

FORWARD TIMETABLE OF CONSULTATION AND MEETINGS: Cabinet

23rd July 2007

THE CITY'S CASE FOR PROPER FUNDING FOR ITS POPULATION

Report of the Chief Finance Officer

1. Purpose of the Report

1.1 The report updates Members on lobbying activity currently being undertaken in advance of the 2008-11 local government finance settlement.

2. Summary of report

- 2.1 The amount of central government grant the Council receives each year is based on estimates of the City's population. There is considerable evidence that these estimates understate the actual population, and the City is losing out on grant as a result. This, we believe, is largely due to undercounting of new migrants. Whilst it is impossible to be precise, we believe present funding arrangements could undercount the City's population by some 20,000 people.
- 2.2 The Government is expected to consult on proposals for the next three-year settlement over the summer. Representations are being made to the Government, in advance of the formal consultation.
- 2.3 The attached briefing note gives more detail of the Council's case for additional funding. It is based on the following factors:
 - (a) concerns over undercounting in the 2001 Census;
 - (b) deficiencies in the methods by which subsequent migration is estimated;
 - (c) the use of out-of-date population projections.
- 2.4 The population may also be under-stated by undercounting of student numbers int he city.

3. Recommendation

- 3.1 Members are asked to note this report and support the Council's representations to central government.
- 4. Financial & Legal Implications

- 4.1 It is difficult to quantify the effect of the undercounting due to:
 - (a) inability to precisely estimate the city's true population;

(b) the complexity of arrangements by which Revenue Support Grant is calculated;

(c) the Government's practice of substantially scaling back grant increases of individual local authorities to support other authorities who lost out in recent formula changes.

4.2 However, on the basis of an estimate of 20,000 people, this would have amounted to some £12m in 2007/08, before scaling, and around £5m after scaling. We do not know what the equivalent figures would be in 2008/09.

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Key Decision	No
Reason	N/A
Appeared in Forward Plan	N/A
Executive or Council Decision	Executive (Cabinet)

Briefing Note Population Issues

Introduction

- 1. The purpose of this note is to present the City Council's need for additional funding, arising from:
 - Well-documented deficiencies in the present arrangements for projecting the population, leading to under-estimation of the city's needs;
 - Specific cost pressures associated with international migration.
- 2. Whilst it is difficult to estimate the precise impact, we estimate the City could be underfunded by some 20,000 people.

Summary

- 3. Whilst, of necessity, this note focuses on Leicester, we recognise that we are one of a number of authorities affected by this issue.
- 4. In our view, the present grant funding arrangements have seriously disadvantaged authorities (including Leicester) who have had large influxes of international migrants. This is for a number of reasons.
- 5. The population projections used in the grant settlement are not robust:
 - The 2001 Census faced problems counting particular groups;
 - There is very limited data available to estimate migration between Census dates;
 - The forward-looking projections are based on past trends, take no account of recent developments, and have been inaccurate over the most recent years for which data is available.
- 6. Key drivers of cost are excluded from the grant calculations:
 - Individuals in the country for less than 12 months, including most seasonal / short-term workers;
 - The level of turnover in the population;
 - The need for services specifically required to assimilate new arrivals.
- 7. We recognise and welcome the efforts made by the Government to promote community cohesion, but feel the effectiveness of these initiatives will be limited until a resolution of these issues can be found. We are therefore asking for the following actions from CLG:

• A specific (annual) grant in addition to the Formula Grant for authorities where it can be shown that the population has exceeded projections made in the three-year settlement;

- Recognition of population turnover in the settlement as giving rise to direct costs to local authorities;
- Recognition that costs are incurred by local authorities in respect of short-term migrants;
- A specific grant for a discrete number of local authorities, which are recognised centres of international migration, to address the costs associated with welcoming new arrivals and maintaining community cohesion.

Population Issues in Leicester

<u>1. Leicester – a diverse City</u>

- 1.1 According to the latest official figures, the resident population of Leicester was 287,000 in mid-2005. However, we believe that this is an understatement of the true population.
- 1.2 Leicester is well-recognised as one of Britain's most diverse cities, with a good reputation for tolerance, multiculturalism and community cohesion. According to the 2001 Census, 36% of Leicester's population had an ethnic minority background.
- 1.3 Amongst the ethnic minority people of Leicester, the largest group are Indian (26%) from East Africa or from Gujarat, India. There are smaller populations including Bangladeshi (1%), Pakistani (2%), Black Caribbean (2%) and Black African (1%).
- 1.4 The ethnic profile of Leicester is continually changing as new populations arrive. More recent arrivals in Leicester include Somalis, mostly in 2001-03; Polish and other Eastern Europeans since the enlargement of the EU in 2004; and asylum seekers and refugees. Reliable estimates of numbers are not available but assessments suggest some of the main groups may be in the ranges:
 - Somali population: 6,000 10,000
 - A8 economic migrants: 3,000 5,000
 - Asylum seekers: 1,000
 - Failed asylum seekers: 5,000

2. Population figures in the 2008-11 settlement

Current System

- 2.1 The local government funding formula is heavily based on population figures produced by the Office for National Statistics (ONS). Before 2006, the formula used estimates of the population 2 years previously (e.g. the 2005/06 settlement used estimates of the population in 2003).
- 2.2 With the move to multi-year settlements from 2006/07, the formula began to use forward-looking population projections. This was intended to avoid having key data fixed for three-year periods, and to provide predictability in authorities' grant amounts.
- 2.3 There are three main stages to producing these projections:
 - The 2001 Census
 - Population estimates produced each year based on births, deaths and migration estimates.
 - Population projections produced from the estimates by using trends over the last 5 years.

Census 2001

- 2.4 Although the Census attempts to count all residents, it is known that some groups are harder to reach in a Census. Some of the issues that may make a population harder to count are:
 - Multi-occupancy of properties: if there are several households behind one front door (e.g. where a house has been divided into flats), some households may not receive a Census form.
 - Unemployment and deprivation are known to be linked to non-return of Census forms
 - Young men, particularly living in cities, may not be motivated to return forms

- Students in shared houses
- Transient populations, who may not regard themselves as "resident"
- Language difficulties

• Large households (where there were more than 6 people in a household, an additional Census form had to be requested)

- 2.5 In Leicester, there was a further complicating factor with the number of Dutch Somali arrivals in the city, who were likely to be hard to reach in the Census. It is now estimated that there are some 6,000 10,000 Somalis in Leicester, from a position of none in 1999.
- 2.6 Work was done in 2005 to compare the Census data with local sources (the electoral canvas and numbers of residents registered with GPs). This exercise found:

• Our electoral canvas had some 6,800 more households than the Census recognised. This was most pronounced in some areas, e.g. Spinney Hill and West End where many older houses have been subdivided into flats.

• This translates into a discrepancy of around 16,800 in the 2001 population, based on average household sizes for Leicester.

• The population undercount against GP records was higher, at 38,800 (although we accept that this is probably an over-estimate).

Despite this evidence, ONS was unwilling to adjust the estimates for Leicester because the city was not regarded as being at "high risk" of having been undercounted, compared to other areas of the country. This was based on an assessment including the differences between Council Tax and Census dwelling counts and Census response rates.

2.7 The original Census data included adjustments for areas and population groups believed to be hard to count. Following representations from several local authorities, ONS made two significant later adjustments:

• Addition of 190,000 nationally to account for young people who were undercounted by the Census (Leicester's estimated population was increased by 3,400 as a result of this).

• Further revisions to 13 local authorities (not including Leicester) which were identified as having particular problems with the Census.

2.8 This still leaves a significant shortfall in Census numbers when compared with our records – in other words, we believe the basis for the subsequent population figures is too low. We accept that this is now history, but it sets the scene for our subsequent concerns over underfunding.

3. Population Estimates

3.1 ONS produce mid-year population estimates each year. The summary calculation for Leicester in 2005 is shown below:

Population mid-2004		285,100
Births	4,500	
Deaths	-2,700	
Natural Change		1,800
Net Internal Migration	-2,900	
International Migration In	5,800	
International Migration Out	-1,900	
Other Changes	100	
Total Net Migration & Other Changes		1,100
Population mid-2005		288,000

3.2 The ONS estimate migration as follows:

• Internal migration (within the UK) is based on GP registration data. The accuracy of this relies on people registering with a GP when they move – certain groups, particularly young men, are known to be slow to register. ONS do not adjust the figures for this.

• International migration is largely based on the International Passenger Survey (IPS) of people entering and leaving the UK. This has very small samples of international migrants and is therefore supported by other data sources.

• The other source of data for international migration is Census data, which does not take account of changes to migration patterns since 2001. Census data is used to apportion estimated arrivals to a larger area to individual local authorities.

- 3.3 The ONS has recently (retrospectively) reviewed its methodology for estimating international migrant numbers at local authority level. This has produced significant changes in estimated migration (estimated international emigration from Leicester has changed 1,900 to 2,600 in 2004/05 a 37% increase). These changes were brought about by applying different modelling techniques to the existing (very small) samples of migrants in the IPS.
- 3.4 The ONS figures exclude short-term migrants, and there is consequently no recognition of the cost of these in the funding settlement at all. We believe some 2,600 short-term migrant workers arrived in Leicester in 2005/06 from the A8 countries alone.
- 3.5 The limited data, and the scale of the changes in estimates produced by the recent methodological changes, mean that the estimates are open to challenge. ONS are considering further changes to the methodology but this is likely to be a longer-term project. We believe the present methodology is likely to disadvantage Leicester and similar cities for the following reasons:
 - The methodology underestimates total national immigration;
 - The method of allocating assumed migrants within the East Midlands groups Leicester with large rural areas in Leicestershire and Northamptonshire; these areas have much lower ethnic minority populations than Leicester;

• Foreign students are allocated to authorities in the same way as other migrants, despite the clear concentration of students into those authorities (such as Leicester) with universities.

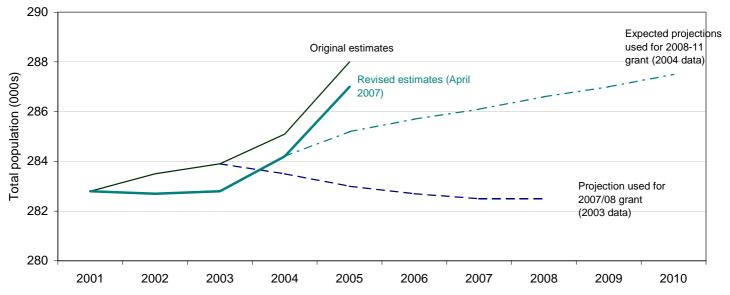
• The IPS has only limited coverage of night-time flights, which include a large number of flights to the Indian sub-continent. Leicester has a large Indian population and is therefore a popular destination for new migrants from India.

3.6 The City Council has examined other data sources, and compared these with ONS estimates. Details of these are given in Annex A.

4. Population projections

4.1 Population projections are produced by ONS by extrapolating from the trends of the last 5 years. This does not take account of recent changes driven by policy decisions, housing developments or external factors. DCLG are planning to use the 2004 projections (using data from 1999-2004); by the end of this settlement period in 2011, some of this data will be 12 years out of date. ONS do not expect to be producing 2005 projections in time for the settlement.

4.2 On this basis, Leicester's projected population is reduced by the apparent "dip" in population around the time of the Census. More recent estimates show the actual population rising faster than the projections; however, the City's grant funding is fixed in advance and does not take these estimates into account. The chart below shows how the projections and estimates have varied over recent years:



Population estimates and projections for Leicester

4.3 The settlement for 2007/08 underestimated the city's population by 5,500 solely as a result of using out-of-date projections, and before other data deficiencies are considered. In terms of formula grant, this led to an estimated loss of £3.8 million prior to scaling. It also led to a reduced baseline for 2008/09, so the city's cash grant (after scaling) will be reduced.

- 4.4 The expected population figures for the 2008-11 settlement are higher than the previous settlement (2006/07 and 2007/08). However it still appears likely to fall some way short of the official estimates for those years, meaning that Leicester will be underfunded by the ONS's own figures. Since the settlement is fixed for three years at a time, Leicester will not receive any grant funding for the extra population.
- 4.4 Further analysis of the ONS data breaks down the 2004-05 changes by cause:

	2004-based projections (000's)	2005 Estimates (000's)	Difference (000's)	Difference (%)
Migration:				
Domestic In	13.4	13.6	0.2	1.8%
Domestic Out	-16.4	-16.5	-0.1	0.6%
International In	4.4	5.8	1.4	31.8%
International Out	-2.2	-1.9	0.3	-12.3%
Net migration	-0.8	1.0	1.8	
Natural Change	1.9	1.8	-0.1	-5.3%
Other Changes	-0.1	0.1	0.2	
Total Change	1.0	2.9	1.9	

All figures are for changes between mid-2004 and mid-2005

4.5 The change between the projections and estimates is largely due to the figures for international migrants. Since the projections were based on trends from 1999-2004, they did not include the impact of migrants from EU accession countries (the "A8" countries which joined the EU in 2004). However, these migrants would have been included in the 2005 estimates.

5. Population turnover

5.1 In addition to the undercount in the official population estimates, Leicester is experiencing high and increasing population turnover, particularly from international migration. The majority of authorities have lower immigration and have not seen the sharp increase in recent years:

	In-migration to Leicester (000's)	In-migration to Leicester (% of total population)	Median of English districts	Upper quartile of English districts
2001/02	3,800	1.4%	0.4%	0.8%
2002/03	4,100	1.4%	0.5%	0.9%
2003/04	4,200	1.5%	0.5%	0.8%
2004/05	5,800	2.0%	0.5%	1.0%

International in-migration only, 2001-2005¹

SOURCE: Office for National Statistics mid-year population estimates

5.2 The high international immigration shown above is offset by high internal outwards migration, to other areas of the UK:

Internal out-migration only, 2001-2005

	Out-migration from Leicester (000's)	Out-migration from Leicester (% of total population)	Median of English districts	Upper quartile of English districts
2001/02	16,900	6.0%	4.8%	5.8%
2002/03	17,100	6.0%	4.6%	5.7%
2003/04	17,100	6.0%	4.6%	5.6%
2004/05	16,500	5.7%	4.4%	5.3%

SOURCE: Office for National Statistics mid-year population estimates

5.3 The combination of high inwards and high outwards migration means that, even without any growth in population (and therefore no additional grant funding, which is based on a snapshot of population at a given date), there is a high level of turnover among the population.

5.4 Population turnover may place pressure on resources in various ways:

• The process of moving creates costs in itself: registration for Council Tax, in-year school admissions, induction processes etc.

• New arrivals, especially those from overseas, are often not familiar with systems and processes and may have limited fluency in English.

• In Leicester (and several other cities) the people leaving the authority tend to be more affluent than the new arrivals, as middle-class people leave the city for suburbs and surrounding villages. This means that there is a trend towards increasing deprivation in the inner cities.

• High population mobility, particularly international immigration, has implications for community cohesion.

• We have evidence that high turnover is compounded by further turnover within the city, as new arrivals relocate. This places particular pressure on the schools system.

¹ These figures are before the ONS's April 2007 revisions to population estimates. The revised figures have slightly increased Leicester's share of international migration.

- 5.5 Population turnover is not recognised in the Formula Grant. However, data on the numbers of individuals migrating into and out of a local authority are available from ONS and could easily be used to produce an indicator of the level of turnover. Whilst we believe these figures underestimate migration, their inclusion in the formula would be a considerable improvement on the current situation.
- 5.6 Many Leicester schools experience high levels of turnover among their pupils. This is partly a result of the turnover mentioned above, and also indicates a high level of mobility within the City. At present, the authority receives no additional resources for pupil turnover, but provides funding to individual schools based on levels of turnover. This inevitably reduces the funding available for other priorities.

6. Impact of migration on public services

- 6.1 There is great difficulty in establishing the precise cost of services provided to migrants, although anecdotal evidence from Leicester and other authorities indicates the types of services required. In few (if any) cases is expenditure on new arrivals separately identified from long-term residents who may need similar services.
- 6.2 Some migrants are not entitled to the full range of Council services, and a significant proportion are young adults who may have less need for services than others. However, not all migrants fall into this category and a more significant call on services arises when migrants bring families or need housing assistance, and migrants also bring with them additional needs for services which help them establish themselves and integrate.
- 6.3 Translation services

Many (although not all) new migrants arrive with limited English language skills. This is not a static situation: the changing profile of migration in recent years has led to a demand for information in languages (such as Eastern European languages recently) that were not previously widespread in the area. Authorities must continually update their language services to ensure they meet the needs of these new types of migrants.

6.4 Houses in multiple occupation

Many new migrants, particularly young workers, are living in Houses in Multiple Occupation (HMOs). This increases the demand for inspections and regulatory services, and creates additional complexity over registering for Council Tax and other services.

It is likely that there is a similar effect on other services, as a combination of migration, nonstandard living arrangements and unfamiliarity with local systems lead to additional pressure on staff.

6.5 Housing services

In the period April – December 2006, 80 A8 nationals successfully applied to the Housing Register in Leicester. This low figure reflects a lack of entitlement arising from residency and employment restrictions on A8 migrants, but is still a significant increase on the 55 successful applications in the full year 2005/06. The Council believes the numbers will continue to increase sharply, as more A8 migrants meet the entitlement criteria.

Migrants who are not eligible for housing assistance can still receive advice and guidance from the Housing Options (homelessness) service, but data on national origins is not collected.

Outreach work with rough sleepers assisted around 20 people of Eastern European origin in a 6-month period in 2006-07. This is out of a very small population of rough sleepers.

6.6 Schools

Newly arriving pupils have to be funded from grant determined prior to the start of the financial year. From September 2006 to March 2007, an estimated 1,000 new pupils came to Leicester's schools. In addition to normal teaching costs, new arrivals frequently require additional support:

• An increased need for language support, such as translation and dual language resources. In many inner-city schools, there are several first languages within a single class of pupils.

• Admissions and induction processes are time-rich. Newly arriving families require significant "personalised" support both to understand and then negotiate the process.

• Pupils arriving during years 10 or 11, especially where a pupil may only have limited English, pose specific issues for schools in offering a personalised curriculum.

• With pressure on school places, especially in the secondary sector, a place in a local or preferred school is not always available. Consequently, waiting lists develop and a second pupil movement occurs when a place becomes available. The initial school gains no reward for the capital and physical resources utilised in welcoming the new arrival who then moves on.

6.7 Community services and community cohesion

Leicester is a city with a long, and successful, tradition of welcoming new arrivals to the country. However, the city has seen two major waves of immigration in recent years – first the arrival of the Dutch Somali community, and most recently economic migration from the A8 accession countries. The intensity of the migration flows, and the rapid change in the population as a result, present challenges as new arrivals and the settled community take time to adapt to one another. This also involves council expenditure, in the provision of community services.

The recent Commission for Integration & Cohesion report identifies a sense of "shared futures" as being key to community cohesion. Establishing this sense is a particular challenge when a significant proportion of the population is transient and may not see the city as a long-term home. In Leicester, not only is there a high level of outward migration (see 5.2 above), but there are also significant numbers of short-term A8 migrants.

7. Recommendations for action

- 7.1 The forward-looking population projections are not robust enough for the purpose of allocating grant to individual local authorities. This is largely accepted by ONS, who produce these figures. However, we accept that CLG want to provide stability for local authorities over the three years of the settlement, and that more reliable figures are unlikely to be available in time for the 2008 settlement. We also accept that there is no better source of data than that produced by ONS, which could command greater acceptance.
- 7.2 We are therefore proposing that a specific grant should be made available for authorities where subsequent information (e.g. the later population estimates) demonstrates that the authority is being under-funded for its population.
- 7.3 The formula grant should include a measure of population turnover based on migration figures already available (unless more robust figures can be produced in the short time-span available).
- 7.4 CLG should urgently investigate data sources available to estimate short-term migration for funding purposes. Since short-term migration is likely to be volatile and difficult to predict, it

may be necessary to provide this funding as a specific grant that can be more responsive than a three-year settlement.

7.5 A specific grant should be made available to known centres of international migration to address the costs associated with welcoming new arrivals and maintaining community cohesion.

Other data sources on migration and population

1. Data on migration inflows

Health service data

1.1 11,293 immigrants registered with GP practices in Leicestershire in April 2004-March 2005, and 12,152 in 2005-06. Data is not available separately for Leicester City, although the PCT believe that "most" of these were registered in the City. This is roughly comparable to the ONS estimate for immigration to Leicestershire (11,043). It is, however, likely that many new arrivals do not register with a GP because they are not eligible or are not aware of the procedures. Young men (a large proportion of new migrants) are known to be less likely to register with a GP. There are also several GPs not currently accepting new patients, making it less likely that new arrivals to the City will register with a GP. Thus GP registrations represent the absolute minimum numbers of arrivals in the county.

National Insurance Numbers allocated to foreign nationals

- 1.2 An attempt was made to compare National Insurance numbers issued to foreign nationals, with the ONS estimates for migration from overseas. However, it was extremely difficult to make a meaningful comparison for the following reasons:
 - NI numbers are only allocated for employment / self-employment purposes or to claim benefits. Many migrants do not fall into these categories (e.g. students or those living as dependents);
 - Applications for NI numbers may be made some time after entering the country, as a migrant's circumstances change and they move into employment or need to claim benefits;
 - NI numbers are allocated to people who do not meet the definition of a migrant for ONS purposes (in particular, seasonal workers who stay for less than 12 months).
- 1.3 In 2005/06, there were 7,620 NI numbers allocated to foreign nationals resident in Leicester. The most common countries of origin for these applicants in 2005/06 are shown below:

	Leicester 2005/06	
	Number	%
EU & EEA (including Switzerland)	890	11.6%
A8 accession countries	3,050	39.8%
Including Poland	2,270	29.6%
Slovak Republic	460	6.0%
India	1,780	23.2%
Other South Asian countries	320	4.2%
African countries	950	12.4%
Other	670	8.7%
Total ²	7,620	

1.4 No conclusions can be drawn from this about the accuracy of the ONS estimates.

² Numbers are rounded to the nearest 10 to protect confidentiality where small numbers are involved. Total may not add due to rounding

Worker Registration Scheme

- 1.5 The Worker Registration Scheme (WRS) applies to most workers from the A8 accession countries. Applicants are asked for their intended length of stay. While this may not match their actual length of stay, it indicates that nationally around 15% of A8 workers intend to stay in the UK for a year or more, and 85% would be classed as short-term migrants.
- 1.6 Applied to the number of NI applications, this suggests around 2,600 short-term A8 migrant workers came to Leicester in 2005/06 (85% of the 3,050 A8 workers receiving NI numbers). This does not include short-term migrants for study or other reasons, or those coming from other countries. Short-term migrants (and people who state their intention to be short-term migrants) are excluded from the population figures.

Other evidence

- 1.7 Anecdotal evidence suggests that A8 workers are beginning to settle in the City as long-term residents, and bringing their families. In particular, schools have reported a marked increase in the number of new Polish-speaking pupils. Between 2005 and 2007, the proportion of children in City schools described as "white European" (excluding British and Irish) rose from 2.1% to 2.9%, equivalent to around 400 children.
- 1.8 There has been a reported large increase in attendance at the Polish Catholic Church. They have seen an average attendance of 180 worshippers at Mass swell to 1,000 per week.
- 1.9 Evidence from one inner-city primary school (Sacred Heart Catholic Primary) indicates they have, amongst many other nationalities, 50 children of "white European" background including 30 Polish and 12 Slovakian children.

2. Data on child population

Child Benefit statistics

2.1 In August 2005, Child Benefit was being paid for 64,100 children aged 0-15 resident in the City. (Over-16s are not universally eligible for CB so claims cannot be compared to population figures). The mid-2005 estimate of population aged 0-15 was 60,000, which suggests an undercount of around 4,000 under-16s.

Schools data

- 2.2 A pupil count is taken by the DfES in January each year. This details the numbers of pupils in maintained and independent schools in each area, as well as their areas of residence. It does not contain any information on migration, so can only be used to assess the accuracy of the overall population estimate.
- 2.3 For children of compulsory school age (5-15)³, the DfES count should be complete, except for a small number of children not in school (e.g. being home educated). Outside these ages, the DfES count will not be complete.

³ In DfES figures, children are counted by their age at the previous 31st August, so the January 2006 count date used ages as at 31/8/05. The ONS estimate for comparison was two months earlier at 30/6/05.

The numbers of pupils counted in Leicester in January 2006 were as follows:

			000's
Total pupil count			50,180
Less:	Under-5s	(6,670)	
	16 and over	(1,260)	
			(7,930)
Pupils a	aged 5-15	-	42,250
Less	Pupils at City schools, resident outside City Pupils resident in City but	(1,580)	
Add	attending schools in other areas	4,050	
			2,470
Estima	44,720		

2.4 The 2005 mid-year estimates (before the recent revisions) give a population for Leicester of 39,800 5-15 year olds. The schools data suggests an undercount of up to 5,000 people of compulsory school age, slightly higher (given the different age-range covered) than suggested by Child Benefit statistics.

3. Short-term migrants

- 3.1 The definition of "resident population" excludes those staying in the country for less than 12 months. It therefore excludes many migrant workers and students on short courses of less than a year. Leicester therefore receives no funding for short-term migrants, although at any given point there may be several thousand in the City.
- 3.2 There are no official figures for short-term migration, although ONS are expected to publish some estimates later in the year. Official figures suggest that, taking only A8 migrant workers, there may be an inflow of 2,600 per year to Leicester (see para. 4.6 above). Short-term migrants from other regions are likely to be many times in excess of these figures.
- 3.3 Short-term migrants will use some of the same services as longer-term migrants, but authorities receive no additional funding for them. They also produce their own challenges of community cohesion.