การจัดการการโยกย้ายถิ่นฐานของคนที่ไม่ถือสัญชาติสหภาพยุโรป
กรณีศึกษาประเทศสหราชอาณาจักรในยุคปัจจุบัน

นางสาว สุชญา ตันเจริญผล

MANAGING IMMIGRATION OF NON-EU NATIONALS:
THE CASE STUDY OF CONTEMPORARY BRITAIN

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ลักษณะเฉพาะในการรักษาผลประโยชน์ตนเองของประเทศสหราชอาณาจักร   ก่อให้เกิด
ความสัมพันธ์ที่ไม่มั่นคงระหว่างประเทศสมาชิกสหภาพยุโรป   ซึ่งถือเป็นการรวมกลุ่มทางการเมือง
และเศรษฐกิจที่ใหญ่ที่สุดในโลก อีกทั้งเนื่องจากประเทศสมาชิกต้องยกอำนาจสูงสุดในการปกครอง
ประเทศให้แก่สหภาพยุโรป   รัฐบาลทุกสมัยของประเทศสหราชอาณาจักรยิ่งตอกย้ำภาพลักษณ์
"ลัทธิสัจจนิยม" ในด้านความสัมพันธ์ระหว่างประเทศ และโดยปราศจากข้อตกลงร่วมกันแบบบังคับ
ในเรื่องการโยกย้ายถิ่นฐาน ประเทศสหราชอาณาจักรจึงจัดการนโยบายของตนเอง โดยยึดหลักการ
รักษาผลประโยชน์แห่งชาติ จนกระทั่งช่วงเวลาสูงสุดของภาวะเศรษฐกิจถดถอย และความกดดันจาก
การหลั่งไหลเข้าของพหุชนจากหลากหลายเชื้อชาติ ปัจจัยทางเศรษฐกิจจึงมีบทบาทเด่นกว่าปัจจัยทาง
การเมืองในยุคโลกาภิวัฒน์ รัฐบาลจึงได้นำนโยบายใหม่มาใช้ในปี พ.ศ. 2553 ซึ่งถือเป็นจุดเปลี่ยน
สำคัญในประวัติศาสตร์ และมุ่งที่จะจำกัดคนที่ไม่ถือสัญชาติสหภาพยุโรป ทั้งที่พำนักอยู่และคาดหวัง
ที่จะเดินทางเข้าประเทศสหราชอาณาจักร   "ผู้อพยพเข้าที่เป็นประโยชน์ต่อเศรษฐกิจเท่านั้นจึงจะ
ได้รับอนุญาตให้เดินทางเข้าประเทศ"   นอกจากนั้นบรรดาองค์กรภาครัฐและองค์กรท้องถิ่นต่างล้วน
ท้าทายกับผลกระทบที่เกิดขึ้นภายในประเทศ   ทั้งทางบวกและทางลบ อาทิ โอกาสการจ้างงานที่
เท่าเทียมกัน สวัสดิการรัฐ ผลประโยชน์ต่างๆ ความสอดคล้อง การทำงานร่วมกันในสังคม   และ
การต่อต้านการเลือกปฏิบัติ ระยะเวลาหนึ่งปีหลังการการบังคับใช้นโยบายนี้ ในมุมมองของคนที่ไม่
ถือสัญชาติสหภาพยุโรป พวกเขาคิดว่านโยบายใหม่มีการปฏิบัติที่ "เด็ดขาดแต่ไม่ยุติธรรม" ในเรื่อง
การถือประโยชน์คนในชาติเป็นส่วนใหญ่ อย่างไรก็ตามในมุมมองของคนสัญชาติสหราชอาณาจักร
พวกเขายังคาดหวังถึงผลต่างๆ ที่จะลดคลื่นอพยพของคนเหล่านี้ได้อย่างมีประสิทธิภาพ เพื่อให้เข้าใจ
ความคิดองค์รวมของนโยบายการโยกย้ายถิ่นฐานของทั้งระดับสหภาพยุโรป   และประเทศ
สหราชอาณาจักร จึงมีการนำนโยบายต่างๆ ความรู้ทางวิชาการ และเหตุการณ์จริงมาคิดวิเคราะห์และ
ประเมินผ่านกระบวนการใบบทต่างๆ

สาขาวิชา ยุโรปศึกษา   ลายมือชื่อนิสิต สุชญา ต้นเจริญผล
ปีการศึกษา 2552   ลายมือชื่อ อ.ที่ปรึกษาวิทยานิพนธ์หลัก

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MANAGING IMMIGRATION / NON-EU NATIONALS

SUCHAYA TANCHAROENPOL : MANAGING IMMIGRATION OF NON-EU NATIONALS: THE CASE STUDY OF CONTEMPORARY BRITAIN. THESIS ADVISOR : ASSISTANT PROFESSOR SURAT HORACHAIKUL, 157 pp.

Self-preserving characteristics of Britain lead to uncertain relations among other member states of the largest bloc of deepening and widening European integration. Since the supranational EU deprives national sovereignty, the British successive governments have reiterated political realism in the international relations. Without the prescriptive Europeanisation of immigration, Britain manages the immigration policy preserving national interest. Until its peak of the economic crisis and pressure of inflows of multicultural faces, economic determinants play a greater role than political determinants in the globalised world. The new five-tier programme in 2009 brings the greatest change in the British history aiming at restricting non-EU nationals both residing in and expecting to enter Britain. *"Only immigrants producing large benefits and contributions to economy can enter Britain."* Moreover, the governmental and local authorities challenge positive and negative impacts on Britain such as equal employments opportunities, state welfare, benefits, social cohesion and anti-discrimination. After one year of implementation, non-EU nationals find it *'firm but not fair'* treatment due to the top priority of British interest. However, consequences of the policy for practically reducing the great flood of non-EU immigrants are anticipated to be effective by British citizens. To understand a comprehensive notion of both the EU and British immigration levels, key terms are analysed and evaluated through policies, academic researches, empirical situations and evidences along the whole chapters.

Field of Study : __European Studies__   Student's Signature สุชญา ต้นเจริญผล

Academic Year : _2009_   Advisor's Signature

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CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background and issues

Britain considered as a *'semi-detached'*[1] member of the European states has always protected its national sovereignty because of many historical explanations as well as political constraints. After completing the Single Market in 1993, the EU destroys geographical barriers and supports the free movements of person. Immigration creates more jobs within European member states welcoming non-EU citizens through the international policy. Nevertheless, immigration has always been one of the most burning debatable topics in the European Union since it relates to national security and political decision-making of a state. Since the post-war period immigration has been applied as an instrument to solve economic, political, security, and demographic issues. It is brought as an excuse to stand in the world of multilateralism and integrated globalisation. Europe, in particular powerful countries, is considered as a wishful place for better job opportunities and high income. However, as time goes by and trends change, there are more severe economic downturn and political constraints. Recently, many procedures and policies toward immigration in the EU level have been initiated to control and restrict the great flows of immigration into the European region. Realism is continuously a major context of British successive governments in exercising power. Economic determinants increasingly affect the direction of immigration policy more than political determinants. These cause the new regulations and standards in each member state. Consequently, immigration is not simple and pleasant for the European citizens and non-EU nationals anymore.

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[1] Simon Bulmer, "Britain and European integration: of sovereignty, slow adaptation, and semi-detachment," in <u>Britain and the European community: The politics of semi-detachment,</u> ed. Stephen George (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), p. 2.

Concerning immigration, there is only a big umbrella in this domain for a scope of policies and cooperation but the right of decision-making and national sovereign power still falls into a member state. I am considerably interested in the impact of the European integration on the national member states whether they comply with rules or protect their domestic sovereignty. I predominantly study the managing immigration in terms of immigration control including antidiscrimination, harmonisation and the national identity toward EU and non-EU nationals.

The European Union symbolizes the greatest strength of the regional integration, where supranational organisations prevail domestic structures. However, not all of the European members agree with the ideas of surrender sovereignty.

Britain is one of the most outstanding cases on which I choose to focus. Considered as the most *'self-interested'* state[2], it has had the very unique and incongruous character in the political domain resulting in national political constraints and policies. These have led to a lot of problems concerning managing immigration procedures and policies up till now. Among other continental European Union members, Britain called a *'stranger in Europe'*[3] tremendously protects its sovereignty and national security. The weak impact of the EU on national politics is based on nationally specific institutional arrangements and parliamentary aspects. These cause the political dimension more difficult to Europeanise and to authorise dependent controllable approaches.[4] There were not many changes and transformation in the British immigration framework. As a result, the 'Supranationalism' does not take place in Britain, at least in the immigration policy.

The originally British sense of *national self-worth* has been considerably enhanced by the speech in the Second World War, *"We were still, just,*

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[2] Stephen George, Britain and European integration since 1945: Making contemporary Britain (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1991), p. 35.

[3] Stephen Wall, A stranger in Europe: Britain and the EU from Thatcher to Blair (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), p. 215.

[4] Simon Bulmer, "Britain and European integration: of sovereignty, slow adaptation, and semi-Detachment," in Britain and the European community: The politics of semi-detachment, ed. Stephen George pp. 25-29.

an Empire on which the sun never set."[5] Historical explanations for self-esteem British national sovereignty were such as the former world-power status and its leading power for the British Empire and Commonwealth, the progression of institutions since the English Civil War, the success of avoidance as an island of full-scale invasion, popular loyalty to the Crown, and pride in national identity together with an aversion of 'homogenisation' to join the European integration.[6]

The powerful *self-serving* idea has been influenced since Britain applied for the EC membership and got involved in the process of the European integration in 1973.[7] Along that time, Britain, who was keen on the concept of *'nationalism,'* hardly surrendered its sovereign power to the European level due to pride in the British Constitution.[8] It means that the idea to surrender its sovereignty is anathema to Britain, in contrast to the status of others in continental Europe. Britain is the one who gave the death blow[9] and prevented dream of European integration among other member states. Being reluctant to participate in supranational integration contributes to the absence of any 'equivalent political enthusiasm' for British involvement in European integration. There were additionally factors reflecting a *'gatekeeping role'*[10] in controlling Britain's relations with the EC such as public opinion, interest groups, political parties, and local authorities.

Britain, moreover, apparently wishes to play the leading role in the globalism or acts as a 'Trojan Horse'[11] in Europe. Britain considers itself not only as the dominant industrial and economic power in the world, but also the leader of political and military issues as the orientation of Sir Winston Churchill. Because of

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[5] Stephen Wall, A stranger in Europe: Britain and the EU from Thatcher to Blair, p. 205.

[6] Simon Simon Bulmer, "Britain and European integration: of sovereignty, slow adaptation, and semi-Detachment," in Britain and the European community: The politics of semi-detachment, ed. Stephen George, pp. 8-9.

[7] Stephen George, Britain and European integration since 1945: Making contemporary Britain, p. 22.

[8] Ibid., pp. 35-37.

[9] Ibid., p. 31.

[10] Simon Bulmer, "Britain and European integration: of sovereignty, slow adaptation, and semi-Detachment," in Britain and the European community: The politics of semi-detachment, ed. Stephen George, p. 3.

[11] Ibid., p. 12.

the political and economic relations, he believed that Britain was the centre of three overlapping spheres of influence which were the Atlantic Relationship, the British Empire and the Commonwealth, and Europe.[12] British considerations, or 'Atlanticism',[13] offended regional grouping towards a multilateral trading order which judged the United States and the Commonwealth as an enemy. The tradition pattern of the British European policy also pays more interest to the colonial and ex-colonial issues.[14] The sense presents consistency of British predominant influencing policies which disrupts the procedures of European integration or Regionalism, together with debarring the international world order of Supranationalism.

Being a 'fortress Europe,' Britain becomes anti inward-looking or even a protectionist against the rest of the world in contrast with other member states.[15] As a result, Britain has little enthusiasm for the European integration and the British policy has emphasized a reputation of *an 'Awkward Partner'* in the Union.[16]

The European integration for other European members is as a framework for accomplishing common solutions and sharing problems. However, in the British opinions the European integration pulls away their sovereignty and identity, together with the increasing extent of diversity in national practices.[17] None of the successive British governments can ensure that changing economic structures, political traditions, and institutional forms of all member states would not produce differences of national patterns in the European regulation.[18] Consequently, British domestic politics and national sovereign power play the very crucial role in determining the policy content.

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[12] Stephen George, Britain and European integration since 1945: Making contemporary Britain, pp. 33-35.

[13] Ibid., pp. 279-280.

[14] Ibid., pp. 34-35.

[15] Ibid., p. 59.

[16] Stephen George, An awkward partner: Britain in the European community, 3rd ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), p. 275.

[17] Alex May, Britain and Europe since 1945: Seminar studies in history (New York: Addison Wesley Longman Limited, 1999), p. 91.

[18] Stephen Wall, A stranger in Europe: Britain and the EU from Thatcher to Blair, p. 207.

The pre-history issues significantly cause slowness in adaptation for economic interdependence toward European integration and the reluctance of political force to surrender British national sovereignty to the supranational arena.[19] The long-standing British reluctance can be substantially seen in the successive governments who regard the domestic political consideration uppermost.[20]

In particular, Margaret Thatcher from 1979 to mid 1984 carried on the same policies towards the EC as previous governments but the Thatcher's government presented new skeptical ideas about the EEC and the Supranationality.[21] Firstly, she represented 'Thatcherism'[22] and extremely pursued the nationalistic tone on correcting the imbalance in British's large contributions to the budget, as well as asking for the reform of the Common Agricultural Policy (CAP) against French interests. Second is diametric opposition to the pan-European cooperation. She undoubtedly attacked the programme which had political implications, namely the removal fiscal barriers to trade and customs posts. These were related to both the politics and economics of integration. She made a decisive assertion to encourage the economic benefits but defended the political sacrifice.[23] The last and most important is Britain was anti the concept of *'the United States of Europe'*[24] and rejects the idea of the centralised control. She representing *'Euroscepticism'*[25] had suspicion of the purposes for which level of centralized control would be used and believed that working more closely with one another did not require power to be centralized in Brussels or decisions to be taken by an appointed bureaucracy only. Everything did

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[19] Simon Bulmer, "Britain and European integration: of sovereignty, slow adaptation, and semi-Detachment," in Britain and the European community: The politics of semi-detachment, ed. Stephen George, p. 16.

[20] Stephen George, Britain and European integration since 1945: Making contemporary Britain, pp. 53-54.

[21] Ibid., p. 56.

[22] Eric J. Evan, Thatcher and Thatcherism: Making of the Contemporary World (London: Routledge, 1997), p. 2.

[23] Stephen George, Britain and European Integration since 1945: Making Contemporary Britain, p. 60.

[24] Lord Beloff, Britain and European Union: Dialogue of the Deaf (London: Macmillan Press, 1996), p. 12.

[25] Alex May, Britain and Europe since 1945: Seminar studies in history, pp. 92-93.

not need to be reimposed at the European super-state exercising a new dominance from Brussels. She disputed another democratic alternative of British people to be overruled from Brussels. Her strong assertion in Bruges 1988 attacking the extended 1992 project on a number of fronts was declared that,

"Europe would be stronger with 'France as France,
Spain as Spain, Britain as Britain, each with its own customs,
traditions and identities' and that would be folly to try to fit them
into some sort of Identikit European personality."[26]

However, she showed not only greatly concerning British nationalism, but turning into British internationalism.[27] The only one issue interested her was the Single Market since the internal market of the EC served British's economic interests and supported Thatcher's attachment of free market economics. Thatcher would pursue only policies Britain gained advantages. Later on she did not support the 'social charter' of new regulations on employment because they would lead to the market less flexible and less competitive and affect prosperity of a state, including the British market. In conclusion, she did not follow most of the European directions.

On the other hand, named the 'Iron Lady'[28] she paid most of her attention to the national interest. And the instinct 'anti-Europeanism'[29] idea has conceptualised deep-rooted perception and influenced public opinion in Britain.

Until the time of Tony Blair, he attempted to erase British shame as the 'Dirty Man' of Europe in the 1980s and responded to make a 'step-change'[30] as a major player on the European scene as well as the European supranational

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[26] Stephen George, <u>Britain and European integration since 1945: Making contemporary Britain</u>, p. 60; See more Margaret Thatcher, <u>British and Europe: Text of the speech delivered in Bruges by the Prime Minister on 20th September 1988</u> (London: Conservative Political Centre, 1988), p. 4.

[27] Stephen George, <u>Britain and European integration since 1945: Making contemporary Britain</u>, p. 60.

[28] Peter Riddell, <u>The Thatcher decade: How Britain has changed during the 1980s</u> (New York: Basil Blackwell, 1989), p. 188.

[29] Alex May, <u>Britain and Europe since 1945: Seminar studies in history</u>, p. 67.

[30] Ian Bache and Andrew Jordan, "Britain in Europe and Europe in Britain," in <u>The Europeanization of British politics</u>, eds. Ian Bache and Andrew Jordan, 2nd ed. (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), p. 8.

institutions. Nonetheless, realism survives in the traditional British thought and national identity even in the Labour now.

Other influential impacts in Britain are public opinions and pressure groups.[31] Particularly in the early years of the membership, the EC gained only limited attention and progressed slowly since there were 'new Community-wide pressure groups.' National British groups representing their interests found themselves unrepresented in Brussels and not well developed as in British home.[32] The British have not perceived along with the European integration ideology. While other western European countries weakened their national identities, Britain more developed the idea of nationalism.

There are four major grounds. First of all, Britain stood for the world-power first rank of the public imagination in the mid-1950s. Attitudes from the Second World War clarified that western European countries were looked down on with suspicion and appeared as the second rate. Second, in Britain, there was little support for the European integration from attitudes of Britain's political leaders since many political politicians did not prepare for suitably strong directions and provide right understanding towards Supranationalism. Most social policies had strong economic, political, social, and cultural ties outside Europe with the Empire, the Commonwealth, and the United States, as well as Australia and Canada as 'Britain's friends.'[33] A media firestorm in British society persisted since successive governments gave little explanations to British nationals about what the exact nature of the European scheme is. Third is the geographical reason. Britain is on the edge of Europe so people have less positive views of integration. There are no many results in the daily life like the heartland such as business, free movements across frontiers. Others are oversea for British population. Finally, the British felt joining the EU was

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31
   Stephen George, <u>Britain and European integration since 1945: Making contemporary Britain</u>, p. 65.
32
   Alan Butt Philip, "British pressure groups and the European community," in <u>Britain and the European community: The politics of semi-detachment</u>, ed. Stephen George (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), p. 150.
33
   Neill Nugent, "British public opinion and the European community," in <u>Britain and the European Community: The politics of semi-detachment</u>, ed. Stephen George (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), p. 190.

just necessity not realization of an ideal because Britain participated in the EU when the rapid economic growth of the 1960s came to an end and there was only persistent recession.

The British, therefore, do not confront positive experience as other six original members.[34] A long and deep-seated tradition of independence and sovereignty strengthens in British national and social structures. A *'lukewarm'* public opinion[35] is hardly arisen since Britain has the absence of such a good story and the willingness for the EU's participation like other members. For these reasons, there is no need to integrate with other European countries.

However, after the 1990s the European Union attempts to developed immigration policies in the European level, even if it is greatly sensitive due to the natural and fundamental characteristics of the policy area. There is a lot of task expansion in the EU. The immigration policies are not merely on a fringe problem but they have high priorities and are raised into one of the major challenges confronting both private sectors and the entire society. The 'EU Blue Card' directives and the current regulation of entry and residence of third-country nationals are examples of the broadening scope of integration. As well, all of the EU institutions provide signs to enlarge and support the integration of immigration policy. Moreover, the newly supranationalised policy area has already affected and influenced European member states.[36] In conclusion, over the last thirty years there has had a shift in competencies in the national level as intergovernmental cooperation and a developed form of intensive transgovernmentalism among member states.[37]

Some European countries adopt the EU requirement or transform their domestic policies, whilst others lack changes or even contradict the development of the European immigration policy. Some scholars said it is domestic political

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[34] Stephen George, <u>Britain and European integration since 1945: Making contemporary Britain</u>, pp. 65-83.

[35] Stephen Wall, <u>A stranger in Europe: Britain and the EU from Thatcher to Blair</u>, p. 211.

[36] Andreas Ette and Thomas Faist, <u>The Europeanisation of national policies and politics of immigration: Between autonomy and the European Union</u> (London: Macmillan, 2007), p. 5.

[37] Ibid., pp. 6-7.

restrictions pushing or avoiding nation states to cooperate or escape from the EU supranational level. Many domestic excuses are taken up as factors to fail the EU immigration agenda, like public opinions and national interest.

Britain is a useful example for the development of the policy area and shows the impact of the Europeanisation towards managing immigration that transformation of the EU process is left behind, whilst national interest takes precedence. There is the least EU influence on the fundamental immigration approach and only minor changes on national policies in Britain.[38] An immigration direction is guided by the successive governments. During the 1990s, supranationalisation increased in the Maastricht Treaty and was further developed in the Amsterdam Treaty. There was the first indication of the significance of the Europeanisation process to report the EU impact on national immigration policies. The EU approaches provided broader impact and harmonisation to Britain's immigration and asylum policy. Britain showed the evidence of the EU patterns of governance proving the result of the EU impact. However, the discursive methods cause flexible interaction between Britain and the EU on immigration and asylum subjects. Since1999 only a few sectors of national immigration policies have been adopted from the EU initiatives such as human trafficking and smuggling.[39] To conclude that there have been minimal changes and limitation in Britain on immigration and the British governments have decided to opt out EU measurements.

Concerning the context of *'Realism'* portraying international affairs as an endeavour for power among self-interested states,[40] Contemporary Britain is a key unit in an integrated unit or the European integration and employs its state power by preserving national interest. Britain's approaches in realism are a sovereign self-interested state and concentrate on the influence of the state and public opinions. The British pursue their national interests and governments commence regulations according to the current circumstances. Britain related to the realism theory plays the

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[38] Ibid., pp. 21-22.

[39] Ibid., pp. 22-23.

[40] Eytan Meyers, Theories of international immigration policy: A comparative analysis (New York: The Center for Migration Study of New York, 2009), p. 20.

'power-politics model' in the international relations and emphasises on the power-political situation of a state as the central determinants of its interests.[41]

Now realism accepts economic factors in the competitive international relations comparable to issues of a security and strategic framework as the political struggle among groups and nations. Regarding neo-realism, national interest considerations in the economic globalisation play an important role. Britain accepts labour migration during economic upturns and stimulates immigration in an effort to overwhelm inferiority vis-à-vis potential enemies.[42] As a result, a great number of migration flows in the UK persists. There are more and more migrants moving into the UK as a prosperous country for many reasons: study, holidays, asylum or family ties and mainly for the work-related reason. Immigration management has been in the public eyes owing to the political, economic, and importantly demographic reasons; dropping in the working-aged population.

There are some other reasons for Britain to control the migrant population growth. The first reason is the highest unemployment record in Britain. Second is increase in foreign-born workers.[43] An example is Britain now becomes the most crowded major country in Europe because of the great flood of migrants from the expansive Eastern European countries. It puts more pressure to the government on funding for children services and housing. They build another class in the society and cause tension in the economic phenomenon, together with conflicts in the social harmony. Immigrants sometimes invade national identity and natural characters of the receiving country. Finally, most non-British immigrants prove to be more skilled and industrious than British citizens, like the Poland and Spanish. Some employers additionally look for more non-EU workers as a result of cheaper wages in order to

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[41] Martin Hollis and Steve Smith, Explaining and understanding international relations (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), p. 27.

[42] Eytan Meyers, Theories of international immigration policy: A comparative analysis, pp. 22-29.

[43] BBC News Analysis, "Increase in foreign-born workers," BBC News, 2009 [Online], Available from: http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/7884317.stm [10 June 2009]

cut the production costs and serve underground work.[44] These constantly continue and affect the economic prosperity in the country.

According to a lot of recent news about immigration in Britain, there have been protests against the domestic immigration policies. The economic slowdown worldwide results in high unemployed British citizens. Workers try to organise a national march throughout London and other regions.[45] They call for the government's solution to assure there are enough jobs for British citizens first. Employers hire much more non-British national workers as the European law of the integrated immigration policy freely opens British jobs for all EU nationals, including more chances to non-EU nationals to enter and work in the British territory. The free mobility of labour requires companies to welcome applications from all EU and foreign nationals.

Around 70 per cent of labour voters in Britain need a sharp cut in immigration and the population of the UK below the 70 million. It means immigration must decrease by 75 percent.[46] Consequently, governmental organisations have tried to tighten up the immigration policies and found the most suitable and practical way to solve the challenging difficulty. They propose a "balanced" approach to immigration, where the numbers allowed to settle in the country equal to those leaving. Mr. Danny Sriskandarajah of the Institute for Public Policy Research said it should be shifted to *"turnstiles not floodgates"[47]* anymore in the globalised world. A new 'Points-Based System' has, therefore, come into force since the end of February 2009 to make a clear-cut reduction and to lessen the flows of non-EU immigrants into

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[44] Dominic Casiciani, "Record trend in UK migration," BBC News, 2007 [Online], Available from: http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk_news/politics/7096352.stm. [20 June 2009]

[45] John Morlan, "Workers march over labour dispute," BBC News, 2009 [Online], Available from: http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk_news/england/nottinghamshire/7907226.stm. [20 June 2009]

[46] MigrationWatch UK, "Neither Labour nor Conservatives will stop the population hitting 70m," MigrationWatch UK, 2009 [Online], Available from: http://www.migrationwatchuk.org/briefingPaper/document/161. [22 June 2009]

[47] Dominic Casiciani, "Migration: How points will work," BBC News, 2008 [Online], Available from: http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/low/uk_news/politics/4244707.stm. [22 June 2009]

Britain.[48] Britain restricts unskilled migration and gives preference to immigration of highly skilled people and investors serving national interest and the British economic market. How the national immigration policy is developed in accordance with effectively managing non-citizen labour workers becomes the following complication.

The new regulations are close to the Australian points system, which is considered as the simplest and most efficient in the world. The more skills workers have and the more those skills are in demand, the more points you will gain. Points increase your prospect of entering Britain. All of the 80 work permits and entry schemes are substituted by a single points-based system. The rule is categorized into "five tiers" which depend on the type of your work; high skilled, skilled with job offer, low skilled, students, and temporary workers, youth mobility.[49] It ensures mainly that only those who are qualified can get entry and continually work in Britain. However, point assessment depends on circumstances to suit gaps in the economy and balance shortages in the labour market.

These rules have effect mostly on non-EU nationals, including the Commonwealth, Africa, and Asia. Only non-EU citizens who meet the strict criteria can work and continue living in Britain. They have to demonstrate good educational qualifications and the ability to speak English proficiency, including knowledge of traditional British history.[50] Age, education, background, and UK experience are also considered. As a result, the local service sectors and the Ethic Catering Alliance believe that ethic business must completely suffer from the new system.[51]

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Dominic Casiciani, "Immigration points system begins," BBC News, 2008 [Online], Available from: http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/7269790.stm. [10 June2009]

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Dominic Casiciani, "Migration: How points will work," BBC News, 2008 [Online], Available from: http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/low/uk_news/politics/4244707.stm. [22 June 2009]

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Home Office UK Border Agency, "New points-based system," Home Office UK Border Agency, 2009 [Online], Available from: www.bia.homeoffice.gov.uk/. [5 July 2009]

51
BBC News, "Can curry chain stand the heat?," BBC News Analysis, 2008 [Online], Available from: http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk_news/7356990.stm. [5 July 2009]; BBC News, "Chinese restaurants 'threatened," UK: BBC News, 2008 [Online], Available from: http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk_news/england/london/7275396.stm. [20 November 2009]

In chapter 3, realism and neo-realism as the main ideology are concerned in the EU and domestic levels. In chapter 4, I explained the process and theories of the Europeanisation of immigration and its impact on member states. Britain as the most national self-worth has various modes of managing immigration under the successive governments.

In chapter 5, referring to contemporary recent situations, there is improving development on managing immigration, particularly the effective immigration control process. The modern regulations and standard have been brought to take place previous regulations. I focus on 'firm but fair' managing immigration and foreign immigrants, in particular non-EU nationals. Labour market flows and figures of non-EU immigrants are shown in this chapter. All illustration in figures uses a term of the United Kingdom or the UK instead of Britain since there are only data and estimations of the UK Border Agency and the office for National Statistics UK available. Asylum seekers and refugees are excluded from considerations. Additionally, how the 2009 new points-based system functions and to what extent foreign immigrants obtain rights in Britain are crucially important for the contemporary managing immigration. The government approaches towards social cohesion and community integrity are witnessed in this chapter.

In chapter 6, there is analysis under various issues. Managing immigration of Britain affects not only the largest European integration bloc but also other countries of origin. I additionally presented treatment of the British government to compromise the national immigration policies between national interests of British workers and foreign migrants. These kinds of working system are declared to enable Britain to strengthen domestic economy and compete successfully in the international market because immigration can produce large contributions to Britain. The British government cooperates with local communities to ensure that immigrants live harmoniously with British citizens. Moreover, economic, political, and social impacts are analysed. Unavoidably, the new practices influence non-EU nationals who reside in Britain and expect to enter Britain in every perception.

The new supervision over immigration has distributed tremendous impacts on British citizens and non-EU nationals. There have been effects on the overview of the British labour market inclusive of employment conditions, accession, work permit policies, migrant workers' rights, benefits and welfare states, and discrimination and harmonisation of the country. Immigration is considered as two sides of the same coin which creates either tough challenges or success in the receiving country. What will further happen and who will gain real benefits as long as the British government still behave as a *'self-reserved'* state and public opinion retains *their national interests.* The anti-immigration perception also continues. Britain should balance the immigration procedure and policies related to this realm between the interests of its citizens and foreigners, together with providing well management and equal employment provision for both British and non-EU nationals.

1.2 Research Questions

1.   To what extent is the EU immigration policy able to influence immigration policy of member state, particularly of Britain?

2.   How does Britain manage national immigration?

3.   Related to question number 2, do these practices mount to the concept of realism? How?

4.   What are political economic implications in the practices of immigration and new regulations on employment?

5.   How contemporary British immigration policy is intertwined with integrated immigration in the EU level?

1.3 Hypothesis

Even in the context of the most widening and deepening regional bloc of the European integration, Britain considerably operates under 'Realism' in its sovereignty and immigration arena and reiterates hardship to non-EU immigrants. The Europeanisation of immigration has had significantly minimal impacts on British managing immigration. Britain largely preserves its interests by alienating its immigration policy from the EU. Economic determinants are politicalised and become more influential. The new regulations portray unfair modes of managing immigration to non-EU nationals.

1.4 Research Objectives

1) To understand whether the European Union Europeanise or integrate British immigration policy.

2) To explain practice of Britain's immigration policy.

3) To comprehend whether immigration policy contribute to realism practice in Britain.

4) To evaluate political economic implications in practice of the new regulations and policies of national immigration, particularly toward non-EU nationals, together with immigrants' right, employment conditions, benefits and welfare states, and antidiscrimination practice.

5) To grasp that both the Europe Union and Britain have impact to each other in shaping immigration policy.

1.5 Conceptual Framework

The three major concepts are related: 'Realism' serving self-interested relation, managing national immigration, and non-EU national immigrants. Concerning the recent facts and circumstances in the globalisation, Britain greatly involves in a role of the main receiving country. British political constraints and national interests take privilege over the EU integrated immigration policy. The period of contemporary study starts at the Thatcher's government in 1979 which depicts the most noticeable idea of nationalism and establishes political constraints to the European integration until the present time. Nevertheless, the economic downturn results in changes in immigration procedures preventing non-EU nationals from entering or residing in Britain. Both economic and political determinants affect largely on analysing British managing immigration. The paper presents the overview of British immigration policy and labour market and describes managing immigration of non-EU nationals in the contemporary Britain. Furthermore, it analyses many different terms of immigration in Britain such as an advantage or disadvantages of new regulations, effects of realism practices on the EU and others countries of origin, and management towards non-EU nationals.

1.6 Research Methodology

The research procedure started from setting research questions about Europeanisation toward immigration and national policies, particularly non-EU nationals by selecting the most affected powerful European country or Britain. Afterwards, the hypothesis was generated in order to conceptualize the theoretical framework. The Methodology is the policy analysis through documentary research and evaluation through empirical evidence of government publication and previous researches about this domain. Moreover, the data come from observed scrutiny through the recent Britain news and situations.

1.7 Research Benefits

1)   To understand a comprehensive concept of the European Union
        which has limit in some areas of widening and deepening
        integration.

2)   To perceive an overview picture of similar or different
        understanding of complying European policy among member
        states in national security and sovereignty through immigration.

3)   To expand comprehension in fundamental ideas of British
        immigration policy, in particular contemporary economic
        recession.
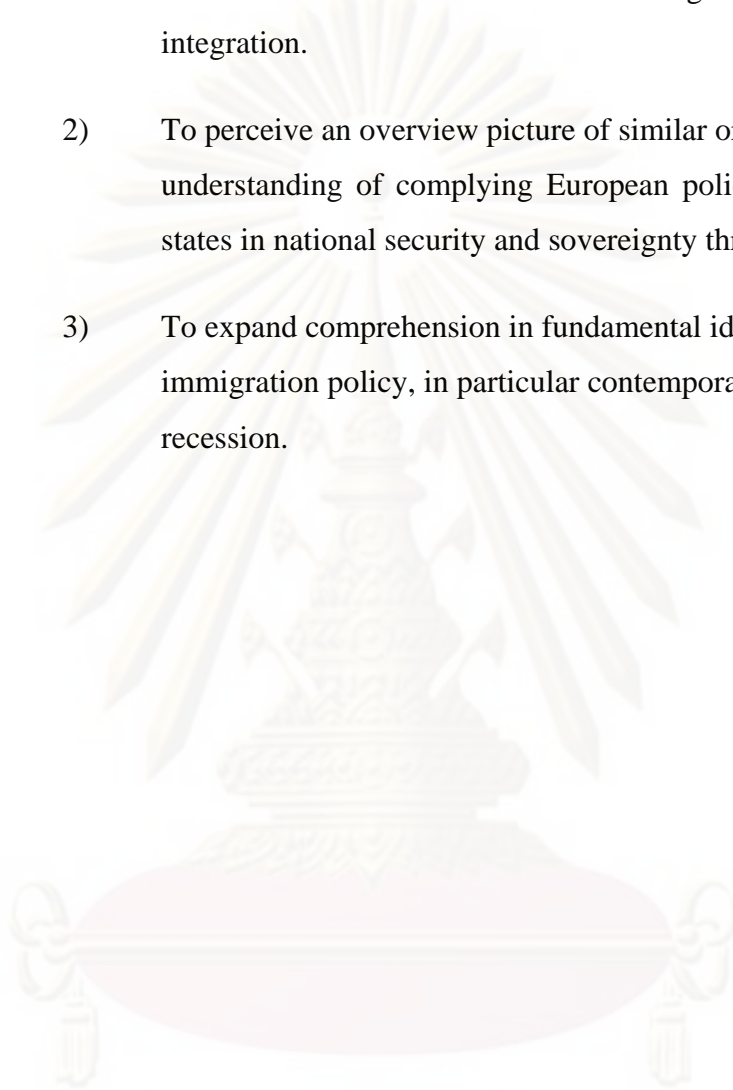
CHAPTER II
LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Immigration

This issue is in the public debates and has been raised into a privileged level. Particularly, the globalisation connects countries around the world and makes people in various culture and ethnicity much closer. States and regional groups preserving their sovereignty implement policies and controlling procedures on immigration. In the European level the immigration control policy is prime concern. However, there is no explanation about immigration with explicit theories as well as no consensus about practical regulations. Many researches are studied until early of the Twentieth Century, which information is not sufficiently updated to the recent circumstances. Therefore, I explain an idea and understanding of some scholars on immigration.

Dialogues on Migration Policy edited by Marco Giugni and Florence Passy broadly explains immigration policy covering three aspects: the regulation of immigration flows or immigration control, the management of ethnic relations and the integration of minorities in a host country, and antiracism and antidiscrimination policies. Both writers said that immigration is raised to the priority status but it is unavoidably debatable.[1]

There are three crucial topics which there is no consensus. Firstly, it is related to the role of the national state in a globalising world. Rogers Brubaker who stresses the significant impact of national citizenship traditions on migration politics[2]

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[1] Marco Giugni and Florence Passy, eds., Dialogues on migration policy (Lanham, MD: Lexinton Books, 2006), p. 1.

[2] Marco Giugni and Florence Passy, eds., Dialogues on migration molicy, p. 2; See more Rogers Brubaker, Citizenship and nationhood in France and Germany (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1992).

is strongly supported by Birnbaum, Favell, Joppke, Koopmans and Statham.[3] At the same time, this idea is opposed by other analysts; Jacobson, Sassen, and Soysal.[4] They highlighted that during the postwar era immigration has significantly shifted the nature of modern states and weakened national sovereignty.

        2.1.1 The Role of the Nation or the Globalising World Many scholars study the scope of migration policy that has been characterized by periods following the Second World War. Important population movements are separated into two parts: before and after the economic crisis of the mid-1970s. Stephen Castles and Mark J. Miller[5] mentioned three main types of migration in the first period which affect ethnic minorities in industrial countries nowadays: Guestworkers to Western Europe, colonial workers from the former colonial powers, and permanent migration to North America and Australia from Europe, later Asia and Latin America.

        The second period after the oil crisis in 1973 and the result of the 'globalisation' immigration pattern change the nature of modern states, particularly undermined national sovereignty and the role of a national state, rather the supranational level increasing in interconnected world. There are various views toward policy convergence or divergence in the migration arena because the traditional patterns in the former period evolve into higher intensity, scope and diversity.

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[3] Ibid., pp. 2-5; See more Pirre Birnbaum, <u>La France imaginée</u> (Paris: Fayard, 1998)., A. Favell, <u>Philosophie of integration: Immigration and the idea of citizenship in France and Britain</u> (London: Macmillan Press, 1998)., Christian Joppke, <u>Immigration and the nation-state: The United States, Germany, and Great Britain</u> (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999)., Ruud Koopmans and Paul Statham, "Challenging the liberal nation-state? Post-nationalism, multiculturalism, and the collective claims making of migrants and ethnic minorities in Britain and Germany." <u>American journal of sociology</u> Vol. 105, No. 3, 1999. pp. 652-696.

[4] Ibid., pp. 2-5; See more David Jacobson, <u>Rights Across Border: Immigration and the Decline of Citizenship</u> (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996)., Saskia Sassen, "The De Facto Transnationalizing of Immigration Policy." in <u>Challenge to the Nation-State</u>, ed. Christian Joppke (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998)., Yasemin Soysal, <u>Limits of Citizenship: Migrants and Post-National Membership in Europe</u> (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1994).

[5] Stephen Castle and Mark J. Miller, <u>The age of migration: International population movement in the modern world</u>. 2nd ed. (London: Macmillan, 1998), pp. 67-68.

David Jacobson[6] proposed the 'post-national citizenship' which there is growing importance of the supranational organisations and conventions in terms of transnationalisation of migration communities. The distinction between 'citizen' and 'alien' is eroded. Moreover, Jacobson and Ruffer suggested relations become more multifaceted and intensive. They underscored the nestling of organisations and agency to declare their rights in the international legal basis.[7]

This idea is supported by Yasemin Soysal in her work *Limits of Citizenship: Migrants and Post-National Citizenship in Europe 1994* that the realm of human right is taken to the universalistic dimension and is easily found at the transnational rather than the national level. Changing in human rights legitimacy means that national states loss power in policy-making on migration and transnationalisation of immigration issues.[8] Besides, Keohane and Nye[9] proposed international relations theories of interdependence, which is in an increasingly integrated world. States seek international solutions to domestic problems. The EU cooperation is strengthened by the decreasing ability of states to control immigration in the changing political and economical circumstances.

However, another anti view is the 'nation-centered perspective' by Heisler Martin.[10] He believed that it is too early to talk about a loss of significance of a nation state in immigration since national politics still influence international and transnational growth. A state contains political culture of liberal democracies in sovereignty and decision-making and policy-making is, thus, relations between immigrants and the receiving country. This concept is supported by Rogers Brubaker who discussed about the cultural foundations and the crucial impact of national

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[6] David Jacobson, <u>Rights across border: Immigration and the decline of citizenship</u> (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996), pp. 8-9.

[7] David Jacobson and Galya Benarieh Ruffer, "Social relations on a global scale: The implications for human rights and for democracy," in <u>Dialogues on migration policy</u>, eds. Marco Giugni and Florence Passy (Lanham, MD: Lexinton Books, 2006), pp. 25-39.

[8] Marco Giugni and Florence Passy, eds., <u>Dialogues on migration policy</u>, p. 5.

[9] Ibid., pp. 5-20.

[10] Martin O. Heisler, "Migration, international relations, and the new Europe: Theoretical perspectives from institutional political sociology," in <u>International migration review 26</u> (New York, 1992), pp. 596-621.

citizenship traditions on immigration field as the sample of a case study of France and Germany. He presented the autonomy of nation-based actors and the state-centric model objecting the multilevel governance model.[11]

Additionally, Adrian Favell considered a nation-state perspective as an essential concept since the nation is the main actor through immigration and integration.[12] Supporting a state-centric and intergovernmental perspective, Zolberg[13] has the point that states themselves surely have the power to manage international migration and control within the national territory.

Regarding the outstanding case of the EU migration policy, the situation is controversy to both a state-centric approach and a society-centric approach. Whilst national states are reluctant to surrender their sovereignty and preserve national interests in a unified European migration policy, the interdependence of institutions and globalisation impact progressively increases. The EU attempts to harmonise the creation of power centers above national members. Marco Giugni and Florence Passy concluded that people hardly see political influence of social movements. However, political, economic, and socio-demographic factors intervene gradually in the process of changes in migration policy. Although it lacks formal EU authoritative rules and structures, there is much standardisation at the European and national levels in terms of policy-making and policy outcomes. Such standardization together with the expansion of the EU agenda to include various new issue areas, which contributes to the creation of common understanding, would point to the Europeanization of the immigration policy, not simply the aggregation of national agendas.[14]

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11 Marco Giugni and Florence Passy, eds., Dialogues on migration policy, pp. 6-7; See more Rogers Brubaker, Citizenship and nationhood in France and Germany (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1992).

12 Adrain Favell, "The nation-centered perspective," in Dialogues on migration policy, eds. Marco Giugni and Florence Passy (Lanham, MD: Lexinton Books, 2006), pp. 45-56.

13 Marco Giugni and Florence Passy, Dialogues on migration policy, pp. 45-46; See more Zolberg, Matters of state: Theorizing immigration policy.

14 Marco Giugni and Florence Passy, "Influencing migration policy from outside: The impact of migrant, extreme-right, and solodarity movements, " in Dialogues on migration policy, eds. Marco Giugni and Florence Passy, pp. 193-212.

2.1.2 Economy or Politics as Determinants of Migration

Stephen Castles and Mark J. Miller in his work *The Age of Migration: International Population Movements in the Modern World* studied that the migratory movements share a number of typical features and are inspired by neoclassical economics which stresses the equilibrium, self-regulation through the labour market, and the law of supply and demand. These are mostly motivated by an economic perspective both from the point of view of the migrants who move from the European periphery to Western Europe to escape economic hardship ("push factors") and from the point of view of the receiving countries who need cheap labour for their growing economies and smooth economic activities ("pull factors").[15]

According to push/pull perspectives mentioned earlier, migration and immigration processes are shaped by the role of the economy; labour shortages, land availability, and employment opportunities. But if a push/pull framework is brought to consider only, immigration flows should dramatically reduce during economic recession and a host country's government should implement policy stopping immigrants and sending them back to homelands. However, there is another explanatory for the political framework.

James Hollifield mentioned the importance of politics in the persistence of immigration in his work *Immigrants, Markets, and States: The Political Economy of Postwar Europe.* He studied the reason why immigration cannot be diminished during the time of bad economic situations and labour being undesirable in the receiving countries that states concern political liberalism and a right-based regime. These concepts provide the extension of civil, political, and social rights in an immigration realm. In the postwar period there is the surge in creation of the international migration systems and integration in the regional and globalised level. On the politic sides, we should deal more with protection of migrants' rights, equality, racism, and the judicial regimes of liberal democracies.[16]

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[15] Marco Giugni and Florence Passy, Dialogues on migration policy, pp. 8-10; See more Stephen Castle and Mark J. Miller, The age of migration: International population movement in the modern world, 2nd ed. (London: Macmillan, 1998).

[16] James F. Hollifield, Immigrants, markets, and states: The political economy of postwar Europe (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1992).

2.1.3 The Socioeconomic and Foreign Policy Factors Shaping Immigration Control Policy Eytan Meyers studied immigration control policy in the domestic and international sphere and analyzed the immigration policies of the United States, Britain, Germany, and the Netherlands. Moreover, he demonstrated that socioeconomic trends, foreign policy considerations, and the type of immigration shape the policy in this area. This book is useful and inspires me for the ideas and scope of analyzing immigration as well as a managing immigration policy. However, his research does not serve some of my interests and fulfill the framework of the contemporary Britain which I need to emphasize.

He separated two ways the government decides how to accept the number of immigrants by differentiating between 'liberal policies' and 'restrictive policies.'[17]

● 'Liberal policies' accept more immigrants and have a greater willingness to accept the immigrants of dissimilar ethnic, racial, and cultural compositions.

● 'Restrictive policies' accept fewer immigrants and have a lesser willingness to accept such immigrants and, in contrast, favour of similar compositions.

Supporting the idea of push/pull approaches of Stephen Castles and Mark J. Miller, Meyers discussed the recent situation of economic recession that most of the immigration control policies of each country are automatically forced to be 'restrict immigration.' Many countries accept fewer immigrants and labour workers. The economic downturn influences the immigration policy through the political parties, public opinions, and interest groups. In the citizens' opinions immigrants are as competitors. People consider that opening the domestic market for immigrants causes them to be unemployed and have few opportunities to find job because migrant workers expand the supply of labour and provide more choices for

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[17] Eytan Meyers, International immigration policy: A theoretical and comparative analysis (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), p. 11.

employers. And they earn sometimes lower wages.[18] Great pressures, therefore, occur to restrict the immigration and lead to the labour protest and demonstration such as in Britain and Germany. The government, who aims to maximise votes, confronts difficulties from such pressures. Consequently, the government controls immigration as well as releases pressures for immigration liberalization in the employers' sector.

2.1.3.1 Immigration Policies of Britain Eytan Meyers studied historical background of the British immigration policy and analyzed reasons for the recruitment of foreign workers from the Eighteenth to the early Twentieth Centuries, together with factors shaping British immigration control. The data are distinctly empirical and beneficial. And there are not so many scholars studying Britain in details. Nevertheless, some information does not suit my hypothesis relevant to economic practice as the most important major factor for changes in the British immigration policy. His research, in addition, lacks the idea of British proud national identity and Britain in the contemporary period. He concluded that the British immigration control policy has been influenced by the volume of dissimilar immigration, foreign policy considerations, external threats, and wars but the economic impact is smaller than that of the other factors.[19]

In his research, welcomed immigrants during that time was led by labour shortages in the World War I and II and retaining the leading position for the British Empire and Commonwealth in Migration Communities.[20] Therefore, national interests and public pressures called for restrictions on inflows of different races and nonwhite nationals from the New Commonwealth; West Indians, Asian, African, and the Pakistani immigrants, as well as Eastern European origin citizens. Until the peak of restrictions in the 1970s, the concept of 'patriality' grew steadily and many regulations were implemented in order to restrict non-EU foreign

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[18] Eytan Meyers, <u>International immigration policy: A theoretical and comparative analysis</u>, pp. 12-16.

[19] Ibid., pp. 78-83.

[20] Ibid., pp. 64-66.

workers.[21] The labour and Conservative Parties, particularly the Margaret Thatcher's period, played an important role in adding more limiting immigration policies. She proposed that another one main reason for more restrictions on the immigration control policy after the mid 1980s was there was a new type of immigration from the Third World relevant to 'illegal/undocumented migration and asylum seekers' which substantially increased as in continental Europe because of halting the 'Guestworker Programme' in Europe.[22] Since 1997 the British immigration policy considerably endeavours to enact several restrictions mainly focusing on expediting an asylum process, blocking illegal immigration, and stemming bogus refugees, as well as 'marriages of convenience' and controlling passport and identity checks on board.[23]

Ian R.G. Spencer (1997) added as well about the British immigration policy since 1939 forming multi-racial Britain. He studied how and why Britain transforms from an 'all white' to Asian and black British communities: immigration from the Indian sub-continent, Asia and the Caribbean and Africa contains a myriad of diversity of ethnicity, languages, culture, and religions. The number of non-white immigrants increases significantly higher in the second half of the twentieth Century.[24] His research focused on not only minorities and immigrants who have growing influence and importance in a British society, but also their issues and challenges in permanent settlement, including discrimination, cultural identity, and equal opportunities. He, whose idea supports Meyers for the immigration policy toward the British Empire and Commonwealth and after the World War I and II, added, however, that the unintended outcome of the British immigration policy is greatly related to the economic status. The government's policy seeks immigrants to serve the labour demand of the economy and most of them come to fill jobs which white people are too proud or over-qualified to fill.[25]

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[21] Ibid., pp. 69-70.

[22] Ibid., pp. 70-73.

[23] Ibid., pp. 75-78.

[24] Ian R. G. Spencer, British immigration policy since 1939: The making of multi-racial Britain (London: Routledge, 1997), pp. 325-410.

[25] Ibid., pp. 154-156.

2.1.3.2 The Recruitment of Foreign Workers in Britain Meyers's idea strengthens my interest of the British newly state-controlled recruitment of non-EU foreign workers from the mid-1990s, in particular skilled workers and professionals.[26] It presents an opening idea for more flexibility in the British immigration policy and willing welcome integrated international immigration. The attractive legal-entry options and prospective are assumed to be the economic impact as required in a modern economy and help filling shortages in various industries. Though the research shows much about the dissimilar kinds of immigration shaping control methods in the past, I aim to study the state of economy, especially economic recession in the recent time, which becomes the key unavoidably influencing a contemporary policy as the competition in realism among states. In the 1960s the opposition and race riots against immigration used to happen during the time of economic crisis but they were classified as only a local level in the Nottingham and London's Notting Hill district.[27] Concerning current situations of the British market, a direction of immigration is greatly shaped by the economic recession. Economic downturn leads Britain to implement new regulations and issue fewer work permits to non-EU workers.

2.2 Realism

2.2.1 Realism Ashley J. Tellis from *Roots of Realism*[28] studied how realism evolves over time by analyzing works of five theorists; Thucydides, Machiavelli, Hans Morgenthau, Morton Kaplan, and Kenneth Waltz. Each of them has a turning point in the evolution of political realism. He assumed that states worry about their security and then take action to strengthen that security as the 'minimum realist program' with the concentration toward rational reconstruction.

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[26] Eytan Meyers, <u>International immigration policy: A theoretical and comparative analysis</u>, p. 77.

[27] Ibid., p.80.

[28] Ashley J. Tellis, "Reconstructing political realism: The long march to scientific theory," in <u>Roots of realism</u>, ed. Benjamin Frankel (London: Frank Class and Company Limited, 1996), pp. 11.

Firstly, Thucydides is concerned the fountainhead of the Political Realist Tradition.[29] A classic reading of G. F. Abbott in *Thucydides: A study in Historical Reality* 1970 transforms political realism into the direction of science at the beginning by observing empirical political events. He is considered as 'political observer', *The Encyclopedia of Philosophy* by Willian T. Bluhm[30], who learned from the practitioners of Hippocratic medicine and Sophists dominating the higher education of fifth-century Athens. Dealing with cause-and-effect at the world-historical level of politics; interstate violence, Thucydides showed that the wars of Athens and Sparta, and the Peloponnesian War were caused by the egoistic human nature that pursues security, power, and material gain and as such inevitably leads to disorder and violence.[31]

His theory is a well-established formulation for following theorists such as Hans J. Morgenthau's concept of the primacy in the national interests *Politics among Nations*, Kenneth N. Waltz, credits Thucydides for the use of force and the possibility of controlling it in *Theory of International Politics*, and Robert Gilpin interpreted his work in *The Theory of Hegemonic War* studying the uneven growth of power among states is the driving force of international relations.[32]

The Next great realist is Machiavelli. *Machiavellian Realism* or regarded as 'the Methods of Managing Disordered Human Nature,' the concept relies on the foundations of modernity.[33] Machiavelli's objective was the understanding in nature of human, maintenance, and its consequences of its political actions, as well as growth of the state. Traditional realism was focused on *The Prince*, and *Discourses on the First Ten Books of Tilus Livy*, and *The Art of War.*[34] To seek the nature of good politics, he accepted the effectual truth of thing for recognition of politic reality,

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[29] Ibid., p. 12.

[30] Ibid., p. 12.

[31] Ibid., pp. 12-39.

[32] Ibid., pp. 12-13.

[33] Ibid., p. 25.

[34] Ibid., p. 26.

instead of 'imagined republics.'[35] Machiavelli created new modes and orders for modern social science. Machiavelli explained the process of individuals interact constituting order-producing operation, namely 'states' and as a result the states behave in international arena or a world of interstate politics to prevent security threats.

Thirdly, *Hans Morgenthau* asserted politics as the struggle of power. He did popularize the new approach of realism in the textbook, *'Politics among Nations'* 1973 proposing timeless six principles for a good summary of the necessity of political Realism.

- Politics is governed by 'objectives laws that have their roots in human nature.

- The concept of interest or power in understanding actions of all statesmen and women.

- The form and nature of power are not fixed but vary with the environment in which power are exercised.

- Political acts have moral significance but that universal moral principles cannot be applied to actions of states in their abstract formulation.

- There is no single shared morality applicable to all states as idealism said.

- The autonomy of the political considerations, others must be subordinate to a political sphere.[36]

Political life is rooted in the lust of power which is general to all humans and inevitable from social life. Morgenthau considered the 'animus dominandi' – the desire to maintain the range of one's own person with

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[35] Leo Strauss, "Niccolò Machiavelli," in History of political philosophy, eds. Leo Strauss and Joseph Cropsey, 2nd ed. (Chicago: University of Chicaco Press, 1981), p. 274.

regard to others, to increase, and to maintain it.[37]And the survival leads to a selfishness. However, in the selfishness there is an element of rationality introduced by the nature limitation of the end. Consequently, politics is transformed into an arena of evil on which individuals seek the exaltation of conquest and victory. Morgenthau denied the illusion to transform the truth of a human evil but analyzed international politics as the struggle of power. States struggle to survive and seek to promote national interests and the balance of power via three basic patterns: the status quo, imperialism, and prestige.[38] Realism continues that universal moral principles cannot be applied to the actions of states in their abstract universal formulation. The aim of realism is also to comprehend forces which determine political relations among nations.[39] The balance of power, moreover, is considered as the most significant limitation on exercising a state's power and the aspiration for power on several nations.[40]

In conclusion, all the three theorists are captured by the problem of order and the reality of conflict. They shared significant similarities in working within the state-system. Thucydides emphasized men in their national entities striving for egoism, which is distinctively a human character. Similarly, Machiavelli focused on the nature of the individual playing in the international regime. Morgenthau, the evil in human nature is centered to explain behaviors in the political body. [41]

Agreeing with Machiavelli, E. H. Carr or the British historian attacked the utopian thought of idealism in *The Twenty Years' Crisis* since the major events in international relations failed in the 1930s. His book presented a classic statement of realism such as *Conditions of Peace, Nationalism and After*, and *The*

[36] Martin Hollis and Steve Martin, Explaining and understanding international relations, pp. 24-27.

[37] Hans J. Morgenthau, Scientific man vs. power politics (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1974), p. 192.

[38] Martin Hollis and Steve Martin, Explaining and understanding international relations, p. 46.

[39] Hans J. Morgenthau, Politics among nations: The struggle for power and peace, 5[th]ed. pp. 161-296.

[40] Hans J. Morgenthau, Dilemmas of politics (University of Chicago Press, 1958), p. 258.

[41] Ashley J. Tellis, "Reconstructing political realism: The long march to scientific theory," in Roots of realism, ed. Benjamin Frankel, pp. 43-48.

Soviet Impact on the Western World, which stated the struggle of power and the clash of interests.[42] Carr presented three foundation stones of realism; the history is the sequence of cause and effect, the theory is created by practice, and ethics are a function of politics and morality is the product of power. These change abstract principles to a concrete political status. The realist approach is that human nature should be understood as what it is and not as it should be. Likely, the historical events should be regarded as they have occurred not they should have occurred.[43]

After Carr, Churchillian and Niebuhrian realism is regarded as classic realism encouraging the anti-utopian idea. Called principled realistic internationalism, Churchillian's principles in foreign policy introduced guidance for British national interest as threats toward Nazi Germany and the rise of the Soviet Union. But it was not only retaining self-preservation, also the human and world order through free government and Western Civilization. In his famous *The Gathering Storm* and *Winston Churchill: Complete Speeches* in 1897-1963 he advocated peace cooperation and a Federal Europe together with the League of Nations, though he never lost the preservation of self-interest and the capability of national power.[44]

Thomas Sowell, additionally, studied realism in the line of Churchill's theory and practice of foreign policy in his *Conflict of Vision: Ideological Origins of Political Struggles*, and *Visions of War and Peace, Encounter.*[45]

Apart from that, Niebuhr in his 1941 *Nature and Destiny of Man*[46] as well as *Man's Nature and His Communities* rejected utopian idealism. Niebuhr works rooted the realm of a foreign policy choice versus necessity in his biblical and Augustinian conception of man. He is a more optimistic realist about the potentiality of human in achieving and promoting convergence of interests in

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[42] Robert G. Kaufman, "E. H. Carr, Winston Churchill, Reinhold Niebuhr, and the US: The case for principled, prudential, democratic realism," in <u>Roots of realism</u>, ed. Benjamin Frankel (London: Frank Class and Company Limited, 1996), p. 318.

[43] Martin Hollis and Steve Martin, <u>Explaining and understanding international relations</u>, pp. 20-28.

[44] Robert G. Kaufman, "E. H. Carr, Winston Churchill, Reinhold Niebuhr, and the US: The case for principled, prudential, democratic realism," in <u>Roots of realism</u>, ed. Benjamin Frankel, pp. 326-330.

[45] Ibid., p. 325.

international politics. In conclusion, he provided the constitution of the suitable relationship between ideals and self-interest.[47]

Churchillian-Niebuhrian realism substantially provides an approach for seeking freedom and security which is the primary aim in the international regime.[48] While interests are difficult to survive and there are political constraints, states strive to conquest on their own and keep the balance of power.

Realism is the way of scientific thinking and can be called the dominant theory in the international relations. Martin Hollis and Steve Smith, who studied the growth of theories in the international relations, regard realism as 'the power-politics model' since it emphasizes the political situation of a state as the central determinant of its interests.[49] Robert Rothstein commented more in his book *On the Costs of Realism: Political Science Quarterly* 1972 that realism becomes an intellectual framework for foreign policy and the method for the balance of power after the failure of the 1930s and the peak of the Cold War.

Next, Kaplan's realism considered international politics as the science of systems in his 1957 book *System and Process in International Politics*.[50] Observing theoretical examination, he visualized the constitution of various international political systems, not the human nature, as well as distinct and unique rules from the systems.

2.2.2 Neorealism Further development of the realist programme is generated by Kenneth Waltz in 1959 *Man, the States, and War.*[51] He focused on understanding international politics through structure. The international

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[46] Ibid., p. 341

[47] Ibid., pp. 341-350.

[48] Ibid., p. 351.

[49] Martin Hollis and Steve Martin, Explaining and understanding international relations, p. 27.

[50] Ashley J. Tellis, "Reconstructing political realism: The long march to scientific theory," in Roots of realism, ed. Benjamin Frankel, pp. 51-66.

political system is introduced by coexistence and interaction of constituent states but it constraints states as well. Consequently, both system and states share the prime mover status. Furthermore, his *Theory of International Politics* later in 1979 becomes the key for Neo-Realism as it refined some systemic account of realism. The first one is its stress realism's inability dealing with economic issues.[52]

For Waltz, states live in the situation of self-help and must acquire the necessary power. Power is consider as a means, not as end, but the achievement of security independence is the highest end.[53] On the other hand, states do not seek to maximize power or only possibilities for their survival, nevertheless, merely to balance it. This is not to say that cooperation never takes place. The development of alliances and forms of cooperation is well-established rational means to the solution of survival and the nature of balancing of power.[54] Waltz regards the national interest as a product of the structure of the international system rather than the personal responsibility and the management of political leaders[55] In the context of national interest considerations in the era of globalisation, the decrease of sovereign economic power has significant meaning for many states since there is growing transfer of political and economic authority to supranational institutions and non-state actors.[56]

This idea is supported by Robert Keohane in his 1984 *After Hegemony* and Stephen Krasner in his book 1978 *Defending the National Interest*[57] as the modified structural realism can explain international economic areas. Neo-Realists attempt to maximize power of states and allow states control international economic

[51] Ibid., p. 67.

[52] Martin Hollis and Steve Martin, Explaining and understanding international relations, p.36.

[53] Jürg Martin Gabriel, Worldviews and theories of international relations (London: Macmillan, 1994), pp. 81-83.

[54] Ben Rosamond, Theories of European integration (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2000), pp. 131-134.

[55] Scott Burchill, The national interest in international relations theory (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), pp. 42-43.

[56] Ibid., pp. 61-62.

[57] Martin Hollis and Steve Martin, Explaining and understanding international relations, p. 36.

regimes. The term 'hegemonic stability' enables states to cooperate to each others after the crisis in the 1970s. The other main issue is that Neo-Realism develops a thoroughly structural version of international relations. As Kenneth Waltz argued previous realism theorists for ignoring performance of the system but rather ability of the units in the system.[58] Waltz reiterates the behavior of states in the level of international structure.

Realism contains various and complex views of theorists. However, it stresses the reality and the root of universal facts on human nature. The main driving force is power in different forms related with what we call 'interests.' There is no moral principle for all states because the morality of states is like declaration of their interests.[59]

2.3 The European Integration and Managing Immigration

Concerning the thesis topic, I greatly have an inspiration from two journals; *The Europeanisation of national policies and politics of immigration: research, questions and concept*s by Andreas Ette and Thomas Faist and *Managing the Immigration and Employment of Non-EU Nationals in Ireland* by Matin Ruhs. They provide a lot of useful empirical knowledge and both are relevant to my interest.

The journal of Andreas Ette and Thomas Faist introduces the significance of 'a period of reflection' reacting to the concern of its citizens toward the future of Europe.[60] Recently, there are two waves of scholarship studying the multi-level governance structures in the European Union. The first wave is an idea of the development of common political institutions and policies in the supranational European domain. It can be called the bottom-up thinking focusing on the major role of member states in the integrated European level. On the contrary, another wave is

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[58] Ibid., p. 37.

[59] Ibid., pp. 42-43.

[60] Andreas Ette and Thomas Faist, The Europeanisation of national policies and politics of immigration: Between autonomy and the European Union, p. 1.

the top-down thinking.[61] The increasing impact of the EU on its member states can be more recognized.

Both scholars studied the impact of the EU on the policies and politics of immigration control on its member states in three main functions; which dimensions of domestic change in term of immigration are Europeanised, the extent of Europeanisation in domestic policies and politics, and the differential impact of the EU on its member states and the different modes of Europeanisation helping to make sense of the patterns of Europeanisation. Furthermore, they provided the comparative analysis of the European integration of the immigration policy on the six EU members and three neighbouring non-EU member countries; Germany, Sweden, Greek, Spain, UK, Poland, Turkey and Albania.

In this work, Andrew Geddes[62] is mentioned to support the idea of the European immigration. He differentiates four periods of the slowly growing development of the European integration on immigration from 1957 with the minimum involvement in national immigration to the communitarisation in the late 1990s with the Amsterdam Treaty.[63] As well as Lavenex and Wallace[64], proposed that over the last thirty years there are expanding changes in national competencies toward immigration control and intergovernmental cooperation among member states.[65]

There are various literatures relevant to the idea stating that the EU policies contribute to great impacts on national immigration policies across Europe during the early 1990s like Eiko Thielemann.[66] In contrast, other scholars such as Maarten Vink[67] see merely weak connection between European and domestic policy

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[61] Ibid., pp. 1-2.

[62] Andrew Geddes, The politics of migration and immigration in Europe (London: Sage, 2003).

[63] Andreas Ette and Thomas Faist, The Europeanisation of national policies and politics of immigration: Between autonomy and the European Union, pp. 4-5.

[64] Ibid., pp. 4-7.

[65] Ibid., pp. 5-6.

[66] Ibid., pp. 9-10.

[67] Ibid., p. 10.

agendas. Andrew Geddes shows that the EU has a marginal effect for the national immigration policies and development during the 1980s and 1990s.[68]

Nonetheless, there has lately been growing interest in the study of European influence on domestic immigration policies and the acquiescence of member states in the European norms. As we can notice that many scholars start to study a single-country on national enlargement of immigration policies, including the influential role of the multilevel governance of the EU. Examples are studies of the Geddes on the United Kingdom, Vink on the Netherlands, and Tomei on Germany as well as Fischer on Switzerland.[69]

The dimensions of Europeanisation can be seen in a two-way process; bottom-up and top-down. There is the three-step approach in the process of Europeanisation as well as the adaptational pressures of both the EU level and domestic policies and politics on each other.[70] To analyse the extent of Europeanisation, Radaelli proposed four different types of changes: inertia, absorption, transformation, and retrenchment.[71] Moreover, the mode of Europeanisation is the crucial theoretical concept to explain the policies of immigration suggested by Scharpf and Wallace. They differentiate two fundamental modes of Europeanisation: prescriptive and discursive Europeanisation.[72]

One of the most important results is that Britain has minimal changes and portrays the least EU influence on the traditional British immigration control. During the 1990s the pattern of interaction between the EU and Britain has been based on discursive modes of interaction. However, after the Amsterdam Treaty and the increasingly harmonised supranationalization there has been greater impact of the EU on British approaches. The original national immigration process in Britain,

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[68] Ibid., p. 10.

[69] Ibid., p. 10.

[70] Ibid., pp. 10-16.

[71] Ibid., pp. 16-18.

[72] Ibid., pp. 16-19.

nevertheless, plays an important role, as well as public opinion and successive governments.

The work of Martin Ruhs presents a general approach significantly concerning migration and employment of non-European Union nationals in Ireland. It emphasises how to manage the labour migration policy, admission, and employment of migrant workers. His study toward migrant flows, consequences of international labour migration in Ireland, and objectives of Ireland's labour migration policy shows that the trend of immigration increases dramatically, particularly low-waged occupations. Immigration affects both social and economic complexity and leads to the great diversity of composition in not only a receiving country but also a country of origin. In particular, attempts to harmonise immigration policy at the EU level have little success, in the case of Ireland.[73]

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[73] Martin Ruhs, Managing the immigration and employment of non-EU nationals in Ireland (Dublin: The Policy Institute Trinity College, 2005). pp. 5-9.

CHAPTER III

REALISM

Realism is among one of the main political ideologies from the historical period. Realism is significantly known in a wide range of international affairs. I have brought realism and neo-realism to discuss the characteristic of Britain, in particular contemporary British managing immigration. The self-interested nature of Britain has presented mostly in immigration since it is relevant to the national sovereignty and security. Increasingly connected with the globalised world, political considerations become less important while economic leading position and competitiveness have grown. Neo-realism is more concerned as the nature of security power shifts into economic prosperity and more liberal economic activities. In the following chapter, many realist scholars are presented to explain their realism theories and ideas.

3.1 Classical Realism

Realism is the dominant fundamental theory. During the interwar years, the utopian thought dominated international relations proposing the wish-dreams of the initial stage. After the 1930s realism appeared to attack an approach of idealism or utopianism. On the other hand, realism poses the emphasis of facts and the analysis of causes and consequences to eradicate the evil or root of the problem. Carr proposed an approach that international relations must be seen as they are, rather than they should or might be.[1] Realists, therefore, depreciate the role of purpose but maintain the function of thinking and the series of events. To discuss about this theory, we cannot avoid raising the name of Thucydides, Machiavelli, Thomas Hobbes, E. H. Carr, and Rosenau. And one of the founding fathers of the realist

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[1] Martin Hollis and Steve Martin, Explaining and understanding international relations (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), p. 20.

school in the 1950s and 1960s as well as the purest and most self-conscious realist[2] is Hans Morgenthau. His famous book *Politics Among Nations,* first published in 1973 providing the concept of the primacy in the national interests.[3] Morgenthau obtained an original well-established formation from Thucydides, the fountainhead of political realist tradition.[4]

The key concept of traditional realism can be compared to the large field or international politics which consists of the interaction of self-interested actors in an important anarchic environment or a situation of no overarching authority to provide order on a global arena. A state, for Morgenthau, has the fundamental national interests to protect physical, political, and cultural identity as well as military power against trespassing of other states or rivals. The idea is politics as the struggle of power and the concept of interest is defied in terms of power or survival. Power itself is the major driving force behind state behavior as an internal or endogenous characteristic of states. States are guided by human beings who have an innate 'will to power' or a 'limitless of power' and struggle to find opportunities to dominant their rivals. Consequently, states seek to find their own interests through evaluation and analysis of the position in the systemic scale and strengthen security and military capabilities. Leaders and policy-making deal with minimizing risk and maximizing possibilities for their survival and benefits.[5] States as organisations are guided by leaders whose foreign policies are successful or unsuccessful counting on the shrewdness and wisdom of their decisions and management.

For Morgenthau, realism is based on a prior consumption about human nature.[6] He proposed the timeless six principles of the significance of political realism. Firstly, political realism believes that politics is like a society in general and

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2 Jack Donnelly, Realism and international relations (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), p. 15.

3 Ashley J. Tellis, "Reconstructing political realism: The long march to scientific theory," in Roots of realism, ed. Benjamin Frankel (London: Frank Class and Company Limited, 1996), pp. 12-13.

4 Ibid., p. 12.

5 Ben Rosamond, Theories of European integration (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2000), p. 112.

6 Jürg Martin Gabriel, Worldviews and theories of international relations (London: Macmillan, 1994), p. 129.

is governed by objective laws having their root in human nature. Secondly, the main manifestation helping realism to indicate its way through the international arena is the concept of interest defined in terms of power. This enables realists to understand actions of all statesmen and women including motives and ideological preferences to achieve their survival and public acceptance. The third is that power and interest are changeable across space and time. They vary in each environment which power is exercised. The key interest in a situation leads to different forms of international relations and transformation of the states-system. Fourth, political acts have moral significance and an individual state has responsibility to act along the prudence of morality. However, universal moral principles cannot be applied to the action of states who have dissimilar criterion and formulation. Fifth, realism refuses that there is a single common morality comprehensive to all states. States implement policies in a moral language to suit them and in any forms to best benefit and serve their interests. The last principle is the autonomy of the political sphere. Realism gives priority to political considerations and all must be subordinated to a political analysis such as economic and legal arena.[7]

Realism considered as the 'power- politics model' reiterates the power-political situation of a state as the central determinant of its interest. Morgenthau describes states directed by leaders whose foreign policies are successful or unsuccessful depending on their wisdoms and attitude of decisions, the personal responsibility and management.[8] The balance of power is a significant outcome of international politics and cannot be diminished. States live in the pursuit of self-interest, will to power, and utility maximisation. Each state has to recognize that legitimate national interests are formed in similar way. When unavoidable clashes of interest happen, the function of diplomacy to preserve a peaceful and mutual resolution is introduce and that is the balance of power. During the 1960s realism in the US was likely to decline and lose its dominance. And then in the 1970s an important substantive and theoretical challenge continuously arose. The new liberal internationalists took the place of a world of autonomous sovereign states in the

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[7] Martin Hollis and Steve Martin, Explaining and understanding international relations, pp. 35-36.

international anarchy and presented a world of multiple actors intertwining with a complicated connection of conflictual and cooperative relations. In the 1980s realism becomes more academic importance by the work of a new generation of a realist scholar who produce the foundations of positivist social science.

3.2 Neo-realism

Kenneth Waltz in his book *Theory of International Politics* later in 1979 pays much attention to the systemic level. The performance of international relations cannot be clearly explained by only human nature or the inherent properties of states but the structure must be considered. In Waltz idea, traditional realism is unable to conceptualize the international system as it is limited by its behavioural methodology. He strongly argued that international politics must completely be separated into the systemic domain and a unit level which there are conditions and behavior of all states within it. From the Peloponnesian War to the Cold War, states have come and gone altering in their internal appearances and different ideologies, but the overall pattern on interactions and events repeat endlessly or the same.

Neorealism is a theory of how the structural characteristics of anarchy provide particular sets of limitations upon possibilities for action in international relations. States live in the state of conflict and insecurity by the principle of self-help.[9] Assuring their survival and security, states require not only the necessary power but also the expansion and attainment of security and peace as balancing powers. The major concept is the distribution of capabilities across units. This means that how much power one state owns in relations to other states. States' conduct differs with this distribution of capabilities in order that structural change varies patterns of conflict and cooperation. Then order is produced by an anarchic situation as well as the effective and long-established cooperation among states due to the considerably competitive and rational nature of interstate game. States, thus, seek to

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[8] Scott Burchill, <u>The national interest in international relations theory</u>, (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), pp. 38-40.

[9] Jürg Martin Gabriel, <u>Worldviews and theories of international relations</u>, pp. 81-83.

maximize possibilities for their survival but it is not to say that cooperation never occurs. The emergence of alliances and forms of cooperation are a long-standing coherent means to the end of survival and the nature of balancing behavior is developed with the issue of relative capabilities.[10]

International relations for Waltz are an area of non-hierarchic political structures, in contrast to the domestic politics. Order is not formed by a higher authority, nevertheless arises from the interactions of functionally equal political actors. The strong structural realism has three major principles. Political structures are defined by the divergence of functions among their units. Hierarchy requires relations of super- and subordination among a system's parts. Waltz argued that in anarchic orders each state is a separate, self-governing, and formally equal political unit that must rely primarily on its own natural characteristics and resources to realize its interest. When there are anarchic atmospheres, each unit or state has to represent itself and builds encouragement to step into a distinctive position in order to pursue and preserve national interests as no one can be relied on to do so. Therefore, all important functions must be performed by each and every state. However, the ultimate difference among states is capability, not function. The end of tasks is similar or common to all states. States are insignificantly different in what they try to achieve namely military and territorial security, political power, and economic prosperity, but the capabilities or managing methods to achieve an end which is highly concerned are various, for example the Soviet Union and the United States longed for triumph during the period of the Cold War. The idea of international politics is considerably the same as national politics that consists of distinguishable units conducting specified functions or various activities one over another.

Lastly, in an anarchic environment international political structures are crucially differentiated from one another by the distribution of capabilities among actors or states according to the balance-of–power theory. Whenever there are two or more states coexist in an anarchic order, the balance of power occurs and prevails. The main conclusion of the balancing theory is states incline to balance with each

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[10] Ben Rosamond, Theories of European integration, pp. 131-132.

other rather than bandwagon at the end of a situation, though everyone desires for the victory or position of taking control. The reason is that states realize the loss in the interstate game and subsequently placing their security in jeopardy. If all states put themselves in the bandwagon, they must prepare to accept that they are weakening and become a prey and finally power is too far to be reached for them. In the real politics, states cannot avoid systemic orders and the relative power must be taken into account.[11] The power of others is always a threat and contributes risk, in particular great power states. To avoid an anarchic situation and bandwagon, states attempt to balance against the increasing power of another state.

Moreover, Waltz argued that the anarchic situation of the international system has an effect on socializing nations with the revolutionary arena of systematic change. The national interest is, therefore, regarded as a product of the structure of the international relations rather than something which belongs to personal responsibility and management of the political leaders. It is true that the primary national interests in the international system are the pursuit of national security in terms of physical survival and territorial coherence. In the context of international affairs, states distribute a struggle for power among self-interested states and concern about the prospects for abolishing conflict and war.[12] As a result, states have a main duty to protect their citizens by assembling military power. Neo-realists consider the military power as the most significant factor for national security and far more important than other considerations in international relations, even economic globalisation.[13] However, recently national interest has changed the nature of itself along with international systemic relations which most states connect more and more in the globalised world. National interest becomes a tool of realists in the era of economic globalisation. National interest is considerably relevant to economic prosperity and growth competitiveness.

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[11] Jack Donnelly, Realism and international relations, pp. 16-18.

[12] Ibid., p. 194.

[13] Scott Burchill, The national interest in international relations theory, p. 60.

3.3 Globalisation and Realism

Globalisation is highly linked with realism. It causes the decline of sovereign economic power and degrades culture and national identity. Many states are directed by these considerations. Erosion of the national sovereignty and the difference of national interests have significantly meant for many states. The contemporary economic and technology developments resulted from the globalisation are transforming the nature of international politics and posing a great number of challenges to realists, such as cross-border capital flows, trade liberalisation, the free trade market, the privatization of government owned enterprises, deregulation, foreign direct investment, and the need to maintain economies opening to foreign investment or the so called 'the dominance of neo-liberalism'.[14] Prosperity and sustainable economy become one of the major factors to maintain and boost national survival and power. Moreover, domestic and foreign policies enacted along with the national interest incline to introduce the increasing transfer of political and economic monitor and authority to non-state actors, together with international and supranational organisations or communities as a distinctive example of the European Economic Community and later on substituted by the European Union. People around the world cannot avoid the rising of non-state actors, namely transnational cooperation and the foreign investment community, and NGOs in various kinds of campaigns and purposes. They claim the topic of growing convenience and international security and cooperation because a state cannot immediately predict consequences or deal with these challenging issues by itself. These endanger national economic sovereignty and are evidence of the increasing interdependence of the world's economy as well as the commensurate pacification of international relations.

Likely, grouping states in many parts of the world including the European Union lessen power in negotiation of each member state. Some willingly imply to the regulations because of gaining the growing appearance and benefits of nations, while others might reluctant to surrender their sovereignty and conduct against international policies because of the loss in national interests and decline in

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14 Ibid., pp. 61-62.

the national identity. Finally, the promise of the borderless world of globalisation represents a change in the nature of diplomacy and varies the structure of the international system.[15] It can be said that globalisation and liberal is a human creation and not a part of the order of nature.

In the case of the European Union, realists reiterate states playing fairly in the traditional interstate game. During the postwar period, the European Union is regarded as a mechanism or a model for interstate cooperation that fulfilled the survival imperatives of a group of Western European states in the context of construction peace and an emerging bipolar order in the Cold War era.[16] The balance of power politics in the post-Second World War produces the longevity of the European Union. Examples are the Franco-German relations and Anglo-German relations of Germany, France, and Britain during the period of the European Community accession.[17] It symbolizes the balance of great power nations in negotiations and escaping the severe treatment. After the EEC has a strong character of economic issues, the area of the single economic policy and politics enhancement as well as the idea of the supranational organisation of the Union comes true.

From these perspectives we can conclude that realism has a large deal of influences in many states and international affairs from the past to the era of globalisation. The European integration is an effect of development in the systemic level to survive and continually strengthen their member states. The most important reason concerned is the citizens' survival and national security as they vary themselves into the rational means of living and cooperation, not only being greedy for power and triumph and adrift alone in the ocean, but find out the peaceful solutions with each other and manage approaching challenging threats of the globalised world.

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[15] Ibid., pp. 65-68.

[16] Ben Rosamond, Theories of European integration, p. 138.

[17] Sabine Lee, Victory in Europe? Britain and Germany since 1945 (Harlow: Pearson Education Limited, 2001), p. 167.

CHAPTER IV
THE OVERVIEW OF IMMIGRATION IN
THE EUROPEAN UNION AND BRITAIN

In this chapter, the whole picture of the European framework of immigration policy and British management are presented. The European Union has recognised challenges of immigration as the international issue. Regarding the national security and social stability, the immigration has been raised to one of the highest priority issues in the European Union. The supranationalised European Union has tried to improved integrated immigration among member states. The level of cooperation and the policy development have been crucially concerned. Immigration is a sensitive area for the European and domestic stage due to the sovereignty and socio-economic interference. Without the law enforcement on immigration, the Europeanisation of immigration has little impacts on its members. Britain or a self-interested state has absorbed little development from the European level but rather developed through British characteristics with the decision-making of close links with the Commonwealth, the New Commonwealth and former colonial states. It is to say that immigration has always been a key of the British history and policy implementation has been influenced by the successive governments. Over the period factors affecting managing immigration have been various. Theses following data are relevant to immigration of the European integration and Britain.

4.1 The European Integration of Immigration policy

At present, if people mention about social, domestic and global challenges, we can not avoid the topic of migration both emigration and immigration which increasingly menaces national security and overwhelms cultural identity, together with social harmonisation. Over the last fifty years, we have witnessed significant changes in the immigration arena in Europe such as the regulations of controlling immigration flow, the management of ethnic relations and the harmonised

society of foreign nationals, anti-discrimination policies, and anti-illegal immigrants. Though there is great task expansion and high concern about immigration control, each member state has its own characteristics and traditional identity. It relates to national sovereignty when foreign nationals enter and reside in the territory of member states. Many scholars consider the discretion of domestic security, national defence, and immigration as the least member states perform. Accordingly, the policy implementation is as a tough and challenging task for the European Union and most of the power falls under the national control.

Immigration policies have had fairly few developments between the European Union and member states compared with other policy dimensions. The rational explanation of how the European Union has slow adaptation on the integration of immigration policy can be differentiated into four periods.[1] First, from 1957 to 1986 events showed the *minimal immigration policy involvement* of national immigration policy. Rights and power were greatly played by member states. Original schemes of the European Commission upon the closer EU-cooperation and methods of decision-making were rejected. Nonetheless, important cooperative tasks in the immigration policy occurred outside the EU's traditional structures. Examples of these are the Trevi Group established by European member states in the 1970s to cooperate on the domestic security measures and most significantly the Schengen Agreement in 1985 to abolish mutual internal border controls and improve security system. These intergovernmental cooperations lead to the development in the second period.

From 1986 to 1993 or the period of the *informal intergovernmentalism,* representatives of the administrations of member states introduced a procedure of closer cooperation. The Ad Hoc Working Group on Immigration in 1986 and the Palma Programme coped with the security implications of the free movement initiatives of the Single European Act. The third period, from 1993 to 1999, of *Formal Intergovernmental Cooperation* was shaped by the Maastricht Treaty and its structure caused immigration policy as the common interest. The EU integrated

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[1] Andreas Ette and Thomas Faist, eds., The Europeanisation of national policies and politics of immigration: Between autonomy and the European Union (London: Macmillan, 2007), p. 4.

immigration policies under the EU umbrella but ensured that cooperation continued absolutely intergovernmental. The last period had an increasing *communitarisation* and started in the period of the late 1990s with the Amsterdam Treaty. There are four important events in the fourth pillar. The Treaty brought about the new title IV of immigration policies into the Community Pillar. Migration and asylum were moved to the first pillar. The Schengen Agreement, in addition, obtained the acquis communitaire. In the late 1990s, most of situations shift and European citizens recognise the awakening interest in the immigration arena.

To go on raising the level of the integrated policy, the European Council submitted in Tampere in 1999 clarified a five-year action programme on the central legislations of common European immigration competencies. The Tampere was the first initiative of a common asylum policy and establishment of a Common European Asylum System. Importantly, later on in June 2004 the European Commission publicized the final assessment regarding the indigenous Tampere programme to identify the actual progress in areas of Justice and Home Affairs. The 2004 Hague Programme continued the second five-year programme on immigration and the Council concluded the Common Basic Principles for Immigrant Integration. The protection status and development of practical cooperation were added. However, due to the natural intergovernmental procedures decision-making was relied on unanimity in the Council of Ministers. It was hardly successful and to reach the aim of the process in negotiation or cooperation at the EU level when the topic was relevant to the core of the sensitive security issue and national sovereignty. Finally, in December 2004 the structure of decision-making and the scope of integrated cooperation were developed, as well as main barriers being diminished since the Council decided to change the process of decision-making on EU immigration policies into the qualified majority voting (QMV). The co-decision strategy with the European Parliament started in the 1 January 2005. The developed procedures were the basis of supranationalisation of the policy area.[2] During 2005 as a result of attempts of illegal migrants trying to entering Spain, the EU opened the door opportunity in analysing weakness of the immigration policy and emphasising the

immigration control rather than measures only. There was a new task force of the regulation of entry and residence of the third-country nationals in order to limit a flood flow of immigrants.

Altogether, we have seen the more solid direction of the EU regulations in the immigration policy, including the varying competencies from the national to the European level. The function of policy-making is a major result in development. Furthermore, the intergovernmental cooperation inclines to become intensive transgovernmentalism among member states, together with the traditional Community mode with power greater transformed to the EU level. Recent researches reiterate the development of supranational regimes and structures, instead of individually national policies reflecting the failure of immigration policies.

For recent years factors concerning a tighter procedure have arouse highly skilled workers recruitment to strengthen the EU economic growth and competitiveness, as well as well-established protection for the demographic trends or the lack of working-age population. Collecting from the milestones of immigration policy development, the European Council has attempted to create policies in the EU level implementing to all member states. After the 2004 Hague Programme, the Council made the conclusions of December 2006 on the Global Approach to Migration and the Comprehensive European Migration Policy. In 2007, the European council has highlighted that the comprehensive European Migration Policy should be harmonised with member states' directions and is raised into the fundamental priority to meet a great number of challenges in the constant globalisation. The Commission proposed two rationale proposals which are more attractive for highly skilled immigrants and more restrictive against illegal entry and residing. One focuses on a Framework Directive of drawing the highly qualified immigrants into the EU or the 'EU Blue Card.' The other is to create a single application process for Third-country immigrants to have a single residence and work permit, together with a common set of rights in legally living in each member state. The Commission President José Manuel Barroso underlined that

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[2] Ibid., pp. 4-5

"This is particularly the case for highly skilled labour.
With today's proposal for an EU Blue Card we send a clear signal:
highly skilled migrants are welcome in the EU!
We are also proposing is to give a clear set of rights to
all third country nationals who legally reside in the EU.
This will protect EU citizens from unfair competition in the labour market
and promote the integration of migrants into our societies."[3]

The renewed political commitment of the EU leads to the further EU common immigration policy by introducing the 'European Pact on Immigration and Asylum' in 2008. Five priorities are taken into account: to organise legal migration, to control illegal migration, to make border control more effective, to construct a Europe of asylum, and to create comprehensive partnerships with countries of origin and encourage development. The European Commission requests coherent and practical collaboration among member states and distributes two parts of the Communication. It consists of firstly the list of ten common principles based on the future development of immigration. The whole immigration phenomenon is three keys of the EU prosperity, solidarity and security. Secondly, enhancing the immigration governance is significant in both the EU and national level and to create new approaches dealing with immigration and evaluating immigration situations. As the Commission concerns the need for more labour in the EU in the future, more policy plans are added into the domestic interests. The common immigration policy promoting legal immigration offers necessary information relevant to entering and residing in the EU and fair treatment to the third-country nationals. Though the EU tries to persuade as much as they can to get member states' compliance and to produce the most effectiveness for the EU immigration, most of policies, at least this Communication, are the full responsibility and power of member states in managing the level of immigrants and the quotas in many sections. The national selection spheres and forms of integration are admitted by member states.

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[3] The European Union: Brussels, Making Europe more attractive to highly skilled migrants and increasing the protection of lawfully residing and working migrants, 2009 [Online], Available from: http://europa.eu/rapid/pressReleasesAction.do?reference=IP/07/1575&format=HTML&aged=0&language=EN&guiLanguage=en. [10 December]

These come into the draft of the 'EU Blue Card' directives in November 2008. It is formally approved in May 2009 indicating the common criteria for member states to aim at promoting the entry and residence of the Third-country citizens, who can provide high qualified employment, to reside in the EU with the mutual socio-economic rights and conditions as the EU citizens. This fast-track process also facilitates the family unification and movement across the EU. The valid length of the EU Blue Card is from one to four years with the possibility of renewal. After the eighteen-month period of legal permission, the concerned person and family can move to other member states apart from the first country with the certain purposes of highly skilled employment. Equal treatment is the major attraction covering working conditions, educating and training qualifications, security and pensions, obtaining good and services, and moving across the EU members' territories. This is introduced to deal with effectiveness of the EU labour market and economic benefits. The Blue card is relatively the same idea as the 'Green Card' of the United States of America. If the EU does not have or fails to do such a policy, the highly skilled immigrants will move to the preferable places, like the USA, Canada and Australia. Therefore, the EU decided to introduce the persuasive policies and the supplementary plan in the future. The latest progress of the European Union's Common Migration Policy is the Stockholm Programme in December 2009, the third five-year programme. It affirms objectives of the second phrase of the Hague Programme. There are establishment of common procedure and uniform status by 2012 and demand for enhancing solidarity.

Apart from migration policy, a related issue of integration is highly concerned. The EU aims at encouraging cohesive society based on mutual respect and tolerance within the clear boundaries and common values of the European Union. The 'Common Basic Principles on Integration' were adopted in 2004 and acted as a foundation for the 'Common Agenda for Integration' put forward in 2005. People are promoted to respect different traditions, religions, and culture. European societies prepare to manage immigration-related diversity and social harmonisation. Immigrants are provided opportunities to participate and develop their full potential. To cover the integration programmes the creation of a 'European fund for the integration of third-country nationals' was proposed under the financial perspectives

2007-2013. There is expansion in the Visa Policy and Local Consular Cooperation, which the United Kingdom and Ireland do not participate in the cooperation but apply national rules.

To explain the increase or decrease in the European cooperation of member states, two perspectives play an important role. First, it illustrates *international theories of interdependence*. A growing global world causes states to seek international solutions for domestic problems. Greater combining system, states lose ability to control national immigration and depend more on each other or the EU cooperation. The free movement of goods, persons, capital, and services stimulates the influence of the European integration and expansion. An opening chance of the EU expansion causes the great flood of immigrant flows from Eastern European countries. Moreover, the nature of characteristics of immigration itself, namely the self-preserving nature, impact of economic spill-over, and international legal norms are the key of some states claiming to turn towards interdependence. Second, the view of *a state-centric or intergovernmental perspective* on the European immigration policies points out the centre of nations' theory. A state itself has the power to guide international migration policy and controls its national territory. The inherent features of each state result in the wide divergence of dealing with domestic immigration of foreign entry and residence, international crime or external threats, and state territorial freedom from danger. Public opinion, ethnic groups and economic actors in a state also considerably shape the direction of policy-making to serve citizens' national interest.

The theories and most of the consequences have shown that the EU attempts to gain more influence within member states in order to develop and strengthen the position of wider and deeper integration of immigration. Though some of policies or on-going strategies of the EU are hindered and little complied with, member states conduct under the big umbrella of the EU supranational authority. National political constraints and policies provide a major rationale for policymakers to escape to Europe as in the case of Britain.

4.2 The Europeanisation of National Immigration Policies

In regard to the Europeanisation of this scheme, it is rather recent and is closely connected to the national sovereignty as well as coincides with self-centred national models. Whilst the impact of the EU on national immigration policies falls behind, over the past fifty years we have seen critical reforms of immigration policies in all main European immigration states. Examples are the United Kingdom implemented three major immigration acts since 1999, the Immigration, Asylum, and National Act in 2006, Germany varied the fundamental formula of asylum policy in 1992 and introduced its first immigration act in 2005, Spain reformed three main functions of the Alien Law. And Poland enacted immigration law in 2001 and 2003.[4] These are the inspiration of the EU encouraging member states dealing with immigration domain.

It is to say that most of the European countries recognise the influence of immigration in their own country and desire to achieve the foremost purpose in controlling policies. Nevertheless, the management and methods to handle domestic situations in the immigration issue depend on historical background, traditional characteristics and considerably national interests. The European citizens themselves examine how much influence the EU can dominate member states in the growing multilevel governance of immigration and in which contents, whether the Europeanisation of integrated immigration leads to convergence or divergence among national policies, whether all member states comply to the European regulations, and which the most or the least country acting in accordance with the EU is.

The impact of the European Union on its member states is identified in the dimensions of the Europeanisation which reflect in the top-down or bottom-up process between the EU and member states presenting the process of distribution and policy adaptation and the compliance with the integrated structure. The Europeanisation process is differentiated into the *three-step approach*.[5] The EU starts

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[4] Andreas Ette and Thomas Faist, eds., <u>The Europeanisation of national policies and politics of immigration: Between autonomy and the European Union</u>, pp. 8-9.

[5] Ibid., p. 14.

the process of forming a governmental system and separates policies at the European level. And then the developed structure and European policies create conformity and adaptational pressures for domestic policies and policy-making functions. The last step is pertinent to national policies and politics in adapting the EU level evolutions.

Figure 1

Step 1
The development
in structures at the
EU level

Step 2
Domestic policies
and policy-making
process

Step 3
Adapted nation
policies and politics
development

According to the three-step approach, we can see the European influence on the domestic areas and the domestic compliance of the EU integration. However, various extent of the Europeanisation occurs in member states. Radaelli used to mention in 2003 in his book, *The Politics of Europeanization*, about four different types of change in the domestic politics.[6] First, *Inertia* explains the situation lacks of change. From this type it means that the member states evaluate the EU policies are so different that can be accepted in the domestic approach or on the other hand policies are too similar to transpose in national policies and to notice the difference. Moreover, Inertia can happen in the circumstance of delays in the policies implementing, dissuading to change along with the EU regulations, and few minimal changes. The distinctive example countries of Inertia are Britain, the most delay or resistant country among member states, and Germany. Britain often negotiates upon national interests and the EU observes only rigid changes in the domestic immigration policies. Britain insists on controlling her own border and still remains as the member state outside the Schengen Agreement. Likely, Germany leaves a great number of the

common European immigration policies since the significant problems about immigrant flood of the Eastern European countries have been raised.

Second, *Absorption* depicts the type of domestic politics and policies vary smoothly in accordance with the EU requirements. The domestic structure presents the combination of flexibility which the EU policies distribute non-fundamental changes and the supranationalised structure without considerably actual alteration in the national practice and policies system. This type of change is a normal type between the EU and member states. One of the dominants countries for this type is Sweden which it has easily absorbed the process of the Schengen Agreement and the European regulations into the domestic immigration policies and control. Greece is another country who absorbed the European policies on asylum during the 1990s.[7] Most of the successful measures are a part of the government's support and the flexibility of the national structure. They flow themselves in the procedure of the EU legislations and act without domestic political conflicts.

Third, *Transformation* is close linked to what Peter Hall made well-known in his article, *Policy Paradigms, Social Learning and the State: the Case of Economic Policymaking in Britain* in 1993 as 'third order' or 'paradigmatic change.'[8] Member states recognise changes in the fundamental rationale in domestic politics and policies including national patterns and behaviors. The activation is significant change in the domestic political institutions. Still, the impact of transformation of the EU is hardly seen in the national level, for example the process of the unanimity voting long occupied in the European Council. Although there has lately been development in the QMV in certain areas, many member states prefer to rely on the intergovernmental cooperation and escape the way of changing their traditional model and thinking. It is not to say that it never occurs in the immigration policies as the

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[6] Kevin Featherstone and Claudio M.Radaelli, eds. The politics of Europeanization (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), pp. 20-29.
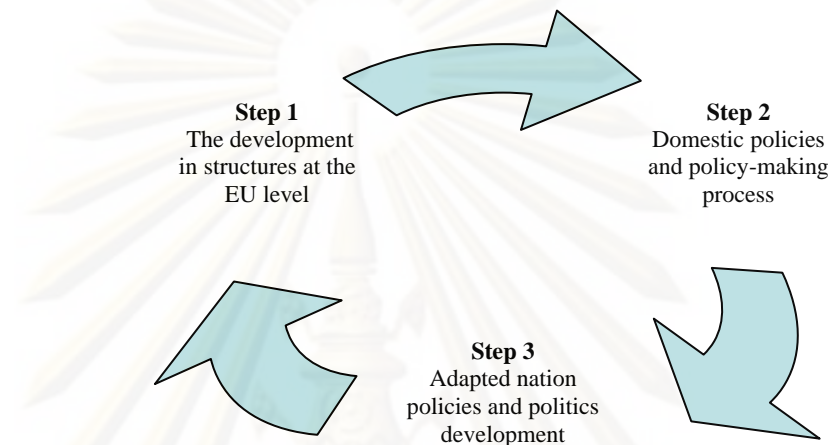
[7] Andreas Ette and Thomas Faist, eds., The Europeanisation of national policies and politics of immigration: Between autonomy and the European Union, p. 17.

[8] Ibid., pp. 8-9; See more Peter Hall, Policy paradigms, social learning and the state: The case of economic policymaking in Britain (New York: Political Science Program of the City University of New York, 1993), pp. 25-50.

anti-discrimination directive gains success in transformation in many European countries in spite of its transgression in the fundamental logic of domestic policies on the integration of immigration policy. An example of Poland illustrates fundamental changes in the new immigration policy and follows the direction of the EU patterns and requirements.

Last but not least, *Retrenchment* demonstrates that domestic politics and policies become less European than they were. Regarding the Europeanisation of the politics and policies, retrenchment takes place in a few cases but appears in some considerably national interests in immigration. This type of change is a possible result when the national government is persistent to controvert the expanding European immigration policy like in the case of Spain who opposed to continue the Spanish quota policy on irregular immigration. Concerning the four degrees of Europeanisation, European influences dominate domestic areas of immigration variously. National political constraints and the domestic implementation of the EU policies reflect a major driving force for the EU integration. The different European impact of the policy changes in each individual member state can be clarified by the following modes of Europeanisation since member states attempt to find the 'goodness of fit' between the European-level policies and institutionalisation and the domestic politics and policies.[9]

Moreover, the two fundamental modes of Europeanisation, *both prescriptive and discursive Europeanisation*,[10] represent the interaction of the EU towards member and non member states and clearly defy a picture of the EU governance in the multi-level European immigration policy. They can tell why the EU cannot compel all member states to comply with EU directives, in particular the integrated immigration policies. These two modes are different owing to the level EU applies to its member states. Firstly, it is called a form of *prescriptive Europeanisation* or the coercive governance. The domestic policymaking system behaves nearly or full compliance with institutional models shaped by the EU. The national legislative body has significantly little power to enact policies. Supranational

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[9] Ibid., p. 19.

policies are ensured to put into practice as an example of the common market. On the contrary, the other mode is *discursive Europeanisation*. The EU has no legally-binding authorisation and, therefore, its member states are to be non-compliance with the EU suggestions. The EU conduct without pressure is concerned as the large domain to share problems, exchange ideas, and to support the expansion of transnational networks providing the fundamental premise for policies.[11] National policy-makers can obtain common solutions for specific issues. One of the best examples is the open method of coordination.

In the light of the Europeanisation procedure, there are differential consequences of the EU impact on the national immigration policy since countries' experience with immigration and their relations with the EU are considerably dissimilar. Whilst the EU has recently attempted to increase the prescriptive mode of Europeanisation, the traditional members like Britain and Germany resist on the degree of change but continuously pursue the direction of the discursive mode which creates higher national policy changes. The more the EU soft arrangement exerts, the greater the EU role in the traditional member states hardly exists. Internal immigration policies and politics are the main driving force and greatly affect the particular pattern of Europeanisation. The new members are inclined to apply more the prescriptive mode rather than discursive mode which generate lower or moderate policy changes.[12]

In the case of Britain, regarded as the greatest obstacle of the Europeanisation, there are only minimal changes in national immigration policies. And the next is Germany who is always the frontrunner for the European integration but not now in the immigration policies. Germany represents as a good idol of European member and has encouraged smoothly since the beginning of the process of the European integration. Because of the discursive mode of Europeanisation, Germany strengthened the developing European immigration policies and cooperated

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[10] Ibid., pp. 16-19.

[11] H. Wallace, "An institutional anatomy and five policy modes," in <u>Policy-making in the European Union</u>, eds. H. Wallace, W. Wallace, and M. A. Pollack (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005).

with the national asylum policy in the early 1990s.[13] Many changes in the domestic law and European involvement, particularly the Schengen Agreements, are observed. However, after the changing the Amsterdam Treaty at the end of 1990s modes of Europeanisation have changed into the coercive governance forcing the immigration policy and EU directives to be drawn together with the domestic legal structure. The interaction between the EU and Germany is breakable owing to German fearfulness of the supranationalisation towards the integrated immigration policy reducing its effectiveness. As a result, the following government after 1998 under Gerhard Schroder was reluctant to participate in some immigration policy areas. Later on the EU immigration field hardly influences Germany.

4.3 The Europeanisation and Its Impact on Britain

Since the beginning period of the EEC, many scholars have considered Britain's relationship with the European Union as one of the most troublesome and debatable issues. For example, the reputation about the reluctance to surrender her sovereignty, the slow adaptation of the EC membership, and the lukewarm public opinion and pressure groups[14] were consistent in the European history. But no matter how hard Britain struggles to reduce the impact of the EC membership, it means that Britain puts herself into the process of integration automatically and increasingly involves in the policy implementation not only the British Constitution, but also the supranational political and economic structure. The nature of British politics has gradually changed and the foreign and security policies move towards the United States, the Empire and Commonwealth, and, increasingly, Europe. However, this kind of optimistic perception rigidly occurs in the migration promise and changes in domestic regulations about the movement of persons are indifferent.

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[12] Andreas Ette and Thomas Faist, The Europeanisation of national policies and politics of immigration: Between autonomy and the European Union, p. 21.

[13] Ibid., p. 23.

[14] Stephen Wall, A stranger in Europe: Britain and the EU from Thatcher to Blair (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), pp. 211-215.

There are many perspectives affecting this domain since the 1990s as Britain usually retains strong flavours of her earlier policy traditions. According to the historical agenda, Britain regarded herself as the most succeeded nation in the hegemonic status and preserved a habit mind of thinking about the arrangement of the total global system or the so called national protectionism as a world order. A world power with global responsibilities both political and military issues is a crucial trouble in further equally combining with others. Britain feels great of the 'Big Three', namely military, politic, and economic agenda.[15] Being the world's leading economic and industrial power takes control over British mind.[16] Britain is, furthermore, the centre of the three overlapping sphere of influence; the United States' relationship, the Empire and Commonwealth, and Europe. Geographically, Britain is not the mainland of Europe, but an isolated island position without foreign invasion.[17] Thus, taking part in the European membership is far out too reach and is considered to be only an alternative for British interest.

In the immediate post Second World War era, Sir Winston Churchill of Britain demanded Franco-German reconciliation to promote a model of the 'United States of Europe.'[18] At that time, Britain should have been the strong leader of Europe, due to the victory and ability to form the new Western European institutions. Yet, one of the vivid reasons for that is the particularly strong relationship with the United States and the Empire and Commonwealth. Britain gained a large number of benefits not only economic parts, also political and security power. During that time, Britain considered no need to bind herself to Western Europe because most of the economic standpoints and trading partners, as well as a security position, located on the other side of the world. The world leading power was far more important than just a regional power and national interests at that time, therefore, divided from Europe. Examples of the global security orders are the establishment of the North Atlantic

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[15] Sabine Lee, Victory in Europe? Britain and Germany since 1945 (Harlow: Pearson Education Limited, 2001), p. 1.

[16] Stephen George, Britain and European integration since 1945: Making contemporary Britain (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1991), p. 25.

[17] Sabine Lee, Victory in Europe? Britain and Germany since 1945, pp. 1-2.

[18] Chris Cook and John Stevenson, Britain since 1945 (Harlow: Longman, 1996), p. 181.

Treaty Organisation (NATO), and an initiative idea behind the Western European Union (WEU).[19] It could be said that these kinds of action furthered closer forming economic cooperation of other Western European states. Additionally, Britain reviewed that her interests were not best served in the Western European Organisation only because of the wider links in economic and political field with the Empire and Commonwealth. Though Britain joined the security relations, notably the Dunkirk Treaty between Britain and France in March 1947, and the Brussels Treaty broadening a group of cooperation with Belgium, Italy, Luxemburg and the Netherlands in March 1948,[20] Britain did open as many choices as possible.

In 1947 during the period of the Cold War, there was growing influence of political thought of the Soviet Union threatening Europe. It led to a small shifting direction of the foreign policy in Britain which considered the whole Western Europe was better than Britain alone in confronting against communism.[21] At that time the Foreign Secretary, Ernest Bevin, considered Europe as a key possibility or 'third force' to balance power of the US and the Soviet Union. However, the final interests proved that Britain preferred to associate with the close friends US and the confirming Commonwealth rather than a new uncertain friend, Europe.

This situation resulted in the government's decision not to fully participate in the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) by the 'Six' original member states in 1951 with the first operation in 1952. The main reason was based on the fact that Britain was the significant trading nation across the global continents and relevant to most of the international markets. Joining the ECSC could reduce close relations with many parts of the world. Despite singing in the ECSC later on, Britain was just a country in an associate member in 1954. Britain felt not so convincing to join the ECSC due to the heading interest of France and the British interests were regarded as non-participation. Moreover, Britain was reluctant to surrender her sovereignty and political power of economic affairs, trade, commerce, and agriculture

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[19] Anthony Forster and Alasdair Blair, The making of Britain's European foreign policy (Harlow: Pearson Education Limited, 2002), p. 14.

[20] Ibid., p. 14.

to the supranationalised organisation. Britain always desired to exercise power as the leading scale among continental European countries. That is why Britain considerably preferred to introduce the Council of Europe in 1949 which related to the intergovernmental system of policies' decision-making instead of Supranationalism. In contrast to France, the ECSC would be the long-standing assistance of economic recovery as well as the French interests motivated to join the ECSC.

Afterwards, there was an intention to establish the European Defence Community (EDC) by the 'Six' and a Treaty of Associate was signed in Britain in 1952. It was one more time that Britain's unwillingness caused the Europe slow development and eventually the failure of the EDC. The final rejection came from the French National Assembly because of fears of West Germany influential and rising power without the Britain participation.[22] Nevertheless, Britain turned herself into the less integrated authority and was considerably behind the Western European Union in 1954 as the substitute of the EDC. To further expand the achievement of the ECSC in reopened issues including a custom union, the six original members held a meeting in Messina in June 1955. Britain exposed an opposition and refused to participate in the meeting. The supranational talks in Messina covered the two Treaties in Rome in March 1957 leading to the European Economic Community (EEC). During the Heath government, he claimed that the slow rate of British economic growth, lack of investment and poor industrial connection, and financial movement were the shortage of free market capitalism.[23] In the other end, in January 1960 Britain, as a result, presented a European Free Trade Agreement (EFTA), which provided the multilateral trading relationships, a customs union, and a common external tariff against non-member states, with other member states who were not on the supranational talks' side. The members were Austria, Denmark, Norway, Portugal, Spain, Switzerland and Britain. The British point of view in political, security, economic, and trading interests was different among other European member

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[21] Stephen George, Britain and European integration since 1945: Making contemporary Britain, pp. 36-37.

[22] Anthony Forster and Alasdair Blair, The making of Britain's European foreign policy, p. 16.

[23] Robert Garner and Richard Kelly, British political parties today (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1993), p. 83.

states and these proved highly difficult to Britain as non-original members of the European history.

Another important event happened in 1961 about the first attempt of Britain to join the EEC under Harold Macmillan. The impetus of changes in the British foreign policy was caused by security, political, and economic reasons. In the part of security the sequence had to date back to the Suez Crisis of 1956 since Britain realised her decreasing capability for individual performance in the absence of the US support. During that time, the government of the Conservative party, Sir Robert Anthony Eden, evaluated the situation of the possibility loss in the war due to floating adrift without the US back-up. Britain was ensured by many unsuccessful policies that it was not the only country having affecting strength and shaping the global affairs. Other European members could effectively survive by themselves. Thus, Britain decided to shift the direction and nature of the foreign policy, as well as making a re-positioning towards Europe. It signalled the beginning of the end of the predominant position of Britain in the Middle East and British Empire.[24] The action of the US on Britain was considered as a wise method and reflected a response to encourage Britain to have closer connection with Europe. Not completely participating in the European Community of Britain also became a progressively infuriating stance for the US because the British membership would enhance increasing relations and the transatlantic agenda.

In the economic field, the reason to access the Community was the acknowledgement of the growing success and notability of the European Community.[25] For more than 200 years as an important trading nation, Britain did success and gained high prosperity with other partners around the world. However, policy makers revealed that trading interests in the global level, including the Empire and Commonwealth had lessened but were simultaneously replaced by export markets and trading partners in Western Europe, in particular Germany. The self-satisfied

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[24] Mattheaw Neeley, "The Suez crisis," The Bodleian Library: University of Oxford, 2009 [Online], Available from: http://www.bodley.ox.ac.uk/dept/scwmss/projects/suez/suez.html. [20 June 2009]

[25] E. Heath, Old world, new horizons: Britain, Europe and the Atlantic alliance (Cambridge,MA: Harvard University Press, 1970), p. 24.

illusions in the early 1950s did not prove to be effective if compared to other advanced European member states.[26] Between 1960 and 1963 British exports growth in EFTA was 33 per cent comparing with exports in the European Community grew 55 per cent in the same period.[27] It was also marked by the growth rate of British dynamic competitiveness during 1950s and 1960s averaged at 3 per cent which was merely a half of the six members of the European Community, together with the industrial production of the Six rose at 44 per cent, compared with the British figure fell from 40 to 14 percent.[28] Whist Britain was outside the EC between 1950 and 1973, Britain's GDP per capita increased by 2.5 per cent a year, but Germany's figure was higher at 5.0 per cent and France's figure at 4.1 per cent.[29] While the six EEC members continued further economic integration and tariff reductions, Britain confronted increasing tariff levels. The uncertainty of British economic decline could prove relatively close link with the European neighbour countries of both the EFTA and the EEC members that could advance British trading benefits. The situation of the only economic power in the 1945 was changeable and did not assure British future by 1960 without the entry to the European Community.

The idea to access the EEC, managed by Edward Heath, was encouraged by the failure of the free trade area and persistence to dominate the world affairs. While the government realised that the central method to sustain the British well-being and prosperous economic performance was important, accession a membership became a mode to enhance the closer link for British interests rather than a choice among other possibilities. Britain's relations with the US and the Commonwealth could be strong again. Meanwhile in the light of Britain's special relations with the US, many European members considered about the complicated position of Britain, particularly the Polaris missile of Nassau Summit of British

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[26] Robert Garner and Richard Kelly, British political parties Today, p. 82.

[27] R.Lamb, "The Macmillan years, 1957-63: The emerging truth," in Anthony Forster and Alasdair Blair, The making of Britain's European foreign policy (Harlow: Pearson Education Limited, 2002), p. 18.

[28] Anthony Forster and Alasdair Blair, The making of Britain's European foreign policy, p. 18; See more Economic Intelligence Unit, If Britain joins. The economics effects of membership of the common market (London: Economic Intelligence Unit, 1957), p. 8.

government in December 1962.[30] The circumstance underlined the Anglo-American special relationship and increasingly introduced the scepticism on the European continent. In the case of France, de Gaulle made a declaration that the missile agreement symbolised the unreliable status. The negotiations ended in 1963 with failure. Predominance of France in the EEC could be interrupted by British entry, as well as Konrad Adenauer had the thought to reduce tension and avoid breaking Paris-Bonn alliance. They both, therefore, decided to keep Britain out. In 1965 The ECSC, Euratom, and the EEC were merged into a common supranational structure, which Britain was not a part of the European history once again.

In 1966 The Prime Minister Harold Wilson declared intention to entering the EEC with six original members as 'a high-level approach.'[31] Then the second application procedure began in the 1967 which was motivated by the British economic difficulties with the pound was devalued by 14.3 per cent.[32] British economy was considered too weak to join the EC and British entry was denied again by de Gaulle. Finally, the third application had high expectation with Georges Pompidou, who was victorious de Gaulle in 1969 and was successful under Edward Health's the Conservative government.[33] Britain officially accessed the European Community membership in 1973 with Denmark, Ireland, and Norway. However, the following history of the British membership does not affirm the good status of Britain as a new member state. Though The Heath Government was regarded as the most pro-EC membership, Edward Heath was only a single person supporting political force. Foreign policies were, therefore, implemented as refusing to join a common policy, insisting on being opt-out from the monetary union, reserving domestic market to increase international market.

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[29] Lord Simon of Highbury, "Lagging behind: Britain and the EURO," 2002 [Online PDF], Available from: http://www.watsoninstitute.org/bjwa/archive/9.1/Essays/Simon.pdf. pp. 315-317. [25 June 2009]

[30] Anthony Forster and Alasdair Blair, The making of Britain's European foreign policy, p. 19.

[31] Chris Cook and John Stevenson, Britain since 1945, p. 183.

[32] Anthony Forster and Alasdair Blair, The making of Britain's European foreign policy, p. 12.

[33] Ibid., p. 20.

After joining the EC one year, relationship between Britain and the US was changed into the transatlantic-European relationship. The nature of British close link did lie on not only the mainland Europe, but also the US, and the Commonwealth. Britain under the Edward Heath, Labour Government being pro Atlantic policy, expressed inconvenience and proposed re-negotiate terms which were accepted in the first European Council summit in Dublin, 1975. The 'yes' and 'no' interests to re-negotiation were supported by the Conservative and Labour party as fundamentally divided within Britain. As a result, this caused difficulties and suspicion towards the British membership and many members consider Britain as a growing apart member and an uncertain country in Europe.

The two opposite sides were drawn from the domestic political and economic priorities, such as the severe economic downturn and high unemployment rate in Britain. Though British trade with EC increased during the early 1970s as well as growing focus was varied to the EC rather than the US counting for over 50 per cent of her trade[34], there was oil crisis crucially affecting trades in the domestic and global levels. Public interest considered the EC membership was negative and British economy was worse than the previous period before entering.[35] Domestic preoccupations influenced and greatly prevailed over international considerations. It can be said that Britain joined the EC when the golden age was fading away. The Labour side supported the withdrawal of British membership and wished to regain the revival economy individually. The other side, nevertheless, was the pro-European viewpoint and opposed the re-orientation strategy. Margaret Thatcher, who at that time lacked the domestic influence, struggled to pursue the membership of the European Community and persuade policy change. Finally, in the British referendum membership preference gained 57 percent voted.

In the light of British difficulties, the Conservative was inclined to prevail until the triumph of Conservative as a party of Europe in 1979.[36] Thatcher was

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[34] The Columbia Electronic Encyclopedia, "Economy," 2007 [Online], Available from: http://www.infoplease.com/ce6/world/A0858456.html. [10 June 2009]

[35] Stephen George, Britain and European integration since 1945, pp. 65-70.

[36] Anthony Forster and Alasdair Blair, The making of Britain's European foreign policy, p. 21.

one of the heading people positive about the European policy and during that time she hoped to strengthen policies with other European partners. Immediately afterwards, she introduced her 'Thatcherism'[37] of nationalistic tone and declared her strong assertion as 'I want my money back', the large net contributor of Britain to the Community budget, in the Dublin European Council in November 1979. Then she received the 66 percent rebate in 1984 Fontainebleau European Council.[38] The reason was about money Britain paid and gained back as Thatcher considered that it was not balanced and unjustified payment. A great deal of money was spent on agriculture and farm subsidies but Britain had few farming industry and it was four times higher than France and Germany per person.[39] In spite of this achieving repayment, such a strong declaration and her abrasive action are noted as dishonour and isolate Britain from other European member states.

In Fontainebleau other progressive agreements were succeeded. There was an additional development on the formulation of the single market and the timeline was put into the Cockfield's White Paper, Completing the Internal Market, in June 1985.[40] The function of the committee was to propose initiatives and details relevant to the removal of all internal barriers within the European Community and the free movement of goods, services, capital, and persons. Moreover, there was no more national veto in the process of decision making. Later on, in Luxembourg European Council in December 1985 the Single European Act (SEA) was implemented supporting the more convenient development of the Single European Market, together with introducing the Qualified Majority Voting (QMV).[41] At the beginning, although Margaret Thatcher was fond of the idea of the internal market as it could boost British economy, QMV was a threatening challenge of the European political expansion and the SEA significantly enhanced the deeper integration

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[37] Eric J. Evan, Thatcher and Thatcherism: Making of the contemporary world (London: Routledge, 1997), p. 2.

[38] BBC News on Europe, "Q&A: The UK budget rebate," 2005 [Online], Available from: http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/4721307.stm. [28 June 2009]

[39] BBC News UK Politics on EU Enlargement, "O&A: The UK's EU rebate," 2002 [Online], Available from: http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk_news/politics/2360889.stm. [28 June 2009]

[40] Anthony Forster and Alasdair Blair, The making of Britain's European foreign policy, p. 22.

including unfavourable for British sovereignty. Since this issue is significantly related to the national security and sovereignty in a decision-making process within her territory, Britain was originally against the idea and refused to join the single market, together with the Schengen Agreement.

Margaret Thatcher established the negative deep-rooted perception of British public opinions and pressure groups towards Europe.[42] Whilst other Western European member states reduced their nationalism, Britain raised national identity and a self-preserving idea. The British concerned the EC as prerequisite of international relations instead of real awareness since Britain was not an original member who drafted regulations and cooperation at the beginning and confronted most of the difficulties, together with constant recession. Moreover, the geographical reason of the country at the edge of Europe became significant with a few results of the mainland integration, the borderless trading market, and daily life connection in the reality. Another important reason was the political view of Britain's political leaders and successive governments. There was no enough advocacy of European integration. Information provided and media publishing put more pressure to the negative ideal of the European membership. The *lukewarm* publish opinion was unavoidable and significantly guided the unwillingness of British's participation.[43]

On the contrary, other member states in particular France, Jacques Delors, viewed the SEA as a released solution and a common facilitating mode of the European Community. Delors, in addition, presented the European Social Space in 1986 and preferred to raise social rights into the Community at the same level as the economic field since it was the important area to effectively expand the single market. He declared it in the Hanover European Council 1988 but Margaret Thatcher objected in the Strasbourg European Council 1989 and rejected to agree with the regulations of working conditions and welfare benefits to be set into the integrated Community

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[41] Ibid., pp. 22-23.

[42] Stephen George, <u>Britain and European integration since 1945: Making contemporary Britain</u>, pp. 65-67.

[43] Stephen Wall, <u>A stranger in Europe: Britain and the EU from Thatcher to Blair</u>, p. 211.

level.[44] It could lead to the British market less competitive, though she did not against the British membership. Thatcher was the greatest supporter of an anti-Supranationality idea.[45] She attacked the Community who became increasingly control over normal areas by member states and against struggling to the establishment of the European 'superstate.' Her strong landmark against the evolution of the Community occurred in Bruges 1988,

"Europe would be stronger with 'France as France,

Spain as Spain, Britain as Britain, each with its own customs,

traditions and identities' and that would be folly to try to fit them

into some sort of Identikit European personality."[46]

Apart from her nationalistic tone and proud national identity, Thatcher commented that the European Community would be a great obstacle for Britain in continuing well-established relationships with countries in many parts of the world as the concept of British towards internationalism.[47] As she made a speech in 1988,

"Britain did not dream of some cosy, isolated existence

on the fringes of the European Community. Our destiny was in Europe,

as part of the Community. That is not to say that our future lies only

in Europe. The European Community is one manifestation of that

European identity. But it was not the only one."[48]

Subsequently, Thatcher denied the Delors's thought about further deep integration in the creation of a single currency dealing with the Political and Monetary Union. Margaret Thatcher and British interests considerably concerned that an individual member state should have its own power to control the national currency and domestic monetary policy. She abominated the pan-European cooperation and

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Anthony Forster and Alasdair Blair, The making of Britain's European foreign policy, p. 24.

45
Stephen George, Britain and European integration since 1945: Making contemporary Britain, p. 56.

46
Stephen George, Britain and European integration since 1945: Making contemporary Britain, p. 60;
See more Margaret Thatcher, British and Europe: Text of the speech delivered in Bruges by the Prime Minister on 20th September 1988 (London: Conservative Political Centre, 1988), p. 4.

47
Ibid., p. 60.

topic depriving national power and sovereignty. The Conservative strongly opposed since it enhanced the deeper integration and pulling away British economic sovereignty. As long as the decision-making procedure was centralized at supranational organisations in Brussels, Thatcher decided to hinder the political integrated concept of Europe's future and to be against the growth of policy-making at the European level climaxing with the plan to complete the Political and Monetary Union and the Maastricht Treaty in 1989-1990.

Called the 'Iron Lady',[49] Margaret Thatcher is recognised as the first influential woman Prime Minister of the United Kingdom from 1979 to 1990. She did success in a great number of national affairs, including her strong nationalism, trade unions, preventing the state intervention and policies of free markets, and boosting the UK economy.[50] Despite her success in the third term reelection, her popularity was likely to decrease since people were tired of the idea against the supranationalised European Community or the United States of Europe.[51] The progressive centralization and market integration for her were the main cause to lessen the sovereign decision-making power and to restrain the UK economy. Although her great Foreign Secretary, Geoffrey Howe, struggled to persuade her to work along with the Community, in particular the European Monetary System, she declined.[52] Owing to aggressive characters and inflexible approaches to countermand others' opinion, the fall from power happened in 1990 when the Conservative party started to separate and Geoff Howe resigned in the House of Commons in November 1990. However, until now Margaret Thatcher has served as an important part of the British politics and her policies and regulations established deep-rooted perception among British citizens as well as affected pubic opinion.

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[48] Ibid., p. 61; See more Margaret Thatcher, <u>British and Europe: Text of the speech delivered in Bruges by the Prime Minister on 20th September 1988</u> (London: Conservative Political Centre, 1988), p. 2.

[49] Peter Riddell, <u>The Thatcher decade: How Britain has changed during the 1980s</u> (New York: Basil Blackwell, 1989), p. 188.

[50] Famous People in Political Leaders, "Margaret Thatcher," 2009 [Online], Available from: http://www.thefamouspeople.com/profiles/margaret-thatcher-57.php. [2 July 2009]

[51] Lord Beloff, <u>Britain and European Union: Dialogue of the deaf</u> (London: Macmillan Press, 1996), p. 12.

In October 1990 Britain decided to join the European Exchange Rate Mechanism (ERM) created in 1979 as a part of the European Monetary System (EMS) in order to prepare for the upcoming European Monetary Union (EMU) and the introduction of the single currency. The ERM was to keep the currency stability in the Community and minimize the exchange rate fluctuations as a driving force for the international market. Britain did not join the ERM at the beginning but participated in the ERM membership in 1990. Shortly afterwards, Britain left the system in 1992 since the Pound Sterling was under pressure by currency spectators and it could not be limited within the bands of the ERM.[53]

After Margaret Thatcher's resignation, the British European Policy from 1990 to 1997 was left to her successor, John Major. Although he was more conciliating to the European Community, his style did not ensure the smooth relations between Britain and Europe and long-established future of Europe. Major's methods moved with both negotiation but considerably protection British national interests. In 1991 the important European Treaty was signed in the Maastricht town establishing three pillars which are the foundation of the EU at the present. They consist of the European Community, the agreement on the Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP), and the agreement on Justice and Home Affairs (JHA). The Treaty also sets the agenda for the Economic Monetary Union. Finally, Britain ratified the Treaty in 1992 with the reluctance to completely commit to the Europeanised regime. Major set the dispute and negotiations among other member states and came to the two solutions. Firstly, Britain could accept the cooperation in the Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP), and the agreement on Justice and Home Affairs (JHA). Britain, nonetheless, prefers to be involved in intergovernmentalism instead of the Supranationalism and integrated European institutions to preserve national interest, including the national veto system in decision-making process. Secondly, Britain's

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[52] Eric J. Evan, <u>Thatcher and Thatcherism: Making of the contemporary world</u>, pp. 79-85.

[53] Civitas EU Facts, "European Monetary System," 2007 [Online], Available from: http://www.civitas.org.uk/eufacts/FSECON/EC9.htm. [2 July 2009]

opt-out is in the formation of the European Monetary Union, or the main principle of the Euro, and the improving social policy objectives.[54]

The vision of the British successive governments towards the European success contributed to the great sluggish adaptation and passive public opinion and causes the Conservative party more increasingly decline. The concept of scepticism related to the European involvement affects the deep British perception. Therefore, Britain has the different position called a *'stranger in Europe'*[55] among other members.

The completion of the single market does succeed in 1993 as well as the transformation to the European Union which is the model of the economic, social, and political partnership. The EU is considered as the world's largest single market with the great widening integration in 2004 and 2007 and now the EU comprises 27 democratic independent member states, including Britain. Stimulating trade and economic activities within member states, the free movement of good, persons, capital, and services make the EU more competitive by eliminating internal barriers and cutting cost of production, as well as free labour movement across frontiers. However, there are some problems concerning the cooperation and policies enforcement since some countries, such as Britain, do not join the single currency. This leads to intricacy of the completion of the economic integration. One of the main influences of the single market in the UK is that there is great flood of immigrants, in particular the new European member states, which approximately 600,000 new workers by 2006 after expanding the EU membership in 2004. Britain tried to negotiate whether immediately accept immigrants at the beginning.[56] Afterwards, the Conservative government in 2005 attempted to preserve their British interests and succeeded to exclude new members, Romania and Bulgaria, to enter Britain.

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[54] Anthony Forster and Alasdair Blair, The making of Britain's European foreign policy, pp. 24-26.

[55] Stephen Wall, A stranger in Europe: Britain and the EU from Thatcher to Blair, p. 215.

[56] Politics UK. "Immigration trends," 2009 [Online], Available from: http://www.politics.co.uk/briefings-guides/issue-briefs/foreign-policy/european-single-market-$366685.htm. [2 July 2009]

Afterwards, the Treaty of Amsterdam was initiated in 1996 extending the co-decision system and qualifies majority voting procedure. At the same time the Treaty implemented the Schengen Agreement including the social and employment charter, abolishing internal barriers, and moved visa and asylum policy. It is another time that Britain chose to leave the Schengen Agreement behind. These kinds of situations reiterated the stance on a *'fortress Europe'*[57] being anti inward-looking in contrast to the rest of member states who desire to successfully expand deepening and widening integration. It is to say that Britain is a European member complying to the European Community the least.

Until the time of the new election, the Labour party under Tony Blair won in 1997. He has a rather pro attitude towards the European development and hopes for making steps change in British European Policy. To cross out British shame as 'Dirty Man' of Europe in 1980s,[58] he began with leading a party to the united European issue and developing Britain as willingness to be 'at the heart of Europe.'[59] Britain has become one of the member states behind the European scene and worked in accordance with the European supranational institutions. Blair depended on more pragmatic approaches, such as adopting an approach of the QMV. During 2002, the idea of the Euro membership was less opposed by the Labour party and Tony Blair planed to bring Britain into the Euro, nonetheless he had to face hard barriers. The reason for that is Britain needs to rejoin the European Exchange Rate Mechanism (ERM) and takes at least two-year time in the ERM as the rule of the Maastricht Treaty in order to adapt herself and avoid the fluctuation in the foreign currency markets.[60] Furthermore, public opinions felt hostile to the Euro membership since the creation could deprive their national sovereignty and continuity in British political and economic development. Afterwards, the Euro currency officially came to the

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[57] Stephen George, <u>Britain and European integration since 1945: Making contemporary Britain</u>, p. 59.

[58] Ian Bache and Andrew Jordan, "Britain in Europe and Europe in Britain," in <u>The Europeanization of British politics</u>, eds. Ian Bache and Andrew Jordan, 2nded. (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), p. 8.

[59] Anthony Forster and Alasdair Blair, <u>The making of Britain's European foreign policy</u>, pp. 24-26.

[60] Stephen Castle, "Britain must rejoin ERM before entering single currency," The Independent UK, 2002 [Online], Available from: http://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/politics/britain-must-rejoin-erm-before-entering-single-currency-663375.html. [02 July 2009]

circulation in 2002 without Britain's joining. The recent Labour government has sought a great method to play as leading role in the European Union.

After the resignation of Tony Blair in 2007, the Labour party did success again under the leadership of Gordon Brown. Though he has continued the close relationship with the US, he has done the greatest change in the British political history as it is thought as 'the political betrayal of modern British politics.'[61] Declining the referendum, Gordon Brown supports the Lisbon Treaty viewed as the similar European Constitution and the EU's superstate. Planed in 2004, the new treaty reiterates the picture of the closer union and centralization of a legal perception and the decision-making procedure in Brussels. According to the Lisbon Treaty, power is significantly transferred to the supranational institutions and Brussels as pulling sovereign power and adding more EU's competence to the British foreign policy. With 89 per cent of the British voted against the Treaty because it increasingly threatens the national sovereignty together with affecting the special Anglo-American relationship.

Being different from other European member states, the EU widening and deepening integration brings a great number of challenges to Britain not only political and national sovereignty but the economic and national identity. The structure of British parliamentary sovereignty is the main reason for rigid involvement of Britain in the EU. Britain regards the EU as the low importance, the encroachment of British independence. Britain has no desire 'to abandon the old discourse of the nation for a new discourse of Europe.'[62] The enlargement of the EU, additionally, puts much heavier burden to the British political policies and structure. A distinctive example is the great flow of immigrant workers challenging the labour market and domestic immigration policy. British citizens suffer from problems like the national identity and social harmonisation.

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[61] Nile Gardiner and Sally Mcnamara, "The EU Lisbon Treaty: Gordon Brown surrenders Britain's sovereignty," The Heritage Foundation, 2008 [Online], Available from: http://www.heritage.org/Research/Europe/wm1840.cfm. [02 July 2009]

[62] Anthony Forster and Alasdair Blair, The making of Britain's European foreign policy, p.191; See more S. George, "Reply to Buller," Politics. Vol.15, No. 1. pp. 43-47.

From these historical points of view, the European Union affects all perceptions of British political power, defence and security, economy, financial system, culture and national identity, as well as social sustainability. Successive British governments and political leaders have not provided enough and suitable information for the British and are reluctant to commit to the closer link with the European enlargement, but sustaining the leading role in the international relations and continually pursuing the special transatlantic relations. These result in the strong influences of public opinions and pressure groups in the society. However, the connection of Britain is increasingly intertwined with the supranationalised European level despite not in most of the policies implemented concerning the lessening sovereign national interests, in particular control and managing immigration.

4.4 British Successive Governments with Immigration Policies

Britain is the unique country who has a great tie with the parliamentary politics and the traditional constitution. Politics in Britain is fairly complicated and the triumph in the election mostly comes together with support from invisible hands and public opinions. According to Mckenzie, he mentioned that political parties in Britain are as groups of persons attempting to win the control of state power by providing a set of more satisfying and attractive policies than other enemies.[63] Different political parties have different principles and these lead to various purposes and functions of policy making. Regarding two main political parties in Britain, the Labour is concerned as socialism or Labour's presiding ideology and, therefore, more weight is put into the quality and development of employment conditions as well as working-class living standards with the big support from the trade union and alliance of a labour-class society. In contrast to the Conservative who is keen on the concept of the free market and private sector presents the links with business and financial benefits. Social changes and widespread influences of new middle classes at the beginning of the nineteenth century affect the nature of traditional conservatism and

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[63] Robert Garner and Richard Kelly, British political parties today, p. 259; See more R. T. Mckenzie, Political parties (London, 1955), pp. 2-7.

cause adaptation of individualism, self-reliance, and economic liberalism to gain victory from the new social demands.[64]

Apart from the parliamentary system, British citizens are important in the politics since political parties and leaders make an effort to get people involved in the liberal democracy politics and educate them politically. British media, communication, and canvassers including public opinions and political pressure groups also play a significant role. The interests of the ruled or supporters are presented by the rulers of political parties and finally become the national interests when the party wins the national democratic election. However, there is a mechanism to prevent the leadership from representing those interests of the political groups outside the parliament as the servant of requested interests. The characteristics and political goals of British parties distribute influential results to the immigration policy, particularly issues affect national interests and British sovereignty.

Different ways to identify citizenship affect the present situation of immigration. The *jus sanguinis* principle is what Germany and the Southern European nations describe citizenship, which is given to all people who are descendants of the same ethnicity. On the contrary, the *jus soli* is what Britain and France describe citizenship which is given to all people born in the country. As a result, second generation of a country is different by being included into the population or counted as foreign born citizens.[65] Before the 20 century immigration policies in Britain are fairly liberal. The three first important immigration nationalities are African due to the slave trade, Indian from the Empire contact, and Chinese as seamen. Most of them stay temporary and came back to their countries after the mission had been completed, while others lived permanently. The total number was quite small. Until 1905 the 'Aliens Immigration Act' was implemented to restrict the great influx of East European Jewish and Russian Jew immigrants and then in 1914-1919 the Act was tougher due to the high rate of unemployment and crime. It focused on the refusal of entry of aliens who had no exact means of support and a work permit. Nonetheless,

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[64] Ibid., pp. 73-75.

[65] Klaus F. Zimmermann, ed., European migration: What do we know? (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), p. 3.

immigrants from the Commonwealth and political refugees were exempted from the restrictions.

Next from the 1920s to 1930s due to the economic recession, Britain built the closer link and free immigration within the Commonwealth and signed the 'Empire Settlement Act' to help British emigrants flowing to the colonies and at the same time former British and Irish emigrants immigrating to Britain in order to restrict dissimilar immigration.[66] In 1948 British Nationality Act created two main categories: citizens of the UK and colonies known as British subjects and citizens of Commonwealth countries.[67] The homogeneous leader of Britain continues with the great link with the Empire and Commonwealth. Britain's predominant situation at that time was presented as the light of the shining sun for all British colonies, including threatening other Empire states' power and security.

Afterwards, the Second World War period caused harsh problems to Britain with the shortage of manpower. Britain, consequently, established the 'migration chain and war-migrant labour link' with African and the New Commonwealth like West Indians, Pakistanis and Asian immigrants.[68] There was another type of employment at that time known as the European volunteer workers, who were recruited by the British government from the huge refugee camp in Germany and Austria after the immediate post-World War. They were the displaced persons of the Programmes to fill the labour shortages and boosted economic recovery. Most of them were the Eastern European origin nationals, namely Polish members of Allied Force, Ukrainian, Latvian, Lithuanian, and Yugoslav immigrants and were brought to plug up many parts of economy, such as industries, agricultural section, coal-mining, textile and domestic fields, and medical and hospitalized work. It was viewed as the first step of an officially welcomed foreign workers programme. Though Britain could maintain the position of global leadership among Europe, the

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[66] Eytan Meyers, International immigration policy: A theoretical and comparative analysis, p. 66.

[67] David Cesarani and Mary Fulbrook, eds., Citizenship, nationality and migration in Europe (London: Routledge, 1996), p. 63.

[68] Eytan Meyers, International immigration policy: A theoretical and comparative analysis, pp.64-66.

Commonwealth and others, these previous historical circumstances resulted in the multicultural immigration produced by Britain.

After the postwar period to the beginning of 1960s, immigration in Britain formed different races and nationalities. The situation became more severe when there were increasingly racial riots and requirements to limit foreign immigrants. About 500,000 new Commonwealth nationals and wives as well as other dependents led to the demands for restrictions and a political campaign against non-white immigration. As a result, the Conservative government under Macmillan introduced the 'Commonwealth Immigrants Bill' to end a principle of free entry of Commonwealth citizens to Britain.[69] Later on, the 'Commonwealth Immigration Act' relevant to employment vouchers was enacted in 1962 to limit and could decrease around 50 to 60 percent of immigration.[70] Discrimination came to limit who can gain British passports: only those persons born in the UK or the British descent to emphasize the white dominions and white settlers in the colonies. The culmination of limitations on the New Commonwealth immigration was from 1963 to 1971. The Act in 1962 was replaced by the new Act in 1968 which was much serious restrictions of coloured immigrants and allowed only British citizens or people with significant connection to Britain, namely birth, adaptation, descent, or marriage. The Act excluded non-white persons in the former colonies.

The culmination of restrictions was in the 1970s under the concept of 'patriality'. Patrials included anyone born in Britain or with British-born or naturalized parents and grandparents.[71] Britain preferred to unrestrict white Commonwealth citizens but control coloured immigration of the Commonwealth. Concerning appearance of The 'New Racism,' culture as well as religion, language, tradition and customs, was brought to identify the divergence of British and non-white people.[72] The main significant stimulus of solemn restrictions during that time were political pressure in Britain for a large-scale of non-white nationals and the British

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[69] Chris Cook and John Stevenson, <u>Britain since 1945</u>, p. 11.

[70] Eytan Meyers, <u>International immigration policy: A theoretical and comparative analysis</u>, p. 69.

[71] David Cesarani and Mary Fulbrook, eds., <u>Citizenship, nationality and migration in Europe</u>, p. 66.

declining position as a world leading power towards the commitment to free immigration. These led to the race-based system and more restrictive policy of the 'Immigration Act' in 1971.[73] There was wide spread hostility to immigration. In the historical period it is to say that the British immigration control was affected by dissimilar factors which mostly came from the level of foreign policy considerations of immigration, sustaining the global power, and external threats as well as wars, rather than economic reason considerably influences the British contemporary immigration policy.

From 1972 onwards, the immigration control policy and management were dominated by the political party. Under the Conservative of Heath, the immigration approach was more restrictive than the Labour, whose immigration policy was more liberal. There were unemployment rate reaching over 1 million and miners' strikes.[74] As a result of a great number of Third World immigrants after the mid 1980s, The British government highlighted policies stopping the immigration of asylum seekers and illegal/undocumented immigrants.[75] The environment of British society has turned into the multi-racial Britain forming dissimilar nationals. The willing import labour in the World War period has transformed an *'all white'* country to the Asian and Black British Communities. There is great diversity of ethnicities, languages, religions, culture, communities and identities among patriality British citizens and later granted British nationality of Indians, Africans, Asians, Western European and the Caribbean origins. The number of non-white immigrants soared in the second half of the twentieth century.[76] In particular Margaret Thatcher, she played a crucial role in limiting the immigration opposing foreign immigration as her strongly pro-British nationalism. Her concept of inward-looking Britishness led to the firm but fair immigration control. Her swamping statement of January 1978 stressed the high point of hostility to immigration issue on media,

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[72] Ibid., p. 69.

[73] Eytan Meyers, International immigration policy: A theoretical and comparative analysis, p. 69.

[74] Chris Cook and John Stevenson, Britain since 1945, pp. 16-17.

[75] Eytan Meyers, International immigration policy: A theoretical and comparative analysis, pp. 64-66.

[76] Ian R. G. Spencer, British immigration policy since 1939: The making of multi-racial Britain (London: Routledge, 1997), pp. 325-410.

"People are afraid that this country might be rather swamped
by people with different culture, and that
Britain should hold out the prospect of an end to immigration."[77]

In 1981 the British Nationality Act removed all original structures of British nationality and the rights of British subject. The Act differentiated three categories: British citizenship, citizenship of the British Dependent Territories, and British overseas citizenship. Only the first category, who was only British-born children of British-born or naturalized British persons, were granted British citizenship. Moreover, the idea of completing the internal market in 1985 by open frontiers, cooperation of regulations, and the movement of goods, labour, and capital threatened Britain's sovereignty in domestic decision-making power on the labour flexibility and immigration control. During the 1990s, the interaction between Britain and the EU on immigration and asylum matters is based on the discursive models or non-binding prescription.

The higher level of supranationalisation was seen in changes in the Amsterdam Treaty and it was the first indication of the influence of the Europeanisation in regarding to the EU impact on national immigration policies. On the other hand, the EU approaches provided greater impact and harmonisation to Britain, for example the Dublin Convention and London resolutions in the early 1990s were driven by the EU initiatives. Concerning greater pressure on national interests and continuing to strengthen immigration control, launching the 'Asylum and Immigration Appeals Act 1993' as the amendment and replacement of the Immigration Act 1971 was, therefore, one of the immigration control policies. The government expedited the policies concerning influential immigration control and gave authority to immigration officials having higher authority to prevent the questionable claims of immigrants and their dependants. The first victory of the British National Party (BNP) in the local council seat was like an alarm for immigration. The fascist party escalated intensity in racism and xenophobia. The BNP

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[77] Eytan Meyers, International immigration Policy: A theoretical and comparative analysis, p. 72.

controlled with the 'race card' and presented the strong anti-alien tradition.[78] Additionally, the 'Asylum and Immigration Act 1996' concerning immigration control and employment of foreign people was tougher for non-British nationals. The Act refused welfare benefits and prevented 'marriage of convenience' and caused a great deal of immigrant refusal.

After 1997, the Labour Government under Tony Blair relaxed and nullified many restrictions of the Conservative government. Concerning the nature of the Labour, immigration is granted a lot of support. The government considered that immigration would be the best solution for labour shortages due to demographic reality and the main driving force of the leading international economy. Immigration is concerned as one of the elements contributing to ensure the working-age population. Policies were therefore implemented to attract a great number of highly skilled immigrants and accelerate the recruitment process, in particular highly skilled labour from outside the EU. Importantly, the government invalidated the *'Primary Purpose'* rule regarded as the toughest immigration laws.[79] The rule, like its name, used to deal with foreign nationals who get married with a British citizen and need to prove the primary objective that they do not marry to gain the British residency. If they can not prove with the satisfaction to officers, they deny the entry to Britain and leave a married couple divided. The Primary Purpose rule prohibits thousands of married foreign nationals and causes burden and inefficiency rather than benefits. The government greater reiterated the accelerating asylum progress, barring illegal immigration, and halting bogus refugees. In 1998 the 'Carriers Liability Act' was introduced to handle passport control of illegal immigration and alien smuggling in train and Eurostar.[80] Afterwards, the '1999 Immigration and Asylum Act' was streamlined to boost the asylum system and reduce costs and abuse.

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[78] David Cesarani and Mary Fulbrook, eds., Citizenship, nationality and migration in Europe, pp. 125-127.

[79] Politics97. "Immigration rules relaxed," 1997 [Online], Available from: http://www.bbc.co.uk/politics97/news/06/0605/straw.shtml. [20 June 2009]

[80] Eytan Meyers, International immigration Policy: A theoretical and comparative analysis, p. 76.

Since the end of 1990s, Britain has responded to comply with the EU regulations the least among other European member states as the sense of her *national self-worth* and presented the outcome of minor national policy changes, namely policies on human trafficking and smuggling. The British successive governments behaved along the wide EU policy framework rather than in details and chose to opt out most EU measurements. Britain determines to implement immigration management and domestic policies for foreign immigrants in her domestic interests and traditional courses. The EU can contribute a large immigration umbrella to Britain, British decision-making power and national policies have been considerably operated in accordance with national interests and sovereignty though.

If we mention about the recruitment of foreign workers, the first is the European Volunteer Workers Programme dated back in 1945. Apart from that is the 1996 'Seasonal Agricultural Workers Scheme' (SAWS) which now continues. The SAWS is the recruitment of low-skilled overseas immigrants for farmers and growers in Britain who want to employ seasonal workers with the short-term immigration. The immigrants of this scheme are permitted to have a work card and allowed to stay for a six-month maximum.[81] Initially, its purpose was for people outside the European Economic Area (EEA), but after 2008 the scheme has been exclusive for Bulgaria and Romania nationals and the quota of employment is annually different.[82] The situation of foreign recruitment causes a great number of challenges to the Labour government because there has been high pressure from political and economic elements including public demonstration of the influx foreign immigrants, asylum applicants, and dependents as well as foreign-born workers. Consequently, the 'Pilot Project' in 2000 is the starting tight measurement.[83] It is designed to ease tension in the British labour market and attract non-EU skilled workers and professionals from India, Asia, and Eastern Europe to lessen labour shortages in IT industry, nurses and health care, and

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[81] Workpermit London. "Seasonal Agricultural Workers Scheme (SAWS)," 2008 [Online], Available from: http://www.workpermit.com/uk/saws.htm. [02 June 2009]

[82] Home Office UK Border Agency. "Seasonal Agricultural Workers Scheme (SAWS)," 2009 [Online], Available from: http://www.ukba.homeoffice.gov.uk/workingintheuk/eea/saws/. [02 June 2009]

[83] Eytan Meyers, International immigration Policy: A theoretical and comparative analysis, pp. 77-79.

farm workers, which are most desirable sections, and substantially to serve best British national interests.

The following Labour government under Gordon Brown greater focuses on immigration as the heart of the British politics and economy. His tightening immigration control aims at drawing only those highly skilled and cutting ineligible immigrants to benefit British competitive trading atmosphere. Previous Immigration policies are strengthened by the 'Highly Skilled Migrant Programme' in 2001 for enhancing the system of recruiting foreign professionals. Moreover, to stimulate working atmosphere, it is the first time for foreign immigrants in 2002 without a pre-organised job can enter Britain. The plan is to make the British market and economy more attractive and to draw highly skilled mobile labour with exceptional talents to strengthen a modern and straightforward economy. A stricter management of immigration can fill labour shortages in various industries as well as monitoring illegal and smuggling. Welcoming the long-term movement persuades specialized non-EU foreign immigrants to live smoothly in Britain.[84] More controlled recruitment and establishment of the legal-entry choices help against underground business or gang masters of people smuggling and false asylum claims as well as marriage of convenience. Supporting illegal immigration and terrorists, the Identity Cards Act came into force in 2006 to identify immigrants' details. Many organisations have been set up and worked hard for the foreign national immigrants, such as the Migration Advisory Committee (MAC), Home Office led by Home Secretary and other five Ministers, and the UK Border and Immigration Agency. According to Brown's fist major speech on immigration in February 2008,

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[84] Ibid., pp.77-79.

"Immigration is not an issue for fringe parties nor a taboo subject –
it is a question to be dealt with at the heart of our politics; a question about
what it means to be British - about what are the values we hold dear,
the responsibilities we expect of those coming into our country;
about how we secure the skills we need to compete in the global economy;
about how, out of diversity, we preserve and strengthen the richness of
our communities. ... People who come to this country have made and
continue to make an enormous contribution - across the decades,
in every walk of life - from business to sport, from the social fabric of
our communities to our culture, from our public services to our public life."[85]

The strong determination in limiting immigration leads to the concrete introduction of a new immigration plan in February 2009 as the Labour government has brought the Australia-Style Points system into Britain. The Points-based system mentioned since 2000 and believed as the most efficient procedure of immigrant control in the world reduces many complicated steps into one 5-tiers system. Gordon Brown's statement labelled 'British jobs for British workers' as well as British Graduates. The slogan reiterated the racial tone of the National Front and BNP. According to the very high increase of immigrants after the Labour came into power, the government revealed that the new stricter system can considerably help to decrease a flood of non-EU immigrants, while others from the Conservative thought that it is too late to do anything during the over-hyped boom of immigration. The immigration control and effective management have been the most recent controversial topic in the UK now.

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[85] The Official Site of the Prime Minister's Office, "Gordon Brown: Speech on immigration," 2009 [Online], Available from: http://www.number10.gov.uk/Page21298. [10 June 2009]

4.5 Conclusion

From the historical background of the European integration, we have seen that Britain has another character differs from other member states. Close links with the Empire and Commonwealth including the transatlantic alliance and the sense of national *'self-interested'*[86] perception as a *'gate-keeping role'*[87] have barred Britain from cooperating with the common policies and intensified slow adaptation of the European integration. Due to the national political domains and parliamentarian system, the constraints on policy implementing are inescapably caused. The main factor is the British successive governments and political leaders who wish to play the leading power both in the continent and the global level. The traditional British self-serving idea of the public opinion and political pressure groups additionally influences negative attitude towards the European grouping. Along the ways of widening and deepening integration Britain is thought to be a *'semi-detached'*[88] member of the European Union, though the recent government attempts to eliminate the dirty-faced in the EU and directs to behave as a satisfying member and support the European polices and expansion.

Now global situations alter and competition of power and survival depend on not only war and security power, but also other kinds of borderless trade, foreign investment, and grouping economic partner. Labour movement becomes one of the main resources of running domestic and international business. Previously, immigration in Britain was caused by dissimilar reasons and foreign policy considerations, such as war and the sustainable commitment with the colonies and New Commonwealth. Labour movement and foreign workers were in the form of slave, war refugees, or immigrants as servicemen. The state of economy affected immigration less than other factors. On the contrary, immigration in Britain now

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[86] Stephen Wall, A stranger in Europe: Britain and the EU from Thatcher to Blair (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), p. 215.

[87] Simon Bulmer, "Britain and European integration: of sovereignty, slow adaptation, and semi-detachment," in Britain and the European community: The politics of semi-detachment, ed. Stephen George (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), p. 3.

[88] Simon Bulmer, "Britain and European integration: of sovereignty, slow adaptation, and semi-detachment," in Britain and the European community: The politics of semi-detachment, ed. Stephen George (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), p. 2.

cannot avoid the process of globalisation influencing the international labour movement both low and high skilled immigrants as a competitive and liberal economy. Being one of the greatest prosperous economic countries, Britain is a wishful place for foreign citizens to have a better life and working conditions. Despite entering the EU membership, Britain chooses to disregard the EU regulations and integrated common policies, in particular immigration arena which is significantly relevant to the national sovereignty and domestic decision-making procedure. After implementing the highly skilled workers programme, the labour market in Britain is claimed to be more effective and restricted control. It distributes a practical higher standard of immigration and employment. During recent economic recession, immigration is in the public eyes and it is raised into the top concerning priority since British citizens judge non-EU immigrants, or even all foreign nationals as the rivals in the labour market or people who divide the harmonised national identity and citizenship. British communities have shifted their face into the multicultural body. Both political and economic considerations, consequently, are brought into the process of policy making and immigration management of the government. Britain symbolizes as a country of preserving national interest in the context of realism and struggles to serve profitably to its citizens.

CHAPTER V
BRITISH MANAGING IMMIGRATION AND IMMIGRATION
CONTROL FOR NON-EU NATIONALS

The immigration of foreign nationals has been witnessed since the pre-World War epoch. Nevertheless major factors are dissimilar and mostly relevant to trading and social and infrastructure construction, including expanding military power. A great number of foreign migrants try to seek a better place for their better employment opportunities and conditions. During the globalisation and borderless trading market, as a result of the boom of international business and industrial sections, the idea to further stimulate the European competitive market, and lack of working-age European population, immigration becomes a highly significant factor and brings about both positive and negative attitudes for the receiving countries and the countries of origin. Consequences of the completion of the EU Single Market and the European integration make larger interest in the free movement of persons, not only the Eastern European citizens, but the non-EU citizens. Under the framework of the international immigration and the common EU immigration policies, Britain as one of the EU membership behaves herself differently from other member states or it can be said that Britain is the country complies with the EU regulations the least, owing to the traditional self-preserving identity and highly concerned national sovereignty. Immigration greatly affects the nature of the British labour market and harmonisation of the working atmosphere, namely labour demand and supply, equal treatments and conditions among the British, EU, and non-EU nationals, social-economic additional benefits, and family unification.

5.1 Migration Flows in the UK

The European Union is considered as the biggest integrated bloc of the world being well-known for a lot of economic activities and foreign industrial sectors. Migration flows in the UK have changed over time, both emigration and immigration, depending on various factors and global situations. There is a serious record of

migration mobility in the UK since the beginning of 1990s. **Figure 2** shows a record of long-term international migration flows of Office for National Statistics collected of 1999 to 2008. The total numbers of immigration, emigration, and net migration, which are the different figure of immigration and emigration, include all citizens both the UK and non-UK nationals.[1] Immigration flow has gone up until the sharp rise in 2004 when there is a great influence from the Eastern European nations' membership in that year and the free movement of the single market stimulates the higher labour immigration into the prosperous member states, in particular the UK. Since 2004, the continuation of the increasing immigration rate has been witnessed until the highest record of 596,000 immigrants in 2006, 574,000 immigrants in 2007, and the high record 590,000 in 2008. A number of new Eastern European citizens have significantly decreased from 87,000 in 2007 to 20,000 in 2008. Additionally, around 505,000 people or 86 per cent of immigrants in 2008 are non-UK nationals and the rest is UK nationals working or living aboard. Apart from that, emigration has broken the record with the highest level in 2008 of 427,000 emigrants with 86,000 higher than in 2007. This leads to the sudden fall in net migration to 163,000 migrants which is 70,000 lower than the record in 2007. The lower number is caused by the rise of non-British citizens leaving the UK for at least one year, which is accounted for almost 50 per cent of 169,000 in 2007 and 255,000 in 2008.[2] Most of them emigrates for work-related reasons or have a definite job to do and the most desirable place for the wave of Eastern European citizens is Poland, Australia and German, respectively. The average of net flow migration is 190,000 every year and this figure is threatening future of British societies with overhauled infrastructure, schools, hospitals, and all kinds of facilities. Immigration in the UK is not for every foreign national like it used to be since the government announced the strong determination to limit the total numbers of foreign immigrants and attract only those who have high skill and benefit the British economy.

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[1] Office for National Statistics: Migration Statistics Unit, "International migration, annual online edition: Series MN No.26-33, 2000-2006," 1999 [Online], Available from: http://www.statistics.gov.uk/StatBase/Product.asp?vlnk=15316. [22 June 2009]

[2] International Passenger Survey (IPS) and Office for National Statistics (ONS), "Migration emigration reaches record high in 2008: Long-Term International Migration (LTIM)," 2009 [Online], Available from: http://www.statistics.gov.uk/CCI/nugget.asp?id=260. [22 June 2009]
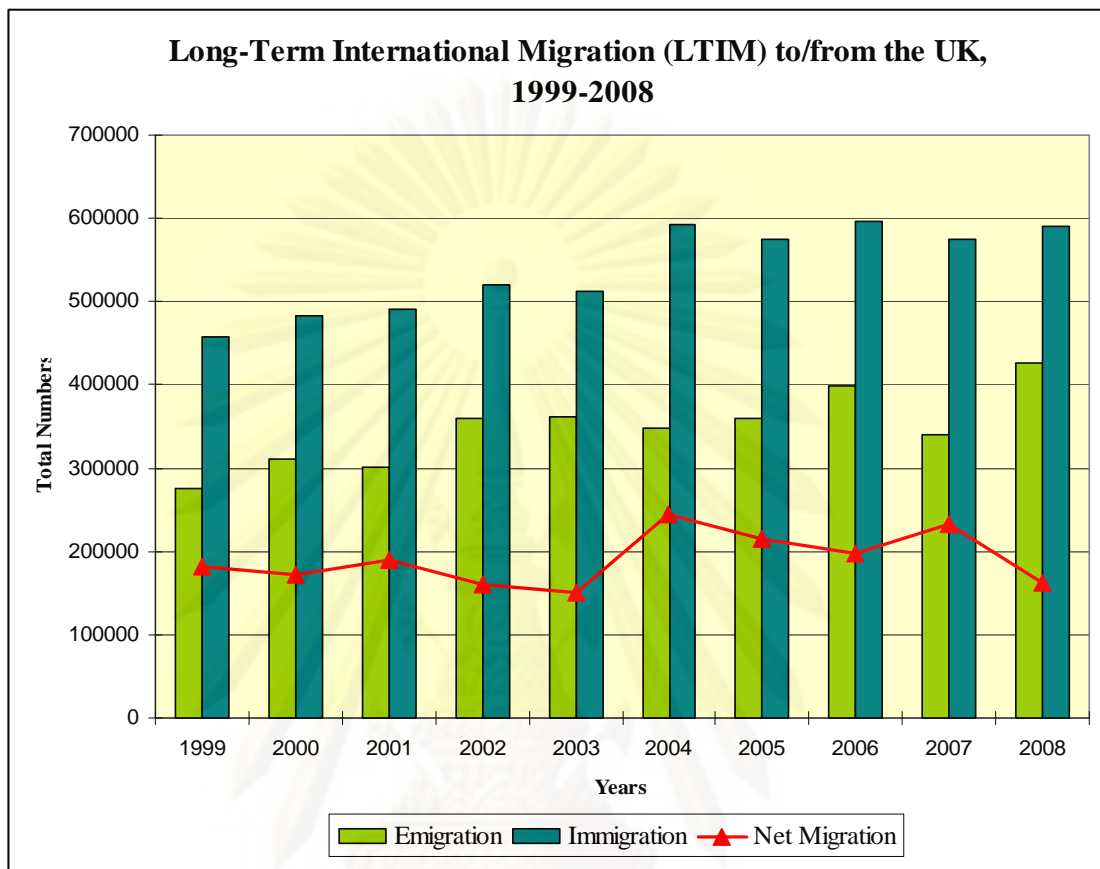
Figure 2

Most of the UK migration evaluations are publicized by Office for National Statistics. Reasons for immigrants to come to the UK vary from each national background and country. However, in **Figure 3** it is to say that work related factors comes in the first long-lived reasons accounted for 38 per cent which work related with a definite job 25 per cent and work related with looking for employment in the UK 13 per cent. Followed by the next reason, formal study trend is likely to be higher than the previous. The third reason is for accompanying or family unification.[3] In 2008 more than half of non-UK immigrants, considerably higher than in 2006 and 2007, are in the working age population, around 25-44 year-old as the employment opportunities. The second age group is 15-25 year-old or the group of students and people pursuing their further study in the UK as one of the greatest traditional

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[3] Office for National Statistics: Statistical Bulletin. Migration statistics 2008 (New Port: Office for National Statistics, 2009), p. 4.

countries for academic area. After graduation, some people are also going to make an effort to find their desirable jobs and live permanently in the UK. Situations are unlike the past that immigrants came to the UK for a temporary job and went back to the original countries, except for those escaping the legal process. Therefore, the government has recently tried to strict the number of foreign immigrants with stricter national immigration policies by cutting the passage of entering the UK without specific and rational reasons as well as illegal immigrants.

Figure 3

Long-Term International Migration (LTIM) by reasons for immigration in the UK, 2008
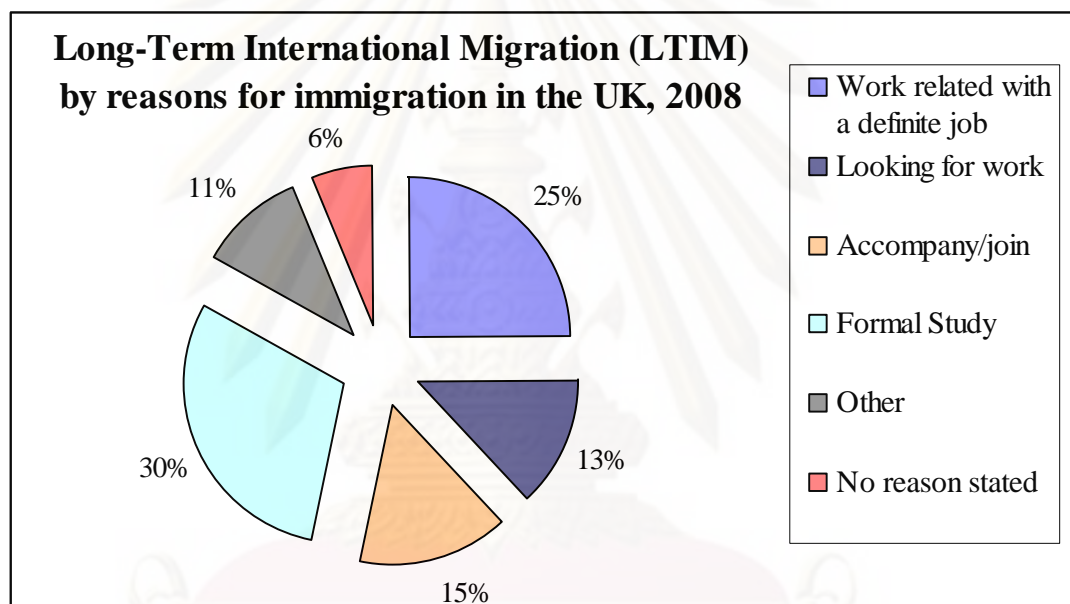
At the present, the UK becomes one of the European members consisting of multicultural nature with various nationality, citizenship, and identity. While some foreign immigrants accompany their UK husbands or wives to live together, other non-British nationals immigrate to the UK for family unification. Mostly they plan to earn their lives together with having their children in the UK. Due to the high rate of immigration, the UK has, consequently, been affected by foreign born nationals.

The following **Figure 4** is an example of a growing level of British citizens born abroad by country of birth in 1991 and 2001. Throughout many years we have seen a dramatic increase of the proportion of people living in Britain born abroad compared to all British residents rising from 6.7 per cent of 54,888,744 people in

1991 to 7.5 per cent of 57,103,331 people in 2001 and 11 per cent of 60,942,912 people in 2008.[4] And the UN also predicted the high rise of British population to 72 million by 2050 greatly affected by immigration.[5] According to ONS, a quarter of born babies in England and Wales has foreign mothers and in 2009 more than one in ten people residing in Britain was born abroad rising from one in nine people in 2008.[6] In the **Figure 4**, the first rank of foreign residents comes from India with 466,416 people and followed by the second with much lower total numbers, Pakistan has 320,767. Both of their residents live in Britain since the period of the boom New Commonwealth immigration. The three next top ranks are Germany with 262,276 residents, Caribbean with 254,740 residents, and USA with 155,030 residents. Other five countries in the top ten are Bangladesh, South Africa, Kenya, Italy, and Australia. Nevertheless, if we compare the total numbers of all countries in 1991 and 2001 and calculate into percentage, we can see the new rank of the biggest increase of British residents born abroad. The first five greatest rise from 1999 to 2001 fall into Albania with 1374.03 per cent, Ex-Yugoslavia with 242.41 per cent, Sierra Leone with 170.25 per cent, Greece with 142.11 per cent, and Zimbabwe with 130.10 per cent, respectively. The following big increase countries are South America, China, Finland, South Africa, and Sweden.

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4 BBC News Special Reports. "Born abroad: Introduction and figures for Britain," 2009 [Online], Available from: http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/shared/spl/hi/uk/05/born_abroad/html/overview.stm. [15 October 2009]

5 Alasdair Palmer, "Seven million immigrants can't be good for Britain," 2009 [Online], Available from: http://www.telegraph.co.uk/comment/4992172/Seven-million-immigrants-cant-be-good-for-Britain.html. [15 October 2009]

Figure 4

British residents born abroad, by country of birth, 1991 and 2001
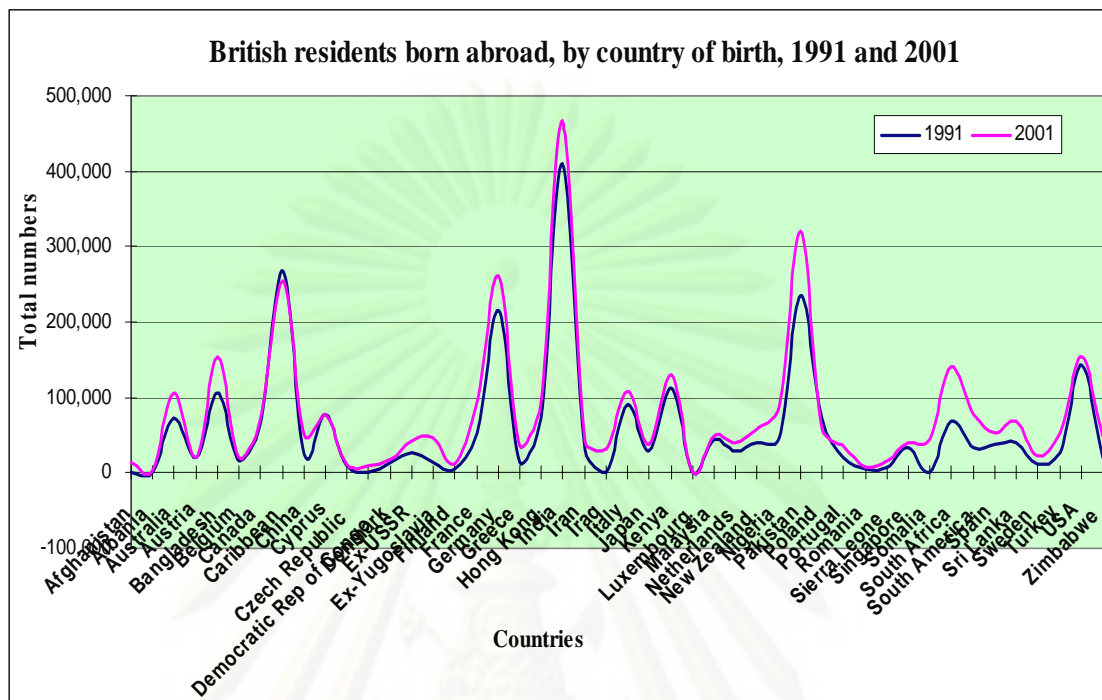
Heterogeneous foreign nationals spread across the UK and almost every region has experienced the migration history. For some regions, which are well-known for economic activities, many immigrants are pulled into the cities to enhance international economic atmosphere, while for others immigration is one solution for problems of low population and filling working-age population shortages. Since the 1990s the main residence for immigration is in England, in particular London and at the same time other main cities and areas in the South East are inclined to be more crowded. Great flood of immigration causes population density in the UK. According to the 2008 figures of Office for National Statistics, it is informed that England has become the most crowded country in Europe breaking the previous record by the Netherlands. The highest population density country of Europe has 395 people per every square kilometre in England growing of five people a square since four years ago. The overpopulated number is expected to rise to 464 people per every square

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6 Tom Whitehead, "One in ten of population born abroad," 2009 [Online], Available from: http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/immigration/6764800/One-in-10-of-population-born-abroad.html. [15 October 2009]

kilometre in 2031.[7] There is over labour supply in the UK market, in particular during the economic slowdown. A lot of immigrants can additionally speak English only little and have different culture and religions. The UK nationals considers foreign immigrants as their enemies causing the divided national identity and do not want to live smoothly with them in the UK. These problems brings a great number of challenges to the government in coping with a flash flood of immigrants from not only Eastern Europe but also non-EU nations and in implementing a balance approach and policies including most importantly proving them to be highly effective.

5.2 Immigrant Foreign Workers in the UK Labour Market

In recent years, types of immigration in the UK are likely to be more various from the pattern in the 1950s to 1970s with traditional immigrants from the ex-colonial and the New Commonwealth, namely Indian, Pakistani, Asian, and African nationals.[8] Regarding the development within the Single European Market, it increases flexibility within the European Labour Market, in particular Britain considered as one of the most inviting places, and the relevant performance of the outside world and the EU, which can be push/pull factors. A wide range of immigrants after the beginning of the 1990s provides more labour supply and complexity in the labour market, coupled with heterogeneous nationalities, identities, languages, culture, religions. The new challenging era of evaluation of the employment of foreign workers in the UK has started since 1997.

The most up-to-date figures are presented by the Labour Force Survey (LFS) which is the main source of the immigrants in the UK economy and run by the Office for National Statistics (ONS). Published the current interest to the public, the LFS provides migrant worker figures from 1997 to 2008, the growth of employment of each identified country groups compared to the UK born population and the latest

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[7] Urmee Khan, "England 'Most crowded in Europe," 2008 [Online], Available from: http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/newstopics/politics/2967374/England-is-most-crowded-country-in-Europe.html. [15 October 2009]

population estimates.[9] The organisation creates the new standard definition of migrant workers including an indicator of the non-UK or foreign born migrant numbers in the UK. Immigrant movement is pushed by many factors such as study, holidays, asylum, or family unification, most importantly working comes from a strong influence of economic reasons. The survey can give comprehensive understanding of demand and supply in the labour market. Data, moreover, show the education, industry, and occupation of UK born workers compared to other different country groups.

The three main different definitions of the new standard are firstly the population age, which is based on the aged 16 and over called employment levels, instead of the population of working age, that is 16-64 for males and 16-59 for females called employment rates, in order to avoid disappearing people working in the pension age and gender discrimination. Secondly, the LFS identifies a person's status via the country of birth, instead of nationality or citizenship, because a country of birth is permanent and illustrates the background of immigrants, in contrast to citizenship changing over time and confusing dual nationality. Some people might pursue their short- and long-term migration to gain the British nationality. According to the United Nations definitions of migrants, 'long-term international migrant' is that moving into a country other than his/her usual residence for at least a year, or 12 months, and the country of destination becomes his/her new country of usual residence and 'short-term international migrant' is moving into a country other than his/her usual residence for at least 3 months and less than a year, or 12 months, and the country of destination becomes his/her usual residence during the period they spend it. Thirdly is to make it much clearer about the group representative standing for each nationality. Determined in time, until 2004 the European membership consisted of 15 member states. Keeping the UK separate, the ONS survey introduces the 'EU14.' Followed by ten states' accession comprising Cyprus, the Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, Poland, the Slovak Republic, and Slovenia, the group of 'G8' is specified with the missing of Cyprus and Malta

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  Eytan Meyers, International immigration policy: A theoretical and comparative analysis (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), p. 70.

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  Gareth Clancy, "Employment of foreign workers in the United Kingdom: 1997 to 2008," Economic and labour market review Vol 2, No 7 (2008): 18.

with the 'other Europe Group.' As well as in 2007 when Romania and Bulgaria joined the EU, people of both countries are included in the 'other Europe Group.'[10]

The new standard figures are advantageous for the employment and labour market as well as UK citizens. First, they give an obvious picture of employment since all workers are recorded. Previous, male over 64 and female over 59 who still work and are productive are excluded. Second, it can be calculated much easily about the economic activity and inactivity. Occasionally the number of people hired and the number of jobs of the Workforce Jobs Survey (WJS) are overlapped because a person can hold work two jobs at the same period. Third, time series has become a main factor since the expansion of the Single Market and the number of member states. Unavoidably, immigrant figures link to situations around the world and the global economic fluctuation. Political events can also produce a potential for an immigrant status, which can be push and pull factors in the international immigration. Lastly, apart from economic consequences, labour supply and demand is important.[11] Any countries can face unsustainable population rates and lack of working age population called the demographic phenomenon. When the receiving countries cannot deal with such labour shortages, there is, thus, increasing labour demand, in particular highly skilled workers, to continue the smooth performance of the domestic economy and boost competitiveness.

Figure 5 shows the employment levels in the UK of four main groups, by country of birth, comparing January to March 1997, 2005, and 2008. The total employment has increased from 26,200 thousand in 1997 to 28,600 thousand in 2005 and 29,400 thousand in 2008. During January to March 1997, UK born employment is 24,300 thousand accounted for 92.7 per cent, while non-UK born is 1,900 thousand accounted for 7.3 per cent. In January to March 2005, UK born employment is 25,800 thousand accounted for 90.2 per cent, while non-UK born is 2,800 thousand accounted for 9.8 per cent. During January to March 2008, UK born employment is 25,700 thousand accounted for 87.5 per cent, while non-UK born is 3,700 thousand accounted for 12.5 per cent. It is noticed that the increasing number of non-UK born

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[10] Ibid., 20-21.

employment is almost two-fold growth in contrast to the decreasing proportion of UK born employment from over time. Considering a part of the non-UK born employment levels, the number of EU14 rises in small-scale from 565 thousand in 1997 to 620 thousand in 2005, an to 698 thousand in 2008 and the number of Rest of the World increases constantly from 1,309 thousand in 1997 to 2,065 thousand in 2005, and to 2,492 thousand in 2008. Distinctively, the sharp rise of A8 born employment affects the UK labour market because it is noted that the number of A8 in 1997 is significantly little or only 26 thousand but rises to 115 thousand in 2005 and in 2008 there are 510 thousand A8 born employed in the UK. The major reason is the EU accession of the 15 Eastern European member states in the late 2004 and since then the number has accelerated year after year. Theses new member citizens are inspired by economic factors and, consequently, escape their hardship and struggle to seek better opportunities.

Figure 5

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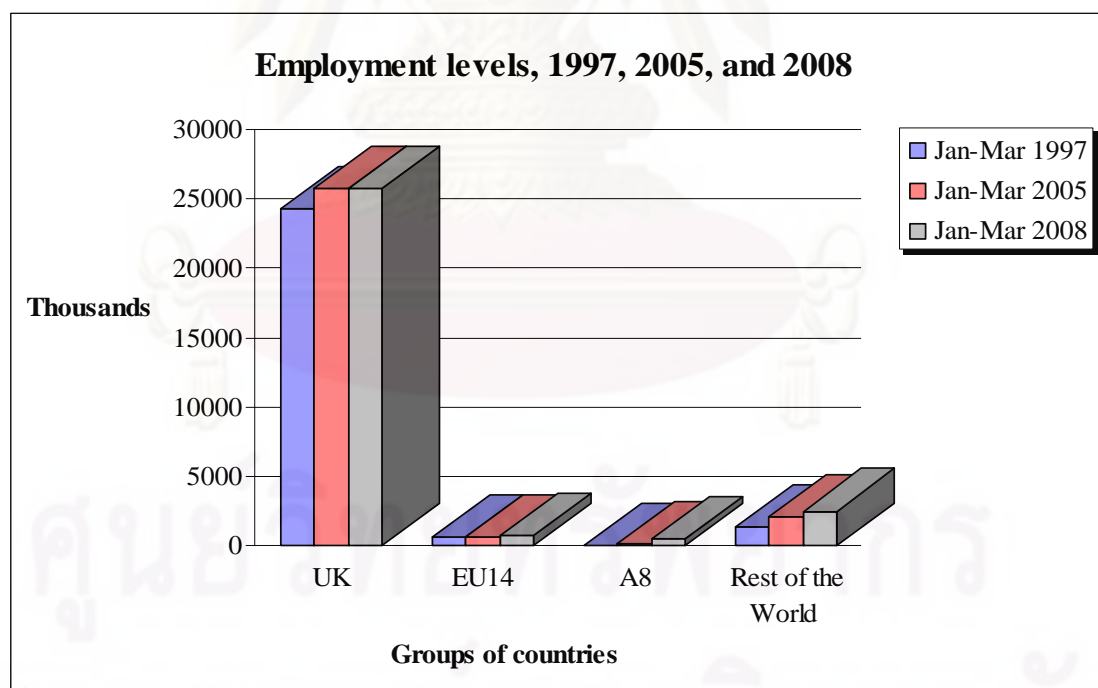
11 Ibid., 20-21.

The following pie chart of **Figure 6** is the latest total number of employment levels for non-UK nationals, published in 2007. Reported from the ONS, data are separated into a four-quarter period of each year, which the period brought here is from January to March 2008. From the total number of employment of 29,438,000 people in the UK or 100 per cent, it also includes people from the rest of the world and people not stating their country of birth. The UK citizens number is 25,755,000 counted to 87.5 per cent, while the non-UK citizens number is 3,682,000 counted to 12.5 per cent. This chart is adapted to calculate only those non-UK citizens and shows the total number of foreign immigrants in the UK as 100 per cent or 3,682,000. While the number of people stating their country of birth is 3,672,000 or 99.72 per cent, the number of people not stating and the rest is 10,000 or 0.28 per cent. Concerning the top five levels, the first rank of the employment in the UK labour market is the 'EU 14' or member states and equal to 18.96 per cent. The next second rank is 'Africa excluding South Africa' equal to 15.05 per cent. The third and fourth is nearly the same level equal to 13.85 per cent of 'A8' and 13.12 from 'Middle East and Asia' respectively. The final fifth goes to 'Americas' and is equal to 9.34 per cent. The others are India, Other Europe, Pakistan, South Africa, Australia and New Zealand, and Bangladesh.[12]

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12 Ibid., 29-30.

Figure 6
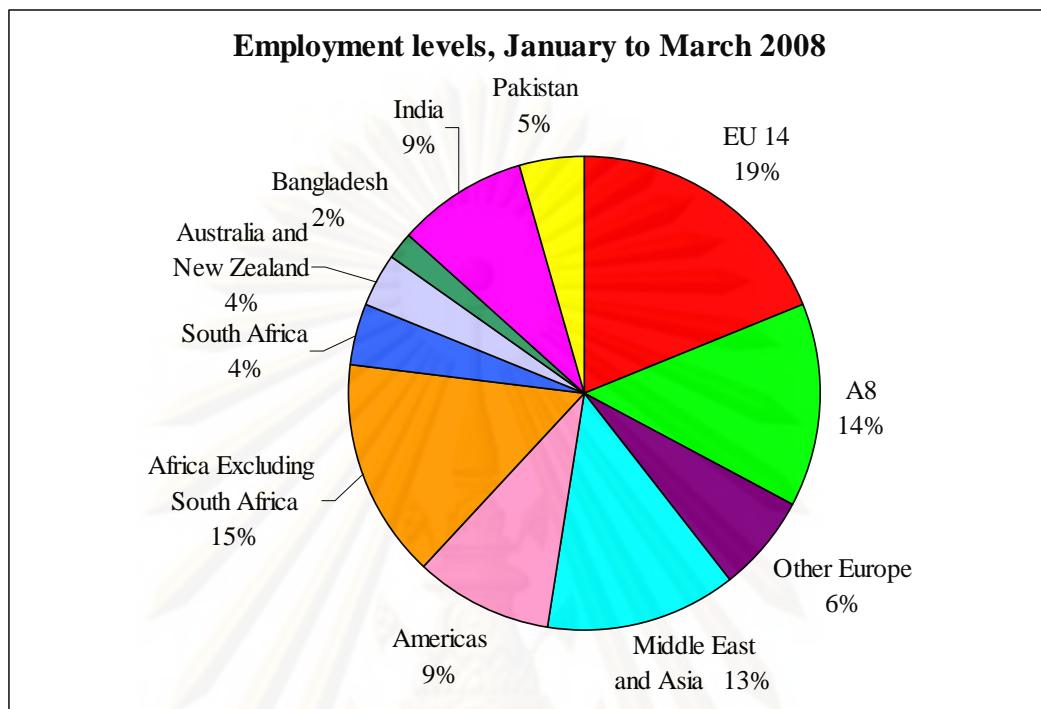
Regarding the previous chart, we can see the disparity of various nationalities living and working in the UK. Though there is the high rate of immigrant employment around the country, foreign workers have not had great benefits from the UK trading market. Arriving from dissimilar places and having different levels of educational qualification can greatly reflect the career opportunities and business progress. Recorded by the ONS, skilled and highly educated people produce more benefits to the UK labour market. Most of the UK and EU14 nationals are employed in Professional occupations, Associate professional and technical, and Managers and senior officials, as well as Skilled trades occupations. On the contrary, more than half of the A8 nationals, since the flood of entering in 2004, work in the section of Elementary occupations, Process, Plant, and machine operatives.[13] Regarding other non-EU nationals, the rate is predominantly flexible. For example some of Asian people were born in the UK or other European countries. They are educated and looked after in the country different from their original countries' environment.

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[13] Ibid., 24-25.

The next **Figure 7** presents percentage of the proportion of working age population that is economically active in the UK employment, identified by country of birth from October to December 2007. It is indicated that Romania and Bulgaria is the highest active group with 89.2 per cent followed by the second Australian and New Zealand with 88.1 per cent, and A8 with 87.4 per cent. On the other side of the most economically inactive employment, Middle East is lowest economically active group with 51.3 per cent followed by secondly Bangladesh with 52.2 per cent, thirdly Pakistan with 53.8 per cent. These three countries have the highest inactive employment rate.[14] The rate is correspond with **Figure 6** of Employment levels from January to March 2008 that Bangladesh and Pakistan have lower employment comparing to total numbers of immigrants.

Figure 7
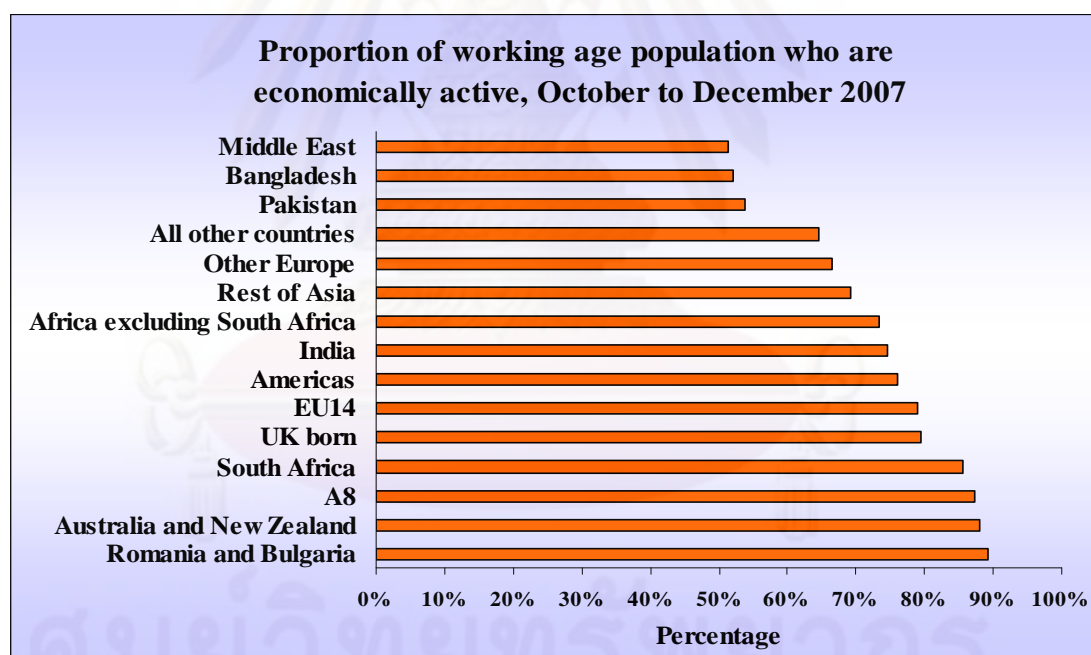
International immigration distributes a great number of challenges not only to the successive governments but also industrial and private sectors and its results cover both political and economic perspectives. Characteristics of the UK immigration have shifted from time to time since the historical period. After 2004 the

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14 Ibid., pp. 24-25.

major reason of crowded foreign immigrants in the UK is the expanding European Single Market by the Eastern European integration as well as close link among business and trading groups with the outside world. While the government wants to strictly limit too many foreign immigrants, who are partial illegal and low-skilled workers because of high public demonstration and situations of the government's stability, private sectors have to survive in the economic crisis and increasingly hire low income non-EU nationals or illegal foreign workers. The government tries to balance these approaches among the UK national interests and non-EU benefits and has, therefore, developed the latest national immigration policy called 'New Points-based System' which is claimed to be most effective for international managing immigration.

5.3 Contemporary Policy and Regulations

Originated in 2006, the new managing immigration system was launched on 29 February 2009 under cooperation from all parts of state organisations by its aims at assuring only immigrants who have highly and right skills, contributions, assets, and ideas can entry Britain to reinforce the world's leading state. Managing higher systematically, Liam Byrne, Minister for Nationality, Citizenship, and Immigration, said about the New Points-based system that the government introduces the biggest shake-up of the immigration system in the history.[15]

5.3.1 New Points-Based System To enhance the British international position in every field and fill labour shortages in appropriate parts like financial and public services, education and health, ICT and business, highly skilled immigrants play a crucial role in organisations. Well-managed approaches of

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[15] Home Office, Border and Immigration Agency in Ministerial Foreword from Liam Byrne MP, "Highly skilled migrants under the points based system, Statement of intent," 2009 [Online PDF], Available from: http://www.bia.homeoffice.gov.uk/sitecontent/documents/managingourborders/pbsdocs/statementofintent/highlyskilledunderpbs.pdf?view=Binary. p. 3. [15 October 2009]

immigration are as same as the way in developing free trade and capital mobility to increase income and money flows. An expanding labour market raises flexibility and improving opportunities of workers to match their jobs. Skilled foreign nationals can also encourage the native population to be more productive and wealthy since there is more competitiveness in demand and supply. Furthermore, these new changes help to better protect national border and tackle crime as well as fight against people smuggling and illegal documents successfully. The police-like powers support in stopping immigration crime and overseas controlling such as fingerprinting of visa applicants and the e-Border Programme.[16] This approach can provide equal treatment and employment opportunities to foreign nationals who provide great benefits. The programme can interest talented people to come to Britain and build highly economic and investment atmosphere. Strengthening attractiveness, the UK Border Force offers the concept of earned citizenship in the 2008 consultation document 'The Path to Citizenship: Next Steps in Reforming the Immigration System.' There are details in merging former organisations together as well as improving out-of-date methods to fit the future of globalisation.

A lot of tasks are more manageable under cooperation between the government and other public institutions. Firstly, the new system which is originally the Australian-style points system is considered as more uncomplicated and transparent with firmer, faster, and fairer functions. It combines more than 80 former ways for non-EU nationals to work, study and train in the UK into five tiers. Secondly, as its name points are given due to the shortage in each skill and working section including age, experience and previous salary, and demand of each skill during each period together with English competency and sponsorship. For instance, if there is a shortage of nurses in Britain, the governmental organisation may provide more entry points to foreign nurses. And one year later the points of nurses can be cut off when gaps have been filled up. Thirdly, online evaluation process is brought into the system. Immigrants with possibilities can fill up an application online themselves

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[16] Home Office and UK Border Agency, "The points-based system," 2009 [Online], Available from: http://www.bia.homeoffice.gov.uk/managingborders/managingmigration/points-based-system/. [15 October 2009]

with a chance of receiving higher success than the previous route. For those immigrants residing in the UK already, they can assess points of their employment fields and a trend in the future of each tier. Fourthly, the government established a United Border Force merging the Border and Immigration Agency and Customs and UK Visas together and providing policies cover ports and airports controlling.

The UK Border Agency form in April 2008 has the main responsibility on border security and controlling migration. Its tasks are relevant to implementing immigration and customs policies and regulations together with considering applications to enter and reside in the UK, citizenship and asylum. Supporting the immigration system, Migratory Advisory Committee was set up to give an advice to the government about which section has the labour shortage and where to use these immigrants to practically fill the gaps and help to stimulate economy as its needs. Immigrants can be brought to fill shortage easier because employers know the tendency and focus on the application process. Migration Impacts Forum deals with circumstances apart from the government's tasks. It provides a general and official forum for interested social gathering groups to share and exchange local areas' experience on the migration impact and relevant effect. All information is relevant to the UK citizens' side, which is such as harmonisation and social transformation, and the migrants' side, which is associated with social benefits and requirement of migration. Lastly, foreign nationals can get their compulsory identity cards identifying who are they and entitlement and legal residing in the UK.[17]

Under five tiers of the New Points-based system, the framework is more understandable for people who wish to immigrate to the UK about how the system operates. The Points-based system covers three categories of workers, students or trainees, and non-economic purposes like cultural exchange immigrants. Each tier has different conditions, privileges, and entry-clearance checks. Immigrants can gradually adapt to the policies and learn about sponsorship and important functions. Immigrants in Tiers 1, 2, and 4 can move within these tiers if they are qualified for that tier. And Tiers 1 and 2 has potential to permanent settle down in the

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[17] Ibid.

UK if they meet requirements Tiers 3 and 5 are temporary courses which they cannot change to other tiers. The Tiers are[18]

► **Tier 1**   *Highly skilled individuals*, to contribute to growth and productivity

► **Tier 2**   *Skilled workers with a job offer*, to fill gaps in the UK workforce

► **Tiers 3**   *Limited numbers of low-skilled workers* needed to fill temporary labour shortages

► **Tier 4**   *Students*

► **Tier 5**   *Youth mobility and temporary workers*, who are allowed to work in the UK for a limited period of time to satisfy primarily non-economic objectives

        5.3.1.1 Tier 1 has four categories; General for people seeking highly skilled employment in the UK or self-employed business, Investor for people running a large investment in the UK, Entrepreneurs for people investing in the UK by setting up or taking over a business, Post-study for people studying now and in the past in the UK. The principles of Tier 1 are to pull and maintain brightest and best workers and businessmen and to serve national interest, to persuade highly qualified people in freely looking for employment as well as continuing labour flexibility, and to bolster the UK's attractiveness as a place to study by offering international certification and opportunities to further work in the UK without seeking sponsorship. Example careers are scientists and entrepreneurs.[19] Successful applicants are allowed to bring their dependants into the UK as long as they prove that they can support them. Moreover, immigrants in the first three subcategories are provided three-year leave, while Post-study Work sub-category is granted a single non-renewable two-year leave. These attempts are aimed at pushing the UK as the most effective and reasonable immigration place

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[18] Ibid.

In order to apply in each tier, applicants should look into details of points-based assessment and need to have scores much enough in a tier's regulation to entry and stay in the UK. An online assessment tool called the 'points-based calculator' can help applicants to assess themselves in these standards and know their prospect before paying an application fee. There is a single application process through points evaluation as well as a single application fee for perspective applicants. Points or marks come from three main categories, which details are various in each tier. First is criteria specific to each sub-category or reasonable grounds, namely age, previous earning, educational qualifications that is Bachelor, Master or PhD, UK experience, and work permits including money and assets calculated to pass 75 mark.

Second is competence in English language. Immigrants are required to speak English as a major part of the Government's immigration policy since English is the official language of the UK and it upgrades labour market profits, and involvement in the workplace together with accommodating social cohesion and national unity. These lead to the process of English Test which applicants need to take. One way to test their standards is the Council of Europe's Common European Framework for Language Learning: Learning, Teaching, Assessment (CEFR) from levels A1 to C2, including components of listening, speaking, writing, and reading.[20] The official individual test can prevent the illegal certificates. However, the levels of English proficiency are dissimilar among tiers and career sections. Via English test, regarding the recent requirement, the level of English test for people taking the Life in the UK is at B1 of CEFR and means that they can successfully handle most situations in English. For applicants in General Tier 1 calculated to pass 10 mark, they have to pass the level of C1 of the CEFR which is equivalent to the high level of English, while applicants in General Tier 2 are required the English level of A1 which deals with everyday expressions and basic phrases and conversations. Additionally,

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[19] Ibid.

[20] Home Office, Border and Immigration Agency, "Points based system procedure for inclusion on the list of approved of English language tests," 2009 [Online], Available from: http://www.ukba.homeoffice.gov.uk/sitecontent/documents/managingourborders/pbsdocs/approvedenglishtests/listofapprovedenglishtests.pdf?view=Binary. [15 October 2009]

applicants can prove efficient English automatically if they come from a major English speaking country, and that is *Antigua and Barbuda, Australia, the Bahamas, Barbados, Belize, Canada, Dominica, Grenada, Guyana, Jamaica, New Zealand, St Kitts and Nevis, St Lucia, St Vincent and the Grenadines, Trinidad and Tobago, the USA,* or lastly having a degree taught in English proved by using the UK's National Academic Recognition Information Centre data. The NARIC provides equivalent statements for qualifications from overseas.[21]

Third is maintenance containing Start up costs and Funds calculated to pass 10 mark. To ensure that immigrants are able to support themselves and their dependents before earning income in the UK is important and affects immigration prosperity. The test is based on the newest cost of living figures indicated in the annual British Council publication 'Studying and Living in the UK.'[22] And it is different to each tier and sub-category. An individual applicant should prepare enough amount of money for his/her own requirements. If he/she has the first dependant, normally he/she needs to provide two-third of the Funds of the main applicant and each following dependant would be provided further one-third. For example applicants in Tier 1 General need to award points for quality from age, previous salary, qualifications, and others. They also need to provide an evidence of a high level of English language and maintenance for total sum 2,800 Pound Sterling. Differently, regarding Tier 1 Investors, specific criteria fall into the high amount of money on their own at least 1 million Pound Sterling or plus assets, while they do not need to provide an evidence of English language because they do not work and as a result it is not necessary that they are able to speak English. Similarly, maintenance is no need to be proved as they are wealthy. Nonetheless, if they wish to move to another sub-category or other tiers, they must pass appropriate English tests.

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[21] Home Office, Border and Immigration Agency, "Highly skilled migrants under the points based system, Statement of intent," 2009 [Online], Available from: http://www.bia.homeoffice.gov.uk/sitecontent/documents/managingourborders/pbsdocs/statementofintent/highlyskilledunderpbs.pdf?view=Binary. p. 11. [15 October 2009]

[22] Ibid., p. 6.

5.3.1.2 Tier 2 has four categories; General for people with a job offer from a licensed sponsor coming to fill shortage gaps that cannot filled by a settled worker, Intra-company transfer for employees of multinational companies transferred by their abroad employers to a skilled job in the UK-based branch, Minister of religion for people serving as a religious worker within that religious organisation for at least two year, and Sportsperson for elite sportspeople and coaches at the privileged class making a great contribution to the development of their sport. Examples are nurses, teachers, and engineers.[23] Tier 2 is aimed at facilitating UK employers to recruit individuals outside the UK and the European Economic Area (EEA) to fill a particular job which cannot be filled by its citizens. Though there are immigrants to fill these shortage jobs, vacancies will be ensured that immigrants will not take place UK nationals. The applicants in this tier need to prove English language proficiency with abilities to integrate themselves into the UK life as well as prior entry clearance of sponsorship. Applicants apart from shortage occupations or Intra-company transfer are requested to pass the Resident Labour Market Test before a recruiting process. Since Tier 2 focuses more on shortage occupations, possible immigrants in other parts need to earn points through their qualifications and prospective earning. The total sum of points earning is 70 points coming from three parts. First are based on Certificate of Scholarship, qualifications or NARIC equivalents, and prospective earning calculated to pass 50 points. Jobs in shortages will gain more points than jobs in Resident Labour Market Test and Intra company transfer. The Migration Advisory Committee (MAC) publishes a list of shortage occupations. Second is English competency as 10 mark. They are able to speak English at basic user standard and daily expression or equivalent to A1 of CEFR. Third is maintenance as 10 mark. An initial applicant needs to have 800 Pound Sterling for Funds Total sum and additional two-third of funds for each dependant. Concerning Sportspeople and Ministers of Religions, they must be sponsored by a club or an institution licensed by the UK Border Agency and accompanied by the Home Sports Councils of the UK

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[23] Home Office and UK Border Agency, "The points-based system," 2009 [Online], Available from: http://www.bia.homeoffice.gov.uk/managingborders/managingmigration/points-based-system/. [15 October 2009]

5.3.1.3 Tier 3 is temporarily postponed since the government needed to stop immigrant workers from outside the EU. They believe that vacancies could be filled by EU workers and there has been no timeline set to activate this tier. An example is jobs in hospitality, food processing and agriculture from all over the world, and construction workers for a specific project.

5.3.1.4 Tier 4 is has two categories; Adult student or general student for post-16 education and Child student for children between 4 and 17 years old wishing to have their education in the UK and children between 4 and 15 years old coming to be educated at independent fee-paying schools. General students must have scores with a total pass mark of 40 points composing of confirmation of Acceptance for Studies 30 points and maintenance and Funds test 10 points. Maintenance of General students depends on the length of their course, that is less than 12 moth with the full cost of fees plus 800 Pound Sterling a month covering maximum 12 months and more than 12 month with the full cost of the first year fees plus 9,600 Pound Sterling for the first year staying. Maintenance of Child students in both residential and non-residential independent school must cover the first year school fees and accommodation.[24] Since the end of March 2009, there are three important parts cooperating in Tier 4. Overseas students who wish to study in the UK would be assessed through the current new points-based system and present their evidence of sufficient funds for the maintenance and education documents and qualification certificates to sponsors. Students must pass Level 3 or above of National Qualifications Framework (NQF) or A2 of the ECFR.[25] Education providers make decisions and keep tracks of their students. They have had to assure that students will comply with the visas conditions and record keeping duties; passports and updated students' contact details. Next, sponsors have to declare students' details in letters

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[24] Home Office and UK Border Agency, "Students under The points-based system – (Tier 4) Statement of Intent," 2008 [Online], Available from: http://www.bia.homeoffice.gov.uk/sitecontent/documents/managingourborders/pbsdocs/statementofint ent/studentsunderthepointsbased.pdf?view=Binary. pp. 10-14. [15 October 2009]

[25] Ibid., p. 6.

identifying course of study, course duration, and sponsor registration number including consequences of their enrollment, attendance, and continuation of course studying.[26] After having three sections, the UK Border Agency (UKBA) will make the final decision of who can come. Then when they arrive the UK, the active checks process starts to ensure that students comply with all rules and conditions and they will be locked with the sponsor they apply. These actions are put into the procedure to prevent bogus students or students immediate disappearing to work.

       5.3.1.5 Tiers 5 has six categories; Temporary worker – creative and sporting for people working and performing as sportspeople, entertainers, or creative artists for up to 12 months, Temporary worker – charity workers for people doing voluntary or unpaid work for charity, Temporary worker – religious workers for people working temporarily as a religious worker, Temporary worker – government authorised exchange for people with approved schemes that aim to share knowledge, experience and best practice and to experience the social and cultural life in the UK, Temporary worker – international agreement for people serving job under contract of international law including the General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS) and similar agreements in the UK or employees of oversea governments and international organisations and private servants of diplomatic household, and Youth mobility scheme for young people from participating countries who desire to experience life in the UK.[27] The UK provides opportunities of temporary mobility with non-economic purposes but they are required to present an entry clearance and sufficient points. Concerning first five sub-categories, there is the total pass mark of 40 points containing 30 points of sponsorship from their licensed sponsors and 10 points of maintenance which applicants with A rate sponsor can claim public funds. Under an exchange governmental programme, immigrants are supplied a maximum of 24 months stay. Concerning Youth mobility scheme, a country needs to arrange return of its nationals with the UK. Points are given through three sections with the total sum

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26 Ibid., pp. 3-6.

27 Home Office and UK Border Agency, "The points-based system," 2009 [Online], Available from: www.bia.homeoffice.gov.uk/. p. 3. [15 October 2009]

of 50 points. First is Certificate of Sponsorship or Deemed Sponsorship counted for 30 points. All immigrants need to be a citizen of a participating country which is supported by the national government and have a valid national passport. Second is age between 18 and 30 years old counted to 10 points. Third is maintenance and it is important for immigrants to have sufficient funds to support themselves before earning in the UK. They do not need to prove English language as they stay in the UK for some period up to 24 months and do not have any dependants together with never spending time in the UK before.[28]

Additionally, applicants in Tier 2-5 need to have 'sponsorship' from an approved sponsor when they are going to apply. The licensing process of sponsorship does not allow anyone immigrate workers or students into the UK. The Border and Immigration Agency will approve license in advance and give a 'certificate of sponsorship.'[29] Sponsorship is based on employers, educational institutions, and business bodies who wish to immigrate foreign nationals into the UK and they play a vital part in organizing migrants to turn up to work or prevent them from leaving jobs. Furthermore, sponsors cooperate with the Border and Immigration Agency in ensuring immigrants to do their duties not only working but also studying or having internship. The licensed sponsors can guarantee that prospective immigrants want to intentionally work or study in the UK and are able to do those jobs. To be able to sponsor immigrants, prospective sponsors need to apply along the process, fill requirements for a specific Tier which they want to sponsor immigrants, and agree with responsibilities relevant to immigration control and immigrants' behavior monitoring.[30]

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[28] Home Office and UK Border Agency, "Temporary Workers and Youth Mobility under the Points Based System - (Tier 5) Statement of Intent," 2008 [Online], Available from: http://www.bia.homeoffice.gov.uk/sitecontent/documents/managingourborders/pbsdocs/statementofint ent/temporaryworkersunderpbs.pdf?view=Binary. pp. 11-17. [15 October 2009]

[29] Home Office and UK Border Agency, "Sponsorship under The points-based system state of intent," 2008 [Online], Available from: http://www.bia.homeoffice.gov.uk/sitecontent/documents/managingourborders/pbsdocs/statementofint ent/studentsunderthepointsbased.pdf?view=Binary. p. 6. [15 October 2009]

[30] Home Office and UK Border Agency, "A points-based system: Making migration work for Britain: Partial regulatory impact assessment," 2006 [Online], Available from: http://www.homeoffice.gov.uk/documents/command-points-based-migration.html. p. 20. [15 October 2009]

The Border and Immigration Agency is the one who give the final decision and it considers sponsors' background whether they could ignore required conditions, threaten immigration control, and lead to illegal immigration. The reason is that sponsors are the main actor assisting governmental organisations in direct controlling immigrants and keeping behavioral records and contact details. The Border and Immigration Agency will monitor sponsors' compliance towards their responsibilities. There are two standards of sponsor's license. A rate is issued for sponsors entirely meet all UKBA's requirements. B rate is issued for sponsors entirely meet most of the UKBA's requirements with some weakness. These licenses are temporary and it means that sponsors with B rate can improve to A rate if they can complete all weaknesses during the time set. If they fail to complete within the timetable, their B rate licenses are finally cancelled. Or the A rate sponsors can be withdrawn its license or lowered in status to B rate if they distribute a threat to immigration control. Strengthening the effective sponsorship, measures are implemented to punish non-compliance of sponsor by civil penalties for employing illegal immigrants and a tough criminal offence for a maximum two-year prison sentence.[31] Theses ultimate aims to control immigration effectively influence not only UK nationals but also non-EEA and non-EU nationals. They can provide great benefits to the UK economy and competitiveness, but at the same time they challenge traditional approaches of managing immigration and threaten non-EU rights in equal employment opportunities.

5.4 Rights of Immigrants in the UK

Immigration into the UK not only workers and businessmen but also students under the New Points-based system is not for everyone anymore. If immigrants can go through all legal procedures and as long as they have high skill and contributions to the UK, they will gain sufficient points and be finally accepted.

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[31] Home Office and UK Border Agency, "Sponsorship under the points based system state of intent," 2008 [Online], Available from:
http://www.bia.homeoffice.gov.uk/sitecontent/documents/managingourborders/pbsdocs/statementofintent/studentsunderthepointsbased.pdf?view=Binary. p. 6. [15 October 2009]

During the time in the UK, immigrants can distribute great advantages to the UK economy such as wealth, talents, and flexibility within the labour market compared to other EU member states. However, at the same time immigration can cause challenges to the UK local services and communities and soaring non-UK population. The Labour government tries to control and fit national interests to the immigration future of globalisation. Those who are not required need to be sent home, in contrast to those who work with qualified skills or in shortage occupations are greatly welcomed. Moreover, immigrants allowed to stay in the UK can feel themselves at home as the recently equal treatment and opportunities to earn citizenship living permanently and smoothly in the UK.

5.4.1 Identity Cards Non-EU citizens need to carry identity cards containing biometric data and confirming identity details or biographical footprint. The scheme is launched by the government and the Ministry of Labour to enhance the security method and facilitate non-EU immigrants to enter state services. An ID card generates free health, benefits systems, opening bank account, and access provided government services in Britain. Non-EU workers are compulsory to hold an ID card since 2008. Non-EU students are being brought into the process this year and all citizens validating their passports will be included in 2011. Moreover, the Ministry of Labour intends to combat illegal immigrants and terrorisms and prevent them from using legal immigrants' rights.[32]

5.4.2 Earned Citizenship and Permanent Residence Immigrants who have sufficient points in each tier will have all employment conditions equal to the UK and EU citizens and are mutually treated as one of the UK nationals. To reiterate aims of the New Points-based system, the government

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[32] Dipankar De Sarkar, "Non-EU citizens in Britain? You'll need an ID card," 2008 [Online], Available from: http://www.thaindian.com/newsportal/world-news/non-eu-citizen-in-britain-youll-need-an-id-card_10024751.html. [1 February 2010]

encourages social cohesion and builds self-empowered feeling of immigrants. Immigrants should play an active role in the British communities, get used to English-speaking environment, and integrate themselves into the traditional living style. Before these perceptions become concrete, the path to British citizenship will therefore be earned, according to the further step of the UK government towards an automatic right to upgrade from temporary residence to permanent settlement in the UK. The proposals for earning citizenship were published at the first time at a Green Paper, 'The Path to Citizenship: Next Steps in Reforming the Immigration System' in February 2008. Afterwards, the progress has been continued by a public consultation forming the Border, Citizenship and Immigration Act 2009 taking the place of 2006 Act. The introduction of the Act is based on British citizenship considered as a privilege to be earned and encourages the attractive passage to citizenship as a better organised system to settle in the UK permanently. Satisfying behaviors and integrating response of immigrants should be earned the priceless award, in other words British citizenship.

According to Minister of State for Border and Immigration, Phil Woolas, it can be summarized that the most important objective of the British government upon immigration is making the system clear, fair, and rational for the UK and non-EU nationals to continue the UK as one of the leading power nations. The government hopes for reunifying British citizens and permanent residents with their loved ones and for respecting the long tradition of furnishing a safe haven to those fleeing persecution. And, furthermore, they wish to protect borders from those who intend to harm Britain. The reformation of immigration system is accompanied to halt criminals, international terrorists, and illegal immigrants.[33] The government tries to balance all interests by paying attention to reduce negative effects but at the same time increases positive results of immigration. Immigration is reflected great impacts on developing countries. Though immigrants gain high remittances as the major income and send them home as well as distribute new skills and knowledge to

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[33] Home Office and UK Border Agency, "The points-based system," 2009 [Online], Available from: http://www.bia.homeoffice.gov.uk/managingborders/managingmigration/points-based-system/. [15 October 2009]

their original countries, risks are produced due to depriving a lot of high skilled people considerably needed in their own countries. The government and related institutions, therefore, wish to decrease 'brain drain' situations and arrange migration and international development objectives, together with supporting circulation migration to return skills and knowledge to developing countries.[34] From these points of view, we can notice that the reforming system is to make it most practical and to encourage long-established control of permanent stay in the UK and integrate social harmonisation. Public discussions on these proposals are opened to listen to direct broad impacts of immigration in communities.

Managing immigrants applying to earn citizenship is first introduced in the Border, Citizenship and Immigration Act 2009 under two main principles of offering right to earn British citizenship to newcomers and the clear and transparent path to citizenship. The new framework towards earned citizenship contains three-stage courses.

5.4.2.1 Stage 1 is *'Temporary residence.'* Eligible right is granted to two cases. Firstly, economic migrants of highly skilled and skilled workers in Tier 1 and 2 of the point-based system including their dependants and to refugees and those granted humantication protection including their dependants. These migrants can move to the second stage after five-year stay. Secondly, eligible citizenship is for family members of British citizens and permanent residents after their two-year stay. This path is ineligible for students in Tier 4 and Youth mobility in Tier 5 including their dependants since all of these people under the point-based system need to move out of the UK as soon as the permission is invalid. Moreover, to be prospective non-UK nationals needs to meet basic requirements, namely knowledge of English language via English for Speakers of Other Languages (ESOL) and life in the UK via the Life in the UK test, obeying the law, and self-sufficient income. Migrants in the work route need to be employed or in work, those in the family route need to be supported or have continuing relationship, and refugees need

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[34] Ibid.

to have active review ensuring necessity for protection. Apart form that, like functions of point-based system, specific points are given to individual cases counting on the need in the UK situations and economy.

5.4.2.2 Stage 2 is *'Probationary citizenship.'* It takes a one-year minimum period and a three-year minimum period for permanent residents. During this time, immigrants should attribute benefits to award more points through potential for a level of persistent earning, additional qualifications receiving in the UK, talented artistic, scientific or literary merit, shortage occupations, English proficiency extra to requirements, and spending time living in the UK to identify the need of further immigration. Accelerating to British citizenship during the probationary stage can be done by 'Active Citizenship' considered as totally volunteer. But it can be ceased or points can be deducted by anti-social behaviors, illegal conducts or criminality. A severe response of serious crime leads to an imprisonment sentence and automatic deportation.

5.4.2.3 Stage 3 is *'Citizenship or Permanent residence.'* After the completion of the long journey, British citizenship is succeeded and immigrants are offered full entitlement to rights and benefits. Permanent residence means indefinite leave to stay in the UK and can move to citizenship afterwards.[35]

English intelligence is the crucial point in successfully earned citizenship. The government concerns the issue as immigration becomes social and economic influences in the labour market and a factor arousing fragile sovereignty and national identity. An objective assessment of the competence in English (or Welsh or Scottish Gaelic) in 2004 and sufficient knowledge of life in the UK in 2005 were initiated. Later on since 2007 immigrants who seek British

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[35] Ibid.

citizenship have had to provide full requirements in both English language and knowledge of life in the UK. Ability in effective communication and a shared language in the daily life including understanding the UK perceptions can support immigrants in successful interaction in the UK society and open wider opportunities of employment.

There are two ways for applicants to gain language and knowledge of life in the UK requirements. First, applicants can take the 'Life in the UK' test. Information is based on the handbook 'Life in the United Kingdom: A Journey to Citizenship' related mainly to practical primary needs of new immigrants to the UK with no compulsory courses such as seeking employment, running a process of bank account, and the educational system. For those who recently arrive and have limit knowledge about these, applicants can adapt themselves into the journey of citizenship and gradually participate in the society such as electoral process. Now the UK Border Agency is proposing the new method of testing that applicants would be tested twice before earned citizenship: a test of practical issues from the second stage knowledge, namely UK society, customs, traditions, geography, health, education, employment, law and a test of challenging topics from the third stage, namely history, the UK governance, relations with Europe and the rest of the World, voting rights, and community involvement. Second, applicants can take English for Speakers of Other Languages (ESOL). Or the recent requirement is applicants taking the Life in the UK test must pass B1 level of the CEFR which is successful response in most situations. And applicants taking the citizenship course route must evolve their proficiency from no English to a minimum A1 of the CEFR. The greater language competency applicants have, the better employment opportunities and more effective interaction they achieve.

5.4.3 Spouses and Family Reunification The Britain policy on migration now more promotes integration than in the past. To encourage integration in July 2008 the government publicized the Government response document 'Marriage Visas: The Way Forward,' which guarantees a pre-entry English test for marriage visa applicants in the medium term connected to criterion of the

accessible English tuition worldwide. The document will gather the group of Government Departments, including FCO, DIUS, DfID, and the British Council to suggest relevant new information and importantly the English language tuitions abroad. The implementation of this requirement will become realistic in the following summer 2011. A pre-entry English requirement for spouses will be the key mechanism for supporting reunification. The proposals are announced to strengthen British advantages, for example spouses can prepare themselves for English test properly when they want to apply for the probationary citizenship stage, other nationals will be increasingly aware of importance of speaking English, and employment opportunities for spouses would be improved so that they can access the labour market. Another benefit is the reduction costs in the taxpayers of translation services when non-English spouses can speak English on arrival in the UK.

The policy of pre-entry language requirements works along and is supported by other EU member states; the Netherlands, Germany, France, and Denmark. France is going to introduce French language and culture test for pre-entry for family reunification in the approaching time. The requirement will exercise to spouses, civil partners, unmarried and same sex partners, fiancés, proposed civil partners who want to continue their stay or enter the UK. Applicants in the new requirements can speak English at the level A1 of the CEFR, which is an attainable standard compared to 40-50 hours tuition for most learners. The case is different from the criterion of the new point-based system for immigrants whose potential needs to consider listening, speaking, writing, and reading. For spouses, only speaking ability has to be demonstrated. It will be easier for them to learn the skill overseas or before arrival.

5.5 Government Approaches in Integrating Social Cohesion

Since immigration is the main issue in British communities and challenges national identity, nationality and citizenship, there are great concerns towards the issue in wide areas. According to the Border, Citizenship and Immigration Act 2009, the government has renewed a positive driving force to build

community integration as well as strengthening feeling of the UK home and privileged of earned citizenship.[36] One of the main roles of local authorities in offering earned citizenship is to cooperate with the government and support the government's working functions in building harmonised, authorised, and active communities, where original and foreign nationals can get along well with one another. Enhancing cohesive communities should have more participation of immigrants in practical modes. Therefore, local authorities who involve in real circumstances are empowered to increase active citizenship process and public awareness together with setting up structures of delivering services

The UK Border Agency, under the British government, has successfully coordinated with local authorities in delivering citizenship by introducing Citizenship Ceremonies since 2004. The ceremony is the peak of development of the citizenship journey and considered as a key part of local authorities in welcoming new comers to their areas. Subsequently, in 2005 the government extended local authority involvement in communities in the first citizenship application process through the National Checking Service (NCS).[37] An applicant could check an application for completeness, certified copies of necessary documents, namely passports, and send the application further to the UK Border Agency. Via this method, applicants can gain a lot of benefits and avoid wasting time and money in sending false documents and inaccurate applications. For local authorities, they can deliver greater convenient services to applicants who wish to come to their areas and for the UK Border Agency, they can gain more contributions to the UK and qualified ensured applications. Recently, local authorities have provided their services to more and more applicants. The government's aim is to strengthen effective three-way relationship among immigrants, local authorities, and the UK Border Agency.

The central concept of earned citizenship is 'active citizenship' which immigrants' action is the main role in local communities. According to the Path to Citizenship, to suggest the most productive way of behaving along active citizenship a Design Group in autumn 2008 was established including representative from

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[36] Ibid.

voluntary sectors and local government. Both central and local governments boost integral coordination in a wide range of activities. The migration directorate in the Department for Communities and Local government collaborate on attempts of Departments across Government in coping with impacts of migration, in particular foreign immigrants. The task force is led by either Ministers or senior officials from the UK Border Agency, Home Office.[38] The organisations expand integration agenda and propose improvement in cross-Government activity on citizenship. While the UK Border Agency distributes the migration framework, local authorities are in charge of giving clear and cohesive description, publishing new policies, and identifying best practices to communities and private sectors. Additionally, Local authorities encourage initiative thinking in practical participation for foreign immigrants. Activities are formal volunteering, unpaid help as a part of groups, clubs of organisations to be beneficial to others and the environment or civic activism, such as operating particular responsibilities in the communities, being a school administrator, supporting the democratic life of the country by trade union activities, and campaigning for a political party.[39] It can be said that the government tries to draw immigrants to participate in civic societies in every fields and perception. As long as immigrants wish to earn citizenship, the active citizenship pillar can accelerate their journey to the Probationary stage and finally succeed the third stage of British citizenship.

After succeeding in application process and coming into the UK, new immigrants will receive an orientation. Settling down in a new country or community, living with new people, and facing new culture are challenging experience for newcomers. Immigrants may have inadequate information about their local communities, public services together with local laws, customs and traditions. The lack of information causes difficulty in integrating into communities and failing to take advantage of good employment opportunities. Consequently, local authorities provide the orientation days to accommodate new immigrants' integration into each

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[37] Ibid.

[38] Ibid.

[39] Ibid.

local community. Helping them to integrate themselves quickly, the orientation days offer valuable data of dealing with new living society and setting the right start of their arrivals. The orientation days can be compulsory or voluntary but they can be connected to points of speed-up procedure towards prospective British citizenship. Various information in the orientation days consists of the followings:

● Migration Welcome Packs including local information

● Introduction to English classes

● Introduction to volunteering opportunities and information about the 'active citizenship' element of earned citizenship

● Plenary meeting of obeying laws by local police and community support officers

● Health advice by local health authority, such as the importance of immunization for children

● Fire safety

● British values, social norms and customs

● Rights and obligations

● Chance to meet local people who maybe willingly act as mentors for newcomers or give additional information on how immigrants become joined with mentors

● Data collection on immigrants and their families attending the orientation in order that local authorities better know who are staying in their communities[40]

　　　　Though the orientation days are provided free of charge, there is expectation in immigrants' further payment for the course to cut financial burden of

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40 Ibid.

local authorities. Occasionally, employers might fund courses or be requested to pay for them as a condition of a sponsor license under the Point-Based system. If employers want to reduce cost for a large number of immigrants, they can provide courses in the workplace, such as English learning courses from the BBC news or a voluntary grouping in a political canvassing.

Apart from that, refugees are part of integration. 'Time Together' is a mentoring scheme by Time Bank 2002 going along with the Government White Paper Secure Borders, Safe Haven: Integration with Diversity in Modern Britain which advised mentoring as a means to facilitate refugees to build cohesion in the UK. By 2008, more than 2,000 refugees are matched with local volunteers to harmonise into UK communities.[41] Positive and negative impacts of refugees' integration have been evaluated in aspects of failing or achieving goals, contributing benefits to the community and obtain services. In October 2008 the Refugee Integration and Employment Service (RIES) is continued to support a mentoring service in building success of the Time Bank model. The ideas of both social and vocational mentoring programmes are offered to not only refugees but also non-refugee immigrants. Whilst social mentoring helps stimulating better equal understanding between cultures, vocational mentoring help growing working skills and improving employment potential and conditions.

5.6 Conclusion

Aiming at establishing the right balance for Britain, the new path to citizenship is created to welcome and integrate foreign nationals, who desire to get earned British citizenship as a privilege. However, the impacts of both positive and negative sides should be considerably concerned. The successive government claims that the better arrangement on migration policy needs to go along with international development purposes and the context of the globalisation. While immigrants give a great number of contributions to Britain, Britain at the same time attempts to

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[41] Ibid.

distribute good results to the countries of origins to gain profits from migration, in particular other developing countries. Britain is regarded as one of the countries who have good practice on immigrants and asylum seekers management and have facilities provided. The government chooses to show the image of 'multicultural society' as the outstanding image which every races and nationalities live with one another harmoniously. These are the reason why the government pulls most of the local organisations and private sectors to support. Furthermore, the government wishes to expand a wide range of role and add more status to local authorities in immigration policies development. The aim of the method is to spread power downwards from the central organisation to the local persons who touch upon the real problems in order to deal with negatives effects and consequences rationally. Local authorities can have their attitudes to give points to immigrants since they are the one who evaluate immigrants' participation in the communities. They can also consider the possibility of a specific case of immigrants living in their areas. The nature of partners will develop and be perceived gradually. The other important part the British government considerably pays attention to is British citizens. They introduce open sessions to assess views of the public and other stakeholders on each proposal to enhance the stage of earned citizenship and other immigration effects in order to keep and preserve national interests.

CHAPTER VI

ANALYSIS

In this last chapter, the new British policy and relevant regulations would be analysed in various perspectives. First of all, managing immigration under 'realism' is impossible not to influence other EU member states. There are impacts on other countries of origin. Considering national interests in immigration as the priority is beyond control of the supranational governance of the European integration. The British response would be a model of other members in dealing with foreign immigrants. Secondly, these approaches distribute both positive and negative consequences to every section in Britain, including economic, political, and social perspectives. Not only the government but British citizens running economic activities and the private sector recognise structural changes in Britain. The government itself is facing different feedback from the public opinions. Employers or educational providers have to change a way of recruitment and employment conditions. Can these policies widen employment opportunities to British nationals as the government made a commitment? The British and foreign nationals are looking forward to witnessing further positive impacts on national identity and social cohesion. Thirdly, does the new points-based system ensure the *firm but fair* mode of labour management? I will further discuss about impacts on non-EU immigrants. The way they have perceived immigration has varied. After implementing, a large number of non-EU nationals, whom the government is going to remove, suffer from tougher controlling practices. Official organisations and the UK Border Agency start to confront difficulties in assess points and specific cases of non-EU nationals. Lastly, the inclination of the new regulation has been discussed whether they can functionally limit non-EU immigrants and effectively manage British immigration in the challenging globalisation.

6.1 Managing and New Policy Development under the Context of 'Realism'

Britain, as a member state of the main largest integration bloc of the European Union, has behaved herself under the realism ideology. A new points-based system and relevant regulations reiterate the whole picture of self-preserving characteristics. This considerably affects the image of the European integration which the Supranationalisation is concerned as a priority.

Britain is the country of strong constitutional stability and national identity. At the beginning of the 1985 Schengenland, which internal borders of members were abolished,[1] Britain is the distinctive anti-Schengen country and inspects the flood of immigrants from Eastern European and North African countries. The strong citizenship and nationality in Britain affects the immigration policy. The British Conservative government presenting Eurocentrism opposed the flexibility of national frontier controls and any relaxation in sovereignty rights. The European integration has been eroding a country's power to restrict the influx of foreign immigrants.

How can the European Union follow the mode of immigration in the globalisation? Immigration has a different history at the different period of time. After the post-war period, immigrants were mostly war refugees, asylum seekers, low-skilled labour working on such as infrastructure, building industry, and marine transportation. Labour was considered as a factor enhancing military power and national security. During the period before the oil crisis in 1973, economic uprising caused a boom of immigration due to the shortage of labour in imports of goods and unfilled jobs by local people. Many powerful countries in Europe such as Germany, France, and Britain are immigrants' major destinations and create 'Guest Workers Programme.' Economic profitability has been a driving instrument of countries and measured national survival. In the globalisation, economic competitiveness among countries and across the regions is significant. The more immigrants are in demand,

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[1] David Cesarani and Mary Fulbrook, eds., Citizenship, nationality and migration in Europe (London: Routledge, 1996), pp. 3-4.

the more immigration becomes the focal transnational issue, in particular illegal/undocumented migrants. Citizens in each country started to concern about an increasing number of foreign nationals and invasion of national identity and tradition. During current years, immigration has shifted its face in many regimes. Regarding the European Union policy, though immigration is weighed the prime concern among European member states, there is merely a big umbrella or a wide framework for the arena. The European Council attempts to persuade members to cooperate in the same way. Since immigration is a sensitive issue and related to sovereignty and territorial control of a state, each member state seeks methods individually to manage immigration and initiate national regulations.

As the EU lacks the common interest on immigration, authority to manage and make a decision falls on member states. In the case of Britain who usually acts in accordance with national interests since the historical time, British approaches on immigration differ from other members. The new regulations of the government will leave more distance between Britain and others. Britain focuses on more concrete restriction, in particular to non-EU nationals. Introducing the new tougher regulations contradicts the Europeanisation of immigration policy which now supports the integrated international immigration. Law implementation without consulting the supranationalised organisations gradually erodes developing relations of Britain and other members.

Britain still behaves as the self-interested state among European members,[2] though the Conservative government declared at the beginning that Britain becomes the driving country at the core of Europe. British characteristics would be a negative model for other members. An example of pre-entry English requirements is in line with thinking in other EU states: The Netherlands, Germany, France, and Denmark, introducing their official language test. Moreover, the national policy of Britain could push burdens to other members, since tougher policies do not allow immigrants to enter Britain. Eastern European workers, for example, have to move to

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[2] Stephen George, Britain and European integration since 1945: Making contemporary Britain (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1991), p. 35.

others, such as France, and Poland. Should other states raise a stricter domestic policy to limit immigrants, there will be no place for them, including non-EU immigrants, to seek job opportunities. National interests of all EU member states should be equally important, rather than one member use its rights to opt-out or take advantages from other members.

Managing immigration under realism considered as beneficial to Britain influences other non-EU countries in many terms. Being a significant receiving country of immigration in Europe, Britain produces both positive and negative impacts on the countries of origin. For the negative side, immigration plays a significant role in the source of income for developing countries and non-EU immigrants transfer high remittances to their homeland. The countries of origin, which are mostly in the developing world, would gain lessen remittances. Remittances transferred by immigrants reached 305 billion US Dollar in 2008 rising from 281 US Dollar in 2007. In spite economic slowdown, remittances are still a large amount of money. Remittance representing a development tool in developing countries due to the four main factors. First, remittances are the second-largest source of external funding, after the Foreign Direct Investment (FDI). Second, remittances are the fastest growing source of external funding, which is double from 2002 to 2008. Third, remittances remain stable and are fluctuating less than private capital flows. Fourth, remittances produce large contributions spreading throughout the country to the domestic poverty and cover trade deficit of the receiving countries including improvement of social welfare.[3] Most developing countries, in particular African countries, regard remittance as an instrument to lessen poverty or even panacea for a country's development. However, since February 2009 because of the tougher immigration policy of the British government, incentives to enter Britain have reduced and a number of immigrants may reduce as well. As a result, remittances sent to developing countries might be lower and affect development process of these countries. Likely, new skills and knowledge would be brought back to developing countries at the lower level. Previously, immigrants could improve and exchange their

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[3] Louisa Vogiazides, "Migrant worker's remittances: A development instrument in question," European social watch report 2009, 2009 [Online], Available from: www.socialwatch.eu/wcm/remittances.html. [1 February 2010]

skills and knowledge in Britain and afterwards bring new talents to developing countries. The new system will limit opportunities in returning skills and knowledge.

Usually developed countries implement a policy to encourage high skilled or needed immigrants to work for their countries. The new entry regulations, nonetheless, change some difficulties to be the positive effect on developing countries. Due to a lower number of immigrants required, there is a decreasing risk of depriving people as well as skills needed most by developing countries. The 'brain drain' situations have minimized since skilled immigrants or students confront harder barriers to obtain better job opportunities or to study abroad in high standard universities.

The policy is expected to expand positive impacts meanwhile alleviate negative results. The British government plans to counter effects of the brain drain phenomenon together with the negative side-effects. The proposals of the new approach are to encourage circular migration to take skills and knowledge to their home countries. There is high support of allowing immigrants to leave Britain for a longer period of time to balance the labour market and practically enhance circulating migration. For example, students graduated in Britain can take time retuning home to share knowledge to other people in their countries. With the new method, immigrants can learn new skills or bolster their skill levels in Britain and bring them back to develop their countries. In developing countries, even low skilled workers are important since they normally build domestic infrastructure. Although new skills and knowledge are brought back to developing countries less than in the previous time, the countries of origin do not lose their highly skilled, skilled, or even low skilled immigrants working for other receiving countries.

6.2 Impacts of New Managing Immigration on Britain

Contemporary globalisation makes difference in many perspectives not only political and economic arena, but also social and cultural tradition. This challenges modes dealing with international affairs and causes most countries to adapt their policies along with the global nature. Immigration is one of the key focal areas

for powerful countries possessing prosperous economy as a wishful place for immigrants to work, study or stay. These are why Britain, a main influential power in Europe, has confronted immigration for more than fifty years. The successive governments have also tried to manage it effectively, though points of focus and preferences are varied in details for each period of time. However, the latest immigration policy and methods bring the greatest change in the British history. There are three major areas of economic, political, and social impacts of the new immigration policy on Britain are going to be discussed.

6.2.1 Impacts on the Labour Market and British Economy

Modes of Labour in the globalisation have changes a traditional way of the immigration picture. The nature of the British labour market used to be influenced by the policy concerning largely to the Commonwealth and the New Commonwealth countries. During the boom of economy in the 1960s, Britain and European nations welcomed immigrants to boost trade and economic activities. The inflow of low-skilled immigrants took jobs which British-born labour avoided and economic sectors were filled with large flood of New Commonwealth immigrants. Cheap and low-skilled labour force during the war imported to strengthen political instability and security power has stepped up into skilled and most skilled labour in the twenty-first century. Trends of the growing economic competitiveness lead to lower wages and the low employment rate of low-skilled labour, while skilled or highly skilled labour has higher wages and the high employment rate. Developed countries, including Britain increase incentives to attract international skilled immigrants to fill gaps or recruit low-skilled labour to fill excess demand in specific positions and jobs which local labour force and educational systems are unwilling to fill. The labour market of Britain as the host country is now competitive and in disequilibrium counting on various nationality and labour quality of skilled and unskilled immigrants.

The British labour market contains different ethnicity: white native-born citizens, non-white natives, and non-white immigrants. Education, vocational qualification, language competency, and labour performance are important in adaptation and contributions. Sufficiency or lack of these skills produces

advantages or disadvantageous over the receiving country. Previously, race and bias influence the selectivity problem in wages offer. White native citizens who get used to the basis of employer-desirable labour market skilled in their home country have a level of better qualifications so they are inclined to receive much higher returns including promotional opportunities.[4] But foreign or non-EU nationals gain lower benefits and potential rewards since they find it difficult to transfer their labour skills abroad. Education is important for hourly wages. Non-EU and foreign nationals are regarded as lower educational quality and work in jobs requiring low skills and knowledge. Even the quality of schools affects their profiles. However, foreign immigrants in the second and subsequent generations intend to have a better standard of education and adapt themselves more and more in the British environment. They are in flexible job criteria and advance themselves into the higher rank. For example some Asian nationals, whose parents immigrate into Britain, have grown up and graduated in Britain and then have more opportunities to work in a professional career, meanwhile others, who have sub-standard education, immigrate into Britain before the new system implemented and work in low skilled job such as services and planting section. A status of people and geographical location are additionally important for earnings in all groups of people.

The foremost problem of non-EU nationals is how to access employment rather than how much wages per hour. They undergo lower employment but higher unemployment rates than the British. Difficulties of non-EU nationals in the British labour market are caused by three main differences. Firstly, the lack of language competency decreases their productivity. Immigrants have to prepare to live in an English-speaking environment. Being fluent in English, immigrants can make their human capital functional. Providing that non-EU nationals have few foreign educational qualifications and skills, they become familiar with hardship in working opportunities. Being employed or not is more severe on non-white immigrants due to ethnicity when they have substantially low language skills. Ethnic differences provide different classes of employment. White natives born or British citizens seem to

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4 Klaus F. Zimmermann, ed., European migration: What do we know? (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), pp. 154-155.

experience the better employment rate, while non-white immigrants gather in the lower occupational ranks. Language fluency is an obstacle to expand their ability in the British labour market. Black Caribbean and South Asian immigrants, particularly Pakistanis and Bangladesh, have experienced worst in the labour market not only employment but earnings. Secondly, performance in the labour market is another influential factor. Immigrants in different ethnicities present performances in the labour market variously. An individual background and pre-history of immigrants affect how they learn new skills and experience new situations. Most of the non-EU nationals perform well in low skilled tasks and are keen on services, mechanic or manual industries. Performing successful jobs causes better opportunities to move into other related jobs. Thirdly, linked to performances, labour market activities are considerably strong in immigration policy-making. Performances in the labour market result in the future immigration policy in Britain. Differences come from such as labour force participation, job-related distributions, self-employment, job possession, job search activity, unemployment duration, promotion, training, illness, absenteeism, acceptance of social security benefits.[5]

In the globalisation international immigration in the British labour market affects British economy. Many of low-skilled non-EU nationals have competed with or taken the place of native British citizens in the labour market. Skilled or highly skilled non-EU nationals have developed their working potential and language competency to stand in the front line in Britain. Because of the structural and technological changes in the economy, demand of unskilled labour reduces and work permits are stricter while inflow of unskilled immigrants continues. On the contrary, demand of skilled and highly skilled immigrants increases while there is lack of labour in these job categories. Therefore, there is the mode to welcome qualified workers. The British government limits entry of low skilled labour but increase supply in the skilled labour force so that the British economy is boosted and run effectively. The tougher immigration policy puts more pressure to non-EU immigrants to raise educational standards among themselves and bolster educational qualifications of the second and subsequent generations. Immigrants have improved

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[5] Klaus F. Zimmermann, ed., European migration: What do we know?, p. 160.

their status in the labour force with the length of stay. We cannot avoid saying that apart from the economic factors affecting the labour market, the political and social impacts play an important role in determining employment situations.

To design the contemporary immigration policy, the economic factor is brought to consider. *'Only those with skills the country needs can come,'* the introduction of the new point-based system shows an idea that the British government tries to seriously restrict foreign immigration, except those who make great contributions to Britain. The policy is paradox within itself. On one side for undesirable immigrants, the government launched new limiting immigration approaches so that low-skilled workers or immigrants who are not needed any longer cannot enter Britain and non-EU nationals who have already stayed in Britain but have low points are removed out of the country. On the other side, the government welcomes immigrants who have sufficient points and can provide great benefits to Britain both skill and benefits. They are also offered persuasive employment opportunities and additional welfare and conditions, such as earned citizenship. The government attempts to reduce unwanted immigrants, who were welcomed during the war period, as much as possible but at the same time they open borders for highly skilled needed and wealthy foreign nationals together with developing the system to be more relaxation for all skilled immigrants in order to grant significant benefits to the British economy. However, according to information of the economic affairs committee of the House of Lords, there is no evidence that immigration since the last decade has produced notable economic benefits.[6]

Too many immigrants lead to high unemployment rate and more supply in the British labour market. The Office for National Statistics said about the UK labour market that the UK has had the highest unemployment rate since 1995 rising by 38,000 to 1.56 million and to 2.38 million in the third quarter of 2009 with the jobless rate at 7.6 per cent. The rate is expected to claim up to 2.4 million until the

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[6] Michael White, "Immigration should be talked about more than it is?," 2010 [Online], Available from: http://www.guardian.co.uk/politics/blog/2010/jan/06/michael-white-immigration-talked-about. [1 February 2010]

middle of 2010 since there are 18 to 24 year-old graduates being unemployed.[7] Recently, there are demonstrations in many cities of Britain urging the government to cope with high unemployment situations and response something practical now in managing immigration. A representative of the labour union asked the government to upgrade and establish proper approaches including provide great opportunities for well-paid and highly skilled jobs. It would be embarrassed that British workers have no jobs, while foreign immigrants come to plug in most vacancies. Additionally, the EU labour should not be barred from working within the EU territory. During the economic slowdown, the unemployment rate of two million people touches the highest point of the record ever.[8] British citizens have pressured the government to decrease a great number of immigrants. Immigrants are considered as huge burdens for the government to spend a lot of money in state welfare, education, and facilities in the communities. The government, as a result, has to ensure that employment in Britain must be offered to British workers first. These lead to the implementation of the latest Australian style system in February 2009 which the Labour government, led by Gordon Brown, claimed to be the best practice for managing immigration and British economic activities. The tighter policy is implemented to restrict immigration outside the EU regarded as the two third of immigrant arrivals.[9]

Impacts on the economic perspectives cannot avoid being relevant to employers, namely employers, companies, entrepreneurs, business investors, or educational providers. They find it difficult to facilitate business by accepting the new system since immigrant workers are the main factor of the process. Regarding private sectors, they need immigrants to flow the market and compensate for working-aged population due to the demographic trend in Britain. Instead of functioning freely of the labour market, supply of immigrants has to depend on the

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[7] BBC News Business, "UK jobless total claim to 2.4m," 2009 [Online], Available from: http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/8151017.stm. [1 February 2010]

[8] BBC News UK Politics, "PM stands by 'British jobs' vow," 2009 [Online], Available from: http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk_news/politics/7860593.stm. [1 February 2010]

[9] Office for National Statistics (ONS), "Latest annual migration statistics show record levels of people leaving the UK and records numbers arriving," 2009 [Online], Available from: http://www.statistics.gov.uk/CCI/nugget.asp?id=260. [20 June 2009]

recruitment process and point assessment by the governmental organisations. It means that while demand of labour run automatically, supply is determined by the British government. Employers want to have more immigrants to fill gaps they need and create more choices, particularly cheap labour. The unsatisfying new system will give lower supply in the labour market. In this case, illegal channels are their alternatives for unskilled labour force and the government needs to intensively inspect and raise stricter control criteria.

Producers in economy need more choices of immigrants and aim at lowering the production cost but the policy minimizes supply in the labour market and causes them not to employ cheap labour immigrants or whoever they want like in the past. With regard to low-skilled labour needed, instead of employing low skilled non-EU nationals, employers must hire British or European citizens at higher wages or else they have to wait for a process of recruitment for other non-EU nationals along the points system in Tier 2 or 3. Moreover, in order to employ a foreign immigrant it takes more time and costs more money. Sponsorship programme plays a crucial role in recruitment. Employers are required to apply for a license of sponsorship and then able to bring immigrants into Britain. Employers or educational providers have to pay a lot of money to be a licensed sponsor. And those who not obey the rule, they have to pay a large amount of money as well for fines or hiring illegal immigrants.

Britain always wishes to regain the status of the world leading economic power. Since the Labour government won the election, labour immigration into Britain is the key to stimulate British economy and trading activities. Falling in the number of working-age British population in a demographic phenomenon, situations in the labour market need immigrants to plug in each specific gap and boost the British economy progressively. However, immigration does not help as much as the government expected because most of them are unskilled workers earning low wages and do not provide large contributions. Until the new system in February 2009, the government intends to develop an immigration issue to be business of human capital investment. As a result of economic downturn, money is the primary concern in immigration. The British government wants to collect more money by changing

procedure of entering Britain of all types of immigration to be like business. An example of investors in Tier 1, who have at least 1 million pound sterling, can be an immigrant in Britain without any proof of English proficiency. The sentence '*only those with skills needed are allowed to come in*' is implied that only those immigrants who have a large amount of money or are arranged to pay great contributions to the economy in terms of both low or high skills and knowledge are liable to entry Britain.

        6.2.2 Political Impacts In addition to economic camouflage, a political factor distributes great impacts on immigration as well since the last fifty years of migration history. Britain relies on the traditional parliamentary system and has political constraints. Close links with historical colonial countries provide classes of labour by race, nationality and citizenship. During the Conservative Party under Margaret Thatcher, her strong racism of 'Britishness' influenced an anti-immigration policy which initiated the concept of non-patriality and judged non-EU foreign workers as enemies dividing the national identity.[10] The idea of loathing foreign nationals builds the deep root in most British mind. Unlikely, after the Labour Party came into power, immigration policies were more relax and some strict regulations were cancelled. The Labour is in favour of both native workers and foreign immigration. Though the government at that time claimed that foreign immigrants were restricted and controlled to enter Britain at the proper rate, throughout the over ten-year period there has continuously been the great flood of immigrants in Britain. And the government has experienced many pressures and requests from the public opinions to decrease a number of immigrants living and going to enter Britain.

        The situation of large inflow of immigrants now is correlated with the recent information either by coincident or intention. A policy document written in 2000 when the Labour government became the government has revealed the hidden driving political purpose. The unprecedented rise of immigration over the

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[10] Eytan Meyers, International immigration policy: A theoretical and comparative analysis (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), pp. 69-70.

last 12 years is to open mass migration to make Britain the multicultural country. Immigration controls were contrary to the policy purpose to restrict foreign immigrants. To enrich Britain with the multicultural atmosphere, the government took advantage of the British reputation of possessing different races by representing it as the main trading point of immigration. Britain would become an attractive place for foreign nationals as well as illustrating a cosmopolitan model. Opening immigration to truly multi-culturalism caused immigrants and dependants voting the Labour. Andrew Neather, a former adviser to Tony Blair, Jack Straw, and David Blunkett, revealed the letter at the end of last year and claimed that the Labour previously pursued a different direction on immigration. Fear of immigration challenges which has come to haunt the government leads to the new initial tougher approaches. However, the government has paid little attention to the secret plot and said that they limit and use tough methods for immigration. At the present time, the Labour government assures the British about new regulations to raise the stricter level of earned citizenship and to operate the electronic border system.

The government and the UK Border Agency have expected to reduce great numbers of unwanted immigrants and obtain positive feedback from the wider British citizens on the new points-based system. In this kind of positive environment, the government will gain credibility and confidence in exercising power as immigration is under control. If the government succeeds in managing immigration, finally the government has more chances to win the next election. In contrast, if the government fails the commitment, in particular reducing a number of immigrants, many of British citizens will turn to be protestors against the Labour government. As long as the British find immigration troublesome, people might turn into the BNP and there will be the rising popularity of racism. To satisfy and preserve national interests, the government's commitment is to calm down the serious environment and gain back supporters and canvassers outside the parliament of the party.

After implementing the new points-based policy, the next significant task for the government is to accomplish what they said and aim to do. Consequences of the latest immigration system will produce highly benefits to the

government when they can manage it rationally. On the condition that the government and related ministers can assess or predict the labour market in Britain correctly, points for a career field in each time will be suitably given. Then, the number immigrants allowed to enter Britain will be at the proper level and will not affect opportunities for the British to be employed. Providing there are well-employed conditions and a good standard of welfare for British citizens, the government is not going to confront with high pressures on immigration. When the total number of people in Britain, in particular large cities, is well-organised, problems about insufficient accommodation, facilities, and social welfare release tension. Successful limiting immigration causes the government to exercise democratic politics easier.

However, the opposition of the government does not believe that the new points- based system including the new immigration Bill is going to practically deal with decreasing immigration as the total number of immigrants is too high and it is too late to remove them out of the country. Likely, the British National Party (BNP) speaks loudly for that requests the Labour to review their faults about over 2.5 million non-EU immigrants since 1997. The BNP proposes that no one in Britain wants the subcontinent to become majority. The overwhelming white ethnicity of Britain will not further happen and Britain must remain British. The country is the product of people. If people are substituted, the nature of the country is inevitably changed.[11] Immigrants should only be taken into the country when it is necessary. The British and foreign citizens have lately experienced serious political pressure and considerations, together with the approaching sequences of change.

The other political impact on immigration is the public opinions and political pressure groups regarded as the influence outside the parliament. In the past there are many factors affecting negative British ideas towards immigration and requirements in the practical and helpful immigration control. The new policy is launched to serve British national interests. Most British people hope that a growing number of immigrants will not increasingly continue in the future.

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[11] The British National Party (BNS), "Immigration: Immigration isn't working, " 2009 [Online], Available from: www.bnp.org/uk/policies/immigration/. [12 February 2010]

After a long journey of hope, a new points-based system seems to be the creative solution for them compared to other immigration regulations and British citizens concur with the new policy. Now only highly skilled immigrants and needed people are welcomed to immigrate into Britain to distribute prosperity to British economy. At present, British citizens feel more satisfied not only they can have more chances to get jobs but also their major concerns on limiting immigration becomes reality. The British are looking forward to experiencing positive consequences.

From these points of view, it is noted that there is the close link between political and economic determinants. In the contemporary managing immigration a political and an economic factor are hardly detached from each other. Meanwhile people count on sustainable or peaceful security power, the reason to reach a military leading goal is insignificant and fading away. People turn to be more interested in economic convenience and well being employment. Immigration is consequently most related to economic reasons. Weight in policy making is added increasingly to the economic determinant as the British managing immigration. The economic element is more politicalised. A state wants a steady economic situation in order to have capability and potential for competing in the more liberal regional and global level.

6.2.3 Social Impacts Migration has impacts on both a receiving country and a country of origin in many viewpoints, in particular when one is a developed nation and the other is a developing nation. When the British and foreign immigrants spend lives with one another, impacts on social arena are unavoidable. In the past Britain welcomed unskilled workers to work but they obtained lower wages and more risky quality of life. Classes in the British society, consequently, emerged and the low skilled labour force was in the lowest class. In addition to the patriality or non-patriality concept which presents appearance, immigrants originally come from different countries and possess various languages, religions, characteristics, culture, customs and traditions. The great flood of immigration for over fifty years challenges the strong British national identity and is inclined to risk social cohesion.

According to the *jus soli* principle, British citizenship is given to different immigrants. The second and subsequent generations are included into British population. However, during the globalisation, the aim at financial stability and being an economic leader makes people more competitive. Eccentricity feeling of ethnic minorities and British Muslim is raised in the fast evolving world. Immigrant workers are judged as enemies in the receiving country, including Britain. They find it difficult to work and live steadily in British communities. The concept of 'self' or 'other' and the 'civilized' or the 'barbarians'[12] stimulates division in the society. When there is high immigration in the host country, the situation of the labour market and communities is heterogeneous and filled with diversity. The 'Friends or foes?' view towards immigrants has spread throughout the country.

Due to the inexorable inflow of foreign immigrants, the British are likely to be in favour of the racist and Britishness idea. They see foreign immigrants as foes entering to destroy the country more rather than strengthen British economy and providing large contributions. Immigration for them causes not only economic and social hardship but also a breakdown spirit and divided British identity. British nationals who have fairly little contact with immigrants are inclined to consider them as a threat and have negative attitudes.

Limiting undesirable immigration is to build harmonisation in the workplace and well-established social cohesion in British communities. A dividing line of the British and others is being cut since the government has pulled a single attention from the central organisation to local authorities and shared power to them. Local authorities in each area are empowered and further distribute duties and voluntary assignments to their British citizens to help foreign immigrants to begin new lives in new situations and integrate themselves into new atmosphere. English and UK basic knowledge tests build common attitudes in British communities. Providing non-EU immigrants cannot communicate in English or knows nothing about the British history or tradition, they will find it more inconvenient to live

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[12] David Cesarani and Mary Fulbrook, eds., <u>Citizenship, nationality and migration in Europe</u>, p. 1.

smoothly in a society and separate individually and eventually lead to staying in their nationals' communities only.

People in one society will spend lives closer with one another and exchange views towards different perspectives to strengthen a mutual understanding. Immigrants are planned to make meaningful contributions to local communities in the National Health Service (NHS) or other public services. Cross nationality and cultural communication of both British and non-EU immigrants can initiate other good ideas. Offering earned citizenship to qualified immigrants promotes Britain as the real multicultural country. Furthermore, well-organised immigration control influentially leads to the positive picture of non-EU immigrants as friends, not foes. In a community, there are more skilled persons to dedicate themselves to British activities and voluntary jobs such as nursing services for the elder. Pushing immigrants to participate in British communities makes them further enhance British tradition and absorb national identity, not separate or destroy them. Working or staying together harmonisedly gradually increases policy development. And the anti-discrimination thought is established in long-lasting sequence. British communities are increasingly integrated into the society since the British help immigrants in working and spending lives in a new environment, meanwhile immigrants give large economic contributions and political participation to Britain. Multicultural faces of both British and non-EU nationals will be better harmonious in the challenging globalisation.

Besides, individuals who immigrate because of economic reasons and permanent immigrants are likely to be subsumed faster than non-economic and temporary immigrants, including asylum seekers and refugees. The recruitment process is to choose only those immigrants who are able to provide large contributions in economic, political, and social production and do not behave as a burden to Britain. Qualified people are considered to produce fewer difficulties to the government and be easy to integrate into British tradition and normal life. The government does not have to deal crucially with sensitive issues, such as divided national identity and social cohesion. During the application process, all immigrants are required to learn basic rules about their following lives after entering Britain so

they rather understand and are inclined to harmonise more effortlessly. Immigrants themselves who live in quality and have untroubled lives find it rational to support the government. At the end, the key following consequence is the government is going to acquire support from British citizens.

Great flood of immigration makes Britain look packed and have less space for accommodations and facilities. Usually they are accompanied by dependant, children or families to settle down in Britain causing a growth number of foreign-born nationals. It is unusual that England is the most population density in Europe in 2008 breaking the previous record of the Netherlands in 2007.[13] This affects the whole picture of overcrowded people in Britain. Regarding to one in ten persons living in Britain born abroad, the upcoming significant problem is insufficiency in accommodations and facilities, including school and hospital. The immigration Act focuses on reducing social difficulties and improving attitudes towards foreign immigrants, in particular non-EU citizens judged as the British's enemies in the competitive labour market. Halting influx immigration by turning a floodgate into a turnstile and subsiding the incident of over-crowded country including foreign-born people into a normal situation will produce optimistic ideas of British's mind. The latest requirements are likely to produce equal treatment for all nationalities. Changing an image of immigration, the stricter regulations and the English or British history tests will not allow whoever black or white and low or high skilled immigrants can enter Britain without an official permit.

6.3 Effects on Non-EU Nationals

Immigration has always been the British history. Historically, immigrants were mostly asylum seekers and war refugees coming from Ireland, India, Pakistan, the Caribbean and colonial nations. A reason forming multicultural faces today is an economic phrase. The small number of labour migration has expanded to

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[13] Chris Mason, "England 'most crowded in Europe," 2008 [Online], Available from: http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk_news/england/7618994.stm. [10 May 2009]

various countries of origin and nationalities from many countries outside the New Commonwealth and around the world. Present immigration regime is more than just black and white, but rather more diversified. Immigration among economic competitiveness changes the modern Britain.

Certainly, a new points-based system considerably affects non-EU nationals since it is implemented to mostly manage the group of non-EU immigrants in Britain. Reducing a number of immigrants, in particular non-EU nationals who have already stayed in Britain for many years, causes a lot of problems and discussion among themselves. For workers who plan to immigrate into Britain will face harsh procedures of application and recruitment. Does the new system offer the real equal employment opportunities as well as anti-discrimination for them? Will all of non-EU immigrants who do not meet the criteria be removed out of Britain? Which standard does the UK Border Agency use to consider flexibility of each specific case? Is this called 'fair' to foreign immigrants, in particular non-EU immigrants? Does the new managing immigration practicably help in reducing immigrants into Britain?

6.3.1 **Equal employment opportunities and anti-discrimination** In practical no one can guarantee that non-EU nationals will be treated fine and fairly. Sometimes foreign immigrants in the second- or third-generation born in the UK are not considered to be truly 'British.' Although immigrants stay and work in Britain, they cannot decide what to call themselves whether British, English or others. If British Asian or British African immigrants were born or work in Britain, they should receive as much right as the British do. But non-EU nationals have suffered from the long history of self preserving British identity. The National Front of the BNP used to invade non-EU immigrants in 2009 by leaving the message *'Just because a dog is born in a stable doesn't make it a horse, go back home'*[14] showing apparently that they have not yet been accepted as a British person. It is to say that discrimination still exist in empirical circumstances.

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[14] Sunny Hundal, "Apparently, I'm not British," 2009 [Online], Available from: http://www.guardian.co.uk/commentisfree/2009/feb/26/daily-mail-immigration-britain. [10 May 2009]

When I analysed the regulations thoroughly, they are considerably harsh at the first beginning of how to access the British labour market including the application process, owing to the recent economic slowdown and increasing competitiveness. So as to boost British economy competing with other EU member states and international world, the points-based system aims at evaluating points to all immigrants with the unbiased method. After immigrants could get jobs, Britain rather grants interesting employment opportunities and benefits to qualified immigrants. Low- and high-skilled workers obtain income, benefits and social welfare the same as British workers. Graduated foreign students are given chances to seek a job within Britain providing that they get sponsorship and meet the criteria. Non-EU immigrants need to prove their potential more than the British as it influences an immigration policy in the future. In other words, it is difficult for all immigrants to access the labour market, but subsequently they will have satisfying job opportunities. However, employment conditions are human capital benefits or the way to run economic activities, but anti-discrimination is a mind reward or willingness of each person. The new system will provide fair and equal treatment among all nationality on condition that people believe in basic human rights and conduct what were written in the regulations without hesitation.

Practically, in 2009 onwards the majority of prospective immigrants will come from developed countries or only those who have skilled can enter Britain since they can reach all requirements: English language, education, money, and related qualifications, and know how to apply for the positions. Non-EU graduates fall into the competitive-labour market among British and EU students.

The Labour government seems to pretend to implement anti-discrimination policies since political and official leaders themselves concern British interests as the priority and implacably behave against foreign nationals. Discrimination and the pro-Britishness will not dwindle from the British deep mind unless the government is sincere to all British and foreign nationals, in particular non-EU nationals. All political parties should set the common interest on a balancing non-discriminatory practice and persuade British public opinions and citizens to react correspondingly. Immigration is sensitive, especially dealing with international

migration. Non-EU immigrants should be treated with non-partisan approaches no matter they are low- or high-skilled workers and black or white students. The government, the leader of the state, should start practical behaviour as the idol to British citizens and develop a positive structure of immigration policy. Though the characteristics of too proud self-worth and British identity built the deep root in the British mind for decades but it is worth to take time altering into optimistic attitudes towards non-EU nationals.

        6.3.2 Non-EU immigrants being removed The UK Border Agency administering the new regulations informed that they want to balance the interests of the British and foreign workers. The new system is going to response the new global trends. Employers and educational providers are encouraged to recruit skilled immigrants from abroad to compete with other groupings and the international market.

        Restaurants and services are most affected since most of immigrant workers in the section do not meet the criteria of educational qualifications and language fluency. Many immigrants are being considered whether they will be sent back home or not, though they have stayed in Britain for many years and even before the scheme is initiated. The Ethnic Catering Alliance is that the estimation of at least 30 per cent of restaurants is under threat and inclined to shut down. How do local cooks have such a good ability of English Language? And how can Indian restaurants survive without Indian cooks if the local people are sent back to their motherland?[15] Many of the immigrants are unlikely to pass the criteria since the main ability for gaining points is English fluency. Examples of Indian and Chinese restaurants are distinctive. They find it firm but unfair because they said how they can employ local chefs with qualified English language. Earning potential is another tough area for immigrants to survive. The number of asylum seekers' applications in

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  BBC News, "Can curry chain stand the heat?," BBC News Analysis, 2008 [Online], Available from: http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk_news/7356990.stm. [5 July 2009]; BBC News, "Chinese restaurants 'threatened," UK: BBC News, 2008 [Online], Available from: http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk_news/england/london/7275396.stm. [20 November 2009]

Britain has dramatically reduced and some of them in Britain will be sent to their origin countries. The government is going to deport a large number of Chinese immigrants back home. They came to Britain to seek better job opportunities and get used to potential qualifications but in the approaching time they will face hardship which they escape.

Even a skilled or highly skilled career such as doctor is affected by the new points-base system. Doctors from the Indian, Pakistani, and Bangladesh subcontinent together with the Commonwealth states used to be the backbone of the National Health Services of Britain. A shifting trend of immigration causes most of them struggle to survive. Normally, doctors who are EU citizens are superior to other foreign doctors. Non-EU nationals from the mentioned countries and colonials can fill vacancies provided that British or EU nationals are unable to fill. Though they demonstrate and call for justice in the British community, discrimination approaches continues. The system additionally has effects on non-EU trainee doctors. Their chances to access the labour market are debarred by the serious immigration regime. Most of them are falling into huge debt of medicine studying and confronting with loans when they want to start working. According to the Joint Council for the Welfare of Immigrants, at least 15,000 non-EU doctors are prone to face difficulties.[16] Because of the economic recession and the expanding European integration, immigrants from eastern European members have deterred employment opportunities of non-EU nationals and accelerate a process of deporting non-EU immigrants home.

6.3.3 Flexibility According to the UK Border Agency, the system depends on the point assessment, so immigrants asked whether points can be flexibly assessed and which standards are for whom. Within one year after regulations implemented, problems about the management and assessment have occurred. There are many non-EU immigrants who have stayed in Britain before the new programme.

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[16] Primary Care / General Practice News, "Non-EU doctors let down by new immigration rules," 2006 [Online], Available from: http://www.medicinenewstoday.com/articles/42132.php. [4 March 2010]

When they were evaluated, the UK Border Agency told them to leave due to lower points than the criteria. An explanation is for example they have low income. Some of them have spent more than 30 years in Britain, others are graduated Master or PhD Degree in Britain or Europe through the European quality. But these useful factors become just an excuse in the contemporary period. When foreign immigrants disagree and request the UK Border Agency to review each case, loosening practices happen. Who is allowed to stay and who is forced to leave? As a result, it wastes time and causes complicated in analysing case by case. When the regulations are relax, the credibility of the system among British and non-EU nationals will fade away. Apart from workers and students, asylum seekers, who flooded into Britain during the war period, now provide only few advantages and are being examined to leave for their homelands.

6.3.4 Fair treatment The measures are considered as protectionist mechanism to immigration reaction and unfair treatment for non-EU immigrants. Non-EU workers find it more difficult to access the British labour market since they have to accelerate a competitive level and compete with British citizens including EU nationals. Immigrant workers from developing countries suffer from their qualifications compared with labour force from developed countries. Non-EU entrepreneurs need a great deal of money to invest in British when currency is another main source of immigration. For example 1 £ is exchange to 55 baht so investors need to have at least 1 million £ which is equal to 55 million baht. Non-EU students are more excluded from the labour market since British jobs are offered to British students first and then EU students and other foreign citizens subsequently. The best graduate jobs and professionals require students obtaining a job offer and holding at least Master degree. It means that only Bachelor is no longer enough in the British competition-orientated market. Foreign students need to get a well-paid job as one influential reason for survival and asking employment visa in Britain.

6.3.5 Practically reduce non-EU immigrants Non-EU immigrants are the main group the government has aimed to restrict. Presuming that the new regulations since February 2009 functionally work, a number of non-EU immigrants, not only wishing to enter Britain but also living in Britain will decrease more or less. The process limits newcomers at the beginning of the application stage. The number of non-EU immigrants planning to enter Britain is assessed to reduce around 14,000 immigrants. More than hundreds of thousands of non-EU immigrants have been forced to leave Britain. The strong commitment focuses on strict border control and rigor of law enactment against illegal immigration. Britain does not want to experience heterogeneous communities due to increasing and more complicated trends of international people movement.

Last but not least, the culmination of managing immigration in Britain is developed from the main four national interests: economic slowdown leading to the high unemployment rate, too much flood of foreign nationals, particularly non-EU nationals, foreign born people and babies, and divided social discrimination and national identity. The solution for these is the government introduces a new points-based system and relevant regulations to cope with oversupply of labour during the recent economic recession and raising employment opportunities for the British and EU citizens. On the other hand, the government intends to reduce undesirable immigrants and a number of overcrowded non-EU families and children. To improve positive anti-discrimination thought results in increasing chances to social cohesion and communities' integration in Britain. From now on, immigrants both living in Britain and expecting to enter Britain have to perceive English language, history and become familiar with British tradition and customs including national viewpoints. Preserving national interests and united identity, the government wishes to balance mutual modes of labour and maximise positive impacts together with minimizing negative impacts on economic, political, and social realms of immigration on Britain.

CHAPTER VII
CONCLUSION

The reputation of a *'stranger in Europe'* is alive in Britain up to this time. The British consensus towards the EU favours the widening, not the deepening integration. Realism plays a great role in Britain against the European institutes and Supranationalisation in order to preserve national interest. The EU non-prescriptive methods of immigration result in non-compliance of the British managing immigration. The major reason of initiating the latest British immigration policy in 2009 is stimulated by economic components. During the contemporary period, economic determinants prevail political factors. Non-EU immigrants, who can provide large contributions to the economy and benefits to social communities and political campaigns, can enter Britain. There are different attitudes presented by British citizens and non-EU nationals if the policy can deal with reducing foreign immigrants or if it is fair to non-EU nationals. These practices cause burdens and become a negative model for other European member states.

Political realism has been transferred to subsequently successive governments since the Thatcher regime. The Thatcherism idea of the Conservative persistently exists even in the Labour government. Political constraints and the strict parliamentary system continue in public opinion and pressure groups which are regarded as power outside the parliament. Self-preserving national interest and reluctance to surrender its sovereignty lead to not fully integrate with the EU. There are still many sub-sovereignty details at the EU level that Britain keeps its space and decides to be the out-out person among other member states. The goal of supranationalisation, in particular immigration policy, is far to achieve.

Maintaining national interest has always been the priority of British successive governments, from Edward Heath, who raised the idea of EU accession due to failure of the EFTA to Margaret Thatcher. Her strong landmark of the nationalistic tone and European skepticism builds deep-rooted feeling in the British perceptions. The strong declaration of the Prime Minister, Gordon Brown, in

November 2009 illustrates the realism context and characteristic of the self-interested state. He declared a speech related to the whole picture of British managing immigration during the present time and the approaching future,

"I am proud of my country; I am proud to be British.
Everybody here is proud to be British. This is a country of diversity
and yet solidarity; of different cultures and yet universal values.
And we will always be a country that, whatever the challenges we face,
can never be broken by anyone or anything."[1]

Britain finally became a member of the EU in 1973 with inescapable conditions of the international relations. Due to unwillingness, Britain makes use of the EU to stand in the global stage and negotiate for economic benefits under the EU shield. It is to say that the EU is like a mechanic for running British economy rather than participation in the supranational organisation. Britain chooses not to let the EU pull its political decision-making power away. Encouragement of economic benefits is accepted but political sacrifice is safeguarded. Therefore, the entirely acquiescence of sovereign power hardly occurs between Britain and the EU.

The development of immigration arena has been witnessed in the EU level. The Europeanisation of the national immigration policy has been promoted and raised into the prime issue. However, under the discursive Europeanisation of immigration there are non-compliant modes between the European Union and its member states. Immigration is relevant to national security and territorial border control. Directions of immigration control are likely to be divergence more than convergence among member states' policies. The member states retain the competence to decide regarding their national selection modalities and determination of volumes of immigrants to be admitted, as well as the forms of their integration. Britain exercising power through the concept of realism controls the domestic and international managing immigration. The Europeanisation of immigration policy is lagged behind in Britain.

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[1] The official site of the Prime Minister's Office, "Speech on immigration by the Prime Minister," 2009 [Online], Available from: http://www.number10.gov.uk/Page21298. [10 June 2009]

Being one of the most important receiving countries, Britain is familiar with foreign immigrants since the historical period. Nevertheless, the European single market and regional expansion has increased the level of multicultural communities, like a magnet drawing foreign newcomers. The inclination of immigration in Britain continuously rises until the culmination of the largest integration of 10 Eastern European member states in 2004. A lot of criticizes and tensions rise and spread across Britain and the governments are requested to deal with the difficulty. Though most employers support inflows of foreign immigration, British public opinions oppose the huge flood of foreign immigrants. National interest concerning the issue becomes the priority of the British majority. Instead of producing large benefits to the country, immigration proves to expand the severe unemployment, crowded foreign-born people, and divided social cohesion. The British contemporary managing immigration is consequently influenced by economic determinants, which play a greater role than political driving forces.

While the new points-based system sounds beneficial for some immigrants who meet the criteria and can enter Britain, the system is considerably unfair for those who have already stayed or worked in Britain for many years. It limits non-EU nationals' right to access the labour market and educational programme. Furthermore, anti-discrimination and a though of foreign immigrants as competitors are difficult to diminish from the British' mind. Immigrants are recognised as a group of people who generates a breakdown spirit. When the national immigration policy demanded a large number of immigrants in the past, they were welcomed into Britain without any strict modes of recruitment. Later on, aroused by the economic downturn, immigration has been considered as an outrageous subject and rivals of the British.

Britain wishes not only to be the powerful leader of the European Union, but also to regain the former status of the global leading power with many countries outside the region and upgrade interregional connections. In the globalisation, immigration becomes one of the main factors to produce contributions to British economy. The British community has become more business in almost every perspective. Therefore, immigration is one of the greatest capital resources.

The government introduces the new immigration programme replacing old losing schemes of the previous successive governments so that immigration can provide huge contributions to British economy and it is harmless to British community, together with national identity. Allowing only those needed, the government can monitor negative side effects and enlarge positive results. In the globalised and competitive environment qualified immigration is the main component of flowing economic activities. As a result, a political conception regarding fair and freedom is overcome by the economic impact and managing immigration has an implication of economic advantages. It is the proper time for the Labour government to implement the recently developed immigration system to alleviate the serious labour market situation and to retrieve votes from British citizens. As well, official organisations must fulfill tasks they aim at succeeding informative and creditable practices.

In the connected worldwide network, immigration becomes an important transnational agenda. There is no definite global hegemony. Managing foreign immigration to be mainly advantageous to British citizens demonstrates a poor example to other states. The developing and Commonwealth countries become increasingly growing and powerful. Trying to preserve national interests of integrated immigration in the international relations at the present time reiterates a previous picture of the British separating position or a semi-detached member of the EU.

From dissimilar considerations affecting immigration control in the past has changed into economic factors influencing international immigration control during the contemporary period of the economic downturn. Immigration is driven mainly by working-related reasons, rather than war refugees or political persecution. National interest is highly preserved by states. Britain has proved the concept of national self-worth against foreign nationals through its immigration policy and management.

Immigrants in Britain are turning out to be one of the main variables and assets of economic activities and democratic politics. The better and fairer a country manages immigration, the more development can grow. Immigration has impacts on economic, politic, and social arena and the vise versa. Well immigration control in Britain on the basis of balanced practices strengthens British communities in every perception. However, 'firm' can be seen in the regulations but 'fair' is beyond British considerations.

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