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**British National Identity and the Dilemma of
Multiculturalism in the 21st Century**

*An Extended Essay Submitted in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirement for a
Master's Degree in Literature and Civilisation*

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Dedication

A great thankfulness To Allah that I finally achieve this work under his swing

To my dear parents who loved me and always support me with their Douaa

To my husband who always support and encourages me to achieve my goal

To my beloved and sweet sons who always make me feel alive

To my family members and my family in law members

To all the teachers of my educational career

To all my friends

BELMADANI Fatiha

To Allah

To the soul of my dad

To my dear mum and beloved sons Abdelkader and Mohamed El Bachir

To my brothers and sisters

To my teachers

To my friends and everyone who knows me

BENALI Fatiha

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Abstract

This dissertation examines the current situation of national identity in Britain in relation to the so-called multicultural Britain in the 21st Century where the government had implemented altered policies than the ones taken in the early years. It aims to provide some possible answers to the controversial question “to what extent is multiculturalism in Britain successful?” The present work highlights the different policies and methods that the government took to cope with immigration and integrating immigrants in the purpose of creating the atmosphere of a well-being and a well- living through national identity. The dissertation also examines the history of immigration to Britain during the 20th and the 21st Century and the immigrants’ conditions, with regard to the government politics to manage with multiculturalism with a particular emphasis on the 21st Century. The findings demonstrate that governance framework transformed accordingly as a reaction to the politics of multiculturalism. British governments may have adopted multicultural standards; yet, its conception and application remain awkward for local government and many state departments. The rise of multiculturalism causes a more fractured Britain whose disintegration raises fears over religious aggressiveness and worries over internal terrorism. Neo-multicultural is model that challenges conformist notions of diversity and difference. In addition, this dissertation also aims to highlight the complexities and the challenges of multiculturalism in the sense of fostering cohesive national identity in a multicultural society predicting about the future of multiculturalism and British national identity. Certainly, matters of culture and identity are connected to economic criteria and public response to immigration and refugees. To the question: “what does it mean to be British in multicultural Britain?” multiculturalism remains an issue of intense debate and controversy.

Key Words: National Identity – British Multiculturalism – Ethnic Groups – Immigration – Integration

List of Acronyms

APS : Annual Population Survey

Bn : billion

Brexit : British Exit

CRAM : Centre of Research and Analysis of Migration

CUKCs : Citizens of the UK Colonies

DL : Discretionary Leaves

EEA : European Economic Area

EEC : European Economic Countries

ELR : Exceptional Leave to Remain

EU : European Union

GDP : Gross Domestic Product

HP : Humanitarian Protection

LFS : Labour Force Survey

MWUK : Migration Watch UK

OBRs : Office for Budget Responsibilities

OECD : Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development

ONS : Office for National Statistics

RED : Racial Equality Directive

UCL : University College London

UK : United Kingdom

UN : United Nations

WWII : Second World War

YE : Year Ending

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General Introduction

One of the biggest questions facing Britain today is how to deal with multiculturalism and national identity and how to manage the difficulties in the society effectively living peacefully. The United Kingdom has always welcomed newcomers. Yet, the UK countries are challenging a governance irony: how to democratically rule multi-ethnic, multi-racial, and multi-religious communities, and the identity politics resulted from these differences, without falling into anarchy or regressing into rigidity. Of those UK countries in the front of multicultural governance, Britain is placed high in dealing with the contradictions of managing diversities and difference, mainly caused by Commonwealth immigration of principally male labour from the 1950s onward, followed by family reunion in the 1970s, and the 1980s current of both professionals and refugees.

Over the centuries Britain has accepted many immigrants from different countries; however, peak periods of mass immigration (1958–1962, 1967–1975, 1997–2002) regularly cause public hostility. Newcomers are seen as rivals in employment, housing, and social services, menacing the existing communities and damaging social solidarity. A growing concern over the institutionalisation of tolerance toward difference presses the government to react, through providing financial supports for minority schools, adjusting diet and dress codes, considering different religious and cultural dictates.

Rather than promoting an integrated society based on communication and comprehensiveness, indifference arose instead with a consistent loss of common identity and unity. Therefore, critics against multiculturalism are rising, especially with events since the mid-1990s, discouraging public trust in the capability and efficiency of the government's multicultural policies to integrate immigrants and minorities: On one hand, the interplay between British national identity and multiculturalism can enhance national identity by introducing new cultural practices, languages and ideas i.e. enriching the cultural fabric of the

nation as it can also lead to dilemmas and complexities regarding social cohesion, integration, and the preservation of a unified national identity, on the other hand. Britain, therefore is facing an identity crisis; the greater the diversity, the greater the need to elucidate what people have in common. Britain is now in front of assessing the benefits and weaknesses of its long-standing multicultural policy.

The following study is primarily based on modernist and post-modernist theory that focuses on examining immigrants' integration in the British society at both the political and economic level.

In admitting the shift from highlighting British national identity and the dilemmas of multiculturalism in the 21st century, this thesis explore the unique historical context of the UK and examines its political and economical practices of multiculturalism in the context of national identity, with a particular focus on Britain. The thesis aims to provide answers to the following questions:

- How has British national identity evolved over the past century in response to waves of increasing cultural diversity?
- What are the different challenges facing Britain as a multicultural nation?
- Have the multicultural policies in Britain succeeded in bridging the gap between multiculturalism and national identity?

Based on former investigation the following hypotheses are proposed:

- The United Kingdom seems to have several changes and impacts due to the wave of immigration. The evolution of British national identity has been characterized by gradual shift from a homogenous to a multicultural one.
- As a multicultural nation, Britain faces several challenges related to integration, social cohesion, and equality

- The success of multicultural policies in bridging the gap between multiculturalism and national identity is a complex and nuance issue in the way of finding solutions to the challenges faced by multiculturalism this is why an ongoing effort in addressing inequalities, combating discrimination and fostering integration.

Regarding the structure of this work, the whole research is divided into three main chapters:

The first chapter, “Definition of the Concepts” gives a vision to the different concepts of the research topic such as national identity, multiculturalism, citizenship and integration to highlight the different meaning of each concept identifying the interrelation between all of them.

The second chapter, “Immigrants’ Integration in the British Society”, points out the waves of immigration in Britain. There is an increasing number of ethnic diversities as Britain has a long history of immigration through the 20th and the 21st century regarding to the immigrants’ conditions, as socio-economic one, with the laws implemented there concerning citizenship, housing, education and job opportunities. This chapter also constitutes a discussion of the different politics of multiculturalism, this latter which is a subject debate with regard to citizenship and national identity.

In the last chapter, “National Identity Dilemma”, there is an emphasis on the main topic which is a general discussion about British national identity dilemma with regard to multiculturalism that encompasses several complexes and interrelated issues and resulted in various challenges and complexities leading to a conflict between clustered communities and the native citizens themselves. The chapter also discusses the rise of nationalist movement and the appearance of extremism that encompasses radical ideologies and activities challenging societal norms and pose risks to societal cohesion, security and democratic values and their impact on British society. Moreover, the chapter shows the cohesion between neo-

multiculturalism and national unity in the United Kingdom and the different challenges of globalization with British common values that foster a sense of shared identity.

The conclusion opens new paths of research related to the topic, notably the future of multicultural and national identity issues in Britain.

Chapter One: Definitions of Concepts

Chapter One: Definitions of Concepts

Introduction:

National identity and multiculturalism are often seen as the opposites as they are two different concepts in Britain that's why it is necessary to cope with this opposition finding solutions to live and work in parallel so as to live peacefully though the challenges and the conflicts found there. Therefore, the interaction between national identity and multiculturalism is crucial as societies navigate globalization and demographic changes. While national identity provides a foundational framework, multiculturalism ensures that diverse groups can maintain their identities while contributing to the broader national fabric.

1.1. Definition of National Identity:

There is no agreed definition of what constitute national identity. It can result from the presence of element from "the common points" in people's daily life, national, symbols, languages, the nation's history, blood ties, culture, music, cuisine, radio TV and so or. The term 'Nation' is Considered an inherently ambiguous word which is sometimes used in its etymological sense of a group or people linked by nativity, birth and geographical territory. The term "Identity «is very difficult to explain because of the complexity of its meaning, however, its basic meaning refers to where one belongs and what is expressed as their 'Self-image', as well as, what differentiate a person according to ' others '.

National Identity is an ethical philosophical concept where by all humans are divided into groups called nations. 'Nation' share a common identity, and usually a common origin in the sense of ancestry, parentage or descent. It is therefore one's identity or the sense of belonging to one state or to one nation. It is the sense of nation as a cohesive whole presented by distinctive traditions, culture, language, and politics. In other terms, It may refer to the

subjective feeling one shares with a group of people about a nation, regardless of one's legal citizenship status .

"National identity can be thought a collective product" (Kelman 171), which suggests that it is the group's definition of itself with its basic values, institutions, traditions and past history. According to Guiberman; 'National identity is a collective sentiment based upon the belief of belonging to the same nation and of sharing most of the attributes that make it distinct from other nations '(7). This entails that in order for a group of people to identify within a certain nation, it is required to share all these collective elements which are deeply rooted in the nations 'history.

Accordingly, national identity is not an inborn trait and it is essentially socially constructed. People with identification of their nation view national beliefs and values as personally meaningful, and translate these beliefs and values into daily practices. National identity then, like other identities engenders positive emotions such as pride and love to one's nation, and feeling of obligations towards other citizens.

1.1.1 Types of Identity:

As it is discussed that identity encompasses various traits that we are born with and thoughts, beliefs and values we acquire from our surroundings. Thus, it can have different types such as personal identity, collective identity and national identity.

Personal identity is defined as a set of concepts and principles that are developed about oneself which evolves over the core of one's life including things that one may have controlled over and others that he has not. It is also said to be a question of duties one makes to do what is good or what ought to be done, what he likes, or the value judgement he makes in a socially constructed situation. Personal identity deals with philosophical questions that arise about ourselves by virtue of being living things, conscious being, moral agents, or

material objects. i.e. It deals with the person's sufficient conditions to persisting through time to be the same person.

According to Fearon, « Personal identity is a set of attributes, beliefs, desires, or principles of action that a person thinks distinguish her in socially relevant ways and that (a) the person takes a special pride in; (b) the person takes no special pride in, but which so orient her behaviour that she would be at a loss about how to act and what to do without them or (c) the person feels she could not change even if she wanted to» (25). Fearon, therefore, reveals that personal identity is built on the ground of what and how individuals' identity themselves within their communities.

Collective identity or group identity is a shared sense of belonging to a group. This concept appears within few social sciences fields. It describes the beliefs, feeling and ideas of a group of people working toward the common goal of cognitive definition. Political and social movements cause change in society because of collective identity, this is why, it is very important as it works to achieve change based on the goals of the group understanding how collective identity develops, helps understand motivation behind political and social movements.

Collective identity is defined by Tajfel (1978) as "That part of Individual's self-concept which derives from his knowledge of his membership of a social group (or groups) together with the value and emotional significance attached to that membership". Accordingly, collective identity is just as the base context of identity. It is neither fixed nor innate, but rather emerges through struggles as different political actors, including the movement, interact and react to each other. It has become a central concept in the study of social movements.

National identity is a person's identity or a person's state of belonging to one the sense of a nation as a cohesive whole, as represented by distinctive traditions, culture and language.

It is how we see ourselves as members of a nation of people. This can range from a narrow ethnic identity to broader civic Identity that encompasses many ethnic and religion groups. It creates a feeling of belonging, following Wodak et al. (1999), national identity “is constructed and conveyed in discourse, predominantly in narratives of national culture. National identity is thus the product of discourse” (p.22) .

National identity is a social construct; therefore, it may change depending on psychological circumstances (Dairs 1999; Moscovici 1988). Although most people have a single national identity, others, who either by birth or by choice, belonging to multiple nations may have separate national identities that relate to each of These nations. For example, people whose parents came from different nations, as well as first- and second-generation immigrants may have multiple national identities.

The most frequently studied components of national identity include identification with the nation, attitudes toward the nation, and national stereotypes. Identification with the nation reflects the degree to which the component of national identity figures in the overall identity of an individual. For example, a scale developed by Roccas (Roccas and Schwartz 1993) is comprised of the following four items: “Being of this nationality is an important part of my self-definition”; “When I talk about this nation, I say (we' and not they) “when this nation is criticized, take it personally “; “It is important for me to think about myself as a member of this nation”.

Attitudes toward the country reflect the individual's general evaluation of the country and emotions related to the country on a negative - positive continuum. The attitudes measured may be general or domain-specific (Smith and Kim 2006). National stereotypes reflect the individual's opinions of other members of their nation and of other members of other nationalities. National stereotypes consist of two main factors: competence and morality (Poppe 2001). The competence factor includes traits such as efficiency, intelligence, self-

confidence. The morality factor includes traits such as honesty, tolerance, modesty, aggressiveness, selfishness, and rudeness.

1.1.2 Theories on National Identity:

National identities are formed in a variety of ways depending on the theory such as: Primordialism, modernism, instrumentalism and constructivism. Primordialism Theory is, one of the first theories of national identity, is considered an 'umbrella' term used to describe nationality as a natural part of human beings, and that nations have existed since ancient times'. This term was used by Edward Shills who argued in an influential article that "National identities were natural, ineffable and attributed to the time of blood." (142)

For theorists primordialism, national identity is explained through customs, blood, relations and even language, however, it is something that one is born into naturally which means it is not changeable social construction but rather an inevitable mode of being. In other words, the nation to which one belongs is predetermined and 'naturally fixed'.

Modernism theory, on the other hand, suggests that political and economic interests are the main drivers of national identity. This means that the interests of governments, corporation, and other influential entities shape a nation's identity. Modernists develop the thesis that national identity must be understood exclusively as a modern and politically economic phenomenon, and when interpreted it must not be viewed from a cultural, sentimental a historical point of view.

According to some supporters of this theory, the nation is nothing more than an imaginary political community, which uses a unified language, centralized education system, and legal political framework, with the sole purpose of enhancing economic and industrial development in order to provide better living condition to the population belonging to that nation.

This theory emphasizes the use of symbols, languages, and rituals to create a sense of national identities. Through the use of these elements, nation can create a shared sense of identity among citizens. Instrumentalist theory of national identity is unimportant in one aspect: no political phenomenon is likely to survive indefinitely if it is entirely useless to all conceivable human collectivises or individuals. However, most instrumentalist theories extrapolate well beyond this safe and uninteresting claim. Moreover, instrumentalism theory can be considered as the belief that good theories about unobservable things are at best merely instruments for generating new truths from ones that are already known.

Constructivism Theory suggests that the conversation of everyday citizens shape the national identity. This means that the discourse of citizens helps to define the identity of a nation. It is regarded as increasingly important in international relations. More often than not to the approach is related to the issue of identity i.e. it is the framework in which the fundamental elements of the international politics are conceived as social structures. It is then characterized by an emphasis on the importance of the normative and material structures, the role of identity in shaping the political action and the relation of mutual constitution between agents and structures (Reus- Smith, 2008:207).

Overall, national identity can be formed in a variety of ways depending on the theory. Primordialism, modernism, instrumentalism, and constructivism, all offer different perspectives on how national identities are formed and constructed. It presumes that ethnic identities are shaped and affected by politics. National identity, then, can be built by:

- A. Nationalization of native people: which is a project of writing people of the same linguistic cultural ethos under more political unit
- B. Nationalization of minorities: which is the homogenization of minorities by majority group already sharing same territory and political order?

C. Nationalization of immigrants: which is a liberal state citizenship law based on language and shared values, to which any person regardless ethnicity would be entitled to.

1.2 Definition of Multiculturalism:

Multiculturalism is a term which is used to describe the social condition of diversity among a specific population. It is both a response to the fact of cultural pluralism in modern democracies and a way of compensating cultural groups of past exclusion, discrimination, and oppression. Tariq Modood defines multiculturalism as "the political accommodation by the state and / or a dominant group of all minority cultures defined first and foremost by reference to race and ethnicity....[(as well as)] religion. Multiculturalism here is seen as a political or social ideal based on acceptance and celebration of cultural difference in a society, especially in relation to ethnic or minorities.

Multiculturalism theories, thus, involve conditions of racial and ethnic diversity as well as support for cultural differences, policies and programmes for managing this diversity such as abolishing hostility and discrimination, and a remarking of public sphere to advocate toleration and justice (Fleras 2002; Forbes 2009).

Since multiculturalism is about culture, a theory of multiculturalism cannot be built without developing a well- defined theory of culture in human life. In fact, this concept is itself subject to debate, in which competing views would theorize culture and provide convincing responses to cultural diversity which is the task of political theorists. For Willett (1998) theorising multiculturalism 'has proven an enigmatic and elusive exercise, in large part because multiculturalism, by definition, encourages a range of opinions outside of mainstream discourses'. (Fleras 2009 p.4) Theorising multiculturalism then seems to be a complicated perspective since it tries to investigate dominant systems of meaning. Leading versions of knowledge, truths and arbitrary do claim to moral authority.

In sociology, multiculturalism is the view that cultural differences should be respected or even encouraged, when sociologists use the concept of multiculturalism to describe one way of approaching cultural diversity within a society, it is a term that refer to different identities, cultures, customs, origins as communities in our society. And, it refers to a government policy as a formal recognition of different cultures of a particular group or community to help them adapt and integrate into another society as citizens with equality and similar right, so many theorists talked that such as:

- Multiculturalism is a system of beliefs and behaviours and respects the presence of all diverse groups in an organisation or society, acknowledges and values then socio-cultural differences, and encourages and enables their continued contribution within an inclusive cultural context which empowers all within the organization or society.
- Multiculturalism is ultimately not a matter of theory, even critical theory, but of real politics; there are as many multiculturalism as there are political arenas for collective actions... Multiculturalism is always a specific negotiated order and no amount of abstract philosophical or legal reasoning can prescribe a single just model. There are three well known theorist, Iris Marion Yong (1990), Charles Taylor (1994) and Bhikm Parkeh (2000), who have made major contributions to what May et al. (2004) have described as "the multicultural turn" in recent social and political theory.

Theories of multiculturalism do not merely take into account the societal fact of ethnocultural pluralism; they also develop models of citizenship and public policies that share a few characteristics. They first reject the cultural assimilation to the majority, enabling ethnocultural minorities to promote and maintain various aspects of their identities and practices in the public realm. Second, they move away from colour-blind or differences blind

policies that attempt to treat all equals by ignoring their specific ethnic and cultural identities. Multicultural policies are thus 'differentiated' in the sense that they target specific groups and grant group-specific rights, rights and policies benefiting the members of certain groups qua members of those group (Kymlicka 1995, 2007 a; Modood 2007; Shorten 2022).

For many theorists, the politics of multiculturalism can also refer to the 'politics of difference', or the 'politics of identity'. In this latter case, it then refers to forms of citizens mobilization organized around cultural identities and through which cultural minorities challenge the hegemony of dominant cultural groups. These 'deliberative multiculturalists' call for forms of public deliberation and democratic engagement that are more inclusive and recognize the distinctive voices of ethnocultural minorities (Young 1990, Tully 1995, Benhabib 2002).

Finally, theorists of multiculturalism have also developed a range of normative arguments and conceptual frameworks that support to explain why societies marked by the societal fact of multiculturalism trying to fill in the gaps between the ethics and politics of migration.

1.3. Integration and Citizenship

1.3.1. Integration:

The increasing diversity of the population has brought the question of immigrant integration to the top of the political agenda. Without integration, whether economically, politically or socially, the immigrant population may remain marginalized and unable to take advantage of the opportunities in the host country.

Integration is clearly a complex phenomenon. According to Oxford dictionary, "Integration" is defined as "the process of bringing to equal membership of a common society those group or persons previously discriminated against on racial or cultural grounds". Thus,

integration tends to explain an end of racial segregation and a process of becoming an accepted member of a community.

In general terms, for an immigrant, integration consists in the knowledge of the language spoken in the "host country", that is to say reading and writing skills, the access to educational system and the labour market of the country, the chance of improving professional mobility by attending to higher level of education or professional qualifications and impartiality in front of the law. At the same time the host country has to show tolerance and openness. The consent of welcoming the immigrants. Many countries have adopted integration over multiculturalism as a reaction to perception that immigrants were spoiled by rights without matching obligations.

In 2004 member of the European Council agreed on a Commitment to integration whose standards are summarised as follow:

- Integration is an active process of reciprocal amendment by immigrants and host society.
- Integration involves respect for the fundamental ethics of the European Union.
- Employment is an important component of the Integration process for immigrants and hard society.
- Fundamental knowledge of the host country's language, history, and institution is crucial to integration.
- Access to education is decisive to integration of immigrants.
- Immigrant integration needs complete and fair access to institutions and public and private commodities and services.
- Recurrent and creative communication between immigrants and member-state citizens guarantees successful integration.

- Integration is meant to assure the practice of varied cultures and religions, only if these practices respect rights and laws.
- Immigrant participation In the democratic process is vital, especially in the formulation of programmes of policies that influence the iron lives.
- Integration is dependent on mainstreaming integration policies in all government and public services.
- Lucid objectives and evaluation methods should be in place to regulate immigration policies and evaluate improvement.

This Commitment to Integration is similar to the ideology of Canada's Multiculturalism Act of 1988 that implies: a sense of belonging, trust in the other, recognition with society at large, acquisition of citizenship, life satisfaction, a spirit of volunteerism, and exercise of voting rights (Fleras 2009). Accordingly, both integration and multiculturalism seem eventually concerned with making inclusive governance that boosts minority participation, belonging, and equality without discarding either the legality of difference or commitment to national unity. However, multiculturalism may bend more toward "difference" in balancing difference-with-unity, while integration may emphasise "unity" in a unity-within-difference equivalence.

1.3.2. Citizenship:

Citizenship is generally used as a synonym for nationality. It is a legal status and relation between individuals and a state of entails specific legal rights and duties. According to the Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary. "Citizenship refers to "the legal right to belong to a particular country". This definition focuses on the citizens' right to be a member of a community. The British sociologist Marshall explained that citizenship means "Enduring all members of a political community with certain civil, political, and social rights to

membership, including the right to share to the full in the social heritage and to live the life of a civilized being according to the standards prevailing in the society". Marshall set three dimensions of citizenship: civil, political and social rights. However, citizenship is not confined to rights; the state of being a citizen of a particular social, political or national community "carries both rights and responsibilities". Citizenship also denotes, besides rights, civic engagements, commitments and responsibilities towards the community to participate in the social and political life.

Through history, citizenship has maintained strong ethical links to justice, democracy, and liberty and to debates about what person's conduct should be in society. Aristotle describes a citizen as 'one who has a share in both the ruling and being ruled 'where citizenship confers some form of status with rights and duties'.

The concept of citizenship connects with all aspects of people's life. Geier Skeie argues: 'Membership of different minority or majority groups may be a question of ethnicity, but it can also relate to religion, gender or sexual preference" (Skeie 2003, p. 47). The questions of citizenship are intimately connected with the question of identity and, therefore, refer also to the minority / majority debate (ibid.). As Iseult Honohan puts it: "the social confirmation of identity is increasingly seen essential to human flourishing" (2002, p.250). The question of citizenship is also a question of belonging. Indigenous minorities, different cultural and religious groups and people have non- European heritage, for instance, challenge the understanding about citizenship based on ethnic nationalities.

The concept of citizenship has been a centre for interest in philosophical debates. Will Kymlicka and Wayne Norman argue that in political philosophy there have been two different and often separate debates about the issue of citizenship and group rights (Kymlicka and Norman 2000). The first one is concentrated on minority rights and multiculturalism and the other debates are inherently interdependent. Therefore, Kymlicka and Norman argue that

there is a need for an account of citizenship that connects both the issues of multiculturalism and group rights and the discussion of what makes a good citizen.

Last and not at least, there is a multicultural discourse on universal human rights that shapes the understanding of citizenship. These are all very different ideas that arise from different backgrounds and discourses, and although they all have an effect on how the concept of citizenship is understood, in most cases it seems hard to reconcile these different elements in a discussion about what constitutes citizenship.

Conclusion:

Identity, citizenship, and integration and multiculturalism are different concepts that reflect the internal tensions of modern multi-ethnic states and challenge the contemporary processes and connections that emerge out of globalisation. Though those concepts are different, they are interconnected in complex ways, shaping how individuals and societies understand themselves and interact with one another. The cohesion between them can enhance social cohesion and ensure the full participation of all their members.

Chapter Two: Immigrants' Integration in the British Society

Chapter Two: Immigrants' Integration in British Societies

Introduction

Throughout centuries immigration was a topic of question. It was a phenomenon of debate. As any one's thought, most people who immigrate are either economic migrants or political ones. During their migration in the new land / country, they seek better economic opportunities: a higher income and a better life abroad. It is the same reason that makes people immigrate to Britain, to look for work, get higher wage and realize a better life; better than the one they have had in their hometown.

Hence, owing to large flows of immigrants, illegal immigrants, immigrants from Muslim background, and refugees and asylum seekers that continued to enter Europe and settled permanently in the European countries had led to appearance and the development of a variety of policies to integrate these populations in the European societies. According to Terri. E. Givens, Immigrants' integration policies had been reassessed in the 1990s to revise, particularly, policies identified as "multiculturalism" and re-emphasizing "assimilation." (Immigrant Integration in Europe: Empirical Research, 2006)

Yet, these policies were fully reconsidered due to a series of events since 2001 such as the 9/11 terror attacks, the Madrid and London bombings, the murder of Theo Van Gogh, the Paris "riots" or "uprising", the Arabian Spring, and the Ukraine crisis. In addition to the key factor of demographics; that resulted from immigrants who were having more children and gained citizenship, and had seen Europe the fertile ground with significant developments, they had always found their way politically, to settle in (Terri E. Givens, 2006, p68). Therefore, the European governments managed to restore many other policies including law citizenship, housing, education qualification, job opportunities, unemployment and poverty so as to integrate immigrants, on one side, and limit the phenomenon of immigration and immigrants' issues, on the other side.

2.1. History of Immigration to Britain (20th- 21st Century)

Immigration, as it is simply defined in the dictionary, is “the process of entering another country in order to live there permanently”. Politically meaning, it is “the international movement of people to a destination country; of which they are not usual residents or they do not possess nationality, in order to settle as permanent residents”. In Britain, and over centuries, especially in England, many immigrant groups established in particular suburban areas which became branded by the groups of distinct ways of life. And as these different lifestyles became noticeable in the British society, different terms grew among the population such as cultural pluralism, cultural diversity and multiculturalism which becomes the primary issue of modern social and political theories, particularly in modern social sciences. It also occupies a dominant place in public culture of western liberal democracies and in global political discourse.

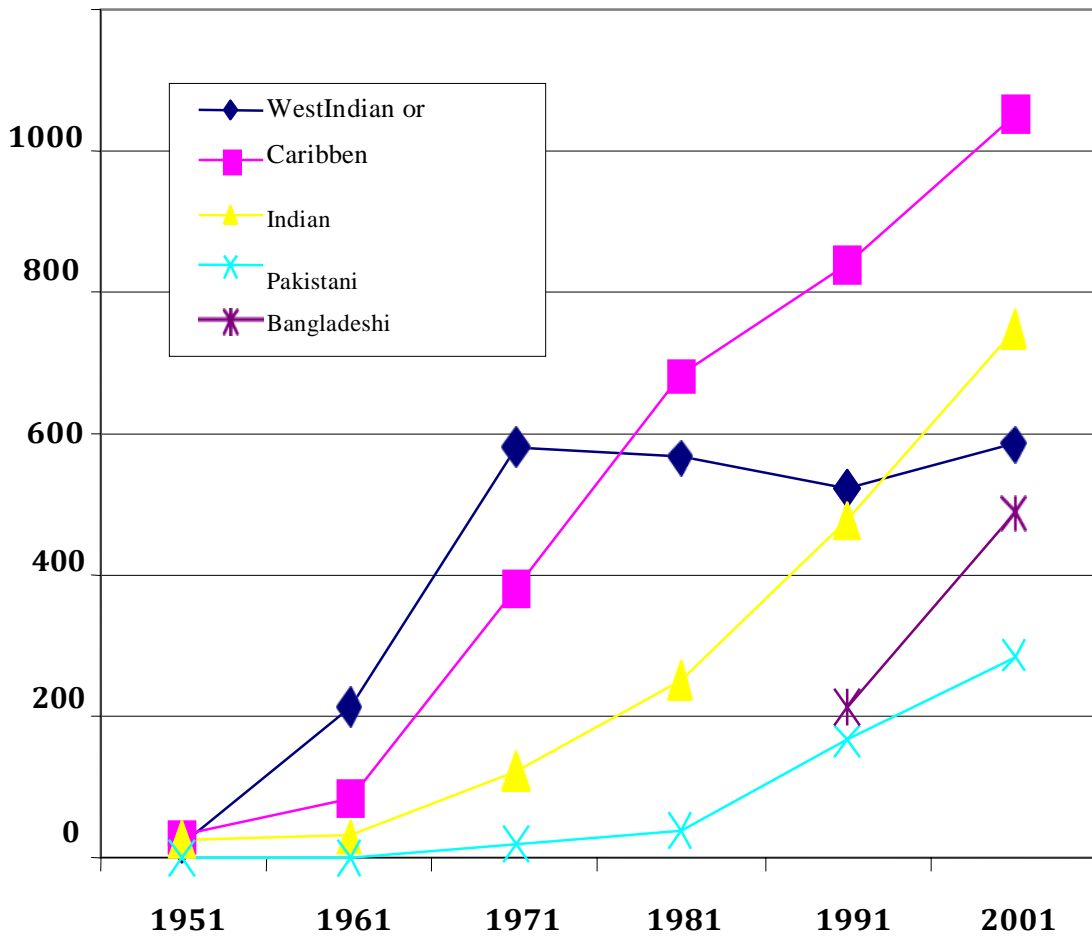
2.1.1. Immigration to Britain in the 20th Century:

Though, there have always been episodes of immigration to Britain throughout centuries ago, it was not a global phenomenon until by the 20th Century, as the world witnessed considerable movements of population towards developed countries; starting from the late 1940s, people from the New Commonwealth nations of India, Pakistan and the West Indies, South Asia and Cyprus but the most famous arrivals were of people from the Caribbean; mainly Jamaica and Trinidad, on the ship Empire Windrush in 1948. They all were drawn to Britain mainly to fill the subordinate and manual jobs during the post Second World War reconstructive period; when the UK came to meet the needs of the labour market to get over the hard times that hit the country. The UK started began to import temporary labour initially from Southern European and later from former colonies, old commonwealth countries and other developing countries so as to fill the manual and the lower-paid jobs of an expanding economy. Hence, the current need for the cheap labour which caused the massive

flow of immigrants into the country so that it enlarged communities and grew diversity. A tension, therefore, between natives and these communities became to appear. Mean after, the demand for labour in the main British industries diminished by the mid-1950s; however, immigrants continued to flow into the UK so that the government had to change immigration policies and tackle immigration's issues through a restrictive policy which was rehabilitated, over years, through acts and regulations mainly Immigration and Citizenship Acts; to control immigrants' flow on one hand, and Race Relation Acts; to solve racism issues on the other hand

The following **Figure (2.1)** in the following page, illustrates a graphic representation of the particular groups and their growth since the 1951 until the 2001. The figure provides the whole development of the non-white population. In 1950s, Census “numbered less than 100,000 people”¹⁸ in comparison with 2001 when the total number reached 4,623,000 people. The difference is enormous. As it has been already mentioned, the expansion was caused mainly by the labour shortages in 1950s. Immigrants, in particular the Caribbean, arrived to fill the vacancies. As the figure shows, the continuous growth of this group begun during the 1950s and have been steadied since the 1970s. On the contrary, remaining groups have been continually growing. The groups with rapid growth are the Indians and Pakistanis. Despite the fact, the Bangladeshi population creates a smaller group, it has grown as well. The exception is the group of black Africans, since 1990s their number has doubled.

Figure (2.1): The Growth of Minority Ethnic Populations in Britain between 1951-2001



Source: http://sticerd.lse.ac.uk/dps/case/CBCB/census2_part1.pdf (accessed March 3, 2010).

The following (**Table 2.1**), as well, illustrates the development of immigrants settled in UK and compares the numbers from 1991 and 2001 Censuses. The minority ethnic groups representing the greatest growth are the Indians.

Table (2.1): Size of Ethnic Groups in Britain in 2001 with comparison to 1991

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

Source: http://sticerd.lse.ac.uk/dps/case/CBCB/census2_part1.pdf (accessed March 3, 2010).

As the table shows, in 1991 the number was 840,000 but in 2001 the number was already 1,052,000. The second largest group was shaped by the Pakistanis. In 1991, their population reached 477,000, while in 2001 the total number was 747,000. The third largest group was created in 2001 by the black Caribbean. The number grew from 500,000 to 566,000. The black African population represents a great change in the size. To be specific, from 212,000 black Africans living in the UK the number more than doubled and reached 485,000 in 2001. But still, the number is quite low, in comparison with the largest groups.

In spite of some racist violence, the first few decades of the 20th Century were moderately tolerant. For Watson (Watson 2000), the dominant white attached to a constant English sense of identity, believed that within a few generations' migrants would master English customs, and the public sphere would be preserved, whereas the original culture of immigrant groups.

According to Watson, references to acts of brutality and violence had the swelling effect of separating the Europeans from the non-Europeans. The large number of Commonwealth

immigrants in the UK who came to find better working opportunities and to provide better education for their children were not welcomed by the society nor by the Government in the belief that non-white others were accepted in their place, yet should not try to reach further than themselves, either through social mobility or intermarriage. Therefore, and in addition to the economic conditions of the time, a tension rose up within the white society and led to the sense of separation and the fear of the different cultures, habits and traditions represented by the commonwealth immigrants.

Furthermore, through the media; which involved descriptions of differences in physical appearance, beliefs, superstitions and further accounts of Oriental and African “other” as lacking in culture and civilization; mistrust was raised for the non-European. The hostility of this period was reflected in race riots, such as the Notting Hill Race Riot of 1958 (Ramdin2017).

Additionally, the existence of varied cultures in one society brings diversity in human life. “Cultural pluralism”, “cultural diversity” and “multiculturalism” are the most common terms used to define societies of various cultures, religions, languages and races. While “multiculturalism” approves the idea of difference and heterogeneity that is embodied in the concept of “diversity”, in modern societies, the state is generally recognised as a majority culture where cultures that are different from this majority are mostly regarded as minorities.

Accordingly, in 1966, Roy Jenkins, the Home Secretary at the time, promoted a policy of integration instead of assimilation. Public opinion since then supported ideas relating to integration policies, which credited other non-English cultures and religions. Such views are expressed in relation to questions regarding freedom of religious expression, multilingual education, the ingrained racism in English social and political institutions and colour-blindness. Later on, multicultural policies were adopted in the '70s and '80s, particularly

under Tony Blair's government (1997-2007), to find out how the state had important influence on the political accommodation of minority cultures with a focus on the heritage of colonialism and conquest. These policies provided both a platform for the state to reconsider the new composition of the nation, mainly the populations previously excluded from national memory.

Yet, the European citizens, since the European Union Treaty of 1992 (the Maastricht Treaty), are considered natives in any other EU Member State and are not subject to any integration policies in the EU country in which they reside; with the exception that they are not allowed to vote in the national parliament elections, therefore, they are not considered immigrants.

2.1.1.1. Immigrants Integration in the 20th Century Britain:

Immigrants from all over the world have lived in England for many centuries; the total numbers have generally been small before the Second World War, During the late 1940s and 1950s a rising number of black immigrants, coming from the Caribbean, India, Pakistan and Bangladesh, started to settle. By 2001, immigrants from South Asian countries (India, Pakistan and Bangladesh) comprised 3.6 percent of whole population. According to 2001 survey, ethnic minority population involved 7.9 percent of the entire UK population and the majority of them (over 2 million individuals) originated from South East Asian countries.

Labour migration, however, was the chief reason of immigration to England. In that Mason (1995) pointed out that 'in the year following the end of the Second World War, Britain suffered from a severe labour shortage; especially in unskilled jobs and in service industries such as transport ... these vacancies could only be filled by substantial immigration'. (Mason 1995, p. 24; Benfodda, 2020) For Weil, Crowley (1994) and Benfodda (2020), other reason of massive immigration to England was for filling up long term

demographic necessities. Nevertheless, since the end of World War II, immigrant population of England has increased swiftly and for the first time British government had to find out the suitable policies to control the stream of migration and correspondingly integrate immigrants into the growing multicultural English society.

However, the British policies have occasionally given importance to integrationist approach; the most important decisions were taken in 1960s. Prominent Race Relation Acts (1965, 1968 and 1976) were passed to integrate immigrants and allow cultural diversity in an air of common tolerance. These policies derived from 150 years of religious and cultural discord since the beginning of the eighteenth century. Nonetheless the major change began when a mounting number of black immigrants settled in England after Second World War. As a result, policy makers adopted the race relation approach to deal with the rising ethnic minorities. Such policies were inspired by a study of US institutions to achieve racial equality for black Americans (Rex 1998; Benfodda, 2020). These Race Relation Acts aimed at avoiding discrimination and promoting multiculturalism.

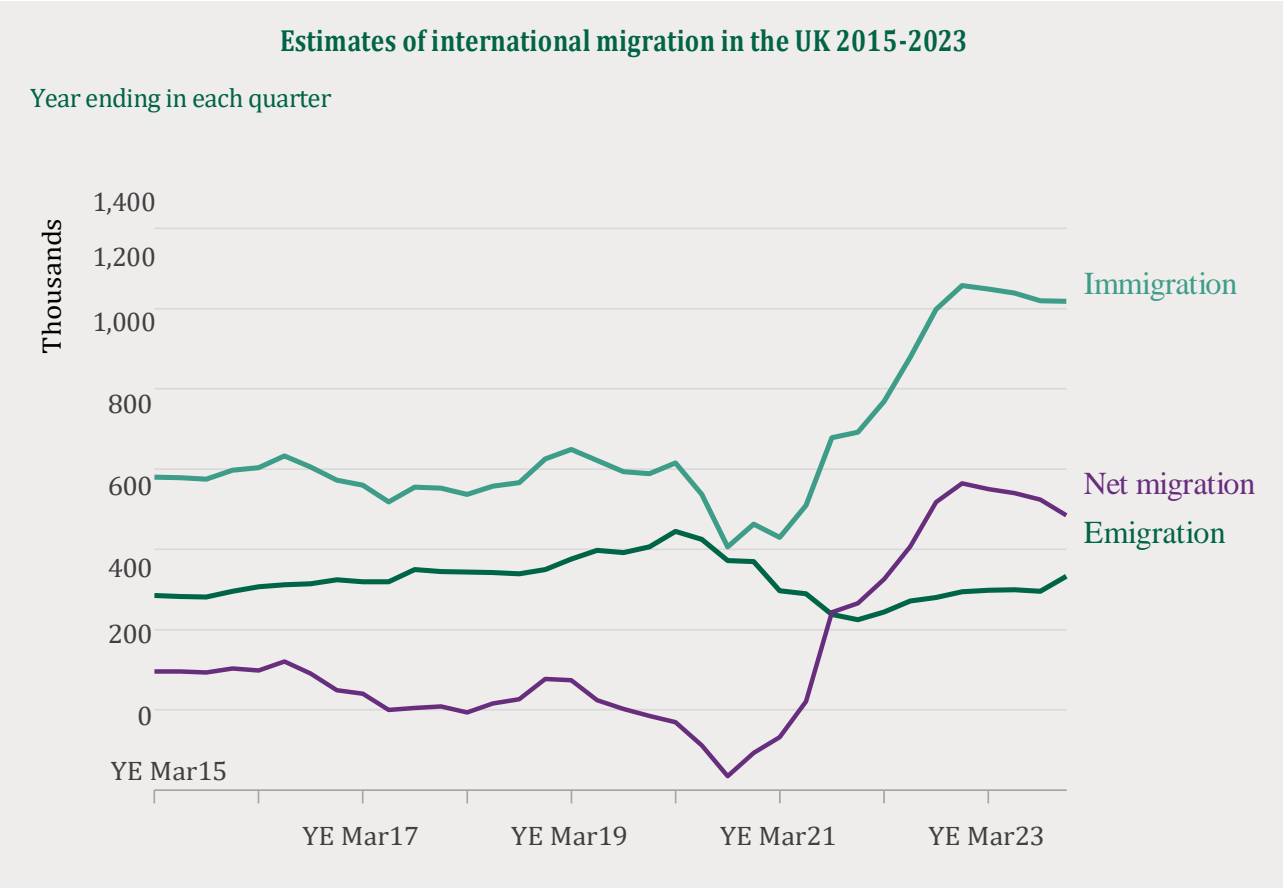
2.1.2. Immigration in the 21st Century Britain

In the YE June 2023, the top five non-EU nationalities for immigration flows into the UK were: Indian (253,000), Nigerian (141,000), Chinese (89,000), Pakistani (55,000) and Ukrainian (35,000). From 2010 to 2019, major immigration to the UK came from the European Union. After Brexit, EU immigration to the UK declined. In 2022, a shift – out of 1.3 million visas, only 47,000 went to EU nationals. Meanwhile, migration from South and East Asia increased significantly, with noticeable rises from the Middle East and Sub-Saharan Africa.

Since 1998, the number of people immigrating to the UK has historically increased to a

high level with immigration exceeding emigration in every year between 1998 and 2020. Yet, there was considerably less immigration during the Covid-19 pandemic than previous years Britain in the 21st century. The following chart represents a ‘close-up’ of the international immigration estimates between 2015 and 2023. The following **figure (2.2)** illustrates annual totals for the Year Ending in each quarter.

Figure (2.2): The International Migration to the UK between 2015 and 2023



Sources: This figure is cited in House of Commons, Migration Statistics, 24 May 2024; which is extracted from: ONS, Provisional long-term international migration estimates, Year Ending March 2020, ONS, long-term international migration, provisional: Year Ending December, 23 May 2024.

As the chart shows, there was a plunge in net- migration during 2020 and the first half of 2021 because of the changes in movement patterns during Covid-19 pandemic, before immigration rose to a record high in the YE December 2022. Nevertheless, the

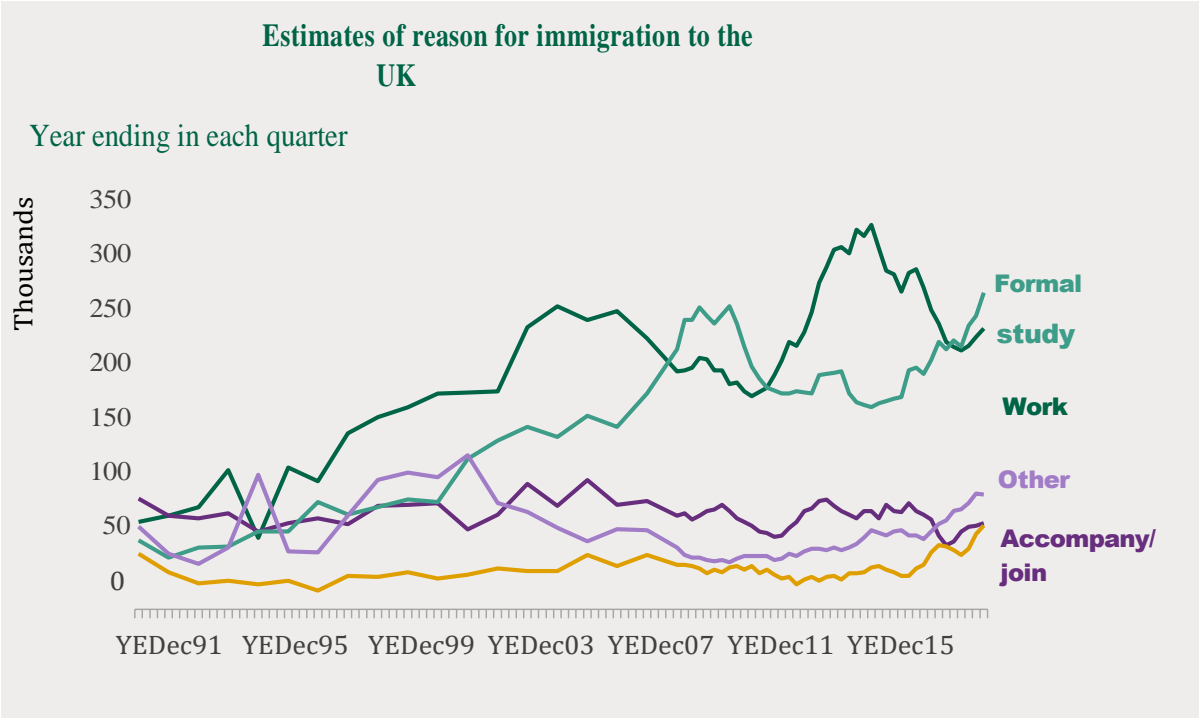
period leading up to the end of 2022 has been described as ‘unique’ by the ONS since it involved the start of two large-scale ‘bespoke’ migration routes: the Ukraine humanitarian and the Hong Kong British National, as well as, coinciding with resumed international travel after the pandemic.

Immigration to the UK in the 21st century is identified by three major types of immigrants’ categories, as the ONS has suggested in the YE June 2023. Hence, 07% of the people who immigrate to Britain are British nationals from different parts of the UK. The second category is EU immigrants representing 11% of the total immigration population. Whereas, the last category are non-EU immigrants with a rate of about 82% of the total immigration population.

Two main reasons are behind immigration in the current 21st century; the most common and first main reason is for study (36%), while the second main one is for work with a slight rate difference (32%). This is due to new UK immigration policies such as visa issues which reduce the number of visa to students of tier four.

The following **figure (2.3)** illustrates that study overtook work as the most main common reason of immigration in the 21st century. As the figure shows, study was the most first common reason in the period between 2009 and 2012. Yet, the reduction in the number of student’s visa issued reflected the number of people who immigrates for study reasons. In 2019, study once again overtook work as the main common reason for immigration to the UK.

Figure (2.3): The reasons behind Immigration to the UK between in the 21st Century



Sources: This figure is cited in House of Commons, Migration Statistics, 24 May 2024; which is extracted from: Provisional long-term international migration estimates, Year Ending March 2020 and LTIM data,.

In 2023, around 84,000 people who immigrate to the UK were asylum seekers, 42,000 were Ukrainian arriving under the bespoke schemes and 4,000 were resettled to the UK; whereas, 10,000 were granted refugee family reunion visa. Therefore, around 11% of the total immigration in the UK were asylum seekers and refugees.

Apart from other students’ visa issues to deal with the problem of immigration in the 21st century the UK government reconsidered a new immigration system based on the economic immigrants which aimed, for the country, to manage the economic immigration with advantages to the country ‘s economy and society, as well . The development during the following years suggested; that the policy aimed at measuring mainly economic immigrants, has been going on. Safe Haven report became a help for creation of Nationality, Immigration and Asylum Act 2002. Hence, the perception towards the immigration seems to be changing

radically during the first years of the 21st century. Home Office published the Government's document called "Secure Borders, Safe Haven: Integration with Diversity in Modern Britain."

Accordingly, individuals, seeking British citizenship would, now, be required to meet prerequisites: 'sufficient knowledge of a language', 'sufficient knowledge of life in the United Kingdom' and taking up a Citizenship Oath and a pledge at a civil ceremony." In other word, the newcomers applying for British citizenship have the obligation to prove they do understand the language, and they do recognize the bases of British way of life (the British lifestyles). These are the first steps that can help immigrants eliminate the problems with integration while preserving their diverse character and multicultural background. Home Secretary stresses that "we must uphold basic human rights, tackling the racism and prejudice which people still face too often. At the same time, those coming into our country have duties that they need to understand and which facilitate their acceptance and integration', besides, "we need to develop a sense of civic identity and shared values, and knowledge of the English language..."

Hence, the aim of this policy is to support the process of integration of the newcomers into the host society with a concentrates on the special needs of the newcomers resulting from their recent arrival. The example of such needs can be the need of language courses, improvement of the knowledge of the British institutions and others. Therefore, the new British citizens would be to demonstrate knowledge of the English language, acquiescence with British way of life as well as the making of a public commitment to the common values and democratic principles which, indeed, reflects a concerted move towards integration and away from multiculturalism.

Consequently, multicultural policies were adopted in the '70s and '80s, particularly under Tony Blair's government (1997-2007), to define both the problems and promises of

living in a post-colonial blend. Such policies related to questions of how the state had important influence on the political accommodation of minority cultures. These multicultural politics tried to focus on the heritage of colonialism and conquest. They provided both a platform for the state to reconsider the new composition of the nation, mainly the populations previously excluded from national memory.

On their behalf, Public opinion; since then, supported ideas relating to integration policies, which credited other non- English cultures and religions. Such views are expressed in relation to questions regarding freedom of religious expression, multilingual education, the ingrained racism in English social and political institutions and colour-blindness. All these questions emerged around the effort to settle a principle of difference within equality. Moreover, the debates still resound in the government chambers; intercultural marriage, black and Asian novelists, cultural fusion in music and cuisine, films and television, all show that English society is undertaking a major change in its attitude to cultural identity.

2.2. Immigrants Integration in the 21st Century Britain:

Immigrants' integration is the process by which immigrants and their children come to feel and become participants in the life of their country of destination, and in its schools, workplaces, and communities. Governments' policies, initiatives, and programmes help determine immigrants' opportunities to participate in society, as well as their guarantees to the same rights and responsibilities as those of the native born. Immigrants' integration policy explores many facts: from citizenship and language acquisition to access to education, the workforce, accommodation and more.

Yet, immigrants' integration is a controversial topic. According to Rauhut and Esleves (2021), an immigrant can feel integrated in the community in which he resides and the host society; however, may not consider the immigrant as being integrated. Conversely, the host

society may accept the immigrant as an integrated individual, while the immigrants themselves do not perceive such feeling of being integrated. Hence, ‘while integration means that two entities merge and form a new community’ (Beckman, 2011; Oliver and Gidley, 2015; Peninx, 2009 cited in Rauhut, 2023, p 4), much of the debate is in fact how different immigrants are from natives, and that the differences or gaps between natives and immigrants in areas such as unemployment, employment and income should be closed’ (Ruist, 2022 cited in Rauhut, 2023, p

2.2.1. Immigrants Conditions :

2.2.1.1. Socio-economic Conditions :

Britain, for a long time, was perceived as homogenous entity. Yet, it is now characterised by pluralism and diversity. There has been a particular space created through the formal and the informal labour market, which shaped social formation. It is now characterised by ethnic and cultural difference. the extent of social integration, Britain have suggested that increasing the number of meaningful social interactions between people of different background; natives and white and non-white immigrants, could lead to many positive outcomes for both society and economy including increased levels of trust between people; and thus reveal race issues; better health outcomes, less social isolation and better outcomes for job seekers.

To enhance immigrants’ socio-economic integration, the British government endeavored policies to improve race equality and eradicate social discrimination from the active labour market. Rauhut stated that ‘the integration of immigration entails the process of economic mobility and social inclusion, as such integration touches upon the institutions and mechanism that promote development and growth within society’ (Laurensyeva & Venturini; 2017, Rauhut; 2023, p 4). Hence, the institutions and mechanism that contribute in the development of the country is to be sum up in the access to social welfare including early

childhood education, workforce development, health care and the provision of government services to multilingual communities.

Yet, throughout the 1970s and 1980s, a serious problem within the non-white communities arose; a combination of socio-economic deprivation, unemployment, lack of English language skill, and widespread racism, since the fact that they were so less educated that they were needed only fill up unskilled manual labour shortage in England. This resulted in being classified at the lowest hierarchy in social and economic status. According to Modood, immigrants are limited to low-skilled jobs because they are returning to their pre-migration occupational levels (Modood, 1999; Benfodda, 2020).

So far, unemployment rate of “non-white” immigrants is at last twice, some times more than three times, as high as those for white people and it is highest among Bangladeshi, Pakistani and the Black-Africans. The ongoing problems of non-white communities can be clearly highlighted by Riots that the city of London and later Brixton had witness in the 1980s.

Hence, the government based a new approach towards the immigrants’ integration which, first, aims at a vision of creating the ‘multicultural society’ as a liberal approach towards different cultural identities, in the concept of respecting cultural diversities, values and traditions of ethnic communities. Second, to improve the National Curriculum so as to get children acquainted with cultural diversities, on one hand and , and to concentrate on special needs of non-white children, such as improvement of English language skills, on the other hand. It was assumed that legislation preventing discrimination together with new National Curriculum would overcome the current community problems.

So far, the economic impact of immigration has been rather positive regarding the complementarity of foreign labour, the survival and even expansion of certain sectors, growth in consumption, the strengthening of insurance systems and the public budge. Yet, it imposed

highly political issues; labour market issues

According to a paper of research consensus published by the government in 2018, While a small amount of immigration into high-skilled work may be beneficial to UK GDP per capita and productivity, most migrants (about 70%) were working in low and medium-skilled roles in 2016. The immigrant population in the UK added £4.3 billion to the UK's fiscal deficit in between the years 2016 and 2017. The following table illustrated the contribution of the immigration population to the UK economy.

Table (2.2): Estimates of fiscal impact of immigration on the UK economy

Migrant Cohort	Author	Fiscal Impact	Time Frame
All Immigration	OECD	-£4.3bn	Average 2007-2009
	UCL (CReAM)	-£14.8bn	2011/12
	MWUK	-£13bn to -£17bn	2014/15
Recent Non-EU Immigration	UCL (CReAM)	-£2.2bn	2011/12
	MWUK	-£3.8bn	2014/15
Recent EU14 Immigration	UCL (CReAM)	£1.4 bn	2011/12
	MWUK	£2.8 bn	2014/15
Recent Eastern European Immigration	UCL (CReAM)	-£138m	2011/12
	MWUK	-£1.5bn	2014/15

The **table (2.2)** above shows that the fiscal impact of migrants depends on two factors: the time scale selected and the origin of the migrants. This is because more recent migrants are often less reliant on services than longer-term residents and people from different country groupings have very different economic profiles. For this reason, assessments of the fiscal impact of migrants tend to be broken down by the following citizenship groups: EU14, EU10, Non-EU; and the following time scales: all migrants

regardless of year of arrival, and recent arrivals (those who arrived since 2001). A number of studies have found that non-EU and Eastern European immigration have been a net fiscal cost, while recent migrants from the EU14 represented a fiscal benefit.

2.2.1.2. Laws of Citizenship:

The term citizenship refers to the state of having the right of a person born in a particular country. It also carries out the duties and responsibilities of member of a particular society.

The 2016 British exit (Brexit) referendum was mainly about cultural pluralism, nationalism and citizenship. These various characteristics of modern Britain interacted with each other in ways that related directly to the vote. Yet citizenship was a vital issue for many voters; the majority of those who voted were citizens of both Britain and the European Union. Therefore, the Brexit referendum was somewhat directed by these different citizenships; many “Remain” voters identified as European. Nevertheless, citizenship was not just representative, it had both economic and political facets driven by valued legal rights.

Fundamental tensions between them were aggravated by the weight of immigration in the referendum campaign, the democratic deficit within the European Union (EU) and the longer-term corrosion of the welfare state. Support for the EU was higher among some demographics, particularly younger voters, university graduates and higher earners, who were more likely to advantage the freedom of movement guaranteed by their EU citizenship. (Ashcroft and Bevir 2016; Benfodda, 2020)

Nevertheless, many who wanted to restrict immigration believed it had conflicting economic outcomes for those who struggled to compete with highly movable labour within the EU. Thus, anxieties founded on the view that the welfare state was menaced by immigration, increased. However, economic and social rights granted during the postwar

extension of British citizenship progressively deteriorated by austerity.

Besides, many who voted “Leave” worried about the future of British political sovereignty and the decline of democratic receptiveness within EU organisations. Undoubtedly, an important number of British people believed that the economic and political rights they took for granted, as part of their British citizenship, were weakened by their status as EU citizens. (ibid.) Therefore, altered evaluations of plural forms of citizenship were a central part of Brexit vote.

In general, cultural pluralism and discordance over the consequences of multiculturalism, disengagement between different forms of national and supranational identities and different evaluations of the economic and political value of multiple citizenships, all were vital to Brexit referendum.

2.2.1.3. Housing:

According to the massive wave of immigration that strike Britain after the Second World War, immigrants had little access to suitable housing. Therefore, they either had to live in poor private rental properties or buy cheap attached housing in deteriorating internal city. Yet, this situation has been changed significantly (Rex and Moore, 1967; in Benfodda doctorate thesis, 2020) since Britain based new policies to improve the immigrants’ living conditions and their access to housing freehold. In this sense as noted Harrison and Phillips,

“The UK has a stated multi-cultural policy, which aims to respond to cultural diversity through its housing policy whilst widening minority ethnic housing choices. Local government and social housing organisations are statutorily obliged to develop housing strategies which promote race equality and respond to the diverse social and cultural needs and preferences of migrant and minority ethnic groups. Housing providers set out a long-term vision for local minority ethnic communities, set targets for measuring performance and seek to integrate

these with regional ethnic minority strategies. (Harrison and Philips 2005, p. 88; Benfodda doctorate thesis, 2020)

According to 1991 survey, the quality of housing as well as the number of householder immigrants differed among diverse immigrant groups. There was a considerable difference in house-ownership and the housing conditions. This distinction is rooted to the level of immigrants' income. Hence, those who earned more get more comfortable houses of the time, and vice vises. Later on, the situation of immigrants' house holding started to be changed in terms of quality and patterns.

For most of the 20th century the number of households rose faster than population growth. Households in 1911 had an average of more than four people per dwelling, but this fell to just fewer than 2.4 by 2022. Therefore, the explosion of the immigration population growth has, recently, worsened the demand for accommodation and resulted in a housing crisis. Government analysis suggests that high immigration since the late 1990s helped to drive up house prices by a fifth. As a government minister put it recently: "It is obvious that a rising population due to net migration puts pressure on housing supply, ultimately leading to rising prices". The 2018 data, suggest that immigration at a level of net migration to England which is around half the present level would account for a majority (57%) of additional households during the 25 years until 2043. The following chart represents statistics about net migration to the UK between 1996 and 2022.

Figure(2.4): Net migration to the UK, 1996 to 2022 (ONS long-term migration estimates).

Net migration to the UK, 1996 to 2022



Source: Migration Watch UK, 08 June 2023

The **figure (2.4)** shows that between 1996 and 2022, net migration from overseas to the UK has run at an average level of 190,000 per year. However, the five-year average level has tripled from 113,000 between 1996 and 2000 to 347,000 between 2018 and 2022. The record level of net migration for the UK was reached in 2022 when 606,000 more people immigrated to the UK than emigrated – more than double the average net migration level during the twenty years before that, which was about a quarter of a million.

By which the other factors that worsen more the housing crisis in the UK is arrival of the considerable number of refugees, asylum seekers and illegal immigrants, as it is recorded in Migration Watch UK of June 2023,

“Given the UK was already in the midst of an acute housing shortage, it is relevant to ask why the government enacted policy changes that would drive immigration up to levels never seen before in British history. Ministers despite having been elected on clear and repeated manifesto promises to do the very

opposite. As the number of arrivals from abroad continues to rise very sharply due to record work, study and family visas, refugee immigration running into hundreds of thousands per year and the untrammelled flow of illegal boats across the English Channel, the UK's housing crisis has no end in sight. It is set to worsen unless urgent action is taken now to significantly lower the level of immigration to the UK.”

In other word, lack of affordable housing worldwide is becoming a global crisis. Over the last decades, housing prices have grown faster than the incomes in most countries of the OECD, Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development. Many immigrants are, particularly, lack of access to this right because of the rapid influx of new arrivals that contribute to the cities shortage of homes.

2.2.1.4. Education:

Education is meant to prepare the individual for future occupational positions. The youth should be enabled to play a productive role in society provided that they are well educated. Multicultural Education refers to any form of education or teaching that incorporates the histories, texts, values, beliefs, and perspectives of people from different cultural backgrounds.

Whilst it is a well known fact that ‘education is a key to improving social and cultural identity for any nation, Britain considered, and still, ‘education’ a key to improving social and cultural integration within a multicultural society, that it tended to. According to Oakleigh, ‘schools are invested with an integrative and socialising role, by equipping young people with the knowledge, skills, and credentials to successfully belong and participate in society, economically and politically, in the future (Oakleigh Welply; 2022)

Hence, adopting a concrete school curriculum is the key route to improving social and cultural integration. In this regard, Britain launched The 1944 Education Act which set the school-leaving age at 15 years old and introduced the free secondary schools. Education, now is offered to all children of all background, instead of only for those who could afford it, the Britons. The 1944 Education Act permitted children, white and non-white, acquainted with cultural diversities, and improve the standard basis particularly, the English language, for the non-white children.

Yet, the 1970s witnessed a high school failure rate among the young Jamaicans which strengthened the idea that native citizens had of people of diverse cultures. This raised a debate in the parliament room in England. 'Margaret Thatcher', the Prime Minister at that time, asked 'Lord Swann' to write a report on the issue that was published in 1985 under the title: Education for All. The authors stressed the importance of integrating the contribution that cultural minorities make in the school curriculum. The UK, then, based its policy on the acknowledgement of ethnicity because of the social discrimination that minorities' underprivileged. It, therefore, British authorities adapt a policy confessed to the existence of minority groups and to foster their integration through, for example, translate many administrative documents and forms into the minorities' main languages, which proved to be damaging to their linguistic integration.

Yet, the education integration policy began to be change in the beginning of the 21 St Century. Since 2001, the UK started to orient its policy towards 'civic education lessons' (citizens' classes) which aimed to raise the awareness of young immigrants of different origins of British history and the English language. David Blunkett's, the Home Secretary, policy of the denominational schools was to raise aggravating segregation and mutual prejudice between the communities.

Since the 2000's several personalities have said that the denominational schools were

aggravating segregation and mutual prejudice between the communities. Hence, the 2000s emerged trend debates against denominational schools, which recruited pupils exclusively from a particular religion.

Furthermore, The Nationality, Immigration and Asylum Act of 2002 put forward the symbolic strengthening of nationality and the tightening of the asylum policy resulted in the introduction of a 'citizens' test' for people seeking nationality which aim was to test the level of English and knowledge of the institutions, the history and laws of Britain on the part of the applicants in addition to ceremony during which new citizens swear allegiance to the Queen.

Following the urban 'riots' of 2001; which affected some underprivileged areas, and the assassination of 'Theo Van Gogh' 2004 by a Islamist young person led to the rise of racist incidents against the Muslim community. Hence, several voices were raised in support of a more inclusive integration system and pushed the country's leaders to adopt a new integration policy in April 2004 which based on introducing the integration and language tests; that were used to assess the immigrant's degree of cultural integration; for those seeking nationality.

Education and the role of schools have been positioned centrally around immigration and integration, in which they occupy a paradoxical place. Schools are invested with an integrative and socio-economic role, by equipping young people having an 'immigrant background' with the knowledge, skills, and qualifications to successfully belong and participate in society, economically and politically, in the future.

2.2.1.5. Job Opportunities:

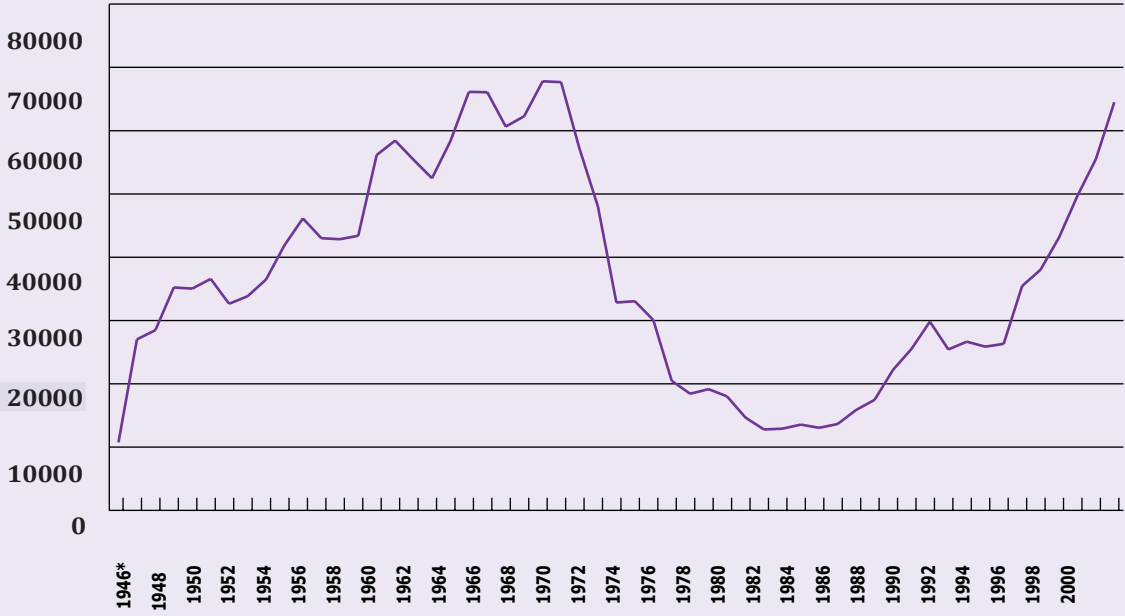
2.2.1.5.1. Employment and Poverty

As to conquer the great damage of WWII aftermath and restore the country, Britain opened doors for immigrants of several diverse races to fill the gap of manual labour shortage which resulted in the massive wave of immigrants to flow into the UK and, thus, massive

immigrants workers. Yet, immigrants tend to work in jobs in which natives were unwilling to do; hard dangerous jobs with low wages that kept immigrants in an economical precarious situation under which employers welcomed and were very intensive to keep it that way. As Britain tackled integration issues related to education, housing, socio-economy, and citizenship; employment was significant matter to tackle, too.

So far, the need to rebuild the Empire led about 170,000 citizens from Eastern European countries to be displaced into employment in the UK between the years 1945 and 1950 in addition to 136,000 foreigners from Western Europe under a ‘work permit’; a system which was established in the years 1919-1920 (Department of Employment, 1977), most ‘work permits’ went to unskilled and semi-skilled workers. The following **Figure (2.5)** illustrates the number of work permits.

Figure (2.5): Number of work permits and first permissions issued 1946-2000 (excluding trainees)



Source: Department of Employment (1977); UK SOPEMI Reports (annual)

The **Figure (2.5)** above provides that work permit issues rose along between 1946 and 1970 that’s because of the series of reconstructions Britain was dealing with

to enhance the country. Hence, most workers were unskilled or semi-skilled to be applied as manual (in construction of accommodation, railways ...etc.) and clerical (in domestic services such as household server, in buses...etc) workers .The scale started to plunge in the years after. Yet, the trend of immigration changed to fall down in the years between 1971 to1995-96, then to fluctuate an upward trend in the years after.

This remarkable discount in the number of work permits is relatively rooted to need for the proportions of professional and managerial workers instead of that of the manual and clerical workers. the 1971 Immigration Act assemble controls under which work permits for jobs in industry and commerce were not issued for unskilled and semi-skilled immigrants from non-EEC nor from Commonwealth counties. Hence, the new work permit issued immigrants to have both a specific job to come to and a skill or qualification needed for that job as the UK economy emerged strongly from recession to and went into a period of sustained.

The **Table (2.3)** below highlights the variation of immigrants’ inflow into the UK based on proportions of professional and managerial workers instead of that of the manual and clerical workers in the years 1975-99.

Table (2.3): Inflow of employed migrants by occupational group 1975-99

	Professional & Managerial		Manual & Clerical	
	Thousands	Percent	Thousands	Percent
1975-79	242.0	55.3	195.6	44.7
1980-84	246.9	60.5	161.1	39.5
1985-89	341.9	61.2	217.1	38.8
1990-94	380.4	60.3	250.1	39.7
1995-99	516.2	63.3	298.7	36.7
Total	1727.4	60.6	1122.6	39.4

Source: Home Office December 2021

As it is clearly seen in the **Table (2.3)**, unlike the proportion of the professional and managerial workers; which rose up to 60% in the 1980s, the proportion of manual and clerical workers plunged to under 38% in the in the same period.

Yet, the alteration in the job proportion had a great impact on minority groups in Britain, accordingly. At the start of New Labour's first term, the 1997 Fourth National Survey of Ethnic Minorities revealed that at each level of educational qualification, unemployment levels for Black Caribbean and Pakistani/Bangladeshi men and women were higher than for white men and women. Similar statistics were noticed for male professional attainment and average earnings. (Modood et al. 1997; Benfodda, 2020); in addition to Chinese and Africans (according to Berthoud Analysis of the Family Resources Survey in 1998), though, the analyses found that the higher average earnings was for working Chinese, they represented a larger proportion of poor immigrants compared with poor white families as the Chinese family member was larger. The African sample was found to prove worse than Caribbeans and was considerably poorer than white families. Results of other ethnic groups were generally similar to those of the Fourth National Survey of Ethnic Minorities. There were very high levels of unemployment among Pakistani and Bangladeshi families as there were much lower levels of average earnings even in work (Benfodda, 2020).

Furthermore, there was a greater tendency of self-employment. Rates demonstrated that there was the greater number to work for oneself was among Indians and Pakistanis compared with that of the native born white population. Qualitative evidence indicated that this was a positive choice amongst Indians while, for Pakistanis, it was related to poor employment expectations (Metcalf, Modood and

Virdee 1996, Benfodda, 2020). Surprisingly, white foreign born 35+ men and Irish immigrants were more likely to be self-employed than native whites. Obviously, among blacks, self-employment was not considered as an escape itinerary from discrimination.

2.2.1.5. 2. Unemployment:

The demand for qualified professional workers, which is a condition that most of the minority group's immigrants did not perform, resulted in the spread of unemployment issue among these groups with a slight variation within ethnic races. Therefore, men of Indian and Chinese origin performed better than other minority ethnic groups in terms of unemployment, earnings and occupational achievement (Cabinet Office 2001); the average Indian man was 1.64 times unemployed compared with the average white man, with black men 2.51 times and Pakistani/Bangladeshi men 2.85 times. While, Indian men earned average weekly wages £23 lower than their white counterparts, growing to £81 for Caribbean men, £132 for African men and £129 for Pakistani and Bangladeshi men. Correspondingly, the average Indian man was 0.61 times as likely to be in a professional or managerial position as the average white man, and the statistics were even lower for Pakistani and Bangladeshi men (0.56) and black men (0.36). The current was generally similar for women, though only the foreign-born faced an ethnic earnings disadvantage (Cabinet Office 2001).

Furthermore, the ILO unemployment rate of white natives decreased by 2.57 percent because of increasing number of years of education by two and that of non-white natives by 1.33 percent. For the average white immigrant, two more years of education diminished the predicted ILO unemployment rate by 2.26 percent and that of non-white immigrants by 1.27 percent. Obviously, non-whites faced more difficulties converting their education into professions.

In addition, changing the years of labour market experience made slight difference to ILO unemployment rates of the white groups. Young non-white native born were more likely to be unemployed in the labour market. There was a significant growth in the possibility of being unemployed for single, over men and fathers of several dependent children. Non-white immigrants faced a higher rate in ILO unemployment, at 41 percent. Yet, this rate decreased over the first 5-10 years in local labour market knowledge since skills were acquired, but it never converged to that of white natives. Besides, ILO unemployment rates differed steadily across the English regions; for all groups, living in the South was linked to the lowest unemployment rates, whereas living in London considerably increased the probability of unemployment for each group.

Another factor which played an important role in determining unemployment rate is the country of birth of immigrants. Hence, white immigrants having been born in West, Central and East Africa, the USA or Canada, New Zealand and Australia resulted in the lowest unemployment rates; however, whites born in the rest of the world (Italy, North West and South West Europe) were also less likely to be unemployed than the average white immigrant male. Those born in Germany, South East Europe, India, Hong Kong, Malaysia and Singapore, experienced ILO unemployment rates at 12.2 percent. Non-white immigrants were more likely to be out of work than an average white immigrant. Immigrants from Kenya had the lowest rates, with immigrants from the Western industrialized countries of North America, Europe and Australasia, Uganda, South Africa, Sri Lanka, India. However, immigrants from Jamaica and the Caribbean were nearly 3 percent percentage points more likely to be unemployed than an average non-white foreign born male, while those from Pakistan, the Middle East and North Africa and West Africa had ILO unemployment rates of approximately 25 percent. Non-whites from Bangladesh (26.9 percent) and Central and East Africa (32.2 percent) had the highest ILO unemployment rates

of all maleimmigrants, mainly due to poor quality of schooling and labour market skills, great difficulties transferring the human capital acquired before migration, or had little knowledge of the English language.

Unemployment was reflected by foreign born blacks and mixed/other groups who still involved in full-time education and post-graduate studies. The inferior activity rates reported for Indian native born, Irish and Pakistani foreign born, showed that these groups increased probabilities of being long-term sick or unable to work. The following **Table (2.4)** demonstrates unemployment rate within ethnic groups in Britain in 1991

Table (2.4): Unemployment Rates by Ethnic Group, in the UK, 1991

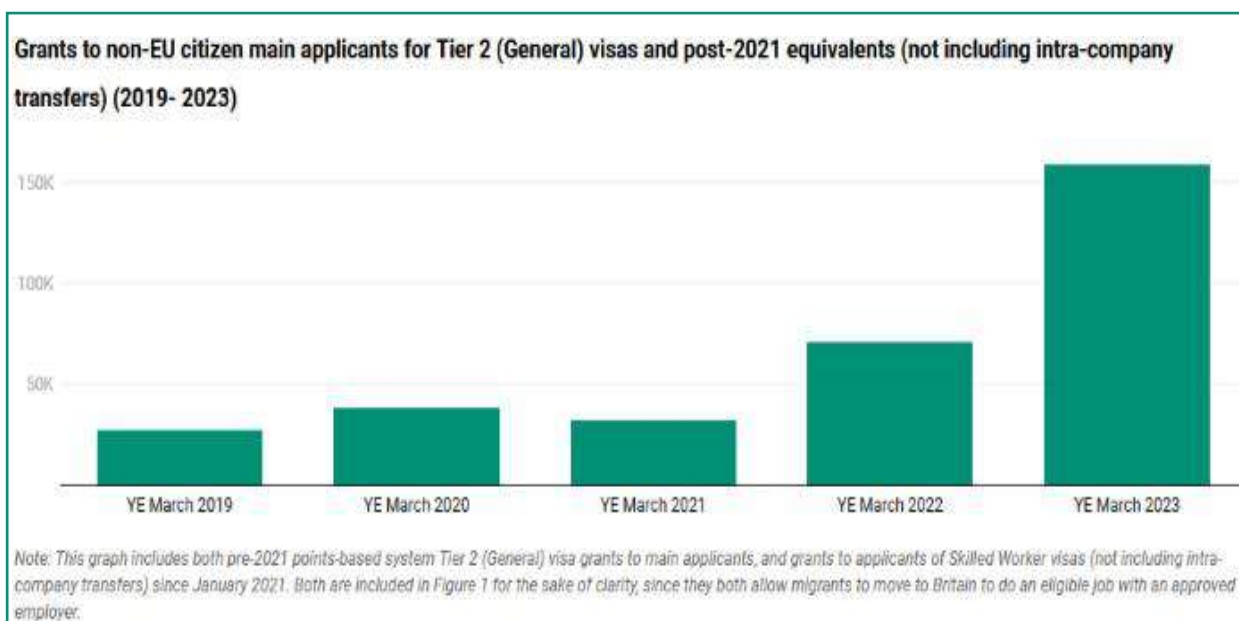
Ethnic Groups	Unemployed (thousands)	Unemployment rates		
		Persons (%)	Males (%)	Females (%)
White	2,246.1	8.8	10.7	6.3
Ethnic Minorities	238.4	18.3	20.3	15.6
Black	94.0	21.1	25.2	16.6
Black-Caribbean	53.8	18.9	23.8	13.5
Black-African	26.1	27.0	28.9	24.7
Black-Other	14.1	22.2	25.5	18.3
South Asian	105.0	18.2	19.2	16.5
Indian	51.7	13.1	13.4	12.7
Pakistani	40.1	28.8	28.5	29.6
Bangladeshi	13.2	31.7	30.9	34.5
Chinese and others	39.4	14.1	15.5	12.1
Chinese	7.0	9.5	10.5	8.3
Other-Asian	12.8	13.4	14.2	12.3
Other-Other	19.5	17.7	19.7	14.8
Entire population	2,484.5	9.3	11.2	6.8

Source: Owen 1993

The table above displays the rate of unemployment within ethnic groups in Britain in 1991, the highest rate is represented by the Black; particularly the Black Caribbean

Recently, the Conservative election manifesto in 2019 stated that attracting highly skilled workers would be a key policy objective. The government's aim was to make the UK "a magnet for the best and brightest", meaning that "there will be fewer lower-skilled migrants" and "overall numbers will come down". Yet, this policy Net migration is now at a record high of 606,000, up from 219,000 in 2019. This is the highest number on record, demonstrating that the UK government has failed to deliver on its repeated promise to control and reduce immigration. Post-Brexit changes to the UK immigration system have expanded work visas on a scale never previously experienced. The Skilled Worker visa is the main work route under which the UK's new 'points- system based on. It was introduced in 2020 and has replaced a visa previously known as Tier 2. Unlike the Tier 2 visa, there is no maximum amount of time that can be spent in the UK on a Skilled Worker visa, provided the leave remains valid. **The figure (2.6)** below embodies visa grants to non-EU immigrant workers

Figure (2.6): Grants to non-EU citizen main applicants for Tier 2 (General) visas and post-2021 equivalents (not including intra-company transfers) (2019- 2023)



Source: Migration Watch UK- jobs and welfare- December 2023

Figure (2.6) above demonstrates that 159,000 skill-related work visas were granted to non-EU nationals in 2022-23, a nearly six-fold increase from 27,000 visas issued in 2018/19.

Simultaneously, in the workplace of the 21st century Britain, still there is progress to be made; 60% of ethnic minorities feel that there are professions that are harder to progress in if you are from an ethnic minority background. The police force has a particular challenge on their hands to improve representation; one in four minorities feel that being a police officer is the hardest to progress in as an ethnic minority, stated David Lammy, a Member of Parliament for Tottenham, 2017

2.3. Politics of Multiculturalism:

Since the 1950s, Britain had been affected by an intensive degree of immigrants, and since then, the government had stated, and continued seeking, ways to control the overflowing of immigrants into the country. Yet, the strategies the government dealt with were not successful; hence, the solution was to bestow much more consideration to the immigrants living into the country and quit the tension raised up through the contradiction between the Britons and non-Britons citizens. The combination of diverse cultures, multiethnic groups and

native citizens led to many conflicts, opened first, in Notting Hill and Nottingham in 1958 when the non-white led a clash against the Caribbean. This clash resulted in the riot in which many non-white were injured.

Racism, segregation and discrimination started to find the route for many other conflicts. The governments, then, realised that a new approach 'towards a multicultural society' would consolidate the situation. According to Benfodda (2020), conformist governance models of assimilation, segregation, and separation are constantly disputed by diversity politics of difference that claims new policies of living together in practical and equitable ways. In that sense stated Han, 'If the government should act, it should be through policies targeting immigrants to become assimilated to achieve social stability' (Han, 2010; Rauhut, 2023).

Different nationalities need to be socialised into the multicultural society under the State which is the only actor to implement and uphold the identity politics following multiculturalism (Han, 2010; Rauhut, 2023) and redistributing political and economic powers (Song, 2020; Rauhut, 2023) Therefore, the politics of governance is at the forefront of public debate over managing diversity and difference. Consequently, governments have begun to revisit their public policies and governance rules (Benfodda, 2020). Relations between minorities and majorities have shifted accordingly, with rearrangement varying between countries and evolving over time (Watt 2006; Kymlicka, 2007; Benfodda, 2020). Together with superdiversity, multiculturalism focuses on co-existence and building a new society 'together' with the immigrants and minority populations (Taylor, 1994; Rauhut, 2023)

According to Vertovec (2018: 177-178), "Social cohesion and national identity can coexist with valuing diversity in the public sphere, as well as offering programmes to recognise and support cultural traditions, and institutional structures to provide ethnic minority community representation" (Vertovec, 2018: 177-178; Rauhut, 2023). This is

expected to foster multiculturalism and advance social justice for migrants and their descendants (Rauhut, 2023). Vertovec and Wessendorf (2010) express an optimism for the future of multicultural ideals, and this conviction stems from the real need for accommodation of the social and cultural diversity of modern European societies (Vertovec and Wessendorf, 2010; Rauhut, 2023).

Hence, in the same sense affirms Benfodda (2020), “The management of diversity and difference under multicultural governance is increasing to the vanguard of global political programmes. In the past, nation-states were ruled by a majority national group who adopted the state for self-serving purposes, in contrast to the present politics of governance that no longer tolerate mono-cultural agenda” (Benfodda, 2020). Therefore, ethnic variety rather than mono-cultural uniformity characterises the demographics of most modern societies, resulting in deep social gaps because of religious prejudice, economic and cultural differences, intergroup competition, and historical hatreds (Peleg 2007; Benfodda, 2020).

Yet, to incorporate those who are of different skills, language, traditions, and religion under a culturally homogenous state is a cruel barrier challenging in accommodating the legitimate demand of unity and diversity. According to Abbas (2005), ‘the notion of multiculturalism with its corresponding concept of accommodating those who do not share the dominant cultural ethos is not without consequences (Abbas, 2005; Benfodda, 2020). Therefore, politicisation of different, cultural and religious minorities is challenging conformist notion of governance (Koenig 1999; Shachar 2007; Benfodda, 2020). Consequently, new governance alterations are growing that include minority rights and identity claims without revoking the values of social justice and national unity (Inglis, 1996; Benfodda, 2020).

Hence, The challenge of accommodating different political claims of individuals and

groups with the claims of the nation - state as a whole is exposed to require a composite governance act between two demands: social unity on the one hand and insertion of diversity and difference, on the other hand (Reitz 2009; Benfodda, 2020). Accordingly, multiculturalism rejects the melting-pot idea and, instead, endorses an ideal in which members of minority groups can maintain their distinctive collective identities and practices (Song, 2020; Rauhut, 2023), which opens up the way for post-modernist identity policies (Appiah, 2006; Rauhut, 2023).

2.3.1. Immigration Policies:

Since the emergence of immigration in the UK over ages, Britain had sought measures, and still doing so, to integrate immigrants as it has changed policies to avoid some of the problems exhibited in immigrants and minority communities within the host country. The British National Act of 1948 intended that persons born in colonial or Commonwealth countries were allowed to travel and enter Britain without any restrictions. The Act considered them British subjects; and thus, they could enjoy the same social and political rights as native Britons; a Crown decision.

Yet, this decision was not welcomed by the native citizens. Hence, the racial superiority of the whites generated discrimination against the non-whites immigrants, and; therefore, resulted in the race riots that occurred in the late 1950s in Notting Hill and Nottingham, accurately in 1958. The government, then, passed the Commonwealth Immigration Act of the 1962 which aimed at restrictions imposed mainly on the non-white immigrants and maintaining the pro-white inclination. The 1958 riot weakened the political agreement about the benefits of migration of the coming legislation control basically the Commonwealth Immigration Bill of 2062 which introduced more restrictive measures for immigration control.

2.3.1.1. Race Relation Problems in the 1960s and Over:

According to Tri E. Givens, “Britain race policies depoliticized the racial aspects of immigration and developed an ‘elaborate’ race relation structure. Race relations became a paradigm to describe a set of policies that were designed to deal with issues of discrimination” (Freeman, 1979; Tri E. Givens, 2006). Yet, Race Relation Acts did not do a lot to improve race issues and discrimination as Britain is considered a special case with Commonwealth immigrants had citizenship rights in the 1948 Act. The pressure of this Act resulted in the race riots that occurred in the late 1950s in Notting Hill and Nottingham.

The 1958 riots highlighted the growing public resistance to non-white immigrants. The government, then, realized that social and racial problems would rise with the arrival of more colonial workers. Therefore, Britain imposed quotas and restrictions to prevent immigrants from coming to the country, and thus, consolidate the situation. Hence, the new Commonwealth Immigration Act 1962 (Act) imposed more restrictive measures for immigration control; in addition, complemented by an accord concerning immigration policies to enhance cultural diversity in an atmosphere of mutual tolerance, as stated by Home Secretary Roy Jenkins in 1966).

As the tension against non-white immigrants grew up, further legislations were inevitable: The 1968 Act in response to the Kenyan crisis by which Asians’ citizenship right in Kenya was denuded of any meaningful protection, in response to the previous Act of 1962. Later, the Immigration Act 1971 to restrict immigrants even further; yet, this act was even more decisively on race by which non-white immigrants were barred to settle into the UK under the employed criteria. The external immigration control was, in fact, an imposition of an extremely potent internal race-relations regime over the 1960s and the 1970s: the Immigration Acts of 1965, 1968 and 1976; the 1965 Race Relations Act against discrimination in public places and racial hatred, and set up Race Relations Board. The

1968 Act extended non-discrimination to the key areas of housing in and employment, and created the Community Relations Commission. The 1976 Act amalgamated the two previous bodies into Commission for Racial Equality, and introduce the idea of indirect discrimination. Furthermore measures were put at the local level, too, such as the establishment of Community Relations Council and Racial Equality Council. These two reforms, though, universalist aspect of the social possibly inspired by democratic tradition, were, nevertheless accompanied by a conscious shift in the mid-1960s away from assimilations to integration.

Within the Labour Party, this meant that strong anti-racist and anti-imperialist elements had to be balanced against the suspicion of the working class and the Trades Union Congress (TUC) that large-scale immigration could lead to unemployment, and would damage the power of collective bargaining and hence standards of living. There were numerous examples of racial prejudice on the shop floor, but nevertheless the TUC was officially antiracist, and the influence of that principle on the social democratic movement as a whole was so strong that Labour took a more consistently pro-immigrant line than the Conservatives. The combination of the universalist parts of the tradition with the more pluralist strand thus arguably led to the toleration and preservation of differences within a framework of broad citizenship rights.

Later on, the British Nationality Act of 1981, which dealt with immigration and nationality law, was a significant piece of legislation that reverse the 1948 Act with abolition the status of 'British subject' to replace it by clear definition of British citizenship which correspond directly to the right to live in Britain. In fact, none of the remaining UK commonwealth countries received the right to enter into the UK. The criteria for immigrating to the UK under the British Nationality Act 1981 were much the same as under the Immigration Act 1971. A new trend increased after the Scarman Report on the Brixton riots of 1981; to indicate anti-racism and multiculturalism as a core part of

teacher training. Lord Swann's 1985 Report on Education inspired a new curriculum to be designed mainly at the local level.

Afterward; there was a scope of the race-relations regime and hate speech laws, resulted in dropping the controversial 'primary purpose' immigration rule, which had previously been used to limit the right of British citizens to bring their spouse to the UK with the fact of the new nationality test and citizenship ceremonies. Besides, the 'British Muslims' became particular objects of public and governmental suspicion. These changes were accompanied by a tightening of immigration and asylum law and brutal anti-terrorism legislation.

Furthermore, by events of early 2000s; the 9/11, the war in Afghanistan and Iraq and the London bombings of July 2005, the issues of racism began to appear again: the rise of Anti-Immigrant Radical Right Parties, which have become more important as evident in part by the passage of the EU's Racial Equality Directive in 2000. The RED addresses racial discrimination in the areas of social protection, housing, education and associations as well as employment.

Yet issues of racism, including the rise of Anti-Immigrant Radical Right Parties, have become more important as evidenced in part by the passage of the EU's Racial Equality Directive in 2000. The RED addresses racial discrimination in the areas of social protection, housing, education and associations as well as employment.

Conclusion :

As Mirza et al. (2007) noted, in replying uncritically to the aftermath of a passive pluralism, successive governments spread dissent and division. The irony of multiculturalism released a discord leading to residential discrimination, mainly, between blacks and whites. However, as Asian communities fought each other for greater distribution of council funding, ethnic responsibility lines multiplied; Muslims, Sikhs, and Hindi started to live in different spaces, attend different schools, and unite through different

institutions. Rather than directly undertaking the problems of racism and exclusion of communities, both local and national authorities stimulated black and Asian communities to passively coexist by following “parallel lives” under the umbrella of multiculturalism. The third chapter exposes the different multicultural practices and strategies adopted by the British government to integrate diverse minority ethnic groups in the main important sectors, i.e. education, employment and housing.

Chapter 3: National Identity Dilemma

National Identity Dilemma

Introduction:

The dilemma of national identity in the UK is particularly a complex one due to its unique composition as a union of four distinct unions England, Scotland, and Ireland. Each of these nations has its own history, culture and identity which contribute to a multifaceted and a diverse and numerous ideologies for national identity for the UK as a whole with regard to globalization as advantage or disadvantage.

3.1. Challenges of Multiculturalism:

Migration of ethnic groups leads to the creation of multicultural societies. In most countries there is at least one minority group, while they may be able to live in harmony with the majority, it is more likely that there will be a certain amount of prejudice and discrimination leading to tensions and conflicts. There is therefore an emotive and sensitive issue, particularly when cultural differences are interpreted as racial differences.

Different identities, different colours and from different places, were the reason to multiculturalism in Great Britain. Thus, to be citizens there, they have faced many difficulties and challenges as well. Those segregated ethnic groups were: Black Caribbean, Black African, Indians, Pakistanis, Chinese and Bangladeshi. Britain officially accepted. The different races and origins of the foreign Asians, Africans and Caribbean and many other countries in condition to be from mixed background such as Asian or Asian British.

Some people stated this automatically multiculturalism meaning that they were welcomed as being British, regardless where their ancestors have been born. It gives the freedom to opt whether to be Asian British or Black British. To some extent, it was believed that Britain has achieved its aim to become a multicultural society, though its new laws, regulations, the way of educating people through popular culture and the development of

British environment. However, this development can be made by different groups that are being included by Britain because of their different survival cultures. The crisis of health, employment, housing, and education are very crucial, when Britain would be considered as a multicultural society.

Thus, these ethnic minorities or immigrants are still facing the disadvantages and the mistreatment which White British People do not face it at all. The struggle, therefore, in Britain is between Britishness and multiculturalism, i.e. to strengthen or to weaken the nation. Many of the migrants look similar to the White British, but share no linguistic or imperial history. Britons do not have a sense of how their country is being changed by multiculturalism and by the eternal rule of the immigrants from parts of the world that have little or no affiliation to British empire.

Practically, immigrants changed the sights of urban Britain for instance; the veiled women from the Muslim world have become common sights there. Polish tradesmen are followed by sights stocking up with Polish food. Britain has found itself a 'world island' in a new way. There are some reasons that have shaped the perception of ethnic minorities and immigrants as non-British. They are accused of not being interested in the idea of Britishness, and they only want to make money to support their families. Thus, it is all about the money. Though the British governments have often tried to protect the minorities from what they regarded as racist attitudes.

Therefore, the term multiculturalism is often understood on the public level as an ideology or as a social programme (to be 'for' or 'against') i.e. multiculturalism is not optional extra, it is not something that a society can choose to have or avoid, it is present within the society. Therefore, it is common to hear debates and complexities within the nation between multiculturalism and the policy of integration as the Race Relation Act in 1965

which was introduced to present racial discrimination and encourage rather than the racial harmony. This racial discrimination based on skin colour, race, ethnic or national origins.

Moreover, the management and the governance of multiculturalism is necessary to ensure that there is a widespread and effective respect for diversity, whilst at the same time there is an element of cohesion and shared identity. That is to say that though multiculturalism and nationalism are seen as the opposite (but not indeed) as multiculturalism often concerns issues and processes that are embedded in national identity construction and development. According to Watson:

“...multiculturalism is debated in the context of what is alleged to be a national culture which defines the special character of the nation. The limits to which multiculturalism can be tolerated and perceived to lie at the boundaries of what constitutes the core of that national culture...” (Watson 2001,44)

Accordingly, contemporary debates about multiculturalism need to be understood against the background of the social movements that demand equal rights and recognitions for a range of social groups. It is a seeking of equal rights and recognition for ethnic, racial, or sexually defined groups. However, the notion of what cultural differences in the same state should be tolerated or even celebrated has come under an unceasing debate since the beginning of the 21st century.

On 5 February 2011, British Prime Minister (PM) David Cameron denounced multiculturalism's damage to social cohesion, arguing that it “has encouraged culturally different people to live apart from the mainstream”. Cameron added at the Munich Security Conference in 2011 that “[Britain has] even tolerated these segregated communities behaving in ways that run counter to [British] values. Cameron also suggested that the notion of multiculturalism resulted in a fragmented society in which some groups act in an undesirable

way that did not go with the British values as he associated multiculturalism with Terrorism and Extremism due to London Bombings of 2005.

To sum up, no society can last long without some degree of cohesion and a sense of common belonging. Yet, the mass immigration means Britain is quickly changing. Instead of mono-cultural White Britain, there is a multiplicity of cultures. Multiculturalism forces a re-examination of the features that compromise Britain's identity and Briton's sense of it. This is why it still presents a threat to the hegemony of British nationalism with its contradictory cultural beliefs as a dividing concept, thus multiculturalism continues to make a notable impact across Britain by influencing debates and even policies that shape the future of the nation.

3.2 Clustered Communities:

Clustered communities in the UK often refer to neighbourhood or areas where specific demographic or ethnic groups live in close proximity. This clustering can be based on various factors such as cultural, socio-economic, or historical reasons. Accordingly, these ethnic groups have a long been a major subject in the realm of social research in UK. Ethnicity describes then an umbrella of characteristics that are based on the hypothesis that groups of people who have their roots in common ancestor, religion, nationality, language and territory share similar traits and culture (Bulmer,1996).

The 2011 Census for England and Wales identified that the population is becoming ethnically more diverse, largely to immigration and higher fertility rates among most ethnic minority groups compared with the national average (Simpson,2013).Typically, minority groups residentially cluster within urban areas due to the range of structural social and economic forces(Finney,2013).Some notable clustered communities in the UK include:

British South Asian Communities: Bangladeshi, large communities in Tower Hamlets (London), Indian, Significant populations in Leicester, Wembley and South hall (London) Pakistani, Notable presence in Bradford, Birmingham, and Manchester. Black British Communities: African, Prominent in areas like Peckham (London) and Manchester. Caribbean: concentrated in Brixton and Hackney (London), as well as Birmingham. Chinese Community: Significant populations in Chinatown areas of major cities like London, Manchester, and Birmingham. Eastern European Communities: Poles, Lithuanians, and Romanians have established communities in cities like London, Boston (Lincolnshire) and Peter borough. Jewish Community: Large and historic Jewish communities are found in areas like Stamford Hill (London). Middle East Communities: Lebanese, Turkish, and Kurdish populations are found in areas like Haringey and Hackney (London).

These communities contribute to the rich multicultural fabric of the UK, often maintaining cultural traditions while integrating into broader British society. According to the 2021 Census, the total population of England and Wales was 59.6 million, and 81.7% of the population was white. People from Asian ethnic groups made up the second largest percentage of the population (9.3%), followed by black (4.0%), mixed (2.9%) and other (2.1%) ethnic groups.

Table (3.2) Ethnic group distribution 2011 and 2021, England and Wales

Ethnic Group	2011 (number)	2021 (number)	2011 (percent)	2021 (percent)
Asian, Asian British or Asian Welsh	4 213 531	5 515 420	7,5	9,3
Black, Black British, Black Welsh, Caribbean or African	1 864 890	2 409 278	3,3	4,0
Mixed or Multiple ethnic groups	1 224 400	1 717 976	2,2	2,9
White	48 209 395	48 699 249	86,0	81,7
Other ethnic group	563 696	1 255 619	1,0	2,1

Source: Office for National Statistics – Census 2021

Figure (3.2): The percentage of the population in all high-level ethnic groups, excluding “White”, has increased since 2011 Ethnic group distribution (high-level categories), 2011 and 2021, England and Wales.

3.2.1 Extremism vs. Nationalism:

The concept of “extremism” in political thought can be traced back to ancient Greece referring to both democracy and tyranny. However, in political context it did not become until the First World War when it was most typically applied to communism and fascisms. After 1945, it was often linked to the concept of ‘totalitarianism’, a dictatorial form of pseudo-political mass-mobilization in which alternative viewpoints were suppressed. Historically, the word ‘extremism’ has most been associated with violent movements and regimes.

Britain in particular, has a long and complex history with extremist groups and radical political parties. Perhaps, the most well-known extremist organisations include the UK’s British National Party (BNP) which is a far-right political party founded in 1982 by John Tyndall. BNP is known for its nationalist, anti-immigration, thus the party policies were considered to be extremist and discriminatory and its impact has been significant in terms of shaping the debate between immigration and national identity.

In the case of the United Kingdom which is composed of multiple historical regions. Nationalism and nationalist movements became increasingly active in the 20th Century, as they began to «imagine themselves as ‘awakening from sleep’, meaning that nationalist groups and imagery of their independent histories and historical memory to justify their modern nationalist sentiments. Thus, nationalist politics and extremist violence have a tendency to encourage each other, although they are not always directly associated with each other.

Extremism within nationalism often draws an imagined community that makes the conflict more worthy and justifies many violent means of achieving the nationalist goals. For instance, Diana, Princess of Wales was internationally an adored figure, and she was one of the many targets of a letter bombing campaign by the Scottish National Liberation Army (SNLA) in the 1980 and 1990s. While other targets such as Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher as some groups felt she stood in the way of Scottish independence. In Scotland for instance, there are also groups of extremists who could be categorised as terrorists, depending on the definition as Muslims.

Thus, there had been peaceful protests and movements around the world that believe that violence is not the answer as folk songs receiving minimal attention in the media as folk songs as U2 writing a song about Bloody Sunday titled "Sunday Bloody Sunday", an English punk band regarding the assassination attempt of Margaret Thatcher, including the lyrics "Are they at war, who can justify? Who is the judge?"

To sum up, all these movements show how extremists revitalized nationalism within imagined communities in European states. The United Kingdom makes excellent regions to examine because their struggle is continuing link to modern day where the notion of the Word" extremism «is given new definitions as Michael Gove, Secretary of State for Levelling up, Housing and Communities said:

"The United Kingdom is a success story-a multi-national, multi-ethnic, multi-faith democracy .It is stronger because of its diversity. But our democracy and our values of inclusivity and tolerance are under challenge from extremists. In order to protect our democratic values, it is important both to reinforce what we have in common and to be clear and precise in identifying the dangers posed by extremism"

3.3 Neo-Multiculturalism and National Unity:

Leading multiculturalists political theorists such as Kymlicka (1995), Parekh (2000) and Modood (2007) recognise the importance of national unity and accept that it is necessary to avoid fragmentation and to enable peaceful political cooperation, especially in societies where diversity might at times give rise to disagreement as well as misunderstanding, fear, prejudice and hostility between groups. But nowadays there is the existence of a great debate between neo-multiculturalism and national unity in the UK that explains or reflects broader discussions and challenges on how societies manage diversity and integration in a globalized world.

Neo-multiculturalism is an adapted form of multicultural policies that focuses on the recognition and accommodation of cultural diversity within a society. Unlike earlier forms of multiculturalism, which sometimes focuses on the coexistence of different cultural groups, neo-multiculturalism seeks more dynamic and basic interactions and integration. It aims to balance the celebration of cultural diversity with social cohesion, promoting: Intercultural dialogue, inclusive citizenship and policy adaptation addressing contemporary issues such as immigration, identity and social integration.

Whereas national unity in the UK has historically been shaped by values, traditions and a sense of belonging to the nation state including, historical legacy, cultural symbols unity and integration. However, the interplay between neo-multiculturalism and national unity in the UK is a complex and a multifaceted. Here are some of the main points that share the distinction between both of them:

- Critics of multiculturalism argue that it can lead to segregation, where different cultural groups live parallel counter that lives with little interaction. Proponents of neo-multiculturalism counter that, with the right policies, diversity can be integrated into a cohesive society.

- Questions about national loyalty and identity arise when multicultural policies are perceived to undermine a shared national culture, neo-multiculturalism then seeks to address this by promoting inclusive forms of national unity that embrace diversity. The implementation of multicultural policies varies, and their effectiveness can depend on broader social and economic factors. Successful neo-multiculturalism requires not just policies but also public support and engagement.
- Economic inequalities and social exclusion can exacerbate tension between cultural groups. Addressing these issues is crucial for both neo-multiculturalism and national unity to coexist harmoniously. In recent years, UK has seen significant debates over immigration; Brexit, and national identity. Brexit which refers to the United Nations Kingdom's decision to leave the European Union beginning with a 2016 referendum, in particular, has highlighted divisions within the country about how national identity is defined and the role of multiculturalism such as rising nationalism in the opposition to immigration.

The relationship between neo-multiculturalism and national unity in the UK is an ongoing and evolving debate. Balancing the recognition and celebration of cultural diversity with a cohesive national identity requires nuanced policies and a commitment to fostering inclusive dialogue and participation among all citizens. The future of this balance will likely depend on how effectively the UK can address underlying social and economic challenges while promoting a share sense of belonging.

3.3.1 Common values and the Challenges of Globalization:

Globalization is an established part of the modern world. Most of us do not realize the benefits it brings to our everyday lives with regard to the challenges it brings, too. The official definition of globalization is the process by which businesses or other organisations develop

international influence or start operating on an international scale. This is why globalisation has become a catchword for the international economy at the economy of the 21st Century.

This term has been overused and even misused (Jones; 1995)-Broadly, globalisation may be defined as a process in which traditional boundaries separating individuals and societies gradually and increasingly decreased. The process is changing the nature of human interaction in many spheres: economic, political, social, cultural, environmental and technological. It is changing the way we perceive time and space, and the way we think about the world and ourselves (Kunitz,2000;Lee,2000).

Globalization may also be seen as philosophical issue that changes in identity, both individual and group. It means the import and export of culture, too. Though it has different diverse that support it and causes its spreading in all over the world, it faces a set of challenges that sometimes create problems and obstacles for its revolution. Moreover, globalisation has created conditions where people especially young people, identity with a range of places and communities; within and beyond their locality and the UK; senses of belonging are often far more grounded in the neighbourhood or unity than in the 'imagined community' of the nation(Anderson1991). Meaning that globalization is a process rather than something achieved.

In fact, Great Britain is composed of England, Scotland, and Wales while the UK include also Northern Ireland. Like all nations, UK is a complex place of a multicultural entity. Accordingly, the nature and character of globalization in Britain is made more complex by the various forms of identity and its regional parts, something that shows that differentiation is a form that globalization takes alongside its generalisation.

Globalization has brought both opportunities and challenges to the UK, influencing various aspects of society, economy, and culture. Here are some common values and challenges associated with globalization in the UK:

- A. Diversity and Multiculturalism:** The UK values its rich cultural diversity, embracing people from different ethnic backgrounds and nationalities. This diversity is seen as strength, enriching the cultural fabric of the nation.
- B. Economic Growth and Trade:** Globalization has opened up new markets for the British goods and services promoting economic growth. The UK values free trade and the benefits it brings in term of innovation, competition and consumer choice.
- C. Education and Evaluation:** The UK places a high value on education and innovation, often attracting students and professionals. This influx supports the country's reputation for high academic and research standards.
- D. Human Rights and Democracy:** The UK is committed to upholding human rights and democratic values. These principles guide its foreign policy and international relation. But these common values have been challenged by many factors related to globalization such as:
 - a. **Economic Inequality:** while globalization has driven economic growth, it has also contributed to economic inequality. Certain regions and sectors have benefited more than others, leading to disparities in wealth and opportunities.
 - b. **Job Security and Wage Pressure:** The influx of foreign labour competition from international markets can lead to job insecurity and wage stagnation in some sectors, particularly for low-skilled workers.
 - c. **Cultural Integration and Social Cohesion:** While diversity is valued, integrating different cultures can pose challenges, social cohesion can be strained if there are perceived or real inequalities between different ethnic and cultural groups.

- d. **Political and Economic Sovereignty:** Globalization requires nations to adhere international agreements and regulations which can sometimes be seen as compromising national sovereignty. The Brexit vote partly reflected concerns over the UK's stability to control its own laws and borders.
- e. **Environmental Impact:** Increased trade and industrial activity associated with globalization can lead to environmental degradation; the UK faces the challenges of balancing economic growth with environmental sustainability.
- f. **Health and Safety Risks:** Globalization can facilitate spread of diseases, as seen with COVID19 pandemic. This requires robust public health systems and international cooperation to manage health risks.

So, to navigate these challenges, the UK continues to adapt its policies and strategies. Promoting inclusive economic policies, ensuring fair labour practices, enhancing social integration programs, and committing to environmental sustainability are key areas of focus. By addressing these challenges, the UK aims to harness the benefits of globalization while mitigating its adverse effects.

Conclusion:

As seen in the chapter the challenges and the complexities faced by a multicultural nation with the different factors of globalisation as an open door on the one hand and an obstacle on the other hand. UK requires a delicate balance between unity and diversity. By fostering inclusive governance, recognizing distinct culture identities, promoting mutual understanding, and making responsive policies, the UK can navigate its complex national identity landscape.

General Conclusion

National identity and multiculturalism have become a very controversial topics of the 21st century due to their complex intertextually that should work together though they are seen as the opposites finding solutions to the different challenges and conflicts so as to live peacefully in a developed nation regarding to globalization walking away in the mutual tolerance.

Through the crisis of multiculturalism and the decline of its concept showed the turning point of multiculturalism that was on the year 2001 (Modood. Multiculturalism, 10). Many politicians also assumed that multiculturalism become seen as a crisis and a failed programme due to the violent attacks on many countries..

To confirm the first hypothesis set in the introduction, British government has adopted various multicultural strategies that acknowledged ethnic diversity and supported it, trying at the same time to eliminate the primary discriminatory barriers in society through race-relations policies; the state would not intervene in the cultural identity of its citizens. These strategies resulted in shaping a clear national approach to the issue of diversity in all areas of life; access to citizenship, education, health care and employment. The authorities who created strategies to deal with diversity and minorities' integration as well as the establishment of consultation committees and race relations units, and the distribution of funds to minority organizations. The state maintained immigrant integration; yet, it remained limited due to human rights standards; the government admitted the need to incorporate immigrants and minorities and isolate any values and beliefs that were explicitly British

However, since the early years of the 21st century, multiculturalism faced serious obstacles, and parties on both sides of the political range were calling for its end. As for the second hypothesis, the shift toward civic integration demonstrated a new re-evaluation of

multiculturalism through breaking many of the taboos that had shaped Britain's ethics. Therefore, cultural pluralism, national identity and citizenship all caused new modern challenges in Britain. However, these forms of pluralism and the different political reactions to them could not be neglected; a response to these complicated matters focused much on restructuring governance so as to revive political, economic and cultural practices.

For the third hypothesis, We can say that Britain has succeeded to improve the sense of belonging of the ethnic minorities to British society; however, the idea of this success has created a scared expression from all parts of political shadow as well as some Britons youth who become suicide bounders as they did not accept the idea of coexistence with those foreign immigrants. As a result, multiculturalism succeeded in the reason of welcoming immigrants but failed in the idea of acting British identity. Immigration is embracing and will embrace British identity and the values needed for harmonious society.

Britain has been balanced for encouraging the dividing of ethnic communities, consequently, it became a weak society and unsure about the security of British citizens, this was sure to happen due its tolerance to many strange identities with different nationalities all over the world. This incline toward integration and community union models of governance changed the politics of managing diversity and difference in primarily different ways. Yet, by the turn of the 21st century, an adoption of An overt commitment to integration became "assimilationist" with civic Britishness/Englishness replacing multiculturalism as the main political discourse

This thesis could not investigate all the issues connected to national identity and the dilemma of multiculturalism. Certainly, many questions remain unanswered and there is much to be done in this topic. Culture as identity cannot be static but fluid and inevitably subject to change across time. It seems that today, "refugees",

who are not migrants for mainly economic reasons, would develop more easily a sense of belonging in the UK. Yet, there is no need to feel British to some extent.

Indeed, matters of culture and identity are connected to economic criteria and public feeling/anxiety/response to immigration and refugees. To the question: “what does it mean to be British in multicultural Britain?” the British national identity and the dilemma of multiculturalism remain issues of intense debate and controversy.

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