

Migration Observatory Evaluation

Final Evaluation Report

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Disclaimer

This is the report of independent evaluators commissioned by the Migration Observatory. The views expressed in this report should not be taken as being the views of the Observatory, COMPAS, the University of Oxford or its affiliates.

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1 Executive summary

1.1 Introduction

The Migration Observatory launched in March 2011. Based at the Centre on Migration, Policy and Society (COMPAS) at the University of Oxford, the organisation provides independent, authoritative, evidence-based analysis of data on migration and migrants in the UK. It aims to inform media, public and policy debates, and to generate high quality research on international migration and public policy issues.

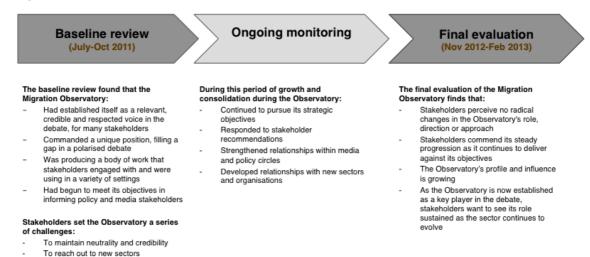
The evaluation process comprised of a baseline review, conducted shortly after the Observatory's launch, continuous monitoring of the organisation's digital outputs, and the final evaluation programme.

This report presents the findings from the final evaluation.

1.2 Evaluation overview

The diagram below provides a summary of the evaluation programme.

Figure 1: Evaluation overview



 To continue to value and nurture existing relationships

To keep up momentum in media debate To encourage use among policy makers

1.3 Key findings from the final evaluation

The context

Stakeholders agree that migration continues to be a key issue for the UK. They describe the migration debate as one characterised by misinformation, polarised views and heated exchange.

However, according to the majority of those interviewed in this evaluation, the migration sector has witnessed significant changes since the baseline review.

The majority view is that the terms of the debate are slowly changing; there has been a move away from regarding migration as a single issue. Those in political and media circles are paying closer attention to different kinds of migration and their respective implications for the UK. Some say that the role of evidence is now more central to the debate. Those who note these positive changes say the Migration Observatory has contributed to these developments, though perspectives on the extent of their contribution vary.

A small group of respondents feel the quality of debate around migration has deteriorated recently. They attribute this to political will and the level of '*noise*' surrounding migration which act as barriers to the use of informed, balanced evidence.

Interviewees talk in detail about the sector in which the Observatory operates. Many describe it as '*crowded*' but emphasise that the initiative occupies a unique and important position. Several say the introduction of the Observatory has been '*timely*'; holding commentators to account is seen as increasingly important. A couple of stakeholders regard the Observatory as one of a group of organisations driving this '*movement*'. Others refer to the role the Observatory plays as a resource for other organisations.

Perceptions of the Migration Observatory

Those interviewed for this stage of the evaluation report that the Observatory has continued to build on its core strengths: its credibility and independence, rigorous analysis and high quality outputs, and its expert, responsive team. It is now recognised by a diverse range of stakeholders - which many attribute to the way the Observatory has successfully implemented a considered, informed engagement strategy.

The Observatory's role as an independent source of high quality, independent evidence is widely understood and accepted. Several note an increased sense of confidence on the part of the Observatory in recent months. They feel this is important for the programme as it continues to work toward its ambitious objectives.

Stakeholders also identify a series of weaknesses. However, as with the baseline review, these generally represent individual perspectives as opposed to concerns shared by a broad base of stakeholders. Several stakeholders indicate that the Observatory is under-resourced, and a small number say some outputs have felt '*too academic*.' A couple called for a stronger personal relationship with the Observatory. Other criticisms cited by individual interviewees are outlined in the body of this report.

Perspectives on use and impact of the Migration Observatory

Overall stakeholders believe that the Observatory, considering its remit and objectives, has achieved the maximum impact possible in the time available to it.

Several say that it has exceeded their expectations in this respect. The achievements that stakeholders attribute to the Observatory build on those described in the earlier evaluation:

- The Observatory is now recognised across the policy, political and media sectors and among senior figures within each of these debates around migration
- It has built and maintained relationships with a broad group of stakeholders who are diverse in their professional and political connections to migration
- As a relatively new organisation it has continued to produce, influence and engage in a highly contentious sector
- It has produced and disseminated an extensive body of work, without significant challenges to its credibility
- Its resources are valued, regularly applied in a variety of settings and used to inform a range of documents and arguments. Stakeholders have used outputs to provide evidence to select committees, as the source of news and comment pieces in the national press, in

cross-party discussions, to inform Government ministers, and to inform advocacy tools created by NGOs $% \left({{\left[{{{\rm{NGOS}}} \right]} \right]_{\rm{NGOS}}} \right)$

- The outcomes of use are varied. Stakeholders provide examples of how the Observatory has improved working practices, influenced sources they approach for information and allowing them to focus on other areas of work
- Some core stakeholders credit the Observatory with having contributed to moving the migration debate forward in media and policy circles
- Several reference the increasing volume and spread of media exposure as an impressive achievement, notably given the challenges of encouraging media engagement with a neutral body without a particular 'story to sell'
- The quantitative data reaffirms widespread engagement with the Observatory through a range of channels

Stakeholders recognise the challenges of attributing influence to a body whose desired outcomes are to influence and inform the terms of a policy debate. The quantitative indicators used to measure digital engagement allow some analysis of this kind but this approach does not fully capture the extent to which it has influenced its target audiences.

Looking to the future

Stakeholders from all sectors agree that there is an important and on-going role for the Observatory. The introduction of the organisation has addressed a perceived lack of impartial, accessible data and analysis on migration issues. Given the constantly evolving nature of the debate there is an expectation that new issues requiring exploration will emerge. Stakeholders point to a range of migration related issues that they say already require new data and further analysis. The Observatory is well placed to address these gaps.

The programme commands a strong base of advocates who are eager to support and advise the Observatory as it plans for the future. Their collective message to the Observatory is to continue to deliver on the strategy that it has been following since its launch. They advise that it is through continuing to '*plug away*' that it will affect change in the sector.

Interviewees offer a number of additional suggestions for how the Observatory should extend its reach and impact. Several relate to further strengthening its media strategy and a number point to further raising their profile in policy and political circles.

Stakeholders also voice a number of challenges to consider as the Observatory moves into the next phase of its development. The most significant of these relates to maintaining the organisation's reputation for independence and credibility as it seeks to increase its impact and respond to stakeholders' ambitions and expectations.

2 Background, objectives and terms of reference

2.1 The Migration Observatory

The Migration Observatory, which was launched in March 2011, is based at the Centre on Migration, Policy and Society (COMPAS) at the University of Oxford. Its mission is to provide independent, authoritative, evidence-based analysis of data on migration and migrants in the UK, to inform media, public and policy debates, and to generate high quality research on international migration and public policy issues. Within this its key aims are to:

- Become known as the premier UK website for reliable, independent, trusted and up-todate data and analysis on migration, migrants and related public policy issues in the UK
- Achieve more clarity in the public and media debates about what we know and don't know about the size, characteristics and impacts of migration in the UK
- Empower users and stakeholders to become better informed and more effective contributors to Britain's migration debate
- Make policy-making more evidence based
- Encourage all of the organisation's key audiences to engage in critical thinking and debates about fundamental issues, consequences and trade-offs involved in policymaking on migrants and migration in the UK
- Provide users the opportunity to interact with migration data and analysis
- Contribute to filling gaps in the research evidence base on international migration in the UK

In working towards these objectives the Migration Observatory has set out its medium and long-term aspirations:

By the end of 2011:

- To have established itself as a major player in the migration debate among its key audiences
- To have evidence that it has made good progress towards all its objectives and that its work has positively affected the actions or outputs of members of its key audiences
- To be in a position to apply for further funding to extend the life-time of the Migration Observatory beyond March 2013

By March 2013:

- To have established itself as "the" independent expert body on migration issues in the UK
- To have evidence that it is achieving all its objectives, and to have repeated, demonstrable impacts on the actions and outputs of its key audiences

2.2 Objectives for the evaluation

The Observatory is committed to continuous review and assessment of its activities. In May 2011 it appointed Firetail as external evaluator for its initial funding phase (from the launch through to March 2013).

The overall objectives for the evaluator were to:

- Assess the Migration Observatory's success in meeting key project aims and objectives
- Highlight problems and shortcomings
- Suggest improvements to enhance the performance of the project
- Collect evidence of the Observatory's impact in relation to HEFCE's Research Excellence Framework guidelines

Firetail conducted a baseline review of the Observatory between July and October 2011 that provided the organisation with an assessment of its position in the sector 6 months after its launch. It comprised:

- A series of interviews with 25 of the organisation's stakeholders, spanning a range of roles and sectors (including civil servants and elected officials, civil society and business groups and academic, think tanks and research organisations)
- Quantitative analysis of the Observatory's web and social media reach
- Other evidence presented by the Observatory regarding its engagement with stakeholders

The objectives of this final stage of the evaluation are to provide an assessment of the progress achieved since the initial evaluation. It required:

- Exploring perceptions of the Observatory, tracking its strengths, weaknesses and stakeholder perceptions on lessons for the future
- Identifying where key stakeholders are positioned on their journey of engagement with the Migration Observatory, from awareness through to support and action
- Providing recommendations for the Observatory as it plans its future strategic direction

This document presents the findings from the final evaluation based on:

- A series of evaluation interviews with a sample of the Observatory's key stakeholders and comparisons with the findings from the first phase of the evaluation
- Quantitative monitoring data collated by the Migration Observatory since its launch

The conclusions of the evaluation will be presented to funders and possibly other external organisations.

3 Final evaluation – methodology

The methodology selected for the final evaluation largely reflects that used in the baseline review.

3.1 Qualitative component

Between November 27th 2012 and February 26th 2013 Firetail conducted 23 evaluation interviews with the Migration Observatory's key stakeholders. The majority (21) of these interviews were conducted in 2012.

A wide range of stakeholders took part in this stage of the evaluation. The final sample is outlined below:

Sector	Interviewees
MPs, SPADS	3
Civil servants	5
Pressure groups, think-tanks and interest groups	5
Journalists	5
Businesses, unions and lobby groups for workers/employers	3
Academics	2

Table 1: Stakeholder interviews

Seven of those interviewed also contributed to the baseline review in 2011.

The location of those interviewed largely reflects the geographical profile of the Observatory's key stakeholders. The majority of interviews were with stakeholders based in London. Two were conducted with individuals working in other areas of England and one with a Scottish stakeholder.

The sample above was generated from a source list of stakeholders provided by the Observatory, which comprised a broad range of roles and organisations. Interviews were then scheduled and conducted over the phone and questions were based around a semi structured discussion guide, which is appended to this document. One interview was conducted face-to-face. Two of the interviews were conducted with two stakeholders from the same organisation.

Discussions took place on a confidential basis with no direct attribution. Recordings of the interviews have been analysed in the preparation of this report.

For the final phase of the evaluation we also held 4 separate discussions with members of the Migration Observatory team.

3.2 Quantitative component

Data for the quantitative analysis was provided by the Migration Observatory. The team inputs data from Google Analytics, Mailchimp and social media channels each month into a template that is then analysed by Firetail. The Observatory has also provided some evidence of its engagement with stakeholders for consideration in the evaluation. Alongside this, Firetail is monitoring Parliamentary mentions through monthly Hansard searches.

Data collated between March 2011 and February 2013 has been analysed in the preparation of this report.

3.3 Limitations and comments on the process

The majority of stakeholders interviewed engaged well with the process and generously gave time in assisting the Observatory through the evaluation. Among most of the groups in the sample provided by the Migration Observatory there was strong interest in taking part in the evaluation. The majority of respondents talk freely about their experiences of and perspectives on the Observatory.

However, as with the first wave of interviews, a small number of organisations/individuals did not take part. Several of these represented bodies that advocate stricter controls on immigration.

In the case of one of the civil servant's interviewed, they felt unable to comment on questions concerning the Migration Observatory's performance, impact or on broader questions around the state of the migration debate.

For the reasons outlined here we need to be mindful that there remains an imbalance in the sample between those who do and do not favour stricter controls on immigration.

The other limitations to this evaluation are common to all qualitative campaign evaluations including our baseline evaluation of the Migration Observatory:

- **Confidentiality.** To ensure the evaluation is based on frank and open feedback from interviewees, we are committed to respecting respondents' anonymity. Comments made in the interviews are therefore not attributed to individuals in this report and we avoid including direct comments which would enable an individual to be identified
- **Quantifying data.** With a qualitative exercise of this kind we do not quantify how many people share specific views, instead we offer a guide throughout the report as to whether the views expressed are shared by the majority or a group of interviews. Equally, we

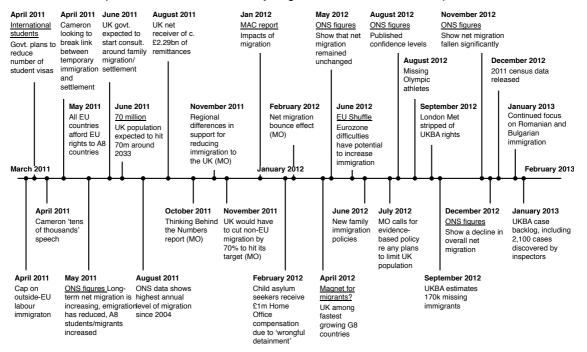
consider it important to include some comments voiced by just one or two individuals as these often add to our detailed understanding and the richness of the evaluation. Where comments are voiced in just one interview this is noted in the document

Attribution. In interpreting the evidence collated and analysed in the evaluation it is
important to consider the question of attribution: where progress has been made, to what
extent is it possible to attribute this to the Observatory's work? Attribution of impact in
public policy is by definition more qualitative and less verifiable than impact in other areas
of academic research. The challenge of attributing impact to the Observatory is
exacerbated by the number of organisations providing evidence on or communicating
about migration as well as media coverage of related issues. These factors cannot be
quantified and accounted for in full. The evaluation is based on the available evidence,
the qualitative element of which relies on partial external perceptions of the Observatory.

4 Context

Discussions with stakeholders in the final evaluation confirm that migration remains a key issue for the public, policy makers, civil society and the media.

Stakeholders feel that debate around migration continues to evolve. New angles and priorities regularly come to the fore. Since the first evaluation, peaks in political and media interest have arisen around key moments. At other times stakeholders have noted less engagement with migration. Over the period of the evaluation interviews there have been weeks in which migration related issues have been more prominent.



The chart below provides an overview of key migration moments over the period of this

evaluation.

Figure 2: Overview of the migration debate since the launch of the Migration Observatory

4.1 Perspectives on the changing debate

For most of those interviewed, discussion around migration continues to be characterised by misinformation, polarised views and heated exchange. However most stakeholders identify some changes within the debate.

The majority of stakeholders perceive that the terms and nature of this debate are gradually changing. A significant number note improvements in the quality of the discussion, as one observer comments:

Academic: "It's better than it was. Although it still features an awful lot of misinformation and hyperventilation. It's a little more balanced and informed. There are policymakers on both sides of the divide that are more reasonable and fact-informed. There's been some improvement in the media in terms of sources that they draw on..."

Many see a shift away from looking at migrants as a homogenous group, with more consideration of the kinds of migration that affect the UK. Alongside the introduction of this '*nuance*', there is a core group of stakeholders who feel that evidence is playing an increasingly important role. Most of this group credit the Observatory, albeit to varying degrees, with contributing to these changes. This includes representatives from all the sectors represented in our sample:

Media: "My view is that the debate is changing. A while ago there was a broad political view that migration was too high and that we needed to do something to get numbers down. That broad political consensus shaped the media approach to the story and immigration began to be seen as a bad thing per se. What has happened in recent months is some new voices have entered the field who are trying to be much more dispassionate about immigration and allowing room for discussion on the benefits of immigration or the disbenefits that comes from trying to restrict immigration...My sense is that the debate has shifted a little bit ...and I would say the Migration Observatory has been a key player in changing that debate...[as well as] employers, the education sector, Boris Johnson...the CBI..."

SPAD/MP: "The debate is potentially shifting from a crude debate about numbers to a more informed debate about the types of immigration that are good for Britain and the types of immigration that are bad for Britain. I think the Migration Observatory's role has been important in that with the poll that was commissioned... There is also a steady momentum behind the idea that you can't lump all immigration together and I think that is a change from where we were 2 or 3 years ago."

Where these stakeholders identify improvements in the quality of the debate they note that it is coming from a very low base and there is still a long way to go. They emphasise that changes are subtle and incremental but that this is how they would expect such changes to evolve.

We also spoke with several stakeholders who perceive deterioration in the quality of debate around migration. These stakeholders, (1x media, 1x political, 2 x pressure group/think tank/interest groups) say it has become more politicised. A number comment that evidence is available but is 'getting lost' in political engagement with migration. One interviewee perceives the Observatory to be less visible now than at the time of the baseline review:

Pressure groups, think tanks and interest groups: *"Well, it's got worse. I wouldn't blame it on the Migration Observatory though! The migration debate has become very political, and it [migration] is perceived as negative. There's somewhat more discussion around evidence in the*

public space, people like Full Fact and Channel 4 FactCheck, who will go to the Migration Observatory [or others]. There is more of the evidence, but it's also getting lost in the noise."

A number of participants refer to changes in the debate that they do not publically assess as positive or negative. Several point to greater convergence between political parties around migration. A couple comment that migration is increasingly considered from a business and economic perspective.

The sample also included a small number of stakeholders who do not feel able to comment on whether the debate has actually changed. Two of these represent civil society groups whose comments suggest frustration at the slow pace of change.

A couple indicate that the presence of the Observatory and other voices now alters the '*feel*' of the sector but struggle to articulate this more precisely.

In the context of these discussions around the landscape in which Migration Observatory is operating it is interesting to note that one issue which is mentioned less than in previous discussions is an overall lack of credible evidence. Instead, participants now point to where gaps remain.

When reflecting on public engagement with migration, most interviewees do not detect any significant shift in attitudes. A small number suggest that they perceive less public anxiety about immigration. One attributes this change to a number of factors (including the 2012 London Olympics) another to a political convergence around the need to reduce migration into the UK. Several comment that assessing any changes in public attitudes would require considered research and analysis.

Academic: "We're entering a really interesting phase in migration, for three reasons. First, the heat of migration has changed as public anxieties have reduced. Polls show that people are less alarmist. Secondly, particularly on the Labour side, they're looking at it from first principles, they're resetting the debate almost. And, in government, people are calling into question the unreasonable "cap in the numbers" policy. They're looking for a pragmatic way out. So there's an opportunity for more reasoned debate."

4.2 Further perspectives on the state of the debate

Several of those interviewed discuss how the emergence of the Migration Observatory and other *'new voices'* in the sector *'fits well'* with the policy environment in which they are operating.

Some note that political convergence on these issues creates a space for evidence to be considered. One mentions a change in Government attitudes to migration: one participant notes that, as a party in power, there is a need for the Conservative party to make informed decisions. Several refer to a broader movement of holding public figures to account through the use of Twitter and fact checking organisations, partly in response to the Leveson Inquiry. Another mentions the importance for journalists' integrity to be maintained - both to their readership but also to their peers in the media.

5 Stakeholder Perceptions of the Migration Observatory

5.1 Relationship with the Observatory

From the baseline review it was clear that the Observatory had established itself across a range of organisations and individuals. The final stage interviews reveal that the Observatory is now firmly established across political, policy and media audiences.

Interviewees describe the Observatory as an organisation that they and their colleagues know and understand. Many of those interviewed indicate that it is regularly referenced in their wider networks. Clearly we cannot accurately quantify the extent to which the Observatory is now recognised by a larger number of audiences, but several interviewees explain that when they mention the body to others in their sector there is an immediate understanding of the organisation.

When asked whether the team should be seeking to reach other networks or sectors interviewees tend to reference groups with whom the Observatory is already strengthening its relationships (i.e. business, local government).

Several of those interviewed say their connection with the Observatory has grown closer over the last 18 months, explaining that over this time they have forged stronger links with members of the team. Their level of use and familiarity with the Observatory's outputs has increased.

Media: "I definitely think they do [have a presence across different media outlets]. I think they are developing a reputation as a good solid, impartial observer and analyser of what is going on in the migration debate. It is a relatively new organisation so that is inevitably going to take some time."

Most of those interviewed indicate that that they are happy with their current relationship with the Observatory with several indicating that they would be happy to receive more communications from the team. Two stakeholders interviewed (1x civil servant, 1 x NGO) call for a significantly closer relationship with the Observatory, noting that the organisation has felt *'remote'* and *'distanced.'*

5.2 Understanding of the Observatory

Across the stakeholders interviewed there is a high level of understanding of the Observatory's aims and objectives. They regularly refer to the group's aim to be an independent source of high quality, objective and impartial evidence, seeking to inform the migration debate. Interviews provide anecdotal evidence that this understanding extends to their colleagues and others in their broader networks.

The Observatory's position within the University of Oxford remains widely recognised. For most, this represents an important and defining attribute. Although one stakeholder says that the distinction between COMPAS and the Migration Observatory is somewhat '*blurred*' for them, for most of those interviewed, the Observatory now has its own established aims, identify and brand. Another explains that they sometimes refer to '*Oxford University's Migration Observatory*'.

5.3 Migration Observatory: strengths

For the overwhelming majority of those interviewed the need for a body of this kind remains clear and strong. They regard migration as a '*huge*' and '*hot*' political issue and identify the need for a rigorous, balanced and non-emotional voice to inform policy and public debate. This echoes the

sentiments expressed in the baseline evaluation. For many, the extent of the knowledge deficit and the breadth of issues linked to migration clearly identify the need for an organisation undertaking objective research and analysis in the field.

Interviewees note that the Observatory has maintained its momentum and drive in working towards its objectives. Many rate its delivery as '*excellent*' or '*outstanding*' with several describing the Observatory as being at the '*top of its game*'. One stakeholder experienced in working with organisations from a range of sectors explains:

Pressure groups, think tanks and interest groups: *"We're having quite an interesting time at the moment trying to find neutral experts we can work with on our core areas and it is quite noticeable in how few of those areas there is a body that is accepted as neutral and really expert. In Economics you have got it in the IFS and NIESR. Migration Observatory is unique in immigration. In health, education and crime it is hard to find anything that is of the same ilk."*

Stakeholders as a group describe the organisation's strengths at a range of levels:

Approach:

The Migration Observatory continues to be seen as independent and credible across a range of stakeholders. The majority of stakeholders do not question or challenge its independence which they feel benefits from the academic rigour at the heart of the initiative. As two interviewees explain:

Media: "It's absolutely critical. It is vital that journalists have a solid academic lodestone ... there is so much rhetoric, so much lobbying and politics. With such a critical issue, and with public attitudes and ignorance being where they are it is vital that there is a body which is clearly independent, academic and engaged on this issue."

SPAD/MP: "I'm an avid reader of what the Observatory produces and overall I'd say they are unimpeachable in their impartiality."

A couple of civil servants interviewed feel unable to comment on its neutrality though they do not actually contest it. One civil servant indicates that instances where the Observatory has been perceived as too ready to challenge Government policy has previously led some in their team to question its neutrality.

Several stakeholders, both internal and external to the organisation, note that the Observatory has developed a sense of confidence and resilience since the last wave of evaluation. A number comment that the organisation seemed to become somewhat '*timid*' following challenges from external bodies but has now '*sprung back*' from this. A couple of respondents are concerned that it has remained more timid as a result of this experience.

Outputs:

Stakeholders are overwhelmingly positive about the quality of the organisation's products and outputs. The Observatory manages to balance academic rigour and complex analysis with producing resources that are accessible to a range of stakeholders. A number say that the materials produced are *'instantly useable'* by non-experts and this is regarded as a core benefit of the programme and an area in which the team consistently performs well.

Many stakeholders describe the Observatory's content as engaging. One feels that its outputs have become more compelling noting:

Pressure groups, think tanks and interest groups: *"There's a difficult balance between being perceived as neutral or as bland. I thought at least initially their stuff seemed a bit bland, but it's more interesting now. The content has become a lot better."*

Many stakeholders comment on the Observatory's '*timely*' approach to producing materials. They note that the Observatory has an understanding of how both policy and the media work and so aim and, in most instances, succeed in publishing materials at appropriate moments, to encourage maximum engagement with and impact from these outputs. Regularly updating information is said to be key to ensuring stakeholders engage with the materials.

As in the first evaluation interviews stakeholders continue to rate the Observatory's website. They see it as a relevant, comprehensive and user-friendly website which has become a recognised and highly valued resource within a short period of time.

Stakeholder engagement:

In recounting their experiences of working with the Observatory, stakeholders describe the team as highly responsive, accessible, with a strong understanding of how its audiences and stakeholders work. It is noteworthy that the Observatory has, for the most part, succeeded in fostering seemingly bespoke relationships with different stakeholders to reflect individual/organisational needs, preferences, and requirements.

Media: "I think their website is great. I think their press guy is really brilliant. You can always get him on the phone. He always gets you what you want. I just find them a very accessible organisation."

5.4 Migration Observatory: weaknesses

Stakeholders also identify a series of weaknesses. However, as with stage 1 of the evaluation, these generally represent individual perspectives as opposed to concerns or criticisms shared by a broad base of stakeholders. It is noteworthy that this pattern has continued from the baseline evaluation, even as the organisation has grown more established.

A small number of external interviewees indicate that the Observatory is under-resourced and from an internal perspective the team has been stretched in terms of trying to secure funding and continuing to produce outputs. One external interviewee notes:

Civil Servant: "I think they're a tiny bit under-resourced for what they're planning to do. They're reliant on academics in their network to provide research and analysis but they would benefit from a few more [academic] staff. I'm not sure how they'll cope without Martin and his expertise, and how to backfill it."

A couple of stakeholders have found some of the Observatory's outputs '*too academic*' in their presentation. A small number of respondents make clear that they would welcome a stronger ongoing relationship with the Observatory and feel this would be mutually beneficial to the programme. One of these reports having had mixed experiences of engaging with the Observatory:

Pressure groups, think tanks and interest groups: *"It's varied. We have ad hoc communications with them on key issues. We might get in touch with them [the Migration Observatory] on a particular issue for more information – which has had a mixed response. They're sometimes not that helpful. We want to counter misinformation from MPs and others, but they don't seem interested in rebutting inaccuracies… Their information could be used by the*

NGO sector more... They're just concerned about not becoming too partial... I would have hoped that the relationship would have deepened more than it has."

There are a number of voices, mainly from pressure groups and campaigning organisations that feel that the Observatory has shied away from contextualising its research to avoid criticism from Government officials.

Another respondent feels that the organisation does not address some of the '*hard nosed*' issues within the migration debate (e.g. illegal immigration and forced migration) and is too ready to criticise Government policy.

One stakeholder had questioned the validity of the Observatory's interpretation of data used in its 'Bounce Effect' paper saying it had 'overdone the argument' here. This had resulted in a discussion in their team that the analysis was not as robust as it might have been. This stakeholder is not sure if this was an inaccuracy or whether the Observatory did not have access to the same documents that their team used when examining this issue.

5.5 The Migration Observatory in its sector

As in the first phase of the evaluation stakeholders report that the Observatory operates in a crowded sector. However stakeholders agree that there is an important place for the Observatory in its field and, for most, the body occupies a unique space.

Given the scale of the issues the Observatory is addressing and the breadth of evidence required to inform the sector, interviewees perceive an important role for the Observatory despite the number of organisations active within the sector. Several interviewees refer to the '*new entrants*', among them British Futures, Migrant Voice, Migration Matters and Balanced Migration. IPPR, Migration Watch, and Home Office statistics continue to be mentioned by individual respondents as credible voices in the debate, though others within the sample question their independence. A couple of respondents perceive a renewed focus on migration from IPPR.

There are a number of organisations working in the sector whose credibility is not contested (MPI, ONS, CReAM, NIESR, LSE are some of those cited) but who are not perceived to be geared towards or successful at communicating with the Observatory's key audiences. The All Party Parliamentary Group on Migration, the Scottish Refugee Council, a number of Scottish Universities and Queen Mary and London Metropolitan universities are further sources used by individual interviewees.

Respondents are generally well informed about the respective roles of different players in the sector. One respondent comments that there is some confusion about these different roles and would welcome greater clarity in this area.

6 Use of Migration Observatory resources

6.1 Stakeholders' engagement with Migration Observatory resources

The interviews for the final evaluation demonstrate that a diverse range of stakeholders continue to use Observatory resources in a range of settings.

The channels through which stakeholders access Observatory resources inevitably vary. Some consult the website on a regular basis, following up on emails they receive from the team directing them to specific resources. Others will bypass the website and, in the first instance,

contact a member of the team for a personal explanation of an issue or story. As one civil servant interviewed explains:

Civil Servant: "If we were looking at anything in migration we would definitely look at their website and I'd now follow it up with a telephone conversation. As a source of thoughtful research we use them."

Stakeholders also report varying levels of engagement with Observatory materials. A number say they have become '*avid readers*' of Observatory resources. Others refer to the website when a particular issue of interest arises. Stakeholders from all the difference audiences interviewed make clear that whenever a migration related story emerges the Observatory website would be the first port of call for information.

As in the previous wave of interviews we also heard that some of those in roles most closely aligned to the work undertaken by the Observatory (i.e. those in academia, research or think tanks), are less likely to '*use*' its resources in the sense of referencing data and tend to go straight to the original data or their own research teams. Despite this the Observatory continues to influence their work.

A couple of those interviewed say they seldom engage with specific outputs, explaining that it would be for others in their team to digest information from the website, highlighting relevant lessons or consequences for them.

One respondent explains that they currently draw on Observatory materials less frequently than expected :

Media: "I tend to use their stuff a little bit less [than when asked in the first wave of evaluation]. I don't feel that the interest in the migration story is about looking forensically about the figures."

6.2 Examples of use

Across the range of stakeholders interviewed we heard numerous examples of how materials are used. Examples range from informing stakeholders' general interest in a subject through to specific documents and statistics being quoted in the preparation of documents. A range of examples is captured in the grid below.

Policy/political stakeholders	 Referenced across police structures (in the Commons, Whitehall, APPG, MAC, at least one Government Task Force) In the preparation of departmental briefings and briefing for Government Ministers Used as evidence presented to select committees To inform thinking in policy circles (including first hand evidence that materials are referred to in cross departmental discussions and in developing policy recommendations in one party. We do not have similar confirmation from all parties but anecdotal evidence that senior figures in all main political parties are aware of date produced by the Observatory Referenced in communications between Whitehall and UKBA
Media stakeholders	 The Observatory is the first point of call for some journalists researching and covering migration issues In several instances materials produced by the Observatory form the basis of stories/ features In responding to requests for comment or clarification which stakeholders have fielded from journalists To inform Full Fact in the preparation of its responses as the 'extra guest' on Question Time
Other	 To keep organisations' respective stakeholders updated on latest migration evidence through their own websites/briefing documents As the basis of advocacy/campaigning on a range of issues A resource for undergraduate and post graduate students Cited in stakeholders' blogs To inform press releases To help organisations in their own priority setting

Figure 3: Examples of use of Migration Observatory resources

Pressure groups, think tanks and interest groups: "Their page on the census was fabulous. They have some real talent over there. The presentation of census stats is usually absolutely grim...and it was interactive, you could delve into it, you could learn things from it, it was visually appealing. All phrases that just don't apply to official statistics."

Civil Servant: "The civil service is being downsized. Authoritative, unbiased research that can be drawn on in briefings to ministers, that can help us inform our own ministers of how the debate can be approached, that helps us."

MP/SPAD: "It [Migration Observatory] was very useful. We could use it to reinforce our points and I was able to quote them in a speech I made in the debate. I used it to reinforce our analysis... It's what we all do, we use what we can to support our own views in the debates."

Pressure groups, think tanks and interest groups: "We tend to use it as a reference on data, on trends or shifts. Where they've made a good summary we'll use it in policy briefings, at the APPG and in campaigning."

6.3 Quantitative indicators of use

Introduction

Comments on use of Migration Observatory resources set out in the earlier sections of this chapter are based on the qualitative interviews. These provide detailed insight into how

representatives of the organisation's different audiences interact with the Observatory. The obvious limitation to this methodology is that the size of the sample of stakeholders interviewed does not allow us to quantify reach or impact among the body's wider community of stakeholders. Analysis of engagement with the Observatory's digital outputs, however, enables us to track and quantify wider use.

In considering the data set out in this section it is important to note how the activities measured link into the Observatory's strategy and objectives. To date, the Observatory's focus has been to target particular audiences and to develop the organisation's reputation as a reliable source of authoritative and impartial data and analysis. It does not set out to maximise web hits or Twitter followers and has not prioritised approaches to strengthen its performance in these areas.

Engagement with the website and newsletter have been stable since the launch. It is only in the Observatory's Twitter activity that we identify strong growth and this reflects the broader increase in Twitter use across the board.

Feedback from stakeholders during the interviews supports the Observatory's current strategy. Most have no or only limited engagement with the Observatory's social media and do not call for the organisation to strengthen its digital offering.

Engagement with the website

The Migration Observatory's web traffic has grown steadily following a post-launch decline. In the baseline review we questioned to what extent it would be able to sustain the growing interest following this decline. Stable growth demonstrates ongoing interest in the site and indicates that the organisation is continuing to produce materials that retain current stakeholders' interest, as well as appealing to new targets. Again, this tallies with feedback from stakeholders who regard the site as a high quality and valued resource.

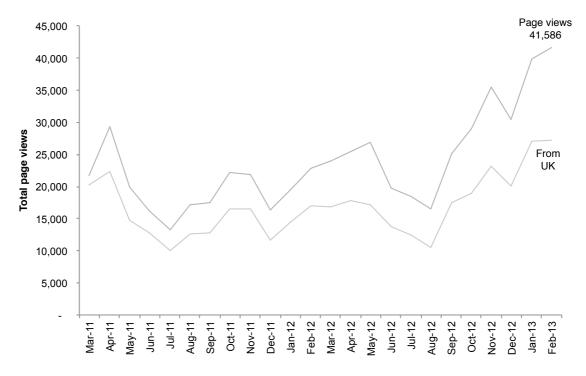


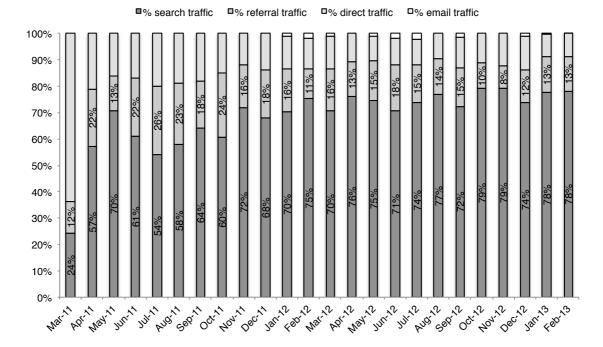
Figure 5: Monthly web traffic

Analysis of the sources of the Observatory's web traffic reveals that search engines have provided on average 71% of total web traffic. The list below highlights terms most frequently searched for throughout the period of the evaluation. This search behavior suggests that people are actively looking for the Migration Observatory rather than general migration related content:

Top 10 search terms

(Total search visits: 174,186, top 10 represent 7.18% of total visits)

- 1. migration observatory (4.96% of total search terms)
- 2. migration observatory oxford (0.81%)
- 3. what is citizenship (0.55%)
- 4. traditional british attitudes immigration (0.42%)
- 5. oxford migration observatory (0.39%)
- 6. the migration observatory (0.29%)
- 7. migrant definition (0.18%)
- 8. impacts of migration (0.18%)
- 9. 50% of uk migrants london (0.17%)
- 10. martin ruhs (0.16%)





Twitter

By February 2013 the Migration Observatory had a Twitter following of over 2,000 followers. This reflects a steady increase in followers since the launch.

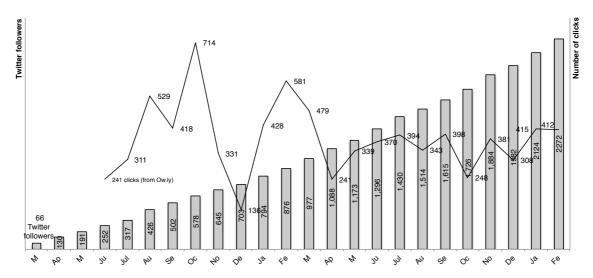


Figure 7: Twitter engagement

Close engagement with the Observatory's Twitter activity is more modest, with significant variation in the numbers of people mentioning the Observatory, re-tweeting its comments and clicking on its links.

Only a handful of stakeholders from the qualitative interviews follow the Observatory on Twitter, with just a couple citing it as a useful tool for keeping up-to-date with the latest news and commentary. One stakeholder highlights an area where they feel there is real value to the Observatory's presence on Twitter, namely on occasions where leading migration commentators can meet virtually during key migration moments such as during relevant parliamentary debates.

Engagement with newsletter

Although stable, the number of email subscribers has not grown significantly since the initial post launch growth. Consistency in both opens and clicks suggests interest in the subject and the content.

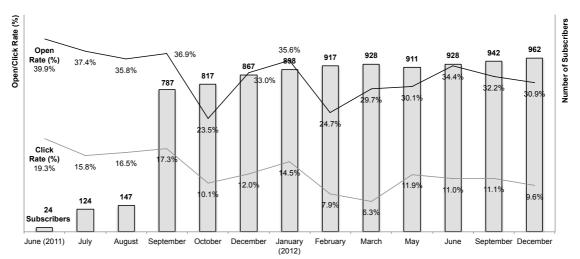


Figure 8: Newsletter activity (based on data available from June 2011-December 2012)

7 Perceptions on the Observatory's impact

7.1 Introduction

A key aim of both phases of this evaluation has been to understand the Observatory's perceived impact. Over the following sections we explore stakeholders' views on the organisations' impact in policy-making circles, in the media, in public opinion and elsewhere.

In exploring responses to these issues in this second stage of evaluation it is interesting to compare these with perceptions articulated in the baseline review, conducted shortly after the launch of the programme. The box-out below provides a summary of views expressed at that

Summary of findings from the baseline evaluation

Included for comparative purposes

The Observatory has passed its first test of becoming relevant to organisations that use and support it, as well as to those who are more questioning of the organisation's approach.

Use of its resources is already widespread and varied among stakeholders. The quantitative data collated reveals strong interest in and engagement with the Observatory. It achieved 6,034 visits to its website in October demonstrating significant retention of web traffic. The number of people following it on Twitter has grown month-on-month to over 500 followers.

There is also strong qualitative evidence that the organisation's resources are being used by a wide range of individuals and organisations who now regularly draw on the evidence it provides, whether to expand on their existing knowledge or in preparing briefings, newsletters, reports and news stories.

As a result of these achievements, the Observatory is beginning to exert influence within the media and policy sectors that it seeks to inform. A number of those interviewed feel that the Observatory has already had significant impact on the media narrative around the issue of migration targets and on the way some working in the media now approach the use of migration data.

References to the Observatory's work in speeches given by Vince Cable (Secretary of State for Business, Innovation and Skills) and the recent meeting in which the Vice Chancellor of the University of Oxford discussed the "Thinking Behind the Numbers" report with the Prime Minister and other government ministers provide clear evidence that the organisation has also established its presence at the highest political level.

Many stakeholders, however, struggle to give specific examples of impact and instead articulate a general sense that the introduction of the Observatory is significant and changes '*the feel*' of the sector. This common response to being asked to gauge impact reflects some of the challenges and considerations of attributing specific impact to the Observatory's work. For many, the organisation is simply too new for it to be able to demonstrate attributable impact at this stage of its development. Also, in focusing solely on the identifiable, verifiable and measurable in evaluating the Observatory's impact and success there is a risk of missing the bigger picture of its significant achievements.

stage.

Stakeholder insights from the final evaluation suggest steady growth in the Observatory's impact in the sectors it seeks to inform. Interviewees' overall assessment is that given the Observatory's remit and objectives it has achieved the maximum impact possible in the time available to it. Several say that it has exceeded their expectations in this respect.

Reflecting on the initiative's general achievements, stakeholders observe that:

- The Observatory has continued to build on the qualitative issues of trust, awareness and reliability and has reached out to a range of new stakeholders in the process
- The presence of a new, independent voice continues to impact on the '*feel*' of the debate for those in the sector
- As a relatively new organisation it has continued to produce, influence and engage in a highly contentious sector
- It has generated a sizable body of work in this short timeframe and (with the exception of the one comment referenced earlier in this document) stakeholders do not contest the validity of any of its work
- There has been little overall challenge to the organisation's credibility from other players in this challenging sector
- The Observatory has maintained relationships with and is therefore recognised by a broad group of stakeholders, diverse in their professional and political connections with migration
- Several stakeholders also reference the increasing volume and spread of media exposure as an impressive achievement particularly given the challenges of encouraging media engagement with a neutral body

Stakeholders continue to identify challenges facing the Observatory as it attempts to assess its impact (as outlined in section 7.6) but it is interesting to note that fewer voices now regard it as ' *too early*' to identify examples of the Observatory's impact. The sentiment expressed more commonly in the final evaluation is that the Observatory has laid the necessary foundations to generate impact, foundations that are well positioned to support increased impact in the future.

Academic: *"I think given their age and where they are in a cycle of a typical institution they've done phenomenally well. They're seen as a trusted voice which is very significant in policy."*

Academic: "I think, for people who want to listen or are interested, they've significantly enhanced our collective understanding of how the demographic state of Britain is changing and how the public has responded and is likely to respond in years to come... Expanding their impact with policy and decision makers, there's scope to do that. For me, their impact has come from becoming an established and trusted source. If I cite them there are few voices if any who would question them as a source."

7.2 Impact in the policy sector

Discussions indicate that the Observatory is continuing to inform debate in political and policy spheres. This influence is growing.

Migration Observatory resources are consulted and referenced across Government departments including the Home Office, the Department for Business, Innovation and Skills, and the Cabinet Office. Stakeholders suggest that the Observatory is recognised by political figures working on issues linked to migration across the political spectrum. This includes civil servants of different

grades, Government Ministers and from MPs through to party leaders. Discussions indicate that they are referenced in a range of political structures and settings from select committees, task forces and internal departmental meetings through to cross department negotiations.

Several stakeholders talk in detail about the impact that the Observatory has in politics and policy. A number of interviewees (from policy, media and academic audiences) feel that the Observatory's impact has been to add important '*nuance*' and '*texture*' to the debate at a political level. It has contributed to '*moving the debate on*' in relation to a number of issues including perspectives on different kinds of migration and student visas.

Several stakeholders continue to reference its impact in relation to discussion of net migration as an example where the Observatory has had a direct influence on policy discussion. One civil servant describes the Observatory's contribution in terms of a shift from '*numbers to patterns*':

Civil Servant: "Before the Migration Observatory were in place there was a debate about the quality of the numbers, now the debate is much more about patterns. Quite a lot of it is down to...the ONS. Quite a bit of it is down to changes in the Home Office and a better understanding on the Minister's side of what the figures mean and how to interpret them. Third, the Migration Observatory has been very helpful in setting out independent commentary on the figures, which goes above what [others] could provide... particularly the public perceptions angle which has moved the debate along. It's different to before when the only commentary came from specific interest groups like the MRN and Migration Watch."

Another feels that media and policy stakeholders are responding to evidence from the Observatory that the public distinguishes between different kinds of migration.

MP/SPAD: "I think in migration attitudinal evidence is hugely valuable. The role the poll played, I don't think those types of questions had been asked to that level of detail before. Migration Observatory was ahead of the game in thinking about where people say they are hostile to immigration, what do they really mean? There has been a lack of rigorous thinking about that prior to that poll and that was a bit of an important moment in getting analysts, policy makers, journalists, commentators to start thinking about immigration in a slightly different way."

The view is also expressed that while the Observatory has played a role in informing policy makers about the nuance of the argument, that the extent to which this is reflected in policy outcomes is still limited. As one media commentator observes:

Media: "At the moment I don't think politicians are properly reflecting the sophistication of the argument. ...But I think that more people now know the sophisticated arguments as a result of the Observatory."

Interviewees with stakeholders in policy circles provide interesting insight into how the Observatory achieves impact in the sector. Observatory resources are being used in verbal and written briefings to inform Government ministers in a number of Departments. It also clear that Observatory materials inform cross departmental negotiations and that at least one political party is drawing on Observatory insight as it considers the content of its election manifesto.

The evaluation has also tracked Parliamentary mentions of the Observatory. According to Hansard there have been three further Parliamentary mentions since the first evaluation (these are detailed in Appendix 3).

Civil Servant: "It [Migration Observatory data] also helps in discussions across Government... it helps us because we can point to them as an independent and respected organisation and that strengthens our position. If we are trying to effectively find allies in terms of a position on policy or an aspect of policy then it is useful for speaking to other departments and saying ' have you read this', and presenting our arguments around that unbiased research."

Civil Servant: "There was one document that they released, the briefing note on EU migrants and other countries which I did make use of...in putting together an evidence paper. The MO paper highlighted the number of UK migrants in other EU countries as well as the number or EU migrants in the UK and it was a good presentation, reminding everyone that there are a lot of EU migrants elsewhere in the EU. Those statistics are hard to come by. That is why I wanted to use what they had done to add to my evidence paper."

Civil Servant: *"I wouldn't say the MO has, in my experience, brought any new data or information. I've never looked at something there and thought "gosh, really?", but actually it's put it very accessible and very user-friendly and it's got a lot of wide-ranging analysis. So when we're writing policy, and we need the evidence or just that one number to back-it-up – and we know intuitively exists – it's an easy place to go to find it."*

From a policy perspective, several groups outside Government who seek policy changes on issues linked to migration regularly present Observatory data to political representatives as evidence to inform and support their arguments. This is through the production of written briefings and discussions with political representatives at a range of levels.

7.3 Media impact

The Observatory now has a profile across a range of media outlets and this profile is growing, a development substantiated by the quantitative findings (as outlined in section 6.3).

A number of journalists regard it as a 'go to' source for information on migration and as a trusted and impartial information provider. They explain that the Observatory plays an important role in communicating complex information in an accessible manner that gives them the confidence to write accurate, evidence based pieces.

Several journalists and other stakeholders feel the Observatory has been successful in informing the media narrative around migration. On one level they praise the Observatory for succeeding in introducing more nuance into the debate, particularly in relation to moving away from communicating about migrants as a homogenous group. Several also point to specific issues on which they feel the Migration Observatory has played a role in directing the narrative including on the migration cap, student visas, wages and labour displacement.

Media: "I think the whole migration debate in the context of wages has becoming more sophisticated... It has always been taken as straight left wing to be pro immigration and straight right wing to be anti... I think the role of the Migration Observatory has been to slightly erode those binary positions and make people look at it from a different point of view. His [Martin's] starting point about displacement has put a lot more sophistication into the conversation... I've seen it written in a number of places. Certainly Martin was the first person I heard say it and since then I've seen it in the Telegraph, I've written about it, I've seen it in the Times. Certainly it has penetrated the debate at a certain level."

A number of media commentators interviewed say that the introduction of the Observatory to the sector influences their choice of sources and stories. As an example of this, one media

stakeholder interviewed explained how they have written several pieces on issues linked to migration where they had not written anything on the subject prior to meeting the Observatory. A couple of those interviewed explain that the introduction of the Observatory provides them with an alternative to more partial providers of information who they would have previously drawn on through a lack of a credible, accessible alternative. One of these explains:

Media: *"It is quite a complex statistical debate. Before (the Migration Observatory) I'd use Migration Watch quite a lot. I think of them as credible but they are partial so while I still use them I now use them more for quotes than for information."*

Another explains:

Media: "I always go to them [Migration Observatory] for statistics...because it is quite complicated and can be really hard to unpick if you are not a statistician. You can end up going with the person you trust on a gut level because they seem to be your kind of person - that's an approach which can be demoralising. So now it is brilliant to have the Migration Observatory, somebody who you trust and not just because you like the cut of their jib. In migration they [Migration Observatory] are really outstanding."

7.4 Impact on public attitudes towards migration

As with the first phase of evaluation, evidence of the Observatory's impact on public attitudes towards or engagement with migration issues remains limited. A number of stakeholders point to the challenges of capturing evidence of such change. However, a small number of stakeholders feel it is reasonable for the Observatory to assume that a significant proportion of the public have been exposed to more informed debate around migration through the media given the organisations' increased media presence at this level. A couple go on to explain that how this exposure impacts on public engagement with and response to the kind of information provided by Migration Observatory could only be gauged through a considered and long term programme of research.

On an anecdotal level a number of stakeholders interviewed comment that the public are less *'anxious'* and *'alarmist'* about migration at present but we cannot quantify or attribute this perceived change.

7.5 Further examples of impact

Stakeholders outside media and political circles say they also feel the impact of the Migration Observatory in their work and for the organisations they represent.

For a number of civil society groups, being able to draw on Migration Observatory resources strengthens their positions when advocating specific arguments and positions with policy makers. They say that the impact derives from new and relevant data being available, or at least accessible to them. That it comes from a now recognised, credible and impartial body adds to the influence it is able to achieve, as one stakeholder explains:

Businesses, unions and lobby groups for workers/employers: "They've had a significant impact on the debate within the education sector and the broader political scene. It's difficult for politicians to dismiss something that comes out of the University of Oxford. They're making people look at others [other migration think tanks] and ask "how did they come up with that figure?" With the Migration Observatory, it's clear that it's [their research] logical and carefully

considered....And the debate amongst serious media has changed, particularly around net migration."

Stakeholders in a number or sectors suggest the Observatory has influenced the way they and their organisations work. It has limited the need for some stakeholders to approach a range of sources to access the information they require which, in turn, frees up time for them to be able to focus on their core objectives. For at least two organisations the existence of the Observatory is core to their operations in this respect. Their representatives explaining that without the Observatory, they would struggle to deliver on their respective objectives. One stakeholder explains that as a result of the Observatory challenging their organisations' work, they have looked to improve their working practices.

Sector	Resources used	How resources were used	Perceived impact	
	Off Target commentary	To inform a journalist writing in a national newspaper about the challenges facing Government in meeting its targets	From the journalist's perspective, the Observatory 'unpicked' a story which the journalist themselves would not have unearthed.	
Media			This also represents an example of a media commentator drawing on an alternative source of information. Prior to the Observatory they would have approached Migration Watch for data but now draw on Observatory resources for statistical evidence and refer to Migration Watch instead for comment.	
Media	<i>Top Ten Problems in the Evidence Base</i>	To inform the development of several comment pieces	A number of related pieces have been published in the national press. Prior to the introduction of the Observatory this commentator had not written about migration related issues.	
Policy	Briefing: EU Migrants in other EU countries Thinking Behind the Numbers	Used in the preparation of a departmental evidence paper	The evidence paper drew on information from the briefing and was shared with civil servants across a range of grades. Data from these papers was also shared in cross-departmental meetings.	
Policy	The Observatory's attitudinal evidence on migration Statistics on labour market and wages	Drawn on for the facts and analysis behind immigration in writing policy recommendations	Supporting policy development	
Policy	Top 10 problems in the evidence base report Long Term International Migration Flows	Information presented in this document helped a team to define its priorities	From the stakeholders' perspective, having these issues outlined by an independent organisation is valuable. It has supported them in dealing with queries they have received from other parties.	
Policy	Observatory material in general	Referenced in a speech prepared by an MP	The speech was given in Parliament.	

Sector	Resources used	How resources were used	Perceived impact
Policy	Observatory materials in general	When writing policy, they will draw on Observatory materials to 'put numbers to the issues that they intuitively know exist'	Supporting policy work
Civil society	70 Million Debate Family Fortunes: How Far Can Reforms to Family Migration Go towards Reducing Net Migration? Commentary	Used in policy briefings and at APPG	Data was used to evidence arguments and communicated with Parliamentarians in a range of settings. The interviewee feels that those parliamentarians took note of the data presented: <i>"Parliamentarians we have gone to with these figures have gone 'gosh"</i>
Civil society	Data on Net Migration Projections	Used to inform internal briefing notes, quoted in press releases and conferences as well as in providing evidence to select committee	This civil society group feels their argument is strengthened by being able to point out 'an alternative interpretation of statistics' from a body which is impartial and non-politically aligned

Table 3: Examples of use and impact across audiences

7.6 Challenges of attributing impact

In the context of the discussions outlined above, stakeholders also continue to refer to challenges facing the Observatory as it tries to assess its level of impact. Several of these were referred to in the baseline review.

A number of interviewees point to an assumed imbalance between the extent to which stakeholders draw on Observatory materials and how frequently these are referenced. One stakeholder explains that:

Media: "Their website is very active so there will also be news journalists on it all the time but you wouldn't know that that's where they got their data. The thing with journalists is they very rarely do independent research so if you read a piece in which there is a lot of data you can bet your life it has either come from Migration Watch or Migration Observatory..."

Stakeholders repeat that the Observatory is one of a series of organisations seeking improved debate around migration. For a number of those interviewed it follows that attributing any observed change to just one of these bodies fails to recognise the combined influence of these different players.

A couple of interviewees continue to refer to the challenge of attributing impact of an organisation whose strategy is to influence and inform in the long term. They point to examples of success, which the Observatory has achieved to date, but emphasise that the actual impact of these achievements is not yet evident. Successfully influencing and informing requires a long-term approach, patience and considerable staying power. One stakeholder explains:

Businesses, unions and lobby groups for workers/employers: "In terms of shaping the larger debate I think realistically what they are doing at the moment is laying the kinds of foundations of being the kind of organisation that in the same way when PM stands up at PM's questions and says the IFS says, the Migration Observatory is becoming that in the field of migration. And that takes time. You can't do it in 3 years it is almost a generational thing."

In thinking about impact it is also important to consider things that might not have happened as a result of the Observatory. The principle example that we have of this is of a news article not being published. This kind of influence is difficult to define and quantify but is an issue mentioned by a number of stakeholders during the discussions.

8 Looking to the future

8.1 Perceptions on the future need for Migration Observatory

Stakeholders agree that there is an on-going role for the Migration Observatory in informing and influencing debate around migration issues. They believe that migration will remain a salient and evolving issue that continues to engage the general public. There is broad consensus around the on-going need for balanced research and analysis that is presented in an accessible way to journalists and policy makers.

A couple of stakeholders state that there is a need for the kind of work the Migration Observatory is doing but are more reserved in saying it should be the Observatory, as opposed to another body, who should conduct it. One interviewee indicates that with more resources their organisation would be able to provide the analysis but given the constraints they face the

Observatory is well placed to be doing this work. Another says they cannot comment on which organisations are best placed to deliver this work. One caveats their response saying there is an on-going role for the Observatory if it delivers on its credentials of being independent and impartial (without actually contesting its neutrality at this stage.)

It is important to note that many of those interviewed have a professional interest in the future of the Observatory. Several stakeholders say they expect their use of the organisation's resources to increase in the future, in part because of emerging issues and events in the sector. In a couple of cases interviewees have already identified specific opportunities to work more closely with the Observatory in the future. Several stakeholders refer to the impact of cuts across NGOs and the civil service that limit the time available to those working in these sectors to undertake their own research. Migration Observatory plays an important role in this context.

8.2 Stakeholder recommendations to the Observatory

Headline recommendations from baseline evaluation

Included for comparative purposes

Maintain neutrality

- Hold onto this as a priority
- There is an opportunity to address the sentiment among some stakeholders in Government, that over recent months the Observatory has compromised its authority
- To reiterate the basic fundamentals of the organisation for those stakeholders (particularly NGOs) who want to see the Observatory adopt a stronger roll in critiquing, rebutting and lobbying

Reach out to 'new' sectors

- Encourage use and engagement of Migration Observatory resources among a broader range of sectors
- It is felt that local government would benefit from greater awareness of the Migration Observatory's resources
- Some would like to see a stronger relationship fostered with business
- A lack of engagement from Peers in the evaluation would suggest that targeted communications with this group would be advantageous

Keep up momentum within media debate

- Consolidating success in this area to date through increased presence in tabloids and Sky
- Timing releases for Sunday papers
- Maintaining neutrality is important for relationships with broadsheets

Strengthen face-to-face relationships through more targeted events

- There is a perceived space for a conference-style event in London, convening stakeholders and inviting policy makers to share their views

Continue to value and nurture relationships with those already engaged

- There is still work to be done in cementing a relationship with some political and media stakeholders
- The evaluation has played a role in 'reminding' organisations about the Observatory
- Sharing feedback on the evaluation with stakeholders provides an opportunity to share some of the Observatory's challenges and successes

Reflecting on recommendations from the baseline review it is clear that many of the stakeholders' initial suggestions have been acted upon. Internal and external interviewees refer to the steps taken in all these areas with the exception of a more generalist stakeholder conference and targeted work with peers. It is possibly as a result of this that some stakeholders struggle to identify many ways in which the Observatory's strategy and delivery could be improved.

Interviewees' main recommendation to the Observatory is to continue to implement the Observatory's considered strategy that reflects their priorities for the future of the organisation. Their focus is for the initiative to maintain its neutrality and credibility while delivering on its other valued attributes: being responsive, accessible and accommodating, and producing high quality outputs. We repeatedly hear calls for the group to *'keep up the good work.'*

Businesses, unions and lobby groups for workers/employers: *"To be quite honest, I can't think of anything that they're not doing or probably aren't thinking of. To have, over time, a body that's providing a constant longitudinal view of data and policy is very helpful."*

8.3 Suggestions for a future media strategy

Ensuring the ongoing success of the organisations' media strategy is a key priority, for both internal and external stakeholders. Several recommend the Observatory try to '*crack*' media outlets where its presence is not yet firmly established. BBC's Newsnight, the tabloid press, Channel 4 news, Sky News and regional media bodies are mentioned in this context. We would, however, note that stakeholders only comment on coverage they have seen and we can infer that many are not aware that the Migration Observatory has been cited in the tabloid press and other outlets.

At the same time, several interviewees urge the Observatory to resist any temptation to become an organisation for whom quantity of news coverage is a key indicator of success. They say they should not follow other organisations in *'throwing out quotes'* to get coverage. One participant wants the Observatory to ensure that relations are strong with all the major commentators in the migration sector. Another suggests the team could improve its performance in TV interviews, potentially through media training.

One journalist feels that a greater emphasis on producing migration related case studies would be useful to media stakeholders.

Another suggestion raised by a small number of stakeholders is for the Observatory to consider channels through which to communicate information on migration directly to the public. One suggests the production of "*Ladybird book style introduction*" to migration and migration data. From an internal perspective, planned work in the education sector is likely to result in a more immediate connection between Observatory resources and the wider public.

8.4 Further suggestions

Practical suggestions to increase influence and impact are listed below. Again, these recommendations are made by small numbers of respondents and reflect their diverse roles and specific relationships with the Observatory:

- A couple of civil servants/SPADs emphasise the importance of a personal relationship with the Observatory. They welcome efforts made to brief them in person. One suggests it would be helpful if there could be flexibility in the timings of such briefings to reflect the pressures in their timetables. Another feels that monthly conference calls would be helpful where they and the Observatory could update each other on emerging issues and priorities. In contrast, another civil servant reports having an 'arms length' relationship with the Observatory and wants this to continue
- A couple of external stakeholders reflect on whether the Observatory will extend the geographic remit of its work to include Scotland (for one) and European data (for another). Again, these points are reflected in internal discussions with members of the Observatory team
- With regard to the website, one participant would like to see more directly downloadable materials. Another thinks it would be good practice for the Observatory to publish its accounts online (explaining that others in the sector are doing this). From an internal perspective there is a question around how far the existing website can serve the needs of the Observatory as it expands into new areas
- A couple feel that more 'bite-sized' presentation of data would be helpful
- One would like to see the Observatory engage more with academics who do not work with the Observatory but who are skilled in writing for a generalist audience
- One suggests it would be helpful if the Observatory could develop and promote a product/framework around the quarterly statistics to minimise duplication of effort in the sector
- One suggests that convening a broader conference style event (not just for media) could help raise the Observatory's profile further

Individual stakeholders generate a further list of suggestions linked to how the Observatory could extend its reach, influence and independence. On several occasions stakeholders identify the tension inherent in their suggestions, namely that they would potentially bring into question the Observatory's independence:

- A couple call for a greater focus on contextualising the work of the Observatory in the policy debate. They specifically urge the Observatory to go further in outlining the consequences and implications of its findings. A couple talk about this in the context of wanting to see the Observatory demonstrate greater confidence in its work
- A couple feel the Observatory should build on the fact that it has 'carved out' a space for it to communicate on public attitudes to migration. One feels that there is already a lot of evidence on this and it is now time for the Observatory to start mapping out associated policy options
- A couple say the Observatory could be working more closely with campaigning groups. One adds that it would be sensible to strengthen relationships with groups campaigning on tangential issues affected by migration. One suggests the Observatory could consult with interest groups on these issues it plans to address
- Similarly, a civil servant interviewed questions whether through establishing a closer relationship with the Observatory it would be possible to share research priorities

- A couple want to see the Observatory respond more quickly to, and where possible preempt policy stories (e.g. ensuring that relevant documents or statistics are visible on the home page in advance of a major announcement or debate)
- One participant calls for the group to select more 'hard nosed' themes for research or analysis which would redress a perceived imbalance in issues covered to date
- Anther interviewee would like to see instances where the Observatory is positioned 'up against' figures from pro-immigration groups or stakeholders in the media to counter potential claims of imbalance
- Another asks whether there could be more cross-referencing between the Observatory and other '*like minded*' organisations (e.g. IFS, NIESR, IPPR) to increase their collective impact

It is important to note that several of the suggestions made to the Observatory in this context appear to reflect shortcomings that stakeholders identify in their fields. For campaign/pressure groups in particular there is an apparent tension here. Some look to the Observatory to address these gaps but also realise that this falls outside the remit of the organisation's strategy, which is a strategy they endorse and respect.

Pressure groups, think tanks and interest groups: *"For us, it would be to maybe see if there are ways that it can support advocacy in a more direct way – either public or behind the scenes that would be helpful to a campaign organisation like us."*

Pressure groups, think tanks and interest groups: *"What they'd benefit from would be to engage with groups who aren't immigration campaigners in general, but campaigning because immigration has affected them by rules that have changed. They're not right or left wing. It's a bridge that looks at the citizenship debate and appeals to people's morality and principles."*

Academic: "They've started well and become an excellent voice in the debate. Dissemination into the media, and social media, has been great. The challenge going forward is to entrench the institute in the minds of decision makers. There's always a risk with the likes of the Migration Observatory that they can become transient. They need to keep the volume high and think how to keep the profile strong and pre-empting what's happening in 2015 and after. What efforts have been made to disseminate information through local government and campaigning organisations?...Migration Observatory could entrench itself further in the political landscape through working at these levels."

8.5 External influences

In looking to the future, stakeholders outline a number of issues that they anticipate will impact on the migration debate. Based on their experiences of working with the team, several expect the Observatory to already be considering how it will plan for and respond to the issues listed in this context:

- The build up to the 2015 General Election, particularly in relation to whether Government targets are met and the likely impact that this will have on political campaigning
- Introduction of the new EU accession countries
- On-going financial constraints facing other organisations in the sector which present opportunities (in terms of further encouraging use of Observatory materials) as well as potential resourcing challenges for the Observatory

- Potential for the politics of austerity to result in a more divisive policy climate
- A growing culture of holding decision makers and influencers to account
- Stakeholder responses to census data and ensuing need for information on this
- Developments within stakeholder organisations are also expected to impact on the Observatory. Two interviewees, for whom Migration Observatory resources are central to their work, already anticipate new ways of working with the team. They expect this will enable them to improve the work of their respective organisations

Media: "The public will become more aware of it in the run up to the election... When it comes to 2015 and there is a lot of focus on whether the Tories have met their targets, how many foreigners are coming into the country and whether the Government has managed to restrict immigration in a sensible way, I think that is something that will be a lot higher in the public perception than it is now... and I think that is absolutely the time when an organisation who is able to produce analysis of data, that is not through a political prism, is vital."

8.6 Gaps in the evidence base

Interviewees also feel that there remains an extensive range of migration-related issues requiring further data and analysis and generate a list of issues which they would like the Observatory to engage with.

The following areas are each mentioned by several stakeholders:

- Detailed analysis of the economic benefits and 'disbenefits' of migration, and in relation to specific groups of migrants e.g. the actual cost of student migration. It should be noted that one respondent says it might be challenging for the Observatory to retain its unique and neutral position in the sector if it were to focus on economic data
- Data on issues which are tangential to migration (e.g. public service commissioning, impact on healthcare, housing, benefits, human rights, foreign prisoners)

Other areas are suggested by individual interviewees:

- Mapping out of actual policy options based on Observatory evidence
- Data on illegal immigrants
- More data on integration
- Analysis of the extent to which views on migration are influenced by cultural/attitudinal as opposed to economic factors
- Permitted Paid Engagement visas and their potential impact on migration flows
- More regional and Scottish data

9 Conclusions and issues for reflection

The final evaluation, conducted less than two years after the launch of the Observatory, reveals an organisation that has made significant progress in meeting the objectives it set itself at the beginning of its development - objectives which its stakeholders continue to endorse. It makes clear the significant achievements of a small team operating in a highly sensitive sector, without advocating for a specific agenda.

There is widespread and growing recognition of its work across the key stakeholder groups that the Observatory seeks to inform. It has produced a strong and sizable body of work within a limited timeframe without facing significant challenges to its credibility or accuracy, which stakeholders feel is particularly noteworthy given the political climate in which it operates. An extensive network of bodies advocating different positions on migration regularly draw on a broad portfolio of Migration Observatory resources, in diverse settings and for a range of purposes.

As a result of stakeholders' increased awareness of the Observatory and engagement with its materials, the body now plays an important role in informing the migration debate. In broad terms it is contributing to a more nuanced debate and one in which evidence plays a more central role. It encourages different stakeholders to draw on impartial, robust data and provides a clearer understanding of the methodological challenges of capturing and assessing data related to migration. More specifically the Observatory is credited with '*moving the debate on*' in a number of areas including student visas, wages and employment.

Representatives from all the audiences interviewed perceive a clear and on-going need for its work. They expect the issue of migration to remain a key issue for the public, policy makers and media commentators alike, and that within this evolving sector there will be an on-going need for robust, impartial data and analysis. Even now they point to a range of issues that they think demand new or updated data and objective analysis.

Stakeholders repeatedly refer to the quality and expertise of the team responsible for delivering this work, who they describe as professional, respected, expert and driven to deliver the Observatory's objectives.

From an internal and external perspective the evaluation comes at an important moment in the organisation's development. The Observatory commands a strong base of high-level supporters who identify issues that will bring interesting challenges and opportunities for the initiative. They expect the body to play a major role in relation to information on developments with EU accession countries and in the run up to the General Election expected in 2015. From an internal perspective, the Observatory is working on new projects that will strengthen opportunities for the body to extend its reach and engagement.

In terms of recommendations to the Observatory as it plans for its future, the overriding view expressed by stakeholders is that the programme should remain focused on delivering its existing strategy. They anticipate that through adopting this approach the organisation will continue to see its influence and impact grow among the audiences it wishes to target. Collectively, they generate a series of further recommendations for strengthening its profile and impact. For the most part these reflect individual needs and expectations of the Observatory rather than shared views of how the organisation can become more relevant in its sector. Participants do, however, point to a number of emerging challenges which they advise the Observatory to reflect on as it plans the next stages of its development:

Internal perspective only

- Ensuring that any future changes / replacements within the team happen incrementally so organisational knowledge is captured and passed on
- Securing core funding to ensure the Migration Observatory can continue to deliver its core work alongside delivering specific projects
- Maintaining positive relations with a diverse range of stakeholder groups. Linked to this is the question of striking a balance between data and commentary to ensure fresh materials continue to engage stakeholders and that relationships are maintained with those who perceive the Observatory to be too ready to comment on policy
- Tension between responding in time to events and changes in the debate and ensuring factual accuracy through the sign-off process
- Continuing to produce a high volume of work with a limited number of contributors

Figure 9: Emerging challenges

Internal and external perspective

- Securing ongoing funding for a programme which has demonstrated its value, but where funders' interest lies in supporting new ventures
- Continuing to protect the Observatory's reputation for independence in a sensitive and potentially volatile sector
- Avoid becoming seen as a 'counter' to other organisations within the sector
- Continue to produce fresh and compelling pieces and balancing this with the analysis of regular data
- Managing the current transition within the Observatory's team – ensuring relationships and competencies are maintained (especially on labour market issues)

External perspective only

- How to respond to potential criticism of the Observatory for being political in its selection of which themes to address/ continued readiness to criticise Government policy
- Responding to a perception among some stakeholders that impact will be limited if the organisation does not focus on contextualising data / explaining the implications of its analysis

In reflecting on the immediate future, interviewees call for the Observatory to ensure it maintains its relationship with them and the organisations they represent. They regard sharing these evaluation findings with its existing stakeholder base as a positive next step for the initiative.

Appendix 1: Discussion guide for interviews

Introduction

- How salient is the issue of migration within your work, organisation and sector? What drives this? Has this changed at all over the last 18 months? How?
- How would you describe the state of the migration debate at present? How has this landscape changed over the last 18 months?
- How does migration link in with other issues you/your organisation are addressing?
- GOVERNMENT INTERVIEWEES: Explore priority issues and where migration sits in relation to these
- Which migration issues are most important in your work / within your organisation?

Awareness of and relationship with Migration Observatory

- *(Where appropriate)* Are you aware of MO? If so, how did you initially become aware of the organisation?
- How would you describe your relationship with MO? How did this develop? How has it evolved? (*Probe for whether the interviewee has been proactive in obtaining information through MO or been a passive recipient*)
- How informed do you feel about MO's role, aims, activities and structures? How far does this match the level of information you would want on these?

Perceptions of MO

- What is and what are your views on the value of MO's overall proposition?
- To what extent is there a need for the services/resources provided by MO? How important it is for data and information on migration to be available in this way and why?
- To what extent is this 'need' constant or evolving? What factors determine this?
- What are MO's aims and objectives and how far is it meeting these now?

- What are the strengths and weaknesses of MO's work?
- What has it achieved? What challenges does it face?
- Thinking about the MO's different areas of focus, what are your views on how well it is performing in each of these areas? (*Probe on providing analysis of data, informing media and public policy debates and generating research*)
- What are your views on the relative value of these different areas of work?
- How is MO viewed within your organisation and, more broadly, within your sector? Why? Has this changed/evolved over the last 18 months?
- MEDIA INTERVIEWEES: To what extent is MO recognised across the media? How consistent are perceptions of MO across the media?
- GOVERNMENT INTERVIEWEES: To what extent does MO have a profile in Westminster? What could it do to improve this?
- How well is MO positioned to reach its objectives? (*Probe on perceived levels of independence, authority and credibility and the reasons underpinning these perceptions*)
- Who else is working on these issues? How credible are these different organisations overall? And in relation to MO?
- How important is it for academics to be undertaking this work?
- ACADEMIC INTERVIEWEES: What do you regard as the lessons and challenges for MO in connecting research to policy in this way?
- How successful has MO been in establishing itself to date? How well does it build relationships?

Engagement with and perceptions of MO resources

- Which, if any, MO services/resources have you used in your role/within your organisation? What are your views on the quality of these services/resources? (Probe on use of website and social media, contact with MO staff etc.)
- Has your 'use' of MO services/resources changed over the last 18 months? How?
- Have you/ your organisation used Migration Observatory research? Why/why not?
- What research have you used and how have you used it? (*Probe for detailed examples of use noting references to specific documents/programmes/policies etc.*)
- Are there any examples of documents/research/data that have particularly stood out for you're your organisation? Why? How were these used?
- How often have you used Migration Observatory research? How likely are you to use it again in the future? Why and how?
- How do MO research and resources compare to information on migration from other sources which stakeholders use in their work? What are its strengths and weaknesses in this respect?
- Which, if any, areas of the website are of most use to you/your organisation and how are these used? (*Probe on key areas of website i.e. news and comment, briefings, data and resources*)
- MEDIA INTERVIEWEES: What encourages/discourages use of MO resources in preparing news stories? Who else do you talk to in this context and why? What role do you see for MO in the debate?
- How well does the MO website meet your needs as a user? (*Probe for any suggestions for improvement, could they find what they were looking for etc.*?)
- What are your views on the quality of the content published on the website? How useful is this content for you? Why?
- What are your views on the usability of the data?

• Thinking about your needs are there any notable gaps in the information provided on the MO website? And thinking about the needs of others in your sector, how comprehensive is the data provided?

Perceived impact of MO

- Have you communicated the work of MO within your organisation? And outside your organisation? Have any MO materials been disseminated/referred to in this context?
- To what extent does MO have an impact in terms of a) your work b) your organisation and c) your sector? How would you describe this? (*Probe for perceptions of levels of influence and how this has changed since the introduction of MO*)
- Could you share specific examples of where this impact has been evident? Interviewer to probe on possible scenarios relevant to the interviewee and to discuss what the impact of these has been. Possible scenarios would include:
 - Has MO influenced the role of data in the debate or changed the way you look for data? How?
 - Do you feel better informed/ more able to make a case? Exactly how do you feel this has happened?
 - Has it enabled your organisation to present a stronger evidence based case?
 How and to whom? (*Probe for examples of use and potential use*)
 - \circ $\;$ Has it filled any gaps in the research evidence base?
 - Have you and your colleagues used MO resources in the preparation of any policy papers/internal or external documents/speeches or other content? (*Where there are examples of this probe for full details. Exactly which resources were used and how?*)
- For those who have used MO research: To date, what has the impact of using MO research been? (Explore in detail how the research has been used. Encourage participants to consider any immediate impact as well as 'knock on' changes that may have fallen out of, or been influenced by the use of such Migration Observatory research. Probe for full details on any mentions of MO in relevant materials)
- To what extent has MO had an impact on the quality of debate around relevant issues within your sector?
- GOVERNMENT INTERVIEWEES: Have you seen/heard evidence of MO's work being referenced? Where? Who is referencing it?
- CIVIL SERVANTS Probe on the specifics of any MO analysis, conclusions, terminology or materials used in materials prepared by civil servants for government or for the public
- MEDIA INTERVIEWEES: To what extent is MO having an impact on the use of evidence in stories related to migration issues?
- ACADEMIC INTERVIEWEES: How far is the work of MO resulting in more reactive and proactive Oxford academics in the public debate? How important is this?
- CIVIL SOCIETY INTERVIEWEES: To what extent do you feel your organisation's ability to make a case to the public and government officials has been improved. How and why? (*Probe for specific examples*)
- To what extent is MO having a broader impact? What and how? How far is what MO is saying on migration becoming an agreed standard both within your organisation and beyond?

• Looking outside your sector, would you say there has been any improvement in the quality of debate on migration issues (*Probe for where and how this is evident, to what extent and how far MO has contributed to this*)

MO as an organisation

- What are your views on how effectively MO operates as an organisation? What are its strengths and weaknesses at an operational level? (*Probe on level of responsiveness, efficiency of internal and management structures etc. and whether they have detected any change in operations over last 18 months*)
- Do you have any comments on its levels of resourcing relative to need?

Looking to the future

- To what extent do you feel there is an on-going role for MO?
- What do you anticipate will happen to its level of reach/impact? What factors will determine its success in this respect?
- Which changes in your sector/ within policy areas are likely to impact on MO? (*Explore* challenges as well as any opportunities that the organisation should seek to capitalise on)
- What advice would you offer MO in terms of how it can maximise its impact?
- To what extent is MO playing a role in relevant sectors and networks? Are there any sectors or networks in which MO should be more active?
- Do you have any other recommendations to assist MO as it develops future phases of its work?
- Do you have any other final comments regarding MO?

Appendix 2: Media indicators

The Observatory has achieved circa 200 media mentions since its launch in 2011. The table below highlights the breadth of media outlets in which the organisation has been referenced.

The Observatory is tracking its own media profile alongside this evaluation and disseminates this information via its website.

UK national press	 The Financial Times The Guardian The Times The Sunday Times The Independent The Telegraph 	 Times Higher Education The Observer Daily Mail Daily Mirror Daily Express The Sun
International press	 The Times of India The Washington Times Wall Street Journal The Economic Times 	The EconomistThe London Review of BooksLes Échos
Regional/local press	 Crewe Chronicle South Wales Guardian Coventry Telegraph Evening Standard Leigh Reporter Rutland Times 	 Flintshire Chronicle Liverpool Echo Newcastle Evening Chronicle Public Service Shropshire Star Southport Visiter

	Sleaford Standard	Sunday Sun
	Spendborough Guardian	Huddersfield Daily Examiner
	The Scotsman	 North Wales Daily Post
	Ellesmere Port Pioneer	Uxbridge Gazetter
TV and Radio	BBC Radio 4	BBC2 Newsnight
	BBC Radio 5	 BBC2 Daily Politics Show
	 BBC Radio Oxford 	Sky News
	 BBC News at 10 	Channel 4 News
	 BBC Politics Show 	
Online/other	 Huffington Post 	Economist blogs
	 The Spectator blog 	TNT Magazine
media	 Channel 4 News factcheck 	 The New Statesman blog
	blog	Christian Science Monitor
	 Fullfact.org 	Associated Press
	BBC News UK	Press Association

Table 2: Migration Observatory media coverage

Appendix 3: Parliamentary mentions

The evaluation has also continued to track Parliamentary mentions of the Observatory. Hansard has recorded a further three Parliamentary mentions since the first evaluation (the first mention of Migration Observatory in Parliament, as referenced in the baseline evaluation, was in June 2011.) These are detailed below.

Mention 1: Gavin Barwell MP, Conservative (6th September 2012)

Backbench Business - Immigration (note: there were 2 mentions in this debate by Gavin Barwell)

"The Migration Observatory evidence shows that we would probably need to have either zero net migration or possibly even net emigration from the country. If we take a net migration figure of 100,000, which would be at the top end of the Government target, the population would be just under 70 million in 2035. This motion is not just calling for the Government to achieve their manifesto commitment, therefore; it is arguing for measures that go well beyond that, and they will have consequences."

Mention 2: Peter Wishart MP, Scottish National Party (6th September 2012)

Backbench Business – Immigration

"In Scotland we need our own immigration service that will address our needs. We do not need harsher immigration policies. I bet the Minister that he will never get to these suggested levels of immigration. This is the world we live in, and there is no point in trying to address it. The Migration Observatory wrote to every Member of Parliament to give its view, and even it could not agree with the right hon. Members who have proposed the motion. It pointed to variations throughout the United Kingdom in people's perception of immigration. I am proud that we in Scotland do not perceive immigration as a dreadful, negative thing as so many Conservative Members seem to do."

Mention 3: Baroness Warwick of Undercliffe, Labour (31st January 2013)

Visas: Student Visa Policy - Motion to Take Note

Before the Minister sits down, will he answer the specific question about the Government's targets? Students form the vast majority of migrants coming to this country. The Migration Observatory has estimated that to meet the Government's target the Government would have to reduce student visa numbers by 87,000. Can the Minister assure us, in assuring us about there being no cap on international students, that the target can be met without reducing by that number