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Brexit and Impact on Immigration to the UK

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General introduction

The 23rd June 2016 marked a turning point in the future of the UK's immigration policy. For decades consecutive governments were unable to control borders and reduce overall levels of immigration. They had been hampered in doing so because a large part of UK policy had been effectively outsourced to the European Union through rules on freedom of movement. The UK government will, for the first time in over 20 years, have full domestic control over all the UK's immigration policy, procedures and rules.

What motivated me to choose this research topic is because of the affect of Brexit on immigration on the UK is related to the domain British civilization. It is nowadays an issue and a problem for the migrants in Britain. The rationale here is about whether Immigration is a reason for the UK to leave the EU and the affective of brexit will determine the future of immigration policy to the Britain.

The thesis is made of two chapters. The first deals with the development of immigration to the UK. The early story of the British Isles is one of colonisation. Firstly, celtic and pict tribes arrived and formed the first communities in the British Isles. Then came the Romans. In 250 AD, when the Romans finally quit in the fifth century, the way was clear for the Germanic tribes that would slowly become the English. Four hundred years after the Jutes, Angles and Saxons colonised modern-day southern England, the Vikings arrived,. The most dramatic of these immigrations was the Norman Conquest in 1066.

The first Norman king, William the Conqueror, invited Jews to settle in England to help develop commerce, finance and trade. In the early eighteenth century, treaties between European powers changed the political map. The United Kingdom, as it had now become, won more access to the New World and its riches. During the two world wars, hundreds of thousands of men from across the Empire fought for Britain. India alone provided 1.3m soldiers for the First World War, 138,000 serving on the Western Front whereas Government feared the impact of black faces in white Britain - not least after a spate of race riots in 1919. At the end of the Second World War there were work shortages in Europe and labour shortages in Britain.

The government began looking for immigrants. The day marked what would become a massive change to British society - the start of mass immigration to the UK and the arrival of different cultures. As mass immigration continued in the 1950s, so did the rise of racial violence and prejudice. Many areas including Birmingham, Nottingham and west London experienced rioting as white people feared the arrival of a black community. By the 1980s Britain's immigration policy had two prongs.

Firstly, there were strict controls on entry. Secondly, the state said it would protect the rights of ethnic minorities. Between 1998 and 2000, the growth of asylum seeker applications contributed to a new growth of immigration to the UK. But the rise in asylum seeker arrivals has seen a rise in racial tensions. Second chapter casts light on the Brexit and how the government ruled to control immigration policy. Immigration was arguably the biggest issue driving the Leave campaign, with many Britons saying that they wanted to see a reduction in the number of EU migrants. Mrs May said: "Brexit must mean control of the number of people who come to Britain from Europe." The Prime Minister has reiterated her aim of bringing net migration to below 100,000 a year – a target which David Cameron repeatedly failed to achieve. Last year, net migration into the UK was 335,000, of which 189,000 were EU migrants. The Government has not revealed how it will regain control of Britain's borders after Brexit. Brexit Secretary David Davis has said that the new system will be "sustainable", "properly managed" and "will be in everybody's interests – the migrants and the citizens of the UK". After Britain leaves the European Union, he said that immigration should rise and fall depending on the needs of our economy.

In order to achieve such goal, I introduced the following research question :

- 1) Is immigration a reason for Britain to leave the EU?
- 2) Will Brexit reduce Immigration?
- 3) What will be the future of immigration policy in the UK?

Finally, I will try to confirm the following hypothesis:

- 1) Immigration as reason for Britain to leave the EU
- 2) Brexit reduces and determines the future of Immigration to the UK

Dedication

This modest work is dedicated to many dears and beloved

People.

*First and foremost, I would like to dedicate this work to the
memory of my parents , who supported me throughout my
studies.*

To my dear brothers and sisters

*I would like also to dedicate this dissertation to all my
friends.*

Acknowledgements

Praise to Allah, Lords of the world, who has bestowed me with the completion of this work. Peace and blessing upon our Prophet Mohammed.

The most important source of inspiration and advice during the course of my research has been my supervisor at the University of Mostaganem. Mr. Larbi Youcef whom I do not thank often enough for his precious help, encouragement, and guidance. I am very fortunate to find myself under his supervision.

Special thanks to all my teachers in the Department.

Abstract

The thesis discusses the impact of brexit on immigration. First the development of immigration in UK especially in Great Britain from the celtic and pict tribes when they arrived and formed the first communities in the British Isles until 2000, when the growth of asylum seeker applications contributed to a new growth of immigration to the UK. But the rise in asylum seeker arrivals has seen a rise in racial tensions. Fifty years after the start of mass immigration to the UK, and from the EU, immigration was arguably the biggest issue driving the Leave campaign, with many Britons saying that they wanted to see a reduction in the number of migrants.

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List of Acronyms

BNA: British Nationality Act

BREXIT: British Exit

LCC: London Chamber of Commerce

LFS: Labour Force Survey

NHS: National Health Service

ONS: Office for National Statistics

UKIP: UK Independence Party

UNHCR: United Nations High Commissioner For Refugees

VPR: Vulnerable Persons Resettlement

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Chapter One

Historical

Background

I.1. Introduction

The controversial topic of immigration is always at the forefront of political debate. The leaders of all of the major political parties have had to engage with the issue of immigration, a central component of British history. Foreign influence has played a defining role in British history and culture. A look at the country's history from its initial habitation up until the Norman Conquest quickly reveals the diverse range of peoples who have shaped the country's past. In 1996, the Commission for Racial Equality stated rather controversially that, "Everyone living in Britain today is an immigrant or a descendant of an immigrant". In some ways this is a provocative, over simplification of the issue, one which neglects ideas of nationality and identity, but it also provides some pertinent context. Until 10,000 BCE, Britain was completely unpopulated as the result of a thick ice sheet which made it uninhabitable. It was only when this sheet of ice started melting that the first hunter gatherers made their way to what is now the British Isles. Compared too much of the rest of the world, Britain has only been populated relatively recently. (Worthington 2015)

So, before dealing with the beginnings of the immigration and how the Newcomers entering the country, it is better to start from the short introduction of the origins of British original people. As Oakland points out "descent patterns are important element in considering the varied ethnicities of the British peoples today. (Oakland 2006) At the very beginning settlers and invaders came from the different parts of the world and their origins varied greatly.

I.2. Historical background

In 55BC Romans were one of the first tribes who settled after the Celts in today's British Isles. They were followed by the Germans known as Angles, Saxons and Jutes. Today's diverse character of the society was influenced also by the French Normans, who arrived in 1066.¹ Continuously, people mixed and laid the foundations to the diverse origins of the following generations. This creation of the society is considered to be a natural historical development.

However the situation started to change during the 19th century. The natural movement of people was replaced by the arrivals of the newcomers, who started entering country under the

¹ Oakland, *British Civilization: An Introduction*, 53-54

specific reasons. Obviously, the fact that Britain was at that time the world leading industrial power caused that immigrants wanted to seek the opportunity to find the better working opportunities. For example are the Irish economic immigrants. At the beginning of the 19th century the first large group entered. "Upon arrival, such newcomers were bound almost by definition to constitute a relatively deprived, vulnerable and conspicuous group, in comparison with the bulk of the native population."² 70 years later, further "wave" of immigrants emerged, this time mainly Jewish migrants arrived. The increase numbers of Jewish immigrants continued until the 1911.³ Rather than for economic reasons, Jewish refugees from Russia or Rumania came in Britain in order to escape the persecution in their home country.⁴ Before approaching further development of immigration, it is essential to provide the explanation of some key terms.

The first term 'immigration' dictionary explains as "the process of entering another country in order to live there permanently."⁵ This term is rather super ordinate, because the newcomers enter the country for different reasons. There are used special terms to distinguish among them. To avoid misinterpretation, it is essential to provide the explanation of these terms. First of them is 'economic migrant', this term dictionary defines as "someone who goes to a new country because living conditions or opportunities for jobs are not good in their own country. This word is used by governments to show that a person is not considered a refugee."⁶ more terms that need more detailed explanation are 'refugee' and 'asylum'. The term 'refugee' Home Office explains as "a person who owing to a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country; or who, not having a nationality and being outside the country of his former habitual residence is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to return to it."⁷ The person who received the status of the refugee can seek the asylum in the UK. "Asylum is protection given by a country to someone who is fleeing persecution in their own country."⁸ Dealing with Jewish refugees, Jones asked

² Catherine Jones, *Immigration and Social Policy in Britain*, (Cambridge: University Printing House, 1977),5

³ Jones, *Immigration and Social Policy*, 1

⁴ Jones, *Immigration and Social Policy*, 67

⁵ Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English, "immigration," Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English, <http://www.ldoceonline.com/dictionary/immigration> (accessed February 24, 2010)

⁶ Macmillan Dictionary, "Definition of economic migrant," Macmillan Dictionary, <http://www.macmillandictionary.com/dictionary/british/economic-migrant> (accessed February 24, 2010)

⁷ Home Office Statistical Bulletin, "Control of Immigration: Statistics United Kingdom, 2008," "under" Asylum, <http://www.homeoffice.gov.uk/rds/pdfs09/hosb1409.pdf> (accessed February 25, 2010)

⁸ Home Office Statistical Bulletin, "Control of Immigration: Statistics United Kingdom, 2008," under "Asylum," <http://www.homeoffice.gov.uk/rds/pdfs09/hosb1409.pdf> (accessed February 25, 2010)

the question “Why did they come? Was it simply in response to the shining vista of England as 'the haven and protector of freedom?' “⁹ Probably, it was really the reason why Jewish and other immigrants chose Britain as a final destination. Oakland explains “...immigrants historically had relatively free access to Britain...”¹⁰ The change came with the 20th century.

After the 1st World War Newcomers were not welcomed and a sort of dislike dominated because the native people started to pay attention to the nationalism. Moreover, society called for the laws that would eliminate the inflow of the newcomers. On this basis, legislations were imposed on the immigrants, for example 'Aliens Act, 1905,' but it is necessary to add that they were not much successful. Immigration rates were still growing. The economic migrants and further wave of the refugees from Europe and the Soviet Union also contributed to this growth.¹¹

The most significant inflow of the immigrants occurred in the 1950s when the so called New Commonwealth Immigrants started to enter the country. Oakland points out that “nations of India, Pakistan and the West Indies came to Britain (sometimes at the invitation of government agencies) to fill the vacant manual and lower-paid jobs of an expanding economy.”¹²

I.3. Early immigration

1914 marked a landmark in UK immigration control in that it was only from this point that every person entering the country had to produce evidence of identity. The 1914 Aliens Registration Act was rushed through Parliament in a single day on the eve of the First World War and allowed stricter controls than before including the power to make aliens aged over 16 register with the police.¹³ The power still remains in use.¹⁴ Although the 1905 Act technically survived until its repeal in 1919, it was, in practice, submerged by the far more stringent powers of the Aliens Restriction Act of 1914. The 1914 Act contained a clause which gave the Home Secretary power to prevent the entry and order the deportation of aliens if it was deemed 'conducive to the public good'. For the purposes of the 1914 legislation immigration

⁹ Jones, *Immigration and Social Policy*, 69.

¹⁰ Oakland, *British Civilization: An Introduction*, 60.

¹¹ Ibid

¹² Ibid

¹³ Aliens Registration Cards". *The National Archives*. Retrieved 25 August 2011. <https://www.gov.uk/register-with-the-police.pdf>

¹⁴ Ibid

officers were re-titled Aliens Officers and the service was a compound of Home Office staff and Customs staff.

The world war 2 brought with it new emergency powers which meant that the Immigration Service now, as well as continuing to control the entry of a wave of displaced people, had to screen refugees, enforce rules on exit permits for all people leaving the UK and to take on the additional work of repatriating some enemy aliens. Ireland's neutrality meant that steps had to be taken to introduce new controls between the UK and Republic. and a large proportion of the work of the immigration service during the war was taken up by the control of Irish workers seeking employment in the growing war economy.

During the two world wars, hundreds of thousands of men from across the Empire fought for Britain. India alone provided 1.3m soldiers for the First World War, 138,000 serving on the Western Front. During the Second World War, almost 60,000 British merchant seamen came from the sub-continent. Some of the men stayed in Britain during the inter-war years, forming small communities in ports. Bengali seamen, known as Lascars, went to work in Scottish collieries but were subjected to racial prejudice. They were not the only ones. There were no clear rules on immigration but officialdom appeared not to approve. Government feared the impact of black faces in white Britain - not least after a spate of race riots in 1919.

At the end of the Second World War there were work shortages in Europe and labour shortages in Britain. The government began looking for immigrants. In 1946 the major airport controlling air traffic was Hurn Airport in Dorset. Although well organized its location so far from London made it unpopular with carriers. It was agreed that the main passenger airport for London would be Heathrow, which opened on 1 May 1946 and came under the command of the Croydon Inspector. It was still a time of displaced people finding their way home after the war and passenger liners still travelled to the West Indies to return servicemen who had been de-mobbed. The owners of the shipping lines sought to reduce their costs for return journeys, which promised to otherwise have few passengers, and offered cut price fares to the UK. The first of these vessels to arrive, in 1947, was the now little remembered MV Ormonde which brought 108 migrant workers and attracted little notice. The arrival of the MV Empire Windrush,¹⁵ generated far greater attention. She arrived at Tilbury and brought with her approximately 500 regular passengers and a large number of stowaways as reported by *Pathe*

¹⁵ Caribbean family in Trafalgar Square - painting; oil on canvas". Exploring 20th century London. London Museums Hub. Retrieved 26 August 2011

news. Over and above the continuing movement of displaced people there were other signs of re-adjustment following the end of the war. The Polish Resettlement Act 1947 allowed 200,000 Polish citizens to stay following the war and it took until 1952 for the wartime restrictions on travel between the UK and Ireland to be abolished and a Common Travel Area was created between all the islands which still exists today. From the early 1950s immigration officers were allocated to deal with the residual screening of people who had arrived during and after the war who had still to have their status regularised.

Some 157,000 Poles were the first groups to be allowed to settle in the UK, partly because of ties made during the war years. They were joined by Italians but it was not enough to meet the need. Many men from the West Indies had fought for the "mother country" but returned to civilian life with few opportunities. Their sense of patriotism, coupled with the need to find work, steered them towards the UK. Despite an apparent official reluctance to allow immigration from the fast-disappearing empire, the government could not recruit enough people from Europe and turned to these men. On 22 June 1948, the Empire Windrush docked at Tilbury in London, delivering hundreds of men from the West Indies. Many had returned to rejoin the RAF. Others had been encouraged by adverts for work. The day marked what would become a massive change to British society - the start of mass immigration to the UK and the arrival of different cultures.

As mass immigration continued in the 1950s, so did the rise of racial violence and prejudice. Many areas including Birmingham, Nottingham and west London experienced rioting as white people feared the arrival of a black community. On one hand, these men and women had been offered work in a country they had been brought up to revere. On the other, many were experiencing racial prejudice they had never expected. Legislation had allowed people from the Empire and Commonwealth unhindered rights to enter Britain because they carried a British passport.

The 1953 Aliens Order replaced the 1920 Order and consolidated various other statutory instruments since World War 1. The 1950s brought special challenges such as the influx of visitors for the Coronation of Queen Elizabeth II in 1953, a year which also saw the opening of the new passenger car ferry terminal at Eastern Docks, Dover. Despite the increase in traffic the numbers of those detained on entry remained small. During the parliamentary debate for the 1953 Act the Home Secretary was asked how many people were currently in

detention and advised that on 22 July 1953 the total number of immigration detainees in the UK was 11.¹⁶ Consideration of legislation to place controls on Commonwealth citizens had by 1960 already been under active consideration for some years. In the period immediately before and after the introduction of the 1962 Act, the entry of dependents into Britain increased almost threefold as families attempted to 'beat the act', amidst widespread fears that Britain planned to permanently close its doors to its citizens in the New Commonwealth, including the families of those already living in Britain. Total "New" Commonwealth immigration thus grew from 21,550 entrants in 1959, to 58,300 in 1960. A year later this last figure had more than doubled and a record 125,400 "New" Commonwealth immigrants entered the UK in 1961¹⁷. (ibid)

Under political pressure, the government legislated three times in less than a decade to make immigration for non-white people harder and harder. By 1972, legislation meant that a British passport holder born overseas could only settle in Britain if they, firstly, had a work permit and, secondly, could prove that a parent or grandparent had been born in the UK. In practice, this meant children born to white families in the remnants of Empire or the former colonies could enter Britain. Their black counterparts could not. While government was tightening the entry rules, racial tension meant it had to try to tackle prejudice and two race relations acts followed. In 1945, Britain's non-white residents numbered in the low thousands. By 1970 they numbered approximately 1.4 million - a third of these children born in the United Kingdom.

I.4. Immigration to the Uk since 1962

The 1962 Commonwealth Immigrants Act came about as a result of growing public and political unease regarding the impact of migration from the, now fast declining, British Empire. The Act was seen by its opponents as draconian,¹⁸ but it created only limited powers to deal with those who misrepresented their intentions or entered illegally. Preparations to implement the new Act included a recruitment campaign in 1962 which brought the staffing of the Immigration Service up to 500 ready for the start date on 1 July 1962.

¹⁶ http://hansard.millbanksystems.com/written_answers/1953/jul/30/aliens-order-detentions Parliamentary Debates (Hansard). House of Commons. 30 July 1953.

¹⁷ Ibid

¹⁸ Hansard 1962 - *Opposition to 1962 Act* - http://hansard.millbanksystems.com/commons/1962/feb/07/clause-4-offences-in-connection-with#S5CV0653P0_19620207_HOC_231.pdf

The Commonwealth Immigrants Act 1962 was an Act of the Parliament of the United Kingdom. Before the Act was passed, citizens of British Commonwealth countries had extensive rights to migrate to the UK. In response to a perceived heavy influx of immigrants, the Conservative Party government tightened the regulations, permitting only those with government-issued employment vouchers, limited in number, to settle. The leader of the opposition in Parliament at the time, Hugh Gaitskell, called the act "cruel and brutal anti-color legislation. The Act was amended by the Commonwealth Immigrants Act 1968 and another new Act, Immigration Act 1971, came into force in 1971. Commonwealth governments had warned that the new restrictions would create a black market in forged documentation and they were proven correct. The 1960s saw an emergent boom, in immigration terms, of bogus students. A market grew in bogus colleges and forged documents provided by racketeers who would, for a price, provide a complete package comprising travel, documents and illegal work. They commonly reclaimed their investment on a proportion of the migrant's illicit wages. Other developing trends included bogus marriages and forged birth certificates which were designed to allow "children" to join relatives in the UK as dependants despite being clearly above the permitted age. The quality of Entry Clearances, (Visas), issued abroad in the newly controlled Commonwealth countries also gave cause for concern when presented at British ports. The initial assumption when the 1962 Act was introduced was that these would be taken at face value on arrival. An instruction to Immigration Officers created a general understanding that written entry conditions would only be recorded and stored in exceptional circumstances. By 1965 new instructions had been issued.¹⁹ which, although very liberal by later standards, encouraged control officers to impose conditions more often and to refuse people who had clearly obtained entry clearances by misrepresentation.(Hansard 1965)

These Acts resulted from widespread opposition to immigration in Britain from a variety of political groups, but most notably the Conservative Monday Club, whose Members of Parliament were very active and vocal in their opposition to mass immigration.

Then the Commonwealth Immigrants Act 1968 was an Act of the Parliament of the United Kingdom. The key events leading to the hurried introduction of the Commonwealth Immigrants Act 1968 were the independence of, first, Kenya and, later, Uganda and Tanzania. Each of these countries at independence had an established minority population of Indian origin, some of whom had been introduced into East Africa by Britain which, as colonial power, had employed them on construction projects. Many had left India before its

¹⁹ National Archive 1966 - Roy Jenkins memo to Cabinet - *New instructions to Immigration Officers* - <http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/documentsonline/DoLUserDownload/bpcatfish@gmailcom/CAB/129/126/0/0004.pdf>

independence and before the creation of Pakistan, and their only citizenship was that of the UK and Colonies.

The potential numbers of those eligible to travel to the UK created alarm, and the Commonwealth Immigrants Act 1968 was rushed through Parliament. The new Act provided that British subjects would be free from immigration control only if they, or at least one of their parents or grandparents, had been born, adopted, registered or naturalized in the UK. The issue of a passport by a British High Commission thus ceased to be a qualification for entry free of control. For those subject to control, another voucher system was introduced. This one was based on tight quotas. The 1968 Act directly, and deliberately, favored white commonwealth citizens more likely to have British ancestry. Cabinet papers released in 2002 showed that the thrust of the legislation was designed to have this effect.²⁰

The Act amended the Commonwealth Immigrants Act 1962, further reducing rights of citizens of the Commonwealth of Nations countries (as of 2010, comprising approximately 1.9 billion people, including New Zealand, Australia, The Republic of India, Islamic Republic of Pakistan (which included East Pakistan province), some African nations including Nigeria and many Caribbean islands) to migrate to the UK.

The 1968 Act barred the future right of entry previously enjoyed by Citizens of the United Kingdom and Colonies, to those born there or who had a least one parent or grandparent born there. It was introduced amid concerns that up to 200,000 Kenyan Asians fleeing that country's "Africanization" policy, would take up their right to reside in the UK. The bill went through parliament in three days, supported by the leadership of both the governing Labour and main opposition Conservative parties, though opposed by Labour backbenchers, a few Conservatives such as Iain Macleod and Michael Heseltine, and the small parliamentary Liberal Party.²¹ The 1968 Act was superseded by the Immigration Act 1971.

After that the Immigration Act in 1971 is an Act of the Parliament of the United Kingdom concerning immigration. The Act, as with the Commonwealth Immigrant Act 1962, and that of 1968, restricts immigration, especially primary immigration into the UK. It introduced the concept of *patriality or right of abode*. 'Williams argues that foreign-policy pressures led Edward Heath's Conservative government to adopt discriminatory Commonwealth immigration policy, breaking from the non-discriminatory immigration policy that had preceded it.

²⁰ Travis, Alan (1 January 2002). "Ministers saw law's 'racism' as defensible". The Guardian. Retrieved 25 August 2011.pdf

²¹ . Mark Lattimer (22 January 1999). "When Labour played the racist card". New Statesman. Retrieved 1 Mar 2012.pdf

London saw a need to appease Canada, New Zealand and Australia over the negative impact on them of Britain's joining the European Economic Community. The negative impact would be hardest on people who had emigrated from Britain originally in the expectation of continued close ties.²² (ibid)

The Act replaced employment vouchers with Work permits, allowing only temporary residence. Commonwealth citizens who had been settled in the UK for five years when the Act came into force, (1 January 1973), also had the right to register and thus possibly the right of abode. Others would be subject to immigration controls. Apart from the five-year residence qualification, the right to live in the UK and to enter free from immigration control was determined by birth or parentage, not by nationality.

One result of the Act was to stop the permanent migration of workers from the Commonwealth. It further elaborated the definition of "patrial" migrants, first introduced in the Commonwealth Immigrants Act 1968, as persons born in the United Kingdom, and persons who had resided there for the previous five years or longer.²³

The incoming Conservative administration in 1979 acted to introduce more legislation - the British Nationality Act 1981- which again tightened citizenship criteria. From an immigration control standpoint there was growing concern, and heated debate, concerning the restrictions placed on foreign spouses joining UK partners.

I.5. Modern Immigration

Between 1990 and the 1997 the number of asylum seekers before 1979 is difficult to determine as no separate statistics were collated before this point. A Parliamentary answer indicated that in 1973, 34 people had been granted refugee status²⁴. The application of the 1951 Convention dealing with the treatment of refugees was still being applied, to a large extent, to those people fleeing persecution from behind the Iron Curtain.

According to UK asylum applications 1979-2009. the administrative processes governing asylum applications were overwhelmed and a backlog started to accumulate. The increased

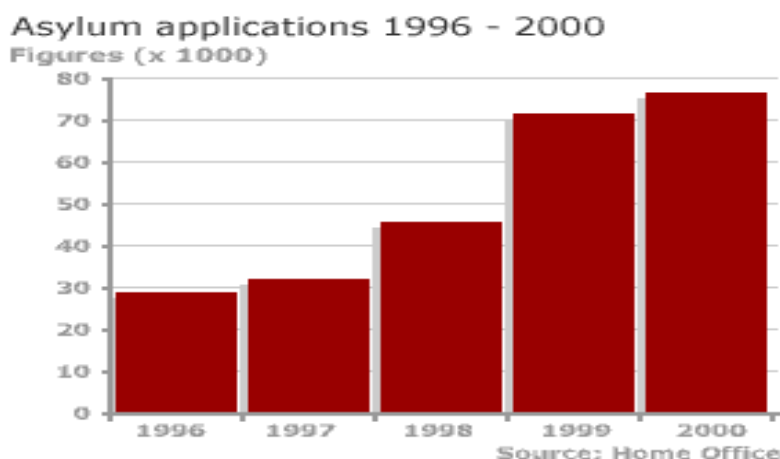
²² Callum Williams, "Patriality, Work Permits and the European Economic Community: The Introduction of the 1971 Immigration Act." *Contemporary British History* 29.4 (2015): 508–538.

²³ Marmo, Marinella; Smith, Evan (17 January 2014). "The Myth of Sovereignty: British Immigration Control Policy and Practice in the 1970s". *Historical Research*. **87** (236): 344–369. Retrieved 2 January 2017.

²⁴ Hansard 1975 - Asylum grants in 1973 and 1974.pdf

delays meant more applicants eventually found themselves eligible for concessions based on the length of time the process had taken and this, in turn, encouraged speculative applications from those who saw no future in pursuing the difficult alternatives offered of seeking permission to remain through legitimate settlement or approved employment. As numbers rose, a decreasing proportion were found to qualify for refugee status. In 1980, in the United Kingdom, 64 per cent. of claimants were recognised as refugees. In 1990, the figure was about 25 per cent.²⁵

Between 1995 and 2000 the newest problem the Immigration Service faced was the growth in asylum seekers entering via the Channel Tunnel with 700 a month presenting themselves at Waterloo station. Waterloo, as an international terminal, was later replaced by the control at St Pancras station and the creation of "juxtaposed controls" agreed by the Sangatte Protocol of 1992 which was itself brought into being by the Channel Tunnel (International Arrangements) Order 1993. This allowed for control zones to be set up at each end of the tunnel; the British end at St Pancras operated by French officers and the French control zone at Coquelles staffed by UK Immigration Officers. A passenger at Coquelles was still legally in France; the international frontier was at the midpoint of the tunnel. In immigration terms a person did not enter the UK until they left the terminal at Cheriton. This brought about some complex scenarios; it was not possible to claim asylum in the UK at Coquelles but it was possible to enter the control area illegally and be treated as an illegal entrant.²⁶



The figure shows that Asylum seekers and refugees had been right at the top of the political agenda for more than a year. Numbers rose dramatically in 1999 and 2000 and

²⁵ Hansard, *Asylum Bill debate 1991*, http://hansard.millbanksystems.com/commons/1991/nov/13/asylum-bill#S6CV0198P0_19911113_HOC_202.

²⁶ Home Affairs Committee, *First Report 2001*, Annex 15.

<http://www.publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm200001/cmselect/cmhaff/163/163ap09.htm>.

sparked a heated debate between the main parties and pressure groups. During the May 2000 local elections, Conservative leader William Hague sparked controversy after declaring that racketeers were "flooding the country" with bogus asylum seekers. But there was also criticism for Labour. One of aparty's biggest backers, the Transport and General Workers Union's Bill Morris, attacked the government's asylum policy as "giving life to racists".*The asylum seekers debate.*

In recent years the government has published its Immigration Bill, which will change the rules on access to the NHS and impose tougher penalties for illegal working. the legislation has been passed over this century:

1. Nationality, Immigration and Asylum Act 2002: This created the first English test and citizenship exam for immigrants and introduced measures against bogus marriages.
2. Asylum and Immigration Act 2004: This act introduced a single form of appeal that remains to this day and made it a criminal offence to destroy travel documents. It limited access to support for those told to leave the UK.
3. Immigration, Asylum and Nationality Act 2006: A five-tier points system for awarding entry visas was created. Those refused work or study visas had their rights of appeal limited. The act brought in on-the-spot fines of £2,000, payable by employers for each illegal employee, which could include parents taking on nannies without visas.
4. UK Borders Act 2007: This provided the UK Border Agency with powers to tackle illegal working and automatically deport some foreign nationals imprisoned for specific offences, or for more than one year. It gave immigration officers police-like powers, such as increased detention and a search-and-entry roles. The act brought in the power to create compulsory biometric cards for non-EU immigrants.
5. Borders, Citizenship and Immigration Act 2009: This act amended the rules so people from outside the European Economic Area had to have residential status for eight years before being eligible for naturalisation. Those seeking naturalisation through wedlock had to be married for five years first. The act also allowed immigration and customs officers to perform some of each other's roles and imposed a duty on home secretaries to safeguard children.(BBC news 2013)

Since 2010 UK assisted refugees under the title migrants crisis, People arriving in the UK in need of protection usually have to apply for asylum - and if this is granted they get

"refugee" status. But those brought under VPR have not gone through this process. Instead, they have been granted "humanitarian protection", a status normally used for people who "don't qualify for asylum" but would be at "real risk of suffering serious harm" in their home country. Like people granted refugee status, those given humanitarian protection can stay for five years, after which they can apply to settle in the UK. People in both categories have the right to work and access public funds.

By 2015 David Cameron has said the UK will accept 20,000 refugees from Syria by 2020. A further commitment to help unaccompanied child refugees may lead that figure to rise, but government sources say it will not change substantially. Critics have urged the government to do more to help people fleeing conflict in Syria and elsewhere, including those who have made dangerous journeys from the Middle East and north Africa to Europe.

The UK has already accepted about 1,000 refugees from Syria under the Vulnerable Persons Resettlement Programme (VPR). The government expanded the scheme last year, promising to take in 20,000 by 2020. The government has also said it will accept more unaccompanied child refugees from camps in Syria and neighboring countries.

The Home Office has not put a figure on how many under-18s will be taken in or over what period but sources have indicated the numbers involved would not significantly increase the current 20,000 commitment. Scotland's First Minister Nicola Sturgeon offered her support to Mr Cameron and Northern Ireland's Deputy First Minister Martin McGuinness told the prime minister the country could take thousands more refugees; with "a couple of thousand" at first.

The Local Government Association, which represents English and Welsh local authorities, has said councils have the capability to meet the extra demand for necessary resources such as housing and schools. More than 50 local authorities have been involved in accommodating Syrian arrivals so far. Mr. Cameron has stressed that Britain is the second-largest bilateral donor (after the US) supporting Syrian refugees in the region. The government says the UK has contributed £1.1bn since 2012 on food, tents and other humanitarian aid. It has also said the UK is giving a further £10m to help vulnerable refugee minors already in Europe.

Some could be brought to the UK "where it is in their best interests". This is likely to involve those whose closest living relatives are already in the UK. Almost 5,000 Syrians (including dependants) have been granted asylum in the UK since the Syrian conflict began in 2011, the government says. Those arrivals are outside the terms of the VPR and do not count towards

the 20,000 figure. Under the VPR, the government met an initial goal to bring 1,000 Syrian refugees to the UK by Christmas 2015 - exceeding that figure with the arrival of two groups at Stansted and Belfast in December. In total, more than 25,000 people claimed asylum in the UK in the 12 months up to June 2015, and 11,600 received asylum or an alternative form of protection. Eritreans were the largest group making asylum applications (3,568), followed by Pakistanis (2,302). The Office for National Statistics (ONS) said the number of applications remained "low relative to the peak number" of more than 84,000 in 2002 - when the highest proportions of asylum seekers came from Iraq, Zimbabwe and Afghanistan.

Asylum makes up a small proportion of those arriving in the UK, with official figures released in August showing net migration into the UK (the difference between the number entering and those leaving) hit an all-time high of 330,000. (BBC news 2016)

However as campaigning in Britain's referendum on EU membership gets into full swing, refugees and migrants fleeing war and poverty in the Middle East and Africa find themselves caught up in the "Brexit" debate. Campaigners say politicians have mixed up the issues of refugees, economic migrants, and Britain's possible departure from the European Union in a way that has often confused the real issues. Asylum seekers - who are likely to continue to push towards Britain in large numbers regardless of the EU vote - must be processed according to international law, which has nothing to with Britain's membership of the EU, said Zoe Gardner, a spokeswoman for London-based Asylum Aid.

Moreover People want to come to Britain because they see it as a welcoming place, said Laura Padoan, a spokeswoman for the UN refugee agency, UNHCR, in London. "People want to come to the UK because the UK is a peaceful country, it is multicultural and tolerant and people are allowed to live their lives," said Padoan. For some refugees, Britain may simply be the latest stop on a journey through the continent, after they have been forced to keep moving because they could not find the support they needed in other countries. Whereas Gardner said " They find in Greece that [security] is not available to them because of the economy, and they move on to find security elsewhere,". She said also "People trying to be in France find themselves still destitute and without basic securities, so they keep moving until they reach England,"

Nigel Farage, who leads the right-wing UK Independence Party (UKIP) which is campaigning for Britain to leave Europe, has said that staying in the EU would make it easier for refugees to cross borders to Britain. Gardner said that was unlikely. Then she said

"Refugees recognised in, for example, Germany, do not and will not get the right to travel to the UK to live and work. They have to stay in Germany and apply like any other non-EU migrant to come to the UK if they want to - and they may be rejected,". In some countries, refugees must wait to become citizens before they have the right to freedom of travel, said Padoan. It is a process which usually takes several years. (Dadlani 2016)

Britain has remained largely sealed off from the refugee crisis that has rocked much of the rest of Europe for the past year. Protected by geography and its status outside the passport-free Schengen zone, it took in only a fraction of the asylum seekers who arrived at Europe's southern shores last year. This reality has not prevented widely-televised images of migrants and refugees streaming through the Balkans from taking root in the public imagination and becoming associated with "uncontrolled" immigration to the UK – one of the biggest issues in the run-up to Thursday's EU referendum. It was no coincidence that UK Independence Party (UKIP) leader Nigel Farage appropriated an October 2015 photograph of hundreds of refugees crossing the Croatia-Slovenia border for a Vote Leave campaign poster emblazoned with the words: (Siegfried 2016)

The most direct impacts of Brexit will, of course, be on EU migrants living in the UK and on UK migrants living in the EU. The UK's policies towards asylum seekers remain largely unaffected. The country has long retained an opt-out from most EU asylum policies, including September 2015 agreement that member states would absorb 160,000 asylum seekers relocated from Greece and Italy. The exception is the Dublin Regulation, which allowed the UK to return asylum seekers to the first country where they registered after arriving in Europe. Member states are unlikely to agree to returns from the UK in the wake of the referendum.

A bilateral agreement with France, which allows Britain to implement border controls on French soil, has helped prevent thousands of migrants and refugees camped in Calais from reaching UK shores. Although the accord was struck independently of the EU, French politicians have in recent days described it as politically untenable in the wake of the referendum outcome.

Europe Director of the Migration Policy Institute Elizabeth Collett said the EU's near-impossible job of trying to get member states to agree on migration and asylum policies could be made somewhat easier by the UK's exit. On the other hand, the EU stands to lose the UK's

influence with key countries of origin such as Nigeria and Pakistan, which are among 16 priority countries the EU has proposed partnering with to stem migration.

I.6. Conclusion

The immigration policy changes over time and always at the forefront of political debate. Alexander Betts, director of Oxford University's Refugee Studies Centre, worries about the signal Brexit sends to the rest of Europe, where what's at stake is not just intra-EU immigration, but the EU's asylum policies.(ibid) He said "Europe's politicians will look at what's happened with Brexit and probably recognise there are votes to be won by trying to pander to the worst sentiments of fear and alienation, and scapegoating the EU and immigration,".

If the further rise of right-wing, Eurosceptic parties in countries such as the Netherlands, Denmark, Austria and France leads to more referendums and further fragmentation of the EU, refugees and asylum seekers may be among the losers. Most EU member states are bound by EU directives relating to asylum that set minimum standards for refugee reception and asylum processes. In theory, explained Betts, the directives are intended "to harmonise standards and prevent a race to the bottom".

In practice, the so-called Common European Asylum System has largely broken down in the last year, under pressure of numbers and the reluctance of member states to share the responsibility for asylum seekers arriving in frontline states more evenly. "The EU's ability to coordinate responsibility-sharing has unravelled; we've seen a series of failures," said Betts. "Some of the more positive moves have been by individual countries... The types of commitments that Sweden and Germany have made at different stages don't stem from the EU."(ibid) Countries' obligations towards refugees are primarily shaped by international refugee law, even if those obligations are reinforced by EU legislation. Betts said "There's no inevitability that an assertion of sovereignty means no solidarity with refugees,". "I don't think there's an inevitability that Brexit has to lead to a reduction in our collective commitment to refugee protection." So with these disorders what will happen before and after brexit?

Chapter Two

The Post

Brexit

Balancing Act

II.1. Introduction

Brexit is an abbreviation for "British exit" referring to the UK's decision in a June 23, 2016 referendum to leave the European Union (EU). The vote's result surprised pollsters and roiled global markets, causing the British pound to fall to its lowest level against the dollar in 30 years. Prime Minister David Cameron who called the referendum and campaigned for Britain to remain in the EU, resigned on July 13. Home Secretary Theresa May, who had replaced Cameron as leader of the Conservative party, then succeeded him as Prime Minister.

"Leave" won the referendum with 51.9% of the ballot, or 17.4 million votes; "Remain" received 48.1%, or 16.1 million. Turnout was 72.2%. The results were tallied across the UK, but the overall result conceals stark regional differences: 53.4% of English voters supported Brexit, compared to just 38.0% of Scottish voters. Because England accounts for the vast majority of the UK's population, support there swayed the result in Brexit's favor. If the vote had only been conducted in Wales (where "Leave" also won), Scotland and Northern Ireland, Brexit would have received just 43.6% of the vote (Hunt, 2017).

Conservative leader Theresa May has said one of the main messages she has taken from the Leave vote is that the British people want to see a reduction in immigration. She has said this will be a focus of Brexit negotiations as she remains committed to getting net migration - the difference between the numbers entering and leaving the country - down to a "sustainable" level, which she defines as being below 100,000 a year (ibid). Labour has said the free movement of people has to end when Britain leaves the EU. It has yet to reveal what system it would use for people who come to the UK for work or study.

In the year to September net migration was 273,000 a year, of which 165,000 were EU citizens, and 164,000 were from outside the EU - the figures include a 56,000 outflow of UK citizens. That net migration figure is 49,000 lower than the year before (ibid).

II.2. Immigration Debate before Brexit

Immigration play a great role and looked set to be one of the decisive issues and affected in the 2015 General Election. Then its impact « has been described as the closest and least predictable in living memory by many political analysts. The failure of the coalition

government to bring down net immigration, the rise of UKIP, the attitude of the settled migrants, and the diverging regional interests of Wales and, particularly, of Scotland in the treatment of the immigration question were mostly seen to be negative factors playing against the Conservatives. However, the issue was sidelined as the campaign wore on thanks to an objective alliance between the two main contenders

It was progressively overshadowed by the EU referendum as well as by more pressing concerns about the economy and the future of the NHS. » UKIP's dramatic victory in the 2014 European election, after a campaign focused predominantly on immigration, was followed by high-profile defections to the party and by-election victories, keeping Nigel Farage's party in the headlines. David Cameron's net migration target, and his failure to meet it, ensured that voters received a regular reminder of the issue every three months when the ONS published new immigration statistics. New crackdowns and tougher measures, announced each quarter in response to the figures, only heightened the public's sense that the Government hadn't got a grip. Ahead of the general election campaign, immigration polled consistently in the top three issues that voters cared most about, alongside the economy and the NHS.

The newspaper headlines revealed that the issue has not gone away. Net migration was back with a vengeance in May, and again in August when it reached record levels. The refugee crisis across Europe, and closer to home in Calais, has brought asylum back into the public debate – both positively, in the public's humanitarian response to the Syrian refugee crisis, and negatively, with migrants referred to as 'swarms' and even as 'cockroaches'.

Yet during the election campaign itself, much of the public debate on immigration fell strangely silent. Offered an opportunity to put their views and policies on immigration to the nation, most politicians kept their heads down. The exception was UKIP, who maintained their focus on the issue - but most of the public didn't like what they had to say. Nigel Farage's polarising rhetoric proved unpalatable to most of the public, who hold more nuanced views. For the duration of the election campaign, immigration had a much lower profile – and less of an impact on the result – than many had anticipated.

https://www.researchgate.net/profile/Didier_Lassalle/publication/304913418_The_immigration_issue_in_the_UK_2015_general_election/links/577d0b0008aef26c3b809ad6/The-immigration-issue-in-the-UK-2015-general-election.pdf

David Cameron insisted that the Conservatives had a free hand to deliver a ‘tougher, fairer and faster’ immigration system without their former coalition partners (Sommers, 2015).

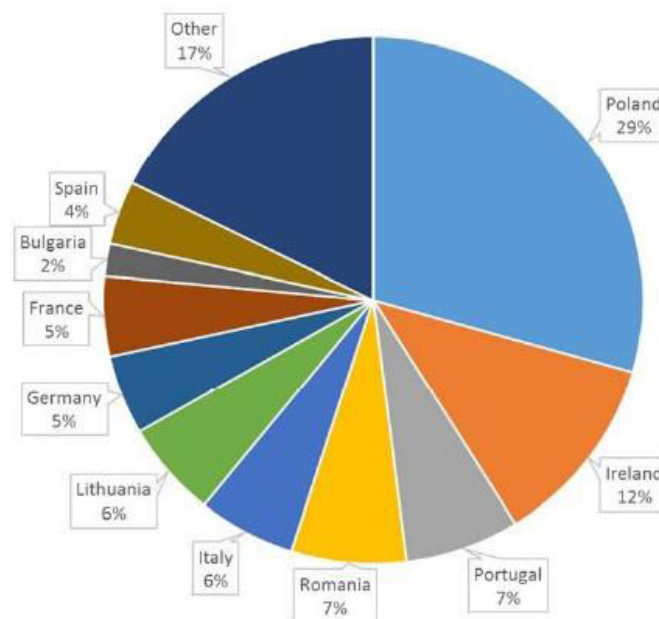
Then The new immigration bill to be propose a slew of extremely radical measures to make the country less attractive and much less welcoming to migrants. This is probably the Conservative government’s last-ditch attempt to try to show UKIP’s and other undecided voters that immigration can be controlled without resorting to the drastic measures advocated by Nigel Farage before the oncoming EU referendum. ‘Immigration Bill: Illegal workers ‘may face six months’ jail’, *BBC News*, 25 August 2015.

In the referendum debate about the UK’s membership of the European Union (EU), a major argument of the Leave campaign is that Brexit would allow more control over the flow of immigrants to the UK from the rest of the EU.« If Britain votes to leave the EU it will be because of hostility to immigration. It will not be because of the threat of eurozone caucusing, the role of national parliaments vis-a-vis the European Parliament, regulatory threats to the City of London or concerns over the competitiveness of the EU economy. Disillusionment with the EU has risen in the UK because membership has become synonymous in many voters’ minds with uncontrolled immigration. » **Tilford, Simon** *Britain, immigration and Brexit* which means that the EU faces serious challenges, from eurozone governments’ failure to get on top of the problems of the eurozone to the inability of EU institutions to bridge the gap between themselves and ordinary EU citizens. But if the UK leaves the EU, the reason will be of British politicians’ own making: popular hostility to immigration.

II.3.Immigration from Europe

Immigration has grown a lot in the last 20 years and a significant fraction of this growth has been from other EU countries, especially after 2004 and the accession of eight East European countries (the ‘A8’). Between 1995 and 2015, the number of immigrants from other EU countries living in the UK tripled from 0.9 million to 3.3 million. The share of EU nationals grew from 1.5% to 5.3% of the total population and from 1.8% to 6.3% of the working age population (adults aged 16-64). In 2015, EU net immigration to the UK was 172,000, only just below the figure of 191,000 for non-EU immigrants.

Share of EU Nationals by Country of Origin, 2015



The big increase in EU immigration occurred after the ‘A8’ East European countries joined in 2004. In 2015 29% of EU immigrants were Polish. EU immigrants are more educated, younger, more likely to be in work and less likely to claim benefits than the UK-born. About 44% have some form of higher education compared with only 23% of the UK-born. About a third of EU immigrants live in London, compared with only 11% of the UK-born.

According to the CEP analysis of Labour Force Survey, in 2015, EU countries account for 35% of all immigrants living in the UK. While 29% of EU nationals are Polish and 12% are Irish, the nationalities of other EU immigrants are quite evenly spread across the other 25 countries in the EU. (figure1)

The majority of citizens from other EU countries say they come to work or to find work. Others usually come to study or to join family members in the UK. That contrasts with non-EU immigrants, who mainly say they come to study. The proportion of EU citizens coming for work has been rising in recent years, which is thought to be related to the expansion of the EU and people leaving southern European countries experiencing economic problems. EU net migration is at historically high levels. Annual net migration from the rest of the EU is at historically high levels. It’s been an estimated 160,000 to 190,000 for the last two years. Back in 2010 it was nearer 70,000 a year” (O’Leary, 2017).

II.4. Pressures of Immigration

The population of the UK is growing very rapidly due very largely to immigration. This is having a significant impact on a range of services from the queue for social housing, to hospital, maternity and GP services as well as education, public transport, the environment and the general transport infrastructure.

According to Mark Dayan's research, EU immigration contributes to financial pressure on the NHS, but its annual impact is small compared to other factors. Whether EU immigrants pay enough into the public finances overall to cover their costs is difficult to say, and researchers give different answers. However, it does appear that they make more of a net contribution than other groups. The UK doesn't claim back as much as it could of the cost of treating Europeans who come here for a shorter period as visitors or to live as pensioners, which is mostly down to the NHS not asking for money it is due.

The NHS is under great financial pressure, set to continue for the foreseeable future. A symptom is the unprecedented headline deficit of £2.45 billion run up by NHS trusts in England last year alone. The role that immigration from Europe plays in driving this is a contentious and important issue in the debate around whether the UK should leave the EU.

EU citizens moving into and through the UK change both sides of the NHS's financial equation. They affect the number of people who must be treated—but by paying taxes or transferring money from their home countries under schemes such as EHIC, they also affect how much money the health service has to spend (Dayan, 2016).

Immigration is also placing a strain on UK schools, and this is being felt most keenly in England where 90% of migrants live. There is currently an overall surplus of primary school places in England however, by the academic year 2018/19, it is estimated that three-fifths of primary schools in England will have a shortfall of places. Research by the 'Find A School' website also found in October 2016 that more than half of England's secondary schools are now oversubscribed. One of the effects of this pressure is that, for many parents, there is now a complete absence of choice between schools.

The rising number of births is exacerbating some of this shortfall. The increase has been primarily because of a rise in births to non-UK born mothers, who accounted for 78% of the increase: "To cope with the kind of pressure that immigration is placing on the schools system The taxpayer is having to find extra school places equivalent to building 27 new

average-sized secondary schools or 100 new primary schools.” (Lain Duncan Smith MP, Vote Leave. 10 MAY 2016, EU Referendum ease since 2002. In addition some schools will need to provide additional support for migrant children that other children do not need - such as translation services and additional teachers for those whose first language is not English. A parliamentary answer in 2016 revealed that £267 million was allocated to schools in 2015/16 to support children for whom English is an additional language. (Duncan,).

This claim is based on an estimate made by National Statistician John Pullinger in response to a parliamentary question tabled by Conservative MP William Wragg. Mr Pullinger used data from the annual International Passenger Survey to estimate the level of immigration of European Economic Area (EEA) nationals aged five to 18. For 2014, the most recent year available the figure is 25,000 – considerably higher than in previous years. As Mr. Duncan Smith says, that is the equivalent of about 27 average-sized secondary schools or about 100 average primary schools. In fact, he probably could have gone further because the 25,000 is just one year's worth of immigration. But without more details about the age of the children who arrived, it's difficult to be sure about the total long-term impact.

Another pressure on housing, according to David Barrett's report a surge in immigration is exerting huge pressure on the capital's housing market and has contributed to long-standing residents being displaced. Migration Watch UK, the campaign group which is pressing for tougher immigration rules, said its analysis of immigration trends in London's exposed “massive pressure on schools and hospitals and especially housing”.

The report accused Boris Johnson, the Mayor of London, of being “less than frank” about the real reason for the capital's rising population. A predicted one million increase in the number of foreigners in the capital over the next 15 years would have to be matched by one million Londoners leaving, it suggested. Sir Andrew Green, chairman of the immigration think-tank, said it was “sheer nonsense” for the Greater London Authority to claim that the predicted population rise was due to a “youthful population.”

Sir Andrew said: “City Hall has been less than frank about what is going on. The general public has no idea of the extent to which immigration is driving the city's housing crisis and causing Londoners to leave.” He added: “The business lobby seems to have a lofty disregard for the lives of ordinary Londoners. It is ludicrous for them to suggest that London needs immigrants on anything like the present scale.

The inevitable effect is massive pressure on schools and hospitals and, especially, on housing. London needs skilled migration, not mass migration. “Those who promote the idea of an international city effectively free of constraints on immigration seem to be blind to the implications for the existing population of London.” Migration watch said immigration would continue place huge demand on the capital’s housing stock (Barrett, 2014).

II.5. Immigration a Reason for Britain to leave EU

On June 23 2016 Britain voted to leave the European Union. When all votes were counted 51.9 percent of those voting had opted to leave providing a lead over the Remain vote that extended to almost 7 percentage points in England. The vote for Brexit followed a campaign by several Eurosceptic groups—notably Vote Leave, Leave. EU and Grassroots Out—that had focused heavily on mobilizing public anxiety over immigration, the free movement of EU nationals and the further enlargement of the EU to encompass Albania, Montenegro and Serbia, and possibly Turkey (Clarke et al, 2016).

The issue fed into wider questions of national and cultural identity, which suited Leave's message - particularly to lower income voters. The result suggested that concerns about levels of migration into the UK over the past 10 years, their impact on society, and what might happen in the next 20 years were more widely felt and ran even deeper than people had suspected. Just as crucially, it suggested Leave's central argument that the UK cannot control the number of people coming into the country while remaining in the EU really hit home. Turkey was a key weapon in Leave's armoury and, although claims that the UK would not be able to stop it entering the EU were firmly denied, there was enough uncertainty about this - a fact that the ongoing migrant crisis in Europe unquestionably fed into.

The language and imagery used by the Leave campaign came in for criticism and there were recurring tensions between the Conservative dominated official Leave movement, Nigel Farage's UKIP road show and the separate Leave.EU group. But their various messages resonated and segued with their central proposition that a vote to leave was a once in a generation chance to take control and assert national sovereignty (Farage, 2016)

II.6. Immigration after Brexit

The coming Brexit negotiations will likely centre on the trade-off between access to the single market and controlling EU migration. Achieving a compromise – by putting some limits on free movement and some limits on single market access – will be difficult, but nevertheless it will be a key priority for the UK in the negotiations.

In the aftermath of the vote for Brexit, the UK government now faces a profound challenge in securing a new trading arrangement with the EU. The EU has made it clear that the UK cannot have comprehensive single market access without retaining the free movement of people. The greatest difficulty for the UK in the forthcoming Brexit trade negotiations will be the problem of how to find a compromise between protecting the UK economy by securing single market access on the one hand, and responding to public concerns about immigration by changing the current free movement rules on the other – assuming, of course, that such a compromise will be possible.

At this point we cannot know precisely what trade-offs between migration policy and market access the UK will actually be able to make – they will depend on a process of diplomatic negotiation between the UK and the EU. However, progressive policymakers and thinkers need to work out which trade-offs they think would be better than others – and they need to do it soon. Only then can they work out what they think the UK's approach to the negotiations should be (Morris, 2016).

Theresa May has suggested, that free movement of people from the EU to the UK could be extended after Brexit. Then she said there would be an "implementation" phase once an exit deal had been struck, with business and governments needing a "period of time" to adjust to any new restrictions. The government insists Brexit will give the UK greater control of its borders. Whereas, Labour said Mrs May's comments showed she was trying to "downplay expectations" (Pienaar, 2017).

Nagging questions about the future after Brexit continue to follow the prime minister at home and abroad. The shape of future immigration policy is high on the list. One key change, Mrs May said, would be that borders and immigration policy would be under British control.

That clearly left open the possibility of free movement continuing, at least temporarily. She did not endorse talk in Brussels of a transitional period of maybe three years. But the tone of ministers discussing immigration policy has changed. Suggestions of a sharp cut in EU

migration after Brexit has given way to caveats and qualification. The rhetoric and slogans of the EU referendum and its aftermath have passed - now Mrs May and her ministers are preparing the ground for the give-and-take and compromises involved in their mission to deliver success and stability outside the EU.

Employers in Britain will have to take more responsibility for enforcing immigration rules after Brexit because the Home Office does not have the manpower to monitor EU migrants as well as those from the rest of the world, experts warn. Although the government has not yet revealed the details of its new immigration system, it has become clear that businesses, universities and landlords will have to shoulder some of the burden for ensuring that migrants comply with visa rules once the UK ends freedom of movement and EU nationals are subject to entry controls. It is expected that immigration officials will categorize some businesses or universities with a good record of compliance ensuring that workers or students leave the country once their visas have expired as “highly trusted” visa sponsors so they can focus their attention on riskier organisations.

The shift in responsibility is needed because cuts to Home Office budgets mean the UK Border Force, whose enforcement resources are already stretched, will be unable to expand further. Anand Menon, professor of European politics and foreign affairs at King’s College London, said: “Implementation of the new visa and work permit system will be left to landlords, companies and universities. “Very little in this policy will be about control of our borders because that is not where [oversight of immigration] will happen. Much more will be inside universities, companies and so on” (Warrell, 2017).

II.7. Post Brexit Immigration Policy

The immigration system post-Brexit controls and limits economic migration. Then Controlled migration will benefit UK’s economy, society and public services. For far too long, record levels of net migration has meant it has been doing anything but. The new immigration system post-Brexit should continue to encourage skilled workers, especially in those industries in which are lacking supply, but place strict restrictions on low and unskilled labour.

Moreover UK will be in a stronger position to accept more genuine refugees. Reducing economic migration to a lower, more manageable level will turn the tide of public opinion

towards offering more help to genuine candidates for asylum. The immigration system that is compassionate – a system that allows for responsible migration. Brexit doesn't mean pulling up the drawbridge. "Britain must have a system which encourages the best and the brightest to migrate and settle here. We can achieve all of these things and still reduce net migration year on year with a migration system fit for the 21st century." from the moment leaving the EU, that day is day zero for the government on immigration.

Because mass migration has put pressure on infrastructure, housing, public services and compressed wages of the low skilled. It's clear that the public want to see a reduction in migration levels. The Brexit vote was not explicitly about immigration, but it's undeniable that migration levels were an important part of the referendum debate. When controlled at a sustainable level, immigration benefits and enriches our country. The arguments for pulling up the drawbridge and enacting a complete shutdown of migration are as flawed as the arguments for a complete open door. By leaving the European Union, there can now be a happy medium, in which the government has full control of inward migration but can set a level that benefits business, industry and society as a whole.

II.8. the Future of Immigration Policy in the Uk

"UK Prime Minister Theresa May has all but ruled out maintaining freedom of movement between the UK and EU post-Brexit. This implies a new migration system, providing recruitment challenges for a range of sectors from social care to agriculture. Businesses should now plan to adapt, but policy flux is not all bad news, with some distinct opportunities arising, especially should the government seek to integrate its approach to migration with industrial policy. Theresa May has explicitly framed June's EU referendum result as a mandate to set immigration criteria at a national level. Importantly, she has also committed to a long-term numerical cap for net migration to the UK, which will have a decisive impact on how that policy is designed and implemented"(Smith, 2017).

The government between count and care. Reaching the net migration target, notionally set at 100,000 per year, requires a multi strand approach and the government plans to produce a range of options for consultation in the summer of 2017. With UK net migration currently at more than 330,000, the target implies some very tough choices that will be closely scrutinised politically.

The first big one will be who to count. Excluding some large cohorts from the total would not be practically or politically impossible – students stand out as an example. However, the UK prime minister has made it clear that the target will not be altered to exclude groups currently included, with UK Home Secretary Amber Rudd already signalling that student visa numbers will be restricted. If the government gives away this big potential fix, it will put all the more pressure on working migrants. A way to tackle this might be a system of very short-term visas – for example for agricultural workers – that were effectively netted out in a single year and not counted against a target.

Moreover, there are a huge range of options for policymakers in UK . They will need to decide whether to treat EU and non-EU nationals differently. The favourability of the access granted to EU citizens will be defined by the negotiations but is likely to be an early and high profile feature of the exchanges between Brussels and Westminster. Preferential access for EU labour is expected to be advocated by businesses on both sides of the Channel that rely on access to migrant labour and by some member states that are sources of migration to the UK, though is likely to include a requirement for migrants to have a firm job offer before being granted entry to the country.

The UK will then need to make judgements on what skills and sectors to prioritise. A skill focus points to an extension of the current points system. A sector focus implies some big industrial policy decisions on who to favour and why. As with other aspects of recent policy, the government will be keen to ensure the system is ‘employer-led’ with employers being encouraged to identify their own priorities for any migration system, bargaining with government and with each other - and taking the reputational damage when the media focuses on the issue. The danger for the government is the politicisation and short-term interventionism a quota system implies regardless of any non-governmental bodies placed in control of policy.

At least, government will need to consider whether to treat the UK as a whole, or divide up migration targets on a regional basis. Although administratively problematic, a range of stakeholders, from the London Chamber of Commerce (LCC) to the All-Party Parliamentary Group on Social Integration have urged the government to consider a regional visa scheme. The visa would allow for migrants to be able to work in areas of labour shortages but would not entitle them to seek employment in other areas of the UK. The administrative headache of such a system will surely count against it. Ibid

Whereas there are sectors will be impacted, an obvious implication of such an overhaul is a big increment in cost and complexity for business. If the overhaul of the system is as radical as ministers are hinting at, businesses of all sizes and in all sectors employing migrant labour will have a new regulatory regime to adjust to, with steep penalties likely in the event of any transgressions. These burdens on businesses could include: increased record keeping and reporting requirements, more frequent inspections and charges for requirements such as language learning. The government will also have to fund an increase in processing, monitoring and enforcement activity so in the future employers can expect (despite the current denials) to be levied for the right to hire from the EU, along with fines for breaking the rules.

Fig 2. Most affected by policy change:

Sector	Wage risk	Recruitment risk
Hospitality	Low	High
Agriculture & Food processing	Low	High
Construction	Medium	Medium
Health & Social Care	Medium	High
Tech	High	Medium

Source: ONS IPS estimates (2016), GC analysis

The pressure to improve domestic hiring rates is also likely to drive policy change and the cost of this will potentially be shared between business and government. The government can be expected, through its industrial strategy vehicle, to invest in vocational skills training, employability support and further incentives for employers to take on and train native workers. With private sector training providers already finding opportunities from the apprenticeship programme this could be a sector that sees substantial growth. The impact of

these changes would obviously not be even. Temporary worker solutions could remove some of the risk in sectors such as agriculture, summer hospitality or Christmas demand. However, the apparent political focus on high-skilled migrants is likely to mean that low-skilled sectors will potentially be where reforms bite, not just in numerical terms but in English language requirements, reduced rights to settle and the need for a firm job offer before entering the UK. Whichever model the UK government chooses, for hospitality, construction and social care employers, the route to finding employees will be more convoluted. For these sectors, there is likely to be a shift in the recruitment process; for smaller enterprises, this means a reliance on recruitment agencies. For recruitment agencies, this could be a double-edged sword, with increased demand balanced by being at the sharp end of fresh regulatory requirements.

The UK healthcare sector stands out due to its level of exposure. Already facing a range of existential pressures, the health and care system is more reliant than most on migrant labour. The social care workforce is 18% non-UK, the NHS 22%. While for the latter there is the political will to create rules to maintain worker inflow, the perception that the UK is a less attractive place to seek work could push labour shortages from being a major inconvenience to something that persistently degrades the quality of care across the UK. This is not good news for traditional providers of health and care, whether public or private. If there is a silver lining it may be in the greater impetus to reorganise and innovate in healthcare delivery. Tech could also be impacted. The relative lack of depth in the UK's home-grown digital workforce, compared to the amount of capital and entrepreneurial energy deployed in the UK potentially means a big talent gap. The amount of non-British workers in the UK's IT sector stands at 14% and there is currently a bottleneck of non-EU workers trying to get into the UK through the capped Tier 2 visa stream. Any move to restrict skilled migration further will exacerbate the situation, especially if proxies for skills, like pay, tip the system in favour of sectors like financial services.

Conclusion

Brexit has given the UK government a golden opportunity to change the UK's immigration policy for the better. As members of the European Union, essentially outsourced the immigration policy to the EU. With the UK on a path to leaving the European Union, the government not only has the domestic power to reduce immigration, but has the moral responsibility to make significant changes in line with public opinion. Then under a bespoke British working visa system, immigration policy is fit for 21st century Britain. It will be a system that reflects public demand for reducing overall numbers and a system that enhances the economic prosperity going forward. This system will not only give the government ultimate control, but also ultimate flexibility to tweak and change as it sees fit year on year. At its heart, this system is fair and ethical. It doesn't treat citizens of some countries differently to others (**Woolfe, 2017**).

General Conclusion

The UK has received immigrants for centuries. The country has traditionally been a net exporter of people. Immigration has always been part of UK nation's history, its culture and its growth. Over the centuries it has taken many forms. In the case of the Norman Conquest it came through force, leading to death and destruction of the native population. Sometimes it came through helping those fleeing persecution, as was the case for European Jews and Ugandans. Other times it came through invitation, like for those coming from the West Indies or indeed the European Union. On the whole, immigration has been welcomed by the British people and, despite occasional difficulty, it has been positive for the nation. However immigration is one of the top three most important issues facing the country looking and new migration policy for the United Kingdom.

Mass migration has put pressure on infrastructure, housing, public services and compressed wages of the low skilled. It's clear that the public want to see a reduction in migration levels. The Brexit vote was not explicitly about immigration, but it is undeniable that migration levels were an important part of the referendum debate. When controlled at a sustainable level, immigration benefits and enriches our country. The arguments for pulling up the drawbridge and enacting a complete shutdown of migration are as flawed as the arguments for a complete open door. By leaving the European Union, there can now be a happy medium, in which the government has full control of inward migration but can set a level that benefits business, industry and society as a whole.

Brexit has given the UK government a golden opportunity to change the UK's immigration policy for the better. As members of the European Union, we essentially outsourced our immigration policy to the EU. With the UK on a path to leaving the European Union, the government not only has the domestic power to reduce immigration, but has the moral responsibility to make significant changes in line with public opinion.

Under a bespoke British working visa system, the country will have a immigration policy which is fit for 21st century Britain. It will be a system that reflects public demand for reducing overall numbers and a system that enhances our economic prosperity going forward.

This system will not only give the government ultimate control, but also ultimate flexibility to tweak and change as it sees fit year on year. At least Brexit will reduce Immigration as much as possible. However on another side Britain still needs geniuses and superiors.

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