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MULTICULTURALISM IN BRITAIN

Bachelor Thesis

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Affirmation

I hereby affirm, that I have elaborated the final thesis independently and that I have listed all the used literature.

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.....

Student Signature

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Abstrakt

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Hlavným cieľom bakalárskej práce je poukázať na vplyv masovej migrácie na spoločnosť Británie. Úlohou práce je poskytnúť ucelený, ale jednoduchý prehľad o vývoji imigrácie do Británie od roku 1800 až po súčasnosť, ktorý spôsobil, že sa z monokultúrnej krajiny stala multikultúrna a taktiež vyzdvihnúť dôležitosť získania britského občianstva pre cudzincov. Práca je rozdelená do troch hlavných kapitol. V prvej kapitole sa charakterizuje vývoj migrácie do Británie od 19. storočia, cez 20. storočie až po rok 2020. Táto kapitola tiež poskytuje celkový prehľad opatrení zo strany britskej vlády v oblasti migrácie a rasovej rovnosti. Ďalšia kapitola je venovaná problematike multikulturalizmu, jej rôznym aspektom, ale aj dopadom na britskú spoločnosť a identitu. Jej hlavným zámerom je poukázať na fakt, že multikulturalizmus je priamym výsledkom migrácie, ale taktiež na jej vznik a prejavy v Británii. Záverečná kapitola sa zaoberá konceptom aktívneho občianstva, ktorá bola zavedená ako riešenie na zamedzenie kolapsu multikulturalizmu, ale taktiež na umožnenie ľahšej integrácie imigrantov do spoločnosti, ktorej výsledkom malo byť získanie britského občianstva. Úlohou záverečnej kapitoly je poukázať na dôležitosť aktívneho zapojenia sa cudzincov do spoločnosti, v ktorej žijú a na jej vplyv v oblasti integrácie. Výsledkom riešenia danej problematiky je fakt, že aj napriek získaniu britského občianstva a čiastočnou integráciou prisťahovalcov, si svoje zvyky, tradície a kultúru uchovávajú a tá väčšmi ovplyvňuje aj ich chovanie a rozhodovanie. Ďalej sa poukázalo aj na skutočnosť, že koncept aktívnej participácie v danej komunite môže prispieť k tolerantnejšej, empatickejšej a vyváženejšej spoločnosti naprieč Britániou.

Kľúčové slová: multikulturalizmus, Británia, imigrácia, občianstvo, integrácia, aktívna participácia

Abstract

ŠALGÓOVÁ, Alexandra: *Multiculturalism in Britain*. – University of Economics in Bratislava. Faculty of Applied Languages; Department of Intercultural Communication. Supervisor: PhDr. Ildikó Némethová, PhD. – Bratislava: FAJ EU 2020, 66 p.

The main aim of this bachelor thesis is to indicate the role and impact of mass migration in Britain. The task of this work is to provide a complete but simple overview of the evolution of immigration to Britain from 1800 to the present day, which has made a shift from a monocultural country to a multicultural one and also to show the importance of acquiring British citizenship for foreigners. The thesis is divided into three main chapters. The first chapter characterizes the history of migration to Britain from the 19th century through the 20th century to year 2020. This chapter also provides an overview of the British Government's measures on migration and racial equality. The next chapter is devoted to the issue of multiculturalism, its various aspects, but also its impact on the British society and identity. Its main intent is to point out that multiculturalism is a direct result of migration, but also its development and manifestations in Britain. The final chapter deals with the concept of active citizenship, which was introduced as a solution for preventing the collapse of multiculturalism, but also to offer immigrants an easier integration into society, which should result in obtaining British citizenship. The task of the final chapter is to indicate the importance of active participation of foreigners in the society in which they live and its influence in the area of integration. The result of solving the problem is that despite the acquisition of British citizenship and the partial integration of immigrants, they retain their customs, traditions and culture, which is of a great value when making decisions and behaving. It has also been pointed out that the concept of active participation in the community can contribute to a more tolerant, empathetic and balanced society across Britain.

Key words: multiculturalism, Britain, immigration, citizenship, integration, active participation

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Introduction

Movement of people, search for better and safer places, nations full of various cultures, globalization – these are some general topics that have been heavily discussed, while being globally present for many centuries. And Britain is not an exception. Since 2015, the whole world has not stopped talking about the fact that Britain could possibly leave the European Union. Yet it was confirmed by the positive result of referendum held in 2016 and the reasons for doing so were evident – problems with the immigrants in the society and a high rate of migration to Britain. The period of the last two decades of the 21st century can be characterized by numerous unexpected bombings and attacks on the innocent population, not only in Britain, but in many other countries. Most of these incidents were organized by terrorist groups composed of people of different nations, however, with a permanent settlement in Britain. The most serious issue that burden the indigenous British are the immigrants and their lack of interest towards Britain and its values. This bachelor thesis aims to provide a general overview of how Britain has gotten to where it is today and how Britain has become a country composed of different cultures.

It is believed that the first streams of mass migration are dated back to year 1800, when numerous Irish started coming to Britain followed by Jews. However, these two ethnic groups represented just a small number in the second half of the 20th century, when mass migration became uncontrollable. Britain started welcoming people from the West Indies, India, Pakistan, China, but also from many European countries. These events are explained in detail in the first chapter of the bachelor thesis – it describes the immigration history of Britain from 1800 to 1945. The first chapter talks about the immigration flow in the 19th century with a major focus on the settlements of the Irish and Jews, as they constructed the biggest part of the whole immigration wave in this century. The second chapter briefly describes the development of immigration from the start of the 20th century and the inter-war years. The third chapter continues in describing the immigration flow to Britain from 1945, when mass migration started towards the country. This chapter also includes the history of immigration acts and race relations acts granted by the British law since the Second World War, and various approaches of both the Conservative and Labour governments throughout the second half of the 20th century till 2020. The last two chapters talk about the issue of multiculturalism and citizenship in Britain. The second chapter focuses on the consequences due to the concentration of millions of immigrants in Britain.

While the first chapter conceptualises the term multiculturalism in general, its different forms, meanings and approaches, the second chapter explains the development of Britain as a multicultural country, how it started, how different governments handled it and various examples of how multiculturalism is applied in the British society. The third chapter focuses on the concept of active citizenship, which was mainly supported during the Labour government of Blair and Brown between the years 1997 and 2010. However, some examples from the governance of Margaret Thatcher and John Major in 1980s and 1990s are discussed and explained, as well as the changes made by the current government.

In the bachelor thesis, there are primary and secondary sources used. The primary sources rely on the general and gained knowledge throughout the last three years of the studies at the university. Mainly from the classes of Intercultural Communication and British History, as well as my interest in the discussed issue. The secondary sources refer to printed or electronic books on this specific topic, but also various online papers or researches of reliable resources. Most of the resources are written by foreign authors, but there are a few Slovak or Czech authors who deal with the issue of multiculturalism or migration. The main resource used in the first chapter of immigration history 1800-1945 was Panikos Panayi's work "*An Immigration History of Britain: Multicultural Racism since 1800*", which was also supported by many other historians and experts in the field of migration, such as Paul Collier and his work "*Exodus: How Migration Is Changing Our World*". The second chapter is mainly based on Watson's "*Multiculturalism*" that is complemented with experts like Fleras, Hiro and with statistics of the National Archives or Home Office. The last chapter includes authors like Catherine Puzzo and Bee & Guerrina. Many electronic resources were used, in form of diaries like The Guardian, BBC and The Independent. Another important part is the application of various methodological tools. The bachelor thesis mainly uses descriptive analysis, comparison and qualitative research.

This bachelor thesis also points out the impacts of mass migration flows on a strong and rich country such as Britain. As well as how the arrival of so many people from all around the world has led to the emergence of the concept of multiculturalism, its rise and decline and how Britain wanted to integrate the immigrants into the society by implementing the idea of active citizenship. This bachelor thesis can be considered as a thorough guide about the immigration history of Britain since 1800 which turned the country into a multicultural one while engaging people in active participation in their local, national or global community.

1 Migration

1.1 Definition of Migration

It may seem that human migration has become a new phenomenon in the last decades, but the opposite is true – migration and moving of nations is as old as the human race. People have always been looking for a place with the best conditions to live and with rich resources needed for life. Many experts claim that migration is an inseparable part of human's life, as everyone has migrated in some form. There are diverse points of view on what exactly migration represents. Someone can define it in a very basic way as a movement from one place to another, but also as a shift, transfer or relocation. Yet it is not an accurate definition, as it can be mixed up with the term mobility (Pooley – Turnbull, 1998). Migration, in general, can be defined as a movement of people from one place to another with the objective of settlement. Likewise, the International Organization for Migration (2019) understands it as “movement of persons away from their place of usual residence, either across an international border or within a State”. With this in mind, there can be a distinction between internal and international migration. Internal migration is a movement within one country, while international migration can be described as a movement through the border of states or a departure of one or more persons from one country and their settlement in another country (Jeleňová, 2017). Jeleňová further explains that those who migrate for family reunification, better education or job offers are called voluntary migrants (ibid.). By contrast, a person who moves to another country unwillingly can be a refugee, asylum seeker or someone who wants to escape from regions affected by a natural disaster (ibid.). In this case, it can be voluntary or forced migration. Another characterisation is a temporary and permanent migration. Those who settle in another place for a specific amount of time and, on the other hand, those who stay in a new country with no intention of going back to their country of origin. It is crucial to mention that there is no official definition of the term migrant in law. However, according to the United Nations Migration Agency, a migrant is someone who changes his or her usual residence and it does not matter for how long or if the movement is voluntary or not (IOM, 2019). Another key thing to remember is the difference between the terms immigrant and emigrant. Immigrant is a person who comes to and settles in a country that is different from his or her country of origin, while an emigrant is someone who leaves his or her country of origin to settle in another. This bachelor thesis focuses on immigrants that have been coming to Britain from foreign countries, in other words, the focus is on external migrants.

1.2 Migration to Britain

Britain has always been a safe place for many people around the world, especially, when living in certain countries has been risky or even dangerous, such as threats by religious persecution, war or famine. As well as the ones who have been looking for better-paid job, better social and living conditions. Furthermore, Britain has been considered as one of the most attractive places for plenty of students around the world, not to mention that the British universities are the most prestigious ones. Foreigners are not motivated to settle in Britain just because of work, studies or peace, but they also come to join their family members that have already been living in Britain. The above-mentioned examples are the most common reasons to migrate to Britain. However, it is very difficult to clearly set out the reasons of immigration to Britain, as many immigrants have mixed intentions or they do not want to state why they have decided to move to Britain (ONS, 2018). Then again, it is futile to generalize the reasons of migration throughout the last three centuries, from the 19th to the 21st. Above all, it seems pertinent to mention that the common sign for each century has been the political, geographical and imperial conjunction of Britain with the majority of immigrants' native countries (Panayi, 2010).

In order to keep a good track of the development of migration in Britain, the International Passenger Survey was established and it is administered by the Office for National Statistics, hereinafter just ONS. The whole system is based on interviews with persons who come or leave Britain, whether it is on an airport, ferry, terminals or any other place of access. According to official statistics, around 700,000 and 800,000 people are being consulted by the ONS from the total rates of 100 million people who cross the British border and from a sample of 5,000 persons they determine how many people in total moved to or from Britain and where they come from. It is important to point out, that there are two types of estimations for long-term international migration, and those are the International Passenger Survey and Long-Term International Migration. The main difference is that the LTIM do not count with the asylum seekers, refugees, migrants coming from those places of access where the survey is not made, like from the Republic of Ireland and also migrants who changed their intention to stay in order to prolong their length of stay in Britain (ONS, 2019; Vargas-Silva – McNeil, 2017). According to the Migration Observatory, migrants in Britain can be characterized by “foreign birth, by foreign citizenship, or by their movement into a new country to stay temporarily or to settle for the long-term” (Anderson – Blinder, 2019). They also claim that children who were

born in Britain or have British nationality can be involved in the migrant population if their parents were born abroad or have foreign nationality (ibid.). Moreover, in Britain a long-term international immigrant is considered to be someone who “moves to a country other than that of his or her usual residence for period of at least a year, so that the country of his destination effectively becomes his or her new country of usual residence” (ONS, 2019).

1.3 Migration to Britain in the 19th Century

The oncoming of the nineteenth century was very enriching for the British society; this period changed not only the British but also the whole world. Since the late eighteenth century, the First Industrial Revolution had been going on; it brought countless new opportunities to the country. From the beginning of the year 1800 the population of Britain was on a rise, as the conditions for a better and healthier life were much higher than before. Not to mention, that the majority of British started to live in cities and the society became an industrial rather than an agricultural one – that was when a wave of mass migration of British was happening. Moreover, Britain created and introduced new inventions to the rest of the world, that made living easier. Not only living, but also travelling became simpler, cheaper and more accessible. Thanks to these inventions, migration was prosperous. Coupled with the new ideas of democracy, liberty, equality, establishment of free trade and new colonial policies that resulted in better social and working conditions, Britain became the first modern and industrialized nation in the world. Considering this fact, Britain was a magnet for people from other countries as it seemed to be a great place to settle and live.

No doubt that foreigners were interested in coming to Britain and thousands of them decided to leave their homeland and settle there. Some came in order to make the idea of a better and wealthier life a reality; others did not have other choice than forcedly flee from their homes. Even though, the most significant and visible migration groups that entered Britain and also settled during the Victorian era were the Irish and Jews. Yet there were numerous other newcomers who had the same intentions. First of all, many Italian immigrants arrived to Britain in the middle of the century, mainly because of economic reasons. Most of them came from “poor mountain areas” or they were escaping from the ongoing revolutions in Italy and worked as musicians, artists or ice-cream sellers (Panayi, 2010; Dresser). Moreover, there were various revolutions, Civil Wars and suppressions happening in the 19th century Europe, which resulted in a migration of few thousand people mainly from France, Spain, Hungary and many other smaller nations (Panayi, 2010).

The migration to Britain throughout the 19th century can be characterized as a white one, as the majority of the new settlers were from continental Europe or from Ireland. Although, there was a small group of non-white citizens – black slaves. It was very common, for a dominant nation with many colonies around the world as Britain, to have slaves, especially from Africa. It represented a cheap labour force until the Slave Trade Act in 1807 and Slavery Abolition Act in 1833 when transporting and owning of a slave was illegal. The consequences of this fact resulted in some black Africans staying in Britain. Relationship between the white population and the black aliens was imperceptible – there was “little or no contact” (Panayi, 2010). However, the Africans were not the only non-European ethnic group in Britain in the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century. A couple of Chinese, Indian and West Indian groups could be found in the Victorian era thanks to their political and colonial connection. It is said that all the former mentioned minority groups did not exceed the boundary of 20,000 (ibid.). This fact was about to change in the next century.

1.3.1 Irish Immigrants

The two most significant and biggest foreign-born immigrant groups in the 19th century Britain were Irish and Jews. The main difference between these two groups was that Irish newcomers were considered as internal migrants, as Ireland was a part of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland established in 1801. Irish have always been present in Britain, taking in the account their closeness, political just as the geographical. But in the 19th century, as Britain was on a rise, there was a breaking point of the Irish migration to Britain, which was caused by better transportation facilities between these two neighbouring countries. Thanks to new British inventions, especially of the steam ships, it became easier to cross the Irish Sea and come to Britain (Neal, 1994). Moreover, British needed help occupying the vacant job positions in industrial zones. As Dilip Hiro (1991), an Indian journalist and author, stated “Irish workers played a crucial role in the construction of canals, railways, roads and houses” during this period. On the other hand, women occupied positions such as domestic servants, waitresses, teachers, nurses, iron furnaces or charwomen (Swift – Gilley, 1989). Immigrants from Ireland were pleased by the offer of working in Britain, as their home country was dealing with political, social and economic issues. However, the main reason why so many people came from Ireland to Britain in the mid-19th century was sorrowful. In 1845 the potato blight hit Ireland, which resulted in the Great Famine that was considered the worst event that has ever happened in

Ireland, lasting till 1851. People from the agricultural industry coupled with those of lower social status were the most affected ones by the Potato Famine. This was later on reflected in the composition of Irish communities in Britain. Even though, Britain and Ireland made one state, they had significant differences and Irish were passing through difficult times. Not just because they were forced to leave their home country, but also, they could not integrate easily into the British society. Some scholars characterize them as the outcast of the Victorian society, because they were living in very poor and unhealthy conditions in bad neighbourhoods (Swift – Gilley, 1989). However, this was not the full image of Irish groups in Britain. Many scholars conveyed that the Irish “came from a variety of social, economic and religious backgrounds” and they could be found in every sphere of life, such as in civil engineering, textile, mining or economy (Swift – Gilley, 1989; MacRaild, 2011).

Those who migrated from Ireland to Britain have “remained the largest supplier of migrants to Britain throughout the past 200 years” (Panayi, 2010). According to the Census reports made throughout the 19th century Britain, there were around 415,000 Irish-born residents in 1841. This number was almost doubled 10 years later, when the Irish population in Britain was raised by 74% to 727,000 persons. It is said that between 1847 and 1855 about 300,000 Irish citizens settled in Britain (ibid.). In 1861 the number of Irish-born grew up to 806,000. Most of them settled in England and Wales, forming 2-3% of the overall population of these two countries. Although less Irish settled in Scotland, they composed 7.2% of the Scottish population during the peak of famine in 1851. One decade later it dropped to 6.6% while the centre of their settlement was still Glasgow with its surroundings and “coalfields of the West of Scotland” (Neal, 1994). Irish immigrants mainly settled in port towns, such as London, Liverpool, Bristol, Newcastle, Yorkshire and northern countries of England (Neal, 1994; Pooley, 1998). “After 1871”, as Fitzpatrick claims, “two-thirds of the settlers lived outside London, Liverpool, Manchester and Glasgow, but of these the vast majority remained townsmen” (Swift – Gilley, 1989). Another key point to remember is that, as the majority of Irish newcomers came by steamships to Britain, there was no register kept in ports. In other words, it meant that it is difficult to count all the Irish migrants that came to Britain in this period. Moreover, during the 40s and 50s many Irish settlers were deported back to Ireland by the British government, due to the Poor Law Removal Act of 1847. Those Irish-born paupers who were found to receive relief in their country and did not have settlement in Britain could have been deported back home (Lucassen, 2005; Neal, 1988). Primarily citizens and

representatives of Liverpool were enthusiastic about this law, as about 17 to 20 percent of its residents were born in Ireland and they were causing a lot of problems to this port city (ibid.). Frank Neal (1988) further explains that as soon as the Act became a law many Irish settlers stopped claiming relief to avoid deportation. It was reflected in the quantity of Irish paupers in Liverpool, which dropped by almost 2,000 persons in one week after implementing the law. During the period of eight years, between 1846 and 1853, there were 72,781 Irish deported from Liverpool. In contrast, Manchester disposed of just 4,732 people, as it was 4 times cheaper to send the unwanted Irish settlers to Liverpool by train than to their home country by ship (ibid.). Yet some decided to stay in Britain and they became beggars, which caused more problems to the municipalities. On the other hand, the deported Irish paupers, right after landing in Ireland, boarded on the next ship destined to Britain (Santry, 2018; Webb, 1927). However, this law was modified few years later and those immigrants who had been living in Britain for more than one year could not be deported (Lucassen, 2005). All things considered, the overall number of Irish immigrants that made their way to Britain throughout the 19th and early 20th century is assessed at about one million people (Panayi, 2010).

The attitude of British working class towards Irish newcomers was heterogeneous. It all depended on the demand on labour markets across the state, for women just as for men. Those who were escaping from the famine and wanted to find their new home and job in Britain, were the most disadvantaged ones. The reason was the outbreak of the Great Depression in the late 19th century Britain which resulted in many locals being unemployed (Neal, 1994). It was followed by another outbreak – competition between unemployed British and Irish in finding a vacant work position. The integration of newcomers from Ireland became even harder because of their religion – they were Catholics living in an environment full of British Anglicans. This fact resulted in more animosity, as Irish were considered as “lazy, feckless and shifty” (ibid.). Although the Irish went through some difficult times in Victorian Britain, coupled with discrimination, hatred, rivalry or poverty, many scholars have agreed on the fact that Britain would not be the same without the arrival of the Irish. Panikos Panayi (2010), a cultural historian, in his book *'An Immigration History of Britain'* mentioned various theories of experts that have dealt with this issue. Firstly, Robert Miles claimed that “Irish labour was a crucial component of capitalist development” mainly in northern regions of Britain and it was complicated to imagine if the capitalist industrialization had happened in the same way without Irish as it

did with their presence. Secondly, Leo Lucassen doubted that there was a clear answer on whether the Irish got integrated or not because of the shortage of information (ibid.). But he affirmed that “integration must have occurred because the Irish became increasingly invisible” (ibid.). In contrast, Jeffrey Williams, professor on the Harvard University, said that “the Irish were too small to matter much” in the mid-Victorian era (ibid.). Although, according to David Fitzpatrick, Irish immigrants “adopted patterns of residence, religious practice, political participation and criminality” since they started settling down in Britain (Swift – Gilley, 1989). Despite this, both the Irish and the British achieved a mutual understanding when they started to be concerned about the arrival of new immigrants to Britain – the Jews (ibid.).

1.3.2 Jewish Immigrants

The biggest religious group and the second biggest ethnic group in Britain during the Victorian and also the Edwardian era were composed of Jews. This group of immigrants differed from the Irish one in many spheres. They came from varied areas of Europe and they were also found in all levels of social classes. In this bachelor thesis they are characterized as external immigrants that have the same faith in common. Even though, they practice it in assorted forms. Jews represent the worshippers of Judaism; they perceive it as a heritage and tradition (Fletcher Jones, 1990). One is considered to be a Jew, if he or she was born to a Jewish mother or father; or if converted to Judaism (Weiner).

Most of the 19th century Jews that settled in Britain were mostly from countries of Eastern Europe, such as Russia, Poland or from the Balkan countries (Panayi, 2010). Not only did they want to avoid persecution that was present in continental Europe by the end of the century, but also, they wanted to expand their business. It is well known that Jews are very good businessmen and sellers and they saw a great opportunity in doing successful negotiations in Britain, especially in port towns. They believed that Britain was a great place to start their business. Even though, the massive Jewish groups started arriving to Britain in the 1880's, they had already been known by the indigenous population for some centuries. In order to have a complex image of why so many Jews started coming to Britain in the late 19th century and why it was easier for them to settle and adapt there, it is crucial to explain the historical background of this minority group in Britain.

Jews had to overcome many obstacles to gain the status they have now. Some scholars say that the first Jews that settled in Britain came during the Roman invasion that

lasted between the 1st and the 4th century (Fletcher Jones, 1990). Yet some may argue that it was during the Norman times in the 11th century (Vallely, 2006). By any means, the emancipation of Jews started just in the 19th century. Their relationship with the British got a lot better as most of the Jews were able to speak English, what was very rare for foreigners living in Britain at those times, except the Irish. Moreover, as Cecil Roth (1941) stated in his book “*A history of the Jews in England*”, it was so easy for Jews to get used to the British environment that all they needed was to get more familiar with the English language. Jews could be found in almost every little town or big city thanks to their good business abilities – around 300 Jewish sellers and merchants became “navy or prize agent” for the Royal Navy throughout the 19th century (Fletcher Jones, 1990). Most of them settled in “London, Portsmouth, Plymouth, Leeds, Liverpool, Manchester, Nottingham or Bath” (ibid.). Regarding to these circumstances, the Jews started spreading quickly. This phenomenon was also supported by the fact that once a Jew settled in Britain, his family came to join him (ibid.). Moreover, other sectors where the Jews could be found were also manufactory, jewellery, exportation, shop keeping or pugilism (Roth, 1941). Not to mention, that they were excellent in the banking and financial sphere. This quality gave them power, esteem and popularity among the common people, but also in higher classes, even in the Royal family (Fletcher Jones, 1990).

Even though, the Jews were present in almost every sector with being very popular and maintaining great relationship with the most powerful British men, some restrictions were applied to them, especially in the politics. Any person who worshipped the Jewish religion was prohibited to “sit in Parliament, to take degrees at Oxford or Cambridge, and to hold commissioned rank in the armed forces” (Rubinstein et al., 2011). The period from the 1820's in Britain till the mass migration of Jews started to happen, was the so-called Jewish Emancipation – they wanted to become equal with the indigenous British citizens. According to the Jewish Historical Society of England, the whole process was accompanied by various crucial events. Firstly, it was by the establishment of the University College London – the first university that accepted Jews to obtain degrees (Fletcher Jones, 1990). Secondly, a huge achievement was in 1846 when the Parliament passed the Religious Disabilities Act that “placed the Jews as regards education on the same footing as Protestant Dissenters and thereby legalized their communal schools and any endowments attached to them” (Henriques, 1908). One year later, Lionel Rothschild was the first Jew to be elected as the Member of Parliament (Weiner). Yet he couldn't take

his seat as one of the conditions to become a member of the House of Commons was to take a Christian oath. This fact was changed and the last Jewish disability was called off in 1858 after passing and implementing the Oaths and Jewish Relief Act. The emancipation of Jews was at its peak as there were no more restrictions for Jews in the British society. All these events were strengthened when Benjamin Disraeli became Prime Minister in 1868. Even though, he was a Tory politician and a converted Christian, he was born as a Jew and expressed pride towards his Jewish background in multiple occasions (Fletcher Jones, 1990). All things considered, after a century full of hard work, devotion and engagements, Jews successfully became rightful citizens of Britain.

Despite all these achievements, their coreligionists in continental Europe were also dealing with some very serious situations (*ibid.*). Life of Russian Jews was restricted in every possible way. The most visible one was their geographical location – they could only settle permanently in a demarcate area within Russia, in the so-called Pale of Settlement. The situation worsened after the assassination of Alexander II in 1881. According to various investigators, the ones to blame for the death of the Russian Tsar were the Jews (Brecher, 1995). It was believed that the policy was too tolerant towards them, which resulted in passing the temporary “May Laws”, which introduced more limitations to everyday life of Jews living in Russia (Slutsky, 2020). These laws were also considered as the start of “the period of anti-Jewish discrimination and severe persecution” (Brecher, 1995). In order to avoid a miserable life that was waiting for Jews in Russia, they decided to emigrate. Even though, in many cases they escaped illegally, because the authorities did not want Jews to leave the country. Various restrictions and persecutions were present in many other countries of Eastern Europe, such as Poland and Balkan countries. Taking into consideration all these events that were going on in continental Europe, one of the biggest and most important mass migrations of Jews started towards the West. And Britain was on the top of their list thanks to the achievements of the Jewish emancipation. To give an illustration of the impact of the mass Jewish migration on Britain, it is crucial to mention the official charts and figures of the Jewish migration.

At the beginning of the 19th century there were, all in all, 25,000 Jews living in Britain (Rubinstein et al., 2011). By the mid of the Victorian era, the number of Jews got twice as big as it was 50 years earlier – up to 50,000 people (Roth, 1941). After the break out of the mass migration in 1880, it is believed that the population of the Jewish minority group got three times bigger, to 150,000 (Fletcher Jones, 1990). Not only did the numbers

increased, but also the composition and the character of the Jews changed. Fletcher Jones argued that these changes evolved from the structure of the Eastern European Jews, which was completely different from the British-Jewry composition (ibid.). One of the reasons she mentioned was that “they arrived, on the whole, in such compact communities” and predominantly “from Jewish villages of Eastern Europe” (ibid.). What is more, they settled in the same way – in groups, located in districts that were close to each other. Most of them settled in Glasgow, Leeds, Manchester, Liverpool, Newcastle and London (Fletcher Jones, 1990; Panayi, 2010; Roth, 1941). For comparison, by 1889 more than three quarters of the East London, but also the Gorbals in Glasgow were occupied by Jews (Panayi, 2010). Very typical for the newcomers was to be employed in tailoring, clothing and fashion industry (Fletcher Jones, 1990; Roth, 1941).

The period of the last two decades of the 19th century Britain was marked by a high number of immigrants coming from the countries of the continental Europe. The ongoing persecution and the rise of anti-Semitic ideas and practices in Europe forced the Jews to leave their home and find a new one. The reason why so many of them decided to stay and settle in Britain was based on the effort and emancipation of British Jews. The population of the Jewish minority group in Britain was about to increase and change far more in the incoming 20th century, especially during the two World Wars.

1.4 Migration between 1900-1945

With the beginning of the new century, Britain was still the richest and the most powerful imperial country of all. Even though, the death of Queen Victoria I in 1901 affected everyone in the Empire, the greatness and the potency of Britain did not come to its end. With the following Edwardian years, named after the successor King Edward VII, many liberal and prosperous ideas were being popularized. People believed that the government should protect all its citizens from every possible threat or danger and the majority considered the immigrants as a principal danger. Coupled with the massive inflow of the European migrants and refugees, especially Jews from Central and Eastern Europe, the British population started to pressure the government to make some radical measures. In order to avoid bigger immigration to Britain, the Parliament decided to pass The Aliens Act 1905 and The Aliens Restriction Act 1914 (Girvan, 2018). Both of these acts represented the beginning of the end of the open-door policy for immigrants that was ruling in Britain. By passing these laws, there were stricter conditions for foreigners to be allowed to come and reside in Britain.

The 1905 Act prohibited the entry mainly for those who could not economically support themselves and could possibly become “a burden” for the British society (Girvan, 2018). Likewise, the 1914 Act was passed as the result of the rising popularity of Germanophobia and anti-racial ideals throughout Europe (ibid.). Significantly, that is why it was oriented on German refugees that were migrating to Britain during the First World War (Panayi, 2010). It is crucial to mention that until 1905 there were no serious restrictions for foreigners when entering Britain, except for those who could endanger other people's health (Girvan, 2018). Yet the already established measures were not as strict as expected. In practice, it did not have the intended effect and the result was that a few migrants were refused to enter the country, while Britain still accepted thousands of them year by year. For instance, when the First World War broke out in 1914, the population of the Jewish minority group in Britain was almost twice as big as in the 1880's (Fletcher Jones, 1990). With this in mind, a greater part of the Jewish newcomers was proceeding from Germany. Not to mention that there were also numerous non-Jewish Germans. As Panayi (2010) argued, the total quantity of Germans, who came to Britain before 1945, was approximately 120,000 people with the Jewish minority excluded. Most of them originated from lower class communities, working as businessmen, clerks, tailors, shoemakers or in gastronomy as waiters or bakers (Manz et al., 2007). In comparison, Julius Carlebach et al. (1991) claimed that the major inflow of German refugees was not happening till 1930 and that Britain received around 50,000 migrants from Greater Germany, which “made up 90% of the refugee inflow into Britain from this part of the world” during the years between the two World Wars.

The period between the two World Wars was distinguished by a growth of anti-Semitic ideas, principles and with the rise of the power of Hitler's Nazi party in Germany, there were still more and more people who wanted to escape from the non-functional system and avoid the continuous persecution in many European countries. The year 1933, when Hitler became the Chancellor of Germany, is considered to be “the beginning of a systematic attempt at Jewish genocide” (Fletcher Jones, 1990). Even in Britain, there were some supporters and followers of these anti-Semitic principles – the British Union of Fascists. Even though, they did not reach the same results as their colleagues in continental Europe (ibid.). To that end, The Aliens Restriction Act 1919 was approved by the Parliament and it represented a stricter follow-up to the Act of 1914. That is to say, every single immigrant had to pass through immigration control; they could entry just in certain

port towns where there was an immigration office and many could be deported back to their home country (Carlebach et al., 1991). This Act “was the legislation which governed the entry of refugees from Nazism in the 1930s” and when the Second World War broke out the migrants “coming to Britain were required to obtain a visa in their country of departure as well as fulfilling the criteria of the 1919 Act” (Girvan, 2018). On the other hand, Julius Carlebach et al. (1991) asserted that the entry requirements for immigrants coming to Britain got loosen when the Second World War started. It is reflected in the fact that about 240,000 Belgians, 75,000 Italians and many other smaller groups came to Britain to stay away from the war or to avoid the persecution (Panayi, 2010). It is important to mention, that the majority of these former groups returned back to their country of origin when the war ended (ibid.). Above all, it seems pertinent to point out that the total number of immigrants that settled in Britain between 1800 and 1945 was above 2 million persons composed mainly of white European population (Panayi, 1994).

1.5 Migration to Britain from 1945

During the period of the two World Wars, Britain represented one of the key authorities in the world, however, when the Second World War ended, Britain was exhausted and extremely weakened. Not only did Britain lose thousands of people in the war, but now they were heavily indebted to many powerful countries around the world. Clement Attlee, the head of the first Labour majority government, was aware of the fact that some major measures and provisions were needed to make to revive the country again. That is the reason why one of the main goals of the Labour Party was to put most of the biggest British companies under state control – like the Bank of England, coal industry, railways and highways, powerhouses and the Civil Air Patrol (Maurois, 1993; Polišenský, 1982). What is more, they came up with a new system in the area of public health, which would be free to the general public and it resulted in the establishment of the National Health Service in 1948 (Campbell, 2016). By doing this, they also came up with a proposition of offering job positions in state companies and right to live in Britain to all residents of the Commonwealth of Nations who would be interested to start a new life in a new country that urgently needed them (Wasson, 2010).

First of all, it is important to mention that the first post-war immigrants that were coming to Britain proceeded from the continental Europe. Primarily, as army and government exiles from the Baltics, Poland and Ukraine and later many Europeans were running away from the newly established Communist regime mainly from Hungary, Czech

Republic and former Yugoslav countries (The National Archives; Panayi, 2010). Coupled with some 145,000 Italians and about 110,000 refugees, mainly from Malta and Cyprus, the number of European citizens living in Britain was 729,967, according to 2001 Census (Panayi, 2010). Yet the Irish minority group was still of the biggest proportion till 1971 counting with around 710,000 people (ibid.). All things considered, the amount of migration of the predominantly white population towards Britain since 1945 may have seemed as they made the majority in their destination country, but the reality told a different story. McDowell (2013) argues that the Europeans became “invisible” and by 1948 “the migration of people displaced by the war had almost ceased”. Though, “after 1945 Britain certainly witnessed a scale of immigration which it has not previously experienced” (Carnevali – Strange, 2007).

The breaking point occurred on June 22 in 1948 when the cruise ship HTM Empire Windrush arrived at Tilbury Docks, near London, with around 600 Caribbean passengers eager to start a new life in Britain (Arnott, 2019). They were motivated by the cheap transport, well-paid job and security that the British government offered them. This opportunity was appealing for plenty of Caribbean's, because as citizens of Britain's former colonies, many of them were fighting on the British side during the war time and they were aware of the British lifestyle. They also obtained some nicknames, such as the Windrush Generation or sons of Empire, with all those newcomers who arrived to Britain in the late 1940's (Pennant – Sigona, 2018). The Windrush Generation settled in antique city districts, mainly in suburbs, but also in neighbourhoods such as Brixton and Notting Hill in London or Handsworth in Birmingham (ibid.). The Windrushers represented just the first steam of modern era immigrants to Britain. In order to attract more foreigners to come and help Britain in the creation of a modern country, the Parliament passed the British Nationality Act 1948. This Act was preceded by the fact that Britain was slowly losing all its colonies, which wanted to become independent. The inhabitants of former British colonies used to share a common status British subject, later on known as Commonwealth citizen. However, on the conference of the Commonwealth of Nations held in 1946, it was agreed that every Member State of the Commonwealth could make laws for its own citizenship, while they supported the independence of each Member State, and they would be still collaborating and respecting some common laws. By accepting the British Nationality Act 1948, a new common status was passed - Citizen of the United Kingdom and Colonies. It is said, every person who was born in Britain or in any of its Colonies was guaranteed the

right for an entry and settlement in Britain (Girvan, 2018). Likewise, they obtained this right by marriage or, in case of children, if their father met the mentioned requirements, but also if they were naturalised (ibid.). To be naturalised, it means to obtain the citizenship of another country after meeting some requirements. With the pass of the Act of 1948, the immigration towards Britain changed in such measures that no one would have ever imagined. By the end of the 50s, about 10,000 people came to Britain year by year and 10 years later, in the 60s, the demographics got to tremendous measures - more than 200,000 annually (Murray, 2018). For instance, the number of migrants coming from West Indies was around 17,000 per year, however, with the spread of some “rumours of impending restrictions on Commonwealth immigrants”, the figures reached 34,000 just in the first half of 1962 (Hiro, 1991). Yet it maintained at 7000 in the late 1960s mainly composed of family members of the immigrants who had already settled in Britain (ibid.). By contrast, “the rate of migration from India and Pakistan” during the 50's, as Dilip Hiro claimed, “was very low” counting with just 7350 immigrants from that area, however, the numbers even decreased to 3800 in 1959 because of recession (ibid.). Another key point to remember is that the Indian government controlled the migration of its citizens by implementing very strict rules, which enabled the movement of the Indians and Pakistanis towards Britain, even though, they had a very good relationship based also on multiple bilateral agreements. For example, both the Indians and the Pakistani had to fulfil some requirements, such as higher education and financial independence to obtain the British passport (ibid.). Yet this fact changed in 1961 when severe modifications were made in the migration policy of India and after that the migration from the Indian sub-continent expanded dramatically (Bloch, 2002). It grew from 8,400 up to 48,850 just in one year (1960-1961) and the same number of Indians and Pakistanis arrived in the beginning of 1962 (Hiro, 1991).

While the British government was satisfied with the fact that their primary intention of re-building and reviving the country again was being fulfilled mainly with the help of the foreigner workers, the British population did not feel the same way (Wasson, 2010). Throughout the 1950's, there were various minor misunderstandings and incidents between the indigenous British population and the newcomers from abroad. The main reason of these incidents was that the districts with a higher percentage of foreign-born residents were characterized by “poverty, crime and violence” and British were afraid of “being displaced in housing by the newcomers” (Cousins, 2010). Not to mention, that this

competition between the indigenous and the immigrants was also seen in the employment, as the unemployment rate was really high at those times and the immigrants occupied numerous working spots, likewise, they rented apartments in decent districts. These racial tensions culminated in the Notting Hill Riots in 1958 lasting for more than a week and it is considered to be “the worst racial violence ever seen” in Britain (Olden, 2008). Yet few decades later it was found out that the police involved in the Notting Hill Riots, at that time, assured the government that these events had nothing to do with racial hatred, rather they described it as “hooliganism” of both whites and blacks (Cousins, 2010). Considering this fact, it is legitimate why the government did not draw the consequences of these riots. However, four years later, in 1962, in order to quieten the rising and legitimate fears of the British, the Parliament decided to pass the Commonwealth Immigrants Act of 1962 (Murray, 2018). The CIA1, as it was nicknamed, required those Commonwealth citizens, who did not have a British passport, or had no relatives in Britain, or did not have a work voucher, to pass the immigration control (Girvan, 2018). Even though, those looking for a job could be admitted to enter, but just for restricted period of time, the same exception was applied for students (ibid.). This step of the Conservatives represented the first move towards cutting off the flood of future immigrants and reduction of the free movement of the Commonwealth citizens to Britain (Wasson, 2010). Regarding this Act, after Kenya became independent in 1963 and approved the “Africanization” policy, many Asians living in Kenya had two options - apply for citizenship in Kenya and stay there or, in order to avoid the persecution, move to Britain (Hampshire, 2005). The majority of the Kenyan Asians made use of the opportunity and flew to Britain because, as British passport holders, they could enter the country anytime (Hansen, 1999). On the other hand, the British government was frightened of the mass flow of more foreigners to their country. As a solution, the Labour government passed the Commonwealth Immigrants Act 1968, known as CIA2. By passing this law, they restrained the right to enter for citizens of the countries of Commonwealth of Nations. To be considered as a British Commonwealth citizen, one had to have British parent or grandparent, or born in Britain, or to be naturalised in Britain, or adopted by any British (Girvan, 2018). In 1968 the total amount of the immigrants that made their way and settled in Britain reached 222,000, which was by around 3,000 persons less than in 1967 (National Statistics, 2016). Considering the demographic evidence of the growing foreign-born population in Britain, problems connected with their housing, employment and the hostility from the British citizens, the general public was not waiting too long to respond to these brand-new issues that were

present around the whole country. In other words, all these circumstances led to the establishment of some anti-migration movements, such as Birmingham Immigration Control Association or the fascist political party called the British National Front (Panayi, 2010; Murray, 2018). Furthermore, some Members of Parliament, mainly from the Conservative Party, supported these anti-immigration campaigns, of which the most significant ones were Peter Griffiths' "if you want a nigger for a neighbour, vote Labour" slogan and Enoch Powell's "Rivers of Blood" speech (Jeffries, 2014; Panayi, 2010). This speech, which is considered to be the most controversial one ever presented in the post-war era, included phrases about predictions to the future, such as "*in 15 or 20 years' time the black man will have the whip hand over the white man*" or "*strangers in their own country*", as Powell described the British (Friedersdorf, 2018). Significantly, he was the first one to point out that mass migration was becoming a serious issue in Britain, however, this event triggered various reactions from both the political and the public scene (Wasson, 2010). On one hand, Edward Heath, the leader of the Conservative Party, dismissed Powell from the Shadow Cabinet, blocked every possible political support that he could obtain and claimed that he did not "believe the great majority of the British people" shared Powell's ideas on the issue of the immigrants (Friedersdorf, 2018; Murray, 2018). While on the other hand, according to some surveys, 74% of asked agreed with Powell's idea of repatriation and 69% believed that Heath made a mistake when he fired Powell (Watson, 2018; Murray, 2018). Paul Collier (2013), a British development economist, described in his book "*Exodus: How migration is changing our world*" that the only thing that Powell achieved with his famous speech was to shut down "British discussion of migration policy for over 40 years" because, as he explained, everyone who was against the immigration was seen as a racist. In 1970 when Heath became Prime Minister, the British government became more liberal in the matter of immigration, which lasted till the 80's, even though, the public required stricter regulation in this area (Hansen, 1999). Notwithstanding, the Immigration Act 1971 was passed, in which the job vouchers were replaced by temporary work permits and specified the difference between patrial, in other words, those who were born or adopted in Britain or to a parent born in Britain, and non-patrial citizens, who could be deported after passing their permission of staying in Britain (BBC; Girvan, 2018). By the enactment of this Act, the British government started treating the Commonwealth citizens the same way as any other alien (Wasson, 2010). However, in 1972 a similar scenario occurred as in 1968 with the Asians migrating from Kenya, but now they were Ugandan Asians who were expelled by Idi Amin and were accepted by Heath's

government with the words that they had “legal and moral responsibility to take in those with British passports” (Panayi, 2010; Popat, 2019). Around 28,000 refugees came to Britain between August and November of 1972 and many locals together with some organization welcomed and helped them with their accommodation and alimentation (ibid.). With the changes in the Parliament, represented by the first ever elected woman as prime minister – Margaret Thatcher, a new hope emerged in the British environment and just two years after her election, new changes were made also in the area of migration policy, which resulted in the British Nationality Act 1981. For the first time, British citizenship was defined by the law and it belonged to persons born in Britain or to persons whose fathers or mothers were born in Britain, moreover, the mothers gained the right to pass their citizenship to their children (Girvan A., 2018). Along with the definition of British Citizen, who was the only one who had the right to enter and reside in Britain, two more terms were established and clarified – British Overseas Citizen and British Dependent Territories Citizen – new terms for the status Citizen of the United Kingdom and Colonies passed in the Act of 1948 (ibid.). Furthermore, another breaking-point made by the enactment of this Act was the division of the “nationality law and immigration”, it is said, both had their own institutes with different “legal regimes” (Hansen, 1999). Thatcher continued in more restrictions of the immigration flow by passing the Immigration Act 1988. The Act allowed just one wife or widow from a polygamous marriage to enter Britain and, on the other hand, it gave freedom in arrival and settlement to people from the European Union, then the European Community, as since 1973 Britain was an official member of the institution (BBC, 2013). Not only did Thatcher has to deal with the immigrants that wanted to enter Britain, but also with the immigrants who had already entered and settled in the country, who were having serious conflicts with the indigenous community. Especially, during the 1980's, riots appeared with a high frequency and among many of them, three crucial incidents are going to be mentioned – 1981 riot in Brixton (London), 1985 riots in Toxteth (Liverpool) and the Rushdie affair in 1989 (Panayi, 2010). “The first half of the 1980s proved to be the most violent in the history of British race relations”, as Dilip Hiro (1991) claimed in his book *“Black British, White British”*, and he added that these conflicts arose mainly between “young blacks and the police”. This was also the case at the Brixton riot, where the second generation of black immigrants fought against the police assuming that they were discriminating them and that there was a higher chance for blacks to be controlled or arrested than within the white community (John, 2006). This tension exploded also because of high criminality and low volume of vacant

job positions across the whole country, because of the economic crisis that arose between 1973 and 1975 (Hiro, 1991). The same applied to Toxteth in Liverpool, but with more extreme facts - the population of blacks was around 30,000 of whom 60% were jobless (ibid.). The 1985 riots in Liverpool were even worse than the 1981 Brixton riot, not only with hundreds of injured and arrested people but also with many damaged and burnt buildings, houses and cars in worth of 15 million pounds, which was twice as much as in London in 1981 (ibid.). Another affair happened just four years after the riots all over the country, when in 1988 Salman Rushdie, a British author, published a satiric book about Islam with the title "*The Satanic Verses*". It broke out in numerous demonstrations and fusion of Muslim community, not only in Britain, but around the world and it had such an impact that the novelist had to run away and hide as the offended population wanted him dead (Phillips, 2006). With the presence of such manifestations and riots, the government started to deal with the rising tension between the immigrants and British, which led to the declaration of Race Relations Acts of 1965, 1968, 1976 and 1998. The base of these acts was to reduce discrimination, racism and intolerance to ethnic groups in the country. Furthermore, thanks to these Acts some very important associations were established, like the Race Relations Board, the National Committee for Commonwealth Immigrant or the Commission for Racial Equality (BBC). Even though, the discrimination from the part of the police was still not banned by the law at that time, this fact changed in 2000 when the Race Relations (Amendment) Act was passed and the police were driven to promote racial equality in Britain (ibid.).

The last decade of the 20th century was characterized by a very high rate of asylum seekers that demanded the entry to Britain, which resulted in a series of Acts. It is said that the primary cause of the international refugee crisis was the termination of the Cold War, but also the outbreak of civil wars in various countries, which made approximately 27 million people to be treated about by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees in 1995 (BBC; Panayi, 2010). Britain received around 30,000 applications each year for most of the period of 1990s (BBC, 2001). The refugees and asylum seekers that decided to apply for a permission of entry and settlement in Britain proceeded mainly from countries of Eastern Europe, such as Poland, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Kosovo or Albania, but there were also some applicants from Africa and the Middle East (Refugee Council; Panayi, 2010). During this period the British Parliament put a lot of effort into how to deal with the refugee crisis and it resulted, firstly, in the enactment of the Asylum and Immigration

Appeals Act 1993 which was passed with a hope to create a better and an easier system in dealing with the asylum applicants, moreover, since then fingerprinting of all asylum seekers was introduced (Girvan, 2018). Yet the law did not bring the expected results and Britain continued to welcome thousands of asylum seekers (ibid). That is why three years later, in 1996, the Asylum and Immigration Act was ratified and it contained measures such as fine the employers who employed asylum seekers without work voucher, detection of bogus asylum applications and stricter search and arrest resolutions were introduced (BBC; Girvan, 2018). Followed by the Dublin Convention in 1997, which was signed by the Member States of the European Communities in order to determine the State responsible for examining applications for asylum lodged in one of the Member States of the European Communities. In addition, the first Act of the new Labour government and the last of the 20th century in the sphere of migration was the Asylum and Immigration Act 1999, with the title “*Fairer, Faster and Firmer – a modern approach to immigration and asylum*”. Its aim was to make the process of migration control efficient, easier and faster, a ‘One Stop Appeal’ was introduced, which made the applicants to list all grounds of appeal at once, moreover, vouchers were given to applicants to get access to some welfare benefits (Girvan, 2018). Taking into consideration all Acts that were passed throughout the 90s, the number of applications for asylum rose up to 46,000 in 1998 and reached its peak in 2000 when there were 76,040 applications for asylum (BBC, 2001). By contrast, in 2000 just 10% of the applicants was accepted as refugees and another 12% was granted a permission to stay in Britain (ibid.).

The new Labour government, led by Tony Blair, took its seat in 1997 and their 13-year governance was very open, liberal and benevolent concerning the field of migration. Despite the effort of the British government of both the Conservative, as the Labour Party, to reduce and take under control the inflow of immigrants that was getting higher year by year, Blair decided to open “the door” for everyone who could be prosperous for the British society (Murray, 2018). According to the research made by Erica Constredine (2007), a Postdoctoral Research Fellow in Immigration Politics and Policy, “under Blair's Labour government, Britain's economic immigration policy went from a highly restrictive approach to one of the most expansive in Europe”. She also added that the “work permit criteria were relaxed, the number of international students was doubled ... and from 2005 initiated a new points-based immigration system”, moreover, the entrance of eight new countries to the European Union meant their “immediate right to work in Britain”, which

led to the biggest migration flow since 1945 (ibid.). It was also reflected in the statistics, which shows that 479,000 immigrants entered Britain in 2000 and in 2001 the net migration changed into a positive one, it is said, more people were coming to Britain than leaving (National Statistics). These numbers were rising annually and in 2010, when the Labour government was replaced by the Conservatives, 591,000 people entered Britain just in that one year (ibid.). These changes were also reflected in the composition of minority groups in Britain, it is said, while in the end of the 20th century, the biggest amount of immigrants proceeded from India and Pakistan, since 2004, when Poland entered the European Union, it has been on the top of the ranks counting with 832,000 residents in Britain and 905,000 of non-British nationals in 2018 (Vargas-Silva – Rienzo, 2019). The main reasons of coming to Britain have stayed the same as in the last century – work, family reunification or study (ibid.). To that end, according to various surveys and researches, it resulted that “in the 21st century immigration regularly topped all other issues as the biggest problem facing” Britain (Page, 2009). In order to solve these issues and to lower the demographics of the foreign-born population of Britain, the Labour government had to accept some restriction in the migration policy, which led to the enactment of a few Acts. Nevertheless, in 2002 the Nationality, Immigration and Asylum Act was passed; it was followed by the Asylum and Immigration Act 2004 and the Immigration, Asylum and Nationality Act 2006. They were based on minor modifications of the previous laws, such as an integration program was established for refugees and also an electronic monitoring of people with residence restriction was introduced (Girvan, 2018). Yet 596,000 persons came to Britain in 2006, which, back then, represented the highest number of immigrants in the history of Britain (National Statistics). Provided that, the Parliament passed one act every year in the period of the following three years - the UK Borders Act 2007, Immigration Rules 2008 and the Borders, Citizenship and Immigration Act 2009. It is worth emphasizing that the British government made crucial changes in the immigration policy and replaced the long used immigration system by a point-based system which contained five tiers, ranking highly skilled individuals, university students, temporary workers, but also the low skilled workers that needed an assigned sponsor (Visa Bureau). Then again, taking into account the statistics, it can be observed that all these acts were not very successful nor useful. It was also reflected in the pre-election period, when the Conservatives undertook to reduce the net migration, in other words, the difference between the immigration rate and the emigration rate, to tens of thousands by 2015, while “this number stood at 263,000 in June 2011, covering the first

year since the last election” (Allen – Sumption, 2015). To this end, the Conservatives wanted to diminish the net migration by 50%, which, in figures, would represent about 100,000 (Heppell – Seawright, 2012). In order to gain as much votes as possible, David Cameron, the immigration spokesman of the Conservatives, wanted to focus on the “economic impact of migration” to attract the votes of middle class, that said, this “represented a change in tone on immigration and asylum policy from the Conservative Party ... compared to its efforts in 2001 and 2005” (ibid.). Their campaign was successful and the most votes in the General Elections hold on May 6 of 2010 pertained to the Conservative Party with David Cameron, appointed as Prime Minister. As promised, soon the Conservatives started dealing with the reduction of net migration and their first suggestion was to lower the number of economic migrants, however, after some research, it was found out that by implementing this proposal, Britain would lose numerous high-skilled and skilled workers (ibid.). To that end, the government decided to cut down the number on the non-EU migrants, that is to say, on economic migrants, international students, family migration and “the settlement link through which temporary migrants acquire permanent residency” (ibid.). Theresa May, then Home Secretary, commented that “we can reduce net migration without damaging our economy. ... We can attract more of the brightest and the best at the same time as we reduce the overall number.” (ibid.). These measures came into force in April 1st 2011 and granted 20,700 spots per year for those applying for long-term work visa or business and talent visa, if exceeded, those soliciting for a job in an area that is seeking for workers, would be preferential (ibid.). However, there were some exceptions, for “exceptionally talented” and for those non-EU immigrants that earn more than 150,000 pounds (ibid.). Yet the results were not as expected, according to statistics, the net migration rate reached 318,000 in 2014, which was considerably higher than in 2010, when it counted with the net migration rate of 256,000 persons. It was caused by a higher immigration from the European countries, as it cannot be restricted by the British government, but also the migration from the non-EU countries grew because of family reunification and work-related migration (Allen – Sumption, 2015). It is important to mention, that since 1945 the total number of non-EU immigrants was higher than the total number of EU citizens in Britain, although, in 2015 the rates of the non-EU and European immigrants were almost at the same level, counting with 270,000 Europeans and 277,000 non-EU citizens (National Statistics). However, it did not remain like that for a long time, as the mass migration towards Europe, termed as the European migrant crisis, broke out in 2015. Yet Britain obtained just 39,000 asylum applications, which was,

compared with the other European countries, “the lowest numbers of asylum applications” and the majority of British required closing the borders for asylum seekers (Garrett, 2019). Not only did this situation result in passing the Immigration Act 2016, but the government also decided to organize a referendum. First of all, the enactment of the Immigration Act 2016 guaranteed serious consequences and punishment for illegal immigrants, but also for those who employed them and it was also harder for them to “work, rent property and receive financial support” (Wessing, 2016). Secondly, the British Parliament decided to hold a referendum in order to decide whether Britain should stay in the European Union or not and, notably, the results were shocking - 51,9% voted to leave the EU, while 48,1% voted against (Garrett, 2019). It is said, the principal reason why so many British voted in favour was the issue of immigration towards their country (ibid.). Then again, the campaign called *Leave* which supported and promoted the idea of Brexit (an abbreviation for British exit), misguided their supporters “by implying that the forces guiding and controlling both the refugee crisis and internal EU migration were the same and could both be solved by leaving the EU” (ibid.). It was followed by the resignation of David Cameron as Prime Minister, who did so after the positive result of the referendum, as he was against leaving the European Union and he was replaced by Theresa May, former Home Secretary. After many negotiations, in 2018 the British government published their plan on migration policy after Britain would leave the EU and they came up with a “single immigration system for all citizens” and they also wanted to “end the freedom of movement policy” of the European countries (Colson, 2018). Another points that should have been applied were, for example, that high-skilled and skilled workers would have been preferred to enter and stay in Britain, while the low-skilled could only stay for one year, moreover, a minimum salary of 30,000 pounds should have been applied for foreign workers (ibid.). With all these proposals, May wanted to lower the immigration rate, while, on the other hand, she also claimed that the Europeans would not have to apply for visa if they came for vacation (ibid.). However, the Parliament did not accept none of May's post-Brexit plans and she neither could get a deal with the representatives of the European Union, so she decided to step down as Prime Minister, but remain in office until there was a new successor (BBC, 2019). On July 24 2019 Boris Johnson, former Foreign Secretary and former Mayor of London, became the new Prime Minister. He also refused May's proposals on Brexit and favoured more liberal measures, which resulted to be a successful tactics as Britain officially left the European Union on January 31 2020 (Merrick, 2019). What is more, Johnson declared that the new immigration policy would “put people before passports”, in

other words, Britain will put more emphasis on the qualities of the individuals rather than on their origin, and that the free movement of European citizens will remain the same till the end of 2020 (Langton, 2020). The cycle from February 1st and December 31th is called transition period or implantation period. As far as it is known, citizens of EU, EEA and Switzerland will have to apply for EU Settlement Scheme until June 30th 2021. Persons who do not meet the requirement for application can also apply for EU Settlement Scheme if their family member is or was a citizen of the above-mentioned countries. However, Irish citizens, British citizens, who do not live in Britain, but have British nationality and persons with indefinite permit to stay in Britain are excluded and they do not need to apply. These plans should be included in the new points-based immigration system which will be valid from 2021. It is important to mention, that the final measures, results and aftermaths of Britain not being an official member of the European Union anymore, are still not clear and there are numerous negotiations and meetings awaiting during the transition period.

Since the arrival of Empire Windrush and in effort to build up Britain again, hundreds of thousands of immigrants have been entering Britain every year, especially from India, Pakistan, Poland and Ireland (Murray, 2018; Vargas-Silva – Rienzo, 2019). These newcomers are mainly working in those industries, in which the British are not interested in, such as army, chemical or transport industries, constructions or factories, as many of them are low-qualified jobs (Murray, 2018). Even though, not all of them have come from a poor environment and are of low social range, the opposite is true, there have been numerous talented immigrants of high quality and of well-paid jobs in their home country, however, because of racial prejudice and discrimination, these immigrants were forced to take low-qualified jobs (Hiro, 1991). Furthermore, as Jay Lindop, the Director of the Centre for International Migration, stated (cited in National Statistics):

“While long-term net migration, immigration and emigration have remained broadly stable since the end of 2016, different trends have emerged. EU net migration has fallen, while non-EU net migration has gradually increased since 2013 and is now at the highest level since 2004. Since 2016, immigration for work has decreased because of fewer EU citizens arriving for a job. Meanwhile, immigration for study has gone up and is now the main reason for migration. This is driven by more non-EU students arriving, specifically Chinese and Indian.”

According to the latest data published by the Office for National Statistics (2019), 642,000 long-term immigrants entered Britain by the year ending September 2019, while in 2018 it was 604,000. In comparison, the difference between year 2009 and 2019 was just 51,000 people. Such fast growing figures of immigrants entering Britain with intention to settle are connected with the creation of a multicultural country, but also with the issue of their integration into the society. Notably, the British government decided to solve these issues with the implementation of concept of multiculturalism into politics.

2 Multiculturalism

2.1 Definition of Multiculturalism

A comprehensive understanding of the development of immigration to Britain, which was related to the enactment of various acts in the area of migration policy and race relations in the 20th and in the beginning of the 21st century is required to succeed with the conceptualisation of multiculturalism. Recently these two terms, migration and multiculturalism, are being broadly discussed and connected with other similar terms, like integration or coexistence. While multiculturalism or multicultural societies are well known terms widely used in the last few decades, yet it is difficult to state clearly the definition of these terms. The fact is that there are many opinions and aspects of explaining what multiculturalism means as for every single person, as much as for experts as for laymen, it represents an entirely different notion. Opinions on multicultural nations can be favourable, but there are also those with a negative attitude, that criticize a multicultural society. Even politicians have various and often very controversial points of view on this issue, as it was described in the previous chapter. One of the reasons of this concern is that this particular term can be associated with “population structure, cultural diversity, institutional policy or program, societal practice, ideology, value, ideal, symbol, educational approach, management style, business strategy, or sociological or political concept or theory” (Gingrich, 2003). Not only did Paul Gingrich explain the various approaches of the term multiculturalism, but he also mentioned two facts associated with multiculturalism – it can be “praised as a practice or ideal” or some individuals can see it as “a source of confusion and problem for society” (ibid.). When speaking of multiculturalism, it usually refers to a society composed of different cultures. In this case a culture corresponds to a specific group of people with “common language, shared history,

shared set of religious beliefs and moral values, shared geographical origin” (Watson, 2000). The above-mentioned definition can be considered as the most frequent response when it comes to multiculturalism among laymen, even though, some experts might disagree. Significantly, the Cambridge Dictionary defines the term multiculturalism as a “belief that different cultures within a society should all be given importance”. Multiculturalism or multicultural society does not mean just different ethnic groups or various ethnic minorities living together in a particular area, it is also reflected in common laws, rules and rights for everyone, no matter their race, colour, origin, gender or social background. Just as it is explained from a sociological aspect, multiculturalism represents such a view in which “cultures, races and ethnicities, particularly those of minority groups, deserve special acknowledgment of their differences within a dominant political culture” (Eagan, 2015). The sociological aspect is strongly entwined with the public policy. As it is said, living in a multicultural society brings awareness of having mutual respect and tolerance for cultural differences within a society. And this should be covered by the law, in case of Britain, mainly by the Race Relation Acts, but also by other official measures that will be mentioned in the next chapter.

Conrad William Watson (2000), a Senior Lecturer at the University of Kent at Canterbury, mentioned in his book “*Multiculturalism*” that before the society got familiar with the term multiculturalism, they used to refer to a city full of many different ethnic groups as a cosmopolitan, it is said, residents coming from all parts of the world who settled there. Other terms to describe the issue that is being dealt in this bachelor thesis are, for example, multi-ethnic society, multiracial or polyethnic societies. Furthermore, he also stressed that the word culture sounds better and also safer; likewise, somehow it arises a positive undertone, than the term race, as it is a very sensitive word to use and to describe such a phenomenon (ibid.). Watson also clarified why the term multicultural differs so much from other ones with an argument that it is not just about creating a sense of difference but also about accepting those contrasts as “springing from a universally shared attachment of importance to culture and to an implicit acknowledgment of the equality of all cultures” (ibid.). What is more, every country and every nation has a different attitude or even a different form of handling the issue of immigration which leads to multiculturalism. However, the most common situation that can occur in the development of multiculturalism is assimilation or, on the other hand, integration. To have a complex imagine of what the main differences are between these two terms, the example of melting-

pot and salad-bowl is going to be used. The metaphor of melting-pot represents the practice of assimilation and it presents a situation when a heterogeneous society becomes more homogeneous, the differences are “melting” together. As Bruce Thornton (2012) observes, in one of his articles about this specific issue, “the image of the melting pot drew its strength from the idea of unity fostered by beliefs and ideals – not race, blood, or sect”. In comparison, the metaphor of salad-bowl represents a combination of various types of vegetables which makes a perfect and unique flavour in the salad, or better said, a perfect combination while they keep their own form and taste. To put it another way, different ethnic groups live side by side maintaining their identity, while the law and the market connect them, just as the dressing on the salad. By comparing these two metaphoric elements, the main difference between assimilation and integration is observed and, furthermore, it shows the attitude of current governments, that is to say, they support rather than repress the variety of each human being. All things considered, the term multiculturalism represents “a way in which a society deals with cultural diversity” and, moreover, it is assumed that the society “benefits from increased diversity through the harmonious coexistence of different cultures” (Longley, 2020). It is important to mention that the multicultural situation in Britain is way more divergent than the one in countries such as the United States of America or Canada, which are entitled as nations of immigrants. That is said, both, Canada and the USA are made of people coming from all over the world, especially, from Europe to create a nation, what is not the case of Britain.

2.2 Multiculturalism in Britain

The term multiculturalism arose during the 1980s when the total annual number of immigrants coming to Britain crossed the rate of 200,000 and since then it has never gone under, furthermore, it was introduced in order to describe the newly-created relationship between the indigenous British and the foreign-born settlers (Panayi, 2010). That said, as there were numerous brand-new cultures that were, in many spheres, too distinct from the indigenous, multiculturalism was considered as a response to monoculture of Britain which was fading out and it also replaced the “concept of race relations” (ibid.). It is believed that “immigrants take their culture to the country where they go” and that is why the indigenous people are also affected by foreign cultures and traditions (Evkuran, 2014). The role of government, but also of the society, is to decide how to react to and solve these situations, as Mehmet Evkuran argued that the question is “how disputes arise with the

culture of host country and how would these disputes be resolved” (ibid.). One of the fundamental parts of Britain is its liberal democracy, which “is based on political equality” and the certainty of same right for all individuals, as well as for minority groups (Ashcroft – Bevir, 2017). Moreover, the “fundamental doctrines of liberalism such as state neutrality and religious freedom may implicitly presume a background of broad cultural similarity within which a limited number of salient differences such as religion, race and gender can be managed” (ibid). Nonetheless, while the methods of British liberal democracy were established in the context of a wider cultural homogeneity, there is still the issue of the extent of modern cultural diversity (ibid). As Douglas Murray (2018), a criticizer of immigration, claimed that it is crucial to remember that the British government never thought about nor discussed beforehand the consequences of immigration, which they were supporting for decades and that the acts were substantiated as reactions to the upcoming problems that came together with the mass inflow of immigrants to the country. That is said, they had never imagined that the migration towards Britain would get into such figures, so it was complicated to decide and set out the best solution for these issues (ibid.). When the government, led by the Conservatives, implemented multiculturalism as a policy in the 1980s, it did not bring any results as the only responsible for the implication of multicultural methods to practice were local councils (Fleras, 2009). The policy of multiculturalism as a solution to the growing foreign-born population was fully supported after electing the new Labour government in 1997. However, as Augie Fleras (2009) pointed out:

“Multiculturalism as governance may have originated as a political project to advance national interests by depoliticizing differences. At present, however, the politics of governance are shifting towards anti-multiculturalism, if only the drift into divisiveness or threat of extremism...To be sure, Britain's approach to diversity may be more accurately described as multicultural by drift or by default, that is, an emergent multiculturalism governance based on the principle of passive coexistence, but neither codified in official documents nor expressed as formal nationwide policy. As well, many of the ideas and practices associated with multiculturalism were pursued by proxy through race relations initiatives.”

It is said, at the beginning the government wanted to create an idea of tolerant and pluralistic British society, where the cultural differences would be accepted and equal access to British citizenship granted (ibid). As already mentioned, by the 1990s Britain

already had a complex system, on one hand, the acts that restricted further immigration to country and, on the other hand, the Race Relation Acts that granted equal rights to immigrants with the effect of lowering the racial hatred and discrimination. However, during Tony Blair's governance, the door was open for the migration flow, and, furthermore, the society became so liberal that "Britain's national identity was gradually deracialized" and as a result, "no one had to be white or Christian to qualify as British" (ibid.). In order to deal with the rising tension in the society, as the differences between the indigenous and immigrants were getting bigger, the government insisted on the idea of integration of migrants into the British society. What is more, it was supported by many surveys and researches that claimed that it was already happening and that the immigrants are becoming and behaving like British (Murray, 2018). In many cases this was probably true, but as Murray stressed, numerous boroughs, where Muslims had settled and were superiority in numbers, had to close down pubs and churches, the two most visited places by indigenous population, as they were no longer in use by the nearby living community (ibid.). With this in mind, Paul Collier (2013), a Professor of Public Policy, agreed that the majority of immigrants were not interested in this type of interaction with the new culture and that multiculturalism appeared as a "reaction to the narrative of assimilation". Before implementing the multicultural practices into the society, Britain demanded a creation of a homogenous society counting with all the migrants, it is said, they wanted them to assimilate. However, immigrants preferred to gather within their own community rather than interact with the indigenous and the reasons for doing so were quite similar for every ethnic group – poor knowledge of English, great differences between both cultures or racism from the indigenous.

As already mentioned, in multicultural societies people interact with those of "different races, ethnicities and nationalities" while they "share their unique cultural ways of life, languages, art, traditions, and behaviours" (Longley, 2020). In most of the cases, the minority group should be the one receiving and adapting to the country of the major indigenous society, in other words, the immigrants "should be willing to accept larger cultural adaptation than the indigenous", however, it is not a must (Collier, 2013). These reversed signs can be seen also in Britain, for example, the Notting Hill Carnival, which was initially a celebration of the black community established as their reaction to the ongoing discrimination that arose in the end of the 20th century, and nowadays, it is a well-known carnival which is visited also by hundreds of British. Another sign is seen in the

British gastronomy, where the typical and national fish-and-chips was replaced by chicken tikka, which is not exactly a typical dish in other cultures, but it is a result of a fusion of immigrant's culture and the demands of the indigenous (ibid.). In connection with gastronomy, immigrants have had an enormous impact on the eating habits of British, for instance, the indigenous population started eating out in restaurants rather than at home by the end of the 20th century (Panayi, 2010). What is more, among the most popular cuisines belongs Chinese, Bangladesh, Indian or Pakistan (ibid.). Not only did immigrants influence the eating habits of British but their impact is also seen in fashion industry, entertainment and sports (ibid.). Furthermore, it is crucial to mention, that the largest amount of foreign-born population in Britain is centred in London, which had around 23% of non-British residents in 2016 (ONS, 2016). This fact was also reflected in the elections of Mayor in 2016 when Sadiq Khan, a British politician of Pakistani background, became the Mayor of London. He was the first ever Muslim to hold such a post in Britain. Regarding to Muslims, there were big debates ruling in Britain about the implication of Sharia Law into the British society. Sharia, in western perception, means law used in Islamic communities, but it also refers to their way of life, which is totally different from the British one. The disapproval of the Islamic law by British is based on the fact that Sharia regulates public and private behaviour and public beliefs, moreover, it is considered as the most restrictive and invasive legal system (Warner, 2015). There were numerous sharia courts detected in Britain, which were unauthorized as the only valid legal system is the British law. The increase of Muslim communities all over Britain, which is also connected to the Islamophobia from the indigenous population, recently has been a highly discussed topic in the country. With this in mind, it is important to look back to the 20th century, where similar issues were being dealt with in black community in the 1960s and the Asian community in the 1970s. In case of the Windrush generation, the main problem was with the colour of their skin which was, at those times, very rare in the British environment and people perceived them as “indolent black, draining the National Assistance funds while simultaneously living off the immoral earning of white women” (Hiro, 1991). They were discriminated in almost every area of life, they could not find a job, nor an accommodation and they were subjects of permanent repression (ibid.). Nevertheless, the Commission of Racial Equality was established to help immigrants with smoother integration to the British society and in 1983 they came up with Code of Practice for Employers, which should have made it easier for immigrants to find a job and to protect their basic rights (ibid.). However, the results were not favourable, in 1987 statistics showed that the rate of black

jobless was twice as big as of whites, that said, even when racial discrimination became illegal, it was impossible to detect it within a company (ibid.). On the other hand, for migrants from Asia it was somewhat easier to live in Britain than for West Indians, as their main intention was to work hard and gain as much as they could in order to return to their country, in other words, they had no intention to socialize or integrate to the British society (ibid.). Yet their customs were totally divergent from the indigenous and the British considered them all as typical retail sellers with a strange dialect. As time passed, some of these problems faded away also thanks to the interracial marriage, which Collier (2013) labelled as an act of assimilation when migrants embrace the customs of indigenous. Then again, when talking about the second generation of migrants in Britain, the government and various organizations came up with the idea of implementation of multicultural studies into curriculum. As Watson (2001) declared “to make a major change in the mentality of citizens that lived in a newly-arising multicultural nation, these changes had to occur and reflect in the education of citizens”, that is said, in schools. It had various purposes, firstly, to change the current curriculum in order to avoid situations when the history of one ethnic group or nation was presented erroneously; secondly, to enrich the knowledge of the indigenous with information about other cultures and vice versa, to enrich the knowledge of migrants in order to understand the culture they were living in. Moreover, children who did not speak English were supposed to be put in special centres (Hiro, 1991). In this case the results were positive, by 1990 75% of “local authorities in the country had adopted the policy of multi-ethnic education”, however, with the enactment of the Education Reform Act 1988, the school curriculums were prescribed and the whole system went back to a “narrow, nationalist view of history” (ibid.). However hard the government tried to make the ethnic minorities more familiar with the British way of life and to integrate them to the society, also through multicultural methods, these desired goals were not reached. It was also confirmed in summer of 2001, when the tension between the whites and Asians could not be handled anymore and a succession of racial riots broke out in the northern part of Britain. The most affected towns were Bradford, Oldham and Burnley, where numerous young Pakistani and Bangladeshi Muslims fought against the British and, as a result, many police officers were injured (BBC, 2006). The whole event culminated on July 7 2001 in Bradford, when “1,000 young men brought widespread destruction to the Manningham area” and it “sent shockwaves through the country” (ibid.). As a response, Cattle report was published, by the former chief executive of Nottingham City Council, which included suggestions on “housing, youth, regeneration, politics and education”, and also “called for

an open and honest debate on the nature of multicultural Britain” (ibid.). It was followed by series of acts in migration policy, which was closely connected to the multicultural one through some newly-introduced measures. Such as those of the Nationality, Immigration and Asylum Act 2002, which introduced the Life in the UK Test that has to be passed by everyone who wants to obtain British citizenship based on their knowledge of British history, facts and language. (Hannon, 2015). From the late 1990s and the early 2000s, the government started putting more emphasis on naturalisation, it is said, on citizenship and active participation of migrants in British society.

Since 2010 multicultural societies have witnessed a wave of criticism from many scholars, politicians and general public, not just in form of xenophobia and racism, but various European political leaders started talking about the failure of multiculturalism. One of the main reasons of such declarations have been the growing occurrences of terrorist attacks from the Muslim community in many multi-ethnic countries, and Britain is not an exception. Britain's first ever Islamic suicide attack took place on July 7 2005, when four British-born young men of Pakistani origin put bombs to various vehicles of the London's public transport, killing 56 people including themselves, and hundreds were injured. It was followed by other minor attacks, such as the one at the airport of Glasgow in 2007 or when a British-born teenager of Libyan origin blew himself up at a concert in Manchester, however, it is important to note that there were numerous failed attempts of bombing or attacking. Another key thing to remember is that, according to Panayi (2010), the Islamic extremism is not a typical behaviour of Muslims or of their homeland, but it occurs as their reaction to social and economic status within the society which is very low, even though, the multicultural society offers them diverse spectrum of opportunities. It is also associated with the racism from the indigenous population and with the “anti-Islamic British foreign policy” (ibid.). After these events, a sequence of debates about the role of multiculturalism and its effectiveness in society ensued, including then Prime Minister, Tony Blair, who stressed that an alteration of this system is needed in order to solve the rising tension and antagonism in the society (cited in Fleras, 2009):

“The whole point is that multicultural Britain was never supposed to be a celebration of division; but of diversity. The purpose was to allow people to live harmoniously together, despite their difference; not to make their difference an encouragement to discord. The values that nurtured it were those of solidarity, of coming

together, of peaceful co-existence. The right to be in a multicultural society was always, always implicitly balance by a duty to integrate, to be part of Britain. ... We should continue celebrating it (the multicultural Britain)."

Even David Cameron, then newly-elected Prime Minister, criticized multiculturalism in one of his first speeches saying that "under the doctrine of state multiculturalism, we have encouraged different cultures to live separate lives, apart from each other and apart from the mainstream. We have failed to provide a vision of society to which they feel they want to belong. We have tolerated these segregated communities behaving in ways that run completely counter to our values" (cited in Murray, 2018). He also added that any organisation which would support these extremist groups would not get any fund from state, moreover, he stressed the importance of stronger national identity in order to avoid extremism (BBC, 2011). Yet it did not mean that the official representatives rejected the whole concept of multiculturalism nor that the whole idea of the post-war reconstruction of Britain was a bad one and that the immigrants should return home, as many people may have thought (Murray, 2018). On the other side, they criticized the "idea of the state encouraging people to live parallel lives in the same country and particularly in living under customs and laws that stood in opposition to those of the country they were living in" (ibid.). Based on a report by an anti-fascist movement Hope Not Hate published in 2017, 77% of asked do not think that the terrorist attacks are directly linked to the entire Muslim community and 80% felt pleased by the unity of British after the attacks. On the other hand, 42% of British became more suspicious of Muslim communities after the attacks (ibid.). Moreover, 55% of asked believe that immigration has been good for the country, up by 15% since 2011, and 88% of Britons believe "immigration is essential, but economic need should determine the future level of immigration" (ibid). The positive results of the report might indicate that the indigenous British live in a harmonious accordance with the ethnic minorities and their differences, however, the amount of criticism on multiculturalism overtop it. Augie Fleras (2009), a social scientists and expert on multiculturalism, summarised the main anti-multiculturalism arguments, such as it "leads to segregation, prevents immigrant integration into the dominant sector, undermines Britishness and core British values, focuses too much on group rights rather rights of individuals, emphasizes culture over cohesion, and dwells on attitudinal barriers instead of structural impediments to integration and cohesion". An interesting point was made by Panikos Panayi (2010), when he described the way British have dealt with the problem of

multiculturalism and its failure as a “multicultural racism”, which is contradictory, but it perfectly shows the multicultural life of Britain. Furthermore, a proposal of solving this issue was presented by the editorials of the Guardian (2018), that said that people should “bridge their differences just as much as they bond over their similarities”. The fact is that there are various points of view on the issue of multiculturalism in Britain, some says that it has failed, others that it just needs some modifications, nevertheless, it was time to come up with a new model of sorting out the ongoing problem with the ethnic minorities in Britain, just as Ildikó Némethová (2016) stated in a paper called “*The Discourse of Multiculturalism and Integration in Britain*” that:

“The increasing recognition of these shortcomings underlies the retreat from the original concept of multiculturalism and signals the search for new modes of citizenship that emphasise political participation and economic opportunities over the symbolic politics of cultural recognition; human rights over respect for cultural traditions; the building of all-embracing national identities over the recognition of hereditary cultural identities; and cultural change and cultural mixing over the personification of static cultural differences. However, a new model of multiculturalism as citizenisation requires both the majority and minority groups to engage in new practices, to enter new relationships, and to accept new concepts and discourses, and to modify their own identities”.

3 Active Citizenship in Britain

In order to solve the difficult situation of integration of the immigrants into the British society, an implementation of a new concept was needed. That is why the Parliament thought that if they led the foreign-born settlers to get British citizenship, they would be indirectly becoming integrated into the society. The foundations of citizenship are crucial for every person as it makes people feel that they belong to a community or a society, they consider themselves being secure, involved, desired and needed, and it also contributes to the well-being of the country. In the case of immigrants who by gaining the British citizenship, also get a British passport which gives them various benefits, such as permanent and legal stay in Britain, free health care and insurance, non-visa access to many European and non-European countries and a feeling of being involved in a safe and prosperous country while being equal to other British citizens (Immigration Direct). However, the government was aware of the fact that the system of gaining British

citizenship for immigrants needed some requirements to be fulfilled and also an active participation of the immigrants in the British society in order not to take advantage of this opportunity. That is why the British government started implementing the idea of active citizenship which, they believed, could help both the immigrants and the British to live a harmonious life together in one country. First of all, for a better understanding of the government's new propaganda of being an active citizen, it is inevitable to define the term citizenship and also who is considered to be a British citizen. According to the Institute for Citizenship, it stands for a relationship that occurs between the citizen and the state and it seeks the citizen's understanding of “the political and economic processes, institutions, laws, rights and responsibilities” of a democratic system. Moreover, the institute also stated the main aspects in which a citizen can participate, it can be “from voter turnout to volunteering, from economic capability to cultural change, from crime to social exclusion and from understanding multiple identities to redefining Britishness” (ibid.). Yet, according to the British law, a British citizen is a person born in Britain to parents of whom, at least, one has British citizenship, or a person who is naturalised, but also those born in Britain or a British colony before January 1st 1983 (National Archives).

The basis of the idea of active citizenship is to engage the immigrants, but also any citizen, into local communities and democracy, it is said, they are expected to be active in communal and political life of Britain (Bee – Guerrina, 2017). The Community Action Network of Southwark defines it as “the involvement of individuals in public life and affairs: this can take place at local, national and international levels”. This organisation also explains that as an active citizen one can participate and solve the issues on a local level, for example, in a neighbourhood community the person is living in, or, on a national level in order to be involved in country's governance, but also on an international level where he or she can deal with global problems. It is a great way of involving the minority groups into the British society where they can also solve the most serious problems that burden them and they can be of any nationality, they do not need to hold a British passport, however, this experience is of a great value to become an official British citizen. Even though, this term has arisen just in the last decade, it was already applied by the Conservative government of Margaret Thatcher in 1979 and then, almost twenty years later, in 1997, when the new Labour government came up with the motion of earned citizenship. During the governance of Margaret Thatcher, British citizenship was defined by the law in British Nationality Act 1981 and various acts were passed in the area of

equality of races. It is crucial to point out the importance of the British Nationality Act 1981, as before every person closely related to Britain or any of its Colonies was considered as British subject, but also as CUKC (Citizen of the United Kingdom and Colonies) and they could obtain a “citizenship of one or more independent Commonwealth countries” (Home Office, 2017). This was granted by the British Nationality Act 1948. After 1981 the holders of the CUKC status were divided into three groups, it is said, those who had British citizenship, British Dependent Territories citizenship and British Overseas citizenship (ibid.). Those who were closely connected to Britain were of British citizenship, the British Dependent Territories citizenship was for persons linked to British dependencies and those who did not obtain any of the citizenship at the beginning were of British Overseas citizenship (ibid.). Yet the concept of active citizenship was first mentioned in 1988 by Douglas Hurd, then Home Secretary, and it was grounded in “volunteering, philanthropy and charity with an emphasis on individual rather than collective participation” (Pickard, 2019). Regarding this, the All-Party Parliamentary Commission on Citizenship was established in 1990 and its aim was to “encourage, develop and recognize Active Citizenship within a wide range of groups in the community, both local and national” (ibid.). Afterwards, under the government of Sir John Major, there was an attempt to implement Citizenship Education into curriculum during the 1990s, for example, an “*Encouraging Citizenship*” report was published by the Commission on Citizenship with a goal to facilitate citizenship in schools in “participative citizenship”, which was followed by the establishment of the Institute for Citizenship in 1992 (Bam-Hutchinson). However, it was impossible to make extreme changes as the whole system of reform was dependent on local councils and departments, but it was also up to pupils, teachers and schools. What is more, the measures applied by the Conservative government emerged as “enhancing social division at the community level rather than creating principles and values allowing for conditions of social solidarity to foster the actual exercise of active citizenship” (Bee – Guerrina, 2017). This fact changed with the formation of the new Labour government. Their position towards immigration policy was considered as very open and liberal. On the other side, they were putting more emphasis on the involvement of non-British citizens in the society, in other words, citizenship and the definition of an ideal British citizen were the basis of their political project (Puzzo, 2016). Then again, very important for them was the education of immigrants in area of citizenship, culture, language and democracy (ibid.). It resulted in the foundation of the Advisory Group on Education for Citizenship and the Teaching of Democracy in Schools

and right after they implemented the Citizenship Education to the curriculum of secondary schools with effect from 2002 (Bam-Hutchinson; Pickard, 2019). The Chairman of these institutions, Bernard Crick, stated the three main pillars of citizenship education, and they were “social and moral responsibility, political literacy, and community involvement”, furthermore, they hoped that this kind of education would lead young people to better understanding and respect in multicultural society, active involvement in local and national communities and critical thinking (ibid.). These measures were also influenced by the Cantle report which worked out some new recommendations in this specific issue after the culmination of racial tension between the British and young Muslims in summer 2001. A crucial proposal was made for the government to “promote common citizenship on between different ethnic communities” (ibid.). One year later, the Parliament published a White Paper document with the “*Safe Haven, Secure Borders*” title where the requirements for obtaining British citizenship were discussed. According to a research paper published by House of Commons Library (2002), some of the most important proposals were to provide English, or Welsh, or Scottish Gaelic lessons and classes oriented on citizenship, civic identity and shared values for those who were interested in becoming British citizens. Their intention was to leave the “low-key and bureaucratic approach” to the acquisition of citizenship which was still present in Britain (Puzzo, 2016). Provided that, in the same year the government passed the Nationality, Immigration and Asylum Act 2002 which introduced a new legal way of gaining the British citizenship and a compulsory attendance on citizenship ceremonies (ibid.). Since then, the applicants have to prove that they have a demanded command of English, or of other recognised language, sufficient knowledge of British way of life and customs in the Life in the UK Test, moreover, spouses of British citizens would also be required to have a specific knowledge of language (House of Commons Library, 2002). The 2001 riots were followed by the first Islamic attack in 2005 in London, which, coupled with the election of the new Prime Minister Gordon Brown, resulted in some changes in the issue of active citizenship. Brown was devoted to the theme of Britishness and in one of his conferences he claimed (cited in Home Office, 2007):

“We the British people must be far more explicit about the common ground on which we stand, the shared values which bring us together, the habits of citizenship around which we can and must unite. Expect all who are in our country to play by our rules. And while we do not today have a written constitution it comes back to being sure about and

secure in the values that matter: freedom, democracy and fairness... And let us reaffirm the truth, that as individual citizens of Britain we must act upon the responsibilities we own each other as well as our rights.”

The aim of this new approach was in “strengthening of the assimilationist approach as well as the shaping of Britishness as a core value for minority groups” (Bee – Guerrina, 2017). Again, the main focus was on making changes in the education field, that is why Sir Keith Ajegbo, “advisor to the Home Office with a strong reputation with the teaching of citizenship education”, reviewed the curriculum in terms of diversity in schools (Bam-Hutchinson). With the support of Boris Johnson, who was back then the Shadow Education Secretary, the “*Diversity and Citizenship*” review showed that the curriculum should focus more on history teaching and the subject of “Identity and Diversity: Living Together in the UK” was included in the citizenship education (Bam-Hutchinson; Home Office, 2007). Moreover, subjects like Social and Moral Responsibility, Community Involvement and Political Literacy have been compulsory on all schools since 2008 (Home Office, 2007). Another document called The Governance of Britain 2007 Green Paper was published, which proposed other reforms in the area of the discussed issue. The document suggested a more unified concept of citizenship, changing the formal citizenship into substantive citizenship, followed, by the belief that being a confident British citizen would help Britain in overcoming the challenges of the 21st century and the paper also recommended to incorporate young people into the politics (Home Office, 2007; Puzzo, 2016). It also included a guide called “*The Path to Citizenship*” which specified three main stages of becoming British, it is said, temporary residence for five years, probationary citizenship for a minimum of one year, and as last the acquisition of British citizenship coupled with permanent residence (Bee – Guerrina, 2017; Puzzo, 2016). With this in mind, it is important to mention that this guide represented the basis of the concept of earned citizenship in Britain. These measures were needed to solve the problem with the failing integration of immigrants into the society as well as the concept of a multicultural society which resulted being unsuccessful. This fact was also reflected in a survey made by David McCrone and Frank Bechhofer (2015) at the turn of 2008/2009 which showed that if a non-white person wanted to obtain British citizenship then the majority of the indigenous would have rejected his or her claim, even though, he had a national accent. Compared to the survey of 2006, it resulted that “England had become slightly more “rejectionist” of non-white claims to national identity, whereas in Scotland the views remained virtually

unchanged”, furthermore, they stressed that a crucial factor is education, as the more qualified a person is, the less racist he or she is (ibid.). Coupled with the rising rate of immigration to Britain, in 2008, the government implemented the Points-Based System for all non-Europeans who need visa to enter Britain. This system divided the applicants into four tiers: temporary workers, students, skilled workers and migrants with special talent or investors, however, it also included family visa (BBC, 2020). The number of points depends mainly on the level of English language, a sponsorship by a company or amount of salary (ibid.). Significantly, by introducing such measures it became harder to stay permanently in Britain as immigrants are required to be beneficial for the country by having a certain command of English, being self-supporting, obeying the law and being active citizens (Andreouli, 2009). The above mentioned measures were granted in the Borders, Citizenship and Immigration Act 2009 which also included other implemented changes, such as from now on the immigrants had “to prove they were of good character and that they were good taxpayers”, but also active in their community, furthermore, “full access to a range of benefits” was restricted for those in the probation period (Puzzo, 2016.). Moreover, “those migrants who do not take part in active citizenship” were required “to wait a further three years to qualify for British citizenship and a further five years for permanent residency” (The Legal 500 & The In-House Lawyer, 2010). The active involvement in the public life referred to “50 hours of voluntary service” in the area of education, health, culture, environment, community welfare, and many more (ibid.). To that end, during the governance of Labour Party led by Tony Blair and later by Gordon Brown, coupled with the rising numbers of immigrants settling in Britain, the number of annually granted British citizenship got from 37,010 in 1997 to 203,789 in 2009 (Home Office, 2010). On the other hand, a couple of critical reviews on the Labour's active citizenship approach can be found, for example, that the government did not try to shift the executive power to local councils and to people, or, that they did not take into account the needs of the society, but they rather preferred the institute's priorities (Bee – Guerrina, 2017).

The replacement of the Labour government by the new Conservative-Liberal Democrat coalition in 2010 led to some changes also in the sphere of naturalisation policy and citizenship. The notion of community cohesion was replaced by the context of the Big Society and Integration and Race Equality (Anderson, 2011; Garbaye – Latour, 2016). These concepts consisted in strengthening of shared values and citizenship as well as in

emphasising “of individual citizens and communities to solve problems build communities” (ibid.). The new government also established the National Citizen Service, a programme for 16- and 17-years old British who would like to learn how to be an “active and responsible citizen” (Anderson, 2011). Since then around 500,000 young people have participated in this programme (NCS). Another key thing to remember, is that the new government considered the old regime of probationary citizenship as unsuitable and bureaucratic, so they relinquished it in July 2011, moreover, they did not support Labour's concept of active citizenship (Puzzo, 2016). The new government wanted people to participate through different new forms, however, they did not count with the participation of the immigrants (ibid.). As Will Kymlicka explained, the aim of the new concept of citizenship was to “strengthen a sense of common citizenship as a way of building social cohesion” (cited in Puzzo, 2016). Significantly, the requirements for obtaining British citizenship were changed by the new government. Up to now, the applicant has to be at least a 18 years old person living in Britain for minimum 5 years, has to be of “good character”, which basically means that the person cannot have criminal record nor non-paid taxes and he or she is obliged to pass the Life in the UK Test including a good command of English language (Immigration Direct). Yet these requirements are much likely about to change after Brexit. All in all, the principal aim of these new measures applied by the current Conservative government was to make the acquisition of citizenship a privilege and not a matter of course by making it harder and longer to obtain it (Puzzo, 2016). Not to mention that when the government passed the Immigration Act 2014, they gained power over the immigrants in a sense that Britain can take away the citizenship from those who do not contribute to the society or those who could be accused of getting citizenship in another country (ibid.). By doing so, “in the name of national security ... successive Home Secretaries have broadened the scope of immigration controls and restricted eligibility to British citizenship with every new law” (ibid.). Another problem arises among the group of those persons who would like to apply for British citizenship, however, they cannot, because the application fees are so high, that they are unable to pay for it (Mohdin – Kopf, 2018). It is said, since 2018 if an adult wants to become a citizen of Britain, he or she has to pay £1330, in case of children the fee is £1012, which represents one of the most expensive fees amounts in the world (Home Office, 2017; Mohdin – Kopf, 2018). Not to mention that the £80 fee for the ceremony is not included and in the case of a refusal, there is no refund, however, there is a possibility of reviewing the decision for an additional fee (ibid.). To give an illustration, in 2018 up to 6% of applications were

refused, which is by 3% less than in 2015, but by 3% more than it was in 2013, when the number of applications was 232,262. Despite this, a report from the Office for National Statistics (2019) claims that:

“There were 158,795 applications for British citizenship in 2018, 12% more than in the previous year. In 2018, applications for citizenship by EU nationals increased 23% to 47,568. EU nationals now account for 30% of all citizenship applications, compared with 12% in 2016. Applications made by non-EU nationals increased by 8% in the most recent year to 111,227, following falls in the previous 2 years”

All things considered, it can be assumed that, even though the conditions for obtaining British citizenship are getting harder to meet and even harder to pay for the application, there are still hundreds of thousands of people who successfully pass all these obstacles, and these figures are rising year by year. Not to mention that it confirms the fact that a lot of immigrants are becoming partially integrated, while caring about their position in the British society by being able to live, work and study there without being deported, by obtaining the right to vote and decide about the future of the country, but also, by having the same rights as any other British. What is important, they are still allowed to keep celebrating and sticking to customs and traditions of their culture, to be of dual citizenship, however, they must respect the British values. In other words, when talking about British values, it is referred to “democracy, the rule of law, individual liberty, mutual respect and tolerance of those of different faiths and beliefs” (Department for Education – Lord Nash, 2014). The concept of active citizenship makes it easier for foreign-born newcomers to understand the importance of British values, to overcome the possibly differences between their culture and the British one, and this applies vice versa. Moreover, anyone can become an active citizen, which means that people of different cultures and backgrounds come together while building relationships, connecting on many levels, getting to know each other and getting to know the culture of each participant, but also, building a better community and solving current problems. By doing so, it is natural that people become more tolerant, open-minded, respectful and emphatic. To sum it up, “the promotion of active forms of citizenship” helped to increase “trust and confidence in marginalised communities and in the development of strategies aimed at breaking down barriers and division between communities and between minorities and organizations” (Bee – Guerrina, 2017). However, it will take a long time, more understanding and tolerance till the immigrants will be treated the same as the indigenous British.

Conclusion

The principal aim of the bachelor thesis was to explain the important role of migration in Britain coupled with the development of multiculturalism and to indicate the main attributes of multiculturalism in Britain. By providing and examining the evolution of migration to Britain from 1800 until 2020, the thesis has shown what kind of impact the different governments have had on the immigration policy, race relations, but also on the development of multiculturalism in the British society. This thesis also aimed to highlight the importance of gaining British citizenship among the minority groups, also by analyzing the implementation of the concept of active citizenship. The bachelor thesis is composed of three main chapters.

The first chapter analyzed the history of migration to Britain since 1800, when the first signs of mass migration were detected, up to the year of 2020. This chapter also focused on the main reasons to migrate by the biggest minority groups that have come to the country. As well as the rising occurrence of riots, manifestations and racial prejudice in the society were described, which resulted in the enactment of various Race Relations Acts. The first chapter proved the fact that Britain attracted many foreigners with its open-door policy and zero restrictions, however, later they realized that some restrictions and requirements are needed in order to regulate the migration flow, but also to deal with the problems that have been arising within the country.

The second chapter focused on the direct impact of the migration flow on the society – the emergence of multiculturalism. Firstly, the term multiculturalism was explained, its different meanings and applications on various levels, such as political or sociological. Yet the principal task was to indicate the attributes of multiculturalism in the British society, that were seen and applied in the area of gastronomy, education, relationships and culture. However, it was connected also to problems and criticism of the non-functional multicultural system. One of the results was that multiculturalism leads to segregation and it undermines Britishness, while, on the other hand, it resulted in the fact that the immigrants are not interested in being integrated into the society.

The third chapter examines the possible solution for preventing the failure of multiculturalism and it is the concept of active citizenship. Its main task was to prove that the idea of active participation of immigrants in the community is beneficial, not only for them, but also for the country, and that they are becoming partially integrated into the

society by obtaining British citizenship. Another task was to provide an overview of the development of changes and approaches of various British governments in the sphere of citizenship and naturalization. While the implementation of active citizenship seemed to be successful, there is still a need for a lot of tolerance and understanding between the British and the immigrants.

Resumé

Hlavnou témou bakalárskej práce je vznik a vývoj multikulturalizmu v Británii. Jej hlavným cieľom je poukázať na vplyv masovej migrácie, ktorá zapríčinila, že sa monokultúrna Británia stala multikultúrnou. Práca sa taktiež zameriava na fundamentálne znaky multikulturalizmu, ktoré sa prejavujú v spoločnosti, ale aj na propagáciu a dôležitosť získania britského občianstva pre imigrantov.

Prvá kapitola obsahuje ucelený prehľad vývoja migrácie do Británie. Dôraz sa kladol na vývoj masovej migrácie, ktorej prvé náznaky bolo možné zaznamenať už v 19. storočí, avšak vrcholila až v druhej polovici 20. storočia. Kapitola taktiež opisuje akým nástrahám musela Británia čeliť aj počas prvých dvoch dekád 21. storočia v oblasti imigrácie a rasovej rovnosti. Na lepšie pochopenie danej problematiky, je dôležité si definovať termín migrácia, teda presun ľudí z jedného miesta na druhé (z domovskej krajiny do host'ovskej), s cieľom dlhodobého usadenia sa. Podľa toho, o aký typ migrácie ide, rozoznávame migráciu nútenú a dobrovoľnú; dlhodobú a krátkodobú; internú a externú. Ďalšími dôležitými termínmi sú: imigranti, teda tí, ktorí prichádzajú do novej krajiny, a emigranti, tí, ktorí opúšťajú svoju domovskú krajinu. Bakalárska práca sa zameriava na imigrantov, ktorí prichádzajú do Británie z rôznych dôvodov, avšak s cieľom dlhodobého usadenia. Ďalej sú spomenuté hlavné dôvody, prečo si migranti vyberajú Britániu ako svoju cieľovú krajinu. Británia bola vždy bezpečným miestom pre mnoho ľudí z celého sveta, najmä keď život v určitých krajinách bol riskantný alebo dokonca nebezpečný, napríklad kvôli hrozbám z náboženského prenasledovania, vojny alebo hladomoru. Rovnako ako tí, ktorí hľadajú lepšie platenú prácu, lepšie sociálne a životné podmienky. Okrem toho bola Británia považovaná za jedno z najatraktívnejších miest pre veľa študentov na celom svete, nehovoriac o tom, že britské univerzity sú najprestížnejšie. Cudzinci nie sú motivovaní usadiť sa v Británii len kvôli práci, štúdiu alebo mierovému stavu, ale prichádzajú tiež, aby sa pridali k členom svojej rodiny, ktorí už v Británii žijú. Vyššie uvedené sú najbežnejšie dôvody na migráciu do Británie. Je však veľmi ťažké jasne uviesť dôvody prisťahovalectva do Británie, pretože mnoho prisťahovalcov má zmiešané úmysly alebo nechce uviesť, prečo sa rozhodli presťahovať do Británie. Hlavným zdrojom na získavanie štatistických údajoch o demografií imigrantov v Británii je Úrad pre národnú štatistiku. Podľa migračného práva sa za imigrantov považuje každý, kto sa narodil v zahraničí a má inú národnosť ako britskú, taktiež sa za nich pokladajú deti imigrantov, aj napriek tomu, že boli narodené v Británii

alebo majú britské občianstvo. Po vysvetlení základných termínov, ktoré sú potrebné na porozumenie danej problematiky, sa ďalej táto kapitola venuje opisu vývoja migrácie počas 19. storočia so zameraním na írsku a židovskú menšinovú skupinu. Tieto dve menšiny predstavovali prvú vlnu hromadnej migrácie do Británie, s tým rozdielom, že Íri boli internými migrantmi, keďže spolu s Britániou tvorili jednu krajinu. Prílev takého množstva cudzincov sa však nezaobišiel bez problémov. V prípade Írov, najväčšou starosťou pre Britov bola ich nízka úroveň života, nezamestnanosť a chudoba, keďže väčšina Írov pochádzala z malých, chudobných poľnohospodárskych dedín, ale problémom bola aj ich kresťanská viera. Tento problém vystriedal ďalší, a to veľký prílev židovskej komunity do Británie. To sa však zmenilo po dlhoročnom boji za emancipáciu Židov, ktorej výsledkom bola tolerancia aj iných náboženstiev a etnických skupín. Avšak, aby sa Británia chránila pred ešte väčšou vlnou židovskej migrácie, rozhodla sa zaviesť prísnejšie opatrenia v oblasti migračnej politiky. Začiatkom 20. storočia sa skončila politika „otvorených dverí“ pre cudzincov. Ďalej sa v krátkosti venuje imigrácii počas prvej polovice 20. storočia, ktorá bola ovplyvnená priebehom dvoch svetových vojen. Kvôli antisemitským názorom, ktoré boli v tom čase v Európe propagované, a predídaniu prenasledovania odporcov fašistického režimu, sa množstvo Európanov rozhodlo utiecť do Británie. Tam ich neobmedzovali takmer žiadne imigračné opatrenia. Útek do Británie využili hlavne Nemci, Španieli, Poliáci a Belgičania. Najväčší dôraz sa kládol na vývoj masovej migrácie cudzincov, ktorá prebiehala medzi rokmi 1945 až do začiatku roka 2020. Víťazstvo v druhej svetovej vojne a následné vytvorenie prvej väčšinovej Labouristickej vlády v roku 1945 sa mohlo javiť ako úspešný začiatok povojnovej Británie, ale následky vojny boli také vážne, že zatienilo všetky dosiahnuté úspechy. Británia bola po vojne veľmi oslabená a nielenže prišla o tisíce ľudí, ale dokonca boli aj zadlžení voči ostatným svetovým veľmociam. Aby sa táto situácia vyriešila, vláda dostala pod svoju kontrolu väčšinu najdôležitejších britských spoločností a taktiež vyzvala obyvateľov Britských kolónií, aby prišli žiť a pracovať do Británie. Za bod zlomu a za začiatok modernej masovej migrácie sa považuje 22. jún 1948, keď výletná loď HTM Empire Windrush dorazila do prístavu Tilbury Docks, neďaleko Londýna, s prvými 600 imigrantmi z Karibiku s túžbou začať nový život v Británii. Krajina spočiatku lákala obyvateľov Britských kolónií v Karibiku, avšak neskôr začali prichádzať aj migranti z krajín ako India, Pakistan, Bangladéš a z niektorých afrických krajín. Prítomnosť rôznych kultúr a národností začali pociťovať aj Briti, ktorí sa správali odsudzujúco, až diskriminačne voči imigrantom. Táto skutočnosť vyústila do mnohých manifestácií a výtržností, ktoré niesli so

sebou aj zopár obetí a nemalé škody. Vláda sa rozhodla riešiť túto situáciu zavedením zákonov, ktoré mali zabezpečiť práva aj menšinovým skupinám. Zákony sa týkali aj imigračného práva, ktoré sa stalo viac a viac reštriktívnejším, to však stále nezabránilo príchodu stoviek tisícov migrantov ročne. Nakoniec sa vláda rozhodla riešiť problém s neustále sa zvyšujúcim počtom imigrantov, tým, že vyhlásila referendum o vystúpení z Európskej únie v roku 2015, ktoré skončilo s pozitívnym výsledkom a 31. januára 2020 Británia oficiálne vystúpila z EÚ. Aký to bude mať reálny vplyv na zamedzenie prívalu migrantov, je na úrovni vyjednávania. Uvedenie a vysvetlenie vývoja migrácie v Británii, ktorý súvisel s prijatím rôznych zákonov v oblasti migračnej politiky a rasových vzťahov v 20. a na začiatku 21. storočia, uľahčí jej prepojenie s multikulturalizmom, ktorá je hlavnou témou druhej kapitoly.

Druhá kapitola predstavuje najdôležitejšiu časť bakalárskej práce, keďže sa v nej poukazuje na hlavné charakteristiky a prejavy multikulturalizmu v britskej spoločnosti. Venuje sa však aj objasneniu pojmu multikulturalizmus, jeho rôznym významom a použitiu na viacerých úrovniach, ako napríklad na politickom alebo sociologickom. Príchod takého množstva migrantov do Británie vyústila do situácie, keď sa z monokultúrnej Británie stala multikultúrna. Vo všeobecnosti pojem multikulturalizmus predstavuje spolunažívanie rozdielnych kultúr na určitom území. V užšom kontexte tento termín nepredstavuje iba to, že rôzne etnické skupiny žijú spolu v určitej oblasti, ale, že si taktiež zaslúžia osobitné uznanie ich rozdielov v dominantnej kultúre. Teória multikulturalizmu zabezpečuje, aby platili zákony, pravidlá a práva pre každého bez ohľadu na rasu, farbu, pôvod, pohlavie alebo sociálne zázemie. Takisto pojem multikulturalizmus sa môže chápať ako štruktúra populácie, kultúrna rozmanitosť, inštitucionálna politika, spoločenská prax, ideológia, hodnota, vzdelávací prístup, štýl riadenia, sociologická alebo politická koncepcia alebo teória. Kapitola sa venuje aj vysvetleniu termínov ako asimilácia a integrácia, teda splyvanie a zjednotenie, ktoré sú súčasťou idey multikulturalizmus. Po uvedení a definícií jednotlivých pojmov sa ďalej práca priamo sústredila na vznik a vývoj multikulturalizmu v Británii, ktorý sa začal v osemdesiatych rokoch minulého storočia, keď celkový ročný počet prisťahovalcov prichádzajúcich do Británie prekročil hranicu 200 000. Úlohou vlády, ale aj spoločnosti, je rozhodnúť o tom, ako na tieto situácie reagovať a ako ich vyriešiť. Je dôležité vyzdvihnúť, že tento koncept bol zavedený s cieľom opísať novovytvorený vzťah medzi Britmi a cudzincami. To znamená, že keďže existovalo množstvo úplne nových kultúr, ktoré boli v

mnohých sférach príliš odlišné od toho britského, multikulturalizmus sa považoval za reakciu na monokultúru Británie, ktorá sa vytrácala a nahradila aj koncept rasových vzťahov. Predpokladá sa, že prisťahovalci si prinesú svoju kultúru do krajiny, v ktorej sa usadia, a preto sú pôvodní ľudia ovplyvnení aj cudzími kultúrami a tradíciami. V Británii sa to prejavilo hlavne v oblasti gastronómie, ktorá sa od príchodu migrantov zmenila vo viacerých smeroch. Ďalšími ovplyvnenými sférami boli: vzdelávanie, kultúra, medziľudské vzťahy. Na druhej strane, však koncept multikulturalizmu súvisel aj s problémami a kritikou za jej nefunkčnosť. Jedným výsledkom z analýz bolo, že multikulturalizmus vedie k segregácii a podkopáva britskú identitu, zároveň sa dokázalo aj to, že prisťahovalci nemajú záujem integrovať sa do spoločnosti. Od roku 2010 sa hovorí o zlyhaní multikulturalizmu, keďže ľudí viac odcudzuje ako združuje.

Tretia kapitola skúma možné riešenie neúspešného konceptu multikulturalizmu a predstavuje pojem aktívneho občianstva. Jej hlavnou úlohou bolo dokázať, že myšlienka aktívnej účasti prisťahovalcov v komunite je prospešná nielen pre nich, ale aj pre krajinu, a že sa čiastočne integrujú do spoločnosti získaním britského občianstva. Ďalším cieľom bolo poskytnúť prehľad o vývoji zmien a prístupov rôznych britských vlád v oblasti občianstva a naturalizácie. Je nevyhnutné zdôrazniť, že koncept aktívneho občianstva bol propagovaný predchádzajúcou Labouristickou vládou, avšak súčasná vláda konzervatívcov nepokladala aktívnu participáciu imigrantov za dôležitú. Výsledkom však bolo, že zavedenie takéhoto konceptu do multikultúrnej spoločnosti pomáha zvýšiť dôveru v marginalizované spoločenstvá a vo vývoji stratégií sa zameriava na odstránenie bariér a oddelení medzi spoločenstvami a medzi menšinami a organizáciami. Dôraz sa kladol aj na poukázanie dôležitosti zavedenia určitých podmienok na získanie občianstva, aby ju cudzinci nebrali ako samozrejmosť pri príchode do Británie, ale ako výsadu. Vychádzalo to z tej skutočnosti, že v roku 1948 britská vláda zaviedla automatické britské občianstvo pre všetkých obyvateľov bývalých britských kolónií, to sa však muselo zmeniť, pretože mnohí migranti využívali toto svoje právo na vstup do Británie. V súčasnosti platí, že na získanie britského občianstva, daná osoba musí byť staršia ako 18 rokov s trvalým pobytom v Británii, musí mať určitú znalosť anglického jazyka a taktiež musí prejsť testom, ktorý sa skladá z otázok o britských reáliách. Avšak, aj keď sa vykonávanie aktívneho občianstva zdalo byť úspešné, medzi Britmi a prisťahovalcami je stále potrebná väčšia tolerancia a porozumenie.

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