

# **"Living with Difference" – Immigration in the UK in the 20th and 21st Century**

Pavλίna Vlčkova

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Bachelor Thesis  
2010



**Tomas Bata University in Zlín**  
Faculty of Humanities

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**Univerzita Tomáše Bati ve Zlíně**

**Fakulta humanitních studií**

**Ústav anglistiky a amerikanistiky**

**akademický rok: 2009/2010**

## **ZADÁNÍ BAKALÁŘSKÉ PRÁCE**

**(PROJEKTU, UMĚLECKÉHO DÍLA, UMĚLECKÉHO VÝKONU)**

**Jméno a příjmení: Pavlína VLČKOVÁ**

**Studijní program: B 7310 Filologie**

**Studijní obor: Anglický jazyk pro manažerskou praxi**

**Téma práce: "Život s odlišností" – Imigrace 20. století ve Velké Británii.**

**Zásady pro vypracování:**

**Úvod**

**Teoretická část**

**Hlavní skupiny imigrantů ve Velké Británii ve 20. století**

**Jaké jsou důvody imigrace do Velké Británie**

**Vztah vlády k imigrantům, postupně se měnící postoj**

**Požadavky pro získání občanství**

**Pohled samotných imigrantů na vývoj situace**

**Závěr**

Rozsah práce:

Rozsah příloh:

Forma zpracování bakalářské práce: **tiskněná/elektronická**

Seznam odborné literatury:

JULIOS, Christiana. *Contemporary British Identity: British Language, Migrants and Public Discourse*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008.

OAKLAND, John. *British Civilization: An Introduction*. 6th ed. Oxon: Routledge, 2006.

STORRY, Mike and Peter CHILDS, eds. *British Cultural Identities*. London: Routledge, 2002.

DAVIES, Alistair and Alan SINFIELD, eds. *British Culture of the Postwar: an introduction to literature and society*. London: Routledge, 2000.

Vedoucí bakalářské práce: **Mgr. Helena Janasová**  
Ústav anglistiky a amerikanistiky

Datum zadání bakalářské práce: **7. ledna 2010**

Termín odevzdání bakalářské práce: **7. května 2010**

Ve Zlíně dne 7. ledna 2010

  
prof. PhDr. Vlastimil Švec, CSc.  
děkan



  
doc. Ing. Anežka Lengálková, Ph.D.  
vedoucí katedry

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## **ABSTRAKT**

Práce se zabývá vývojem imigrace ve Velké Británii. Soustředí se zejména na druhou polovinu 20. století a počátek 21. století. Podstatná část je věnována měnící se imigrační politice. Důležitou součástí práce představuje pohled společnosti, jež se díky imigrantům stává různorodou a multietnickou. Život etnických skupin přibližuje následující část, která se zabývá otázkou jejich začlenění do společnosti.

Klíčová slova:

Imigrace ve Velké Británii, etnické skupiny, kultura, vláda, legislativa, 20. století, 21. století, společnost, multikulturalismus, integrace, první generace imigrantů, druhá generace imigrantů.

## **ABSTRACT**

The thesis discusses the development of immigration in Great Britain. It focuses especially on the second half of the 20th century and the beginning of the 21st century. A substantial part is devoted to the changing immigration policy. The view of the society which is becoming more varied and multiethnic thanks to the immigrants is an important section in this work as well. The following part concentrates on lives of the ethnic groups as well as on their integration into the society.

Keywords:

Immigration in Great Britain, ethnic minorities, culture, the Government, legislation, 20th century, 21st century, society, multiculturalism, integration, first generation immigrants, second generation immigrants.

## **ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS**

I would like to thank Mgr. Helena Janasová, the supervisor of my bachelor thesis, for her suggestions and help.

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## INTRODUCTION

Thinking about the United Kingdom, various associations might cross our minds. Some would think about the city of London, the Queen, the princess of Wales. Fans of music would not forget the Beatles. When I was trying to find a topic for my thesis that would be interesting and current at the same time, the first thing that crossed my mind was the diverse society. United Kingdom is and has been a multicultural country for a very long time and I have always seen Britain as a meeting place of many different cultures. However I have never tried to find the reasons why Britain has become a multicultural and multiethnic society. Being more and more interested in the topic, I have found out the multicultural society is being created by the immigration in the first place.

Different eras in the history are marked by a large number of newcomers entering the United Kingdom and immigration is definitely not a new trend. It is something that the country has been dealing with for centuries. However, it seems that the 20th century, especially the second half and the beginning of the 21st century, meant for the country a radical turnover in the perception of the immigration. Since the number of the immigrants has been growing considerably during the last decades, the whole society seems to feel the changes brought by this phenomenon. Moreover, the Government's attitude towards this is considerably changing.

The aim of my bachelor thesis is to find out how the Government changed its attitude towards the growing numbers of the immigrants and what was the main reason for those changes was. The main focus is on the second half of the 20th century and the beginning of the 21st century. I am going to find out why the new and the strict rules for the newcomers were by the Government in the 21st century released. The aim is to concentrate on the impacts of the Government's policies on immigrants and the whole society as well.

In my thesis I look at the immigration from different points of view - from the Government's point of view which plays an important role in the immigration policy and from the point of view of the society. I am going to concentrate on the social changes which immigration causes.

Last but not least, my focus is on the immigrants in order to explain their reasons for arrival into the United Kingdom and to provide a closer look into their lives. To find more information about the immigrants I read a book which tells the story of two families, one of the families are the Bangladeshi immigrants.

When I was reading it, I realized that the clash of the two different cultures honouring different values can cause serious problems.<sup>1</sup> This story made me learn more about their position in the host society and in what sense the life of the second generation is different.

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<sup>1</sup> See Zadie Smith, *White Teeth: A Novel*. (New York: Random House, 2000).

## 1 DEVELOPMENT OF IMMIGRATION

Before dealing with the beginnings of the immigration and the main reasons of the newcomers for entering the country, it is worth starting from the short introduction of the origins of British indigenous people. As Oakland points out “descent patterns are important element in considering the varied ethnicities of the British peoples today.”<sup>2</sup> At the very beginning settlers and invaders came from the different parts of the world and their origins varied greatly.

In 55BC Romans were one of the first tribes who settled after the Celts in today’s British Isles. They were followed by the Germans known as Angles, Saxons and Jutes. Today’s diverse character of the society was influenced also by the French Normans, who arrived in 1066.<sup>3</sup> Continuously, people mixed and laid the foundations to the diverse origins of the following generations. This creation of the society is considered to be a natural historical development.

But the situation started to change during the 19th century. The natural movement of people was replaced by the arrivals of the newcomers, who started to enter country under the specific reasons. Obviously, the fact that Britain was at that time the world leading industrial power caused that immigrants wanted to seek the opportunity to find the better working opportunities. Such example are the Irish economic immigrants. At the beginning of the 19th century the first large group entered. “Upon arrival, such newcomers were bound almost by definition to constitute a relatively deprived, vulnerable and conspicuous group, in comparison with the bulk of the native population.”<sup>4</sup> 70 years later, further “wave” of immigrants emerged, this time mainly Jewish migrants arrived. The increase numbers of Jewish immigrants continued until the 1911.<sup>5</sup> Rather than for economic reasons, Jewish refugees from Russia or Rumania came in Britain in order to escape the persecution in their home country.<sup>6</sup>

Before approaching further development of immigration, it is crucial to provide the explanation of some key terms that are mentioned above and which are going to be incorporated in the thesis.

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<sup>2</sup> John Oakland, *British Civilization: An Introduction*, 6th ed. (Oxon: Routledge, 2006), 52.

<sup>3</sup> See Oakland, *British Civilization: An Introduction*, 53-54.

<sup>4</sup> Catherine Jones, *Immigration and Social Policy in Britain*, (Cambridge: University Printing House, 1977), 5.

<sup>5</sup> See Jones, *Immigration and Social Policy*, 1.

<sup>6</sup> See Jones, *Immigration and Social Policy*, 67.

The first term 'immigration' dictionary explains as “the process of entering another country in order to live there permanently.”<sup>7</sup> This term is rather superordinate, because the newcomers enter the country for different reasons. There are used special terms to distinguish among them. To avoid misinterpretation, it is important to provide the explanation of these terms. First of them is 'economic migrant', this term dictionary defines as “someone who goes to a new country because living conditions or opportunities for jobs are not good in their own country. This word is used by governments to show that a person is not considered a refugee.”<sup>8</sup>

Further terms that need more detailed explanation are 'refugee' and 'asylum'. The term 'refugee' Home Office explains as “a person who owing to a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country; or who, not having a nationality and being outside the country of his former habitual residence is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to return to it.”<sup>9</sup> The person who received the status of the refugee can seek the asylum in the UK. “Asylum is protection given by a country to someone who is fleeing persecution in their own country.”<sup>10</sup> There are another terms related to immigration, but since they are not going to be included in the thesis, the explanation is not necessary.

Dealing with Jewish refugees, Jones asked the question “Why did they come?...Was it simply in response to the shining vista of England as 'the haven and protector of freedom?’”<sup>11</sup> Probably, it was really the reason why Jewish and other immigrants chose Britain as a final destination. Oakland explains “...immigrants historically had relatively free access to Britain...”<sup>12</sup> The change came with the 20th century.

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<sup>7</sup> Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English, “immigration,” Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English, <http://www.ldoceonline.com/dictionary/immigration> (accessed February 24, 2010).

<sup>8</sup> Macmillan Dictionary, “Definition of economic migrant,” Macmillan Dictionary, <http://www.macmillandictionary.com/dictionary/british/economic-migrant> (accessed February 24, 2010).

<sup>9</sup> Home Office Statistical Bulletin, “Control of Immigration: Statistics United Kingdom, 2008,” under “Asylum,” <http://www.homeoffice.gov.uk/rds/pdfs09/hosb1409.pdf> (accessed February 25, 2010).

<sup>10</sup> Home Office Statistical Bulletin, “Control of Immigration: Statistics United Kingdom, 2008,” under “Asylum,” <http://www.homeoffice.gov.uk/rds/pdfs09/hosb1409.pdf> (accessed February 25, 2010).

<sup>11</sup> Jones, *Immigration and Social Policy*, 69.

<sup>12</sup> Oakland, *British Civilization: An Introduction*, 60.

After the 1st World War indigenous people started to pay attention to the nationalism. Newcomers were not welcomed and a sort of dislike dominated. Society called for the laws that would eliminate the inflow of the newcomers. On these basis, legislations were imposed on the immigrants, for example 'Aliens Act, 1905,' but it is necessary to add that they were not much succesfull. Immigration rates were still growing. The economic migrants and further wave of the refugees from Europe and the Soviet Union also contributed to this growth.<sup>13</sup>

The most significiant inflow of the immigrants occurred in the 1950s when the so-called New Commonwealth Immigrants started to enter the country. Oakland points out that “nations of India, Pakistan and the West Indies came to Britain (sometimes at the invitation of government agencies) to fill the vacant manual and lower-paid jobs of an expanding economy.”<sup>14</sup> It seems that the country needed to get over the hard times which hit the UK after the World War II. Poor, often low educated non-white population became an easy object for the Government. The current need for the cheap labour was the main concern and the possible effects of this step were not taken into account. Probably, it was one of the main reasons, why the Government as well as the society was not able to deal with this unexpected development immediately. As the further text will explain, the growing numbers were not the only “problem” that public had to face. Enlarging communities of the non-whites caused the growing diversity, resulting in the tension among the indigenous society and these communities.

The main concern is to reveal the social and political development since the 1950s onwards. As Oakland says “public and political concern in the immediate post-war period turned to the issues of race and colour, which were to dominate the immigration debate for the rest of the twentieth century and focussed on the non-white Commonwealth immigration.”<sup>15</sup> The following chapters are going to provide the gradual development of this uneasy issue with the main focus on the changes in the society caused by immigration as well as on the changing policy of the Government.

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<sup>13</sup> See Oakland, *British Civilization: An Introduction*, 60.

<sup>14</sup> Oakland, *British Civilization: An Introduction*, 60.

<sup>15</sup> Oakland, *British Civilization: An Introduction*, 60.

## 2 ETHNIC MINORITIES IN THE UNITED KINGDOM

Since the 1950s onwards, the political debates about the immigration have concentrated mainly on the New Commonwealth immigrants. These groups of the non-whites arrived in the UK and joined together according to their nationality and created the ethnic minority groups which enlarged during the following decades. Hansen points out “The United Kingdom began the postwar years with a non-white population of some 30,000 people; it approaches the end of the century with over 3 million, whose origins extend from Africa, the Pacific Rim, the Carribean and the Indian subcontinent. Together with France and Germany, it has among the largest ethnic populations in Europe, and it shares with France the largest ethnic-minority citizenry.”<sup>16</sup> Census from the 2001 proved that at end of the 20th century, the emergence of non-white immigrants reached very high numbers in comparison with the previous decades.

Knowing the gradual development of the non-white immigration is one of the most important tools that influence the further decisions on the immigration policies. It is worthwhile to outline the inflow of the New Commonwealth immigrants not only to provide information that will enable to create a complex picture about this issue. Hopefully, the given numbers will help to understand the decisions made by the Government, as well as the public tension caused by the growing numbers.

The first table below provides data concerning the development of the non-white population and compares the numbers from 1991 and 2001 Censuses. The reason for considering this period is that during this decade the growth was most significant. The minority ethnic group, representing the greatest growth are the Indians. As the figure shows, in 1991 the number was 840,000 but in 2001 the number was already 1.052,000. The second largest group was shaped by the Pakistanis. In 1991, their population reached 477,000, while in 2001 the total number was 747,000. The third largest group was created in 2001 by the black Carribeans. The number grew from 500,000 to 566,000. The black African population represents a great change in the size.

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<sup>16</sup> Randell Hansen, *Citizenship and Immigration in Post-war Britain*, (2004; repr., New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), under “Migration and Nationality in Post-War Britain,” <http://books.google.com/books?id=UZNwYrFOI4sC&printsec=frontcover&dq=Citizenship+and+Immigration+in+Post-war+Britain,&cd=1#v=onepage&q&f=false> (accessed February 15, 2010).

To be specific, from 212,000 black Africans living in the UK the number more than doubled and reached 485,000 in 2001. But still, the number is quite low, in comparison with the largest groups.<sup>17</sup>

**TABLE 1: Size of Ethnic Groups In Britain 2001 (with 1991 for comparison)**

	<b>1991 population (000s)</b>	<b>2001 population (000s)</b>	<b>% of total population 2001</b>	<b>% of minority ethnic population 2001</b>
White	51873	52481	92	
<b>All Minority ethnic groups</b>	<b>3014</b>	<b>4623</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>100</b>
Black Caribbean	500	566	1	12
Black African	212	485	1	10
Black Other	178	97	0	2
Indian	840	1052	2	23
Pakistani	477	747	1	16
Bangladeshi	163	283	0	6
Other Asian	197	247	0	5
Chinese	157	243	0	5
Other	290	229	0	5
Mixed Race	0	674	1	15

Source: Data adapted from Case-Brookings Census Briefs, "Minority Ethnic Groups in Britain," under "Britain's Ethnic Minorities," [http://sticerd.lse.ac.uk/dps/case/CBCB/census2\\_part1.pdf](http://sticerd.lse.ac.uk/dps/case/CBCB/census2_part1.pdf) (accessed March 3, 2010).

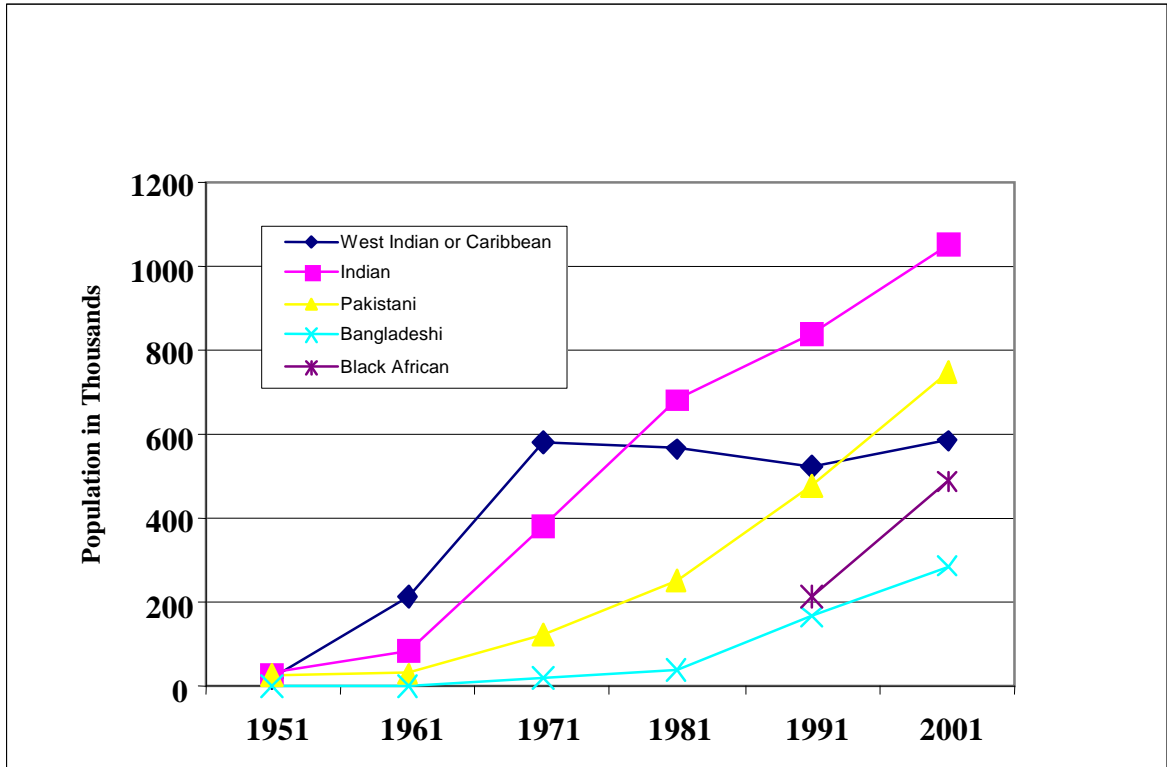
On the other hand, the figure 1 on the following page, illustrates a graphic representation of the particular groups and their growth since the 1951 until the 2001. The figure provides the whole development of the non-white population. In 1950s, Census "numbered less than 100,000 people"<sup>18</sup> in comparison with 2001 when the total number reached 4,623,000 people. The difference is enormous. As it has been already mentioned, the expansion was caused mainly by the labour shortages in 1950s. Non-whites, in particular the Carribeans arrived to fill the vacancies. As the figure shows, the continuous growth of this group begun during the 1950s and have been steadied since the 1970s. On the contrary, remaining groups have been continually growing. The groups with rapid growth are the Indians and Pakistanis. Despite the fact, the Bangladeshi population creates a smaller group, it has grown as well.

<sup>17</sup> Case-Brookings Census Briefs, "Minority Ethnic Groups in Britain," under "Britain's Ethnic Minorities," [http://sticerd.lse.ac.uk/dps/case/CBCB/census2\\_part1.pdf](http://sticerd.lse.ac.uk/dps/case/CBCB/census2_part1.pdf) (accessed March 3, 2010).

<sup>18</sup> Case-Brookings Census Briefs, "Minority Ethnic Groups in Britain," under "Britain's Ethnic Minorities."

The exception is the group of black Africans, since 1990s their number has doubled.<sup>19</sup>

**FIGURE 1: Growth of Minority Ethnic Populations in Britain 1951-2001**



Source: Data adapted from Case-Brookings Census Briefs, “Minority Ethnic Groups in Britain,” under “Britain’s Ethnic Minorities,” [http://sticerd.lse.ac.uk/dps/case/CBCB/census2\\_part1.pdf](http://sticerd.lse.ac.uk/dps/case/CBCB/census2_part1.pdf) (accessed March 3, 2010), table 1.

<sup>19</sup> Case-Brookings Census Briefs, “Minority Ethnic Groups in Britain,” under “Britain’s Ethnic Minorities.”



### 3 IMMIGRATION POLICY – 2ND HALF OF THE 20TH CENTURY

As it has been already indicated, when the Second World War ended the UK suffered from the weakened economy accompanied by the labour shortages. The Government realized that the immigrants could contribute to its improvement in the form of cheap labour. In order to restore the reputation of the United Kingdom the Government stated in 1948 the British Nationality Act.<sup>20</sup> The British Nationality Act 1948 legalized that all Commonwealth immigrants were “conferred...the status of a British subject.”<sup>21</sup> In other words, Old Commonwealth immigrants (Australia, Canada, New Zealand) as well as New Commonwealth immigrants (South Africa, Newfoundland, India, Pakistan, Southern Rhodesia and Ceylon) had a legal right for the settlement in the UK.<sup>22</sup>

In 1950s the large numbers of the Commonwealth immigrants took this advantage and arrived in the UK. The numbers shaped especially the non-white immigrants. They came to find better working opportunities and to provide better education for their children. Unfortunately, such development was not welcomed by the society nor by the Government.

The 1960s are associated with the growing tension within the white society. The public attitude towards the non-whites was rather negative. The vast majority of them did not want to accept their non-white Commonwealth citizens. Most probably, the whites were afraid of the “difference” being presented by the Pakistanis, the Indians and other non-white immigrants whose culture, habits and traditions are without any doubt totally different from what the Europeans are used to.

Another important fact that has to be taken into account is that not all of the non-whites were willing to adopt the British way of life. This “cultural diversity” and the image of a multiethnic society that the whites did not want to accept, led to many conflicts. Notting Hill experienced a conflict of the open hostility against the non-whites leading in riots in 1958. It was the area where Carribeans found haven and their communities grew. But among white working class the hostility dominated because they were afraid of losing homes and jobs that would be occupied by the Carribeans. This tension resulted in the

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<sup>20</sup> See Hansen, *Citizenship and Immigration in Post-war Britain*, under “Imperial Subjects, Imperial Citizens: The British Nationality Act, 1948.”

<sup>21</sup> The British Nationality Act 1948, c. 56, quoted in Christiana Julios, *Contemporary British Identity: British Language, Migrants and Public Discourse* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), 86.

<sup>22</sup> See The British Nationality Act 1948, 11 & 12 Geo. 6, c. 56.

riots in which many non-whites were injured.<sup>23</sup>

Public was divided. On one side there stood the whites unsatisfied with the growing non-white communities. On the other side there were those non-white immigrants having the legal right to enter and settle in the UK. The irony is that it was not so long ago when the same people were encouraged by the Government to enter Britain. The positive attitude towards the non-whites dominating in late 1940s changed a few years later into hostility and prejudice. At this point, the first crucial change was about to come. The tension and the social unrest described above caused that the Government started to realize that imposing quotas and restrictions that would prevent immigrants from coming to the country would consolidate the situation.

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<sup>23</sup> See Exploring 20th Century London, "Notting Hill Riots 1958," 20th Century London, <http://www.20thcenturylondon.org.uk/server.php?show=conInformationRecord.161> (accessed March 5, 2010).

## 4 IMMIGRATION RESTRICTIONS

The Government, forced to a large extent by the conflicts among the white and the non-white society enacted in 1962 the Commonwealth Immigrants Act. With certain exaggeration it can be said that the Act ended the “the Golden Age of Immigration” in the UK. Government imposed quotas on the Commonwealth immigrants in order to restrict their entrance. “From a situation in which every person born in Britain or any part of its previous Empire could claim British citizenship with the right of free access to Britain, British citizenship was pruned back to a more exclusive and restrictive definition in which the aim of racial exclusion was clearly visible.”<sup>24</sup>

Based on the Commonwealth Immigrants Act, Julios states that “a distinction was introduced between citizens of the UK and colonies and citizens of independent commonwealth countries, resulting in Commonwealth passport-holders becoming subject to new immigration controls.”<sup>25</sup> According to this definition, it could be claimed that all Commonwealth immigrants were treated the same. The opposite is the case, the aim was to prevent the non-whites from coming to Britain. Not surprisingly, the opponents of this act criticized it as being “based on race and colour discrimination”<sup>26</sup> Labour party commented on the Act and “denounced the Act as a bigoted piece of legislation specifically aimed at coloured immigrants”<sup>27</sup> The question of race and colour was a significant issue of immigration policy in the 1960s.

In 1968 Enoch Powell delivered unfamous speech known as “Rivers of Blood”. He warned about the future impacts of immigration. He did not hesitate to openly show strong disapproval addressed towards coloured immigrants. In his speech he used some exaggerated comments, for example “in this country in 15 or 20 years' time the black man will have the whip hand over the white man. ... Whole areas, towns and parts of towns across England will be occupied by sections of the immigrant and immigrant-descended population.”<sup>28</sup> At the time when indigenous people were rather suspicious toward immigrants, such speech could only contribute to violence and hostility.

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<sup>24</sup> Julios, *Contemporary British Identity: British Language, Migrants and Public Discourse*, 87.

<sup>25</sup> Julios, *Contemporary British Identity: British Language, Migrants and Public Discourse*, 94.

<sup>26</sup> Julios, *Contemporary British Identity: British Language, Migrants and Public Discourse*, 95.

<sup>27</sup> Julios, *Contemporary British Identity: British Language, Migrants and Public Discourse*, 94.

<sup>28</sup> Enoch Powell, “Rivers of Blood,” speech (April 1968), quoted in the *Telegraph*, “Enoch Powell’s ‘Rivers of Blood’ speech,” *The Telegraph*, <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/comment/3643826/Enoch-Powells-Rivers-of-Blood-speech.html> (accessed February 25, 2010).

Julios sums it up: "...it helped to popularise the common racist sentiment against New Commonwealth immigrants."<sup>29</sup>

During the 1960s and the 1970s, reduction of the non-white immigrants entering the U.K. was still of high importance for the Government. The Immigration Act 1971 was further piece of legislation aimed at non-white immigrants. The legislation caused a change based on "...the notion of citizenship..."<sup>30</sup> Based on this piece of legislation, Commonwealth citizens were divided into two groups. Citizens living in the country longer than five years and the citizens who had proved tight relations with Britain were not affected by the restrictions. And the remaining group of citizens was subjected to the restrictions enabling to enter the country only under the temporary work-permit.<sup>31</sup> The Government by this legislation maintained its pro-white Commonwealth immigrants attitude. The Act was obviously created to keep the right of the white Commonwealth immigrants to enter the country. Thus, the restrictions applied predominantly to the second group of immigrants which was formed mainly by the non-whites. Hansen argues that "the aim of the bill was clear: to equate as much as possible the position of non-UK Commonwealth citizens with that of aliens."<sup>32</sup>

But after the first great change of the immigration policy in the 1960's, especially in favour of the indigenous society, the 1970s meant fundamental shift. The Government started to pay attention to the immigrants living in the UK and concentrated on the strengthening their position in the society. The aim was to bring the immigrants into the society as its inseparable part. Basically, this new perception gradually developed during the following decades and marked the beginnings of the integration policy introduced later in the 21st century. The efforts to support immigrants living in Britain were evident in the form of the Race Relations Acts. The crucial point of these Acts was to punish discrimination and make it unlawful to oppress anyone on the basis of the colour or the cultural background.

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<sup>29</sup> Julios, *Contemporary British Identity: British Language, Migrants and Public Discourse*, 92.

<sup>30</sup> Julios, *Contemporary British Identity: British Language, Migrants and Public Discourse*, 98.

<sup>31</sup> See Ian R. G. Spencer, *British Immigration Policy Since 1939: The Making of Multi-Racial Britain*, (London: Routledge, 1997), under "The Immigration Act, 1971,"

<http://books.google.com/books?id=i5NzAmAJ5F0C&printsec=frontcover&dq=British+Immigration+Policy+Since+1939:+The+Making+of+Multi-racial+Britain.&cd=1#v=onepage&q=&f=false> (accessed February 27, 2010).

<sup>32</sup> Hansen, *Citizenship and Immigration in Post-war Britain*, under "Heath, Powell and Migration Policy 1968-1974."

In the following 20 years Britain passed several Race Relations (Amendment) Acts. The Amendment Acts have been created to improve current legislation by adding some crucial points which contributed to better prevention of discrimination.<sup>33</sup>

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<sup>33</sup> See Julios, *Contemporary British Identity: British Language, Migrants and Public Discourse*, 97-100.

## 5 VISION OF A MULTICULTURAL SOCIETY

Since the 1970s onwards the approach towards immigration has gradually changed. British society, whether it wanted or not, was to a large degree affected by the immigrants. Even though the Government continued finding ways how to eliminate immigration, Britain faced the decision which direction choose to deal with the immigrants already living in Britain.

During the 1970s and the 1980s, a serious problem within the non-white communities arose. “A combination of socio-economic deprivation, unemployment, lack of English language skills...and widespread racism placed these newcomers at considerable disadvantage.”<sup>34</sup> It resulted in the immigrants feeling that they lack behind the white society. This can be illustrated for example by riots that the City of London and later Brixton had to witness in the 1980s.<sup>35</sup> The riots only highlighted continuing problems of the non-white communities. Government knew that ignoring the growing tension would be a serious mistake. The crucial point that the politicians had to solve was finding an acceptable solution for the current position of the immigrants.

Thus, the 1970s marked the development of a new approach towards the immigrants. The vision of creating the multicultural society which outlasted until nowadays, became one of the main goals which the Government planned to achieve. Multicultural society can be characterised as a liberal approach towards different cultural identities. It is based on respecting cultural diversities, values and traditions of ethnic communities. At the same time, an important part of this concept is the incorporation of the immigrants.<sup>36</sup> Politicians made great efforts to confirm position of immigrants in the society. As it has been already mentioned, these efforts can be seen in the Race Amendment Acts. But the question of discrimination was not the only problem that the Government had to deal with.

Due to the fact that the non-white immigrants often lacked the knowledge of language as well as the British way of life, the Government responded to this serious finding by creating the policies to minimize the disadvantage. The legislation concentrated mainly on children. Several legislations and systems were imposed to improve the National Curriculum. The first aim was to get children acquainted with cultural diversities. Second, to concentrate on special needs of non-white children, such as improvement of English

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<sup>34</sup> Julios, *Contemporary British Identity: British Language, Migrants and Public Discourse*, 100.

<sup>35</sup> See Julios, *Contemporary British Identity: British Language, Migrants and Public Discourse*, 103.

<sup>36</sup> See Julios, *Contemporary British Identity: British Language, Migrants and Public Discourse*, 100-113.

language skills. It was assumed that legislation preventing discrimination together with new National Curriculum would combat the current problems.<sup>37</sup>

The irony is, that instead of the easier incorporation into the society some of the immigrants isolated themselves and instead of becoming a part of the society they created separated communities. It seems that creation of the diverse and multicultural society contributed to individualism of the ethnic groups. The separation of communities had also the negative impact on the public meaning. The public seemed to treat those immigrants as “different people.” Even though the Government has made some effort to create the multicultural society, the Guardian points out that “Britain still faces huge challenges in achieving a balance between respect for diversity and a sense of shared national belonging. Back in the 1990s, there was a broad consensus that multiculturalism provided the key to securing that balance...Multiculturalism as a political project has been blamed for promoting segregation and not integration”<sup>38</sup> Another problem which arose from the separation of the communities is according to Kenan Malik the fact that “Britain today is less defined by confrontation between the state and minority groups, than by conflict between those groups. Because Britain is seen as a community of communities, so each group seeks to maximise its interests at the expense of others, creating animosity.”<sup>39</sup> That is only one of the many opinions that relates to this issue. The aim is not to judge whether the Government’s decisions are right or not, but to point out that the intensions and reality might be very different, especially when such a sensitive topic is taken into account. On the other hand, it seems that to blame the Government is the first thing people do, when something goes wrong. But it is doubtful, whether only the Government should be blamed. The society and the communities contributed to this as well. Basically, it depends mainly on the society itself whether it is willing to contribute to the creation of a multicultural vision. The task for the future generation is to remove the negative experiences their parents have been influenced with since their arrival into the country. Hopefully, their children will be able to live in the society that is based on the toleration and respect. In the society which is not stigmatized by the prejudice and hostility.

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<sup>37</sup> See Julios, *Contemporary British Identity: British Language, Migrants and Public Discourse*, 100-106.

<sup>38</sup> Antony Lerman, “In defence of multiculturalism” *The Guardian*, <http://www.guardian.co.uk/commentisfree/2010/mar/22/multiculturalism-blame-culture-segregation> (accessed March 28, 2010).

<sup>39</sup> Kenan Malik, “Why Immigration is a Social Problem,” *The Malik Blog*, entry posted November 8, 2007, [http://www.kenanmalik.com/lectures/immigration\\_oxford.html](http://www.kenanmalik.com/lectures/immigration_oxford.html) (accessed February 27, 2010).

## 6 21ST CENTURY – NEW DEBATE ABOUT IMMIGRATION

The perception towards the immigration seems to be changing radically during the first years of the 21st century. Home Office published the Government's document called "Secure Borders, Safe Haven: Integration with Diversity in Modern Britain." Main concern of this White Paper is to integrate immigrants into the society while preserving its diverse character and different cultural backgrounds.<sup>40</sup> Home Secretary stresses that "we must uphold basic human rights, tackling the racism and prejudice which people still face too often. At the same time, those coming into our country have duties that they need to understand and which facilitate their acceptance and integration."<sup>41</sup> Last, but not least the Home Secretary points out "we need to develop a sense of civic identity and shared values, and knowledge of the English language..."<sup>42</sup> It means that the newcomers applying for British citizenship have the obligation to prove they do understand the language. And they have to prove the basic knowledge of British way of life. These are the first steps that can help immigrants eliminate the problems with integration.

Apart from other issues this report focuses on the economic immigrants as well, who, according to the report represent benefits for the economy. On this basis the Home Secretary summarises the main objectives of the Government necessary for the country to manage the economic immigration. Only on this condition, this kind of immigration can bring advantages to the economy and society.<sup>43</sup> The development during the following years suggests that the policy aimed at gauging mainly economic immigrants has been going on. Safe Haven report became a help for creation of Nationality, Immigration and Asylum Act 2002.

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<sup>40</sup> See Home Office, "Secure Borders, Safe Haven. Integration with Diversity in Modern Britain," under "Citizenship and Nationality," <http://www.privacyinternational.org/issues/terrorism/library/uksecureborderssafehavens.pdf> (accessed March 6, 2010).

<sup>41</sup> Home Office, "Secure Borders, Safe Haven. Integration with Diversity in Modern Britain," under "Foreword," <http://www.privacyinternational.org/issues/terrorism/library/uksecureborderssafehavens.pdf> (accessed March 6, 2010).

<sup>42</sup> Home Office, "Secure Borders, Safe Haven. Integration with Diversity in Modern Britain," under "Preparing People for Citizenship," <http://www.privacyinternational.org/issues/terrorism/library/uksecureborderssafehavens.pdf> (accessed March 6, 2010).

<sup>43</sup> See Home Office, "Secure Borders, Safe Haven. Integration with Diversity in Modern Britain," under "Working in the UK," <http://www.privacyinternational.org/issues/terrorism/library/uksecureborderssafehavens.pdf> (accessed March 6, 2010).



“Accordingly, individuals, seeking British citizenship would now be required to meet the following prerequisites: firstly, 'sufficient knowledge of a language'...secondly, 'sufficient knowledge of life in the United Kingdom'; and thirdly taking up a Citizenship Oath and a Pledge at a civil ceremony.”<sup>44</sup>

Julios states one important fact that “requiring would-be British citizens to demonstrate knowledge of the English language, acquiescence with British way of life as well as the making of a public commitment to our common values and democratic principles indeed reflects a concerted move towards integration and away from multiculturalism.”<sup>45</sup> The simple explanation of the word 'integration' as follows: “incorporation as equals into society or an organization of individuals of different groups (as races).”<sup>46</sup> In other words, the aim of this policy is to support the process of integration of the newcomers into the host society. It concentrates on the special needs of the newcomers resulting from their recent arrival. The example of such needs can be the need of language courses, improvement of the knowledge of the British institutions and others.<sup>47</sup> One of the following chapter is going to provide a detailed explanation of these new rules for the newcomers.

## 6.1 Vital Changes in the Government's Attitude Towards Immigration

This part creates the most important component of the thesis. That is why it is necessary to provide a short summary of the main and the most significant changes in the Government's decisions towards immigration.

The period after the Second World War caused that the country had a lack of the labour force. Due to this fact, the first and at the same time the most significant act was enacted. The British Nationality Act 1948 meant a crucial change. It caused that since 1950's the immigrants have started to enter the UK in large numbers. The greatest problem for the Government was not the immigration itself but the problem presented the non-white immigrants arriving.

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<sup>44</sup> Nationality, Immigration and Asylum Act 2002, c. 45, quoted in Julios, *Contemporary British Identity: British Language, Migrants and Public Discourse*, 121.

<sup>45</sup> Julios, *Contemporary British Identity: British Language, Migrants and Public Discourse*, 121.

<sup>46</sup> Merriam Webster Online, “integration,” Merriam Webster Online, <http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/integration> (accessed March 8, 2010).

<sup>47</sup> See Andrea Baršová and Pavel Barša, *Přistěhovalectví a liberální stát, Imigrační a integrační politiky v USA, západní Evropě a Česku*, (Brno: Mezinárodní politologický ústav, 2005), under “Přistěhovalecké politiky,” <http://www.iir.cz/upload/Publikace/Pristehovalectvi.pdf> (accessed March 10, 2010).

It can be said, that the development of immigration basically until nowadays is the ongoing discussion among the Government, the indigenous society and the ethnic minority groups. The Government on one side is trying to regulate the numbers of immigrants and on the other side is responsible for ensuring the social cohesion and good relationships among the existing society. In the 1960s the Government had to respond to the situation in the society when the 'difference' between the whites and non-whites started to cause the troubles.

The Commonwealth Immigrants Act 1962 aimed at the restrictions imposed mainly on the non-white immigrants, while maintaining the pro-white inclination. The strong reactions did not wait long, the opposition stressed the racial meaning of the document.

Further steps of the Government were more careful and even though the restrictions continued, a certain shift in the perception towards non-white immigrants living in the UK started to be visible. The Race Relation (Amendment) Acts concentrated purely on preventing the racism and discrimination. The Government was forced to deal with the oppressed non-white communities which due to their poor knowledge of the language and British culture were not able to become the part of the society. On this basis the 1970s and 1980s meant a radical change. It is true that immigration restrictions have continued, but the Government's approach towards the immigrants living in the UK has changed significantly. The incorporation of the immigrants and preserving their own identity and culture has become the main goal for the Government. In the 21st century, the integration has become the main objective for the Government. But to ensure this the social cohesion which seems to be very weak has to be strengthened.

## 6.2 The Future of Immigration

In April, 2010, the Prime Minister Gordon Brown delivered his speech about the future prospects of immigration. According to the Guardian, Brown stated that "...the immigration is not out of control..."<sup>48</sup> He promised further quotas that would reduce the inflow. He pointed out that "No mainstream party wants to bring an end to immigration altogether – the debate is over how to control it, about what level it should be and how we

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<sup>48</sup> Gordon Brown, "Controlling Immigration for a Fairer Britain," speech, quoted in the Guardian, "Immigration is not out of control, says Gordon Brown," *The Guardian*, <http://www.guardian.co.uk/uk/2010/mar/31/immigration-control-gordon-brown> (accessed April 2, 2010).

achieve that”<sup>49</sup> He introduced the plan, how to decrease the numbers of immigrants. According to the Guardian, he said that “new overseas student rules and a clampdown on 'bogus' colleges will mean 40,000 fewer students coming to Britain in 2010-11 and promised to close the door on non-European skilled care workers and chefs being recruited by 2014.”<sup>50</sup> The Labour Party has been also preparing the modified points-based-system, which will probably be implemented in 2011.

The future of immigration will be influenced by the results of the coming general election. Both parties want to regulate the inflow of the immigrants. But the way how to achieve it differs. Of course, the public plays the key role. As the Guardian points out “immigration and asylum remains the number two issue for voters after the economy...”<sup>51</sup> It is not surprising, because the public is going to be affected most by the results. Hopefully, the results will be promising and will strengthen the trust of the society.

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<sup>49</sup> Gordon Brown, “Controlling Immigration for a Fairer Britain,” speech, quoted in the Guardian, “Immigration is not out of control, says Gordon Brown,” *The Guardian*, <http://www.guardian.co.uk/uk/2010/mar/31/immigration-control-gordon-brown> (accessed April 2, 2010).

<sup>50</sup> Gordon Brown, “Controlling Immigration for a Fairer Britain,” speech, quoted in the Guardian, “Immigration is not out of control, says Gordon Brown,” *The Guardian*, <http://www.guardian.co.uk/uk/2010/mar/31/immigration-control-gordon-brown> (accessed April 2, 2010).

<sup>51</sup> Haroon Siddique, “Pre-election build-up – as it happened,” Election blog, comment posted March 31, 2010, <http://www.guardian.co.uk/politics/blog/2010/mar/31/general-election-2010-conservatives> (accessed April 3, 2010).

## 7 TOWARDS THE SOCIAL COHESION AND INTEGRATION

By now, the detailed inside into the political changes has been described. But one more issue creating another very important part of this thesis is still missing. It is the effect of immigration on the whole society. The immigration in the host country often causes the weakening of the social cohesion and in this way Britain is no exception. Growing numbers of immigrants and their diversity cause that the basic values are challenged. On one side the multicultural basis allowing people of all cultural backgrounds “to participate fully and freely in the life of the nation while having the freedom to maintain their own cultural identity”<sup>52</sup> is of course the basic assumption for the democracy. But on the other side it seems that in the case of Britain the growing cultural and racial diversity cause that the social cohesion is endangered. The following text is going to reveal in what sense the social cohesion is put at risk as well as what the attitude of the Government to this problem is like and why it is so important for Britain to ensure strong ties among people. Last but not least, it is important to point out the changes being accepted in order to ensure the social cohesion and integration.

It is worth to start with referring to the numbers in table 1 which were used in the chapter two. Now, they are getting on their importance. The tables show that the growth of the non-white immigrant groups increased since the 1950s from less than 100,000 of non-whites living in the country to 4,623,000 in 2001. But having a look at it from a different point of view, these are not only some empty statistical data. Real people and real lives stand behind these data. The Bangladeshi, the Pakistanis or the Indians arrived keeping in their minds their own history and their identity, their culture and habits which did not branch out only in their communities but affected the whole society. As a result of too many different identities living in the country, it seems that people do not know what connects them and lack the sense of the social unity. In this sense the ties keeping people together are negatively affected. The multicultural orientation “allowing people of different cultures to settle without expecting them to integrate into society”<sup>53</sup> caused that in some areas people from individual ethnic groups separated themselves and created their own communities. As the result, even these so much weakened relations among the indigenous

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<sup>52</sup> Home Office, “The Home Office Circular no 78/1990,” under “Section 11 of the Local Government Act 1966,” quoted in Julios, *Contemporary British Identity: British Language, Migrants and Public Discourse*, 111.

<sup>53</sup> David Davis, “Davis warns on “Outdated Multiculturalism,” quoted in Julios, *Contemporary British Identity: British Language, Migrants and Public Discourse*, 151.

society and the non-white immigrants have got worse over the years. Oldham, Burnkley and Bradford belong to the cities where the tight relations even resulted in riots. In 2001 the northern town experienced a violent clash between the Pakistanis, Bangladeshi and white youths.<sup>54</sup> The Home Secretary commented on this in the “Secure Borders, Safe Haven” in which he adds that the riots provided a “picture of...divided communities, lacking a sense of common values or shared civic identity to unite around.”<sup>55</sup> He points out that the “community cohesion and commonality of citizenship is weak.”<sup>56</sup> It seems that one of the main reasons causing the troubles is that the immigrants did not have to integrate. They simply continued in their way of life and they had a very poor sense of the belonging. The Government knew that the lack of social cohesion was a serious problem because only a strong social cohesion can make the integration work. As the Home Secretary points out “to enable integration to take place...we need to be secure within our sense of belonging and identity...”<sup>57</sup> Thus strengthening the social cohesion has become the fundamental goal to achieve as the only possible way how to ensure the integration.

## 7.1 Shared Values – Key to Integration

Serious findings indicating that the multicultural Britain has real troubles within its communities which are mostly separated and hostile to each other brought the Government to find ways how to change it. The key thought is “to bring divided communities together by disregarding the differences that pull them apart, while emphasising instead those traits they share in common, namely their membership of the British nation, their national identity and citizenship together with the rights and responsibilities that come with them.”<sup>58</sup> Regardless the number of ethnicities living in the UK, the social cohesion can be stronger if people do understand what ties them together. In other words, the key point is to

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<sup>54</sup> See Dominic Casciani, “Q&A: 2001 Northern Town Riots,” BBC, [http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk\\_news/5032166.stm](http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk_news/5032166.stm) (accessed March 5, 2010).

<sup>55</sup> Home Office, “Secure Borders, Safe Haven. Integration with Diversity in Modern Britain,” under “Citizenship & Nationality,” <http://www.privacyinternational.org/issues/terrorism/library/uksecureborderssafehavens.pdf> (accessed March 6, 2010).

<sup>56</sup> Home Office, “Secure Borders, Safe Haven. Integration with Diversity in Modern Britain,” under “Citizenship & Nationality,” <http://www.privacyinternational.org/issues/terrorism/library/uksecureborderssafehavens.pdf> (accessed March 6, 2010).

<sup>57</sup> Home Office, “Secure Borders, Safe Haven. Integration with Diversity in Modern Britain,” under “Foreword,” <http://www.privacyinternational.org/issues/terrorism/library/uksecureborderssafehavens.pdf> (accessed March 6, 2010).

<sup>58</sup> Julios, *Contemporary British Identity: British Language, Migrants and Public Discourse*, 119.

make people realize that there are and have always been the values that connect the whole society together. And it is important to get back to this.

Thus the Government focuses on strengthening the value of the British citizenship. It is the very basic “common bond” of the whole society which people seemed to lose. So the society as well as the further wave of newcomers have to understand what it really means to be or become the British citizen. The newcomers seeking the citizenship have to understand that it is more than just “...obtaining the right to a British passport.”<sup>59</sup> That is the building stone to the integration.

## 7.2 Requirements for Becoming a British Citizen

Ensuring that the aspirants applying for the citizenship in the UK are aware of what it exactly means is the main presumption to the successful integration into the new society. The Government has tightened the rules. This chapter is going to reveal how the requirements have changed. First of all, it is important to mention that it is a completely different approach to the immigrants in comparison for example with the 1970s when the communities of immigrants were desperate and hopeless because they did not speak English, their knowledge of the British way of life was very poor. As the result, it was really hard to achieve the successful integration into the society. To ensure that the history will not repeat and to minimize the complications that would accompany the one’s integration into the society, the strict rules have started to be valid.

In particular, the immigrants trying to get the British citizenship have to pass a citizenship test. To prepare for the test, immigrants have a handbook called “Life in the United Kingdom: A Journey to Citizenship” at their disposal. The handbook prepares the immigrants for the test to pass it successfully.<sup>60</sup> The vital requirement is without any doubt the knowledge of the language which they so often lack.

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<sup>59</sup> Home Office, “Secure Borders, Safe Haven. Integration with Diversity in Modern Britain,” under “Citizenship & Nationality,” <http://www.privacyinternational.org/issues/terrorism/library/uksecureborderssafehavens.pdf> (accessed March 7, 2010).

<sup>60</sup> See Home Office, *Life in the United Kingdom: A Journey to Citizenship*, (The Stationery Office: 2007), <http://books.google.com/books?id=2u8rD6F-yg0C&printsec=frontcover#v=onepage&q&f=false> (accessed March 20, 2010).

The newcomers having the problems can join one of the training courses such as “English for Speakers of Other Languages.”<sup>61</sup> Providing the opportunity to attend the courses is a very important step because it helps build up the newcomer’s confidence. Overcoming the language barrier is the first step that allows the newcomers to get closer to the society. However it is only one of the several areas of the knowledge to be tested.

Last but not least, to become the British citizen the knowledge of the life in Britain is an inseparable part of the process as well. In particular the newcomers have to learn about the “legal and social systems and the roles of the Monarchy and other institutions...”<sup>62</sup> Important is the knowledge of the historical background of the UK as well as the knowledge of the practical side of the everyday life of people.<sup>63</sup> It is worth mentioning the period that is required before the immigrant becomes the British citizen. By now, “an immigrant living in the UK can apply for permanent settlement after about five years.”<sup>64</sup> This should be changed in the future. The Government means to prolong the time which precedes getting the citizenship. During this period which should be about 12 months long immigrants will become the so-called “probatory citizens.” After that they can finally become the British citizen. The reason for that seems to be obvious. During that time some of the immigrants can decide that they do not want to live in the UK.<sup>65</sup>

The final step, becoming the British citizen should be one of the most important days in the lives of the immigrants. By this day they are the real British citizens and that should be the reason for the celebration.<sup>66</sup> The ceremony, however, does not exist just to make this day more honourable. More importantly, it gives the new citizens the feeling they are welcomed. They became a part of the society that is connected by the same values united under the citizenship – that is their common bond.

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<sup>61</sup> Citizenship Review, “Citizenship: Our Common Bond,” under “Learning English,” <http://www.justice.gov.uk/docs/citizenship-report-full.pdf> (accessed March 7, 2010).

<sup>62</sup> Dominic Casciani, “UK ‘Citizenship Test’ Unveiled,” BBC, [http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk\\_news/2713349.stm](http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk_news/2713349.stm) (accessed March 10, 2010).

<sup>63</sup> See Dominic Casciani, “UK ‘Citizenship Test’ Unveiled.”

<sup>64</sup> Dominic Casciani, “A New Way to Earn UK Citizenship,” BBC, [http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk\\_news/politics/7254926.stm](http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk_news/politics/7254926.stm) (accessed March 10, 2010).

<sup>65</sup> See Dominic Casciani, “A New Way to Earn UK Citizenship.”

<sup>66</sup> See Citizenship Review, “Citizenship: Our Common Bond,” under “Citizenship Ceremonies,” <http://www.justice.gov.uk/docs/citizenship-report-full.pdf> (accessed March 7, 2010).

On the other hand there are not just the requirements are supported in the early stages after their arrival, because this time can be very hard for some of them. To help them overcome this as soon as possible, cities provide centers where newcomers gain needed information, for example about services in the particular area.<sup>67</sup>

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<sup>67</sup> See Citizenship Review, “Citizenship: Our Common Bond,” under “Early Contact,” <http://www.justice.gov.uk/docs/citizenship-report-full.pdf> (accessed March 7, 2010).



## 8 COULD BRITAIN DO WITHOUT IMMIGRANTS?

Interesting questions are “Why does Britain still maintain the particular percentage of newcomers allowed to enter the country?” Someone might be curious “Why has not Britain simply closed the borders and has not continued in the creation of a wealthy and successful leading world power?”

By now, it is possible for someone to think that the immigrants bring Britain more complications than benefits. But it would not be right nor objective to claim this. Of course, as everything, immigration also has its pros and cons. The social problems are evident but on the other hand, it is good to emphasize that immigration brings the benefits to Britain as well. Definitely, it cannot be assumed that the immigration is rather a “darkside” of Britain.

The latest debates concentrate on the impacts of immigration on the economy. Several studies have been made to provide detailed data. It seems that various experts provide the information influenced by their personal attitude. Some of them are more cautious in their evaluation, for example the document published in 2008 by House of Lords called “The Economic Impact of Immigration.” In this case Committee suggests that “the economic impacts of immigration depend critically on the skills of immigrants. Different types of immigrant can have very different impact on the economy.”<sup>68</sup> On the other hand, there are some other studies bringing very positive comments on the current and especially on future benefits of the economic migrants. One of these documents “Secure Borders, Safe Haven” has been mentioned several times. Home Secretary comments on this issue and points out that “Migration can bring considerable benefits for the domestic population. Migrants can contribute to the UK by increasing economic growth, paying taxes, setting up new businesses, contributing to the expansion of new business sectors...and creating new jobs.”<sup>69</sup> He sees in this kind of immigration a great potential for the UK. To sum up the main conclusion of these studies, regardless the personal commitment, the result is always the same. The proper selection of the skilled immigrant workers can help the UK economy.

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<sup>68</sup> House of Lords, “The Economic Impact of Immigration,” Sessional Papers, 2007-08, *Abstract*, April 1, 2008, vol. 1, p. 5.

<sup>69</sup> Home Office, “Secure Borders, Safe Haven. Integration with Diversity in Modern Britain,” under “The Challenges at Home,” <http://www.privacyinternational.org/issues/terrorism/library/uksecureborderssafehavens.pdf> (accessed March 7, 2010).

This closer inside into the economic impacts now enables to answer the questions raised at the beginning. Britain keeps some percentage of inflow of the immigrants in order to strengthen the economy. Hopefully, at the same time it helps to understand why the country can not simply reject the immigrants - since Britain is aware of the possible benefits.

It is not so long, when the Newsweek published an interesting article which pushes the Europe's countries to face the following decision: either Europe will "open the gates to more and better-skilled immigrants"<sup>70</sup> or it will "slam the doors."<sup>71</sup> According to the article, growing economy in Europe will need in the future the immigrants to fill in the vacancies in order to enable the prosperity to grow. This future prospect is supported also by the fact that the population is getting older and thus the young immigrants can help to get over this problem. The article states, these are the reasons why the countries rejecting the immigrants are going to suffer from the stagnation of the economy which is going to have the negative influence on the whole society. On the other hand, the countries accepting the immigrants as the important part of the future are going to benefit.<sup>72</sup> Obviously, Britain belongs to the countries which do understand the need of immigrants.

Another proof of the country's willingness to support the economic migrants is the effort to improve the rules for economic migrants which are united under the Points Based System. The main aim is to simplify and clearly set the rules for the newcomers entering the country on the basis of working opportunities or education.<sup>73</sup>

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<sup>70</sup> Stefan Theil, "Europe's Big Choice," *The Newsweek*, <http://www.newsweek.com/id/233913> (accessed April 3, 2010).

<sup>71</sup> Stefan Theil, "Europe's Big Choice."

<sup>72</sup> See Stefan Theil, "Europe's Big Choice."

<sup>73</sup> See Home Office, "A Points-Based System: Make Migration Work for Britain," <http://www.homeoffice.gov.uk/documents/command-points-based-migration?view=Binary> (accessed March 27, 2010).

## 9 LIFE OF ETHNIC MINORITIES IN THE UK

As it has been already indicated, the policy in the 21st century concentrates on the integration of the immigrants. But the thesis would not be complete without considering the ethnic groups of immigrants. The aim of this chapter is to focus on their real lives and to depict the clashes of the newcomers with the new world and their troubles with integration. To illustrate best their feelings, hopes and fears this part is going to be based on the fiction, completed with the views of the minorities themselves.

Even though the book called “White Teeth” is a fiction, the trustworthiness to the story is given by the author herself. Zadie Smith was born in Britain to the multiethnic family.<sup>74</sup> As she says “when I was little, we'd go on holiday to Devon, and there, if you're black and you go into a sweetshop, for instance, everyone turns and looks at you. So my instinct as a child was always to over-compensate by trying to behave three times as well as every other child...I think that instinct has spilled over into my writing in some ways.”<sup>75</sup>

“White Teeth” is set around the 1970s London. The book provides the detailed inside into the lives of the multiethnic families which have to deal with their “diversity.” The most interesting seems to be a life of the Bangladeshi man called Samad and his family. The story depicts his problem with getting used to the new world in which everything seems to be completely different from what he used to know in Bangladesh. What seems to be the most serious for him is the clash between the two different worlds and cultures. He keeps in mind his country and his Muslim faith and due to this he is not able to integrate into the host society.

Samad's strong bond to Bangladesh influences his sons – twins Millat and Magid. Magid is sent by his father to Bangladesh in order to become a “real” Muslim. To the huge Samad's disappointment, when he comes back after several years, he seems to be everything but Muslim.<sup>76</sup>

By the time Magid is 'being taught' how to become a real Muslim, Millat has to deal with the father's attempts to pass on him the Muslim way of life. At this moment, the “struggle” between the two generations is evident. On one side there is Samad standing obviously refusing to get used to the life in the UK and integrate into the society.

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<sup>74</sup> See Contemporary Writers, “Zadie Smith,” Contemporary Writers, <http://www.contemporarywriters.com/authors/?p=auth257> (accessed April 15, 2010).

<sup>75</sup> Stephen Moss, review of *White Teeth*, by Zadie Smith, *The Guardian*, <http://www.guardian.co.uk/books/2000/jan/26/fiction.zadiesmith> (accessed April 15, 2010).

<sup>76</sup> See Zadie Smith, *White Teeth: A Novel*, 236-237.

On the other side there is Millat standing alone, desperate and hostile to the whole society. It seems obvious that he does not want to preserve the traditions that are far away from his understanding. He was born in Britain, however, his father causes that he does not know which way to go. He is trapped between the two worlds and the only thing he believes in is that he does not belong anywhere, because Samad did not give Millat a choice to decide about his own way and causes that Millat suffers the “difference” same as his father does.<sup>77</sup>

The story of this book has been incorporated into the thesis in order to point out that immigration does not mean only the arrival into a host country. Actually, as soon as the immigrants enter Britain, the long and often complicated process leading to integration begins. The book reveals the possible problems arising from meeting a new culture and different way of life which immigrants often have to face.

Problems with integration also prove the personal opinions of the non-whites. This part is not inspired by the book, but comes out from the result of the research which was published in 2002 by BBC. The survey concentrated on the immigration and race. Correspondents were asked questions focused on different areas of social life.<sup>78</sup>

The first of many questions was “Do you think that immigrant communities find it easy or difficult to integrate and become a part of Britain?”<sup>79</sup> Only 20% of the non-white correspondents answered they found it easy to integrate, but nearly 60% of them found it difficult.<sup>80</sup> In the next question the correspondents were asked “Do you think that immigrant communities do as much as they can to integrate in Britain?”<sup>81</sup> More than half of the non-whites answered they “could do more.”<sup>82</sup> Only 20% of them supposed that they did enough.<sup>83</sup>

The survey only proves that integration is definitely not an easy goal to achieve and it seems obvious that new policy will not be able to change such a sensitive issue immediately. Above all, most probably no policy can achieve any integration of the whole society without the effort of the immigrants and the indigenous people to unite themselves at the basis of the knowledge what connects them.

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<sup>77</sup> See Zadie Smith, *White Teeth: A Novel*, 222-238.

<sup>78</sup> See BBC News Web site, “The Results,” BBC, [http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/english/static/in\\_depth/uk/2002/race/results\\_full.stm#question25](http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/english/static/in_depth/uk/2002/race/results_full.stm#question25) (accessed April 18, 2010).

<sup>79</sup> BBC News Web site, “The Results.”

<sup>80</sup> See BBC News Web site, “The Results.”

<sup>81</sup> BBC News Web site, “The Results.”

<sup>82</sup> BBC News Web site, “The Results.”

<sup>83</sup> See BBC News Web site, “The Results.”

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## 10 FIRST AND SECOND GENERATION OF NON-WHITE IMMIGRANTS

To close this uneasy and sensitive issue which immigration obviously is, the comparison of the lives of the two generations is going to make it easier to see the progress which is definitely undisputable, especially, when the life of the first generation is given into the contrast the differences seem to be obvious.

When the first generation of non-white immigrants arrived in the United Kingdom, the vision of better working opportunities, their belief in a new and better life were the only things they kept in minds. However, vast majority of them found that their dreams about the country which is full of opportunities would hardly be ever fulfilled. As it has been said several times, their no or very poor education in combination with the poor knowledge of the language was often exploited by companies which saw a cheap labour force in them. Soon they found themselves hopeless and sad. The hopes they had when they came into the UK turned into despair. Instead of finding new opportunities they had to face hostility, suspicion and display of racism. Their origins were treated by indigenous society as their “difference.” The ongoing despair among non-whites contributed to their separation into their own world which they created within the communities. Some of them stuck to their own culture and traditions unwilling to accept the British way of life which ended in preventing them from integration into the mainstream.

On the other hand, it seems that their children have had totally different lives. The Government’s changing legislation has aimed at the improvement of the National Curriculum and has focused on the specific needs of non-white children. The new policy can be seen as the turnover which has influenced the second generation considerably. It has been mentioned in one of the previous chapters that the main aim of the National Curriculum is to meet the special educational needs of non-white children. At the first place were put the language needs in order to help children not having English as their mother tongue, to overcome the serious barrier limiting their connection with the surroundings. The modified curriculum and the new programs at schools aim at the child’s “full participation in the mainstream of national life.”<sup>84</sup>

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<sup>84</sup> Home Office, “The Home Office Circular no 78/1990,” under “Section 11 of the Local Government Act 1966,” quoted in Julios, *Contemporary British Identity: British Language, Migrants and Public Discourse*, 111.

Moreover, children of different origins meet every day at school and this helps considerably develop equality among them since their childhood. In other words, the feeling of diversity is minimized due to the fact that children are getting used to the different cultural backgrounds of their classmates.

As “the gap in educational attainment between natives and immigrants is much reduced”<sup>85</sup> the modified curriculum seems to be successful, especially when the non-white children’s results are taken on the whole. That is the considerable and important progress since the better results at school play an important role in getting jobs in the future.

But there is still one more thing that both generations have in common – the remaining troubles with the integration. It seems that joining to the mainstream is something which both generations must permanently fight for. Most probably, in the case of such uneasy and complicated issue, the change is not going to come in a year or two. It is something which can be influenced only by the society itself and it can take a long time until the society unite. So far the diverse cultural background and origins have not been welcomed as something positive but they have become more the object of suspicion and prejudice. Perhaps, it is the task for the following generations which will not be stigmatized by this. So they will be able to take it as something normal and natural, the part of their lives.

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<sup>85</sup> Centre Piece, “The Integration of Immigrants and their Children in Europe,” p. 15. <http://cep.lse.ac.uk/pubs/download/cp304.pdf> (accessed April 20, 2010).

## CONCLUSION

The purpose of this bachelor thesis was to find out how the Government changed its attitude towards the growing numbers of immigrants and what the main reason for these changes was. The main focus was on the second half of the 20th century and the first years of the 21st century.

Firstly, it was necessary to begin with the historical background of the immigration. It was important to specify the reasons for the arrival of the newcomers into the United Kingdom. Based on the historical research it has been found out that since the 1950s, in particular the groups of non-white immigrants have created the largest group of the immigrants. In order to create the complex picture about the development of the non-white immigrants it was necessary to incorporate the tables. They were used to point out the enormous growth.

Based on the research, it was proved that the attitude of the Government towards the immigrants had been radically changed. In the 1960s the restrictions were imposed in order to stop the inflow of the non-white immigrants into the country. However, the following decades meant an overturn in the perception of the immigrants living in the UK as the Government started to shape the multicultural and multi-ethnic country. A completely new standpoint on the immigration required fundamental changes in the policy. Recently, the Government has been concentrating mainly on creating the cohesive and integrated society on the basis of which further changes are still necessary.

Another important aspect referring to what had preceded those changes was considered. In general, it can be said that all the changes mentioned above were implemented as a reaction to the situation in the society. In the 1960s the evident pro-white inclinations were prioritized and the non-white immigrants were taken rather as the “different” people. The reasons for these assumptions were caused by the fact that the non-whites were very often under-educated. Thus it was hard for them to get incorporated into the white society. These findings forced the Government to completely retreat the current situation. As it was mentioned above, the multicultural society was shaped to ensure the equal treatment of the immigrants while respecting their cultural diversity. However, the multicultural society caused a lack of the social cohesion preventing the public to integrate into one unity which has influenced the current policy.



Before dealing with the new requirements for the newcomers implemented in this century, first of all it was necessary to concentrate on the situation in the society. Based on the research it was found out that the social cohesion among people was very weak lacking the common values that would unite them. From this point of view building a strong and firm social cohesion has become the key objective. Only the society which is aware of its basic values keeping it together is able to accept the newcomers. The current rules require the newcomers seeking the British citizenship to pass tests proving their knowledge of the British history, culture and society in order to simplify their integration as much as possible.

The research proves that since the first non-white immigrants started to enter the UK in the 1950s, the shift in the perception of the immigrants has been considerable. It seems that willingness of the society and the Government to accept the non-whites as a part of the society is much more evident in comparison with the previous decades. Of course, it is important to limit the number of immigrants entering the country, moreover, it is vital to incorporate the immigrants already settled in Britain into the society. The incorporation of the immigrants is at the moment the key objective for the Government because only successful incorporation can ensure strong cohesion and integration of the whole society. But as it has been already indicated, it is not easy to achieve this goal. Most probably, the second and the third generation will have either fewer or no problems with integration due to the fact that Britain is their home country and thus the language, culture and values will be their own ones.

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