

Temporary migration routes, integration, and social cohesion

An assessment of the evidence

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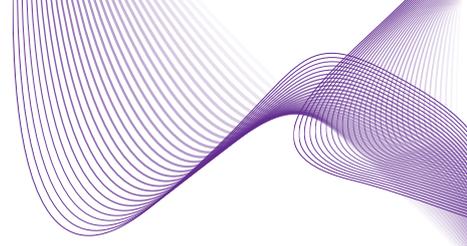
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Executive summary



The shift in policy has been decisive towards a regime in which higher-skilled immigration is privileged at the expense of lower-skilled”

Following its departure from the European Union in January 2021, the UK has extricated itself from the obligations of free movement and gained the latitude to set its own immigration policy. The shift in policy has been decisive towards a regime in which higher-skilled immigration is privileged at the expense of lower-skilled. While government has argued that sectors that have formerly been heavily reliant on low-wage migrant labour, such as retail, hospitality, and social care, must adapt to the new regime, it also seems plausible that the government will be forced to relax its position if key industries struggle to secure the workers they need.

One option the government is likely to have to consider is the expansion of temporary migration routes. Such routes provide workers with a heavily controlled pathway to employment in a country, typically time-limiting their stay, restricting them to a certain sector or employer and offering only narrow social and political rights. While these schemes may offer a convenient solution to sectoral labour shortages, their wider implications must also be considered. Here, we explore the evidence around the impact of temporary forms of migration on social relations within communities, including how well migrants are able to integrate, and what the consequences may be for social cohesion. Our interest is in understanding whether the literature suggests that more transitory forms of migration are worse for communities, and for migrants themselves, than more permanent forms.

It almost seems to go without saying that integration and social cohesion are desirable outcomes for communities. They are desired by the public, with research pointing to a clear preference for migrants putting down roots in the places where they live (Rutter and Carter, 2018). In turn, this matters from the perspective of building electoral support for immigration. Indeed, one emphatic conclusion of an in-depth public consultation exercise on immigration by British Future was that “[i]ntegration is key to building public consent for immigration” (Rutter and Carter 2018, pp. 12).

To answer our research question, we conducted a literature review with two strands. The first strand looks at the big picture – evidence on the general relationship between immigration and socio-cultural outcomes, such as integration and social cohesion in the UK context, and whether there are any indications that duration of stay could make a difference. The second strand addresses the impact of temporary migration routes specifically, assessing the evidence on the implications of these routes for social relations and cohesion in different country contexts.

Key findings: the relationship between immigration and social cohesion in the UK

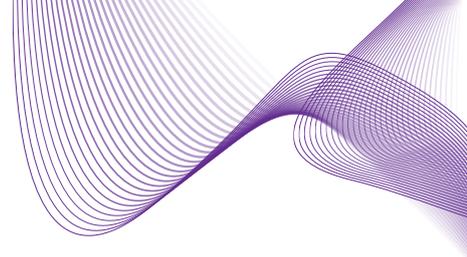
- **The available literature does not reveal any clear, consistent relationship between immigration generally and social cohesion in the UK**, with some quantitative studies finding no relationship, and others finding a negative relationship. Qualitative research points both to indicators that immigration can pose challenges for cohesion and, on the other hand, evidence that cohesion is being achieved in practice within communities experiencing inward migration.

- ♦ **There are some suggestions that more temporary or transitory migration can be less conducive to social cohesion**, though no studies directly investigate the link between duration of migration and social cohesion.
- ♦ **There is a real lack of evidence on the relationship between immigration and social cohesion**, which cautions against drawing firm conclusions on the nature of the relationship. An additional consideration is that much of the existing evidence is relatively old and may not accurately reflect the situation in the UK today.

Key findings: temporary migration routes and integration and social cohesion

- ♦ **The design of temporary migration schemes serves to hinder migrant integration** into the receiving society and encourage temporary migrant workers (TMWs) to return to their country of origin at the end of their allotted stay. Such design features include the prevention of workers from moving between employers, prohibitions on family reunification, limits of political rights and recourse to social safety nets, and the provision of few (if any) routes to permanent residency or citizenship.
- ♦ **There are often practical constraints on TMWs' interactions with their host communities.** Migrants are frequently accommodated at worksites away from residential areas and commercial centres with limited access to transport, while demanding work schedules and language barriers further contribute to their isolation. Employers and local governments typically take little action to promote their integration.
- ♦ **Local residents tend to be aware of the presence of TMWs in their community but are unlikely to interact with them socially.** This distance may fuel feelings of unease or hostility towards TMWs, as well as racism and stereotyping.
- ♦ **Despite these obstacles, there are examples of TMWs forming local connections** and integrating to varying degrees, facilitated in some cases by the support of local religious and other civil society organisations.
- ♦ **The literature examining the social consequences of temporary migration schemes tends to use qualitative case study designs**, typically interviewing TMWs on their experiences of integrating into their host communities. These small studies, while revealing, may not produce insights that can be transferred to other places and contexts. The existing evidence base also tends to be vague in its concepts, often failing to clearly define and measure integration and social cohesion outcomes.

The lack of a substantial and robust body of empirical evidence on how immigration, and specifically temporary migration routes, affect communities naturally makes it difficult to draw out clear recommendations to policymakers. We sought to address this by consulting a related body of evidence, that on public attitudes towards migration and temporary schemes. While of course how people *feel* about immigration and its impacts on communities is not a perfect proxy for the reality, it can still provide policy-relevant insight. This research suggests that, while



Research suggests that, while immigration remains a divisive issue, people are more positive about it today than they have been in recent years, perhaps implying they may be more willing to welcome migrants”

immigration remains a divisive issue, people are more positive about it today than they have been in recent years, perhaps implying they may be more willing to welcome migrants. Moreover, while the public can appreciate the business case for temporary migration schemes, for example to fill skills shortages and complete seasonal work, there is some discomfort with these schemes, and concern that they may undermine integration.

One question we have not sought to answer here is how integration and social cohesion can be facilitated, both in general and in situations where migration is strictly temporary. This is a question that automatically follows from any evidence that temporary migration schemes could be detrimental for community relations, but answering it would require a dedicated review of intervention studies to promote integration and cohesion. This, sadly, is beyond the scope of this piece, but we suggest that it is an incredibly important focus for future research.

Introduction



There are global pressures for temporary migration, with high income countries benefitting from access to cheaper labour enabling them to expand output, and low-income countries standing to benefit from the remittances sent home by overseas workers”

The UK’s departure from the European Union (EU) in January 2021 has enabled an overhaul of immigration policy. No longer subject to EU rules around free movement, the UK government has introduced a new regime that aims to restrict low-skilled (or low-paid) migration through the imposition of skills and salary thresholds for migrant workers (Home Office and UK Visas and Immigration, 2020). Under the new system, there is currently no general route for low-skilled migration, or for temporary workers (Home Office and UK Visas and Immigration, 2020), though some specific routes exist, for example the Seasonal Workers Pilot for agriculture (DEFRA, 2020).

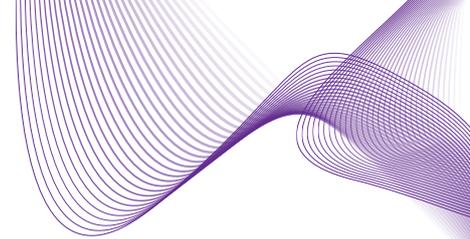
What is as yet unclear is how sectors of the UK economy that rely on lower-wage migrant labour, such as retail, hospitality, social care and food manufacturing, will cope under the new rules. The government has been clear in its expectation that these sectors should adapt, for example by changing the composition of their workforce, raising wages, or changing production levels or methods (Home Office, 2020), but it also seems possible that the government will have to relax its position, potentially enabling lower-skilled workers to enter the labour market via temporary migration routes (Rolfe, 2020).

It is also clear that there are global pressures for temporary migration, with high income countries benefitting from access to cheaper labour enabling them to expand output, and low-income countries standing to benefit from the remittances sent home by overseas workers (Ruhs and Martin, 2008; Motomura, 2013).

Given the national and global context, a fuller consideration of the potential social impacts of an expansion of temporary worker schemes seems important from a public policy perspective. While some impacts, for example temporary migrants’ vulnerability to exploitation, have been explored in depth by researchers (see for example FLEX, 2021; Ruhs, 2002), others remain less well understood. Here, we focus on the impacts of temporary migration schemes on the communities receiving them, specifically in terms of the consequences for migrant integration and social cohesion in those communities.

Rolfe (2020) points out that few UK communities have experienced significant flows of temporary migration, and thus what these impacts look like in practice is as yet uncertain. There is also a relative shortage of existing literature. Hennebry (2012) observes that most of the work on the integration of immigrants into communities has focused on permanent immigration, while Zubairi et al. (2020) judge that the consequences of temporary and seasonal work for social cohesion are “not fully understood” (pp. 34).

In this short literature review, we seek to synthesise the extant research on the impacts of temporary migration schemes on socio-cultural outcomes for communities such as social relations, cohesion, and integration. We then look to put these findings into a wider context by exploring research on the general relationship between immigration and social cohesion. Finally, we appraise the evidence on public attitudes towards immigration and temporary migration schemes to assess whether this can provide further insight into how communities are likely to respond to new migration inflows. Our key question of interest here is whether more transitory forms of migration are worse for communities, and for migrants themselves, than more permanent forms. We use these findings to provide insights for policymakers on the potential implications of an expansion of temporary migration routes.



Defining cohesion and integration

Research looking at the impact of migration on social outcomes, such as social cohesion and integration, is fraught with challenges. The first set of challenges are definitional – how to articulate what social cohesion and integration actually mean in practice. Saggarr et al. (2012) are very clear about the differences between the two terms, defining integration as “group outcomes set against the societal average” (pp.2), while social cohesion is about “people’s perceptions of how people get along with each other in their local area or neighbourhood” (pp.2). For them, cohesion is a feature of places, while integration is about individuals and groups, specifically how the opportunities and life changes of migrants compare to those of people born in a country.

Other studies are less concrete in the difference between the two terms, and the two are often used interchangeably in the policy literature. For example, the Commission on Integration and Cohesion (2007) states that it does not believe integration and cohesion to be synonyms for one another; “[c]ohesion is principally the process that must happen in all communities to ensure different groups of people get on well together; while integration is principally the process that ensures new residents and existing residents adapt to one another” (pp.9). At the same time, they advance a common definition for the two concepts, emphasising equal access to opportunities, trust in institutions, a recognition of individuals’ rights and contributions, and good local relationships.

There also appears to be no single accepted definition of social cohesion (Demireva 2019). Demireva points out that the term is often used interchangeably with “community cohesion”, and judges that it is often used to reflect ideas of “solidarity” and “togetherness” (Demireva, 2019 pp. 2). Others emphasise the importance of a sense of “belonging” in understanding social cohesion (Laurence and Heath, 2008; Markova and Black, 2007).

When following the crisp distinction between integration and social cohesion articulated by Saggarr et al. (2012), social cohesion is the concept of most direct relevance to this research. However, given the flexibility with which the terms are used in practice, we look at studies reporting on both integration and social/community cohesion in this report, where the focus of the research is on understanding how migration impacts on social relations within the communities experiencing it.

Defining temporary migration

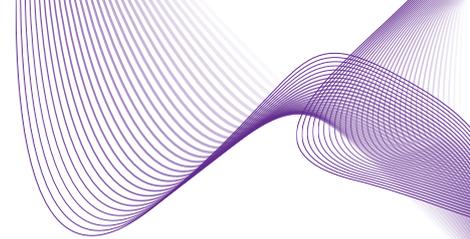
Similarly, there is no standard definition of temporary migration in either the academic or policy spheres (International Labour Organisation, n.d.) as different countries implement their own policies with different terms. Still, as Ruhs (2002) points out, all temporary worker programmes share common features, including setting limits on the total number of workers to be admitted, specifying the way in which these workers will be recruited, and outlining the rights afforded to workers admitted via the scheme. Ruhs and Martin (2008) further elaborate that temporary worker schemes provide those admitted with “a time-limited right to residence and employment” (pp. 250), but do not generally provide a pathway to permanent

residence, restrict access to welfare systems and do not tend to allow workers' families to accompany them.

Measurement of our key concepts

The second set of challenges relate to the measurement of the outcomes of interest. Saggar et al. (2012) acknowledge that, despite the conceptual differences between integration and social cohesion, “at the level of measurement these two often get confused and there also is a severe overlap in the measures used” (pp. 28). Demireva (2019) suggests that, while a range of indicators have been employed to measure social cohesion, the most common include measures of trust and shared social norms. In practice, social cohesion is difficult to observe and thus people's perceptions of its presence (or absence) in their local area tend to be relied on in practice (Saggar et al. 2012). The difficulties with this include the fact that perceptions of social cohesion are subjective, and it is also unclear what geography people have in mind when considering their local area (Saggar et al., 2012). Further, the fluidity of people's perceptions is something of an unknown and may differ markedly depending on the group of people spoken to or the point in time at which they are asked (Demack et al. 2010).

Research approach



Our review seeks to assess the evidence on the relationships between different types of migration regime and the sociocultural outcomes of integration and cohesion. More specifically, we have been guided by the following research questions:

- 1. What does the existing evidence suggest is the relationship between immigration and socio-cultural outcomes such as integration and social cohesion in the UK context?**
- 2. What does the existing evidence suggest is the relationship between temporary migration routes and socio-cultural outcomes such as integration and social cohesion in different country or sector contexts?**

We selected a rapid evidence assessment (REA) approach to conducting this review of the literature. REAs are intended to represent systematic and transparent approaches to assessing an existing evidence base, while taking less time to complete than traditional systematic reviews (Collins et al., 2015; Government Social Research, n.d.). They are therefore particularly attractive for policy-relevant research (Thomas, 2013). REAs are quicker to produce than full systematic reviews in that they seek to limit some aspects of the review process (Government Social Research, n.d.). While they can't guarantee to identify every relevant paper (Thomas, Newman and Oliver, 2013), they are intended to provide an accurate overview of the body of research evidence, and a critical assessment of it (Collins et al., 2015).

While REAs attempt to combine rigour with timeliness, there is the possibility that, in limiting the full systematic review approach, they miss relevant studies and introduce bias to the review (Government Social Research Service, n.d.; Thomas, Newman and Oliver, 2013). There are a few potential routes by which bias could be introduced into this review. First, the review is restricted to studies published in English. Relevant evidence published in other languages, which may report different results, is therefore excluded. Second, the review is limited to published research, introducing the potential for publication bias (Thomas, Newman and Oliver, 2013). Due to difficulties accessing library facilities in the context of Covid-19 restrictions, the review also had to be limited to studies for which the full text was available online, thereby excluding print sources such as books and book chapters. Finally, the sifting was completed by one reviewer, increasing the possibility that relevant studies could have been excluded. We sought to mitigate this risk by having a second reviewer review a random sample of the studies returned by the searches.

We provide full details of our methodology in Appendix A.

Findings: The relationship between immigration and social cohesion in the UK

Overview of the evidence base

We identified 12 studies reporting on the relationship between immigration and community relations/social cohesion in the UK. The type of immigration being examined, in terms of its duration or migrants' country of origin, varied across studies, with some looking at all immigrant communities (eg Demack et al. 2010; Laurence and Heath, 2008; Hickman, Crowley and Mai, 2008) some looking specifically at EU or Eastern European migration (eg Markova and Black, 2007; Cancedda et al. 2015; Andrews, 2011; 2015) and others looking at more temporary or seasonal migration (eg Zubairi et al. 2020). No studies focused on temporary work schemes specifically, given these studies are the focus of our second research question.

Five of the studies identified employed a quantitative approach, testing for the existence of a relationship between measures of immigration into an area and residents' perceptions of social cohesion from survey data. While three of these studies looked at immigration generally (or the proportion of residents born outside of the UK) (Saggar et al. 2012; Laurence and Heath, 2008; Demack et al. 2010), two focused on recent Eastern European migration following EU enlargement in 2004 (Andrews 2011; 2015). All of these studies restricted their analysis to England, typically looking at the local authority level, with the exception of Saggar et al. (2012), who looked at local authorities across Britain.

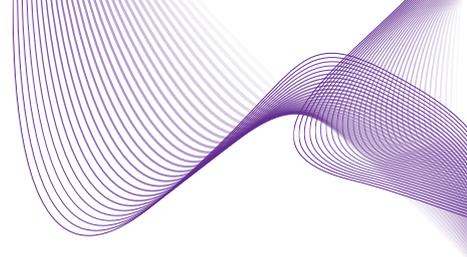
A further six studies employed qualitative approaches, gathering data via interviews and focus groups with migrants and non-migrants. These studies all looked at a small set of case study areas (towns, cities, or local authorities), typically selected based on their experiences of immigration recently or historically. These areas were mainly in England, with some studies also looking at cases in Scotland or Northern Ireland (Pillai et al. 2007; Hickman, Crowley and Mai, 2008; Zubairi et al. 2020). These studies tended to employ less strict definitions of integration and social cohesion, with the aim of investigating more generally the social relationships between immigrants and non-immigrants, or new immigrants and the long-term settled.

The final study in our set (Demireva, 2019) was a literature review, summarising evidence on the relationship between immigration, diversity, and social cohesion.

Evidence on the relationship between immigration and cohesion in the UK

In a review of the evidence base, Demireva (2019) points to the relative lack of evidence about the relationship between immigration and social cohesion, with research instead tending to assess the nature of the relationship between social cohesion and diversity (and therefore focusing on the characteristic of race or ethnicity, rather than nationality or country of birth). While this relationship is not the focus of our review here, it is relevant to note that the author judges the empirical evidence on this relationship in the UK to be mixed, while research in the US appears to point more decisively towards a negative relationship.

In a quantitative study to inform the Migration Advisory Committee, Saggar et al. (2012) found that recent immigration did not appear to have a bearing on residents'



perceptions of social cohesion in their local area, drawing on measures of cohesion from the Citizenship Survey. Instead, higher levels of poverty and existing diversity (influenced by earlier patterns of migration) both appeared to predict lower social cohesion within a local authority area.



If residents believed their area to be made up of people ‘like them’ prior to the arrival of new immigrants, they could be less accommodating of newcomers”

Other studies analysing large datasets reach mixed conclusions. Also looking at data on perceptions of social cohesion from the Citizenship Survey in England (in 2005), Laurence and Heath (2008) found that while ethnic diversity was positively related to the reported cohesion of an area, “having an increasing percentage of in-migrants born outside of the UK, is a negative predictor [of cohesion]” (pp. 7). Notably, this study used data on inward migration from the 2001 census, and thus is unable to capture the impact of increased Eastern European immigration following the 2004 EU expansion. Using data from the 2008 wave of the Longitudinal Study of Young People in England (LSYPE), Demack et al. (2010) found that immigration was not related to young people’s judgements of the cohesion of either their local area or Britain as a whole.

Qualitative research suggests that an area’s history of immigration and existing diversity may affect how it receives new migrants. Hickman, Crowley and Mai (2008) concluded that if residents recognised the role of immigration in shaping their area, and the rights of different groups to live there, they tended to be more accepting of new immigrants. Conversely, if residents believed their area to be made up of people “like them” prior to the arrival of new immigrants, they could be less accommodating of newcomers. These results point to the potential importance of public attitudes in shaping places’ experience of migration. Similarly, Griffith and Halej (2015) found in their study of four English towns – all places with experience of high recent inward migration – that those with high existing ethnic diversity tended to find it easier to integrate new migrants. Less diverse communities experiencing high immigration struggled more with this.



Resident communities were more likely to acknowledge the contribution of migrants in areas with strong labour markets or a more pronounced dependence on migrant labour”

Looking at the reception and integration of new migrants in ten communities across England and Scotland, Pillai et al. (2007) found the relationship between experience of immigration and attitudes to new migrants to be less clear-cut. While reporting that, in the English locations they studied, people in areas without much experience of immigration were more likely to perceive new migrants – particularly those who were non-white or Muslim – as a cultural threat, this wasn’t the case in otherwise similar Scottish locations. They further observed that “[w]hile there were sometimes greater fears around perceived threats to culture in these areas [areas unused to immigration], migrants were not necessarily less well received there than in areas with a long history of immigration” (pp. 51). They did, however, observe that public services in areas with prior experience of immigration were more able to adapt to the needs of new migration than those in areas without this experience.

Local economic conditions appear to shape how migrants are received according to Pillai et al. (2007). They found that resident communities were more likely to acknowledge the contribution of migrants in areas with strong labour markets or a more pronounced dependence on migrant labour. The authors also point to the role of misperceptions, including those fuelled by the media, in provoking hostility towards migrants.

New European immigration

Several studies look at the particular impact of new European migration on receiving communities in the UK, focusing on how migrants and residents perceive these impacts. Andrews (2011; 2015) focuses on the impact of immigration from the Eastern European “A8” countries¹ on perceptions of social cohesion in England (according to responses to the 2006 General User Survey in England). In his 2015 study of urban areas, the author found a negative relationship between inward migration and residents’ beliefs that people of different backgrounds got on well together in the area, though “community capacity” or the density of community and social organisations in an area, was found to have a moderating impact on this relationship (Andrews, 2015). In a similar 2011 study of rural areas, the author again identified a negative relationship between A8 migration and perceived social cohesion, with the presence of mainstream religious groups moderating the relationship in this case (Andrews, 2011).



Immigrants’ sense of belonging tended to increase over time, with migrants who reported feeling a strong sense of belonging to their neighbourhood having lived there on average 18 months longer than those who reported feeling that they did not belong at all”

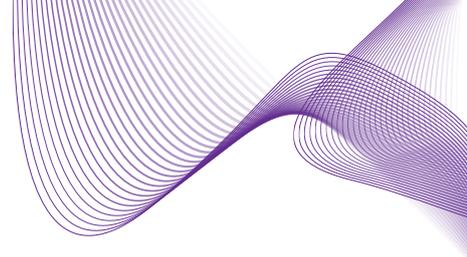
Markova and Black (2007) looked at the impacts of Eastern European migration in their qualitative study of two London boroughs and the city of Brighton but did not restrict themselves to those from EU member states. Instead, they investigated the experiences of migrants from Albania, Bulgaria, Russia, Serbia and Montenegro and Ukraine who had travelled to the UK via a variety of routes, including, in some cases, temporary work schemes. They found both positive and negative indicators of social cohesion, with only a minority of migrants indicating that they felt they belonged in the local area, though a belief among both migrants and long-term residents that different people got on well together in the area. They also suggested that immigrants’ sense of belonging tended to increase over time, with migrants who reported feeling a strong sense of belonging to their neighbourhood having lived there on average 18 months longer than those who reported feeling that they did not belong at all (pp. 49).

As part of a mixed-methods study of “the degree of social integration and acceptance of migrant EU workers” (pp. 57) in four European cities for the European Commission, Cancedda et al. (2015) reported on Leeds in the UK. They found some reports of tensions between migrants and local residents, and concerns about the pressures of migration on the local education system. Looking at more objective measures of integration and social mixing, such as migrants’ involvement in organisations or clubs and voting in local elections, the authors found that the large majority of EU migrants in Leeds did not engage in these activities.

The implications of more transitory or temporary migration

Some studies provide indications of how the impact of immigration on social cohesion can differ depending on whether migrants plan to settle or to stay in their receiving community for only a short time. Griffith and Halej (2015) argue that “[t]ransience inevitably has an impact on people’s attachment to a local area and a community’s capacity to build links between residents” (pp.18), and also suggest that transient migration imposes greater pressures on public services. Markova and Black (2007) found that migrants who intended to return to their home country in the coming three

¹ The Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Slovakia and Slovenia, which all joined the EU in 2004



Migrants who intended to return to their home country in the coming three years, or who did not have children, were less likely to feel that they belonged in the local area in which they were living”

years, or who did not have children, were less likely to feel that they belonged in the local area in which they were living. This may suggest that putting down roots in an area, whether through settling as a family or planning to stay for the longer term, can aid social cohesion. Summarising their findings across the four European cities they studied, including Leeds, Cancedda et al. (2015) conclude that “the greatest challenges for the cohesion of the local community appear to come from the presence of seasonal or temporary workers and of less settled groups” (pp.55).

Interviewing non-agricultural temporary and seasonal workers (many of whom had come from Europe under free movement) in rural Scotland, Zubairi et al. (2020) reported that the main motive for these workers was financial and, as such, they often prioritised work over integrating into the local community. Interviewees reported that their work schedules often left them with little time for socialising, and language barriers also acted as an impediment to forming social connections with locals.

None of these studies dug into the relationship between duration of migration and social cohesion in depth, making it difficult to draw more than tentative conclusions from these findings. Saggarr et al. (2012) point to the need for more research into the social impacts of different types of migration, including labour migration and high rates of migrant “churn” in communities. It is also important to consider that migrants in general tend to be more mobile than the resident community, so churn and lack of stability are not necessarily solely products of temporary forms of migration. Research by NIESR, for example, points to the challenge of churn in schools with large numbers of migrant pupils, with some schools experiencing significant numbers of students from migrant families joining and leaving the school over the course of the academic year (Manzoni and Rolfe, 2019).

Implications of the findings

The studies we have reviewed do not point to a clear, unequivocal relationship between immigration and social cohesion in either direction in the UK context. Quantitative analyses – using different datasets and looking at different groups, geographies and time periods – all find different results, ranging from no relationship (eg Saggarr et al., 2012, Demack et al., 2010) to a negative relationship (eg Laurence and Heath, 2008; Andrews, 2011; 2015).

The qualitative research reviewed here paints a similar picture, with studies tending to point both to indicators that immigration poses challenges for cohesion and, on the other hand, evidence that cohesion is being achieved within communities experiencing immigration. Some of this research suggests that the characteristics and history of a place can influence its response to new migration, with places with experience of migration and diversity finding it easier to incorporate newcomers. This research base also implies that more temporary or transitory migration can be less conducive to social cohesion.

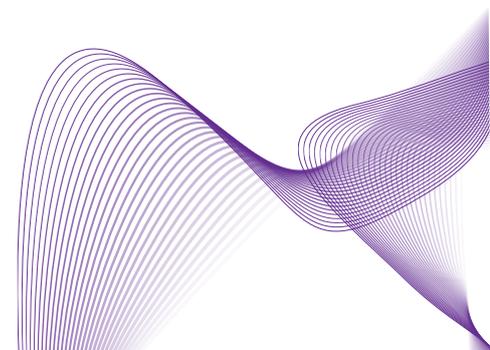
Relevance and robustness of the evidence base

Certain characteristics of the evidence base caution against drawing firm conclusions from it. First and foremost is the overall lack of evidence on the relationship between

immigration and social cohesion (Demireva, 2019). An additional consideration is that much of the existing evidence is relatively old and generated during a defined period of time in the early 2000s, when social cohesion was of heightened public policy concern (see for example the so-called “Cantle Report” [Cantle, 2001] and the report of the Commission on Integration and Cohesion, 2007). Indeed, the main source of data on perceptions of social cohesion, the Citizenship Survey, was discontinued in 2011.

Other features of the data make ascertaining the nature of the relationship between immigration and social cohesion challenging. Saggar et al. (2012) point out that data are not available below the local authority level of analysis, though local authorities represent a much larger area than people would typically think of as their neighbourhood. Moreover, much of the data and thus analysis is cross-sectional, from which causality or the direction of the relationship between variables cannot be inferred (Demack et al. 2010). There is also the potential influence of confounding variables, particularly separating out the impact of recent immigration from that of earlier migration and of poverty or social deprivation (Saggar et al. 2012). This is especially thorny given that new migrants often move to areas that are more deprived and have experienced significant migration already (ibid.).

The qualitative research reviewed here is also subject to limitations. Principally, much of this research uses small samples and is confined to narrow geographic areas that means it is not representative of the country as a whole. Drawing insights from this evidence for other places and times is therefore difficult.



Findings: Temporary migration routes and integration and social cohesion

Overview of the evidence base

We identified nine papers addressing the social consequences of temporary migration schemes for both migrants themselves and their host communities. In general, these studies focused on migrants' experience of integrating into their host communities, and the barriers to doing so. Just three studies also referred to impacts on local communities, or local residents' perceptions of temporary migrant workers (Preibisch, 2004; Bauder et al. n.d; Taylor and Foster, 2015). Two studies (Taylor and Foster, 2015; Foster and Taylor, 2013) mentioned social cohesion explicitly, though did not attempt to measure it, or the consequences of temporary migration for it, directly.

All the included studies employed qualitative case study approaches, conducting interviews with informants including temporary migrant workers themselves, their employers, and other stakeholders. Two studies supplemented these interviews with questionnaires to migrant workers (Sousa et al. 2020; Hennebry, 2012). Canada was the most common country context for research, with six studies looking at the impacts of temporary worker schemes in rural communities in Ontario, Alberta and Nova Scotia, and one looking at temporary foreign worker programmes in Canada broadly and contrasting them with the operation of such schemes in the UK. The remaining studies were conducted in Portugal and Australia though, again, in very narrow geographical contexts within these countries.

In terms of the sectors studied, temporary migrant work in agriculture dominated, with five studies focusing on this sector. Other sectors of focus included skilled trades (construction) and nursing, while two studies did not specify a sector of focus.

Temporary migrants' experiences of integrating into their host communities

For Hennebry (2012), focusing on the Canadian context, integration for temporary migrants can "be understood as a process whereby these newcomers (like permanent migrants) participate in the economic, social, cultural and political aspects of Canadian society" (p. 11). The studies reviewed identify several important barriers to migrants achieving this.

The design of temporary migration schemes

Several authors point out that temporary migration programmes are in many ways designed to prevent migrant integration into the host society. These schemes make it clear that temporary migrant workers (TMWs) lack the status of citizens or permanent residents (Preibisch, 2004), and, while they are permitted to access some parts of society, most obviously the labour market, they are excluded from others, such as systems of health and social protection, and political participation (Hennebry, 2012; Foster and Taylor, 2013). Foster and Taylor (2013) term this uneven access to society "differential exclusion". Also relevant is the very limited access for TMWs to pathways to permanent residency (Samuk, 2020), despite this being something many TMWs and their employers desire (Taylor and Foster, 2015), cementing their status at the margins of society.

Other conditions attached to TMWs' employment are identified as posing barriers to integration. These include the prohibition of workers bringing their families (Hennebry, 2012; Preibisch, 2004), which both creates a direct barrier to their involvement in the local community and incentivises them to maximise their working hours to focus on sending remittances home, further limiting their social engagement (Taylor and Foster, 2015).

Additionally, the restrictions tying TMWs to a single employer are seen as impeding integration by increasing workers' isolation and their dependence on that employer (Horgan and Liinamaa, 2017; Hennebry, 2012; Foster and Taylor, 2013). Moreover, many TMWs experience highly precarious working arrangements, including periods of unemployment (Foster and Taylor 2013), and face the threat of repatriation from their employers should they fail to meet expectations (Preibisch, 2004). These pressures are seen as providing further incentive for TMWs to focus on work to the exclusion of participating in the local community.

Temporary migrants' physical separation from the local community

A theme running through much of the research we reviewed were the practical constraints on TMWs' interactions with their host communities. Several studies pointed to migrant workers being accommodated at the site of their employment, often some distance from population centres (Preibisch, 2004; Hennebry, 2012; Foster and Taylor, 2013). Additionally, many experienced restricted access to transport, often depending on their employer to take them into town for shopping etc (Horgan and Linmaa, 2017).

The demands of work were another commonly identified obstacle to integration, with migrants saying that their long working hours and the physically demanding nature of their work further restricted their capacity to socialise (Preibisch, 2004). Horgan and Linmaa (2017) found that, in some cases, employers exercised extensive control over workers' social lives and interactions with the community through their demands on employees, control over access to transport and imposition of curfews.

Language barriers

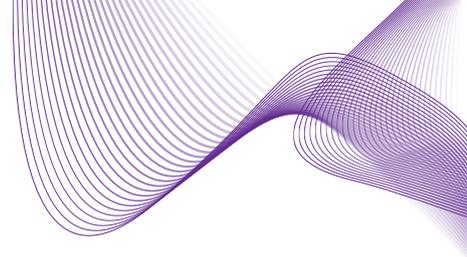
Language difficulties were identified in some studies as limiting the ability of TMWs to interact with local residents. Looking at the experience of temporary migrant workers in the Portuguese fruit picking industry, Sousa et al. (2020) found that language barriers caused workers to avoid contact with local residents. A related issue is the fact that many temporary migration schemes restrict or prevent access to formal language training (Hennebry, 2012; Samuk, 2020).

The actions of government and employers

Alongside the formal restrictions on migrants imposed by the rules of temporary migration schemes, the discretionary actions of government and employers can also act to inhibit migrants' integration. Samuk (2020) argues that policymakers in both the UK and Canada feel no need to design policies that aid the integration of



Policymakers in both the UK and Canada feel no need to design policies that aid the integration of TMWs due to their stay only being temporary”



TMWs due to their stay only being temporary, and there is a lack of funding for local authorities to deliver integration support to this group. As a result of the absence of central and local government, what integration support is available to temporary migrants tends to be delivered via the third sector and civil society organisations (Hennebry, 2012), which are limited in their funding and reach (Preibisch 2004).

Sousa et al. (2020) point out that employers' efforts to support the integration of the workers they employ – eg via language training or support with administration or navigating bureaucracy – is also limited, and typically restricted to that which assists them performing their jobs. They found that “almost no policy or strategy of formal integration and socialisation was apparent” among the employers they studied (p. 160). We can't necessarily assume, however, that a lack of support for integration from employers is limited to temporary schemes.



The experience of living and working in one place while having family and wider social connections in another is seen as contributing to a sense of conflicted identity, posing challenges to feeling part of the receiving community,”

Conflicting identity as a barrier to integration

Alongside the practical and legal barriers to integration already discussed, Foster and Taylor (2013) point to a psychological barrier in migrants' “transnational identification” (pp. 177). The experience of living and working in one place while having family and wider social connections in another is seen as contributing to a sense of conflicted identity, posing challenges to feeling part of the receiving community, and putting down roots there.

Facilitators of integration for temporary migrants

The studies we reviewed point to the role of civil society in supporting the integration of TMWs. Bauder et al. (n.d.) and Preibisch (2004) both identified the important role of local churches in rural Canadian communities for facilitating social interaction and promoting migrants' integration via events, translation support, language classes etc. Preibisch (2004) also highlighted the growing number of wider civic organisations providing support to migrants and seeking to build their links with the permanent population. At the same time, they observe that many of these initiatives are volunteer run, with limited funding and the capacity to assist just a small proportion of migrants.

Social cohesion in areas of high temporary migration, and host communities' perceptions of migrant workers

A few studies reported on the other side of the relationship – local residents' perceptions of TMWs and their impact on the local community. What these studies tend to reinforce is a sense of distance between migrants and local residents. Bauder et al. (n.d.) found that TMWs were visible to residents, and generally positive perceptions were held of them, but contact was limited, and few residents had personal relationships with migrants. Preibisch (2004) found that there was some informal mixing between locals and TMWs at house parties, in church and in shops, but also points out that many residents sought to avoid migrant workers, for example by avoiding visiting local shops at the times that migrants were most likely to be doing their shopping.

Bauder et al. (n.d.) suggest that this “lack of personal interaction sometimes leads to distorted images of behaviour and attitudes” (pp. 10), and several studies report on the stereotyping of migrant workers by residents, and racism. Both Bauder et al. (n.d.) and Preibisch (2004) identified pervasive local stereotypes of Caribbean and Mexican temporary agricultural workers in rural Canadian communities, with Mexicans viewed as “family-oriented”, “polite” and “humble”, and those from the Caribbean as “womanizers”, “rude” and “bossy” (Bauder et al. n.d. pp.10; Preibisch, 2004, pp. 220). Preibisch also reported that some residents in the areas of rural Ontario they studied expressed fear of migrants, and that migrants in that area had experienced racist harassment and attacks. Hennebry (2012) and Tazreiter (2019) both also report migrant experiences of racism, discrimination and mistrust from host communities, in Canada and Australia respectively.

One study also identified a sense that migrants represented an economic threat to the residents of their host community. Looking at temporary workers in nursing and construction trades in Alberta, Canada, Taylor and Foster (2015) found that resident workers perceived TMWs as a threat, particularly in times of economic downturn. They conclude that the Canadian Foreign Worker Program “exacerbates tensions in the labour market, which affects broader societal relations” (pp.169).



[A] lack of personal relationships may fuel feelings of unease or hostility towards migrants, which are reported by some studies, as well as racism and stereotyping on the grounds of race or nationality”

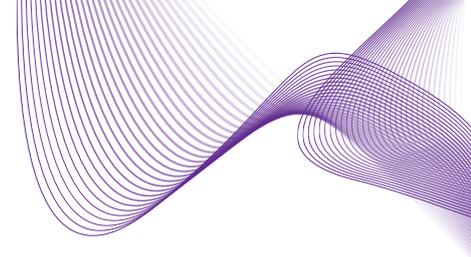
Implications of the findings

Together, the studies reviewed paint a clear picture of the challenges temporary migration schemes pose for migrant integration. This is at least in part by design – policymakers wish for temporary migrants to indeed be temporary, and thus schemes are engineered to encourage migrants to return to their country of origin at the end of their placement. This is achieved by preventing workers from moving between employers, prohibiting family reunification, limiting political rights and recourse to social safety nets, and providing few (if any) routes to permanent residency or citizenship.

Other features of how the schemes operate in practice also contribute to migrants’ isolation from their host communities. These include being accommodated at work sites away from residential areas and commercial centres, limited access to transport, demanding work schedules, language barriers and limited support from employers or local government to support their integration.

Despite these obstacles, there are examples of TMWs forming local connections and integrating to varying degrees, facilitated in some cases by the support of local churches and other civil society organisations.

The implications of temporary worker schemes for local communities and the sense of cohesion in an area are harder to gauge from the existing evidence base, not least because only a small number of studies address these outcomes. Generally, they point towards residents being aware of TMWs, but with a substantial social distance between migrants and residents. This lack of personal relationships may fuel feelings of unease or hostility towards migrants, which are reported by some studies, as well as racism and stereotyping on the grounds of race or nationality.



Relevance and robustness of the evidence base

This review reveals that the evidence base on the consequences of temporary migration schemes for integration and social cohesion is currently scant. What evidence does exist also suffers from important limitations – it typically employs qualitative case study designs with very small sample sizes, which, while able to provide insights on the experiences of very specific places and contexts, are less able to provide general lessons on the implementation of temporary worker schemes and their implications for integration and social cohesion. A related feature of the evidence base is that lack of comparisons and counterfactuals. Where challenges or barriers regarding the integration of TMWs are noted, we have little sense of how things are likely to differ for migrants who do not enter the country via temporary schemes. For example, do they report more support from their employers to integrate? Do they have more social contact with the local resident population?

The difficulties operationalising the concepts of integration and social cohesion are evident too in this body of literature. The studies reviewed tend not to explicitly define these terms or utilise ways of measuring them in practice. Where integration is studied, it is mainly via accounts of migrants' experiences (or lack of) of interacting with the local community, while conclusions about social cohesion are typically drawn from limited evidence on local residents' perceptions of temporary migrant workers, rather than looking at accepted measures such as trust or sense of belonging.

The applicability of this research to the UK context must also be considered, given that the available evidence was gathered outside of the UK, predominantly in rural Canadian communities. The UK's different geography, policy and political context and the design and implementation of temporary migration schemes is likely to limit the transferability of the findings from one country context to another.

What can public attitudes towards immigration tell us?

The lack of robust empirical evidence on the impacts of immigration – and temporary migration routes specifically – on integration and social cohesion clearly makes policy development in this area difficult. One way to gain further purchase on the question, however, is to look at public attitudes data. This provides some insight into how people in Britain feel about immigration generally and about temporary migration schemes, giving an indication of their openness or hostility to different sorts of immigration. While attitudes can and do change, and are not necessarily indicative of behaviour in practice, indications of public sentiment can provide a sense of how communities are likely to respond to future migration flows.

When asked about the impacts of immigration on the country...

In July 2021

46% said they were positive
28% said they were negative

Compared to May 2015 when

36% said they were positive
40% said they were negative

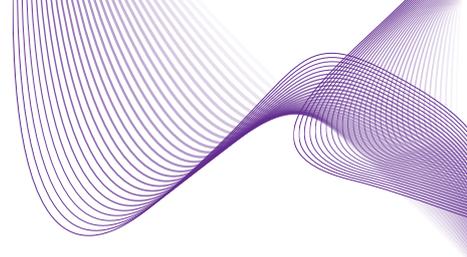
Attitudes to immigration broadly

One trend that is clear from polling data is that public attitudes towards immigration have softened substantially since the 2016 Brexit referendum. According to data from the Ipsos MORI Immigration Tracker, which has collected 12 waves of data since February/March 2015, Britons are now markedly more likely to say that immigration has a positive impact on the country than to say the impact is negative (Rolfe, Katwala and Ballinger, 2021). In the most recent survey wave (July 2021), 46 per cent of respondents said the impacts of immigration were positive, compared to 28 per cent who said they were negative. These results stand in contrast to those recorded prior to 2016. Around the time of the general election in May 2015, 40 per cent of respondents said they thought immigration had a negative impact on Britain, compared to 36 per cent who said the impact was positive (ibid.).

This reduction in hostility towards immigration is also evident from other measures. When asked on the same survey whether immigration to Britain should be increased, reduced, or kept the same, 45 per cent of respondents in July 2021 said that it should be reduced, the lowest proportion recorded by the Immigration Tracker. For comparison, in February 2015, two thirds of respondents wanted immigration to be reduced (Rolfe, Katwala and Ballinger, 2021). At the same time, what these results also indicate is that immigration divides public opinion in Britain (Blinder and Richard, 2020), with no clear majority either for reducing it or for retaining the status quo, and with only a minority supporting an increase.

Alongside these moderating attitudes, it also appears that immigration is simply less of an issue today in the minds of the British public than it was before the Brexit referendum. The Ipsos MORI Issues Index tracks the salience of different policy issues in the public consciousness. While immigration was regularly chosen, unprompted, as the issue of greatest concern to the public in the run up to June 2016, by July 2021 it had dropped to eighth place in the hierarchy of concerns (Rolfe, Katwala and Ballinger, 2021).

There are further nuances to public attitudes towards immigration in Britain. Research points to a preference for high-skilled, professional migration over the migration of unskilled workers, with skills and qualifications seen as more important than country of origin (Blinder and Richards, 2020). However, comfort with low-skilled migration increases markedly if migrants are seen as making a contribution through the job they do, such as filling skills shortages or delivering socially beneficial services such as healthcare (Rutter and Carter, 2018; Rolfe, Runge and Hudson-



Sharp, 2019). People are also more supportive of immigration when it is accompanied by integration, with more positive public views observed in places where migrants are better integrated into their local communities (Rutter and Carter, 2018).

61%

Prefer migrants commit to stay in Britain, put down roots and integrate

39%

Prefer migrants to work for a few years without putting down roots and then return home

67%

think employers should be allowed to recruit from overseas for temporary seasonal work

Attitudes to temporary migration specifically

The public express clear reservations about temporary migration schemes. Research by British Future, through both citizens’ panels and nationally representative polling, found that only a small minority of respondents – 10 per cent of those in the citizens’ panels and 16 per cent through the larger-scale polling – supported the introduction of temporary visas for those doing low-skilled jobs. One reason for opposition to such schemes reported by several sources is a lack of confidence in the government to enforce such a regime (Rutter and Carter, 2018; Rolfe, Runge and Hudson-Sharp, 2019).

There are also concerns about the impact of this sort of migration on integration. British Future’s polling found that, when asked to choose between a situation where “migrants commit to stay in Britain, put down roots and integrate” or one where they “work for a few years without putting down roots and then return home”, a majority (61 per cent) choose the former, and 39 per cent the latter (Rutter and Carter, 2018). Supporting qualitative research further suggested that temporary migration systems were viewed by participants as inhibiting integration into communities and unfair to migrants who had already tried to put down roots (ibid).

At the same time, there is appreciation of the economic case for temporary migration routes. In the July 2021 wave of the Ipsos MORI Immigration Tracker, respondents were asked whether employers should be allowed to recruit from overseas for temporary seasonal work, for example in agriculture or hospitality. 67 per cent of people were supportive of this, compared to 21 per cent who opposed it (Rolfe, Katwala and Ballinger, 2021). Research by NIESR also found indications of public support for temporary migration to meet short-term skills shortages or to complete seasonal work (Rolfe, Runge, Hudson-Sharp, 2019).



While immigration remains a divisive issue in Britain, some of the heat has dissipated from the debate since the Brexit referendum and support for immigration is at its highest for some time”

Implications of the findings

In summary, this research indicates that while immigration remains a divisive issue in Britain, some of the heat has dissipated from the debate since the Brexit referendum and support for immigration is at its highest for some time. This suggests that many of public are likely to be comfortable with and even welcoming of future immigration. Additionally, they have a strong recognition of the contribution temporary migration can make to the economy. At the same time, there is evidence of a preference for settlement over temporary migration, and a concern that short-term migration for work purposes is harmful to integration and community cohesion. Taken together, these findings may indicate a greater willingness to accommodate temporary migration by the British public, alongside reservations about its benefits for communities and migrants alike.

Conclusions

While the UK's new post-Brexit immigration system explicitly sets out to limit low-skilled migration, the needs of specific low-paying sectors of the economy are likely to create pressures to admit more low-wage migrant workers, perhaps through temporary migration schemes that do not provide a pathway to permanent residency.

If this is indeed the likely direction of policy, it is vital to consider the implications of such a development. To date, the UK's experience of temporary migration has been very limited, and confined to both narrow sectors of the economy, such as fruit picking, and a few regions of the country (Rolfe, 2020). We therefore have little practical sense of what the consequences of a significant expansion of temporary migration routes are likely to be in the UK. And, while some of the risks and challenges associated with these schemes have been explored by researchers, most notably the risk of labour exploitation, other implications for communities remain under-researched. Here, we have focused on assessing the evidence on how temporary migration is likely to impact on social relations, including ideas of integration and social cohesion, in the communities experiencing it.

Our synthesis of the available evidence suggests that there is no clear general relationship between immigration and social cohesion in the UK. The studies reviewed here report mixed findings, and both challenges to and opportunities for the integration of migrants into the local community. We do, however, find indications that more temporary or transitory forms of migration can pose additional challenges to social cohesion.

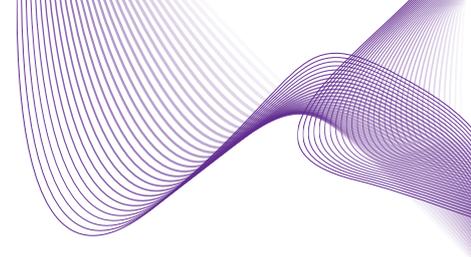
Looking at temporary migration routes specifically, what is clear is that they serve to discourage the integration of migrants and maintain distance between TMWs and local residents. This isolation of migrants prevents the formation of local connections, and residents may be avoidant or wary of migrant workers as a result. Where social relationships are formed, these are often facilitated by local civil society organisations, rather than integration being built into the design and implementation of temporary migration schemes by employers and authorities.

The public attitudes data suggests that the opportunities for migrants to integrate in Britain may currently be enhanced by declining concern about and hostility towards immigration. There is also evidence of support for temporary migration to meet economic needs. At the same time, the public does appear to prefer for migrants to settle and put down roots locally and expresses concerns that temporary migration schemes will inhibit this integration.

What is abundantly clear is that we lack a robust evidence base from which to make firm claims about the impact of temporary forms of labour migration on social cohesion and integration. Much of the evidence has been gathered outside of the UK, in very specific geographic and political contexts. It also tends not to clearly define and measure integration and social cohesion outcomes, and thus insights must be drawn with some care. More targeted research on how different types of migration regime – specifically temporary versus permanent – impact on social relations in communities is therefore essential.



What is abundantly clear is that we lack a robust evidence base from which to make firm claims about the impact of temporary forms of labour migration on social cohesion and integration”



The indications from the existing evidence that immigration, particularly in more temporary or transitory forms, can in some cases have negative implications for social cohesion also begs the question of what policymakers can do about this. This is not a question we have been able to explore in the scope of this review, but new insights on it, for example those generated by recent research supported by the Nuffield Foundation (see Rolfe, 2021), are a vital input to the policymaking process around immigration.

What we do know is that, if the UK does end up responding to economic pressures with an expansion of temporary migration routes, this should only be following full consideration of how both local communities and temporary migrants are likely to experience this, and with measures in place to mitigate any negative effects and facilitate positive social relationships.

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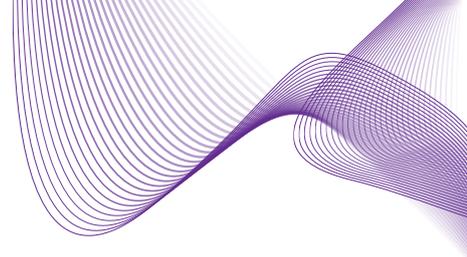
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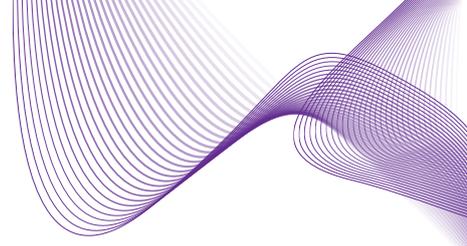
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Appendix A: Method

Research questions

1. What does the existing evidence suggest is the relationship between immigration and socio-cultural outcomes such as integration and social cohesion in the UK context?
2. What does the existing evidence suggest is the relationship between temporary migration routes and socio-cultural outcomes such as integration and social cohesion in different country or sector contexts?

We selected a rapid evidence assessment (REA) approach to conducting this review of the literature. REAs are intended to represent systematic and transparent approaches to assessing an existing evidence base, while taking less time to complete than traditional systematic reviews (Collins et al., 2015; Government Social Research, n.d.).

Search strategy

Tailored search approaches were developed to address each of our two research questions. For each question, we searched both academic and grey literature for relevant publications. Relevant academic literature was identified via searches in three databases covering social science journals – Web of Science Core Collection, ProQuest Social Sciences and SAGE Journals. While some REAs omit grey literature, we judged it important to include given both the role of grey literature in social policy research generally (Thomas, Newman and Oliver, 2013), and its prominence in migration policy research specifically. We therefore ran searches in Google and Google Scholar and searched the websites of organisations with track records in migration research.

TABLE 1: Search strings used to address research question 1 (the relationship between immigration and integration/social cohesion)

Database	Search string
Web of Science Core Collection	TI= ((MIGRATION OR IMMIGRATION) AND (COHESION OR INTEGRATION) AND (UK OR BRITAIN OR BRITISH OR ENGLISH OR ENGLAND))
Proquest Social Sciences	[IN TITLE:] ((MIGRATION OR IMMIGRATION) AND (COHESION OR INTEGRATION) AND (UK OR UNITED KINGDOM OR BRITAIN OR BRITISH OR ENGLISH OR ENGLAND))
SAGE Journals	[IN TITLE:] (MIGRATION OR IMMIGRATION) AND (COHESION OR INTEGRATION) AND (UK OR UNITED KINGDOM OR BRITAIN OR BRITISH OR ENGLISH OR ENGLAND)
Google Scholar	("migration" OR "immigration") AND ("cohesion" OR "integration") AND ("UK" OR "Britain" OR "British" OR "English" OR "England")
Google	'Immigration social cohesion Britain' 'Immigration social cohesion UK' 'Immigration social cohesion England Scotland Wales' 'Immigration integration Britain' 'Immigration integration UK' 'Immigration integration England Scotland Wales'

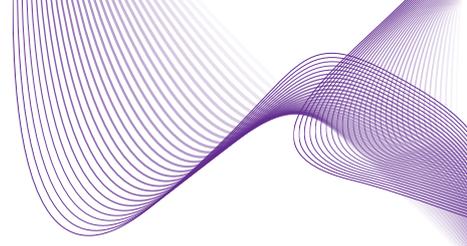


TABLE 2: Search strings used to address research question 2 (the relationship between temporary migration routes and integration/social cohesion)

Database	Search string
Web of Science Core Collection	TI=((“TEMPORARY MIGRANT?” OR “TEMPORARY MIGRATION” OR “FOREIGN WORKER?” OR “MIGRANT WORKER?” OR “GUEST WORKER?”) AND (COHESION OR INTEGRATION))
Proquest Social Sciences	TI((“TEMPORARY MIGRANT?” OR “TEMPORARY MIGRATION” OR “FOREIGN WORKER?” OR “MIGRANT WORKER?” OR “GUEST WORKER?”) AND TI((COHESION OR INTEGRATION))
SAGE Journals	[[[IN TITLE:] (“TEMPORARY MIGRANT?” OR “TEMPORARY MIGRATION” OR “FOREIGN WORKER?” OR “MIGRANT WORKER?” OR “GUEST WORKER?”) AND (COHESION OR INTEGRATION)
Google Scholar	(“temporary migrant” OR “temporary migration” OR “foreign worker” OR “migrant worker” OR “guest worker”) AND (“cohesion” OR “integration”)
Google	Temporary migration social cohesion Temporary migration integration Migrant worker social cohesion Migrant worker integration

Websites searched for relevant publications

Migration Policy Institute; International Labour Organization; OECD; European Commission; Focus on Labour Exploitation (FLEX), Institute for Public Policy Research; Institute for Government; British Future; The Migration Observatory; Policy Exchange; Demos; Joint Council for the Welfare of Immigrants; Civitas; Migration Data Portal.

Results sifting and inclusion criteria

The results obtained via the academic database searches were collated in Endnote for screening by a reviewer. Two sifts were conducted – a first sift of all results by title and abstract, and a second sift of full texts to identify the final set of studies for inclusion in the review. A second reviewer checked a sample of 20 per cent of papers to provide a quality assurance of the sifting process, and also reviewed any papers which the first reviewer was uncertain of whether to include. For the grey literature searches, the first 10 pages of hits in Google and Google Scholar were reviewed, and relevant results extracted. These were also checked by a second reviewer. Any differences in the judgements of reviewers were resolved via discussion.

The sifting process was conducted in line with the inclusion criteria for the two research questions set out in Table 3 and Table 4. These were structured according to the PICOS framework, specifying the studies relevant to the review in terms of the population, interventions, comparators, outcomes and study designs used. Additional criteria around publication date and language of publication were also included, with only studies published between 2000 and the time of the search (November 2020), and in English, included. Further, we limited the review to studies for which the full text was available electronically.

TABLE 3: Inclusion criteria for research question 1 literature search (the relationship between immigration and integration/social cohesion)

Study characteristic	Inclusion criteria
Study design	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Empirical studies assessing the impact of immigration/migration on relevant outcomes. Both quantitative and qualitative methodologies are in scope. • Reviews of empirical studies will be included (for example systematic reviews, narrative reviews and meta-analyses), but purely theoretical studies and opinion and comment pieces will be excluded.
Interventions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Studies assessing the impacts of both permanent and semi-permanent or temporary immigration/migration will be included. • Studies looking at specific temporary migration routes or schemes will be excluded.
Comparators	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Relevant comparators to a given immigration context/intervention include no immigration and comparisons with other time periods or geographical areas. • Studies without an explicit comparator will be included.
Outcomes	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Studies reporting on cohesion and integration outcomes will be included. • Studies reporting on other relevant socio-cultural outcomes, for example trust, belonging, identity, will also be included. • Studies reporting on the impact of immigration on local public services will be excluded, except where this is explicitly linked to impacts on community cohesion etc. • Studies reporting on perceptions of the impact of immigration on relevant outcomes will also be included. • Studies reporting on economic/labour market integration will be excluded. • Studies reporting on integration/cohesion policy will be excluded.
Population	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Studies conducted in the UK, Great Britain or constituent nations will be included. • Studies conducted at both the national and regional/local levels will be included. • Studies conducted in contexts outside of the UK will be excluded. • Studies looking at the integration of students will be excluded.
Timeframe and language	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Only studies published since 2000 will be included. • Only studies published in English will be included.
Other	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Only studies for which the full text can be retrieved electronically will be included.

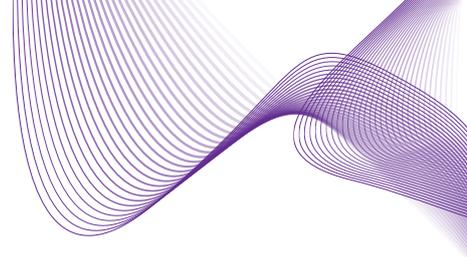


TABLE 4: Inclusion criteria for research question 2 literature search (the relationship between temporary migration routes and integration/social cohesion)

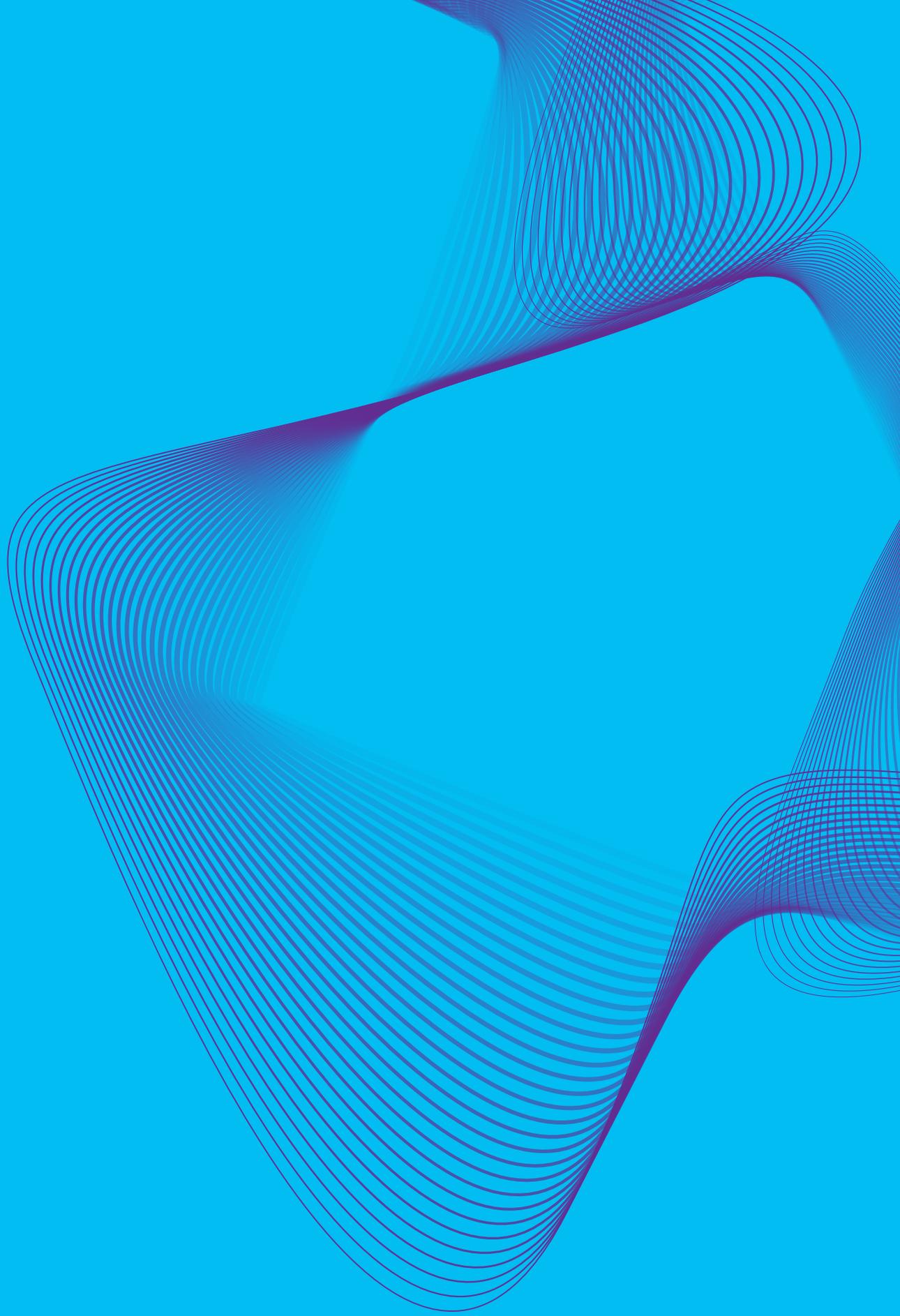
Study characteristic	Inclusion criteria
Study design	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Only primary empirical studies will be included. Both quantitative and qualitative methodologies are in scope. Reviews of empirical studies will be included (for example systematic reviews, narrative reviews and meta-analyses), but purely theoretical studies and opinion and comment pieces will be excluded.
Interventions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Studies assessing the impacts of any type of overseas temporary migration scheme/ regime/route will be included, for example sector-specific schemes, guest worker programmes etc. Studies looking at internal temporary migration (within a country) will be excluded. Studies looking at temporary migration that is not via an explicit temporary migration route will be excluded. Studies looking at permanent migration or migration with a clear route to settlement/ citizenship will be excluded.
Comparators	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Relevant comparators to a given temporary migration intervention include permanent migration, no migration, comparisons with the period before the temporary migration began and comparisons with other examples of temporary migration. Studies without an explicit comparator will be included.
Outcomes	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Studies reporting on social cohesion and social integration outcomes will be included. These include outcomes both for temporary migrants themselves, and for receiving communities. Implications for sending communities will be excluded. Studies reporting on other relevant socio-cultural outcomes, for example trust, belonging, identity, will also be included. Studies reporting on the impact of immigration on local public services will be excluded, except where this is explicitly linked to impacts on community cohesion etc. Studies reporting on <i>perceptions</i> of the impact of temporary migration on relevant outcomes will be included. Studies reporting on economic/labour market integration will be excluded. Studies reporting outcomes related to labour exploitation and migrant rights will be excluded, unless clearly linked with social/community outcomes for migrants and receiving communities.
Population	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Studies conducted in the UK or other high-income countries (in North America, Europe and Australasia) will be included. Studies conducted in low or middle-income contexts will be excluded. Studies looking at temporary migrant workers in any sector of the economy will be included. Studies conducted at both the national and regional/local levels will be included.
Timeframe and language	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Only studies published since 2000 will be included. Only studies published in English will be included.
Other	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Only studies for which the full text can be retrieved electronically will be included.

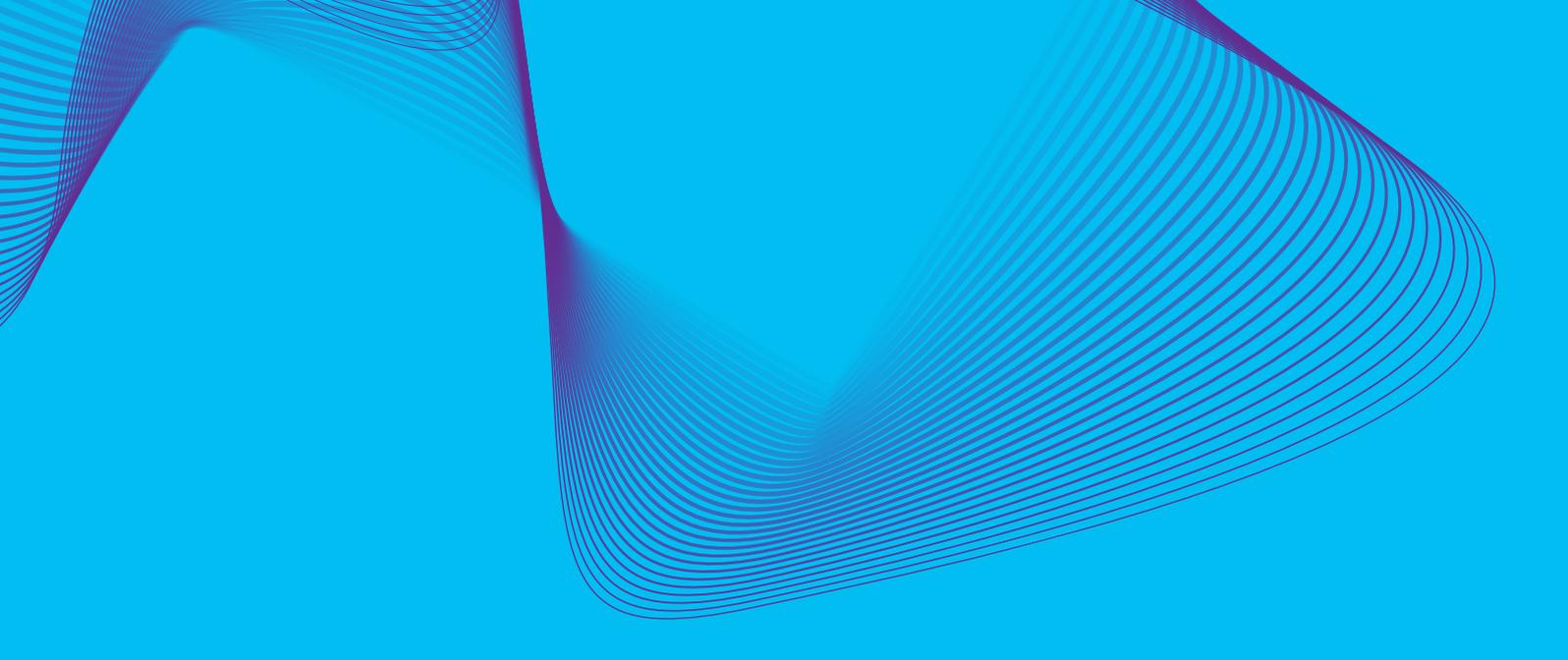
Once the set of papers for review had been finalised, each paper was read in detail by a reviewer, and relevant information about the study design, population, findings and study limitations were extracted into a standard template. This data extraction was subsequently checked by a second reviewer. At this stage, additional references were also obtained through snowballing, where the references of included publications were hand searched for additional relevant studies that had not been picked up via

the database searches. The papers involved at each phase of the search and sifting process are summarised in Table 5.

TABLE 5: Literature review search and sifting process

Stage	Search for research question 1 (immigration)	Search for research question 2 (temporary migration routes)
Records identified through academic database searches	92	62
Records remaining after duplicates removed	50	43
Records included after sift 1	43	15
Records included after sift 2	3	1
Additional records obtained via grey literature searches	4	5
Additional records obtained via snowballing	5	3
Records included in review	12	9





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