



Department of Human Rights and Migration Studies

**A Master's Dissertation**

**“The Impact of Emigration on British  
Society since World War II”**

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## **Abstract**

The purpose of this dissertation is to examine the impact of migration on the British Empire and on today's United Kingdom and British society, especially after World War II. In the first part, there will be an extensive reference on the migratory flows to the British Empire before the decolonial period, where British subjects from all over the world were resettled in the British Isles and shaped and influenced its character and economy, the laws that regulated these migrations will be also analysed to examine if migration was endorsed or not. In the second part reference will be made on the decolonization period, focusing on migrations to and from the Commonwealth, a time when migratory waves from all over the world became less controlled and more regulated. The growth in opposition against migrants in the decades of 1960's and 1970's is also something that would be addressed as well. Lastly, for the final part, the European Unions' influence on migration to the UK will be discussed in order to study how the process of Europeanisation has affected the UK policies with reference to the United Kingdom's decision to leave the EU, a choice that migration played a major role in.

**Keywords:** Migration, Colonialism, Imperialism, British Empire, Brexit, European Union, Society, Culture, Nationalism, Britishness, Europeanization, Legislation

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## **Introduction**

This thesis is submitted as part of the requirements for the award of the MA degree in Human Rights and Migration Studies by the University of Macedonia. In the context of completing my studies in the program, finding and choosing a topic for the preparation of my thesis was a result of a wider academic stimuli and a process that took place both at the undergraduate and postgraduate level.

At a time when there is a complete resurface of imperialism in the European continent as seen by the Russian invasion to Ukraine in early 2022, as well as global interdependence as a result of globalization, as seen by the effects of COVID-19 at a worldwide level, analysing imperialism and colonialism through the immigrational movements to the British Isles over the centuries, is an important field for examining how the political decisions are transformed into actions and how migration, a topic that is always current, has a power that can impact societies to move forward, but at the same time can make them react against it, in effort of protecting the shared conceptions of Britishness, in this case.

Since the beginning of the decolonial period which started from the 18<sup>th</sup> century onwards, with the American Revolution, the successive changes taking place on the occasion of decolonization that spanned through centuries, the conflict that it created, the migration movements the race hierarchy theory and Europeanization, propose a different framework for the organization of society. There is in other words, a transition from the British Empire to the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland. As observed by Davide Cannadine *“Britishness is a complicated and enormous thing - what different people see as meaning different things. It can mean one island, a group of islands off the coast of Europe, or it can mean the British Empire - at times it means all those things. Politicians, and the rest of us, define it in different ways at different times.”*<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> House of Lords. “To Call Attention to the Concept of Britishness in the Context of the Cultural, Historical, Constitutional and Ethical Tradition of the Peoples of These Islands,”. (16/06/2008). Available at: <https://researchbriefings.files.parliament.uk/documents/LLN-2008-015/LLN-2008-015.pdf>. P. 3, accessed January 18, 2023

The role played by migration and especially, through this thesis, emigration, can be understood later in the configuration of the idea of Britishness as we understand it today. With the term of immigration, we refer to the procedure through which people become permanent residents or citizens of another nation, the process of immigration has historically provided significant social, economic, and cultural benefits to governments.<sup>2</sup> Reading this paper, one becomes aware of the impossibility of having a specific set of principles defining all the above. For a state like the UK especially, where its rich history entangles those definitions as they evolve through the ages. In practice, the definition of the phenomenon depends on the intended goals, the actors involved and the environment in which they are implemented.

With this writing project, we seek to explore the impact of emigration on British society mainly focusing on the country after the second world war. However, it is important to research how the population movements impacted the country since early on in the time of the British Empire to find out whether imperialism and colonialism deepened and dominated the English ideas on immigrants and immigration in today's diverse British society. First of all, it should be clarified that either state would be seen as a suitable ground for a thorough analysis. The choice of the UK, however, is justified by its rich individual characteristics as well as their implementation through the society. The fact is that immigration lays at the core of any society and it is understood as a mechanism for reporting the actions of persons charged with making decisions on behalf of their communities. Essentially, today, large immigration numbers are not treated as a virtuous quality of a society but at the same time they are a condition for the evolution of a state in many levels. Reframing, it is researched whether the immigrational procedures as well as the British imperial system advocate for the consolidation of a multicultural and non-racial society or all the above are operating in masking the country's re-emergence towards the empire and also how migration impacted the society.

This writing venture was based on primary and secondary sources. More specifically, elements from both Greek and international literature were used, such

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<sup>2</sup> Parry, S. "Immigration", Encyclopaedia Britannica. (09/12/2022). Available at: <https://www.britannica.com/topic/immigration>., accessed January 18, 2023

as books, scientific journal articles, explanatory reports, studies, texts of EU institutions as well as utilization of EU and British legislation and online sources.

The paper is structured into three Chapters as follows:

- The First Chapter, “Migratory flows during the colonial period” introduces the reader to the main concepts that this paper deals with, namely, the history of immigration to the British Empire during the medieval and colonial period. In the first part, there is an extensive reference on the migratory flows to the British Empire before the decolonial period, where British subjects from all over the world were resettled in the British Isles and shaped and influenced the character, economy of the mainland. The laws that regulated these migrations will be also analysed to examine if migration was endorsed or not.
- The Second Chapter, which title is “Decolonization period and migration to the UK”, enters into the core of this work by presenting the immigration movements during the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries as a response to decolonization. At that time, migratory waves from all over the world became less controlled and more regulated. Also, the Commonwealth and the movements that it enforced will be discussed as well. The growth in opposition against migrants in the decades of 1960’s and 1970’s is also something that will be addressed as well as the diverse views and livelihoods of the migrants themselves focusing on the ideas of Britishness and nationality.
- The Third Chapter, entitled “Migration in the UK in the 21st century and the EU’S Influence” examines the upgrading of relations between the UK and the EU. More precisely, the context of the Europeanisation of migration policy as well as how that has affected the UK policies will be discussed and analysed. Reference will be made to the United Kingdom’s decision to leave the EU, a choice that migration played a protagonistic role in. Great Britain is the first country in history to start the process of leaving the EU and thus challenging its cohesion, which makes it an important case study. Finally, reference is made on what has followed the Brexit decision and the effects on migration and the ideas towards it, as well as the effects on British national identity and society.

## **1<sup>st</sup> Chapter: Migratory flows during the colonial period**

The state of Great Britain, or more correctly United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland as is its official name, is a peculiar case of a country, from its geographical position, its historical evolution and its culture, it has been the subject of thorough research. The establishment and consolidation of the British Empire in the international system as a state, played a leading role in international events. Colonialism and its strong ties with its colonies, as well as the migratory patterns that were based on all the above can reduce the country to an interesting case, worthy of research. The recording of the historical development of the state through migration as well as the main events and milestones of those flows that helped evolve it into the country, we know today is therefore essential. More precisely, the history of immigration to the British Empire will be discussed and analysed while putting the lens away from the colonies from around the world and into the area that was pulling the strings all the way from the North West part of Europe. At the same time, the role of its political system as a constitutional monarchy, its trade and strong economy, its business activity as well as its conditions and quality of life with accord to immigration patterns of that time and well up until the 19<sup>th</sup> century will be thoroughly analysed so that the state of the United Kingdom today can be deciphered and so that we can understand the process of the creation of the United Kingdom's "character" today.

### **1.1 History of Immigration to the British Empire through the Historical Evolution of the State**

#### **1.1.1 The Historical Evolution of the State**

The first historical evidence of the relations between the inhabitants of the area of what is today the United Kingdom and their neighbouring countries exists from the era of the Roman Empire. After its fall and the removal of the Roman forces, England was under the administration of the Anglo-Saxons, but the confrontations between their rulers and the residents of the regions led the land to be initially controlled by the Danish



empire and finally, with some intermediate interferences, in its occupation of Normandy by the English natives.<sup>3</sup>

The current form of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland took many centuries to be shaped in today's data. Wales was the first to be fully incorporated into England as early as 1540 with the kingdom of Scotland coming second two centuries after in 1707 and with Ireland in 1801. In the 16th century, the fall, of great empires of the time, from their colonies led Great Britain to assume a leading role in trade, which ensured the development of industry and the national security of the state. During the 17th century, a civil war took place in England between the Catholic aristocracy and the Protestant middle class, which led to the consolidation of Parliament and limited the Crown. After centuries of conflict with the Roman Catholic Church Great Britain became a Protestant country.<sup>4</sup> This century of commercial and industrial revolutions, also gave rise to modern economic systems. The union with Scotland at the same time, after the collapse of its colonies and finances difficulties, made the creation of the United Kingdom a reality. London became the capital and the process that led to the union of the whole country was called the Act of Union, while a further Act of Union in 1800 added the Kingdom of Ireland and created the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland.<sup>5</sup>

In the 18th century, after a war with France, Great Britain acquired lands in America and the Indies, secured supremacy in seas and became the centre of financial transactions on a worldwide level. Especially in the regions of North America and the Indies, the United Kingdom had a central role, which was reversed in 1783 with the American Revolution and the independence of the United States, so it turned even more so in the Indies, Africa and the Pacific strengthening its position on the international stage.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> Beloff, L. (1996). *Britain and European Union: Dialogue of the Deaf*. London: Macmillan Press. Pp. 11-13

<sup>4</sup> As above Beloff, L. Pp. 13-15

<sup>5</sup> Bale, T. (2011), *Πολιτική Στις Χώρες Της Ευρώπης*, Athens: Κριτική. Pp 121-134

<sup>6</sup> Cain, P. (2008). "Britain and the Empire: A Brief History." *British Politics Review Newsletter of the British Politics Society*, Vol 3, no. 2. P. 3

[https://www.duo.uio.no/bitstream/handle/10852/68530/1/British-Politics-Review-02\\_2008.pdf](https://www.duo.uio.no/bitstream/handle/10852/68530/1/British-Politics-Review-02_2008.pdf)

Between the end of the 18th century and the beginning of the 19th, it spearheaded the creation of an anti-French coalition, which eventually led to the defeat of Napoleon and the end of the Napoleonic Wars in 1815. A new course on the European Continent was taking shape, characterised by the effort to avoid war conflicts and the maintenance of peace and political territorial regulation. In the same period, the liberal expanded governance in Great Britain centred on London, created an empire, also known as the Pax Britannica, based in trade, international rule-making, investment and balance forces. The British economy depended on trade and industry, the existence of naval bases in key places around the globe highlighted the trade as core activity, while the rapid development of the industrial revolution offered to maintain its power in Europe at that time. The preservation of peace was something unprecedented for Europe. In this, the British helped due to their strong economy which had a direct effect on its development of the naval fleet and therefore the priority in the decisions regarding the war. The British Empire was based on trade and colonies while at the same time adopting the policy of cooperation instead of deterrence.<sup>7</sup>

The 1900s brought the British Empire into full competition with other powerful economies of the time, something that limited its economic supremacy. The attitude of Great Britain was rather passive and the United States of America and Germany came to the fore to fill the gap, with Germany especially the role of ruler and competing with Great Britain in military and economic level. The “Triple Entente” of Great Britain, France and Russia and their efforts, to deal with the now menacing Germany came late, something that inevitably led to the outbreak of World War I. In 1918, the strong British army and aid from the colonies helped the allies to win the war and a part of the British army to remain on German soil. WWI was a devastating war for the economy of Great Britain, although it increased its territorial areas relegated to the scale of world military dominance.<sup>8</sup> In order to understand the full reach of the then British Empire it is clearly important to take a look in the historical background of the time. Composed of 13

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<sup>7</sup> Haugroik, K. M. (2008) “Queen Victoria and the British politics in the Victorian era.”

*British Politics Review Newsletter of the British Politics Society*. Vol 3, no. 2. P. 8

[https://www.duo.uio.no/bitstream/handle/10852/68530/1/British-Politics-Review-02\\_2008.pdf](https://www.duo.uio.no/bitstream/handle/10852/68530/1/British-Politics-Review-02_2008.pdf).

<sup>8</sup> Young, W. J. (1993). *Britain and the European Unity 1945-1992*. London: Macmillan Press. Pp. 2-6

million square miles, 1/3 of the total earth surface, the British Empire consisted of colonies from one point of the globe to another. From the South of the European continent, in colonies in Africa to the East in the Middle East and West in the Pacific, the British Empire made up to reach 1/5 of the total earth's population.<sup>9</sup> British nationalism includes many different concepts and identities. The British nation is mostly comprehended from the outside looking mainly by the English, the Irish, the Scottish and the Welsh but in reality "Britishness" is often only researched through the "civilised people" meaning that it covers mainly the Eurocentric idea of the nation as it overlooks all the other identities that also formed it. As Kathryn A. Manzo suggests the British sectarianism has behaved with a certain way towards immigrants that were people of colour. More specifically they would refer to them as "coloured people" and that would include Asian, African and Caribbean minorities resulting in behaviours towards them that often were societally discriminatory.<sup>10</sup> Before we proceed, the analysis of the movements of migration during the early years of the creation of the empire is deemed necessary.

## **1.2. The early migration movements**

### **1.2.1 Migration from the 11<sup>th</sup> to the 12<sup>th</sup> century**

Migration is strongly correlated with the evolution of any state and at the same time is connected with the history of mankind and humanity since evidence of early migration movements are traced alongside with Homo Erectus and Homo Sapiens.<sup>11</sup> From all the above it is more than evident that the development of the state of the United Kingdom was a constant process in which migration and more specifically because of this study, emigration, meaning people migrating to the state and not from it, really operated as a catalyst for it. The age-old custom of travel and trade persisted from 1000

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<sup>9</sup> Jackson, A. (2013). *The British Empire: A very short introduction*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Pp. 21

<sup>10</sup> Manzo, A. K. (1996), *Creating Boundaries: The Politics of Race and Nation*. Boulder: Lynne Rienner Pub. pp 114-115

<sup>11</sup> Koser, K. (2016). *International Migration: A very short introduction*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Pp. 2

and beyond. Those early movements were connected to more traditional migration patterns as for example for reasons as to avoid danger, to do commerce, or simply to find a better life. At the same time however, the clear motives which moved further than the above reasons are hard to prove.<sup>12</sup>

Tracking migratory flows in English historiography as early as the Roman period, there is evidence that people on the move were always a part of British history. More specifically, as archaeological evidence suggests, Roman population in the British Isles at that time was evident although limited in numbers and alongside with migrants from today's area of Germany, they made their way towards the British Isles. Around the same time, Vikings were conquering parts of the area. All those groups interacted with the indigenous population which led to settling in and creating structures in the "political" and hierarchical institutions with their own identities.<sup>13</sup> After the Norman Conquest of 1066, the Norman settlers, despite being quite few in number, were successful in seizing power and transforming the nation's institutions and political structure. William I, the first Norman king, extended an invitation to European Jews to immigrate to England in order to assist in the administration of the realm and serve as moneylenders for his construction endeavours and military campaigns.<sup>14</sup> Among the individuals who migrated during the Middle Ages were also the Angles, the Saxons, the Goths and the Franks. Those groups were under several authority types which often co-existed but were not homogenous.

During that time those areas did not constitute a cogent English character. However, the influx of new immigrants from various regions of Europe into each generation raises significant concerns about the tendency towards homogeneity that seemed to be unstoppable. Wales was ruled by England during the Middle Ages, and it was formally part of the king's domain, although many Welsh people objected to the rule.<sup>15</sup> English forces invaded Ireland and took over a portion of it, but the Irish people

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<sup>12</sup> Kleinschmidt, H. (2003). *People on the Move: Attitudes toward and Perceptions of Migration in Medieval and Modern Europe*. Westport: Praeger Publishers. P. 51

<sup>13</sup> As above Kleinschmidt, H. (2003). Pp. 52- 59

<sup>14</sup> Corrigan, P. & Sayer D. (1985). *The Great Arch: English State Formation as Cultural Revolution*. Oxford: Blackwell. pp 14-18

<sup>15</sup> Robbins K. (1988). *Great Britain: Identities, Institutions and the Idea of Britishness since 1500 (The Present and The Past)*. London: Longman. Pp. 11-28

living there were considered as colonised subjects and not as citizens. Theoretically, everybody born in a country under the king's control was a citizen, whereas people born abroad were considered “aliens” or foreigners.<sup>16</sup>

### **1.2.2 Migration from the 13<sup>th</sup> to the 14<sup>th</sup> century**

When the economy was booming and the political system was solid, immigrants coexisted happily in local communities and were promoted and welcomed. “Aliens” were occasionally subject to severe taxes or restrictions on where they may reside and work during the Middle Ages. The most extreme example of this was the systematic segregation of England's Jews in 1290 by Edward I.<sup>17</sup> Immigrants were most susceptible to restrictions when they were no longer viewed as helpful. In contrast, wealthy foreigners could acquire citizenship rights by requesting a letter of denization from the king. By the end of this era, all foreigners had the right to have their cases decided by a jury composed of individuals who spoke the same language and shared the same origins. With the invasion of England over the entirety of Wales as well as a portion of Ireland, Welsh and Irish people occasionally were integrated and occasionally discriminated against. However, Scottish immigrants were “aliens” from a foreign country, especially because they used another language.<sup>18</sup>

Generally speaking, during the Middle Ages, immigrants from other countries integrated themselves into the local populations. It is important to notice that around that time characteristics of all the above populations that were living in those areas were not creating a uniform ‘Britishness’ as we understand it today. Although around the mid15<sup>th</sup> century that took a turn, forming slowly shared conceptions of Britishness. The Church and the Crown were important aspects towards that, as Christianity and specifically Protestantism became more widespread and the British Crown became London-centred.

### **1.2.3 Migration from the 15<sup>th</sup> to the 16<sup>th</sup> century**

More and more European craftspeople moved to England due to its expanding economy. By the middle of the fifteenth century, immigrants could be found in almost

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<sup>16</sup> As above Kleinschmidt, H. (2003). Pp. 71

<sup>17</sup> As above Robbins K. (1998), pp. 36

<sup>18</sup> Ibid, Pp. 17-23

every village and town. Foreign bankers and merchants were drawn to England's expanding towns because of the country's wealth as well.<sup>19</sup> On the other hand, immigrants who were fleeing poverty came to England because of its greater prosperity. In the fifteenth century, the largest number of foreign-born residents were servants, including Icelandic youngsters who were basically slaves and victims of human trafficking.<sup>20</sup>

If an immigrant was characterised as an advantage to the societal overview, then, following pressures from the Crown, they renounced their loyalty and gained benefits of a native English-born subject. This process became known as denization and was formalised by the crown by the early 15<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>21</sup> By the Tudor era, denization had grown to be a sizable industry, however, due to the fact that it entailed major costs, it was pursued by fewer numbers of richer newcomers, such as merchants. Finding new funding for the Hundred Years War was ostensibly the driving force towards taxation. In actuality though, regulation was also a major component of taxing the immigrants as well. An overall census to the number of foreign nationals living in the country was a step towards tighter regulations at a time when political anxiety about the economic influence of foreigners and national security was high.<sup>22</sup>

People moving in the area were differentiated by their local communities and also by the different places of residence. England's estimated population at the time was only slightly higher than 2 million. Immigrants made up around 1% of the entire population of the United Kingdom. There is every indication that the languages and dialects used when trying to communicate with the taxpayers during the 1440s were the

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<sup>19</sup> Ibid, pp. 49

<sup>20</sup> Our Migration Story. "Our Migration Story: The Making of Britain," Early & Mediaeval Migrations." Available at: <https://www.ourmigrationstory.org.uk/oms/by-era/AD43%E2%80%931500>. Accessed November 1, 2022. See Also BBC News. "Why It Is Often Difficult to Know Who Was 'Foreign' and Who Was Not - Medieval 1000-1500 Overview" Available at: <https://www.bbc.co.uk/bitesize/guides/z3pymnb/revision/4>., accessed November 1, 2022.

<sup>21</sup> Lambert, B. "Immigration Control in Late Medieval England," History Workshop. (19/08/2022), Available at: <https://www.historyworkshop.org.uk/immigration-control-in-late-medieval-england/>. Accessed November 1, 2022.

<sup>22</sup> As above Corrigan, P. & Sayer D. (1985). Pp. 55-59

easiest ways to identify them. Aliens continued to be subjects to taxes from the 1440s through the 1480s but the total number of people paying taxes was far less than the level of the previous years due to friction the taxes had sparked as well as because of the harsher divisions they brought between those populations who were native-born and those who were immigrants.<sup>23</sup>

Governments in later mediaeval England also sought to control the effects of immigration on the labour market and to govern the employment of foreign newcomers, although that is not something that can be measurable on today's terms. Since the beginning of the sixteenth century, records of Romanies in Britain have existed. The Egyptians Act 1530 followed by an arrival of Romani Gypsies in the area. Romanies were first formally documented in Scotland in 1505, and in England in 1513 or 1514. They were at first nomads who worked mostly as hawkers, basket weavers, artisans, blacksmiths, and other tradesmen. They also worked as hustlers, jockeys, horse merchants, and in a variety of other jobs involving horses.<sup>24</sup>

The Protestant Reformation and the start of the age of colonialism were the two most significant changes in England's ties with Europe and the rest of the globe during this time which had the greatest overall impact on immigration. Religious conflicts erupted throughout Europe in the sixteenth century as Protestantism gained popularity.<sup>25</sup> The Crown's separation from Rome and signified the change of England into a Protestant state. In search of safety, Protestant refugees came to England, where they were widely welcomed. Following the St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre in 1572, they were followed by French Huguenots. They also included Walloons from northern France and Belgium. In northwest India, the East India Company established a commercial base in 1600. These sailors started showing up in ports, working for meagre pay in frequently appalling conditions. While this was going on, a number of East India

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<sup>23</sup> Mason, E. "Medieval Immigrants: Moving to England in the Middle Ages." HistoryExtra. (07/09/2015). Available at: <https://www.historyextra.com/period/medieval/medieval-immigrants-moving-to-england-in-the-middle-ages/>. accessed November 3, 2022.

<sup>24</sup> As above Manzo, A. K. (1996). Pp. 117

<sup>25</sup> Fisher, M. H. (2015). *Migration: A World History*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Pp. 61-62

Company managers who had spent time in India returned with both Indian women to serve as their children's nannies and Indian youngsters to work as servants.<sup>26</sup>

The period of sea travel and adventure throughout the 16th and 17th centuries allowed for the discovery, trade, and conquest of new areas, which encouraged immigration to and from Britain later on.

#### **1.2.4 Migration from the 17<sup>th</sup> century to the 18<sup>th</sup> century**

Many strangers and aliens migrated to England in search of a peaceful settlement as a result of the religious wars that tore through the continental Europe in the early seventeenth century. However, they regularly encountered antagonism as a result of friction in English society brought on by unfavourable views of European immigrants.<sup>27</sup>

Foreigners who had fled to England because they lacked the freedom to practise their Protestant religion in their home countries pleaded with the government to protect them. In the general public views of the newcomers there was a differentiation between an “alien” and a “stranger”. With the “alien” being someone from a foreign country and a stranger someone who belongs to a different religion. Some groups were forced to flee persecution and immigrate to Britain due to religious differences, including the French Protestant Huguenots. With the help of the 1708 Foreign Protestants Naturalization Act, more than fifty thousand Huguenot immigrants settled in English communities. They were given the right to citizenship and were referred to as “Britain's first refugees”.<sup>28</sup>

While complete expressions of race did not emerge until the regulation of slavery during the later years of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, classifications that defined the nature of people based on their physical traits had existed since ancient antiquity. Africans began to show up in greater numbers in Elizabethan England in large parts, due to traders and adventurers who capitalised on the need for exploration in the Atlantic, Indian, and Pacific surged as a result of global commodities. Africans mostly immigrated when pirates, privateers, and merchants, frequently with royal support, because of the

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<sup>26</sup> As above “Our Migration Story: The Making of Britain,”

<https://www.ourmigrationstory.org.uk/oms/by-era/1500%E2%80%931750>.

<sup>27</sup> As above Corrigan, P. & Sayer D. (1985). Pp. 60-71

<sup>28</sup> Das, N. et al. (2021). *Keywords of Identity, Race and Human Mobility in Early Modern England*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press. Pp. 23-29



realisation that human trafficking could be lucrative and elevate one's status. However, in the Atlantic region of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, several myths of inter-racial harmony and brotherhood, as were introduced at the time were evidence of the flourishing of a culture dependent on African labour rather than its demise. At the same time, it would be argued that from very early on, the view of “aliens” or coloured people has been linked with hostility at least and at most with linkage with discrimination and racism. Viewing them as a danger to the society on many levels, from “stealing” jobs and housing from Englishmen to affecting the principles of English society as a whole, one thing is clear, the British Empire was dependent on those people while considering them as less.<sup>29</sup>

Labelling people as “Indian” during that time, encompassed a huge territory under the empire. In London's popular culture, early depictions of Indians date back to 1662, when Indian servants first began to serve in private residences. Indians in London continued to be held in unregistered servitude both during and after the Restoration. The East India Company's directors decided that travellers returning to India were required to get an official permit.<sup>30</sup> Due to this, Indian labourers were left trapped in London and forced to rely on begging or offering themselves for domestic or dockyard work.<sup>31</sup>

During the 17th and 18th centuries, the number of Inquisition exiles entering Spain and Portugal increased which followed the readmission of Jews to England.<sup>32</sup> Although the English government supported their immigration, the Jewish Naturalization Act of 1753, aimed towards the legalization of Jewish people in England, it was cancelled after

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<sup>29</sup> As above Manzo, A. K. (1996). Pp. 123-126

<sup>30</sup> Chatterjee A. K., “The 500-Year History of Indians in London Rubbishes Notions of an 'English' England”. The Hindu, (04/08/2018). Available at: <https://www.thehindu.com/society/suleman-noor-in-shakespeares-times/article24601450.ece>., accessed November 7 2022

<sup>31</sup> As above Fisher, M. H. (2015). Pp. 75-84

<sup>32</sup> The National Archives, “Jewish People and Communities in Britain and Its Former Colonies”. (04/07/2022). Available at: <https://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/help-with-your-research/research-guides/jews-and-jewish-communities-18th-20th-centuries/>. accessed November 7 2022

a short period of time.<sup>33</sup> In the latter part of the seventeenth century, more commerce routes and diplomatic contacts increased the presence of Muslims in the English lands. As the seventeenth century ushered in, London experienced a big influx of Ottoman influence with customs and habits that made an impact on coffeehouses and alcohol.<sup>34</sup>

The majority of the population in the country was impacted by migration, which was nearly a universal phenomenon and involved servants, apprentices, potential wives, and others relocating over relatively short distances. At the same time, there was a sizable amount of long-distance subsistence migration, which largely involved poor people who were forced by hardship to travel and were frequently headed for big cities.<sup>35</sup> Those people brought with them a knack for organisation, an understanding of industrial processes, and a will to prevail despite being uprooted. The craft of silk weaving, copper engraving, hat manufacturing, and bleaching, dyeing, and colouring were among the many tasks they took part in.

### **1.3 The Colonial Period and Migration**

As the world progressed from the 18<sup>th</sup> to the 19<sup>th</sup> century nations and states started to form with the sense of political and social units especially from the French Revolution forward. When this happened rulers at that time began to take notice of the impact of migration in their areas. On the opposite side, migrants started to seek economic, political and cultural stability. All these resulted in the official rulers making conscious decisions in order to keep in control those people in fear of them creating settled communities, which resulted in making discriminatory policies towards them.<sup>36</sup>

At this period, more immigrants began to settle. The East India Company employed Indian seamen, while the slave trade transported Africans to live and work in the Isles, particularly in London, while numerous people settled in port cities. The Industrial Revolution that began in Britain in the late 18th century prompted labourers

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<sup>33</sup> Moch P. L. (2003), *Moving Europeans: Migration in Western Europe since 1650*.

Bloomington & Indianapolis: Indiana University Press. Pp. 26-36

<sup>34</sup> Like above Das, N. et al., (2021). 177

<sup>35</sup> Clark, P. (1979). "Migration in England during the Late Seventeenth and Early Eighteenth Centuries." *Past & Present*, no. 83. Pp. 57–90. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/650601>.

<sup>36</sup> As above Kleinschmidt, H. (2003). Pp. 159-170

to move from the small villages and rural towns to the emerging cities in search of employment.<sup>37</sup>

Migration to Great Britain for all those centuries, although relatively small in number, was really significant in the evolution of British national identity. Imperialism and the perceptions of the non-European world during the ages of exploration spawned a tremendous impact on British culture. In the course of the early migration movements to Anglo-Saxon England the thing that defined those years and “unified” those populations alongside with the Celts and Romano-British was invasion, conquest and settlement. The Normans however differentiated all the above and despite that they adopted the language and customs of those areas, they contributed in the creation of unified England for the centuries to come. It is very apparent that we cannot yet speak of a mass society, culture or even state as the usage of a variety of languages at the time and the many kingdoms that were dominant at that time.<sup>38</sup>

However, England, was in some level unified at that time due to the fact that it was distinct in the level of economic and legal system with an example of that being the signing of Magna Carta in 1215.<sup>39</sup> The Act of Union in 1536 between England and Wales signified the creation of the United Kingdom. Two centuries later in 1707 Scotland was added and three nations were unified under the monarchy with the general public being largely unaware of the intricacies of empire. The crucial point in history that depended on the English identity was the reign of Queen Elizabeth when the British empire denoted an imperial worldview, one that accepted colonisation and empire, while religion became an important thing for national identity. This world view was founded on widely held inchoate assumptions about British superiority, of the alienness and often backwardness of non-Europeans, who, in turn, needed to be aided or at least set to one side so that their resources could be exploited for the benefit of mankind.<sup>40</sup> This was increasingly a world vision based on racial hierarchy and the ideas of a whiteness that equals Britishness. If these concepts were less practicable in Britain, they were enormously important throughout the vast areas of the world under the control of

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<sup>37</sup> As above Cain P. (2008). Pp. 3-4

<sup>38</sup> As above Robbins K., (1998), Pp. 3-50

<sup>39</sup> As above Corrigan, P., & Sayer D. (1985). Pp. 15

<sup>40</sup> Levine P. (2004), *Gender and Empire*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Pp. 17-18

British colonisers. Nevertheless, aliens like Jewish people and people of Asian, African or Caribbean heritage were always considered as others throughout the timespan that is above examined. The expanding settler states were built on the decline, subjugation, and dispossession of their indigenous peoples. Britishness is a colonial construct and that would become more evident during the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries.

## **2<sup>nd</sup> Chapter: Decolonization period and migration to the UK**

### **2.1 Migration from the 19<sup>th</sup> century to 20<sup>th</sup> century**

Decolonization was not something that happened overnight, since the eighteenth century and the Independence of America, many British colonies from all around the world started to set the movement for that direction. During the nineteenth century, specifically in the decade of 1940, India, Pakistan and Burma gained their independence from the British Empire. Decolonization continued for the decades to come and the formal control shifted to the new informal empire that, of course, influenced migration as well. At that time, migration was used as a way of enhancing one's life prospects. However, in the 1830s, emigration was viewed as a difficult enterprise, and frequently as a matter of lifelong banishment.

In 1807 slave trade was abolished in Britain, following the societal pushes of the time. However, only in 1834 slavery was abolished from the entirety of the empire with the Slavery Abolition Act and led to small-scale migration to the British Isles from the British Caribbean. British participation in Forced Migration of the previous decades, was replaced with dependent work of ex slaves, now free people, to Britain.<sup>41</sup>

Internal colonisation, as previously discussed in Chapter 1, included the process through which individuals and groups from Ireland, Scotland and Wales acquired the basic habits, attitudes, and mode of life of the British culturally as well as the submission of some of the areas that took many centuries.<sup>42</sup>

The Irish potato famine of 1845–1849, expedited the process of mass Irish immigration to America and Britain. People from all over Ireland migrated to places like the ironworks in South Wales and the cotton mills in Lancashire. They were mostly young and single people due to the lack of familial support systems; they were more prone to institutionalisation during periods of unemployment. The north-west of England's local economy recognized the Irish as a vital supply of labour at periods of peak employment. The majority of Irish immigrants worked in the lowest-paying

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<sup>41</sup> Goldin, I. et al. (2011). *Exceptional People: How Migration Shaped Our World and Will Define Our Future*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. Pp. 51-52

<sup>42</sup> As above Jackson, A. (2013). Pp. 65

professions and subsisted on a meagre diet of potatoes, buttermilk, and occasionally herring or bacon which led to big unemployment rates often leading to them feeling secluded. The Great Famine, killed more than 1 million people and forced more than two million men and women to emigrate resulting in a significant reduction of the population by 1/3. Irish migrants throughout the diaspora felt cast out, if not banished. The Irish, were the greatest group of immigrants to settle in Britain throughout the 19<sup>th</sup> century, they were mostly unskilled workers living at places with poor sanitary conditions. Irish were mostly Catholic immigrants resulting in anti-Catholic feelings of the general public and violent outburst by the Natives. The Irish, were accused of driving down wages, causing congestion in working-class neighbourhoods, and demoralizing society via crime and drinking viewing them as barbaric, ignorant, filthy and aggressive.<sup>43</sup>

During this time, the creation of the transportation system relied on migrant workers. In Britain the railroad infrastructure was optimized from 1830 to 1930, in which time slave trade was banned to the majority of the colonies. Emigration and economic progress proceeded hand in hand, and by the second part of the nineteenth century, the British Empire was the number one player of the world economy. Contemporaries saw the world transforming consequences of emigration as well. In the eyes of many Victorian contemporaries, Britain could be the centre of the culture and society while a vast network of migrants would travel around the empire.<sup>44</sup> “Britishness” and the ideas around it which were based on colonialism and imperialism at that time, was something very vast but at the same time a reason many arguments between researchers which argue that Irish, English, Welsh, and Scottish people are separate nationalities. Because of those ideas of ethnicity, race that were discussed inside close borders of the British Isles undoubtedly were moved and explored further from Britain to the colonies, with racism and subjugation and exploitation becoming more evident in the Indigenous lands and Britain with ideas hostility immigrants.<sup>45</sup>

Meanwhile, emigration was changing the social structure of the United Kingdom from bottom to top. The repercussions of emigration were most visible in Ireland,

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<sup>43</sup> Fitzgerald, P. & Lambkin, B. (2008). *Migration in Irish History, 1607–2007*. London: Palgrave Macmillan. Pp. 149-155. [https://doi.org/10.1057/9780230581920\\_9](https://doi.org/10.1057/9780230581920_9)

<sup>44</sup> As above Kleinschmidt, H. (2003). Pp. 191-192

<sup>45</sup> As above Corrigan, P., Sayer D. (1985). Pp. 114-135

resulting in a significant population reduction that stifled the expansion of towns and cities. In England, emigration, and internal mobility to big cities have resulted in a labour shortage in the agriculture and thus major food shortages which made the British to dominate and control over the food supply in the colonies.<sup>46</sup> Alien Acts, as a way to control immigration were introduced in the fifteenth and sixteenth century with controls over mostly Jewish people and for religious reasons, as previously discussed, in order to keep record of those people. For the following centuries controlling migrants became increasingly more effective especially towards Irish and Jewish people but Britain was viewed as a “tolerant and open society”.<sup>47</sup>

During the 19<sup>th</sup> century internal migration in Britain was growing, most of those migration was held in short distances, resulting in the rapid growth of big cities like London. Indeed, it has been estimated that this movement accounted for 40% of urban Britain's demographic growth during the nineteenth century.<sup>48</sup> Economic boom was based on migration, however a need to institutionalize migration became more evident.

A framework for deciding who had custody of unaccompanied minors was established by laws in the late nineteenth century, in reaction to the expansion of industrial schools and charitable organizations that transferred kids to settler colonies.<sup>49</sup> Up until the 19<sup>th</sup> century, Britain like most state at that time had an open-door immigration policy meaning that they did not enforce controls over who was coming and going. A more active role from the state evolved in the early nineteenth century with the 1905 Aliens Act, which signalled the end of the uncontrolled entry of immigrants from Europe and also deported German Gipsies.<sup>50</sup>

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<sup>46</sup> Magee, G. B. & Thompson, A. S., (2010). “*Empire and Globalisation: Networks of People, Goods and Capital in the British World, c.1850–1914*”. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Pp. 64-66 and 105-114

<sup>47</sup> As above Manzo, A. K. (1996), Pp. 117-118

<sup>48</sup> Jefferies, J. (2005). “The UK population: past, present and future”, *Focus on People and Migration*. Pp. 3-6, [https://doi.org/10.1007/978-1-349-75096-2\\_1](https://doi.org/10.1007/978-1-349-75096-2_1)

<sup>49</sup> Foks, F. (2021). “Emigration state: race, citizenship and settler imperialism in modern British history, c. 1850–1972”, *Journal of Historical Sociology*, Vol. 35, no. 2. Pp. 176. <https://doi.org/10.31235/osf.io/s8jz4>.

<sup>50</sup> As above Manzo, A. K. (1996). Pp. 119

Continental Europe was another major source of immigrants, mostly from Germany. During the late 1880s though, considerable numbers of Jewish immigrants escaping anti-Semitism in Eastern Europe began to arrive in Britain. Prior to the First World War, between 120,000 and 150,000 people immigrated to Britain, mostly in east London, Manchester, and Leeds. However, the local population was met them with hostility. This subsequently resulted in the adoption of the Aliens Act, which imposed immigration controls in 1905.<sup>51</sup>

England was in a demographic transition throughout the first half of the twentieth century, with low birth rates, declining death rates, and slower population growth. However, there were rare outliers to these tendencies. By the time of the war, more strict controls of migratory movements through Europe had started to take place.<sup>52</sup>

More specifically in Britain, the Aliens Restriction Act passed in 1914, targeted mostly Germans and Russians later on with the Military Service Act of 1917. Growing was the feeling of Anti-Semitism after the war as well with violent outbreaks taking place across the land resulting in segregation and racist ideas and especially by the Tory Party. The establishment of the Imperial Fascist League and the British Union of Fascists are great examples of the growing Anti-Semitism of the years of the interwar period. It is important to note that the Great War increased the feeling of nationalism and Britishness along the British Isles. Britishness really meant nationalism at home and imperialism at the empire.<sup>53</sup>

Great Britain had made the choice from the beginning not to join the European venture. As early as the end of the First World War, the opinion of the high-ranking British about European cooperation was positive in terms of keeping the peace, but only if this was applied by more conventional methods. At the same time, however, there were exponents of the European idea in Great Britain who recognized the positive effects of a common market and tariff-free trade in combating unemployment and limiting the threat of war.

During the years of the two World Wars migration was limited in Great Britain compared with the previous decades, although worldwide many created a huge wave

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<sup>51</sup> As above Corrigan, P. & Sayer D., (1985). Pp. 128-134

<sup>52</sup> Like above Jefferies, J. (2005). Pp. 5-6

<sup>53</sup> As above Manzo, A. K. (1996), Pp. 119-122



of refugees trying to flee Nazi Germany, Fascist Italy and Japanese troops. The world after the war changed significantly as the major colonial empires moved towards their ends and created new forced and voluntary movements. The issue of European cooperation with the United Kingdom came to the fore again after the end of the war. However, the cooperation with the USA and also with the USSR during wartime, countries that did not cooperate with the central core of Europe, led the state further away from the European idea.<sup>54</sup> The reasons were numerous, but mainly limited to the different priorities of the state. More specifically, more emphasis was placed on the development and maintenance of its relations with its former colonies, the Commonwealth, dating back in 1931 taking force with the Statute of Westminster and with the official Commonwealth of Nations establishing with the London Declaration in 1949, and with the USA, while finally, there were doubts due to the fear that an accession would lead to a reduction in the exercise of its international influence and power.<sup>55</sup>

## **2.2 The Commonwealth and new migration patterns of the 20<sup>th</sup> century**

One of the most significant but unanticipated consequences of the Second World War was the extended post-war European economic boom, which was fuelled by reconstruction of the now mostly destroyed infrastructure and society of the continent as well as American investment, which led to the establishment of significant immigrant communities mostly from Western European countries. The conflict was a key motivator for migration. The mobilisation of personnel in the armed services, the expansion of the Merchant Navy, and the harnessing of industry and agriculture for the war all resulted in severe labour shortages in the United Kingdom. These were only partially addressed by hiring women and young people, from Baltic countries to Ukrainian, German, Italian, Austrians, Irish and Jewish nationals, many of them war prisoners. As a result, some were recruited and brought to Britain, while others came

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<sup>54</sup> As above Young, J. (1993). Pp. 4-5

<sup>55</sup> Σακελλαρόπουλος, Σ. (2016). *Οι Διευρύνσεις της ΕΟΚ/ΕΕ: Από την Ευρώπη των έξι στην Ευρώπη των είκοσι οκτώ*. In *Ευρωπαϊκή Ένωση, Δημιουργία, Εξέλιξη, Προοπτικές*, ed. Μαραβέγιας, Ν. (Athens: Κριτική), Pp. 54

voluntarily.<sup>56</sup> The most notable example of an official government recruitment initiative was a group of 1,200 British Hondurans that were hired to fall timber in Scotland, around 1,000 West Indian technicians and trainees that were hired to work in Merseyside and Lancashire, 10,000 West Indians that were recruited for employment in the Royal Air Force to act as ground personnel in Britain and in English by also a great number of colonial seamen were recruited or voluntarily enlisted in the Merchant Navy, some of whom were stationed in British ports.<sup>57</sup>

After the lower migration numbers of the immediate years after the war, there was a significant increase in the number of immigrants in Britain. Up until the decade of 1950s, colonial travellers arriving in Britain also increased especially after the British Nationality Act of 1948 which equalised them as British nationals, creating a new direction for the British national identity.<sup>58</sup> In total, from 1948 onwards, more than 300,000 people from West Indies and South Asia, approximately 100,000 from Africa, 90,000 from Italy and 10,000 from Cyprus and a larger number from Europe through the European Voluntary Worker plan.<sup>59</sup> Specifically Cyprus, because it was a British colony until 1960, the two nations have a long history together, and there is a sizable Cypriot diaspora in the UK. Cypriots mostly came to the UK in search of better economic prospects, educational possibilities, and a higher standard of living. The Cypriot community in the UK is also comparatively close-knit, with numerous social and cultural events planned all year long. Emigration from Cyprus to the UK is, in general, a widespread and well-established trend. Immigrants primarily worked in transportation or the healthcare sectors. They faced racial prejudice and violence on a

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<sup>56</sup> Fassmann, H. ed., (1994). *European Migration in the Late Twentieth Century: Historical Patterns, Actual Trends and Social Implications*. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Publishing Limited. Pp. 38-39

<sup>57</sup> Zig H. (1985). "The New Commonwealth Migrants 1945-62." *History Today*. Vol 35, no 12. Available at: <https://www.historytoday.com/archive/new-commonwealth-migrants-1945-62>

<sup>58</sup> As above Manzo, A. K. (1996). Pp. 127

<sup>59</sup> Winter, J. (2002). "Migration, War and empire: the British case.", *Annales de démographie historique*. Vol 103, no 1. Pp. 143-160. <https://doi.org/10.3917/adh.103.0143>

See also, as above, Goldin I. et al. (2011). Pp. 102-106

regular basis, landlords would refuse to rent rooms to black and Irish tenants, and “coloured bars” prevailed in several industries.

Migrants from the Commonwealth countries like India, East and West Pakistan, Nigeria, Ghana, Cyprus came to work in the manufacturing sector during the 1950s and early 1960s, making British cities gradually richer culturally. Up until that time net migration was negative, meaning that more people were emigrating to countries, such as the United States, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand, than immigrating.<sup>60</sup>

### **2.2.1 Caribbean, Indian and African Emigration to the UK**

Migration had a big impact on British society after World War II. Due to the war's damage, a severe housing scarcity and heavy unemployment, many British left the country in search of better chances elsewhere. Following the war, emigration in British society was mainly influenced by the Commonwealth Migration. A major surge of emigration originated from the Caribbean, South Asia, and former British possessions in Africa. The British government promoted this so-called “Commonwealth migration” because it regarded it as a chance to deepen links with its former colonies and help the British economy.<sup>61</sup> At the same time, lack of employment prospects, substandard living circumstances, and a need for adventure were some of the push factors that prompted British to leave. During that period, the British government was concerned about the “brain drain”, or the exodus of experts and trained employees. Numerous medical professionals, engineers, and scientists emigrated to nations with more lucrative jobs. British society was significantly impacted by the large-scale departure of Britons. It caused a labor shortage in several sectors, like engineering and healthcare, and also hastened the demise of long-established sectors like coal mining.<sup>62</sup> So, emigration was essential in forming post-World War II British society. Significant

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<sup>60</sup> As above Manzo, A. K. (1996). Pp. 141-144

<sup>61</sup> The National Archives, “Origins of Commonwealth Immigration.”, (28/11/2008). Available at: <https://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/cabinetpapers/themes/origins-commonwealth-immigration.htm>. accessed April 2 2023

<sup>62</sup> UK Parliament, “Emigration: The ‘Brain Drain.’”, (20/12/1966). Available at: <https://api.parliament.uk/historic-hansard/lords/1966/dec/20/emigration-the-brain-drain>. accessed April 2 2023

demographic shifts were the result, and it contributed to the development of more varied and cosmopolitan communities in the UK.

### **2.2.2.1.1 Caribbean Emigration**

Following World War II, a large number of people from the Caribbean, particularly from Jamaica, Barbados and Trinidad and Tobago, emigrated to the UK. The first wave of Caribbean immigrants to the UK between 1948 and 1971 is referred to as the “Windrush Generation”. They bore the designation in honour of the vessel that transported the first wave of Caribbean immigrants to the UK in 1948 named HMT Empire Windrush.<sup>63</sup> Several reasons pushed Caribbean residents to immigrate to the UK. The first was a dearth of employment possibilities in their own nations, which were still ruled by the British Empire. In certain Caribbean nations, there was a desire to flee political and social upheaval as well. Last but not least, the prospect of a better life and greater pay lured many Caribbean immigrants to the UK. A large number of immigrants from the Caribbean were employed in sectors including manufacturing, public transportation, and healthcare. They contributed significantly to the post-World War II reconstruction of the UK and the nation's economic expansion.<sup>64</sup>

Certain elements of British society discriminated and prejudiced against Caribbean immigrants. They frequently endured racist taunts and abuse and were excluded from housing, chances for education, and jobs. Caribbean immigrants were also given a bad rap in the British media, with certain publications branding them as “undesirable” or “criminal”.<sup>65</sup> This unfavourable press helped foster a hostile environment for Caribbean immigrants and other minority groups. The UK government targeted Caribbean immigrants who had been in the nation for a long time and subjected them to discriminatory deportation methods. In 2018, the Windrush scandal brought to light how Caribbean immigrants who had lived in the UK for years were unjustly imprisoned, denied legal rights, and even deported to nations they had never been to.

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<sup>63</sup> As above, The National Archives, “Origins of Commonwealth Immigration.”

<sup>64</sup> McDowell, L. “How Caribbean Migrants Helped to Rebuild Britain.” British Library, (04/10/2018). Available at: <https://www.bl.uk/windrush/articles/how-caribbean-migrants-rebuilt-britain>. accessed April 2 2023

<sup>65</sup> Williams, W. (2020). *Windrush Lessons Learned Review: Independent Review*. London: Dandy Booksellers Ltd. Pp. 32-34 Available at: <https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/windrush-lessons-learned-review>.

Hundreds of individuals were unjustly imprisoned and deported, and many of them were denied access to homes, jobs, and healthcare. It also included the wrongful detention, deportation, or denial of access to healthcare and other services for many Caribbean immigrants who had been legally residing in the UK for decades. Several African immigrants were also impacted by this scandal, and they experienced similar issues with their legal status and papers. Caribbean immigrants had to deal with institutional racism in the UK, which included unfair housing, employment, and educational policies.<sup>66</sup> While they frequently faced hostility and prejudice, Caribbean immigrants in the UK persisted in fighting for their rights and for greater equality. As white and black neighbours clashed violently in the Notting Hill Riot in 1958, Caribbean immigrants were attacked and their homes were damaged. In the UK, immigrants from the Caribbean also experienced police violence.<sup>67</sup> For instance, the death of Cynthia Jarrett, a black woman who died during a police raid on her house, ignited the Broadwater Farm riot in Tottenham in 1985.<sup>68</sup> Institutional racism had a part in the failings of the investigation and prosecution of the Stephen Lawrence murder case, according to the 1999 Macpherson report.<sup>69</sup>

Caribbean immigrants made major contributions to UK politics, notably in the battle against racism and discrimination, they planned and took part in protests and demonstrations against racism and inequality in the UK. These demonstrations brought the problem to light and influenced changes in legislation and public opinion about immigration and minority groups. Caribbean immigrants helped the Black Power movement grow in the UK.<sup>70</sup> This movement raised awareness of issues including

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<sup>66</sup> Geraldine Connor Foundation, “Windrush: Racism”. Available at: <https://www.gcfoundation.co.uk/windrush-racism>. accessed April 2, 2023

<sup>67</sup> As above Williams, W. Pp. 54

<sup>68</sup> BBC News, “What Caused the 1985 Tottenham Broadwater Farm Riot?”. (03/2014). Available at: <https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-england-london-26362633>. accessed April 2, 2023

<sup>69</sup> Quinn B. “Macpherson Report: What Was It and What Impact Did It Have?”, The Guardian (22/02/2019), Available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2019/feb/22/macpherson-report-what-was-it-and-what-impact-did-it-have>. accessed April 2, 2023

<sup>70</sup> Bunce, R. “Black Power and Campaigning for Civil Liberties in Britain”. British Library, (02/11/2021), Available at: <https://www.bl.uk/speaking-out/articles/civil-liberties-in-britain>.

institutional racism and police brutality while aiming to give black people in the UK more political and social influence. Caribbean immigrants have taken an active role in community organizing, establishing groups and organizations to address problems that impact their neighbourhoods. These organizations have given Caribbean immigrants a voice and contributed to the development of a feeling of community and belonging in the UK.

Due to severe obstacles to political representation and engagement, Caribbean immigrants were not previously represented in the UK Parliament. Yet, Caribbean immigrants and their offspring have become more active in UK politics over time and have significantly impacted political life. One prominent instance is Diane Abbott's election in 1987, when she became the first black woman to serve in the UK Parliament. During her political career, Abbott, whose parents were immigrants from Jamaica, has been a steadfast supporter of racial equality and social justice.<sup>71</sup>

Caribbean immigrants made a substantial cultural contribution to the UK while confronting several obstacles. They contributed to create the heterogeneous culture that exists in the UK today by introducing new foods, music, and art forms to the nation that developed of a more cosmopolitan and diversified society in the UK. New cuisines, music, and art forms that they brought with them helped create a more varied and richer cultural landscape. Caribbean food has established itself as a staple of British cuisine. In the UK nowadays, foods like ackee and saltfish, curry goat, and jerk chicken are quite popular. Along with introducing new foods, Caribbean immigrants gave British cuisine classics like scotch bonnet peppers, yams, and plantains. Caribbean immigrants also brought new musical genres to the UK, including calypso, reggae, and ska. These genres have significantly influenced British music and are now a part of the national identity of the nation. The Clash and The Specials are only two examples of the many British performers that have been shaped by Caribbean music. In literature, Caribbeans have influenced the literary and creative communities in the UK. Their spiritual practices, such as Rastafarianism, Islam, and Christianity, were also introduced to the UK. These religions have grown to play a significant role in the UK's religious

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<sup>71</sup> Black History Month, "Diane Abbott - the First Black Woman to Be Elected to the House of Commons"., (19/08/2015). Available at:

<https://www.blackhistorymonth.org.uk/article/section/bhm-firsts/diane-abbott-the-first-black-woman-to-be-elected-to-the-house-of-commons/>. accessed April 2, 2023

landscape and have enriched its variety. Notting Hill Carnival, which is currently the biggest street celebration in Europe was also influenced by the Caribbeans. These celebrations of Caribbean culture are a vital component of the UK's cultural calendar.<sup>72</sup>

#### **2.2.2.1.2 South Asian Emigration**

South Asian migrants to the UK after 1947 came from many nations and for various reasons, including fleeing civil conflict, seeking better economic prospects, and reuniting with family members who have already moved here due to colonization. Despite encountering prejudice in Britain, these migrants have settled there, and many have contributed to the political, economic, and social life of the country via their fights for workers' and civil rights. The economic hardship that many Indians experienced after independence was a significant contributing element. The Indian economy was badly affected as a result of the 1947 Partition of India and the accompanying movement of millions of people across the newly established boundaries. Many people, who were struggling to obtain employment and provide for their families, believed that moving to the UK would help their situation. In order to address labor shortages in a number of areas, including manufacturing, transportation, and healthcare, the British government intensively recruited people from India. The prospect of higher salaries and living standards than they could get at home attracted many Indians to the UK. The British have a long history with the Punjab area of India. Labor shortages in Britain affected post-war migration trends from the area. Those migrants found jobs in the industrial, textile, and service industries. During the 1960s Punjabis, mostly settled in Glasgow, Birmingham, and London, as well as migrants from metropolitan regions who were more likely to be professionals working for the NHS. Another group of South Asians were Pakistani migrants, mainly from the area of Mirpur. They were sailors and seamen who found work as engine-room stokers aboard British ships during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. Also, numerous Indians fled to the UK due to political unrest in their country, which included communal strife and the emergency

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<sup>72</sup> BBC News, "How the Windrush Generation Transformed British Arts and Culture," (05/09/2019), Available at: <https://www.bbc.co.uk/bitesize/articles/z6gnrd>. accessed April 2, 2023

rule in the 1970s.<sup>73</sup> Ultimately, the phenomena of Indian immigration to the UK following World War II were intricate and varied, influenced by a variety of social, political, and economic variables. The Indian population has made a huge impact on British society and culture and is currently one of the largest and most visible ethnic minority groups in the UK.

The partition of India in 1947, which resulted in the establishment of Pakistan as a distinct country, was one of the main contributing factors. Millions of people were displaced by this tragic tragedy, and many Muslims fled to the newly established nation of Pakistan. Nonetheless, the new nation had enormous economic difficulties, including high rates of unemployment and poverty. The Pakistani government promoted immigration to the UK in the 1960s and 1970s as a means of easing these financial strains. The UK provided chances for academic achievement and social mobility, as well as improved income and living circumstances, which attracted many Pakistanis to the country. Pakistani migrants who migrated to Britain after the war found work in Lancashire, Yorkshire, Manchester, and Bradford's textile industries, engineering companies. India's independence and the civil war, the establishment of Pakistan and the civil war between East and West Pakistan, which ended in the formation of Bangladesh in 1971, created a push factor for large scale migration from Bangladesh to the UK and worked in the tailoring or hospitality sectors failed, they switched to modest companies such as tailoring and catering.<sup>74</sup> Moreover, numerous Pakistanis fled to the UK due to political unrest, including military coups and political bloodshed, in their own country. In the 1980s, there was also a sizable inflow of Pakistani immigrants as many were hired to work in the north of England's industrial and textile sectors. Being one of the largest and most noticeable ethnic minorities in the UK today, Pakistanis have significantly influenced British society and culture. Yet, there have also been

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<sup>73</sup> Ballard, R. (2003). *The South Asian Presence in Britain and Its Transnational Connections*, " In Culture and Economy in the Indian Diaspora, 1st ed. Ed. Gurharpal, S. et al. London: Routledge. Pp. 4-6. Available at: <https://d-nb.info/1219147117/34>

<sup>74</sup> McGrath-Champ, S. et al. (2010). *Handbook of Employment and Society: Working Space (Research Handbooks in Business and Management Series)*. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Publishing. Pp. 145-148



substantial problems with discrimination and assimilation for immigrants from Pakistan, notably in the years following 9/11 and the ensuing “War on Terror”.<sup>75</sup>

After World War II, there was an increase in emigration from Bangladesh, previously known as East Pakistan, to the UK due to a number of socioeconomic and political issues. The economic hardship that many Bangladeshis experienced after independence was a significant contributing element. The new nation had enormous economic difficulties in the wake of the 1971 Bangladesh Liberation War, including high levels of poverty, unemployment, and political instability. Many Bangladeshis believed that moving to the UK would help them support their family back home and enhance their economic prospects. Bangladeshi laborers were aggressively sought after by the British government to address labor gaps in a variety of sectors, including textiles and manufacturing.<sup>76</sup>

More than 500,000 immigrants from South Asia immigrated to the UK between 1948 and 1971. Notwithstanding these obstacles, a large number of people and their families have blended into British society and significantly influenced the business and culture of the nation. However, South Asian immigrants have furthermore experienced verbal abuse and harassment, including racial slurs and insults, in public places. They also have experienced housing and employment discrimination as a result of landlords and employers turning them down on the basis of their race or religion. A campaign against racist violence was launched after the 1978 murder of young Bangladeshi textile worker Altab Ali in East London, which was one of several violent attacks against South Asian immigrants.<sup>77</sup>

South Asian culture has been influencing the UK for all those decades. South Asian food has gained popularity in the UK, where curry and biryani are now readily accessible in eateries and takeaways all throughout the nation. In order to share their culinary traditions with the general public, many South Asian immigrants have also opened up their own restaurants and catering companies. The popularity of South Asian

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<sup>75</sup> Bamford, B. (2003). “The United Kingdom's ‘War against Terrorism’”. *Terrorism and Political Violence*, Vol 16, no. 4. Pp. 740-742, <https://doi.org/10.1080/095465590898660>.

<sup>76</sup> As above, Gurharpal Singh et al, (2003). Pp. 5-10

<sup>77</sup> Nye, C., & Bright, S. “Altab Ali: The Racist Murder That Mobilised the East End,” BBC News, (03/05/2016). Available at: <https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-england-london-36191020>. accessed April 2, 2023

music genres including bhangra, qawwali, and Bollywood cinema music has also had a considerable influence on British culture. In the UK music business, several South Asian musicians and entertainers have also found success. With authors like Salman Rushdie, Vikram Seth, and Arundhati Roy gaining widespread acclaim, South Asian literature has also had a considerable influence on British culture. Identity, migration, and cultural adaptability are other topics that many South Asian authors have investigated in their writing. South Asian holidays like Diwali, Eid, and Vaisakhi are now widely observed throughout the UK, bringing people of all origins together and fostering cross-cultural understanding.<sup>78</sup>

### **2.2.2.1.3 African Emigration**

While African have had a significant presence in Great Britain for many years, a significant shift happened in the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Employment and education were the major reasons for these movements in the first part of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. African emigration mainly from former British colonies such as Nigeria, Ghana, and Kenya to the United Kingdom significantly increased after World War II. Many causes, including economic hardship, political unpredictability, and the need for a better life, contributed to this population shift. A lengthy history of colonial authority by the UK in several African nations has contributed to the development of relations between the two areas.

Men from African countries who came to work in low-skilled professions like factory labor and cleaning made up the majority of the first wave of African migration. These people frequently endured prejudice and were assigned to the lowest-paying positions, yet they were still able to support their families and communities by sending money home to them. A second wave of African immigrants to the UK arrived in the 1960s and 1970s, this time with more women and kids. Many of these immigrants wanted to reunite with relatives who were already living in the UK. The end of British colonial control in many African nations coincided with this migrant surge, which led to political unrest and economic uncertainty in certain

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<sup>78</sup> Moving People Changing Places, “South Asians making Britain”. Available at: <https://www.movingpeoplechangingplaces.org/migration-histories/south-asians-making-britain.html>. accessed April 3, 2023

areas.<sup>79</sup> These immigrants were mostly males, women and kids made up a smaller fraction of the total. The majority of the migrants came from Nigeria, Ghana, and Sierra Leone, however they originated in a variety of West African nations. Due to the fact that all three nations were once British colonies, many West Africans already had links to the UK through commerce, education, or familial ties. The majority of the early African immigrants to the UK worked in physical, low-skilled professions such as industrial labor, cleaning, and transportation. Despite these obstacles, African immigrants succeeded in settling in the UK and creating communities. They developed places of worship, social and cultural groups, and support systems for one another. There was a second wave of African immigration to the UK in the 1960s and 1970s. Many women and kids arrived in this wave to join relatives who had previously established in the UK. Many of these migrants had advanced degrees, making them highly talented and employable in a variety of fields.<sup>80</sup>

They have established thriving communities in the UK over time and have significantly impacted British society in a variety of spheres, including politics, business, entertainment, and sports. Those immigrants enhanced the UK's heterogeneous fabric by bringing their own languages, religions, and cultural customs with them. They have helped to make restaurants and food markets more well-liked in the UK, which has led to the expansion of African cuisine there. The existence of those communities in the UK has also prompted the creation of neighborhood associations and social gatherings, such as fairs and festivals, that promote the culture of the region and offer chances for interaction. They did not only bring with them cultural richness, but also a strong feeling of community and social networks. Many immigrants from West Africa have built up their own communities in the UK, supported by networks of family, friends, and people from their native country. With the support of these groups, African culture and identity have been preserved and

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<sup>79</sup> Williams, R. "African London". Black History. (21/08/2015), Available at: <https://www.blackhistorymonth.org.uk/article/section/real-stories/african-london/>. accessed April 3, 2023

<sup>80</sup> O'Daley, P. (1998). "Black Africans in Great Britain: Spatial Concentration and Segregation.". *Urban Studies* Vol 35, no. 10. Pp. 1704-1505  
<https://doi.org/10.1080/0042098984114>.

promoted in the UK via the establishment of social and cultural organizations, houses of worship, and other institutions.<sup>81</sup>

African immigrants have significantly boosted the UK's economic output. They have significantly filled labor market voids, especially in low-skilled areas like manufacturing, catering, and cleaning. Several of them also started their own enterprises, which helped to boost the economy and provide jobs. The economic growth of the region has also been aided by remittances, or money transferred back to their places of origin by migrants residing in the UK.<sup>82</sup> They also have been active in UK politics, particularly when it comes to defending the rights and interests of their communities with some groups making major contributions to the larger social and political movements in the nation throughout the years by organizing and mobilizing to address issues of discrimination, marginalization, and social exclusion. Community organization and activism have been significant means for those immigrants to get involved in politics in the UK. To reflect the interests and concerns of West African migrants in the UK, West African communities have founded their own organizations and advocacy groups, such as the West African Students Union as early as 1925 and the Africa Advocacy Foundation.<sup>83</sup> West African immigrants have also been involved in traditional political parties and organizations, with many of them taking part in regional and federal elections and occupying influential and powerful positions. For instance, Bernie Grant, who represents the Tottenham seat in London, became the first Black British MP of African heritage in the 1980s.<sup>84</sup>

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<sup>81</sup> BBC News, “Bame We're Not the Same: Black African - Creative Diversity”. Available at: <https://www.bbc.com/creativiversity/nuance-in-bame/black-african/>. accessed April 5, 2023

<sup>82</sup> Remittances to sub-Saharan Africa were estimated at a 6.4% in 2021, according to the World Bank, with the UK serving as one of the major suppliers of these payments. See: Dilip R., “Global Remittance Flows in 2021: A Year of Recovery and Surprises,” World Bank Blogs. (17/11/2021) Available at: <https://blogs.worldbank.org/peoplemove/global-remittance-flows-2021-year-recovery-and-surprises>. accessed April 5, 2023

<sup>83</sup> As above O’ Daley, P. (1998). Pp. 1722-1724

<sup>84</sup> Black History Month, “Bernie Grant - One of Britain's First Black MP's”. (30/08/2020), Available at: <https://www.blackhistorymonth.org.uk/article/section/bhm-heroes/bernie-grant-one-of-britains-first-black-mps/>. accessed April 5, 2023

The British public had many misgivings about the effects of this movements during the 1950s and 1960s as African immigration to the UK surged. Due to this, a number of laws were introduced with the intention of limiting immigration and managing their settlement. The Commonwealth Immigration Act of 1962, which imposed limitations on immigration from Commonwealth countries, including several West African nations, was one of these laws that had the most impact. It became increasingly difficult for West African immigrants to enter and settle in the UK as a result of this act and subsequent immigration rules, which also fueled prejudice and mistrust toward these populations. These are a few particular instances: The placards reading "No Irish, No Blacks, No Dogs" signs were prominent in British houses and businesses throughout the 1950s and 1960s. These placards provided a blatant example of the prejudice that many immigrants encountered when looking for home or a job.<sup>85</sup> The "Rivers of Blood" speech was delivered in 1968 by Conservative MP Enoch Powell, who used racially charged rhetoric to speak out against immigration and foresee grave implications for the UK if immigration continued. The speech exposed the extreme prejudice and polarization that prevailed at the time, and it was roundly denounced while also receiving sympathy from certain British citizens.<sup>86</sup> The "Sus" statute allowed police to stop and search persons they believed to be suspicious in the 1970s. "Sus" is short for "suspected person" with several immigrants saying that they were stopped and searched for no other reason than their color as a result of this regulation, which was frequently utilized to target young Black males.<sup>87</sup> The New Cross Fire was another racially motivated event where thirteen young Black individuals were killed in a fire at a home party in New Cross, London, in 1981. Many in the Caribbean community thought that the police did not thoroughly

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<sup>85</sup> Wood, N. "No Irish, No Blacks, No Dogs, No Proof". The Guardian (21/10/2015), Available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/money/2015/oct/21/no-irish-no-blacks-no-dogs-no-proof>. accessed April 5, 2023

<sup>86</sup> On Demand News, "Enoch Powell's 'Rivers of Blood' speech: 50 years on", YouTube (20/04/2018), Available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qjbZi2hTLVw>. accessed April 5, 2023

<sup>87</sup> Gloucestershire County Council, "Sus Laws - Race Relations Acts 1965 - 2000," Available at: <https://www.gloucestershire.gov.uk/your-community/black-history-month/black-history-month-2020/race-relations-acts-1965-2000/sus-laws/>. accessed April 5, 2023

investigate the fire, which was generally considered to have been started as a racial act of violence.<sup>88</sup> Black individuals, including African immigrants, are far more likely than white persons to be stopped and searched by police in the UK. These searches, which later became known as Stop and Search, frequently just have racial profiling as their justification, not any suspicion of criminal behavior.<sup>89</sup>

### **2.2.2 The decades of 1960s and 1970s: The new Migration Pact, the growing opposition and the country of many realities**

The decades of 1960 and 1970, signalled a change in the migration patterns all over the world. Europe witnessed migrations inwards as opposed to the previous decades and centuries that oversaw huge waves of emigration away from the European continent. The European Community's free trade and migration zone marked the beginning of that change. For Great Britain, migration was really important for the country however immigration became more controlled and systematic.

During the decade of 1960 and by the Commonwealth Immigrants Act of 1962, the entry of newcomers to the British Isles was declined which intended to limit numbers and establish a voucher system for immigrants entering the UK to work. It is important to notice that this Act was passed into legislation just one year after the country's application to the EC, which will be further explored in Chapter 3. The law, however, met obstacles as it was not supported by the oppositions of the Labour Party, and it had an adverse effect. The majority of immigrants planned to stay for a short-term period in the country. That is described as a "migrants dream", namely to return back home, however the Act of 1962 did not allow that so those people opted to stay. In fact, the 1962 Act made restrictions on entry but opened the way to a more permanent residency. The push from the Labour Party led to the publishing of the White Paper on immigration alongside with the Race Relations Act in 1964 and 1965 that focused on

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<sup>88</sup> Andrews, K., "Forty Years on from the New Cross Fire, What Has Changed for Black Britons?," The Guardian (17/01/2021), Available at:

<https://www.theguardian.com/world/2021/jan/17/forty-years-on-from-the-new-cross-fire-what-has-changed-for-black-britons>. accessed April 5, 2023

<sup>89</sup> Home Office, "Stop and Search," (27/05/2022), Available at: <https://www.ethnicity-facts-figures.service.gov.uk/crime-justice-and-the-law/policing/stop-and-search/latest>. accessed April 5, 2023

integration policies which led to a willingness for more socially open policies.<sup>90</sup> The Commonwealth Immigrants Act of 1968 limited entry to persons with a father or grandfather born in the United Kingdom. Asian migrants fleeing East Africa arrived in the UK, they were welcomed with hostility, resulting with the creation of the National Front, which sought to prohibit all non-white immigration. Finally, they were allowed to stay in Britain but were in fact stateless.<sup>91</sup> Two statements by senior politicians criticising immigration levels makes us understand the sentiment of that time. Enoch Powell in 1968 and Margaret Thatcher in 1978, polarised public opinion, with an increase in the number of people expressing anti-immigrant sentiment.<sup>92</sup> The Bristol bus boycott in 1963 was an example of successful change action, as it prevented the Bristol Omnibus Company from employing only white drivers.<sup>93</sup> Other groups of immigrant workers, generally led by women, have gone on strike to protest workplace exploitation. Strikes at Grunwick photo processing facilities in 1976 and Imperial Typewriters in Leicester in 1974 are examples of this.<sup>94</sup>

In the course of the decade of 1970 another Immigration Act was legislated. Specifically, the Immigration Act of 1971 was announced by the Conservative government of Edward Heath. During this period there was intense industrial change and economic recession, while unemployment was rising and combined with the power of trade unions, forced a shift in government economic policies. The Immigration Act of 1971 was passed in the same year in which Great Britain membership in the EC was

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<sup>90</sup> Bleich, E. (2005). "The Legacies of History? Colonisation and Immigrant Integration in Britain and France.", *Theory and Society*/ vol. 34, no. 2. Pp. 184-185.  
<http://www.jstor.org/stable/4501720>. See also, as above McGrath-Champ, S. et al. (2010) Pp. 146

<sup>91</sup> As Above Foks, F., (2022). Pp. 188.

<sup>92</sup> Saini, A. "A Change of Tack." *Frontline*. (02/01/2004). Available at:  
<https://frontline.thehindu.com/world-affairs/article30220436.ece>, accessed January 16 2023

<sup>93</sup> Jones, E., "The Bristol Bus Boycott of 1963." *Black History Month 2023*, (03/03/2022). Available at: <https://www.blackhistorymonth.org.uk/article/section/civil-rights-movement/the-bristol-bus-boycott-of-1963/>, accessed January 16 2023

<sup>94</sup> Sundari, A., et al. (2018). "From Grunwick to Gate Gourmet: South Asian Women's Industrial Activism and the Role of Trade Unions," *Revue Française De Civilisation Britannique*, vol. 23, no. 1. Pp. 1-3, <https://doi.org/10.4000/rfcb.1790>.

agreed upon. The Act of 1971 revoked some of the legislations of the previous acts, for example taking back the rights of previously acknowledged “British Nationals” of the Commonwealth British citizenship, in granting short term work permits for migrants and also made migration control tighter by limiting the nation to Great Britain, so for example asking for proof of close family connections as well as offering more assistance in voluntary repatriation. Only after diplomatic pressure in 1972, 27,000 Asians from Uganda which were pushed out by the government of Idi Amin, were permitted in the country.<sup>95</sup> All the above legislations were reactions to society’s general guardedness over the Commonwealth firstly and the European Community membership secondly. However, different organizations such as the Anti-Nazi League and the Anti Racist Alliance formed partnerships of persons and organizations. At the same time, another response was made by the liberal opposition with another Race Relation Act in 1976 which took over the vast mission of combating mainly racial discrimination.<sup>96</sup>

Migration during the early 19<sup>th</sup> century influenced ethnically and culturally the state. The industrial revolution, that was propelled through free labour, facilitated new forms of societal pressures with the introduction of consumerism and globalisation and therefore the social body was made by poor isolated people and the rest of the population however efforts for homogenization were made.<sup>97</sup> In law, Britain is a non-racial society and everyone has the same rights and obligations while under discrimination laws are enforced. British culture is seen as progressive, accepting and antiracist but many non-European immigrants face discriminatory practices in employment and other sectors. Immigrants and their descendants have been assimilating into communities across the United Kingdom since the 1940s. In doing so, they have contributed to define Britain's identity and modified the notion of “Britishness” that has great colorations with the country’s imperial past. Britishness

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<sup>95</sup> As above Manzo, A. K. (1996), Pp. 132

<sup>96</sup> Kalekin-Fishman, D., & Pitkanen, P. (2007). *Preliminary Material*. In *Multiple Citizenship as a Challenge to European Nation-States*. Leiden: Brill. Pp. 41-46

<sup>97</sup> Poovey M. (1995). *Making a Social Body: British cultural formation 1830-1864*. Chicago: Chicago University Press. Pp. 7-11



came to represent many things and is an all-inclusive nationality.<sup>98</sup> British national identity is not measurable because it has always been influenced by many customs, traditions and religion that also are not finite because they are not linear.<sup>99</sup> During the decades of 1960s and 1970s, there was a push for a more homogenic British society as it was reflected by Margaret Thatcher's and Enoch Powell's speeches<sup>100</sup> but as the monarchy remained a British symbol, nation and empire still represented common memories but different perspectives. The European influence of the ECC put another viable in understanding and exploring Britishness.

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<sup>98</sup> Gaonkar A. M., et al. (2021). *Postmigration: Art, Culture, and Politics in Contemporary Europe*. Bielefeld: Transcript. Pp. 16

<sup>99</sup> Modood, T., (1999) "The Expanding Nation: Towards a Multi-Ethnic Ireland", *Trinity College Dublin*. No.1. pp. 34–38, <https://www.semanticscholar.org/paper/The-ExpandingNation%3ATowardsamultiethnicModood/0196d8219b5384de83dd5f3196603b18ad2d8e87>.

<sup>100</sup> As above Manzo, A. K. (1996), Pp. 138-139

### **3<sup>rd</sup> Chapter: Migration in the UK in the 21<sup>st</sup> century and the EU'S Influence**

After examining the historical context of British immigration through the centuries, it is of great importance to refer to the relations of this state of Great Britain with the unified Europe. The common course that lasted 43 years from January 1, 1973, came to an end after the Brexit decision and also with the referendum on June 23 2016, which updated this effort and set this process in motion. Migration during the last decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century is characterised by a reconstruction of the world economy, globalisation and urbanisation. Family reunification was the main migration pattern during this time, but at the same time, major events such as the collapse of the Soviet Union and of course the Common Market, the free movement within the countries of the European Economic Community (ECC) and the European enlargement that followed signified all those movements.

#### **3.1 EU and UK: The pre-history of Integration**

Great Britain had made the choice from the beginning not to join the European venture, as early as the end of the First World War, the opinion of the high-ranking British legislators about European cooperation was positive in terms of keeping the peace in the continent, but only if this was applied by more conventional methods. At the same time, however, there were exponents of the European idea in Great Britain who recognized the positive effects of a common market and free trade in combating unemployment and limiting the threat of war.

During the interwar period, Great Britain's involvement in European affairs was quite limited. The French now had the role of trying to control Nazi Germany, but they could not prevent the advance of the Third Reich. With the Second World War already on the way and the fall of France, France and Great Britain proposed the creation of a union, something that did not follow through.<sup>101</sup> After the war, the question of a European alliance with the United Kingdom reappeared. However, the state moved farther away from European Unification due to its cooperation with the USA and USSR during the war, two nations that did not collaborate with the inner pillar of Europe.

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<sup>101</sup> Like above Young W. J. (1993), Pp. 4-5

Numerous factors contributed, although they mostly revolved on the state's various priorities. More notably, it placed more of a priority on fostering and maintaining its ties with the US, the Commonwealth, and its former colonies. Finally, there were concerns over whether a membership would result in a decrease in the use of its international influence and authority.<sup>102</sup>

The British political worldview and the evolution of the country's foreign policy is based on conscious strategic choices aimed at security and Atlantic cooperation. Participation in international organisations such as the United Nations and the Western European Union was a way for Great Britain to ensure its economic stability as well as its defence. But the path to European Unification was a little different for the UK than other European countries, mainly based on the country's clear positions and priorities that were, until then, facing the Commonwealth and the United States, something that also reflects the political choices it adopted for the next 43 years with EU membership.<sup>103</sup> However, many problems within Great Britain will lead the country to want to join the European Community in the following years. Initially, the UK's state economy was struggling, the Commonwealth was weak against the economic growth offered by the EEC, and relations with the US were deteriorating due to the US turning to domestic issues but also because the UK no longer had an international hegemonic influence.<sup>104</sup>

In general, it should be noted that British foreign policy in relation to Europe aimed at specific achievements. More specifically, a main vision for the United Kingdom was to try to intensify economic relations with Europe through the exploitation of economic opportunities for cooperation. On the other hand, the development of a transatlantic organisation between Europe and the USA was an important necessity for the institutional and strategic security of Europe. In addition, the creation of a free market would strengthen the economy of the European continent so that in this way the security, cohesion and national sovereignty of the states would not be threatened again.

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<sup>102</sup> As above, Beloff, L., (1996). Pp. 51-67

<sup>103</sup> As above, Young, J. W., (1993). Pp. 52-56

<sup>104</sup> Cain, P. J., & Hopkins, A. G. (1993). *British Imperialism: Crisis and Deconstruction, 1914-90*. London: Longman. Pp. 281-291

The participation of Great Britain in the EEC was considered special from the beginning as already in the first years of participation, during the Labour government of 1974-79, the terms of its membership were negotiated, but a referendum was also held on its remaining in the Community, which as is natural put its participation into jeopardy. The European Community Referendum, took place at the fifth of June 1975 to understand the opinion of the general public about the ECC membership. The October 1974 general election and the new government promised that the people would decide whether the country would remain in the EEC while at the same time renegotiating the terms of its membership. More specifically, the Labour Party promised, in its February 1974 to discuss the terms of Great Britain's membership to the EEC and then to consult the people on whether Great Britain should remain in the EEC. The referendum debate and campaigning took place at a special time for British politics as it was the third national referendum to be held in a period shorter than 2 years.<sup>105</sup>

### **3.2 The Europeanization of Migration policies, the UK's Reaction**

From the creation of the European Economic Community (EEC) integration, and integration theories, have been a major basis for the formation of the EU, as we know it today. More specifically, the Union's general policymaking in migration and asylum has been based on the theories of neofunctionalism, intergovernmentalism and institutionalism. The creation of the single market, which was based on the neofunctionalism theory, resulted in a boost in EU migrations and stipulated the formation and development of the migration strategies which over the years became more prominent and in need for further unification.<sup>106</sup> Policies on immigration of citizens from third countries, or nations outside the EU, and the granting of asylum or international protection, which were not initially a Community competence, gradually began to be developed by the countries of the Community from the early 1980s. "Europeanization", which has been used often in the form of European integration since

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<sup>105</sup> As above, Cain, P. J., & Hopkins, A. G., (1993). Pp. 78-90

<sup>106</sup> Van Wolleghem, P. G. (2019) "Where Is the EU's Migrant Integration Policy Heading?", *International Review of Public Policy*, vol. 1, no. 2. Pp. 219-222, <https://doi.org/10.4000/irpp.396>.

the early 1980s, refers to a broad variety of activities and acts that alter a country's political system, society, and economy as a result of its membership in the EU. In order to shape this discourse and identities, Europeanization therefore seeks to incorporate European principles and policy paradigms at the national level.<sup>107</sup> Although Europe has always been a region of migration, until the 1980s neither migration nor asylum were the focus of EEC legislation. However, because the EEC lacked any immigration vast experience, these policies remained purely national. However, the organised labour immigration era came to an end in the 1970s when European nations decided they could no longer accept new immigrants, mostly as a result of the world economic crisis that began in 1973. Immigrants' movement within the Community was handled as a bilateral matter between the Member State of establishment and the Member State of migration; the EEC did not allow for the free movement of labourers.<sup>108</sup>

Due to the introduction of freedom of movement and the removal of internal borders, collaboration between EU member states on immigration and refugee policy in particular started in the middle of the 1980s. The biggest factor behind this idea was the requirement to offer “countermeasures” to uphold internal security in a continent without borders. The Maastricht Treaty first created EU competence in several areas. It established the groundwork for member states to work together on the so-called “third pillar”, which consists of Justice and Home Affairs. With the establishment of numerous intergovernmental cooperation bodies, such the Trevin group, the Schengen system, and the ad hoc group on Migration, this transnational collaboration gradually gained an institutional framework.<sup>109</sup> Despite not being a part of the EEC system of

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<sup>107</sup> Thielemann, E. R. “The 'Soft' Europeanisation of Migration Policy: European Integration and Domestic Policy Change,” LSE Research Online, 2010. Pp. 2-5 Available at: <https://eprints.lse.ac.uk/30095/>

<sup>108</sup> EUR-Lex, “Regulation (EEC) No 1612/68 of the Council of 15 October 1968 on Freedom of Movement for Workers within the Community,” EUR, Available at: <https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/en/ALL/?uri=celex%3A31968R1612>, accessed January 20 2023

<sup>109</sup> European Commission, “Communication From the Commission to The European Parliament, The Council, The European Economic and Social Committee and The Committee of The Regions a European Agenda on Migration”. (13/05/2015). Pp. 6-17. Available at:

European integration, these organisations announced and informed future shared policies and eventually resulted in the first legally binding international documents, the Dublin Convention of 1991 and the Schengen Implementation Convention of 1990. European policies were initially centred on states attempting to reduce the number of unwanted foreigners on their soil, on the perception of immigration as a threat to public order and national identity, and on the growing hostility to asylum procedures, which were perceived as ways to get around controls on migration flows.<sup>110</sup>

Until the 1990s, European Union asylum policy was implemented on an ad hoc basis, mostly in response to emergencies.<sup>111</sup> The dissolution of the Soviet Union and especially the Yugoslavian war from 1991 to 1993, was a watershed moment for the implementation of a cohesive asylum policy all through the Union.<sup>112</sup> The Dublin Convention that finally came to force in 1997, determined that the first member-state concerned with an asylum seeker would be responsible for evaluating their asylum application and the gradual formation of the Common European Asylum System

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[https://ec.europa.eu/home-affairs/sites/default/files/what-we-do/policies/european-agenda-migration/backgroundinformation/docs/communication\\_on\\_the\\_european\\_agenda\\_on\\_migration\\_en.pdf](https://ec.europa.eu/home-affairs/sites/default/files/what-we-do/policies/european-agenda-migration/backgroundinformation/docs/communication_on_the_european_agenda_on_migration_en.pdf), accessed January 21 2023

<sup>110</sup> Article 3, paragraph 6: “The process of determining the member-state responsible for examining the application for asylum under this Convention shall start as soon as an application for asylum is first lodged with a member-state.” EUR-lex, “Convention Determining the State Responsible for Examining Applications for Asylum Lodged in One of the member-states of the European Communities - Dublin Convention”, 1997, Available at: <https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?uri=CELEX%3A41997A0819%2801%29>, accessed January 21 2023

<sup>111</sup> Publications Office of the European Union. (2016). *An Introduction to the Common European Asylum System for Courts and Tribunals a Judicial Analysis*. Luxembourg: Publications Office of the European Union. Available at: <https://op.europa.eu/el/publication-detail/-/publication/9a3edb48-4d06-41dd-a16e-5438b2916e1b/language-en>, accessed January 21 2023

<sup>112</sup> ICMPD, Wagner, M. & Kraler A., (2014). *An Effective Asylum Responsibility-Sharing Mechanism*. Vienna: International Centre for Migration Policy Development. Pp. 7

(CEAS) commenced with the signing of the Amsterdam Treaty in 1999, which granted the EU institutions new powers.<sup>113</sup>

The British membership in the EC came at a time when Britain was aware that the turn to the United States and the Commonwealth was not returning the anticipated results. However, as the three referendums and the negotiations make clear that the English officials as well as the citizens were cautious about a united Europe that included their country especially on a sovereign level, in effort of regaining their global influence as a result of decolonization. On the level of migration, in the years leading up to Britain's' EU membership, immigration to the area became steadily and strategically more organised and controlled. The British Immigration Act of 1981 is a clear example of that, represented as well by the Conservative Government that was in power for 18 consecutive years, from 1979 until 1997 and its main representative, prime minister Margaret Thatcher that was in power from 1979 to 1990. This particular Act targeted British citizenship but despite its efforts to strengthen the requirements, more than 50,000 Commonwealth nationals entered the UK in the 1980s and early 1990s.<sup>114</sup> The 1993 Asylum and Immigration Appeals Act made changes into the legislation of the Immigration Act of 1971 in terms of appealing asylum claims and intended to hold individuals who brought people into the UK more accountable by checking their documentation. In 1996 the Asylum and Immigration Act was adopted with a goal to target asylum applications and impose penalties.<sup>115</sup> Despite all the above efforts asylum applications increased in the 1990s, going from 1,563 in 1979 to 44,840 in 1991 that made the role of the Eurosceptics within the Conservative party and Thatcher's government.<sup>116</sup> In her first term as prime minister, in the years 1979 to 1983, her

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<sup>113</sup> European Parliament. "Asylum Policy: Fact Sheets on the European Union". 2022.

Available at: <https://www.europarl.europa.eu/factsheets/en/sheet/151/asylum-policy>, accessed January 18, 2023

<sup>114</sup> Gilbert L., "Immigration to the UK in the 20th Century," A News Education (23/12/2021).

Available at: <https://www.anewseducation.com/post/immigration-to-the-uk-in-the-20th-century>, accessed January 18, 2023

<sup>115</sup> Girvan, A. & Becky, T., "The History of British Immigration Policy (1905-2016)," Refugee History. (2016). Available at: <http://refugeehistory.org/timeline-immigration>, accessed January 18, 2023

<sup>116</sup> Black, J. (2015). *Britain and Europe: A Short History*. London: Hurst. Pp. 174-177

presidency was strongly affected by the economic crisis and the effort to get out of it. Her second term, from 1983 to 1987, was marked by the reforms of this period that sought to achieve a more private economy and reduce the role of the state. The Irish matter and the IRA were another major issue in Thatcher's domestic policy. Her third term, from 1987 to 1990, brought more reforms, especially in education, taxation and the health system, while the end of the Cold War was also a landmark of these years. The right-wing media in Britain was particularly active in its efforts against migrants and refugees. As immigration surpassed natural population increase in England and Wales between 1994 and 1995, significant changes occurred in the 1990s. But during the 1990s, immigration in Great Britain primarily came from outside the European Union. With slightly over 10,000 given asylums in 1999, the percentage of refugees was likewise minimal.<sup>117</sup>

### **3.3 The last decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century and the lead-up to Brexit**

Following Margaret Thatcher, John Major took office as prime minister and worked to bridge the country's and the Conservative party's divisions. Making Great Britain “the heart of Europe” was one of his political goals as a shift from the combative politics of his predecessor. He opposed the centralization of decision-making at the level of supranational organisations inside the EEC with regard to his European strategy. The third stage of economic and monetary union, the euro, and the “Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union” of the Maastricht Treaty in 1991 were not ratified by Great Britain because they were thought to increase social welfare and employment costs and endanger the competitiveness and autonomy of British industry, which was against Great Britain's competitive interest.<sup>118</sup> As was expected that Labour would win the 1997 general election with a majority of 179, appointing Tony Blair as the country's next prime minister on May 2. In addition to being more economically responsible than past Labour leaders, he also had a strong commitment to the ideas of foreign policy and was Atlantic-focused. Blair promoted the idea of a more cohesive

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<sup>117</sup> Carvel, J. “Immigration Rise Main Social Trend of 1990s: Facts and Figures about Life in Britain Highlight Growing Inequality between Rich and Poor, Consumer Debt and Use of Credit Cards, Special Report: Race Issues in the UK.”, *The Guardian*. (25/02/2002). Available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/uk/2001/jan/25/race.world>

<sup>118</sup> As above Beloff, L. (1996). Pp. 139-141



European Union throughout his administration by upholding a firm belief in British exceptionalism and highlighting the uniqueness of British duality in comparison to the backdrop of Europe and the United States.

However, and despite British economy improving through the years, The eleventh of September 2001 terrorist attacks had a significant impact on Tony Blair's administration. On the urgency to handle the issue, he sided with the US and President Bush, first invading Afghanistan in 2001 and later Iraq in 2003. The Labour Party's take on migration was that of a mediate responsiveness meaning that immigration was more open and controlled especially with migrants coming from the EU countries with integration being a specific goal towards that. Legislation was passed in 2002 as a response to that and the Nationality, Immigration and Asylum Act was passed in effort to reform some errors of the system, while introducing integration programs for refugees and identification procedures. During the enlargement of 2004 where eight European countries joined the EU, Britain did not restrict people from those countries to enter and work and migration from those countries increased in numbers resulting in one of the largest immigration waves in British history.<sup>119</sup> It's crucial to remember that various political parties and stakeholder groups in the UK had diverse reactions to the European Union's enlargement after 2004. While some British business leaders and politicians supported the enlargement, others voiced worries about how it might affect the country's economy, labor market, and sovereignty. The possible effects of the enlargement worried the UK as well. The possible impact on the UK labor market was one of the main worries, since the admission of additional member states may lead to an increase in the number of migrant workers coming from these nations to the UK. When numerous Eastern European nations with cheaper labor costs entered the EU, it raised concerns about the migration of employees from these nations into the UK.

There have been heated discussions in the UK regarding the effects of migration from Eastern European nations, particularly Poland, on jobs, salaries, and public services. Poland has a long history of immigration to the UK, beginning with the Second World War, when many Poles fought with the British and moved there after the war. Poland has a long history of immigration to the UK, beginning with the Second

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<sup>119</sup> Lowe, K., "Five Times Immigration Changed the UK," BBC News (20/01/2020).

Available at: <https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-politics-51134644>.

World War, when many Poles fought with the British and moved there after the war. The majority of Polish immigrants to the UK are educated, talented, and have significantly impacted both the country's economy and society. They are well-known for their strong work ethics and linguistic abilities and many of them work in industries including healthcare, construction, and hospitality. However, Polish immigration to the UK has been impacted by the UK's decision to exit the European Union in 2016. Polish nationals are still allowed to reside and work in the UK, but they no longer have the same automatic rights as EU residents, and there have been some stories of Polish migrants facing more prejudice and hostility as a result of the Brexit decision.<sup>120</sup>

From 2004 to 2009 five legislative acts on migration passed which were gradually more controlled and stricter towards immigration. More specifically, The Asylum and Immigration Act of 2004, was an effort to document and prevent trafficking, the Immigration, Asylum and Nationality Act, changed the definition of an asylum claim, the UK Borders Act of 2007 introduced technology to the registration process while the 2008 Immigration Rules launched a Points-Based System, a 5-level category of immigrants. Lastly, the Borders Citizenship and Immigration Act of 2009 reintroduced the need for a “good character” of an immigrant.<sup>121</sup> Gordon Brown, who succeeded David Cameron, faced a major obstacle during his administration: the world financial crisis and the ensuing recession. The New Labour initiatives supported by Blair and Brown on the British political scene were challenged by their Conservative rivals. Therefore, the Labour party's loss may be attributed to the ineffectiveness of its pro-European policies in the face of the nation's rising Euroscepticism. Voters in Britain were less drawn to European integration as a result of the eurozone crisis and the subsequent migrant influx. Under Brown, the UK experienced financial failure during the height of the global financial crisis due to out-of-control public expenditure and widespread support for anti-EU movements in polls. It was evident that the Eurosceptic tendency in British culture was rising when the Labour Party earned barely a third of

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<sup>120</sup> Sherwood, H., “Ten Years on and Poles Are Glad to Call Britain Home,” *The Guardian* (26/04/2014), Available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2014/apr/26/polish-immigration-britain-cities-elections>. accessed April 6, 2023

<sup>121</sup> As above, Girvan, A. & Taylor, B. (2016)

the vote in the 2009 elections for the European Parliament, trailing only the Conservative Party and UKIP.<sup>122</sup>

Gordon Brown has failed in his attempts to change how the British view their nation's place in relation to Europe, despite his efforts to design a New Labour Party in accordance with contemporary fashions. Gordon Brown's defeat in the 2010 election and David Cameron's win for the Conservatives were signs that Labour had failed and that Britain was moving away from Europe.

### **3.4 The lead-up to Brexit and migration**

Upon the 2010 general election, David Cameron was elected prime minister on May 11, 2010, bringing together the Conservative Party and the Liberal Democrats to create a coalition administration. The global financial crisis' continued impacts were present throughout the 2010 election. As a result, the coalition government implemented an austerity plan that effectively lowered the budget deficit while attempting to boost the economy through fostering job growth and the economy. In terms of international affairs, David Cameron created a foreign policy in response to the new difficulties posed by the Arab Spring, with Britain playing a significant role in international affairs. However, nothing could have predicted the trajectory to Brexit at the beginning of his term. At home, Eurosceptics supported by the Conservative Party voiced their concerns over shifts in the political course of the EU, signalling the beginning of a crisis. Cameron promised the British people a renegotiation of the conditions of membership in the EU and later a referendum on Britain exiting the European Union if the renegotiation process is unsuccessful on the eve of the 2015 election campaign. The aforementioned factors all exacerbated nationalist attitudes in British society. After the Conservatives' surprising win in the 2015 elections and the formation of an independent government, he was re-elected. Cameron kept his word and proposed a referendum on whether or not Britain will stay in the European Union after securing more favourable terms for its membership. The Conservative Party took a neutral posture without endorsing the Prime Minister's campaign to stay, while the

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<sup>122</sup> Mölder, H., (2018), *British Approach to the European Union: From Tony Blair to David Cameron*. In: Ramiro Troitiño, D., Kerikmäe, T., Chochia, A. (eds) *Brexit*. Manhattan: Springer Cham. Pp. 156-165.

majority of British parties opposed Brexit. In particular, the British people decided to exit the EU on June 23, 2016. Theresa May took office as prime minister on July 13, 2016, after David Cameron resigned as president of the Conservative Party and prime minister as a result of this outcome.<sup>123</sup> More particular, the issue of national sovereignty served as the fundamental organising principle of the leave campaign. The discussion focused on a variety of economic, cultural, and political issues that went far beyond the legal and constitutional foundation of the relationship between the UK and the EU. Last but not least, the concerns about immigration, politics, and economic instability that surfaced and were articulated throughout the referendum time were very significant. The refugee crisis has made immigration a political topic across Europe when Britons voted on June 23, 2016.

Immigration to Great Britain has risen quickly in the last ten years prior to that, especially from EU members in Central and Eastern Europe. A major concern in the 2016 vote was immigration, especially because the referendum took place right in the middle of the refugee crisis. Along with globalisation and European integration, it showed cultural concerns and worries and had a detrimental effect on how important British identity was. The City of London's status as a major financial and cultural hub underscores the value of the financial industry to the British economy. The industrialization of several industries, including mining, steel, and shipbuilding, brought about by the expansion of the British economy led to grave long-term issues including less prospects and fewer jobs in the service sector.<sup>124</sup> Great Britain's withdrawal from the European Union was programmed to be completed on 31 January 2020 with a transition period, decided by the Withdrawal Agreement lasting until 31 December 2020.<sup>125</sup> The vote by the United Kingdom to exit the European Union is just the tip of a larger social and political iceberg. The growth of new nationalisms as well

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<sup>123</sup> As above Mölder, H. (2018),. Pp. 169-170

<sup>124</sup> Taylor, G., (2017), *Understanding Brexit: Why Britain Voted to Leave the European Union*. London: Emerald Publishing Limited. Pp. 1-9

<sup>125</sup> EUR-Lex, "Agreement on the Withdrawal of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland from the European Union and the European Atomic Energy Community 2019/C 384 I/01," Available at: <https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?qid=1580206007232&uri=CELEX%3A12019W%2FTXT%2802%29>, accessed January 21, 2023,

as ultranationalism, and Euroscepticism ideas in the everyday British life have been aided by the events that affected immigration and the economy, and they offer a crucial backdrop for comprehending the Brexit choice.

On the level of migration, the Conservative government that is in power until today planned to limit migration, with a goal to reach 100,000 persons per year that was never reached. The Immigration Acts of 2014 and 2016 aimed to reduce irregular immigration by enforcing a “hostile environment” to make people without legal documents to avoid immigrating “illegally”.<sup>126</sup> Plans to limit and restrict free movement migration from the EU to the UK after Brexit were proposed, highlighting that migration was a huge factor in the Brexit decision. Brexit had two important effects in the UK migration scene. It halted free movement from the European Union while re-introducing the Point-Based System for all immigrants coming to work for an extended period of time and also attempted to achieve a new objective of stopping the immigration of low-skilled employees. The establishment of the EU Settlement Scheme, which grants permanent residency to EU individuals who are already residing in the nation, was the second significant reform, with more than 6 million people applying, with the great majority receiving approval status.<sup>127</sup>

The outbreak of COVID-19 prompted reactionary policy adjustments, such as the encouragement of remote interviews and hearings on asylum petitions and free health exams for undocumented migrants.<sup>128</sup> Even while many of the technical advancements will probably still be in use when the epidemic is over, these were mostly short-term solutions. The Conservative administration, led by Prime Minister Boris

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<sup>126</sup> Connor, P. & Passel, J. S., “Europe’s Unauthorised Immigrant Population Peaks in 2016, Then Levels Off”, Pew Research Center’s Global Attitudes Project. (10/12/2020). Available at: <https://www.pewresearch.org/global/2019/11/13/europes-unauthorized-immigrant-population-peaks-in-2016-then-levels-off/>, accessed January 21, 2023

<sup>127</sup> BBC News “No-Deal Brexit Plan: Eu Nationals Could Stay Three Years,” BBC News (04/09/2019). Available at: <https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-49579480>.

<sup>128</sup> Somerville, W. & Peter, W. “United Kingdom’s Decades-Long Immigration Shift Interrupted by Brexit.” migrationpolicy.org. (19/08/2021). Available at: [https://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/united-kingdom-shift-immigration-interrupted-brexit-pandemic?gclid=CjwKCAiAh9qdBhAOEiwAvxIok5-hSoAf-CX0Mynrwb0YyUAXpWrPf0gb\\_y2Gnm-VCfN5p76RkOqOBoC9lkQAvD\\_BwE](https://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/united-kingdom-shift-immigration-interrupted-brexit-pandemic?gclid=CjwKCAiAh9qdBhAOEiwAvxIok5-hSoAf-CX0Mynrwb0YyUAXpWrPf0gb_y2Gnm-VCfN5p76RkOqOBoC9lkQAvD_BwE)

Johnson, that was elected in December 2019, pushed the mandate to complete Brexit and reform the UK immigration system, both of which have been accomplished. The government's strategy to immigration continued to be mostly focused on exercising control, lowering arrivals, and sustaining financial benefits. In 2021, the UK government introduced a new avenue to citizenship for British National Overseas (BNO) residents in Hong Kong and their immediate family members, motivated as much by colonial history and economic interest. Nearly 5.4 million individuals, or 75 percent of Hong Kong's population, are thought to be eligible.<sup>129</sup> Consequently, the New Plan for Immigration promised significant changes to the admissibility and adjudication of asylum claims and targets revisions to the asylum and refugee systems. The Nationality and Borders Bill would allow for the detention of asylum seekers in a third country while their application is being processed and would tighten the criminal consequences for entering the nation without authorization. Nongovernmental organisations have vigorously campaigned against asylum seekers' detention, while voicing concerns about the rates of poverty among them and their access to employment, decent housing, health care, and education. Following the Taliban's overthrow of Afghanistan's government. The United Kingdom has launched a new resettlement program to welcome 20,000 Afghans in need of protection.<sup>130</sup>

The British economy since Brexit has weakened significantly despite the pre-Brexit campaigns that planned for the opposite. Investments have fallen by 11% and the country's GDP is 5.5% lower than it would have been had the decision to leave from the EU was not determined. Brexit deprives the British economy of \$48.4 billion in tax revenue annually. Overall, Brexit caused food prices to rise by 6% and inflation has since risen to 11% in 2022, its highest level for 40 years.<sup>131</sup> According to recent

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<sup>129</sup> UK Parliament, "Hong Kong British National (Overseas) Visa". House of Commons Library, (06/05/2021). Available at: <https://commonslibrary.parliament.uk/research-briefings/cbp-8939/>, accessed January 22, 2023

<sup>130</sup> Home Office, "Bespoke Resettlement Route for Afghan Refugees Announced," GOV.UK (26/08/2021). Available at: <https://www.gov.uk/government/news/bespoke-resettlement-route-for-afghan-refugees-announced>.

<sup>131</sup> Ziady, H., "Brexit Has Cracked Britain's Economic Foundations", CNN Business. (24/12/2022). Available at: <https://edition.cnn.com/2022/12/24/economy/brexit-uk-economy/index.html>.

research, more than 54% of British citizens wish for the country to re-enter the EU while the pro Brexit voters become more and more hesitant over their choice.<sup>132</sup>

The new prime minister, Rishi Sunak, who succeeded Liz Truss after her resignation from prime minister with just 44 days in office, found Britain facing an acute cost of living crisis and a severe staff shortage. He is the first prime minister with parents of Indian origin. A multi-millionaire former Goldman Sachs banker facing one of the country's worst financial crises. Britain is sinking into recession due to ever-increasing energy costs, high housing interest rates, rising food prices and the negative effects of Brexit.<sup>133</sup> During 2022 the annual net migration to the UK reached its peak with more than 500,000 people coming to Britain mainly non-European nationals such as people from Ukraine, Hong Kong and Afghanistan.<sup>134</sup> The response from the prime minister reflects the Conservative's view of migration for the last few years, so as to control and reduce irregular immigration by enhancing the migration system. Over his speech in the Commons in December 2022 he introduced five main points plan with an initiative to control small boats via a mandate, to strengthen compliance with the migration system, to stop using hotels to house asylum seekers, to double the caseworkers operating on immigration issues and lastly to deem Albania as a safe country so reduce their arrival.<sup>135</sup>

The UK has had the fastest growth in immigration in its history during the past 30 years, a percentage of 1/7 of the total population is considered to be foreign-born.<sup>136</sup> The shift from the British Empire, to the Commonwealth and then the EU membership were major points in the country's history. However, from the beginning Britain was

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<sup>132</sup> Statista Research Department, "Brexit Opinion Poll 2023," Statista. (19/01/2023).

Available at: <https://www.statista.com/statistics/987347/brexit-opinion-poll/>.

<sup>133</sup> GOV.UK, "The Rt Hon Rishi Sunak MP", Available at:

<https://www.gov.uk/government/people/rishi-sunak>, accessed January 22, 2023

<sup>134</sup> Rajeev, S. & Elgot, J., "Migration to UK Rises to Record 504,000 with Ukraine and Hong Kong Schemes." The Guardian. (25/11/2022) Available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2022/nov/24/uk-net-migration-figures-record-ons>.

<sup>135</sup> Casciani, D., "Rishi Sunak's Migration Plan Raises Big Questions," BBC News.

(13/12/2022). Available at: <https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-63965141>.

<sup>136</sup> BBC News, "BBC Briefing on Immigration: How Do I Use It?", BBC. (19/01/2020)

Available at: <https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-50132840>.

on the opposite side with Europe if we look at the process behind the UK membership and the final Brexit decision. Britain's membership can be seen as a response to decolonization and the country's need to regain the lost global power of the previous centuries. Understanding race, through British nationalism in the context of Europe can be seen by the idea that each race ought to have its own distinct territory which has shaped views about immigration in Britain, which explains the multicultural Britain today. The question of British vs European identity was something that monopolised the political conversation for many years. As the years progressed it became more and more obvious that Britishness was something that was threatened in the eyes of the general public if we take into account the hostilities towards people from "coloured" backgrounds, the 1960s "coloured" bars, the 1980s Brixton riots, the IRA citation and Northern Ireland or anti-Semitic and Islamophobic incidents.<sup>137</sup> EU membership did not change that even though efforts for integration were made and the decision to leave the EU was made with immigration being a major factor. Two distinct methodologies have successfully captured British cultural plurality, multiculturalism and integration, however not fully successfully, as Britishness is still related with being white and still carrying a heavy global baggage.

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<sup>137</sup> D'Appollonia A. G., et al. (2010). *Managing Ethnic Diversity after 9/11: Integration, Security, and Civil Liberties in Transatlantic Perspective*. New Jersey: Rutgers University Press. Pp. 79-93



## **Conclusion**

Concluding this writing project of approaching the concept of emigration to the United Kingdom by exploring the historical evolution of the area before, during and after the British Empire through the examination of how migration is perceived in the country, we can make certain conclusions.

Someone could argue that an integral part of the evolution of the British Empire to the United Kingdom as it is today, is migration to the British Isles, the movement of people from all over the world and from the British colonies to the mainland. Imperialism and the British Empire is a subject that spans through centuries and is a theme that not only it has been greatly researched through the years but also it affects many different and vast parts of the world. Through colonialism, the efforts of the British to spread through the world are very clear. In respect to the processes of the expansion of the Empire at home, to delve deeply into the historical field and explore how the state and the Empire came to be are of great importance in understanding the country today.

Even before the existence of a country, which happened roughly during the 15<sup>th</sup> century, the movements of the residents of the area of the North-western Europe and their settlement to the British Isles played a big role towards the development of the nation. After the Roman period, immigration, or at the time, settlement, of the Vikings, the Normans and Jews and later the Angles, the Saxons, the Goths and the Franks all impacted the culture, language and national institutions and the political structure, therefore changing the trajectory of history. The immergence of shared conceptions of Englishness came with the Middle Ages and through the control of Wales and Ireland by the English, with religion becoming an important aspect of the creation of identity. The population until then although consisting of many different people, was in some level homogenic and the idea of “aliens” or outsiders understood. The Crown was another level towards the creation of identity as people who brought positive attributes towards the society gained benefits, known as denization which alongside with the introduction of taxation of immigrants, could be considered as a form of regulation of immigration. The 16<sup>th</sup> century introduced more movements globally as well as towards the British Isles and events as the Protestant Reformation and the start of the age of exploration signified a new chapter for the British Empire. During the 18<sup>th</sup> century, more and

more migrants began to arrive in Britain from all over the world, while the British empire endorsed those movements at the same time it hadn't created the suitable base in order to acknowledge them. If we look into the 1708 Foreign Protestants Naturalization Act and the 1753 Naturalization Act, it is clear that the migrations of Huguenots, Africans due to the slave trade, Indians and Jews we can understand that efforts of integration were made, however the society was segregated and the imperial sentiment was potent allowing more people to travel and thus creating the need to define British people versus the people they ruled and especially the "others". So, they were used as an excuse and a response for controlling those people and manipulate ideas of nationality something that became even more clear during the following centuries.

During the 19<sup>th</sup> century the British Empire was still one of power and conquer where commerce was really important. British nationalism emerged through wars against France in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. These wars were on religious terms meaning that the Britons sought to protect culture and territory thus allowing them to think unanimously. Major events at that time like the abolition of slavery, the Irish Potato Famine which both creating push and pull factors for settlement in Britain. Those people dominated the workforce played an important role in the Industrial Revolution. Around that time, the trajectory of immigration to the British Isles and the Empire of settlement and conquest started to slowly unravel because of decolonization. Until that time open-door immigration policy was taking place meaning that they were no restrictions or controls with those movements. However, the 1905 Aliens Act put a change to that imposing controls and deporting many. That signified a change to the overall sentiment towards immigration. World War I made an intervention of the legislation of immigration with the aim of restructuring the supervision system. British nationalism became more evident during the interwar period and the time after World War II introduced the Commonwealth and the effort of Britain to regain the lost influence worldwide. The British Nationality Act of 1948 which equalized immigrants from the Commonwealth as British nationals, created a new direction for the British national identity. The entrance of significant numbers of ethnic minority immigrants from the colonies resulted in the need of administrative organizations to address housing, education, and racism because, the national sentiment towards immigrants was not very warm and the

opposition was growing. Policies like the Commonwealth Immigrants Act of 1962 and 1968 or the Immigration Acts of 1970 and 1971 created an increasingly harsher environment to newly immigrants which during those decades faced not only discrimination but a lot of the time fully hostility and aggression. Contradictory is the fact that efforts of integration were made. If we take into account the Race Relation Act of 1976, we can understand that colonial legacies were still very evident with the efforts to include colonial subjects. The cultural continuance of the previous centuries halted when the British Empire ceased to exist and immigration played a role towards that alongside with globalization and law-making if we take into account is the country's reluctance to include Europe in its ambitions. However, racism and its colonial legacies never dissolved from the society. The efforts by the government to enforce social diversity and multi-ethnicity by delegitimizing racist behaviours has been promoted through the Race Relations Acts during the 1970s were outcomes of the then political and social scene of the anti-racist movement worldwide and in Britain like for example the Rock Against Racism movement, however that did not translate into the society as civil unrest towards immigrants continued due to the fact that the Conservative party was in power for many years and also because the arguments of people from the minorities weren't really discussed or heard in the public sphere. So those efforts had a suggestive or even a symbolic character. Britishness was still representing whiteness while otherness was not explored or understood. In fact, in the eyes of the white general public minority groups were lessened to by their religion or country of origin which created more and more gaps which became more and more noticeable when adding the European Economic Community into the equation.

In 1973, the United Kingdom entered the European Economic Community under Prime Minister Edward Heath, whose party was divided on the issue of European integration. From the outset, citizens and politicians have been at odds over the value of EU membership, suggesting that Britain's journey in Europe would be bumpy and discontinuous. The Labor Party had similar divisions and this led to a referendum in June 1975 on whether the British should remain in the EEC, just two and a half years after joining. Despite a clear victory for Remain, with 67%, the anti-accession camps in both main parties remained, mainly because of the state of the economy. Immigrant integration policies in the EU was a goal of the Union

from early one in the decade of the 1980s after the introduction of freedom of movement and the removal of internal borders, focusing on justice, freedom and security policy makers had a view in harmonization of the policies alongside the European member countries. British EU membership was a way for the country to regain a central role as a world player as well as reintroducing itself to Europe. However, issues of sovereignty were expressed by Eurosceptics, while there was a reluctance of the country to include European immigration policies in their legislation. The Maastricht Treaty was signed by Margaret Thatcher's successor, John Major, in 1992.

On the level of migration, in the years leading up to Britain's EU membership, immigration to the area became steadily and strategically more controlled if we take into account the four Immigration Acts that were legislated from 1981 until 1996. But immigration continued to rise in the years to come. The new millennium brought the 9/11 terrorist attacks that fuelled Euroscepticism within the country and turned Great Britain beyond Europe. However, immigration was more open and easier especially when immigrants were coming from the EU and efforts of integration were made. and the EU Enlargement of 2004 followed by the euro crisis some years later emboldened Eurosceptics to demand more and strained relations with the rest of Europe and restrict immigration and more Immigration Acts were introduced but the opposition and general public still phrased their antithesis over EU policies. Very soon, the prime minister promised a referendum on Britain's departure from the EU which happened in 2016 and in late 2020 the UK was no longer a part of the EU.

Great Britain is the first country in history to leave the EU, questioning its cohesion, thus facing significant consequences for its economy and its development. It is certain that the marginal but nevertheless competent majority of the referendum to leave the Union put the country on the path of searching for its previous strong power, its prestige and its dominance in the international arena. While, Scottish sentiments for independence are once more in the surface, the Brexit shake the national cohesion of the country. On the level of migration, the Conservative government that is in power until today plans to limit migration, creating a "hostile environment" and re-introducing the Point Based system.

However, immigration is still at high levels even after the pandemic and the British economy is facing difficulties with many citizens considering the return to the EU.

The UK's membership to the EU was always complex. When membership was accolated during the 1970s European Union and its members were much more compatible, however as the years gone by British society felt more and more alienated from the enlarged EU and found its character and national identity to be threatened. But, cooperation between the British and the European countries has always been taking place. The distinction here is that Great Britain is the political entity underneath which many different identities are co-existing. Immigration and to the UK and the social and cultural alterations that it created has been challenging the once "united" British culture.

In conclusion, answering the question of the paper as to whether emigration changed the nation, the answer can be affirmative. Britishness emerged, after Englishness, with the unification of the English and Scottish and before that with the Welsh as then the shared values and principles formed the British Empire. Until the 19<sup>th</sup> century, Britishness was linked with imperialism, which included many different cultures co-existing. Decolonization and the emergence of nationalism brought up different ideas of identity and Britishness became something more upstart and complex. Multitude of economic, social and contemporary factors are a result of that but immigration is at centre, thus allowing many meanings. Since World War II, emigration has had a substantial influence on British society in a number of ways. In the case of Britain, emigration has impacted the economy, culture, and demography, among other facets of society. The burden on the British labor market during times of high unemployment has been lessened in part through emigration. For instance, the British government actively promoted emigration during the early post World War II period to lessen the impact of unemployment and hardship. Remittances are another thing that emigrants frequently send home, and they can help with economic development. British society has seen a substantial cultural effect as a result of emigration. The consequence has been a diversity of the cultural environment in Britain as immigrants from many nations have brought their traditions, languages, and rituals with them. This has improved British society and increased multiculturalism and variety in the nation. As new ideas, styles, and preferences are introduced by immigrants, emigration also has an impact on British

food, fashion, music, and art. British culture has benefited from this, becoming more colourful and active. The demographics of British society have been impacted through emigration. It has helped to alter the age and ethnic makeup of the population, among other aspects of population structure. For instance, emigration from Commonwealth nations like India, Pakistan, and the Caribbean has increased the ethnic variety of the people in Britain, fostering a more cosmopolitan society. The population's age distribution has changed as a result of emigration as well. Because emigrants are frequently youthful and economically active, their departure may cause the population of their homeland to age. This may have an impact on things like social services, healthcare, and retirement. Emigration's social effects have also been felt by British society. As immigrants frequently leave behind family members, such as wives, children, and elderly parents, it has caused changes in family structures, resulting in long-distance partnerships and transnational families. Both immigrants and their families may have social and emotional repercussions as a result, including loneliness, cultural acculturation, and concerns like separation. Communities and neighbourhoods have been impacted by emigration in both the countries of origin and in Britain. Emigration has occasionally led to the loss of knowledgeable professionals and influential local figures, which can have an adverse effect on a community's social cohesiveness and general wellbeing. As a result of emigration, British society has seen enormous economic, cultural, demographic, and social changes since World War II. Although emigration has benefited variety, cultural enrichment, and the economy, it has also presented problems for brain drain, demographic changes, and societal adaptations. Brexit and immigration controls are efforts to protect the Britishness that can no longer be defined beyond its political meaning.

Within the European edifice, immigration demonstrates the influence that political culture exerts on all levels. As a viral video on the internet suggests: “Being British is about driving a German car, to an Irish themed pub, to drink Belgian beer, and then going home buying an Indian takeaway, to sit on a Swedish sofa, in front of a Japanese television, to watch American shows all the while being suspicious of anything foreign.”<sup>138</sup> In practice, we realize that national identity depends on the

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<sup>138</sup> Clay King, “Being British Is All about...”, YouTube, 2022, Available at:

<https://youtube.com/shorts/RzvJV0wGcEQ?feature=share>.

meaning that the actors involved each time attach to their intended goals. Thus, for the UK, which is characterized throughout time from centralizing tendencies, adherence to the principles of Britishness, is expressed through efforts to reach the legacies of the imperial past. As experience has shown in the context of whether imperialism and colonialism dominated the British ideas on migrants in today's rather diverse British society, the existence of institutional initiatives, legislation and implementation towards decreasing the numbers of immigrants is inextricably linked to the colonial past. The representation of immigrants as threat to be addressed, without acknowledging their values thus categorized people is a colonial legacy. Multiculturalism as a way of integration has worked on some level but the question is how the society in Britain will move past this and address the common values that have been shared for centuries?

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