, Food and Drink North East's goal is to grow food and drink's contribution to the region's economy from 1.8% to 10% by 2025. The aim is to follow in the footsteps of a food economy north of the border which more than tripled in size - thanks in part to the efforts of Scotland Food and Drink.

It is hard to overstate the full extent of the challenge that COVID-19 poses to the food and drink sector in Britain. But Food and Drink North East are still confident in the region's ability to grow a strong, resilient culture with a flavour of its own. By investing in food cultures as something to diversify local economies and build cultural resilience, we can go a long way to instilling pride in English and Welsh town communities.

IN FOCUS: WELSH TOWNS

There are 66 Welsh towns in our Index – ranging from Swansea and Newport, the largest, to the tiny towns of Pencoed and Treharris. The size makeup is, in fact, an interesting element of Welsh towns, with 78% of towns in Wales being 'small' (10,000-30,000 residents), compared to just 60% of English towns.

This reflects both the rural character of Wales, and the nature of industrialisation – with much of the region's historic industrial base being made up of small towns built around a single colliery. Abertillery in Blaneau Gwent and Tonyrefail in the Rhondda Valley are examples of towns which fit this description.

The size factor is arguably a major challenge for Welsh towns. In an era when economic agglomeration means a small number of large conurbations are thriving as hubs for multiple industries and sectors, Wales has close to the opposite situation: a large number of very small towns, each designed around a very distinct purpose.

Towns in Wales have thus been at the forefront of many of the big economic challenges over the past decades, and have been more exposed than most. Moreover, analysis such as that by Centre for Towns suggests that towns in The Valleys and on the North Wales coast could be hit especially hard by the COVID-19 fallout.[65]

Interestingly, however, the average Welsh town falls into just 2.94 clusters – compared to 2.91 for the average town. (NB: We have deduced these figures excluding the 'less connected'

cluster, as Welsh towns are not included in this for data reasons already discussed). The reason for this is that there are some of our 14 factors which barely affect Welsh towns at all.

The stacked chart below demonstrates this. 'Competition for resources' and 'rapid change' are nominal factors across Welsh towns. Likewise 'migration in the community' and 'authoritarian footprint'; despite surprising people with a large Leave vote in 2016, neither UKIP nor the BNP have ever achieved any real traction in Wales.

The central challenges for Welsh towns thus relate, in particular, to 'shrinking and ageing' populations – with 49 of 66 Welsh towns falling fully or partly into thus cluster. Towns in Wales tend also to have 'traditional demographics' and high deprivation.

Interestingly, meanwhile, despite there not being a huge number of seaside towns, Wales over-indexes quite significantly for the 'coastal challenges' cluster. This partly reflects the fact that almost all of the large and medium towns in Wales – Swansea, Wrexham, Barry, Bridgend, Neath, Cwmbran, Llanelli, Merthyr Tydfil, Port Talbot, Pontypridd, Aberdare, Pontypool – have faced issues with drug and opioid use, and that a number of these places are on or near the sea.

By looking at Welsh towns in this light, we can therefore see quite distinct trends, relating to small and fairly cut off communities, with little diversity or population flux and an absence of economic opportunities.

Figure 80. Number of towns in each cluster: Welsh towns versus all towns

a. Traditional demographics
b. Visible decline
c. Shrinking and ageing
d. Uncertain industrial futures
e. Cross-cutting deprivation
f. Competition for resources
g. Rapid change
h. Migration in the community
i. Authoritarian footprint
j. Strong national identity
k. Fewer cultural oportunities
l. Fewer heritage assets
m. Less connected
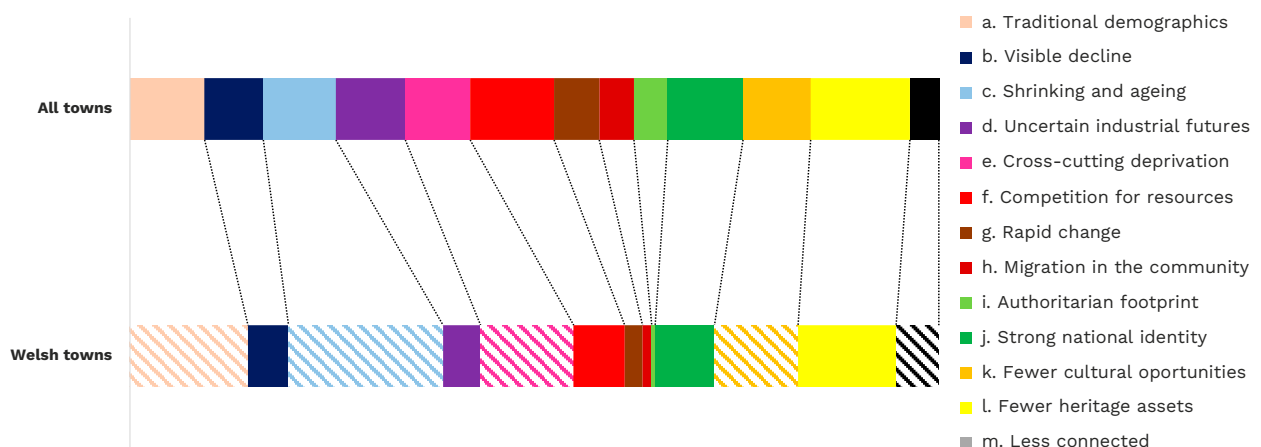
A view of Swansea, Wales.
Photo: Matty Ring / wikimedia.org

FEAR AND HOPE BY REGION

Figure 81 shows how many clusters the average town in each region falls into. The West Midlands and Yorkshire and the Humber fall into the highest number of clusters – well over four clusters in the case of each, compared to a towns average of 3.17. The average town in the south east, meanwhile, falls into just 1.96 clusters.

Figure 81. Number of clusters the average town falls into in different regions
(Welsh towns looked at separately as not eligible for all clusters)

Region	Value
West Midlands towns	4.57
Yorkshire and Humber towns	4.33
East Midlands towns	3.56
North East towns	3.55
North West towns	3.51
All towns	3.17
East of England towns	2.89
South West towns	2.68
South East towns	1.96
Welsh towns (excludes for 'less connected')	2.94
All towns (excluding 'less connected')	2.91

The sections below show what we already knew about each region from *Fear, Hope and Loss,* along with a more detailed look at which clusters each region over and under-indexes for. We start with the towns most likely to fall into one or more of the clusters.

WEST MIDLANDS

What *the Fear and Hope* attitudinal data tells us: Many medium-sized towns in the West Midlands have struggled to adapt to change – with higher proportions of residents in the active enmity and latent hostile groups. These Black Country towns have experienced extreme deindustrialisation, and have ageing populations. The proximity of Birmingham means that they have seen significant changes at the local level. Commuter towns in these areas are more likely to lean towards the liberal tribes – tending to have younger populations looking for affordable housing.

What the clusters tell us: Towns in the West Midlands are much more likely to fall into the clusters than the average town. However, the clusters they fit into reflect a similar distribution to towns across the UK (with the exception that, for obvious geographical reasons, there are no towns with coastal challenges). This reflects the diversity of West Midlands towns, but also the multifaceted challenges the region faces.

Figure 82. Number of towns in each cluster: West Midlands towns versus all towns

Legend:
- a. Traditional demographics
- b. Visible decline
- c. Shrinking and ageing
- d. Uncertain industrial futures
- e. Cross-cutting deprivation
- f. Competition for resources
- g. Rapid change
- h. Migration in the community
- i. Authoritarian footprint
- j. Strong national identity
- k. Fewer cultural oportunities
- l. Fewer heritage assets

YORKSHIRE AND HUMBERSIDE

What *the Fear and Hope at*titudinal data tells us: As with the other regions of England and Wales, towns with the greatest share of hostile attitudes in Yorkshire and Humberside tend to be in coastal and post-industrial areas. There is a story of decline both in small former mill towns such as Mexborough and in larger ones like Castleford. These narratives of loss often relate not just to industry, but to the departure of the traditional way of life that accompanied this work.

What the clusters tell us: Towns in Yorkshire and Humberside are again much more likely to fit into clusters than the average town. And the spread is again fairly even. But towns in this part of the world are particularly likely to have 'visible decline' and 'shrinking and ageing' populations.

Figure 83. Number of towns in each cluster: Yorkshire and Humber towns versus all towns

a. Traditional demographics
b. Visible decline
c. Shrinking and ageing
d. Uncertain industrial futures
e. Cross-cutting deprivation
f. Competition for resources
g. Rapid change
h. Migration in the community
i. Authoritarian footprint
j. Strong national identity
k. Fewer cultural oportunities
l. Fewer heritage assets
m. Less connected
n. Coastal challenges
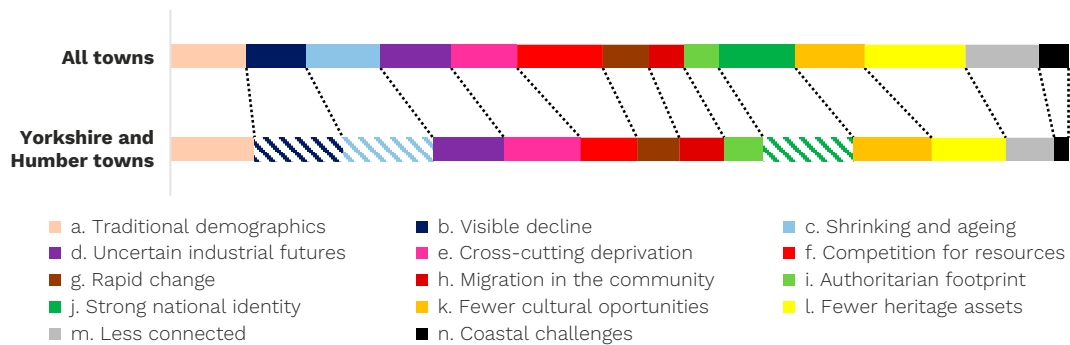
EAST MIDLANDS

What *the Fear and Hope at*titudinal data tells us: Nottingham hosts the East Midlands' greatest proportion of confident multiculturals. The East Midlands generally leans towards the more hostile tribes overall, with the greatest affiliation to the Latent Hostile and Active Enmity groupings found in New Towns like Corby and in ex-industrial places like Ollerton. Regional inequality in the East Midlands shows the greatest gap outside of London, with high-wealth households 12 times more wealthy than those worse off.

What the clusters tell us: Towns in the East Midlands fall disproportionately into the 'uncertain industrial futures', 'strong national identity' and 'fewer cultural opportunities' clusters. This reflects these areas having had more recent industrial decline – thanks to the departure of lighter manufacturing jobs during the 2000s – coupled with, historically, more nationalist sentiments. Taken together these things could enflame one another, with a sense of loss fuelling nativism.

Figure 84. Number of towns in each cluster: East Midlands towns versus all towns

a. Traditional demographics
b. Visible decline
c. Shrinking and ageing
d. Uncertain industrial futures
e. Cross-cutting deprivation
f. Competition for resources
g. Rapid change
h. Migration in the community
i. Authoritarian footprint
j. Strong national identity
k. Fewer cultural oportunities
l. Fewer heritage assets
m. Less connected
n. Coastal challenges
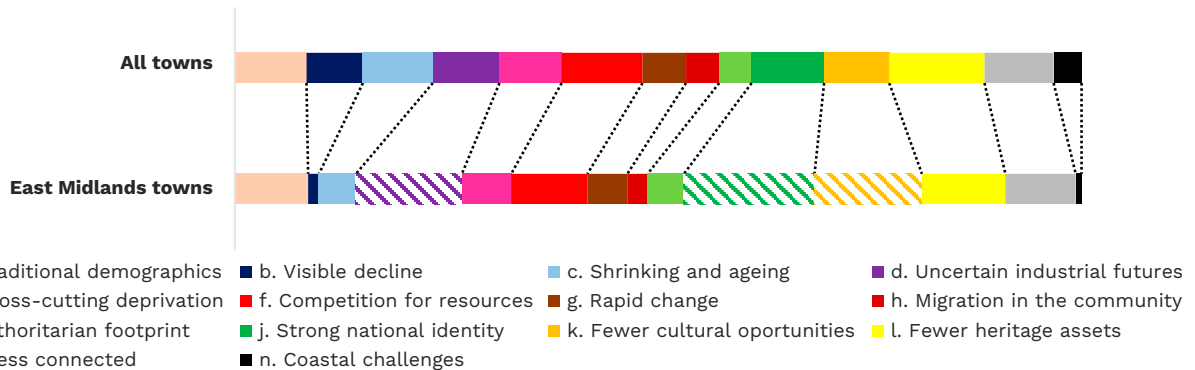
NORTH EAST

What *the Fear and Hope attitudinal* data tells us: The North East of England as a region shows a closer affiliation to the hostile tribes than to the liberal groups. The exception to this is Newcastle – parts of which sit within the top 100 LSOAs for confident multiculturalism. The strongest affinity to the most hostile tribes is in large towns. This contrasts to other regions, where it is small towns that foster the greatest affinity. This could be due to the North East's relative isolation, meaning that larger towns like Middlesbrough and South Shields are particularly cut off.

What the clusters tell us: Towns in the North East fall most heavily into the 'cross-cutting deprivation', 'shrinking and ageing', 'less connected' and 'traditional demographics' clusters. This very much reflects the characteristic of the region, with longstanding industrial deprivation and loss being the abiding feature – rather than demographic change, population churn or cultural identity.

Figure 85. Number of towns in each cluster: North East towns versus all towns

- a. Traditional demographics
- b. Visible decline
- c. Shrinking and ageing
- d. Uncertain industrial futures
- e. Cross-cutting deprivation
- f. Competition for resources
- g. Rapid change
- h. Migration in the community
- i. Authoritarian footprint
- j. Strong national identity
- k. Fewer cultural oportunities
- l. Fewer heritage assets
- m. Less connected
- n. Coastal challenges
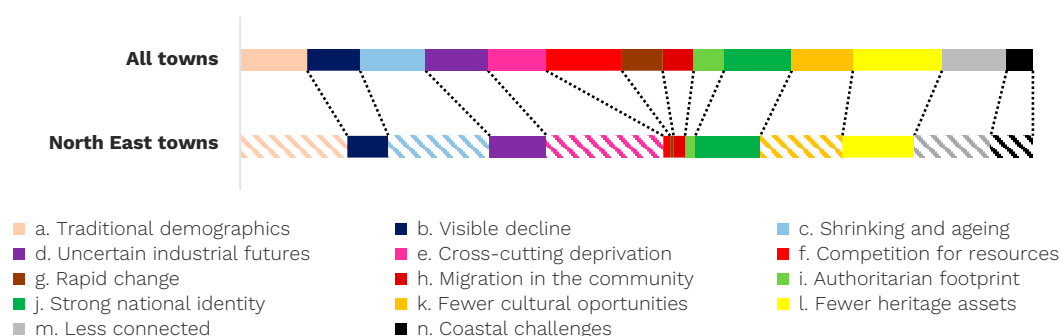
NORTH WEST

What *the Fear and Hope attitudinal* data tells us: Liberal views in the North West are most prevalent in the core cities of Manchester and Liverpool, as well as in the region's villages and commuter towns. Medium and large towns are most likely to express hostile perspectives – especially post-industrial places or coastal towns, like Ince-in-Makerfield and Bootle.

What the clusters tell us: Towns in the North West are particularly likely to fall into the 'shrinking and ageing' and 'visible decline' clusters. There is also very high deprivation. The big qualitative difference from the North East is the much greater likelihood of towns falling into the 'migration in the community' cluster – thanks to the large south Asian populations in many Lancashire towns.

Figure 86. Number of towns in each cluster: North West towns versus all towns

- a. Traditional demographics
- b. Visible decline
- c. Shrinking and ageing
- d. Uncertain industrial futures
- e. Cross-cutting deprivation
- f. Competition for resources
- g. Rapid change
- h. Migration in the community
- i. Authoritarian footprint
- j. Strong national identity
- k. Fewer cultural oportunities
- l. Fewer heritage assets
- m. Less connected
- n. Coastal challenges
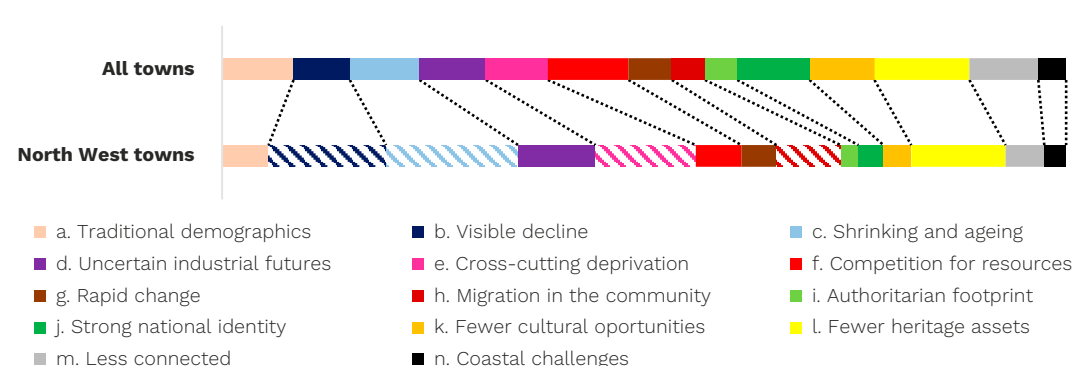
EAST OF ENGLAND

What *the Fear and Hope attitudinal data* tells us: The East of England hosts no core cities, but the region's university towns buck the regional trend, leaning more towards the liberal tribes. Cambridge and Norwich are among the most liberal places in the country. The most hostile attitudes are concentrated in the region's coastal towns – such as Jaywick, which has been named the most deprived area in England.

What the clusters tell us: Towns in the East of England fall disproportionately into the 'competition for resources' cluster, with places like Wisbech having grown in recent years thanks to the arrival of EU migrant workers. Tensions have often occurred in places where towns lack the infrastructure or resources to support growing populations. The over-indexing for 'authoritarian footprint', meanwhile, reflects the historic electoral grip of UKIP in places like Clacton and Basildon.

Figure 87. Number of towns in each cluster: East of England towns versus all towns

- a. Traditional demographics
- b. Visible decline
- c. Shrinking and ageing
- d. Uncertain industrial futures
- e. Cross-cutting deprivation
- f. Competition for resources
- g. Rapid change
- h. Migration in the community
- i. Authoritarian footprint
- j. Strong national identity
- k. Fewer cultural oportunities
- l. Fewer heritage assets
- m. Less connected
- n. Coastal challenges
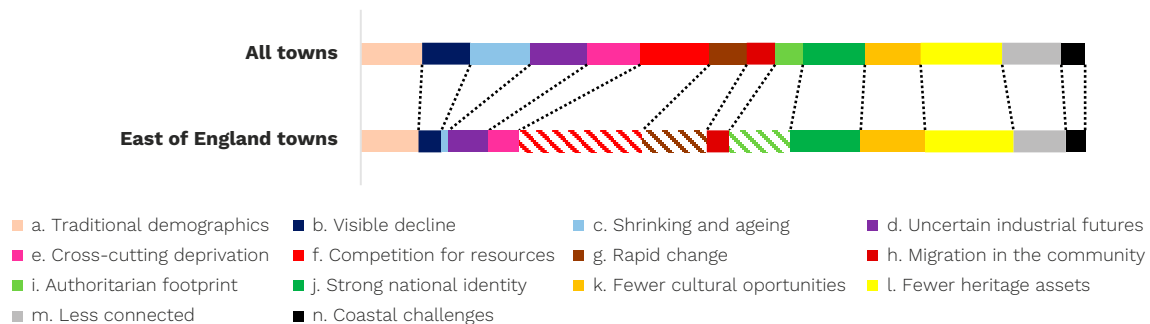
SOUTH WEST

What *the Fear and Hope attitudinal data* tells us: In the South West the 'core city' of Bristol leans most towards the liberal tribes – although different areas of the city cannot be homogenised, with some of the most liberal and most hostile attitudes emerging in the city's contrasting sides. Small and medium towns are most likely to have higher proportions of the latent hostile group.

What the clusters tell us: Many South West towns fall into the 'less connected' cluster, especially those in Devon and Cornwall. The likes of Penzance face unique challenges in that they are very isolated and face the challenges of other seasonal tourist economies – while also being prime locations for second home ownership for those living in cities. Meanwhile South West towns also under-index for 'uncertain industrial futures'. Areas like Chard and Bridgewater are not typically thought of as post-industrial areas, but have seen significant decline in manufacturing and a shift towards logistics and distribution centres.

Figure 88. Number of towns in each cluster: South West towns versus all towns

- a. Traditional demographics
- b. Visible decline
- c. Shrinking and ageing
- d. Uncertain industrial futures
- e. Cross-cutting deprivation
- f. Competition for resources
- g. Rapid change
- h. Migration in the community
- i. Authoritarian footprint
- j. Strong national identity
- k. Fewer cultural oportunities
- l. Fewer heritage assets
- m. Less connected
- n. Coastal challenges
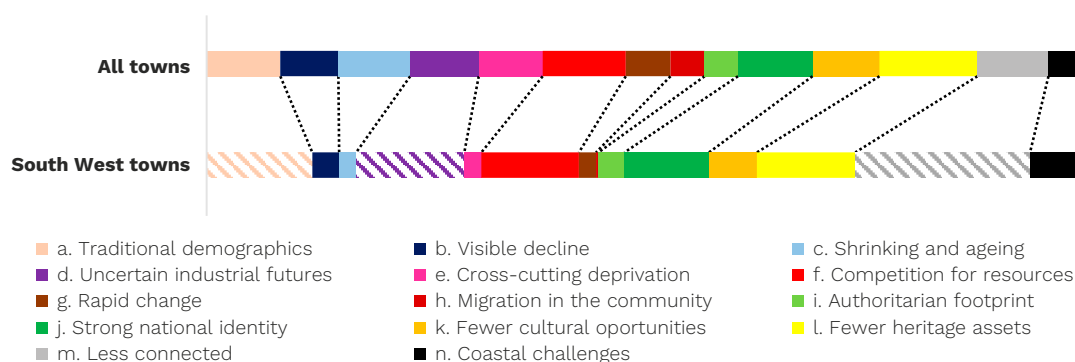
SOUTH EAST

What *the Fear and Hope attitudinal* data tells us: Of all regions in England and Wales, the South East holds the strongest affiliation to the liberal tribes. This reflects there being more wealth and opportunity, as well as more diverse populations. Interestingly there is a distinct difference between inner and outer London, with inner London much more positive. Hostility is greatest in seaside towns and in regions of Kent, meanwhile, where pockets of major deprivation remain.

What the clusters tell us: South East towns are more likely to have 'Coastal challenges'. Sheerness, for example, has seen industrial decline and Havant has lost out on economic renewal compared to areas like Brighton. South East towns are also more likely to fall into the 'Fewer heritage assets', 'Rapid change' and 'Competition for resources' clusters. All of these things reflect, in different ways, the proximity to London – which means more commuter suburbs and New Towns, faster demographic change and greater population pressures.

Figure 89. Number of towns in each cluster: South East towns versus all towns

- a. Traditional demographics
- b. Visible decline
- c. Shrinking and ageing
- d. Uncertain industrial futures
- e. Cross-cutting deprivation
- f. Competition for resources
- g. Rapid change
- h. Migration in the community
- i. Authoritarian footprint
- j. Strong national identity
- k. Fewer cultural oportunities
- l. Fewer heritage assets
- m. Less connected
- n. Coastal challenges
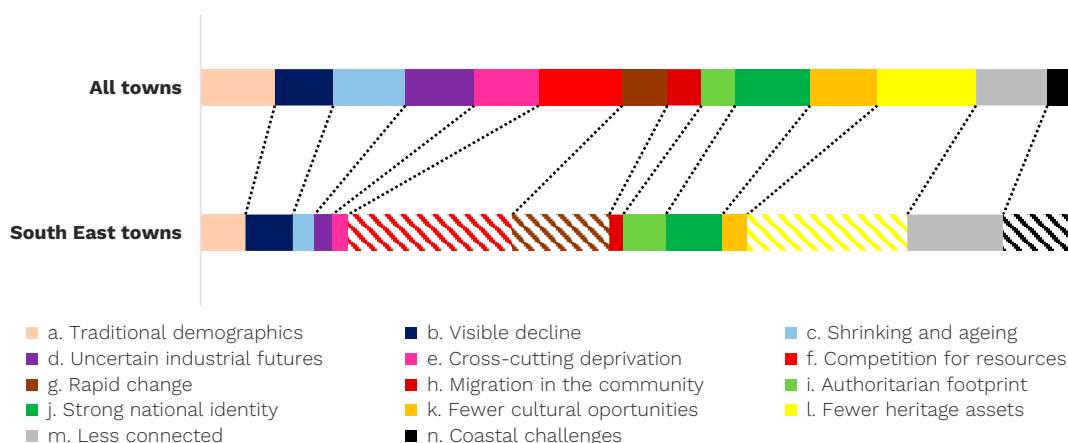
WALES

What *the Fear and Hope attitudinal* data tells us: The most hostile attitudes emerge in Wales' post-industrial areas. These are small ex-mining communities in the valleys and isolated rural regions, which have faced socioeconomic decline thanks to the closure of the region's pits. Conversely, Cardiff shows a stronger affiliation to the confident multicultural tribe, a lively city with a large student population.

What the clusters tell us: Welsh towns face significant challenges of 'shrinking and ageing' populations, 'cross-cutting deprivation' and 'fewer cultural opportunities'. See IN FOCUS: Welsh towns on page 96 for more.

Figure 90. Number of towns in each cluster: Welsh towns versus all towns

- a. Traditional demographics
- b. Visible decline
- c. Shrinking and ageing
- d. Uncertain industrial futures
- e. Cross-cutting deprivation
- f. Competition for resources
- g. Rapid change
- h. Migration in the community
- i. Authoritarian footprint
- j. Strong national identity
- k. Fewer cultural oportunities
- l. Fewer heritage assets
- m. Less connected
- n. Coastal challenges
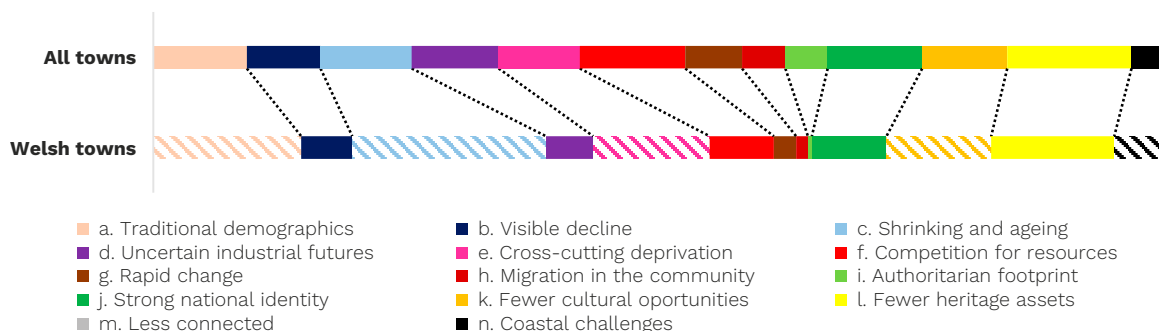
INVESTMENT MUST REACH BEYOND CITY LEVEL AND PROVIDE OPPORTUNITIES FOR LOCAL PEOPLE TO CONNECT AND CONTRIBUTE

Stephanie Riches, *The People's Powerhouse*

Wakefield view from The Sandal Castle..
Photo: Tim Green / wikimedia.org

This new report from HOPE not hate Charitable Trust highlights the importance of towns in the rebuilding of communities post COVID-19.

There have been decades of neglect in towns throughout England and as the report highlights this has had an affect on a significant number of towns in the North – in many cases disproportionality to other regions in England. We agree that there is a need for a place-based approach to address the issues that affect so many of the towns in the North of England. This can help to ensure that individual plans are implemented rather than national policy – which is usually created in Whitehall, and does not serve or benefit many of the people living in Northern towns.

We must respect the identity of Northern towns and create a counter-narrative to the one of 'dumps and dives' which affects people's own sense of belonging and identity. Investment into these places needs to focus on increasing the sense of shared heritage – which brings identity and connection.

We also need to see funding for social infrastructure in many of the Northern towns where there is 'visible decline'. Investment needs to reach beyond city level and provide opportunities for people to connect and contribute.

It is vital that the people who live in these towns are equal stakeholders in the development of recommendations and future plans. The People's Powerhouse are doing just that – shaping the debate around the Northern Powerhouse through engagement and outreach, to ensure that people and communities are at the heart of the Powerhouse plans, not the periphery.

Giving real power and say to local communities is the missing ingredient in many national and local plans and conversations. Including diverse voices, which bring with them a richness of experience, will create a wider conversation, helping to ensure that investment gets to the people that need it most.

5. POLICIES, INTERVENTIONS & APPROACH

STRATEGIC SOLUTIONS

The clustering approach outlined in this report helps us to understand the range of different environmental and contextual factors within which the 862 towns across England and Wales are operating.

The elements that make up each cluster shape how resilient a place is, and the nature of how risks take hold. Each factor points to a slightly different challenge, a different type of sentiment and a different set of narratives.

There may be high levels of hostility to change both in a diverse and 'rapidly changing' town like Luton and in a small mining community with 'traditional demographics' like Ystrad Mynach, for example. But the elements underlying this are likely to be very different. As such, successful policy responses also need to be different.

Through understanding how these 14 different factors impact on resilience in a town, we offer a starting point with which to craft policies that recognise the unique circumstances within which different towns are operating, and which look at the shared challenges that different groups of towns face.

The table below summarises where we understand some of the core challenges, and solutions, for each cluster. It is abundantly clear from our research that while communities themselves can drive many solutions, others must take place through changes to local policy, and many more will require national policy change. For most challenges presented, change will need to take place across these scales – although in each case the balance between local and national is different.

	Policy challenge	Solutions
a. Traditional demographics	An older, predominantly white British community with little experience of diversity or difference and cultural concerns	Interventions which gradually introduce change and difference
b. Visible decline	Social problems and public realm issues reducing trust in others	Approaches which reduce public realm issues and support local people to take pride in an inclusive sense of identity
c. Shrinking and ageing	Existential questions about the town's future leading to a blanket fear of all change	Macro-economic policies which identify a sense of clear purpose
d. Uncertain industrial futures	A lack of immediate prospects feeding uncertainty, resentment and frustration which create vulnerability to anti-immigrant rhetoric	Policies which support adult skills, opportunities, re-training and establishing new, green industries
e. Cross-cutting deprivation	Genuine lack of basic resources creating wider feelings of hostility	Targeted spending in key communities, and an emphasis on schools as central hubs, healthcare, adult skills etc.
f. Competition for resources	Economic pressure on infrastructure leading people to blame a visible migrant community	Charters around rights/ responsibilities (e.g. HMO licensing schemes), enforcement of minimum wage
g. Rapid change	Reaction from longstanding residents against an influx of gentrification, migration and growth	Interventions which foster connections between new and existing communities, and allow residents to shape the direction the community takes
h. Migration in the community	Patterns of migration which feed into tensions	Emphasis on creating connections, as well central government funding for ESOL etc
i. Authoritarian footprint	Pre-existing organisational foundations for the right	A focus on strengthening community relations, and the development of inclusive narratives that make a virtue of how a place has changed
j. Strong national identity	A tendency to see the world through a national lens, feeding nativism	Events which celebrate a shared English or Welsh identity which is inclusive and tolerant
k. Fewer cultural opportunities	Few opportunities for self-expression or for new experiences, leading to insular communities	Ideas which resituate towns as cultural hubs, enabling arts and educational opportunities in smaller places
l. Fewer heritage 'assets'	Unclear place identity which can limit a place's confidence to absorb or welcome others	Local work to develop clear place narratives and to fund projects which champion this
m. Less connected	Geographical remoteness means a lack of experience of change	Investment in rail, alongside improvements to local bus routes, promoting cycling and walking through improving infrastructure
n. Coastal challenges	Social problems lead older residents to fear deterioration	Public promotion of holidaying in the UK, alongside infrastructure improvements, improving quality of housing

STEPPING UP TO THE TOWNS CHALLENGE

This report is part of a wider project, setting a pathway for change to foster confidence, optimism and inclusive identities in Britain's towns. Over the next few months, we will be working with experts and local partners to develop a better picture of the specific economic, legal or infrastructural levers that need to be pulled for this to happen in every town, and to put that into action.

This research has made clear the approach that needs to be taken to build greater resilience in smaller places, which will guide our work.

■ A JOINED-UP APPROACH

- We have looked at 862 towns in this report – some of them with only 10,000 or 20,000 people living there. By contrast there are 10 core cities across England and Wales, each with at least half a million residents. Although effecting change in a metropolis is much harder than in a small town, it is easier to share best practice and to scale-up ideas between cities, once you know what works, and there is greater resourcing for doing so.

- The challenge for towns is how to identify positive ways of working together in similar ways – so as to collaborate with other places facing the same obstacles, and to come up with policies that work. We found this in conversations with stakeholders in towns. There was a frustrated desire from many to meet and share ideas with others tackling similar issues in different parts of the country.

- Creating the context for this is not easy. As we have said, the problem of how to 'scale-up' is far harder with towns – especially as their structures of government are much more varied and provide less autonomy. But, if we are to go beyond piecemeal and localised approaches, then there needs to be a broad set of working groups and idea-sharing networks for building resilience in towns.

■ TOWNS AS THE PRIMARY UNIT

- Many of the places with the biggest challenges in our index are smaller towns that form the second or third settlement within a local authority. The two towns of Heywood and Middleton, for example, sit within Rochdale local authority. They score highly on our index for the numbers of clusters they fall into, with a history of far right courtship. Yet they sit in a local authority where much of the emphasis remains on Rochdale town itself.

- Prompted by the Centre for Town's categorisations and definitions, we have focused in this report on towns as the primary geographical unit. The reason for this is that towns correspond better with how people identify. And identity is among the most important elements of building resilience.

- A serious drive to improve resilience in towns across England and Wales must acknowledge this – looking at the challenge on a town-by-town basis. This does not mean ignoring district councils or parliamentary constituencies. But it means decision-makers looking at towns as individual places, and seeking to understand their specific situation. Within this lies the route to a much more 'place-based' approach to towns and resilience.

■ TARGETED POLICIES

- The identification of the 14 clusters in this report demonstrates that there are quite distinct issues in different places. Teasing these apart allows national policy-makers to focus on the individual factors which, taken together, can both embed and undermine resilience.

- For example, there are actually fairly distinct challenges between a place where a growing population is creating 'competition for resources' and a 'shrinking and ageing' town experiencing economic decline. Different policies are needed in these two types of community.

- Terms like integration, resilience and social cohesion remain very open, and can mean different things to different people. For an idea like the 'levelling up' agenda to be effective, it needs to look at the constituent parts of these terms, and to tailor policies accordingly.

■ EXPERTISE AND BEST PRACTICE

- There must be more emphasis on resilience, in order to develop a more 'preventative' approach. If cohesion and integration are a 'two-way-street', developing resilience is critical and public policy cannot focus solely on areas with large migrant communities and palpable tensions.

- To do this, we need to establish a bank of expertise and an element of best practice around what resilience means and how it can be achieved. On the question of national identity, for example, there are

good local initiatives seeking to build more progressive ideas about promoting inclusive English or Welsh identities. But more could be done to establish a clear sense of best practice for what will work in the 92 towns within the 'strong national identity' cluster – and for how you go about delivering this.

EVERY TOWN COUNTS

- There remains too often an acceptance of language which is pejorative about certain places, or which suggests that some areas matter more than others. Talking about a town as a 'dump', a 'dive' or worse is not frowned upon in wider society, in the same way that talking about a person in such derogatory terms would be. Yet these types of language ignore the fact that many thousands of people live or work within each of the towns in our index. To dismiss a place is to dismiss its people.

- This is primarily a question of ethos and philosophy. But it reflects an urgent need for a new conversation about towns, which emphasises that each place has value – and that the country cannot move forward in a progressive way unless every area is brought along with it.

- Local leadership is a central issue here. By amplifying the voices of those leading within the community, smaller towns can be promoted and championed.

A TOWNS LEADERSHIP NETWORK

We see the publication of this index as a contribution to a conversation about cohesion and resilience which will continue to evolve.

Our next step is to begin the creation of a Towns Leadership Network, applying our approach set out here to work with towns to develop specific solutions, share knowledge and expertise, and build these into their practice, while also working to push for change at the national level. The primary focus for this network will:

- **Reach out to decision-makers in all of the places within each cluster, so as to develop a group of towns committed to addressing each of the 14 challenges identified.** The initial focus here will be on local authorities, but will be open to other community stakeholders. The aim with each of these 14 networks is to forge introductions and create spaces for idea-sharing about what works at the local level – be it through face-to-face conferences or through online platforms.

- **Build up a bank of experts and thought-leaders across the 14 different clusters. These groups and individuals can work with us as ad hoc specialist partners, helping to develop best practice for the respective challenges.** With certain challenges we will be looking to discuss national policy solutions. With others the focus will be on tools and resources which can be rolled out at the local level. For many, change will require both simultaneously. The hope is that those providing expertise can also support their respective clusters – e.g. through giving talks or presentations.

- **Share insights with national policy-makers, so as to encourage targeted policies.** The data within our index provides a strong rationale for bespoke national policies. We will share our insights with relevant decision-makers, and will lobby central government on specific policies which we believe will support resilience across British towns.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: MATRIX OF ALL TOWNS

Below, shows all of the towns in our index, revealing how many clusters each one fits into.

■ Dark yellow signifies that a town fulfils all four criteria for that cluster each town fits into

■ Pale yellow cells fulfil three of the four criteria

■ Dark grey cells show where there was no available data – mainly for Welsh towns when it came to travel times

Italicised names refer to places which have city status

The size is shown in the second column; Small ('S')=10,000 to 30,000 residents, Medium ('M')=30,000 to 75,000 residents, Large ('L')=over 75,000 residents

Legend for cells below: **D** = dark yellow (all four criteria), **P** = pale yellow (three criteria), **G** = grey (no data)

Town	Size	a. Traditional demographics	b. Visible decline	c. Shrinking and ageing	d. Uncertain industrial futures	e. Cross-cutting deprivation	f. Competition for resources	g. Rapid change	h. Migration in the community	i. Authoritarian footprint	j. Strong national identity	k. Fewer cultural opportunities	l. Fewer heritage 'assets'	m. Less connected	n. Coastal challenges
Aberdare	M	P	P	P		D						P		G	
Abergavenny	S			P										G	
Abersychan	S	P	D									P	D	G	
Abertillery	S			P		P								G	
Aberystwyth	S			P										G	P
Abingdon	M														
Accrington	S		D					P	P						
Addlestone	S						P			P	P	P			
Adwick le Street	S	P			D		P								
Aldershot	M														
Aldridge	M	P										D	P		
Alfreton	S	D			D						D	D	D	D	
Alsager	S			P	P										
Alton (East Hampshire)	S												P		
Altrincham	M							D					P		
Amersham	S						P	P							

Town	Size	a. Traditional demographics	b. Visible decline	c. Shrinking and ageing	d. Uncertain industrial futures	e. Cross-cutting deprivation	f. Competition for resources	g. Rapid change	h. Migration in the community	i. Authoritarian footprint	j. Strong national identity	k. Fewer cultural opportunities	l. Fewer heritage 'assets'	m. Less connected	n. Coastal challenges
Amesbury	S													●	
Ammanford	S	●				○						●	○	▓	
Ampthill	S														
Andover	M			○									○		
Annfield Plain	S	○				●						○	○		
Armthorpe	S	○			○		○		○			○	○		
Arnold	M							○				○			
Ashby-de-la-Zouch	S										●	○			
Ashford (Ashford)	L						●					○	○		
Ashford (Spelthorne)	M							●							
Ashington (Northumberland)	S	○			○										●
Ashtead	S														
Ashton-in-Makerfield	M	●	○	●								●			
Ashton-under-Lyne	S		●	○		○			●						
Aston Clinton	S												○		
Atherstone	S	○		●								●	●		
Atherton	M		●	●	●				○						
Attleborough	S	●					●					○	●		
Aveley	S						●	○	○			○			
Aylesbury	L						○								
Bacup	S		○		○							○			
Baildon	S		●		○										
Baldock	S														
Bamber Bridge	L			●											
Banbury	M						●						○		
Bangor	S													▓	
Barnoldswick	S	●	○	○								○	●		
Barnsley	L	○	○			●	●	●	○			○			
Barnstaple	M	●		○							●				
Barrow upon Soar	S			○											
Barrow-in-Furness	M	●		●								○	○		●

Town	Size	a. Traditional demographics	b. Visible decline	c. Shrinking and ageing	d. Uncertain industrial futures	e. Cross-cutting deprivation	f. Competition for resources	g. Rapid change	h. Migration in the community	i. Authoritarian footprint	j. Strong national identity	k. Fewer cultural opportunities	l. Fewer heritage 'assets'	m. Less connected	n. Coastal challenges
Barry	M	░		░										█	░
Barton-upon-Humber	S	█			░							█	░		░
Basildon	L				░	█	░			░			█		
Basingstoke	L						░						░		
Bath	L														
Batley	M		░	░					█						
Beaconsfield	S						░	░							
Bebington	M			█											
Beccles	S	█									█	█		░	
Bedford	L		░			░									
Bedlington	S	█		░											█
Bedworth	M		█	█		░						█			
Beeston (Broxtowe)	M														
Belper	S				█						░		░		
Bentley	M	░	░	░					░						
Berkhamsted	S														
Berwick-upon-Tweed	S	█		░							░				░
Beverley	M			░							░				
Bewdley	S			░							█				█
Bexhill	M	░					░				░				
Bicester	M														
Biddulph	S	█		░							█	█			
Bideford	S	█			░										░
Biggleswade	S								░						
Billericay	M				░										
Billingham	M	░		█								█			
Bilston	M		░		█	█	█	█	█				█		
Bingham	S														
Bingley	M		█												
Bircotes	S	░									█				
Birkenhead	L		░	░		█									█

Legend for fill marks: ● = strong (orange), ○ = light (pale yellow), ▦ = grey

Town	Size	a. Traditional demographics	b. Visible decline	c. Shrinking and ageing	d. Uncertain industrial futures	e. Cross-cutting deprivation	f. Competition for resources	g. Rapid change	h. Migration in the community	i. Authoritarian footprint	j. Strong national identity	k. Fewer cultural opportunities	l. Fewer heritage 'assets'	m. Less connected	n. Coastal challenges
Birstall	S				●		○		●						
Bishop Auckland	S	●	○			●					●	○		○	
Bishop's Cleeve	S				○										
Bishop's Stortford	M					○									
Blackburn	L		●	○	○	○			●	○					
Blackfield	S	○			○				○			○	●		
Blackpool	L	○													●
Blackwood	S	○		●								●		▦	
Blandford Forum	S						○								
Blaydon	S	○					○					○			
Bletchley	M						●						●		
Bloxwich	M		○		●		○		●						
Blyth (Northumberland)	M		○		○								○		○
Bodmin	S	●					○						●		
Bognor Regis	M	○					●						○	●	○
Bolsover	S											●	●		
Bolton	L		●		○	●	○		●						
Bootle	M		○	○		●	○								○
Bordon	S														
Borehamwood	M							●							
Boston	M						○			●		●		●	
Bourne	S						○								
Bournemouth	L														○
Brackley	S														
Bracknell	L												●		
Braintree	M				●		●				○				
Bramhall	S			○											
Brandon (County Durham)	S		○										○		
Braunton	S											●	○		
Brentwood	M						○	●							
Bridgend	M						○							▦	

Town	Size	a. Traditional demographics	b. Visible decline	c. Shrinking and ageing	d. Uncertain industrial futures	e. Cross-cutting deprivation	f. Competition for resources	g. Rapid change	h. Migration in the community	i. Authoritarian footprint	j. Strong national identity	k. Fewer cultural opportunities	l. Fewer heritage 'assets'	m. Less connected	n. Coastal challenges
Bridgnorth	S											●		●	
Bridgwater	M	●	●		●	●								●	
Bridlington	M	●		●						●	●			●	●
Bridport	S	●													
Brierfield	S		●		●	●		●				●			
Brierley Hill	M	●		●					●	●	●		●		
Brigg	S											●	●	●	
Brighouse	M		●	●			●								
Brixham	S	●									●	●			●
Broadbridge Heath	S						●						●		
Broadstairs	M	●				●					●		●		●
Bromsgrove	M										●				
Broomhall/Windlesham/Virginia Water	S			●											
Brough (East Riding of Yorkshire)	S										●				
Broughton (Flintshire)	S			●		●							●	●	
Brownhills	S	●	●		●	●				●	●				
Bryn Pydew	S													●	
Buckingham	S					●								●	
Buckley	S			●								●		●	
Burgess Hill	M												●		
Burghfield Common	S			●											
Burnham-on-Sea	S	●			●					●		●	●		●
Burnley	L		●	●		●	●		●	●		●			
Burntwood	M	●		●							●				
Burscough	S														
Burton Latimer	S				●										
Burton upon Trent	L											●			
Bury (Greater Manchester)	M		●		●				●						
Bury St Edmunds	M					●						●		●	
Bushey	M						●	●					●		

HOPEFUL TOWNS

Legend of columns: a. Traditional demographics · b. Visible decline · c. Shrinking and ageing · d. Uncertain industrial futures · e. Cross-cutting deprivation · f. Competition for resources · g. Rapid change · h. Migration in the community · i. Authoritarian footprint · j. Strong national identity · k. Fewer cultural opportunities · l. Fewer heritage 'assets' · m. Less connected · n. Coastal challenges

(Cell fill key: Y = light, O = dark, G = grey)

Town	Size	a	b	c	d	e	f	g	h	i	j	k	l	m	n
Buxton (High Peak)	S			Y	Y								Y	Y	
Caernarfon	S	Y												G	
Caerphilly	M			O	Y	O						Y	Y	G	
Caister-on-Sea	S	O								O	O	Y	Y		O
Calne	S														O
Camberley	M						Y								
Camborne	M	O	Y		Y	Y	Y					O			
Cambridge	L														
Cannock	M	Y		O						Y		O	O		
Canterbury	M	Y					Y								
Canvey Island	M	O								O	Y	O			
Carlisle	L	Y									Y	Y	Y		
Carlton (Gedling)	M	Y					Y				Y		O		
Carmarthen	S		Y									Y	Y	G	
Carterton	S											Y	Y		
Castleford	M	Y	O			O	O	O		Y	Y				
Caterham	S														
Chadderton	M		Y		Y	O			O						
Chadwell St Mary	S		O	Y					O	Y			O		
Chalford	S			Y	Y										
Chapeltown	S	Y		Y						Y	Y				
Chard	S	O	Y				O				Y		Y		O
Chatham	L		O												
Chatteris	S	O				Y	O				O	O			
Cheadle	S			Y					Y	O					
Cheadle Hulme	S			Y					Y						
Chelmsford	L						Y								
Cheltenham	L														
Chepstow	S													G	
Chertsey	S		Y				Y	Y							
Chesham	S								Y						

Town	Size	a. Traditional demographics	b. Visible decline	c. Shrinking and ageing	d. Uncertain industrial futures	e. Cross-cutting deprivation	f. Competition for resources	g. Rapid change	h. Migration in the community	i. Authoritarian footprint	j. Strong national identity	k. Fewer cultural opportunities	l. Fewer heritage 'assets'	m. Less connected	n. Coastal challenges
Cheshunt	M					●			●				●		
Chester	L			●										●	
Chesterfield	L	●		●							●	●			
Chester-le-Street	M	●		●							●	●			
Chichester	M						●								
Chigwell	S						●	●	●						
Chippenham (Wiltshire)	M												●	●	
Chorley	M		●						●						
Chorleywood	S							●	●						
Christchurch	M				●								●	●	
Church	S		●				●		●						
Church Village	S													●	
Cil-y-coed	S	●		●										●	
Cinderford	S	●			●						●	●			
Cirencester	S												●		
Clacton-on-Sea	M	●				●				●	●				●
Clay Cross	S	●									●	●	●		
Cleckheaton	S		●			●		●	●				●		
Cleethorpes	M	●		●		●					●		●		●
Clevedon	S														●
Cleveleys	S	●		●					●		●		●		●
Clifton (City of Nottingham)	S		●		●	●							●		
Clitheroe	S				●								●		
Clyst Honiton	S						●								
Coalville	M	●								●	●	●			
Cobham (Elmbridge)	S						●		●						
Codsall	S			●							●				
Colchester	L														
Colne	S		●			●			●				●		
Colwyn Bay	S			●										●	●
Congleton	S			●									●		

Town	Size	a. Traditional demographics	b. Visible decline	c. Shrinking and ageing	d. Uncertain industrial futures	e. Cross-cutting deprivation	f. Competition for resources	g. Rapid change	h. Migration in the community	i. Authoritarian footprint	j. Strong national identity	k. Fewer cultural opportunities	l. Fewer heritage 'assets'	m. Less connected	n. Coastal challenges
Conisbrough	S	●		●	●	●						●			
Connah's Quay	S	●		●	●	●								●	
Consett	M		●								●	●	●	●	
Corby	M				●		●				●		●	●	
Corsham	S												●		
Coseley	S		●	●	●	●	●		●						
Cottingham	S										●				
Cowes	S										●				●
Cramlington	S			●											
Crawley	L						●					●			
Crediton	S				●										
Crewe	L			●	●										
Croesowallt	S	●				●	●					●		●	
Cromer	S	●									●				
Crosby	M		●	●											●
Crowborough	S			●											
Crowthorne	S														
Cudworth	S	●	●		●	●					●	●	●		
Cullompton	S							●				●			
Cwmbran	M	●	●			●							●	●	
Darlaston	S		●	●		●	●	●	●			●	●		
Darlington	L			●	●							●	●		
Dartford	M						●	●					●		
Darwen	M	●	●												
Daventry	S						●			●			●		
Dawlish	S	●										●			
Deal	M	●	●									●		●	●
Denton	M	●	●			●			●				●		
Dereham	S	●									●		●		
Desborough	S				●							●	●		
Devizes	S												●		

Town	Size	a. Traditional demographics	b. Visible decline	c. Shrinking and ageing	d. Uncertain industrial futures	e. Cross-cutting deprivation	f. Competition for resources	g. Rapid change	h. Migration in the community	i. Authoritarian footprint	j. Strong national identity	k. Fewer cultural opportunities	l. Fewer heritage 'assets'	m. Less connected	n. Coastal challenges
Dewsbury	L		X		X	X	X	X	X	X					
Didcot	M						X					X			
Dinas Powis	S			X										X	
Dinnington (Rotherham)	S	X		X						X		X			
Diss	S	X				X					X	X	X		
Ditton	S						X			X					
Doncaster	L				X	X			X			X			
Dorchester (West Dorset)	S												X		
Dorking	S														
Dover	M		X								X				X
Downham Market	S	X				X					X	X		X	
Driffield	S	X										X	X		
Droitwich	S			X							X				
Dronfield	S										X				
Droylsden	M		X	X		X		X					X		
Dudley (Dudley)	M		X			X		X	X						
Dukinfield	M		X	X	X			X	X						
Dunscroft	S	X		X								X			
Dunstable	M				X		X	X							
Durham	M														
Dursley	S				X										
Earl Shilton	S	X		X								X			
East Grinstead	M						X								
Eastbourne	L						X					X			X
Eastleigh	L														
Eastwood	S	X		X	X										
Ebbw Vale	S	X		X	X							X		X	
Eccles	M		X	X											
Egham	M		X					X							
Elland	S		X	X					X						
Ellesmere Port	M	X		X									X		

HOPEFUL TOWNS

Town	Size	a. Traditional demographics	b. Visible decline	c. Shrinking and ageing	d. Uncertain industrial futures	e. Cross-cutting deprivation	f. Competition for resources	g. Rapid change	h. Migration in the community	i. Authoritarian footprint	j. Strong national identity	k. Fewer cultural opportunities	l. Fewer heritage 'assets'	m. Less connected	n. Coastal challenges
Ely	S						●						●		
Emsworth	S										●			●	
Epping	S						●	●							
Epsom	S						●	●							
Esher	M												●		
Evesham	S						●			●		●	●		
Ewell	L						●	●							
Exeter	L														
Exmouth	M									●					●
Falmouth	S			●										●	●
Fareham	M									●					
Farnborough	L												●		
Farnham	S														
Farnworth	M		●	●	●	●	●		●				●		
Faversham	S						●			●	●		●		
Featherstone (Wakefield)	S	●	●		●	●	●	●		●	●		●		
Felixstowe	S	●													
Ferndown	S	●									●		●		
Filton	M						●	●							
Fleet	M														
Fleetwood	S	●				●				●					●
Flint	S	●		●										●	
Folkestone	M			●		●		●					●		●
Formby	S			●											
Four Marks	S												●		
Frampton Cotterell/Winterbourne	S														
Freckleton	S			●									●		
Frimley	S														
Frodsham	S			●									●		
Frome	S				●										
Fulwood	M		●						●						

Town	Size	a. Traditional demographics	b. Visible decline	c. Shrinking and ageing	d. Uncertain industrial futures	e. Cross-cutting deprivation	f. Competition for resources	g. Rapid change	h. Migration in the community	i. Authoritarian footprint	j. Strong national identity	k. Fewer cultural opportunities	l. Fewer heritage 'assets'	m. Less connected	n. Coastal challenges
Gainsborough	S	▨	▨			▨	▧			▨	▨		▨		
Garforth	S			▨											
Gateshead	L			▨	▨	▧									
Gatley	S							▨							
Gerrards Cross	S							▨							
Gillingham	L		▧				▨						▨		▧
Gillingham (North Dorset)	S						▨				▨		▨		
Glastonbury	S	▨											▨		
Glossop	S			▧											
Gloucester	L						▧		▨						
Godalming	S														
Golborne	S			▨						▨			▨		
Goldthorpe	S	▨						▨		▨					
Goole	S						▨				▧		▧		
Gorleston-on-Sea	M	▧	▧		▨					▨		▨			▧
Gorseinon	S	▨											▨	▦	▨
Gosport	L		▨										▧		▨
Gowerton	S			▧								▨		▦	
Grantham	M						▧			▨	▨				
Gravesend	M							▧	▨						▨
Grays	M								▨	▧					▨
Grayshott	S														
Great Malvern	M												▨		
Great Wyrley	S	▨				▨				▨	▨	▨	▨		
Great Yarmouth	M		▧				▧			▧			▨		▧
Grimsby	L		▨	▨									▨		▧
Groby	S										▧				
Guildford	L						▨	▨							
Guisborough	S			▧	▨						▨	▨			
Guiseley	S		▨				▨								
Hailsham	S	▨				▨									

Legend for shaded cells: L = light yellow, O = orange/gold, G = grey. Blank = no shading.

Town	Size	a. Traditional demographics	b. Visible decline	c. Shrinking and ageing	d. Uncertain industrial futures	e. Cross-cutting deprivation	f. Competition for resources	g. Rapid change	h. Migration in the community	i. Authoritarian footprint	j. Strong national identity	k. Fewer cultural opportunities	l. Fewer heritage 'assets'	m. Less connected	n. Coastal challenges
Hale (Trafford)	S						L						L		
Halesowen	M			L					O			O	L	L	
Halifax	L		O	L	L	L			O	O					
Halstead	S	L			O							O	L	O	
Harlow	L												O		
Harpenden	M														
Harrogate	L													L	
Hartlepool	L	L	L	L		O				L	L	L			O
Hartley	S										L				
Harwich	S	O	L							O	L				O
Haslemere	S														
Haslingden	S		L	O					O						
Hastings	L		L		L	L									O
Hatfield	M						L						L		
Havant	M	L	L						L	L		O	O	O	L
Haverfordwest	S			L										G	
Haverhill	M				O		O					L	O		
Haworth	S		O	L						L			O		
Haxby	S														
Haydock	S	O		O	O						L	L			
Hayle	S	O			L		L					L	L		
Haywards Heath	M												L		
Hazel Grove	S		L												
Heanor	S	L			O					O		O			
Hebburn	S	L													
Heckmondwike	S		O				L		O	O					
Hedge End	S												O		
Hedon	S	L										L	L		
Helston	S				L									L	O
Hemel Hempstead	L						O						L		
Hemsworth	S	O	L	L						L	L	L	L		

Town	Size	a. Traditional demographics	b. Visible decline	c. Shrinking and ageing	d. Uncertain industrial futures	e. Cross-cutting deprivation	f. Competition for resources	g. Rapid change	h. Migration in the community	i. Authoritarian footprint	j. Strong national identity	k. Fewer cultural opportunities	l. Fewer heritage 'assets'	m. Less connected	n. Coastal challenges
Henley-on-Thames	S														
Hereford	M					○						○		●	
Herne Bay	M	○				○			○				○		○
Hertford	M														
Hessle	S				●						●				
Heswall	M			●									○		
Hetton-le-Hole	S	●			●	●				○	○	○	○		
Hexham	S			○										●	
Heysham	S	○													●
Heywood	M		●	●	●	●			○						
High Wycombe	L								○						
Higham Ferrers	S										○		○		
Hinckley	M				○						●	○			
Hindley	M	○		●	●						○		○		
Hitchin	M														
Hoddesdon	M						○			○					
Holbeach	S	●					○			○		●		●	
Holmfirth	M		●	○	○										
Honiton	S	○													
Hook (Hart)	S			○											
Horbury	S	○	●	○								●	●		
Horley	S						○	●		○					
Horndean	M													●	
Hornsea	S	●										●	○		●
Horsforth	S														
Horsham	M						○								
Horwich	S		●	○	○				○						
Houghton Regis	S					○									
Houghton-le-Spring	S	●			●	●						○	○	○	
Hoyland	S	○		○			○					○	○		
Hucknall	M	○			●					○	●	●			

HOPEFUL TOWNS

Town	Size	a. Traditional demographics	b. Visible decline	c. Shrinking and ageing	d. Uncertain industrial futures	e. Cross-cutting deprivation	f. Competition for resources	g. Rapid change	h. Migration in the community	i. Authoritarian footprint	j. Strong national identity	k. Fewer cultural opportunities	l. Fewer heritage 'assets'	m. Less connected	n. Coastal challenges
Huddersfield	L		■				■	■	■						
Huntingdon	M				□					□					
Hurstpierpoint	S												□		
Hyde (Tameside)	S		■	□	□	□			■						
Hythe	S									□			□	□	□
Ilfracombe	S	■			□					□	■				■
Ilkeston	M	□													
Ilkley	S												□		
Immingham	S	■		■		□	□				□	□	■		□
Ince-in-Makerfield	S	□				■	■								
Ingleby Barwick	S			□											
Innsworth	S														
Ipswich	L		□		□		■					□			
Irlam	S	□	■										■		
Ivybridge	S	□		□									□		
Jarrow	S	□													
Keighley	M		■			■	□		■	■			■		
Kempston	M			□			■		□				■		
Kendal	M			□		□								□	
Kenilworth	S			□											
Kesgrave	S														
Kettering	M				□		■						□		
Keynsham	S						□								
Kidderminster	M	■	■								■	□		■	
Kidlington	S														
Kidsgrove	S	■		□								■	□		
Kimberley	S			□			□								
King's Hill	S						□								
King's Lynn	M						■					□	■		■
Kingsteignton	S				□								□		
Kingswinford	M	□		■								■	■		

Town	Size	a. Traditional demographics	b. Visible decline	c. Shrinking and ageing	d. Uncertain industrial futures	e. Cross-cutting deprivation	f. Competition for resources	g. Rapid change	h. Migration in the community	i. Authoritarian footprint	j. Strong national identity	k. Fewer cultural opportunities	l. Fewer heritage 'assets'	m. Less connected	n. Coastal challenges
Kinmel Bay	S	■	■	■		■							■	■	■
Kippax	S	■	■	■											
Kirkby	M		■			■							■	■	
Kirkby-in-Ashfield	S	■			■	■	■				■	■	■		
Kirkham	S	■					■								
Knaresborough	S														
Knottingley	S	■				■	■				■	■	■	■	
Knutsford	S												■		
Lancaster	M		■				■								
Launceston	S	■				■							■	■	
Leatherhead	M						■								
Ledbury	S												■		
Leek	S	■			■						■	■	■		
Lees	S		■						■	■			■		
Leighton Buzzard	M				■	■							■		
Leominster	S	■				■	■						■		
Letchworth Garden City	S														
Lewes	S														
Leyland	M		■	■	■							■			
Lichfield	M										■				
Lincoln	L						■			■					
Liphook	S						■								
Liskeard	S	■											■	■	
Little Lever	S		■	■						■			■		
Littlehampton	M	■					■					■			
Llandudno	S		■		■									■	■
Llanelli	M		■		■							■		■	■
Llantrisant	S						■						■	■	
Locks Heath/Warsash/Whiteley	M												■		
Long Eaton	M			■	■						■		■		
Longbenton	M														

Town	Size	a. Traditional demographics	b. Visible decline	c. Shrinking and ageing	d. Uncertain industrial futures	e. Cross-cutting deprivation	f. Competition for resources	g. Rapid change	h. Migration in the community	i. Authoritarian footprint	j. Strong national identity	k. Fewer cultural opportunities	l. Fewer heritage 'assets'	m. Less connected	n. Coastal challenges
Loughborough	M				░										
Loughton	M						░			■					
Louth	S	■		░						░	■	■		░	
Lowestoft	M	■		░						░	■				░
Ludlow	S	░										░		■	
Luton	L		░				■	░	░			░			
Lutterworth	S				░										
Lymington	S											░		■	
Lymm	S														
Lytham St Anne's	M														░
Mablethorpe	S	■		░						■	■	░	░		■
Macclesfield	M														
Maesteg	S	░		■	░	■							░	■	
Maghull	M			■									░		
Maidenhead	M						░	■							
Maidstone	L						░	░							
Maldon	S										■				
Maltby	S	░		■	■	■				■	░				
Mansfield	L				■	■	░		■		░	░	░		
Mansfield Woodhouse	S	■		░							■	■		■	
March	S	░					■				░	░			
Margate	M	░	░					░	■		░	░			■
Market Deeping	S														
Market Drayton	S	■												■	
Market Harborough	S				░										
Market Warsop	S	■			░	■					░			░	
Marlborough	S												■		
Marlow	S			░											
Marple	S		░	░											
Matlock	S														
Melksham	S	■								░		░		■	

Town	Size	a. Traditional demographics	b. Visible decline	c. Shrinking and ageing	d. Uncertain industrial futures	e. Cross-cutting deprivation	f. Competition for resources	g. Rapid change	h. Migration in the community	i. Authoritarian footprint	j. Strong national identity	k. Fewer cultural opportunities	l. Fewer heritage 'assets'	m. Less connected	n. Coastal challenges
Meltham	S		■	□	□										
Melton Mowbray	S			□		□					■			■	
Merthyr Tydfil	M		□	□	□	■				□		□	□	▨	
Mexborough	S	□	□	□	■	□									
Middlesbrough	L					■			■					□	■
Middleton (Rochdale)	M		□	□		■									
Middlewich	S														
Midsomer Norton	S	□				□						□	□		
Mildenhall	S											□	□		
Milford Haven	S	■												▨	
Milnrow	S		□	□					■						
Milton Keynes	L						□						■		
Minehead	S	■		□						■	■				□
Minster (Swale)	S	■					■			□		■		■	□
Mirfield	S		■	□											
Monmouth	S													▨	
Morecambe	M	■	□												■
Morley	M		□		□					■					
Morpeth	S			□									□		
Mountain Ash	S	□				■						□		▨	
Mountsorrel	S				□										
Nailsea	S														
Nantwich	S						□						□		
Narborough/Enderby	S				□							□			
Neath	M	■												▨	
Nelson (Pendle)	S		■		□	□	□		□				■		
Neston	S			■											
New Mills	S			■											
New Milton	M	□										□	□	■	
New Ollerton	S	□			■							□			
New Romney	S	□										□		■	□

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New Rossington	S	░		▓	▓	░				░		░			
New Waltham	S			▓							▓		░		
Newark-on-Trent	M	░	░		▓		░				░	▓			
Newbridge	S	░		░		░						▓	░	▒	
Newbury	M														
Newcastle-under-Lyme	M														
Newhaven	S	░					▓				░	░			░
Newmarket	S						░						░		
Newport	L					▓	▓	▓	░					▒	░
Newport (Isle of Wight)	S	░										▓	▓		▓
Newport (Telford and Wrekin)	S			▓							░			░	
Newport Pagnell	S					░	░					▓			
Newquay	S	░			░		▓					░	░		▓
Newton Abbot	S														
Newton Aycliffe	S	▓	░			▓					▓	░	▓		
Newton-le-Willows	S					▓									
Newtown (Powys)	S	░		▓										▒	
Normanton	S	░	░		░	░						▓	▓		
North Baddesley	S														
North Hykeham	S														
North Walney	S	▓		▓								▓	▓	▓	
North Walsham	S	▓										▓	░		
North Wingfield	S	░				░						▓			
Northallerton	S			▓						░					
Northam	S	░									▓	▓	░		
Northampton	L		░				░								
Northfleet	M							▓	░			░			░
Northwich	M			▓											
Norton-on-Derwent	S	░											░		
Norwich	L		░						░						
Nuneaton	L		▓	▓	░				░	▓		░			

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Oakham	S												▢		
Okehampton	S	■					■					▢	▢		
Oldbury (Sandwell)	S		▢		▢	■	■	■	■			▢	■		
Oldham	M		■	▢	▢		■	■	■						
Ormskirk	S			▢							▢				
Ossett	S	▢	■		▢					■	■	■			
Oswaldtwistle	S	■	■	▢								▢	▢		
Otley	S														
Oxford	L		▢			▢									
Oxted	S														
Paignton	M	■			▢						■	■	■		■
Peacehaven	S						■					▢		▢	▢
Pelton	S	■	▢			▢					▢	■			
Penarth	S							■	▢					▨	▢
Pencoed	S		▢	■							▢	▢		▨	
Penistone	S				▢						■				
Penrith	S	■		■											
Penzance	S	■	▢		▢							▢	▢		■
Peterborough	L						■	■	▢		■				
Peterlee	S	▢	▢	▢		▢						▢	■		▢
Petersfield	S														
Picket Piece	S						■	▢							
Platt Bridge	S		▢		▢										
Plymouth	L														■
Plymstock	S											▢			
Polegate	S	▢													
Pontarddulais	S											▢		▨	
Pontefract	M											■	■		
Pontllan-fraith	S	■		■								■	■	▨	
Pontypool	M	■	■	■								■	▢	▨	
Pontypridd	M			▢	▢							▢		▨	

Town	Size	a. Traditional demographics	b. Visible decline	c. Shrinking and ageing	d. Uncertain industrial futures	e. Cross-cutting deprivation	f. Competition for resources	g. Rapid change	h. Migration in the community	i. Authoritarian footprint	j. Strong national identity	k. Fewer cultural opportunities	l. Fewer heritage 'assets'	m. Less connected	n. Coastal challenges
Poole	L											░			
Port Talbot	M	░	░	░	░						░	░	░	▒	░
Porth	S	░		░		▓						░	░	▒	
Porthcawl	S			▓										▒	
Portishead	S													░	
Portslade-by-Sea	S						░					░			░
Portsmouth	L		░				▓	░		▓					▓
Potters Bar	S												░		
Poulton-le-Fylde	S			░											
Poyle	S		░				▓	░					▓		
Poynton	M			░											
Prescot	M			░		▓							▓		
Prestatyn	S	▓												▒	▓
Preston	L		▓			▓	▓	▓	▓						
Princes Risborough	S			░											
Prudhoe	S												▓		
Pudsey	M		░	░					▓						
Pyle	S	░			░	░								▒	
Radcliffe	S		▓		▓				░						
Radlett	S														
Rainford	S			▓								░			
Rainworth	S	░				░	░					░			
Ramsbottom	S		░	▓											
Ramsgate	M	░				░				░		░			▓
Rawmarsh	S	░				▓						░			
Rawtenstall	S		░												
Rayleigh	L	░								░	▓				
Reading	L			░				░							
Redcar	M	░		░	░								░		░
Redditch	L			▓					░			░	▓		
Redhill	M					░		▓				░			

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Redruth	S	●			○	○					○		○	○	
Reigate	S						○	●							
Retford	S	●		●	○						●	●			
Rhondda	S	○	○	○		●						○		■	
Rhosllanerchrugog	S	○		○								○		■	
Rhyl	S			○										■	●
Richmond	S			●							○				
Rickmansworth	M				○			○	○				○		
Ringwood	S										○				●
Ripley	S	●		○		●					○	●			
Ripon	S			○									○		
Risca	S	○									●	●		■	
Rochdale	L		●		●				●						
Rochester	M		●				○	○							
Rochford	S									●	○		○		
Romiley	M	●	○	●		○									
Romsey	S														
Ross-on-Wye	S			○								○			●
Rotherham	L		○	○		●			●	●		○			
Rothwell	S		○		○										
Rowley Regis	M				○	●	●	○				○	●		
Royal Leamington Spa	M								○						
Royal Tunbridge Wells	M					○									
Royton	M		●			○									
Ruddington	S				○										
Rugby	L			○		○							○		
Rugeley	S	●		●		○					○	●	●		
Runcorn	M			○					○						
Rushden	S	○				○						○			
Ryde	S	○									○		○		●
Ryton	S			●	○										

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Saffron Walden	S					■									
Sale	L		■		■		■								
Salford	L		■		■	■	■	■							
Salisbury	M													■	
Saltash	S			■								■			
Saltdean	S														■
Sandbach	S												■		
Sandhurst	S												■		
Sandown	S	■	■	■								■			■
Sandy	S				■										
Sarn	S	■		■		■							■	■	
Sawbridgeworth	S						■								
Scarborough	M	■								■	■		■		■
Scunthorpe	L		■									■	■		
Seaford	S												■		
Seaham	S	■		■								■	■		■
Sedgley	M	■		■					■			■	■		
Selby	S		■		■		■		■						
Selsey	S		■								■			■	
Sevenoaks	M						■					■			
Shaftesbury	S												■		
Shaw (Oldham)	S	■	■	■								■	■		
Sheerness	S		■			■				■				■	■
Shepshed	S				■										
Shepton Mallet	S						■								
Shildon	S		■				■					■			
Shipley	M		■						■				■		
Shirebrook	S						■					■			
Shoreham-by-Sea	M	■											■		
Shotton	S			■		■						■		■	
Shrewsbury	L										■		■		

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Sidmouth	S												●		
Sittingbourne	M						●	●		●	●	●		●	●
Skegness	S	●	●	●		●				●	●		●		●
Skelmersdale	M			●	●	●			●				●		
Skipton	S	●												●	
Sleaford	S						●			●			●		
Slough	L		●				●	●					●		
Smethwick	L		●			●	●	●	●				●		
Snodland	S						●		●				●		
Soham	S						●		●				●		
Solihull	L							●							
South Elmsall	S	●	●			●				●	●	●			
South Hayling	S									●		●	●	●	
South Normanton	S	●								●	●				
South Ockendon	S				●	●	●		●	●		●			
South Shields	L	●													●
South Woodham Ferrers	S			●											
Southborough	S														
Southend-on-Sea	L					●			●						●
Southport	L			●											●
Southwater	S													●	
Southwick	S		●												●
Spalding	S						●		●			●			
Spennymoor	S	●	●	●		●				●	●				
St Albans	L							●							
St Austell	S	●			●						●		●	●	
St Blazey	S	●				●					●		●	●	
St Helens	L		●			●					●	●			
St Ives (Huntingdonshire)	S												●		
St Neots	M				●		●							●	
Stafford	M													●	

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Staines	S						░		░				░		
Stakeford	S	▓		░	░							░	░	▓	
Stalybridge	M		▓	▓	▓				▓						
Stamford	S									░			░		
Stanford-le-Hope	S	░					░		▓						
Stanley (County Durham)	S	░		░		▓									
Stapleford	S				▓							░			
Staveley	S	░										░			
Stevenage	L						░								
Stockport	L		░						░	░					
Stocksbridge	S	▓		░									░		
Stockton-on-Tees	M	░													
Stone (Stafford)	S											░			
Stonehouse	S				▓								░	░	
Storrington	S														
Stourbridge	M			▓				░				▓	▓	░	
Stourport-on-Severn	S	▓	▓							░		▓		▓	
Stowmarket	S				░		░					░			
Stratford-upon-Avon	S						░								
Street	S	▓										░			
Stretford	S						░								
Stroud	M				▓										
Stubbington	S												▓		
Sudbury	S	▓													
Sunderland	L				░	▓									░
Sutton Coldfield	L		░						▓						
Sutton in Ashfield	M	░			░	▓	▓	▓				▓			
Swadlincote	M	░					▓	▓							
Swallownest	S	░										▓	▓		
Swanley	S						░	░	░						
Swanscombe	S				░		▓	▓					░		░

Legend of cell shading: ░ = light (lower intensity), ▓ = darker/orange (higher intensity)

Town	Size	a. Traditional demographics	b. Visible decline	c. Shrinking and ageing	d. Uncertain industrial futures	e. Cross-cutting deprivation	f. Competition for resources	g. Rapid change	h. Migration in the community	i. Authoritarian footprint	j. Strong national identity	k. Fewer cultural opportunities	l. Fewer heritage 'assets'	m. Less connected	n. Coastal challenges
Swansea	L			░		░	░							▓	▓
Swindon	L				░								░	░	
Swinton	S		▓		░								▓		
Syston	S				░		░	░							
Tadley	S														
Tamworth	L	░		▓						░	░	▓			
Tarleton	S									░					
Taunton	L					░							░		
Taverham	S										░	▓			
Tavistock	S			░											
Teignmouth	S											░	░		
Telford	L				▓	▓			░			░	▓		
Tewkesbury	S				░										
Thame	S													░	
Thatcham	S			░											
Thetford	S						▓			░		▓			
Thirsk	S	▓													
Thornaby-on-Tees	M				░		░		░			░			
Thornbury	S														
Thorne	S	▓		░					░						
Thornton (Wyre)	S										░				
Throckley	S	▓													
Tidworth	S					░				░					▓
Tilbury	S					▓	░	▓	▓						
Tipton	S			░			▓	▓	▓	░					
Tiverton	S	▓					▓		▓			░			
Todmorden	S		▓	▓											
Tonbridge	M														
Tonypandy	S	░		░		▓								▓	
Tonyrefail	S	░			░	▓	░					░		▓	
Torquay	M	▓			░	░			░						▓

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Totnes	S												●		
Totton	M					●				●		●	●		
Towcester	S														
Tredegar	S	●	●	●	●	◆						●	●	▓	
Treharris	S	●		◆								◆		▓	
Tring	S														
Trowbridge	M						◆							◆	
Truro	S				●						●			◆	
Twyford (Wokingham)	S												●		
Tyldesley	S		●	◆	●							●			
Tynemouth	L														◆
Uckfield	S													●	
Ulverston	S			●	●									◆	
Uppermill	S		●					●							
Urmston	M							●	●						
Uttoxeter	S	●	●									●	●		
Verwood	S													◆	
Wakefield	L		◆		●					●		◆			
Walkden	M		●	●			●								
Wallasey	M		●		●								◆		◆
Wallingford	S														
Wallsend	M	●													
Walsall	M		●			●	●	●	◆						
Waltham Abbey	S					●		●		◆					
Waltham Cross	S		●				◆	◆							
Walton-on-Thames	M							●							
Walton-on-the-Naze	S	◆										◆	◆	◆	●
Wantage	S														
Ware	S				●										
Warlingham	S						◆								
Warminster	S													◆	

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Warrington	L			○			○						○		
Warwick	M					○									
Washington	M	○		○	●	●						○	●		
Watford	L						○	●							
Wath upon Dearne	M	○				●					●				
Watton	S	○					●			○	●	●		○	
Wednesbury	M		○			●	●	●	●			●	●		
Wednesfield	M		○		●		○		●						
Wellingborough	M				●				○			●			
Wellington	S	○						○					○		
Wells	S												○		
Welwyn Garden City	M											○			
West Bridgford	M														
West Bromwich	M		○			●	●	●	●			○			
West Kirby	S			○								○			
Westbury (Wiltshire)	S					○									●
Westergate	S										○				●
Westhoughton	S		●	○	○								●		
Weston-Super-Mare	L	○					○				○				●
Wetherby	S			○											
Weybridge	M						○		○						
Weymouth	M										○				
Whetstone	S										○				
Whickham	S			●											
Whitby	S	●		●	○						●			○	●
Whitchurch (Shropshire)	S	●					○								
Whitefield	S		○						○						
Whitehaven	S	○		●	○							●		●	
Whitley Bay	S														
Whitnash	S														
Whitstable	M									○					○

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Whittlesey	S	■			■						■	■			
Wickford	M	■			■					■	■		■		
Wideopen	S						■								
Widnes	M		■			■	■						■		
Wigan	L	■		■		■						■			
Willenhall	M	■		■	■	■		■	■			■			
Wilmslow	M												■		
Wimborne Minster	S										■		■		
Winchester	M														
Windsor	M							■							
Winsford (Cheshire West & Chester)	M	■		■		■									
Wisbech	M	■		■		■				■	■				
Witham	S	■			■										
Witney	M				■								■		
Wivenhoe	S					■							■		
Woking	L					■	■								
Wokingham	M														
Wolverhampton	L		■			■	■		■						
Wombourne	S	■		■								■			
Wombwell	S	■	■		■	■	■					■			
Woodbridge	S														
Woodley	M												■		
Wootton Bassett	S												■		
Worcester	L		■												
Workington	S	■		■								■			■
Worksop	M			■								■	■	■	
Worsbrough	S	■			■	■									
Worthing	L	■						■	■		■		■		
Wraysbury	S														
Wrexham	M			■		■		■				■		■	
Wymondham (South Norfolk)	S												■		

Town	Size	a. Traditional demographics	b. Visible decline	c. Shrinking and ageing	d. Uncertain industrial futures	e. Cross-cutting deprivation	f. Competition for resources	g. Rapid change	h. Migration in the community	i. Authoritarian footprint	j. Strong national identity	k. Fewer cultural opportunities	l. Fewer heritage 'assets'	m. Less connected	n. Coastal challenges
Yarm	S			X							X				
Yate	M														
Yateley	S			X											
Yatton	S														
Yaxley	S				X		X				X		X		
Yeadon	S		X	X											
Yeovil	M		X				X				X			X	
York	L														
Ystrad Mynach	S	X			X	X	X	X			X	X	X	X	
Ystradgynlais	S	X		X									X	X	

APPENDIX B: METHODOLOGY IN DETAIL

To develop our Towns Index, we have pulled together well over 100 individual IMD metrics, across England and across Wales, listed here.

With a number of these we have done subsequent analysis to deduce change (e.g. by comparing house prices between 1995 and 2019), to amalgamate certain columns together (e.g. social grade AB and social grade C1) or to weight certain traits by others. Some of the other datasets, meanwhile, are very simple 'tags', scoring '1' or '0' to indicate whether a town falls into a certain category or not, for example, coastal towns.

Some of the datasets are more geographically precise, more recent, or more geographically expansive than others, as listed below. The lowest geographical unit for the data was lower super output area, geographic units of around 100-1500 occupants, or around 300 houses. Where data was not available at this level, we relied on postal level data or local authority level data. These units were then either scaled up, or down to towns level by the Centre for Towns, using their place typology of 894 towns throughout Great Britain.

While we tried to use the most-recently published datasets for each metric which covered both England and Wales, in a few instances it was necessary to use old or incomplete sets, in the absence of more recent findings. The most obvious example of this is the difficulty of finding Welsh data that was comparable to our English travel distance datasets. This ultimately meant that Welsh towns could not be included in the 'less connected' dataset.

Our initial analysis looked at how each of these individual factors correlated with migration attitudes, using our Fear and Hope data.

In the week after the 2016 Referendum, the polling organisation Populus asked 4,035 people in England a total of 84 questions about their attitudes to race, identity, multiculturalism and their thoughts on the EU Referendum itself. This data was then modelled using our Fear and Hope segmentation.

These segments were then modelled by Populus onto Lower Super Output Areas (LSOAs), designated geographic areas with an average population of 1,600, using data from our Feburary 2016 Fear and HOPE poll. The degree to which each LSOA identified with each tribe provides a heatmap, from which we can identify to see national trends as well as localised patterns across the country. Although this data is now a few years old, we believe it remains the most granular analysis we have for looking at attitudes in this area, and is a strong proxy for examining causes of hostility or liberalism.

Our secondary analysis looked at how these individual metrics intersected with one another against the Fear and Hope data, in order to develop the 14 clusters on which this report is based. This means we have focused our central analysis in the report on a smaller pool of individual factors within the wider towns index, though the research does reflect our analysis of the full dataset.

In you would like more detail on the methodologies for these specific datasets, or to learn more about the full towns index, email **clarke@hopenothate.org.uk**

Description	Geographical level	Year	Coverage	Source
Population of the place in 2002	LSOAs within the town	2002	England & Wales	https://www.ons.gov.uk/peoplepopulationandcommunity/population-andmigration/populationestimates/datasets/lowersuperoutputareamid-yearpopulationestimates
Population of the place in 2018 (very small villages are estimated to have populations of 1,000, in order to deduce 'per 10,000' stats; where this had been done the cells in question are shaded grey).	LSOAs within the town	2018	England & Wales	https://www.ons.gov.uk/peoplepopulationandcommunity/population-andmigration/populationestimates/datasets/lowersuperoutputareamid-yearpopulationestimates
Departures + arrivals during the year ending in June 2018, expressed as a % of the area's overall population. For example in Cambridge district there were 17,097 departures and 16,241 arrivals, in an area with a population of 125,758. This means that departures and arrivals represent 26.51% of the area's overall population - hence a churn score of 26.51.	Lower level local authority the town is in	2018-2019	England & Wales	https://www.ons.gov.uk/peoplepopulationandcommunity/population-andmigration/migrationwithintheuk/datasets/matricesofinternalmigra-tionmovesbetweenlocalauthorities-andregionsincludingthecountriesof-walesscotlandandnorthernireland

Description	Geographical level	Year	Coverage	Source
Projected 2014-2024 % increases/decreases as a result of 'International' migration (migration to and from other countries). i.e. how much will the population rise or fall thanks to residents moving to the area from other parts of the world.	Lower level local authority the town is in	2014-2024	England	https://www.ons.gov.uk/peoplepopulationandcommunity/population-andmigration/populationprojections/compendium/subnationalpopulationprojectionssupplementaryanalysis/2014basedprojections/understanding-projectedpopulationchangeatthelocalauthoritylevel
Projected 2014-2024 % increases/decreases as a result of 'within UK' migration (within UK migration includes figures for cross-border migration (moves to and from Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland) and internal migration (moves between areas in England)). i.e. how much will the population rise or fall thanks to residents moving to the area from other parts of Britain.	Lower level local authority the town is in	2014-2024	England	https://www.ons.gov.uk/peoplepopulationandcommunity/population-andmigration/populationprojections/compendium/subnationalpopulationprojectionssupplementaryanalysis/2014basedprojections/understanding-projectedpopulationchangeatthelocalauthoritylevel
Size of place, according to the CfT definition - running from 'village' to 'core city'	Coded by CfT town	N/A	England & Wales	CfT definitions
Nature of the place, according to CfT definition - six main types	Coded by CfT town	N/A	England & Wales	CfT definitions
Working age population (16-74 age brackets) (used to deduce travel data)	LSOAs within the town	2017	England	https://www.gov.uk/government/statistical-data-sets/journey-time-statistics-data-tables-jts#journey-times-connectivity-jts09
Travel time in minutes to nearest employment centre with 100 to 499 jobs by PT/walk	LSOAs within the town	2017	England	https://www.gov.uk/government/statistical-data-sets/journey-time-statistics-data-tables-jts#journey-times-connectivity-jts10
Travel time in minutes to nearest employment centre with 100 to 499 jobs by car	LSOAs within the town	2017	England	https://www.gov.uk/government/statistical-data-sets/journey-time-statistics-data-tables-jts#journey-times-connectivity-jts11
Average min travel time by Public Transport to nearest town centre (minutes) - 2004 town centre definition: https://data.gov.uk/dataset/ed07b21f-0a33-49e2-9578-83ccbc6a20db/english-town-centres-2004	LSOAs within the town	2019	England	https://www.gov.uk/government/statistical-data-sets/journey-time-statistics-data-tables-jts#journey-times-connectivity-jts07
Average min travel time by Car to nearest town centre (minutes) - 2004 town centre definition: https://data.gov.uk/dataset/ed07b21f-0a33-49e2-9578-83ccbc6a20db/english-town-centres-2004	LSOAs within the town	2019	England	https://www.gov.uk/government/statistical-data-sets/journey-time-statistics-data-tables-jts#journey-times-connectivity-jts08
Average travel time by public transport/ on foot to nearest major rail station (minutes) - larger (category A, B and C1) rail stations in GB, according to Network Rail definitions	LSOAs within the town	2015	England	https://www.gov.uk/government/statistical-data-sets/journey-time-statistics-data-tables-jts#journey-times-connectivity-jts09

Description	Geographical level	Year	Coverage	Source
Average travel time by car to nearest major rail station (minutes) - larger (category A, B and C1) rail stations in GB, according to Network Rail definitions	LSOAs within the town	2015	England	https://www.gov.uk/government/statistical-data-sets/journey-time-statistics-data-tables-jts#journey-times-connectivity-jts09
Within a ring of councils around the edge of a 'core city' - list of boroughs/ districts in separate sheet	Lower level local authority the town is in	N/A	England & Wales	Tags developed based on internal HnH research
Whether the town is next to the sea (1) or is not (0)	Coded by CfT town	N/A	England & Wales	Tags developed based on internal HnH research
Whether the town is a resort with a tourist industry (1) or is not (0)	Coded by CfT town	N/A	England & Wales	Tags developed based on internal HnH research
Whether the town was part of the post-WW2 set of new towns (1) or was not (0)	Coded by CfT town	N/A	England & Wales	Tags developed based on internal HnH research
Whether the town has a medieval history (e.g. mentioned in the Domesday Book / other historical documents) (1) or does not (0)	Coded by CfT town	N/A	England & Wales	Tags developed based on internal HnH research
Whether the town has a disproportionately GOOD set of railway conenctions compared to its size(1) or does not (0)	Coded by CfT town	N/A	England & Wales	Tags developed based on internal HnH research
Whether the town has a disproportionately BAD set of railway conenctions compared to its size(1) or does not (0)	Coded by CfT town	N/A	England & Wales	Tags developed based on internal HnH research
Whether the town has a university campus and a population under 125,000 (1) or is not (0)	Coded by CfT town	N/A	England & Wales	Tags developed based on internal HnH research
Whether the town has a population over 125,000 but no campus (1) or is not (0)	Coded by CfT town	N/A	England & Wales	Tags developed based on internal HnH research
Whether the town is a port (1) or is not (0)	Coded by CfT town	N/A	England & Wales	Tags developed based on internal HnH research
Whether the town has a textile/ mill history (1) or does not (0)	Coded by CfT town	N/A	England & Wales	Tags developed based on internal HnH research
Whether the town has city status (1) or does not (0)	Coded by CfT town	N/A	England & Wales	Tags developed based on internal HnH research
Whether the town a designated county town (1) or is not (0)	Coded by CfT town	N/A	England & Wales	Tags developed based on internal HnH research
Whether the town is home to a military barracks of some kind (1) or is not (0)	Coded by CfT town	N/A	England & Wales	Tags developed based on internal HnH research
Whether the town is in one of the 'red wall' seats won by the Tories in the last GE	Coded by CfT town	N/A	England & Wales	Tags developed based on internal HnH research
How many football clubs the town has which have been in the top 5 flights for more than half of the last decade (i.e. 6 seasons); OR whether the town has a club which has played regularly in the League of Wales top flight during the 2010s	Coded by CfT town	N/A	England & Wales	Tags developed based on internal HnH research

Description	Geographical level	Year	Coverage	Source
Size of working age population in 2001	LSOAs within the town	2001	England & Wales	https://www.nomisweb.co.uk/census/2001/ks011a
% of 2001 population in mining or manufacturing jobs	LSOAs within the town	2001	England & Wales	https://www.nomisweb.co.uk/census/2001/ks011a
Size of working age population in 2011	LSOAs within the town	2011	England & Wales	https://www.nomisweb.co.uk/census/2011/qs605ew - Industry ONS Crown Copyright Reserved [from Nomis on 1 April 2020] Population :
% of 2011 population in mining or manufacturing jobs	LSOAs within the town	2011	England & Wales	https://www.nomisweb.co.uk/census/2011/qs605ew
Median house price in 2019	LSOAs within the town	2019	England & Wales	https://www.ons.gov.uk/peoplepopulationandcommunity/housing/datasets/medianpricepaidbylowerlayersuperoutputareahpssadataset46
Average house price as a % of the regional average as of Dec 2019	LSOAs within the town	2019	England & Wales	https://www.ons.gov.uk/economy/inflationandpriceindices/bulletins/housepriceindex/january2020#regional-house-prices-including-london
% increase in median house price, 1995-2019	LSOAs within the town	1995-2019	England & Wales	https://www.ons.gov.uk/peoplepopulationandcommunity/housing/datasets/medianpricepaidbylowerlayersuperoutputareahpssadataset46
2012-2019 MEDIAN increase in annual pay (gross (£)) for all employee jobs	Lower level local authority the town is in	2012-2019	England & Wales	https://www.ons.gov.uk/employmentandlabourmarket/peopleinwork/earningsandworkinghours/datasets/placeofworkbylocalauthorityashetable6
2012-2019 MEAN increase in annual pay (gross (£)) for all employee jobs	Lower level local authority the town is in	2012-2019	England & Wales	https://www.ons.gov.uk/employmentandlabourmarket/peopleinwork/earningsandworkinghours/datasets/placeofworkbylocalauthorityashetable7
Proportion of jobs at High Risk of automation	Lower level local authority the town is in	2017	England	https://www.ons.gov.uk/employmentandlabourmarket/peopleinwork/employmentandemployeetypes/articles/whichoccupationsareathighestriskofbeingautomated/2019-03-25
% of the population with no qualifications	LSOAs within the town	2011	England & Wales	https://www.statistics.digitalresources.jisc.ac.uk/dataset/qualifications-gained-england-and-wales-2011
% of the population with no degree	LSOAs within the town	2011	England & Wales	https://www.statistics.digitalresources.jisc.ac.uk/dataset/qualifications-gained-england-and-wales-2011
Index of Multiple Deprivation (IMD) - higher score=more deprived	LSOAs within the town	2019	England	https://opendatacommunities.org/resource?uri=http%3A%2F%2Fopendatacommunities.org%2Fdata%2Fsocietal-wellbeing%2Fimd2019%2Findices

Description	Geographical level	Year	Coverage	Source
Income Deprivation Domain - higher score=more deprived	LSOAs within the town	2019	England	https://opendatacommuni-ties.org/resource?uri=http%3A%2F%2Fopendatacommunities.org%2Fdata%2Fsocietal-wellbeing%2Fimd2019%2Findices
Employment Deprivation Domain - higher score=more deprived	LSOAs within the town	2019	England	https://opendatacommuni-ties.org/resource?uri=http%3A%2F%2Fopendatacommunities.org%2Fdata%2Fsocietal-wellbeing%2Fimd2019%2Findices
Education, Skills and Training Domain - higher score=more deprived	LSOAs within the town	2019	England	https://opendatacommuni-ties.org/resource?uri=http%3A%2F%2Fopendatacommunities.org%2Fdata%2Fsocietal-wellbeing%2Fimd2019%2Findices
Health Deprivation and Disability Domain - higher score=more deprived	LSOAs within the town	2019	England	https://opendatacommuni-ties.org/resource?uri=http%3A%2F%2Fopendatacommunities.org%2Fdata%2Fsocietal-wellbeing%2Fimd2019%2Findices
Crime Domain - higher score=more deprived	LSOAs within the town	2019	England	https://opendatacommuni-ties.org/resource?uri=http%3A%2F%2Fopendatacommunities.org%2Fdata%2Fsocietal-wellbeing%2Fimd2019%2Findices
Barriers to Housing and Services Domain - higher score=more deprived	LSOAs within the town	2019	England	https://opendatacommuni-ties.org/resource?uri=http%3A%2F%2Fopendatacommunities.org%2Fdata%2Fsocietal-wellbeing%2Fimd2019%2Findices
Living Environment Deprivation Domain - higher score=more deprived	LSOAs within the town	2019	England	https://opendatacommuni-ties.org/resource?uri=http%3A%2F%2Fopendatacommunities.org%2Fdata%2Fsocietal-wellbeing%2Fimd2019%2Findices
Income Deprivation Affecting Children Index (IDACI) - higher score=more deprived	LSOAs within the town	2019	England	https://opendatacommuni-ties.org/resource?uri=http%3A%2F%2Fopendatacommunities.org%2Fdata%2Fsocietal-wellbeing%2Fimd2019%2Findices
Income Deprivation Affecting Older People Index (IDAOPI) - higher score=more deprived	LSOAs within the town	2019	England	https://opendatacommuni-ties.org/resource?uri=http%3A%2F%2Fopendatacommunities.org%2Fdata%2Fsocietal-wellbeing%2Fimd2019%2Findices
Welsh Index of Multiple deprivation (WIMD) 2019 - higher score=more deprived	LSOAs within the town	2019	Wales	https://gov.wales/welsh-index-mul-tiple-deprivation-full-index-update-ranks-2022
WIMD 2019: Income - higher score=more deprived	LSOAs within the town	2019	Wales	https://gov.wales/welsh-index-mul-tiple-deprivation-full-index-update-ranks-2023
WIMD 2019: Employment - higher score=more deprived	LSOAs within the town	2019	Wales	https://gov.wales/welsh-index-mul-tiple-deprivation-full-index-update-ranks-2024
WIMD 2019: Health - higher score=more deprived	LSOAs within the town	2019	Wales	https://gov.wales/welsh-index-mul-tiple-deprivation-full-index-update-ranks-2025

Description	Geographical level	Year	Coverage	Source
WIMD 2019: Education - higher score=more deprived	LSOAs within the town	2019	Wales	https://gov.wales/welsh-index-multiple-deprivation-full-index-update-ranks-2026
WIMD 2019: Access to Services - higher score=more deprived	LSOAs within the town	2019	Wales	https://gov.wales/welsh-index-multiple-deprivation-full-index-update-ranks-2019
WIMD 2019: Housing - higher score=more deprived	LSOAs within the town	2019	Wales	https://gov.wales/welsh-index-multiple-deprivation-full-index-update-ranks-2020
WIMD 2019: Community Safety - higher score=more deprived	LSOAs within the town	2019	Wales	https://gov.wales/welsh-index-multiple-deprivation-full-index-update-ranks-2021
WIMD 2019: Physical Environment - higher score=more deprived	LSOAs within the town	2019	Wales	https://gov.wales/welsh-index-multiple-deprivation-full-index-update-ranks-2022
Number of residents per pub	Lower level local authority the town is in	2018	England & Wales	https://www.ons.gov.uk/businessindustryandtrade/business/activitysizeandlocation/datasets/publichousesandbarsbylocalauthority
Number of pubs for every 10,000 people	Lower level local authority the town is in	2018	England & Wales	https://www.ons.gov.uk/businessindustryandtrade/business/activitysizeandlocation/datasets/publichousesandbarsbylocalauthority
% increase or decrease in the number of pubs (2001 to 2018).	Lower level local authority the town is in	2002-2018	England & Wales	https://www.ons.gov.uk/businessindustryandtrade/business/activitysizeandlocation/articles/economiesofalesmallpubscloseaschainsfocusonbigbars/2018-11-26
Rate of deaths relating to drug poisoning or drug misuse between 2016 and 2018 - per 10,000 residents.	Lower level local authority the town is in	2016-2018	England & Wales	https://www.ons.gov.uk/peoplepopulationandcommunity/birthsdeathsandmarriages/deaths/datasets/drugmisusedeathsbylocalauthority
COVID-19 death rate (per 10,000) - between March 1st 2020 and April 17th 2020	Lower level local authority the town is in	2020	England & Wales	https://www.ons.gov.uk/peoplepopulationandcommunity/birthsdeathsandmarriages/deaths/bulletins/deathsinvolvingcovid19bylocalareasanddeprivation/deathsoccurringbetween1marchand17april/related-data
COVID-19 % of the population with employment furloughed - up to May 31st 2020	Lower level local authority the town is in	2020	England & Wales	https://www.gov.uk/government/statistics/coronavirus-job-retention-scheme-statistics-june-2020
% of population who do not hold a passport	Lower level local authority the town is in	2011	England & Wales	https://www.ons.gov.uk/peoplepopulationandcommunity/populationandmigration/populationestimates/datasets/2011censusquickstatisticsforenglandandwalesonnationalidentitypassportsheldandcountryofbirth
% who, in the last year, have attended an arts event OR museum or gallery OR spent time doing an arts activity	Lower level local authority the town is in	2017	England	https://www.artscouncil.org.uk/participating-and-attending/active-lives-survey#section-2

Description	Geographical level	Year	Coverage	Source
% of people who attend or participate in arts culture or heritage activities three or more times a year	Lower level local authority the town is in	2018	Wales	https://statswales.gov.wales/Catalogue/National-Survey-for-Wales/Sport-and-Recreation/percentageofpeoplewhoattendorparticipateinartcultureheritageactivities3ormoretimesayear-by-localauthority-year
CfT score for % of population identifying as British	Lower level local authority the town is in	2018	England & Wales	CfT dataset, collected by YouGov and aggregated
Stats Wales score for % identifying as Welsh	Lower level local authority the town is in	2019	Wales	https://statswales.gov.wales/Catalogue/Equality-and-Diversity/National-Identity/nationalidentity-by-area-identity
CfT score for % of population identifying as English	Lower level local authority the town is in	2018	England & Wales	CfT dataset, collected by YouGov and aggregated
CfT score for % of population identifying as British and English	Lower level local authority the town is in	2018	England & Wales	CfT dataset, collected by YouGov and aggregated
CfT score for % of population identifying as British and European	Lower level local authority the town is in	2018	England & Wales	CfT dataset, collected by YouGov and aggregated
Whether area over or under indexes for the proportion of residents in the Fear and Hope intermediate Immigration Ambivalent tribe (i.e. primarily worried about the economic impact of immigration)	LSOAs within the town	2016	England & Wales	HnH internal research
Whether area over or under indexes for the proportion of residents in the Fear and Hope intermediate Cultural Concern tribe (i.e. primarily worried about the cultural impact of immigration)	LSOAs within the town	2016	England & Wales	HnH internal research
Whether area over or under indexes for the proportion of residents in the Fear and Hope liberal tribes (Mainstream Liberal and Confident Multicultural)	LSOAs within the town	2016	England & Wales	HnH internal research
Whether area over or under indexes for the proportion of residents in the Fear and Hope Hostile tribes (Latent Hostile and Active Enmity)	LSOAs within the town	2016	England & Wales	HnH internal research
Leave vote as a % of all votes cast.	Lower level local authority the town is in	2016	England & Wales	https://data.gov.uk/dataset/be-2f2aec-11d8-4bfe-9800-649e5b-8ec044/eu-referendum-results
Leave vote as a % of the entire electorate.	Lower level local authority the town is in	2016	England & Wales	https://data.gov.uk/dataset/be-2f2aec-11d8-4bfe-9800-649e5b-8ec044/eu-referendum-results

Description	Geographical level	Year	Coverage	Source
Ranking for Leave vote across all LAs by votes cast MINUS ranking by electorate. This essentially shows the strength of the Leave sentiment when you account for turnover. Extreme plus scores show places where the whole community turned out to vote Leave, extreme minus scores show places where there remained a large number of non-voters.	Lower level local authority the town is in	2016	England & Wales	https://data.gov.uk/dataset/be-2f2aec-11d8-4bfe-9800-649e5b-8ec044/eu-referendum-results
Number of individual occasions, between 2000 and 2020, that a ward within the area elected a UKIP Cllr	Town that electoral ward is within	2001-2019	England & Wales	HnH internal research
Number of individual occasions, between 2000 and 2020, that a ward within the area elected a BNP Cllr	Town that electoral ward is within	2001-2019	England & Wales	HnH internal research
Number of individual occasions, between 2000 and 2020, that a ward within the area elected either a BNP Cllr or a UKIP Cllr	Town that electoral ward is within	2001-2019	England & Wales	HnH internal research
Number occasions between 2000 and 2020 when a UKIP Cllr won a seat for a ward within the area - expressed per 10,000 residents	Town that electoral ward is within	2001-2019	England & Wales	HnH internal research
Number occasions between 2000 and 2020 when a BNP Cllr won a seat for a ward within the area - expressed per 10,000 residents	Town that electoral ward is within	2001-2019	England & Wales	HnH internal research
Number occasions between 2000 and 2020 when a UKIP or BNP Cllr won a seat for a ward within the area - expressed per 10,000 residents	Town that electoral ward is within	2001-2019	England & Wales	HnH internal research
Signatories to the 2018 'Free Tommy' Change.Org petition - according to self-identification (e.g. place cited on the petition)	Coded by CfT town	2018	England & Wales	HnH internal research
Signatories to the 2018 'Free Tommy' Change.Org petition - expressed per 10,000 residents	Coded by CfT town	2018	England & Wales	HnH internal research
The number of times the town has seen specific high profile flashpoints - i.e. an EDL march, a grooming case, a high profile hate crime, or a residents of the town committing a serious racially motivated/ terrorist crime. There is a full database listing what these are, which needs to be accessed separately. The list is far from exhaustive.	Coded by CfT town	2018	England & Wales	HnH internal research

Description	Geographical level	Year	Coverage	Source
Diversity of the 2019 population in the area which is not Anglo-Saxon or Celtic heritage - for example, are there a range of different migrant-heritage groups, or a single group	LSOAs within the town	2019	England & Wales	Origins name recognition data
% of the 2019 population with names that are of Anglo-Saxon heritage	LSOAs within the town	2019	England & Wales	Origins name recognition data
% of the 2019 population with names that are of Celtic heritage	LSOAs within the town	2019	England & Wales	Origins name recognition data
% of the 2019 population with names that are of Hispanic heritage	LSOAs within the town	2019	England & Wales	Origins name recognition data
% of the 2019 population with names that are of Western European heritage	LSOAs within the town	2019	England & Wales	Origins name recognition data
% of the 2019 population with names that are of East European heritage	LSOAs within the town	2019	England & Wales	Origins name recognition data
% of the 2019 population with names that are of Greek or Cypriot heritage	LSOAs within the town	2019	England & Wales	Origins name recognition data
% of the 2019 population with names that are of Jewish or Armenian heritage	LSOAs within the town	2019	England & Wales	Origins name recognition data
% of the 2019 population with names that are of Black African or Caribbean heritage	LSOAs within the town	2019	England & Wales	Origins name recognition data
% of the 2019 population with names that are of Muslim heritage	LSOAs within the town	2019	England & Wales	Origins name recognition data
% of the 2019 population with names that are of non-Muslim south Asian heritage	LSOAs within the town	2019	England & Wales	Origins name recognition data
% of the 2019 population with names that are of East Asian heritage	LSOAs within the town	2019	England & Wales	Origins name recognition data
% of the 2011 population with names that are specifically of southern Irish heritage	Postal sectors within the town (approx.)	2011	England & Wales	Origins name recognition data
Diversity of the 2011 population in the area which is not Anglo-Saxon or Celtic heritage - for example, are there a range of different migrant-heritage groups, or a single group	Postal sectors within the town (approx.)	2011	England & Wales	Origins name recognition data
Diversity of the 2019 population in the area which is not Anglo-Saxon or Celtic heritage - for example, are there a range of different migrant-heritage groups, or a single group	Postal sectors within the town (approx.)	2019	England & Wales	Origins name recognition data
Proportionally largest Origins group in the area in 2011, apart from Anglo-Saxon and Celtic	Postal sectors within the town (approx.)	2011	England & Wales	Origins name recognition data

Description	Geographical level	Year	Coverage	Source
Proportionally largest Origins group in the area in 2019, apart from Anglo-Saxon and Celtic	Postal sectors within the town (approx.)	2019	England & Wales	Origins name recognition data
% of the 2011 and 2019 populations with names that are of Anglo-Saxon heritage	Postal sectors within the town (approx.)	2011 and 2019	England & Wales	Origins name recognition data
% of the 2011 and 2019 populations with names that are of Celtic heritage	Postal sectors within the town (approx.)	2011 and 2019	England & Wales	Origins name recognition data
% of the 2011 and 2019 populations with names that are of Hispanic heritage	Postal sectors within the town (approx.)	2011 and 2019	England & Wales	Origins name recognition data
% of the 2011 and 2019 populations with names that are of West European heritage	Postal sectors within the town (approx.)	2011 and 2019	England & Wales	Origins name recognition data
% of the 2011 and 2019 populations with names that are of East European heritage	Postal sectors within the town (approx.)	2011 and 2019	England & Wales	Origins name recognition data
% of the 2011 and 2019 populations with names that are of Green and Cypriot heritage	Postal sectors within the town (approx.)	2011 and 2019	England & Wales	Origins name recognition data
% of the 2011 and 2019 populations with names that are of Jewish and Armenian heritage	Postal sectors within the town (approx.)	2011 and 2019	England & Wales	Origins name recognition data
% of the 2011 and 2019 populations with names that are of Black African and Caribbean heritage	Postal sectors within the town (approx.)	2011 and 2019	England & Wales	Origins name recognition data
% of the 2011 and 2019 populations with names that are of Muslim heritage	Postal sectors within the town (approx.)	2011 and 2019	England & Wales	Origins name recognition data
% of the 2011 and 2019 populations with names that are of non-Muslim South Asian heritage	Postal sectors within the town (approx.)	2011 and 2019	England & Wales	Origins name recognition data
% of the 2011 and 2019 populations with names that are of East Asian heritage	Postal sectors within the town (approx.)	2011 and 2019	England & Wales	Origins name recognition data
% of the 2019 population with names that are specifically of southern Irish heritage	Postal sectors within the town (approx.)	2011 and 2019	England & Wales	Origins name recognition data

Description	Geographical level	Year	Coverage	Source
Supported Asylum Seekers in Dispersal Accommodation per 10,000 residents, by Local Authority – snapshot from December 2019	Lower level local authority the town is in	2019	England & Wales	http://researchbriefings.files.parliament.uk/documents/SN01403/CBP01403-Annex---dispersed-and-resettled-asylum-seekers-by-local-authority-NEW.xlsx
The proportion of the population who, in 2002, were over 65 years old	LSOAs within the town	2002	England & Wales	https://www.ons.gov.uk/peoplepopulationandcommunity/populationandmigration/populationestimates/datasets/lowersuperoutputareamidyearpopulationestimates
The proportion of the population who, in 2018, were over 65 years old	LSOAs within the town	2018	England & Wales	https://www.ons.gov.uk/peoplepopulationandcommunity/populationandmigration/populationestimates/datasets/lowersuperoutputareamidyearpopulationestimates
The proportion of adults in the area who are homeowners	LSOAs within the town	2011	England & Wales	https://www.nomisweb.co.uk/census/2011/qs405ew
The proportion of adults in the area who are social renters	LSOAs within the town	2011	England & Wales	https://www.nomisweb.co.uk/census/2011/qs405ew
The proportion of adults in the area who are private renters	LSOAs within the town	2011	England & Wales	https://www.nomisweb.co.uk/census/2011/qs405ew
The proportion of adults in the area who have another living arrangement	LSOAs within the town	2011	England & Wales	https://www.nomisweb.co.uk/census/2011/qs405ew
The proportion of residents in the area who are currently studying	LSOAs within the town	2011	England & Wales	https://www.nomisweb.co.uk/census/2011/qs601ew
The proportion or residents in social grades AB - higher managerial, administrative or professional/ intermediate managerial, administrative or professional	LSOAs within the town	2011	England & Wales	https://www.statistics.digitalresources.jisc.ac.uk/dataset/approximated-social-grade-household-reference-persons-2011
The proportion or residents in social grade C1 - supervisory or clerical and junior managerial, administrative or professional	LSOAs within the town	2011	England & Wales	https://www.statistics.digitalresources.jisc.ac.uk/dataset/approximated-social-grade-household-reference-persons-2012
The proportion or residents in social grade C2 - skilled manual workers	LSOAs within the town	2011	England & Wales	https://www.statistics.digitalresources.jisc.ac.uk/dataset/approximated-social-grade-household-reference-persons-2013
The proportion or residents in social grades DE - semi-skilled and unskilled manual workers/ state pensioners, casual and lowest grade workers, unemployed with state benefits only	LSOAs within the town	2011	England & Wales	https://www.statistics.digitalresources.jisc.ac.uk/dataset/approximated-social-grade-household-reference-persons-2014
Gini-coefficient by city and large town, based on ONS data	Settlement as a whole	2016	England & Wales	https://www.centreforcities.org/data-tool/#graph=map&city=show-all&indicator=gini-coefficient\\single\\2016

GLOSSARY

Asylum seeker: someone whose request for sanctuary within the UK has yet to be processed

Authoritarian: used in this document to mean forms of right wing-politics defined by a cult of the 'strong leader', rhetoric based on 'liberal elites' and an intolerance of difference

BME: Black and Minority Ethnic

BNP: the British National Party

Degree-educated: in possession of an Undergraduate degree or higher

Diaspora: a group of people who spread from one original country to lives or work in other countries

EDL: the English Defence League

ESOL: English classed and training for Speakers of Other Languages

EU Migrants: Citizens from EU, EEA and EFTA countries living and working in the UK. While the UK remains part of the EU, EU nationals are not subject to immigration control although they are popularly described as migrants.

Gini-coefficient: a measure of statistical dispersion intended to represent the income inequality or wealth inequality within a nation or any other group of people

IMD: Indices of Multiple Deprivation

Lower level local authority: the smallest local government unit with statutory powers over an area – primarily sued to distinguish district council from county council areas

LSOA: Lower Super Output Area, a geospatial statistical unit used as part of the ONS coding system; they have a minimum population of 1,000 residents, with a mean size of 1,500

'Lump-of-labour': the misconception that there is a fixed amount of work to be done within an economy which can be distributed to create more or fewer jobs

Metric: specific form of measurement

Nativism: the political idea that people who were born in a country are more important than immigrants

Non-WB: used in this document to mean populations not of Anglo-Saxon or Celtic heritage

ONS: The Office Of National Statistics

Opioid: categories of drugs that include heroin or other synthetic forms of opioids, such as those in some prescription drugs

Roll-on roll-off: freight at ports transported by lorry – as opposed to container shipping

Scatter chart: a graph with dots representing individual data points

Social grade: a system of demographic classification used in the UK, based on six broad socio-economic class categories (A, B, C1, C2, D and E); ABC1 and C2DE are generally used to differentiate between non-manual and manual jobs

UKIP: the United Kingdom Independence Party

Uni-diverse: used in this document to describe areas where the non-WB population mainly comes from a single ethnic or national group

WIMD: Welsh Indices of Multiple Deprivation

NOTES

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